

JOSEPH KARST

as a pioneer of long-range approaches to Mediterranean Bronze-Age ethnicity: A study in the History of Ideas



the author in Bulgaria (2013), exploring the pre- and protohistoric realm of the Pelasgians

Throughout the second half of the years 2000, Fred Woudhuizen and Wim van Binsbergen struggled to complete their voluminous, jointly authored book *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*. Its principal aim was to make a critical and original contribution to the study of the Sea Peoples. Destroying the Hatti / Hittite empire, and seriously damaging the Egyptian New Kingdom, the Sea Peoples dominated the scene of the Eastern Mediterranean by the end of the Bronze Age. That book appeared in 2011 as volume 2256 in the prestigious 'International Series' of *British Archaeological Reports (BAR)*. To a greater extent and with more justification than could be argued then, Wim van Binsbergen's sections in that book were inspired by the (admittedly obscure, obsolete, and unsystematic) work of the French-German linguist / Armenologist Joseph Karst (1871-1962). Therefore, greatly expanded and reworked, with a new Introduction, a new Conclusion vindicating Karst's four-tiered model of Mediterranean linguistico-ethnic identity (as his sole lasting finding), an extensive Bibliography, and exhaustive Indexes of Proper Names and of Authors Cited, the present monograph offers such original chapters on Karst as were withdrawn from the proofs of *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*. Painstakingly, and with the aid of many newly-drawn maps bringing out Karst's ideas however bizarre at times, this study reconstructs, and critically evaluates, Karst's general approach to ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean region. It particularly highlights Karst's significance for the study of the Sea Peoples and the Biblical *Table of Nations (Genesis 10)* – as two main puzzles in this field. As an exercise in the History of Ideas, this text is hoped to inspire, benefit, and amuse, Ancient Historians, Bible scholars, linguists, comparative mythologists, Mediterraneanists, classicists, students of ethnicity, and archaeologists.

From the Introduction: *'The composite layered nature of Late Bronze Age linguistico-ethnic communities, the specific types of onomastic manipulation in ethnogenesis, the historical actors's tendency to conflate (and hence our scholarly obligation to distinguish between) essentially different Primary and Secondary groups bearing the same ethnico-linguistic label, and the imperative of adopting a transregional, long-range perspective – in short much of the theoretical and methodological tools Woudhuizen and I applied in 2011, were in fact derived from or inspired by Karst, and they deserve to be spelled out once more (cf. 2011: ch. 2-6) even if they have to be gleaned from a Karstian mine field of imprecision, contradiction, obsolete categorisation, and factual error. Thus it also becomes possible to newly confront, even propose solutions for, some of the greatest puzzles of Bronze Age Mediterranean ethnicity, such as the circumcising Achaeans, the extent of Pelasgian culture and language as a proposedly decisive factor in the Sea Peoples episode, the attestation of the Bantu linguistic phylum in the Bronze Age Mediterranean, and the utterly confusing multiple use of ancient toponyms for both easterly and westerly regions of the Ancient World.'*

PIP-TraCS – Papers in Intercultural Philosophy and Transcontinental Comparative Studies No. 12



Wim van Binsbergen

Joseph Karst

12



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new edition, vindicating Karst's four-tiered model for the Bronze-Age Mediterranean

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ABOUT THIS BOOK. Throughout the second half of the years 2000, Fred Woudhuizen and Wim van Binsbergen struggled to complete their voluminous, jointly authored book *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*. Its principal aim was to make a critical and original contribution to the study of the Sea Peoples. Destroying the Hatti / Hittite empire, and seriously damaging the Egyptian New Kingdom, the Sea Peoples dominated the scene of the Eastern Mediterranean by the end of the Bronze Age. That book appeared in 2011 as volume 2256 in the prestigious 'International Series' of British Archaeological Reports (BAR). To a greater extent and with more justification than could be argued then, Wim van Binsbergen's sections in that book were inspired by the (admittedly obscure, obsolete, and unsystematic) work of the French-German linguist / Armenologist Joseph Karst (1871-1962). Therefore, greatly expanded and reworked, with a new Introduction, a new Conclusion vindicating Karst's four-tiered model of Mediterranean linguistico-ethnic identity (as his sole lasting finding), an extensive Bibliography, and exhaustive Indexes of Proper Names and of Authors Cited, the present monograph offers such original chapters on Karst as were withdrawn from the proofs of *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*. Painstakingly, and with the aid of many newly-drawn maps bringing out Karst's ideas however bizarre at times, this study reconstructs, and critically evaluates, Karst's general approach to ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean region. It particularly highlights Karst's significance for the study of the Sea Peoples and the Biblical Table of Nations (*Genesis 10*) – as two main puzzles in this field. As an exercise in the History of Ideas, this text is hoped to inspire, benefit, and amuse, Ancient Historians, Bible scholars, linguists, comparative mythologists, Mediterraneanists, classicists, students of ethnicity, and archaeologists. A special boon of this book is that it is based on, and offers substantial glimpses of, the comprehensive, long-range integrated model of global cultural (and specifically mythological) history from the Middle Palaeolithic onward, which the author has developed and presented in his publications of the last fifteen years.

New edition, vindicating Karst's four-tiered model for the Bronze-Age Mediterranean

Fred C. Qoudhuizen died in 2021, 62 years old; this book is dedicated to his memory

WIM VAN BINSBERGEN (*1947) was trained in sociology, anthropology, and general linguistics, at Amsterdam University (Municipal). He held professorships in the social sciences at Leiden, Manchester, Durban, Berlin, and Amsterdam (Free University). At the latter institution he took his *cum laude* doctorate (1979) and was the incumbent of the chair of ethnic studies (1990-1998), prior to acceding to the chair of Foundations of Intercultural Philosophy, Erasmus University Rotterdam. Simultaneously, he held senior appointments at the African Studies Centre, Leiden. Over the decades, he has established himself internationally as a specialist on African ethnicity, African religion, ethnohistory, globalisation, intercultural philosophy, comparative mythology, the Mediterranean Bronze Age, and transcontinental continuities between Africa and Asia in pre- and proto-history. He was President of the Netherlands Association of African Studies, 1990-1993, and one of the Founding Members / Directors of the International Association for Comparative Mythology, 2005-2020. From 2002 he has been the Editor of *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy / Revue Africaine de Philosophie*. His many books include *Religious Change in Zambia* (1981), *Tears of Rain* (1992), *Intercultural Encounters* (2003), *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (with Fred Woudhuizen, 2011), *Black Athena Comes of Age* (2011), *Before the Presocratics* (2012), *Vicarious Reflections* (2015), *Religion as a Social Construct* (2017), *Researching Power and Identity in African State Formation* (with Martin Doornbos, 2017), *Confronting the Sacred: Durkheim Vindicated* (2018), *Rethinking Africa's Transcontinental Continuities in Pre- and Proto-history* (2019, ed.), *Sunda: Pre- and Proto-historical Continuities between Asia and Africa* (2020), and *Sangoma Science: From ethnography to intercultural ontology – A poetics of African spiritualities* (2021). His published work is also freely available at <http://www.quest-journal.net/shikanda>. Wim van Binsbergen is married with the classical singer and breathing therapist Patricia Saegerman, and has five adult children. Besides his scholarly work, he is a published poet, the adopted son of a Zambian king, and a certified African traditional healer in the Southern African *sangoma* tradition.

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COVER ILLUSTRATIONS *front and back*: artefacts from the South-East European Late Bronze Age, on display at the Archaeological Museum, Sofia, Bulgaria (2013); *back cover*: photograph of the author: © 2019 Patricia van Binsbergen-Saegerman; *spine*: photograph of Joseph Karst, provenance: see frontispiece.

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to the memory of Fred C. Woudhuizen (1959-2021)



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Joseph Karst((1871-1962) in mid-career

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Chapter 1. Introduction

In the second half of the 2000s, the late lamented Dr Fred Woudhuizen (my former PhD student) and I struggled to complete our large, jointly authored book *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*; that book's principal aim was to make a critical and original, substantial contribution to the study of the Sea Peoples who dominated the scene of the Eastern Mediterranean towards the end of the Bronze Age. Our book appeared in 2011 as volume 2256 in the prestigious International Series of British Archaeological Reports (BAR). Our initial division of labour was the following:

- Fred Woudhuizen (an Ancient Historian by training, who has published a dozen books on Mediterranean Ancient History and languages including those of the Sea Peoples – e.g. Woudhuizen 1992, 2005a, 2011) would provide the Ancient History of the Sea Peoples' episode in the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Bronze East and the linguistic and archaeological background needed to read and interpret the scanty documentary sources available,
- while I (an anthropologist and general linguist by training, a Mediterraneanist *manqué* by my first fieldwork (1968, 1970) on North African popular Islam – whose main fruit, a two-volume book *Religion and social organisation in North-Western Tunisia, Volume I: Kinship, spatiality, and segmentation, Volume II: Cults of the land, and Islam*, has for decades been among my work in progress but so far not been published –, an Africanist by career, incumbent of the chair of Ethnicity and Ideology in Development Processes in the Third World at the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, from 1990 to 1998, and subsequently Professor of the Foundations of Intercultural Philosophy at Erasmus University Rotterdam) would provide the theory of ethnicity, with specific attention to the study of ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean, and two specific applications to major Ancient sources – posing as Late Bronze Age – notably the 'Table of Nations' (*Genesis* 10), and the Homeric 'Catalogue of Ships' (*Iliad* 2).

In the process my own, life-long interest in the cultures, forms of social organization and worldviews of the Mediterranean was reinforced, and converging with my extensive contributions to the *Black Athena* debate which the late lamented Martin Gardiner Bernal (1937-2013)¹ had initiated in the 1980s, I was tempted to go beyond my role as mere theoretician, and to try my own hand at the complex puzzles of fact and interpretation that the ‘Sea Peoples’ had been offering, throughout the very extensive literature that had been devoted to them since the concept had been forged by late 19th-century Egyptological and Ancient History scholarship.

Unrecognised by Western academic scholarship until the late 19th c. CE with the works of Eduard Meyer and Gaston Maspero, the Sea Peoples’ episode of Ancient (proto-)History at the end of the Mediterranean Bronze Age (ca. 1,300 CE) has constituted a mine field in several respects. In the first place scholars have disagreed whether there actually was such a thing as the Sea Peoples’ episode – perhaps the very concept was an artifact of early Ancient History as an academic subject, founded in the early 19th century when Egyptology and Assyriology were in their infancy and several of the languages and scripts needed for a fuller understanding of Mediterranean Ancient History had not yet been fully mastered if at all. Even if scholars would converge to the, now common, view that by the end of the Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Ḫatti (‘Hittite’) empire was destroyed along with Ugarit and other minor Levantine states, and, after two millennia of checkered continuity the Egyptian state was severely threatened by ‘People from the Sea’, then scholars were facing a formidable puzzle of identification and interpretation. Who had the Sea Peoples been? Where did they come from? Where were they going? What was their aim? What was the ethnic, linguistic, cultural and ultimately genetic identity and background of the near-dozen different names that were distinguished, in connection with the ‘People from the Sea’, in the few contemporary Egyptian records on the walls of the monuments of Medinet Habu and Karnak? Were they really different ethnic groups, hailing from different places in near or far vicinity of the Eastern Mediterranean? Being rendered with distinctive attire, weapons and customs (only one group was singled out as practicing male genital mutilation, in other words circumcision), there was a strong suggestion that they were ethnically and culturally different, and had come from different places hundreds or even a few thousand kilometers apart. Despite such heterogeneity, what then could explain their unity of purpose and movement, their effectiveness in the face of the most powerful states in the region at the time? What organisatory and mobilizing factors could have bound them into a single, formidable military and political force? Also the aftermath of the Sea Peoples’ episode raised major questions. Were they the origin of the Biblical Philistines in Syro-Palestine – a group often² treated as discontinuous with the main Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age popula-

¹ Cf. Bernal 1987-1991-2006, 2001; van Binsbergen 2011, 2013, and references cited there.

² E.g. Gordon 1962; Anati 1963. Woudhuizen (in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 274 f., Figs. 19.2 – 19.4), shows that the archaeological affinity between Philistines and the Aegean region is unmistakable. On the other hand, Dagon as the principal Philistine god, with close affinity with Mesopotamian Ea and the Hellenistic tradition of the (likewise fish-tailed or aquatic) Oannes as the culture hero of the oldest Mesopotamian (i.e. Sumerian) culture (Clapham 1969; Cory 1832; Lokkegard 1954 – with extensive ramifications to the Aegean, Etruscans, and China; cf. Shepard 1940; Terrien de Lacouperie 1887; van Binsbergen 2012a: 222 f., with literature), shows a continuity with the Ancient Near East which seem incompatible with a recent Aegean provenance, and reminds us of Karst’s (1931a) proposal to view the Philistines as an Ancient Levantine group with Basquoid traits including maritime skills – which he proposes to derive from a secondary West-East return migration from the

tions of that region, and linked up with the Aegean region? (cf. Anati 1963). What was the relation between the Sea Peoples and the Aegean Sea including the Trojan War, with Phoenicia, Carthage, North Africa in general, the Black Sea region, West Asia in general? Was it the Sea Peoples who were responsible for the crucial shift of cultural, religious and political initiative at the end of the Bronze Age, from the Levant to the West (the Aegean), ultimately the Central Mediterranean, where Rome and Carthage would dominate the scene during the Iron Age? Without that shift the modern world as we know it could not have come into being, even if we acknowledge (in the spirit of Bernal's Black Athena thesis) the great historic indebtedness of the West to several millennia of prior cultural achievement in West Asia and North East Africa, culminating in the magnificent cultures and states of Mesopotamia and Ancient Egypt between the late 4th and the late 2nd mill. BCE. Finally, what made it almost impossible to study such questions in splendid scholarly isolation, was that as cradles of several monotheistic world religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam), and of major factors in the shaping of Western hegemonic modern culture, the Eastern Mediterranean has been contested identity space for the past few millennia, from the fall of Jerusalem (70 CE) and the rise of Christianity and Islam, to the fall of Constantinople, the rise and fall of the Ottoman Empire, and the founding of the state of Israel, and the uprisings of the Palestinian population deprived of their homeland, the wars in Iraq and Syria of the 21st century, the rise of the violent and radical Islamic State movement. If, as a dominant present-day Israeli collective representation largely informing modern Sea-Peoples research in that country, Ancient Philistines could be mentally equated with the oppressed though militant Palestinians of today – the principal enemies as perceived by the Israeli state – , any serious attempt to contribute to Sea-Peoples study would at the same time be a step into an religious, ideological, political and potentially even military mine-field.

Being trained as a social scientist, having taught social theory and the theory of ethnicity for many years, and having developed into a specialist on the religion and ethnicity of present-day Africa, my main task as co-author of *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* was to provide the theory that was so clearly missing in the field of Sea Peoples' studies. Fortunately, due to the rise of ethnically heterogeneous new cities and other centres of capitalist production (mines, farms) in Africa in the course of the colonial era, and due to the obsessively ethnic overtones that postcolonial national and regional politics have acquired in most independent states in that continent, African Studies has been the context of major advances in the study of ethnicity, and these I intended to bring to bear upon the challenges of Sea Peoples' research. Building up towards such theory geared to the Ancient Mediterranean, I found it strategic to use as props and demonstrations two apparently rather uncontroversial cases of Ancient ethnicity: the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* in *Iliad 2* (where an

Iberian peninsula to the Levant in the second millennium BCE. The unmistakable affinities between Late Bronze Age / Iron Age Philistines on the one hand, and Pelasgians (in the Aegean and on the Italic peninsula), Macedonians, and Illyrians on the other hand, as signaled by Mallory 1997: 93 f., might then be attributed to an overall 'Pelasgian' Westbound and Northbound migration by the Late Bronze Age – emanating from the Levant, and leaving substantial traces all over the Central Mediterranean; such has been signalled in my 'Pelasgian Hypothesis' (*vide infra*), and may not be unrelated to the Sea Peoples episode. Even so, Mallory seems to be guilty of the 'fallacy of misplaced concreteness' (Whitehead 1997: 52, 58) in assuming that 'Pelasgian', rather than a vague, heterogeneous, protean and extremely widespread cluster of cultural, linguistic, and genetic traits (as in my approach, van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 372 f., and van Binsbergen, 2011a, and in press (b)) could be used as a meaningful designation of a specific Indo-European language. Van Windekens (1954, 1960), the main author on Pelasgian as such a language, fell into the same trap, as I argue elsewhere (in press (b)).

inventory is given of the various military components lining up on the Greek side, under commander-in-chief Agamemnon, before crossing the Aegean Sea to Troy); and the *Table of Nations* in *Genesis* 10, when after the Flood that is supposed to have destroyed the whole of humankind,³ the Flood hero Noah (meanwhile having made his somewhat embarrassing acquaintance with alcoholic drink), and before the hybris-centred episode of the building of the Tower at Babylon (which toponym means in Old Babylonian ‘Gate of God / of Gods / of Heaven’), an exhaustive list is given of Noah’s alleged descendants – on the verge of repopulating the earth. Both well-known texts have been the subject of very extensive commentary and scholarship in the course of two and a half millennia. For although both deal with the Late Bronze Age and suggest to be near-contemporary, in fact they were unmistakably written during the Early to Middle Iron Age, and both received their standard redaction only a few centuries before the beginning of the Common Era. So, strictly speaking they cannot count as Bronze Age documents, yet they may be trusted to have considerable heuristic value in bringing out at least some of the major challenges for a modern approach to Bronze Age Mediterranean ethnicity.

Modern scholarship no longer supports Heinrich Schliemann’s passionate claim of having unearthed the material vestiges of ‘the Trojan War’ – violent conflicts over cities were commonplace in the Ancient World, and the signs of devastation as well as the treasures the German proto-archaeologist brought to light belonged to an archaeological layer and to a period dated at many centuries before the approximate date of the Trojan War as claimed in Ancient tradition.⁴ It would be possible to relegate the entire story to the realm of fables and *belles lettres*:

- For instance, a possible Afroasiatic and Nigercongo etymology of Ilion, Troy’s alternative name, is ‘Heaven, Heavenly City’,⁵ and since the separation of Heaven and Earth became the dominant cosmogony among Anatomically Modern Humans globally (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 23; van Binsbergen 2010a), the battle between Heaven-dwellers and Earthlings is a well-known mytheme in Comparative Mythology;
- and how could a diffusely organised not-yet-nation like the Hellenic-speaking populations of the Aegean c. 1300 BCE so effectively mobilize for the sake of a cuckolded male royal consort at a time when – to all appearances – women, not men, were the legitimate owners and transmitters of kingship?
- finally, a standard Ancient Greek myth concerning the origin of the Trojan War (as the gods’ punishment for the trouble humans gave them; Reeves 1966; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 91, 99, 225n) is so close to the standard flood myth of the Ancient Near East,⁶ that a fair amount of mythical content must certainly be suspected in the Greek version.

³ And leaving aside the delightful Jewish legend according to which a giant king Og of Bashan, survived the Flood by sitting astride on top of the ark, and was fed through a port-hole by Noah (see Leslie 1984).

⁴ The Ancient writers, however, are in disagreement about the precise date. Thus Herodotus comes to a date of 1250 BCE, Erastosthenes to 1184 BCE. In our book (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011) we have tentatively opted for a date of 1280 BCE, but leaving open the possibility that the Trojan War had only a mythical existence.

⁵ See below, Section 5.2.9.

⁶ Holloway 1991; Hess & Tsumura 1994; van Binsbergen c.s. 2008; Draffkorn Kilmer 1987; Frazer 1916; Lambert & Millard 1969.

We shall return to Troy at the end of Chapter 5, below. Meanwhile, there is some evidence that in the case of the Trojan War we are dealing with an actual regional conflict: an oblique reference made it to be the Hatti state archives, where Priam's adventurous and lovesick son Alexandros / Paris is claimed by modern scholarship to be documented as Alaksandus (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 249, with sources). Given the enormous amount of work previous classicist research has invested in the *Catalogue of Ships* (extensive references and discussion in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: ch. 5, pp. 99 f.), my attempt to restudy this document from a point of view of ethnic studies did not yield spectacular results – the scope of the *Catalogue* is limited to just the Western side of the Aegean shores, and what is missing is the very factor that constitutes the life breath of ethnicity, notably the need for contemporary actors (and for present-day scholars as well) to classify socio-political groups *in the process of their incorporation into a wider network of political, economic and religious relations*. Are we dealing here with incorporation into the Hatti state? The evidence is too scanty. Alternatively, one suspects that Mycenaean statehood (no longer effectively in existence at the time of the “Trojan War”) might have provided the context for such incorporation. However, the weak Agamemnon, despite his close marital relations with divine beings (the Dioscuri, brothers of Helena and her sister Clythaemnestra), can contribute only a number of ships and men of the same order of magnitude as some of the other leaders; proves unable to control even the destitute young hothead Achilles; allows the war to protract to an impossible ten years; and although called a ‘leader of men’ yet finds himself mainly relegated to a priestly function on behalf of the assembled Greeks.⁷

As compared with this Homeric case, the genealogical vision contained in the *Table of Nations* (*Genesis* 10) gives the student of ethnicity much more to chew on:⁸ being amazingly ‘long-range’ *avant la lettre*, it encompasses the entire, then known world in one grand scheme of close or remote ethnic relations by situating all the apical ancestors of dozens of ethnic and regional groups within the genealogy of the descendants of the principal Flood survivor, Noah.

Thus Japheth appears to stand for the people of Northern Eurasia more or less coinciding with the Indo-European language phylum; Mišraim for people closely associated with Egypt, *etc.* How is such an Ancient statement on, apparently, a world-wide framework of ethnicity to be read and decoded? What meaning and implications for the socio-political order throughout Western Eurasia can we attribute to the group identities and group relations thus represented by the Ancient writers? What are the underlying ethnic, political, and social implications of such a view of ethnicity? How could it be read as providing answers towards the questions posed by the Sea People, outlined above?

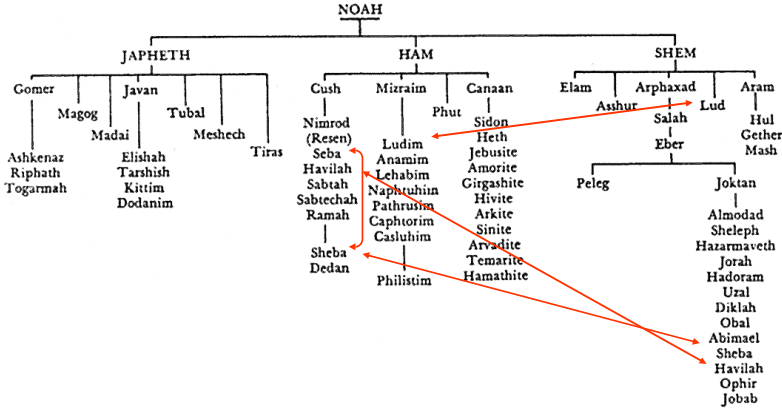
⁷ Cf. on Agamemnon as weak leader and an unconvincing exponent of Mycenaean hegemony, van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 112, 260n. On the nature of the apparently hegemonic relationship of Mycenae, under Agamemnon's leadership, over the other Greek groups, cf. Desborough 1964 (exaggerating Mycenaean overlordship); Thomas 1970; von Geisau 1979a; Mountjoy 1998; Middleton 2002. On Agamemnon also cf. Evans 1979.

⁸ E.g. Brett 1996; Crüsemann 1996; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: ch. 6, pp. 123-190, with extensive literature.



The map derives from: Coleman 1854; I gratefully acknowledge Dolphin 2009, which drew my attention to this map.



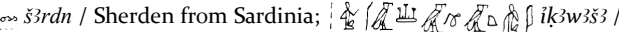
Fig. 11. The world as known to the Hebrews, according to the Mosaic account': A dated scholarly attempt to assign geographical locations to the names mentioned in the *Table of Nations* (Genesis 10)



After Dolphin 2009. I have removed, from Dolphin's original, the descendants of Peleg, who are not mentioned in Genesis 10. Double occurrences signaled by arrows

Fig. 1.2. A diagrammatical rendering of the *Table of Nations* in Genesis 10.

In the light of my above summary of major issues in Sea Peoples research the reader may appreciate that as co-authors of *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*, Fred Woudhuizen and I turned out to hold positions that in crucial aspects were diametrically opposed to one another. We decided to write our contributing chapters in such a way, that our differences in opinion would be fully manifest, yet to be reconciled in a synthesis which we presented in a final chapter, 29 (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 397f.)

- For Woudhuizen, the Sea Peoples were pre-existing, clearly identifiable ethnic groups scattered along the Northern and Eastern shores of the Bronze Age Mediterranean, between Etruria, Sardinia, Sicily, the Aegean including the Troad, Anatolia, and the Levant. These peoples were supposed to be involved in predominantly a West-East movement, aimed at appropriating the riches of the Hatti and Egyptian states; moreover, in addition to this pull factor there was a push factor in that the invasions of Urnfielders in Central Europe⁹ uprooted the shore-dwellers and forced them to take a maritime, Eastbound refuge. The ethnic names found in the Ancient Egyptian sources are interpreted as faithfully reflecting, in an Egyptian rendering, what Woudhuizen (with many other writers) takes to be, then already, the common names of the places of origin of these peoples:  s3kr53 / Shekelesh from Sicily (cf. Sikeloi);  s3rdn / Sherden from Sardinia;  ik3w353 / Ekwesh from Achaia / Achaioi, etc.¹⁰ How this *extremely heterogeneous collec-*

⁹ Cf. Kimmig 1964; Pokorny with Pittioni 1938; Pokorny 1940.

¹⁰ The hieroglyphics here give a usual (but not invariable) rendering of the names of these Sea Peoples groups on Egyptian monuments, cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 341-341, Table 28.1, and references there.

tion of remote peoples could communicate, mobilize and organise at such a high level as to render possible the military successes of the Sea Peoples, remains an unanswered question for Woudhuizen, although he stresses what he alleges to be their *shared Indo-European language and identity* – although by the Late Bronze Age, Indo-European languages had since long differentiated to a point where they were no longer mutually intelligible, and although there are substantial reasons (set out in my own contributions to *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*, and summarised in the present book) to cast some doubt upon the exclusively Indo-European linguistic identity of the Sea Peoples.

- My own reading of the available data has been rather different – even more different (as the present book on Karst will demonstrate) than I could express within the 2011 book on our joint project. Given the enormous distances that separate Anatolia and Egypt from the Northern part of the Central Mediterranean (Sardinia, Etruria, Sicilia), the populations of these outlying regions cannot be supposed to have been involved in direct political or economic incorporation processes emanating from Hatti and Egypt – although trade relations and incidental labour migration as mercenaries did exist. In view of my theoretical position on ethnicity it is therefore unlikely that these populations already featured as recognised and consistently named ethnic groups in the official statal perception of Hatti and Egypt. In my opinion, neither the legendary riches of these two states allegedly ready to be plundered, nor the push factor attributed to Central European Urnfielder expansion, formed fully sufficient conditions to explain the forceful purpose, and the effective communication, mobilisation, and organization, and yet their enduring ethnic differentiation (before, during and after the Sea Peoples episode). Far more concrete and direct reasons were needed. These I found in two factors. If the Sea Peoples could be argued to be mainly from the regional (overlapping) geographical and social peripheries of Hatti and Egypt, then the violent encroachment of these states on the freedom, land, produce, labour, resources, trade of the population of these peripheries could form sufficient motivation for a desperate, counter-hegemonic attack. But while a shared historic experience of exploitation and state encroachment may have been a powerful motivation, the practical means for effective communication, must have resided in the possibility for far-reaching identification based on a shared culture and even, to a considerable extent, a shared language or at least *lingua franca*. In the background of the Sea People's puzzle I began to perceive a dispersed *Pelasgian* identity.¹¹

¹¹ ON PELASGIAN IDENTITY. The idea of such a Pelasgian identity originating in West Asia and constituting an ethnic and linguistic substrate was very dear to Karst. I have found it most illuminating, and made it the cornerstone of my 'Pelasgian Hypothesis' (van Binsbergen, in press (b)). Karst's idea was expressed not only in his 1931a *magnum opus* but also in another book he published in the same period: *Prolegomena Pelasgica: Les Ligures comme substratum ethnique dans l'Europe illyrienne et ouralo-hyperboréenne*. This work particularly gave Karst a bad name because it was slashed in the *American Anthropologist* (Faye 1931; cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 97 note 223), not only on (a) the hilariously irrelevant ground that according to the reviewer French did not appear to be Karst's native language (as noted above, Strasburg, and Alsace-Lorraine as a whole, were in German hands from 1870 to 1919, and in fact, most of Karst's works were written in German; more importantly, outside France, mastery of the French language is not a universally mandatory hallmark of scholarship, even less today than it was ca. 1930 CE), but also because (b) Karst claimed Basque elements in English (the probability of which has recently been confirmed by Oppenheimer's 2005 demonstration of the Basque genetic contribution to English origins), and finally because of (c) a 'general uncritical attitude'; as we shall see in Chapter 4, below, the latter reproach we simply have to accept as a factual though regrettable characteristic of Karst's work.

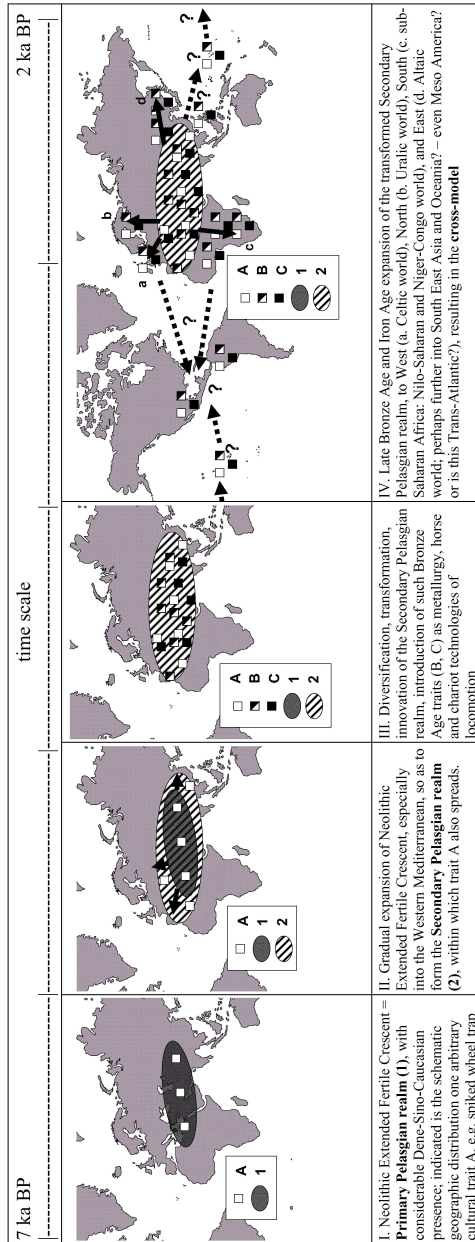


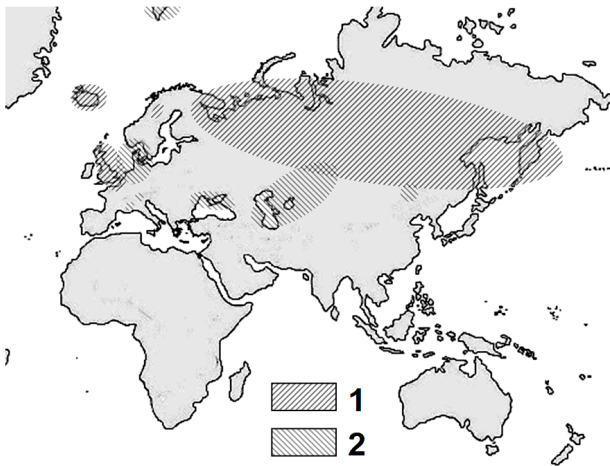
Fig. 1.3. Diagrammatic representation of the Extended Pelasgian Hypothesis.

The bearers of the Pelasgian identity would have selectively adopted, as identity markers, a small number of Pelasgian cultural traits from among a much larger, unintegrated, pool of such traits, including male genital mutilation, boat symbolism, symbolism of aquatic birds as epiphanies of a cosmogonic god (more likely goddess), reed and bee symbolism likewise harking back to cosmogonic symbolism, the belief in the unilateral divine figure, the belief in a White God of creation or of second creation (after destruction / flood), the symbolism of being forbidden to look back at crucial moments of existence (Eurydice in Ancient Greece, Izanami in Ancient Japan), the emphasis on female puberty rites, shaving the head at funerals, segmentary socio-political organization with weak leadership but powerful democratic councils, *etc. etc.* A list of some eighty items, with some discussion, was presented in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 374 *f.*, Table 28.5), and the list is still growing. Subscribing to the Pelasgian identity meant not sharing a common, total, integrated culture covering all aspects of life (*e.g.* not all Pelasgians would engage in male genital mutilation – in fact only a minority included this trait in their specific Pelasgian package). In order to qualify as Pelasgian one had to simply adopt a limited, varying number of these Pelasgian traits so as to facilitate mutual identification and mobilisation. A specific, common language was not necessarily one of these traits, and the emphasis, in literature from more recent decades than Karst, on Pelasgian as a rediscovered or reconstructed Indo-European language, refers to a relatively late phase of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, and obscures the important point that the selective convergence of cultural traits as markers of Pelasgian identity tended to be combined with considerable local and regional diversity in the language field – Karst important finding of the layeredness of Mediterranean linguistic and ethnic identities in the Bronze Age (*cf.* Figs. 1.5), to which we shall come back in the Concluding chapter. As part of a major East-West cultural and demographic movement from the Neolithic,¹² a package of these and other such traits¹³ spread into Westernmost Eurasia, sometimes associated with the ethnic name Pelasg- (and its many transformations) at the level of the contemporary historical actors' own consciousness and expressions. It is this conscious awareness of shared 'Pelasgian' ethnicity that – in my view – ultimately united the Sea Peoples and formed the basis for their strength. Given the extent of Pelasgian West-

¹² Probably as an aspect of the spread of food production through agriculture and animal husbandry East-West along both the Southern and the Northern Mediterranean shores; and ultimately as a relatively late manifestation of the Back-into-Africa movement from Asia, which molecular geneticists have identified in recent decades (Hammer *et al.* 1998; Cruciani *et al.* 2002; Underhill 2004; Coia *et al.* 2005).

¹³ This is not the place for an extensive discussion of my Pelasgian Hypothesis, and for bringing it to bear upon the existing, considerable linguistic literature on Pelasgian as a language (*e.g.* van Windekens 1952). That task is reserved for my forthcoming monograph van Binsbergen, in press (b). Rather than following the current linguistic consensus of situating Pelasgian as a linguistic label in the Indo-European realm, I am inclined to allow myself to be guided by the strange coincidence to the effect that places which are, in the Ancient traditions, associated with the label 'Pelasgian', also tend to be where the few unexpected instances of Proto-Bantu (/ Nigercongo) in West Asia have been situated – *e.g.* the place names Canaan and Jabbok in Ancient Palestine. This brings me to the admittedly highly contentious idea to the effect that the Pelasgians, to some extent, might have been West Asian Proto-Africans (with relatively high levels of skin pigmentation), speaking a Proto-African language (Proto-Bantu) which only subsequently (after the Late-Bronze-Age Sea Peoples' episode in the Eastern Mediterranean, and their partial migration to West Africa via Egypt and the Sahara) ended up in sub-Saharan Africa. But however this may be, the Pelasgian cultural package, even though unevenly and spottily distributed, did *not* imply unity of one Pelasgian language, but instead, the layered superimposition of heterogeneous languages which Karst has argued to have been a standard pattern in the Ancient Mediterranean. His model amounts to a generalised description of the linguistic diversity in the (Proto-)Pelasgian realm in the Middle Bronze Age, which we shall empirically assess in the concluding pages of the present book.

bound expansions, even remote Central Mediterranean populations could join in the Pelasgian mobilization going on in the Eastern Mediterranean and West Asia – where Hatti and Egyptian encroachment was most severely felt, and where the majority of the Sea Peoples seem to have been hailing from, *i.e.* from regional peripheries effectively under Hatti or Egyptian control (Lycia, for instance, although on the Anatolian shore, had such substantial Egyptian influence that it received Egyptian grain aid at the height of a famine that appears to have contributed to the Sea Peoples' uprising (*cf.* Barnett 1953, 1958, 1987).



based on Kloes *et al.* 1972: 316; no occurrences in the New World

Fig. 1.4. Revised Old World distribution of *Cygnus cygnus* (1, the type of the Sea Peoples' boats) and *Cygnus olor* (2, with the protrusion at the root of the beak)

The Sea Peoples, in other words, in my view were predominantly Asiatics,¹⁴ and their geographic movement in the context of the Sea Peoples' episode was primarily West-bound rather than Eastbound – although the converging contribution from the Central Mediterranean may be acknowledged so as to bring about a synthesis in which both Fred Woudhuizen's views and my own can be accommodated (2011: ch. 29). In

¹⁴ Hence their ships adorned with evocations of either of two species of swan (*Cygnus Cygnus* and *Cygnus olor* – characterised by the *absence* of a protrusion at the root of the beak) whose centres of distribution lie far outside the Central Mediterranean, notably in Northern Eurasia all the way to the Northern Pacific. *Cf.* van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 362 *f.*, where this distribution is imperfectly rendered on the authority of Flegg & Hoskin 2007. Meanwhile, information obtained at the famous Pilzen / Plzen Zoo, Czech Republic (2014) and confirmed by Kloes *et al.* 1972, brings out that t o d a y *Cygnus Cygnus* does not occur at all in Europe except around the North Sea, the British Isles, Iceland and the Kola peninsula in Northernmost Scandinavia. This makes us wonder (not for the first time) whether some Sea Peoples might have come all the way from North-Western Europe – which however is a line of analysis we did not pursue in our 2011 book, and which will not be pursued here either. Below we shall have occasion to briefly return to the place name Kola, but an extensive world-wide discussion will have to be postponed (*cf.* van Binsbergen in press (a), (b), (g).)

this view, the Central Mediterranean isles of Sardinia and Sicily would only be secondarily called after the Levantine Sherden / Sardanoi and Shekelesh / Sikeloi, as a result of a Westbound maritime migration in the *aftermath* of the Sea Peoples Episode, instead of these attested Levantine ethnic names deriving already in the first place from the names of these Central Mediterranean islands.

This exposée summarises much of the contents of our 2011 book, and equips the reader with many of the factual and theoretical details needed to appreciate the fine points of the present book's argument on Joseph Karst. It stresses the divergent views of the two 2011 co-authors – brought to a happy synthesis in 2011 (Fig. 1.6, below), but only temporarily so (*cf.* Woudhuizen 2018, where multilayeredness of ethno-linguistic identities in the Ancient Mediterranean – a multilayeredness which I consider Karst's principal contribution – is no longer considered, shared Indo-European linguistic affiliation is implicitly affirmed, once more, as the main cement of Sea Peoples' cooperation, and Pelasgian, thus dethroned, is reverted to a clear-cut branch of Indo-European).

Much writing on Ancient ethnicity has been predicated on ideas that are rather out of touch with topical developments in the study of ethnicity world-wide, and that do not take into account the dazzling complexity of ethnic labelling and its dynamics as evident from the inconsistency of Ancient sources. Many authors simply take an ethnonym to stand unequivocally for a specific, integrated local *culture* that persists through centuries and that stipulates specific, constant forms of behaviour, dress, other artefacts, social and political organisation, worldview and religious practices. In fact however, an ethnonym is in the first place just a name, under which a particular group – or what is perceived or surmised, pretended or created as such by outsiders, who even if themselves belonging to the Ancient world may have been distant in space and time from the group in question – is designated as part of a wider socio-religio-politico-economic space in which many other such groups are distinguished. Ethnicity is not in the first place the knowledge of ethnic labels that people carry and assign, to themselves and to others, but the process through which this wider socio-religio-politico-economic space is constructed, consolidated, and changes over time, as a result of specific, identifiable processes in the social, religious, political, and economic fields – the latter, of course, not necessarily coinciding or integrated with one another. Ethnic labels are the results of, not the input into, major processes of ethnicisation as one of the major aspects of the formation of wider social, political, economic and religious spaces over vast regions – such as the Ancient Mediterranean. The concept of a 'consistently demarcated and persisting bounded culture as an integrated body of cultural traits' constitutes a myth of Modern scholarship, in reflection of a more general collective representation current in post-Romanticism North Atlantic societies, rather than that such a concept could be considered the necessary and easily identifiable background behind ethnic labelling, whenever and wherever in the world. The inconsistencies, contradictions, contestations over ethnic labels are manifest to anyone even superficially studying the Ancient texts (which happen to abound with ethnic labels), and only a sophisticated theory of ethnicity would allow us to unravel the complex interwoven strands in the historical authors' perceptions and self-perceptions. Here, in particular, we need to appreciate the immensely productive interplay between ethnonyms and toponyms: people and social groups have always been geographically mobile, they often derive their names from localities where they temporarily dwell, but also give their ethnic names, as toponyms, to such localities, and take them with them in a process of geographical displacement – and the result is a most complex puzzle which even theoretical sophistication in combination with an abundance of Ancient sources can only incompletely solve.

As a specialist on ethnicity in sub-Saharan Africa, and even already on the basis of my first ethnohistoric and ethnographic fieldwork (1968, 1970) in the Mediterranean context of the

highlands of North-Western Tunisia, I was familiar with the manifestations of such complexities in proto-historic contexts, and had developed some of the necessary methodologies to approach them, long before I even tried my hand at the Sea Peoples material. However, in my attempt to grapple with the data on the Sea Peoples and the *Table of Nations*, I found one particularly rich source¹⁵ of inspiration and data in the writings of the philologist Joseph Karst, of Lorrainian *i.e.* Central European French–German extraction, an Armenologist teaching at the University of Strasburg, France. Clearly, his work has become totally obsolete, lagging half a century behind as far as long-range approaches to comparative and historical linguistics are concerned – but even so foreboding and pioneering such approaches in fascinating and stimulating ways. A major shortcoming of Karst’s work turned out to be that – like most of his contemporaries especially in the Humanities – he did not yet possess a social-scientific theory of culture, cultural dynamics, and institutionalised processes of learning communicated through social interaction, and instead tended to attribute so much to innate, genetic factors that the racialism of his times (the high time also of European colonialism) sometimes appears to seep through in his arguments – even though a detailed analysis will exonerate him from any accusation of conscious and deliberate racialism, as we shall see. Moreover, his knowledge of the *archaeology* of the Ancient Mediterranean was too cursory to adequately underpin what I yet found to be his stunningly relevant insights into the dynamics of ethnicity in that region and period.

In particular, I was impressed with Karst’s (alas, only implicitly theoretical) approach to the dynamics of ethnic names and place names, and to the interplay between the latter. His vision was amazingly long-range, in that he saw, in the familiar documentary data on ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean as gleaned from Ancient writers and their commentators, the effects of extensive processes of language formation, migration and ethnisation extending over several continents and over millennia.

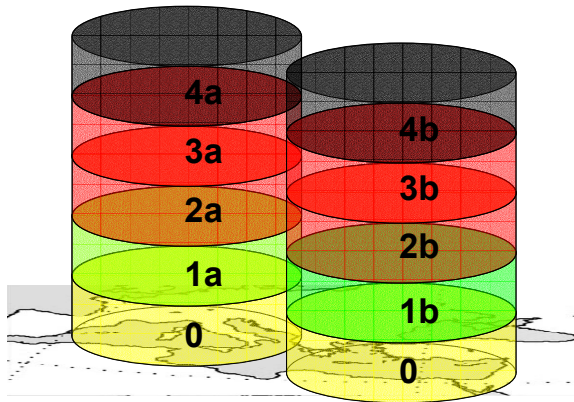
Some of Karst’s insights made it to our 2011 book in a rephrased, updated form, and were duly acknowledged there with the references, and the present-day methodological and factual reservations they require. My chapter on the historical dynamics of names (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: ch. 2), which I shrink from recapitulating here but which can be read in the book itself, could not have been written without the Karstian inspiration. A major insight of Karst was used there: the East-West¹⁶ multiple applications of Bronze Age ethnonyms and toponyms, in such a way that names such as (H)Iberian, Pu(n)t, Libya, Africa, would have an application both in the Eastern part of Western Eurasian, and in the Western – a case in point being the name Iberia itself, which applied to Eastern Anatolia before it stuck to the Iberian peninsula (Spain and Portugal) with which it is still associated. I also made use of Karst’s fertile but simple insight that in Ancient

¹⁵ Karst was by no means the only author from the late 19th–early 20th century to make surprising and illuminating observations on the Pelasgians and the hidden ramifications of Biblical proper names. Another such author was, *e.g.*, Samuel Dunlap (1894), whose pronouncements (pp. 252 *f.*) on the Pelasgians in connection with other peoples of Asia Minor (largely based on Sayce 1882) still make interesting reading. A similar case are the writings of Hyde Clarke (1872, 1883), that – half a century before Karst – have a distinctly Karstian ring about them.

¹⁶ Above I have already suggested that this movement may be considered a belated aspect of the more general Back-into-Africa movement in the Old World from c. 15 ka BP onward. In my Sunda book (2020) the second Part is largely taken up with the empirical consideration and theoretical explanation of the surprisingly numerous East / West (*i.e.* West Eurasian / Oceanian) parallels in culture, religion, and myth.

myths and traditions, a divine name stands for the people that venerate the god in question, so that myths describing conflict between gods may well be a reflection of actual, historic conflict between human socio-political groups.

Of course, Karst was far from original in holding this view, which is the cornerstone of the dominant approaches to the sociology of religion by Robertson Smith (1969 / 1884) and Durkheim (1912; cf. van Binsbergen 2018). His originality, and merit, on this point lies in raising the equation of theonym with ethnonym to a central methodological and analytical principle in historical ethnicity research.



based on: Karst 1931a except text between []. Note the bird's-eye view of the Mediterranean as background
 o Complex substrate of 'Liguro-[Central Nostratic / Eurasatic]' (i.e. Uralic and Altaic) / Sinocaucasian / [possibly also Khoisanoid]

- 1 [Sino-]Caucasian (W. Mediterranean, 1a: here this layer is inconspicuous, its place seems to remain largely occupied by 'o' Liguroid pre-Euskaran groups: Opici, Opisci, Sicani, Ausci, Proto-Basques; hence the slightly different colouring / shading from 11b); 1b. Abŕasoids (pre-Leleges, Teleges, Telchines, Tubal peoples)
 - 2 (Proto-)Basquoid; W. Mediterranean: 2a. Basquoids, Ibero-Sicanians; E. Mediterranean: 2b. Liguroid or E. Basquoid Leleges
 - 3 Afroasiatic ('Hamito-Semitic' / 'Hamitic'). W. Mediterranean: 3a. Jaccetani, Rhaetians, Rhasenna, Rutenu i.e. Afroasiaticised Sicanians; E. Mediterranean: 3b. Secondary Leleges. NB. Insofar as Cushitic,¹⁷ this Afroasiatic element is often 3rd mill. i.e. older than 'z'
 - 4 Indo-European (a) *satem* groups; (b) *kentum* group; this layer manifests itself particularly as that of a semi-Indo-European language form associated with a local dominant class. W. Mediterranean:
 - 4a. Secondary Ibero-Ligurians, Capthor / Cashluŕim (with an Indo-European speaking ruling class) in Spain, Sicanians, Tyrrheno-Tuscans, Proto-Illyrians; E. Mediterranean:
 - 4b. Secondary (Illyro-)Pelagians (including pre-Israelite Pherisites, Secondary Philistines, Numidian Persae) Secondary Leleges, Capthor / Cashluŕim (with a partly Indoaryan ruling class) ≈ Carians, Alarodians
- This figure is further explained in chapter 2; and we come back to it in the Concluding chapter.

Fig. 1.5. Setting the scene for Mediterranean proto-history: Karst's four-tiered linguistico-ethnic system (the 'layer-cake model') of the proto-historical Mediterranean (a) Western Mediterranean (b) Eastern Mediterranean

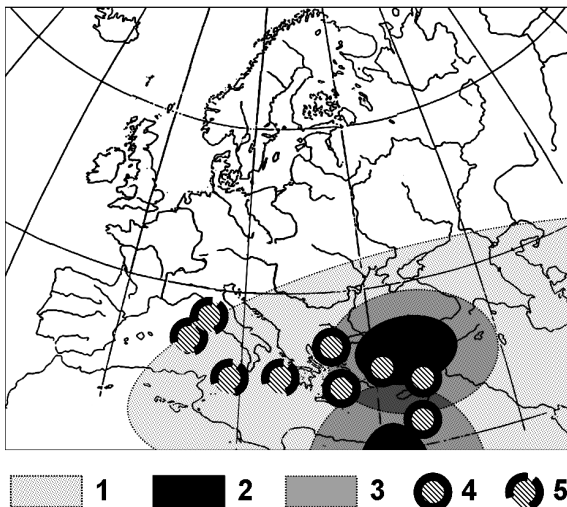
¹⁷ The standard linguistic designation of this phylum within Afroasiatic is 'Cushitic'. Below we shall therefore discuss the eponymic Biblical figure as Cush, rather than Kuš or Kush. Orthography tends to produce sham problems in the study of ethnicity.

The major Karstian element was the following: in my contributions to *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*, I insisted (cf. Fig. 4.8, 2011: 96, which I duplicate here for the reader's convenience as Fig. 1.5) on the *layeredness* of linguistic and ethnic presences in the Ancient Mediterranean, both Eastern and Western (so that within the same region and in the same historical period, dominant groups would be identified with the Indo-European or Afroasiatic linguistic phylum and with ethnic groups documented from Antiquity, whereas underneath that dominant layer, subaltern ethnic layers – far less vocal and far less documented in our sources – could be surmised to lurk and to constitute local representations of earlier, subjugated groups of a pre-Indo-European and pre-Afroasiatic nature. This allowed me to suggest, and sometimes even to detect, the presence of 'Pelasgians', even Nigercongo (> Bantu) and Khoisan speakers, as well as Sinocaucasian (especially North Caucasian) speakers, for regions and for periods where our Ancient sources, and the modern scholarship based on them, would only recognise the Indo-European-speaking and Afroasiatic-speaking groups or layers. This layered theory proved rather effective in ironing out some of the otherwise unsolvable puzzles of Ancient Mediterranean ethnicity – but, of course, many other such puzzles remained. I became more and more convinced of the considerable explanatory value of what gradually shaped up as the Pelasgian Hypothesis, presented in provisional form in our 2011 book and in my 2011, enlarged re-edition of my 1997 edited collection on the *Black Athena* debate, while the Pelasgian Hypothesis itself is now the central topic of another book since too long in the press (van Binsbergen, in press (b)). While from a present-day point of view much of Karst's linguistics are admittedly obsolete beyond repair, his views concerning the nature of Mediterranean ethnicity remain immensely inspiring (as I argued extensively in the initial chapters of our 2011 book), and his vision of its layeredness may be recommended for inclusion in the scholarly canon. However, for that purpose an assessment of its empirical basis is urgently needed, such as I shall provide in the final chapter of the present book.¹⁸

That was about as far as Fred Woudhuizen and I could agree to go in the 2011 book, as co-authors each with our own fields of competence and our own convictions. However, in my preparatory attempts to read and understand Karst – whose pre-World War II scholarship, and antiquated Humanities methodology, left much to be desired from the point of view of a 2011 theory of ethnicity – I had written dozens of pages in which I reconstructed and rephrased – especially in the form of detailed maps of regions and continents into which I had invested much painstaking effort – Karst's detailed arguments on specific place names and ethnic names; in which I assessed in detail his relevance for the systematic scholarly ethnic study of *Genesis 10* and of the Sea Peoples; and in which I situated him, with all his contentious achievements and blatant shortcomings, in the context of modern ethnic and linguistic studies. These drafted sections were deleted from the final version of the 2011 book, partly because, with nearly 2 million characters, it was already surpassing manageable length, but mainly because Fred Woudhuizen (whose role as co-author was that of the non-theoretical, empirical specialist), was, understandably, extremely reluctant to grant an obsolete, nearly forgotten and on many points untrustworthy and error-prone author, Joseph Karst, such pride of place in our joint argument. When our disagreement over this issue threatened our otherwise exceptionally productive and amicable partnership, and endangered the book on which both

¹⁸ Once more, I am greatly indebted to the late lamented Fred Woudhuizen for reading an earlier version of the present book and stressing, as a result, the urgent need for such an empirical assessment especially in the light of Karst's now largely unacceptable linguistics. Needless to say that the responsibility for the present, final product is entirely mine.

of us had worked so hard and for so long, I made the decision to withdraw my few chapters that were specifically and in detail devoted to Karst.



from: van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 416, Fig. 29.3

1. Pelasgian realm; 2. core statal area of Egypt and of Hatti; 3. sphere of influence of Egypt and Hatti, hence proposed provenances of the Sea Peoples according to van Binsbergen; 4. for these areas the approaches of Woudhuizen and van Binsbergen yield the same positive result; 5. for these Central Mediterranean areas as Sea Peoples provenances proposed by Woudhuizen, no support is offered by (a) van Binsbergen's stress on peripheral revolt against encroaching statehood, however (b) they may be vindicated by invoking the Pelasgian hypothesis (see main text).

Fig. 1.6. Synthesis of the approaches of Fred Woudhuizen and Wim van Binsbergen

The present volume therefore, simply brings together these original chapters as were deleted from the semi-final draft of *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*.

As briefly signalled above, my writing on long-range approaches and on the Mediterranean Bronze Age has, for a quarter of a century now, been considerably influenced by Martin Bernal's work around his *Black Athena* thesis. And even though here and in my other recent work considerable distance is taken from Bernal, in at least one respect I emulate it with the present argument. Just as Bernal has sought to vindicate earlier scholarly approaches (e.g. those by Eduard Meyer, V. Gordon Childe, and Oscar Montelius) in the face of their obsolescence with the emergence of new paradigms, this book on Joseph Karst is a similar attempt at salvaging such flotsam as may still be valuable and inspiring, amidst the Sargasso Sea of Karst's now counter-paradigmatic, methodologically clumsy and factually wrong, scholarly products.

My aim in presenting these chapters is not to salvage obsolete and patently wrong insights and approaches, and certainly not to reopen a discussion Fred Woudhuizen and I have happily concluded in our joint work by means of our chapter 29, but mainly to call attention to Joseph Karst as a forgotten pioneer in the study of Mediterranean (and effectively Eurasian) ethnicity and long-range linguistics – with special application to the *Table of Nations* and the Sea Peoples. In preparation for the selection of Karst's insights and theories that did make it to our 2011 book, I had reconstructed and interpreted his writings (and mainly his magnum opus *Origines Mediterraneae*) in detail. This yielded dozens of pages and a considerable number of sketch maps from my

hand, in which I sought to do justice to what Karst – with his inimitable looseness of expression and method! – seemed to be trying to say – or perhaps, sometimes, what he should have said.

Having extensively used some of his insights (to what I consider our benefit) in our 2011 study of the Late Bronze Age, and in my other studies of the ethnic and linguistic relations between Eurasia and sub-Saharan Africa, I cannot rule out the possibility that others, engaged today in similar research as our 2011 book, may also yet benefit from Karst's work. *The composite, hybrid, layered nature of Late Bronze Age linguistico-ethnic communities, the specific types of onomastic manipulation in ethnogenesis, the historical actors tendency to conflate (and hence our scholarly obligation to distinguish) Primary and Secondary groups bearing a particular ethnico-linguistic label, and the imperative of adopting a transregional, long-range perspective – in short much of the theoretical and methodological tools Woudhuizen and I applied in 2011 were in fact derived from or inspired by Karst, and they deserve to be spelled out once more (cf. 2011: ch. 2-6) even if they have to be gleaned from a Karstian mine-field of imprecision, contradiction, obsolete categorisation, and factual error. Thus it also becomes possible to newly confront, even solve, some of the greatest puzzles of Bronze Age Mediterranean ethnicity, such as the circumcising Achaeans, the extent of Pelasgian culture and language as a decisive factor in the Sea Peoples episode, the attestation of the Bantu linguistic phylum in the Bronze Age Mediterranean, and the utterly confusing multiple use of ancient toponyms both for Easterly and Westerly regions of the Ancient World.* My critical assessment as contained in the present book leaves no doubt as to the large extent to which I take my distance from Karst's writings, and from the embryonic (apparently racialist) theories of ethnicity and long-range linguistics in which he pioneered.

In the process I shall have to act more or less as Karst's ghost writer, interpreting and presenting in a more modern, consistent way and with the use of today's concepts in the fields of linguistics and ethnic studies, what he wrote with all the impalatable mannerisms of early 20th-c. CE scholarship. Often I will have to adopt Karst's own idiosyncratic use of terms, concepts, and ethnico-linguistic labels, and personally enter the jungle of his abstruse style. This is a rather ungrateful task, for I run the risk that I will be held personally accountable for Karst's inconsistencies, sweeping generalisations, and downright errors. I take that risk, albeit reluctantly, in the awareness that even today Karst has something of value to offer in the way of a fresh look at established self-evidences of Mediterranean ethnicity – provided his views are applied with the greatest caution, and taken with a pinch of salt. Given the limited scope and ambitions of the present book, and its slightly controversial nature, I have kept acknowledgements to a minimum. My principal acknowledgment is to Fred Woudhuizen, who over the years has allowed me to be inspired and to benefit from his vast knowledge of the Bronze Age Mediterranean, who loyally lived through the ups and downs in the production of our joint book over far too many years, and who wisely protected our end result from the inclusion of too much obsolete Karstianism. Fred also was so kind as to have a critical look at the draft of the present book; however, responsibility for its many shortcomings and errors remains entirely my own. For other, extensive acknowledgments I refer to our 2011 book.

The time lies several years behind me when – despite the predominantly Africanist and intercultural-philosophical orientation of my main research and writing – I was temporarily but obsessively preoccupied – in intensive collaboration with Fred Woudhuizen – with deciphering the many puzzles and contradictions of Mediterranean Bronze Age ethnicity (the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, the *Table of Nations*, and especially the Sea Peoples, their provenance, and the uniting socio-political – in my opinion: *ethnic, Pelasgian* – factor that made these 'marauding savages' so unexpectedly effective). I have gone on to initiate new projects and, even more so, to finish old ones while there is still time. This book is an instalment on an old indebtedness, to Joseph Karst, and makes the best of scraps left over after the *tour de force* that *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* turned out to be. It is not the initiation of a new line of approach to the many intellectual challenges that I am cherishing at the end of my career. Yet I have found work on these topics immensely gratifying, not only in its own right; nor only because it finally helped me to situate the popular religion I studied in 1968-1970 in the highlands of North-Western Tunisia, and recognise it as essentially Pelasgian; but primarily because it has considerably enhanced my methodological and theoretical scope in addressing the problems of interculturality and transcontinentality on which my Africanist research in history, social science and philosophy has increasingly concentrated. It is the Pelasgian Hypothesis, rendered possible in part through

my work on Karst and on the Sea Peoples (an additional factor was also my discovery of the essentially *Borean and therefore Eurasian nature of the Bantu linguistic phylum, hitherto considered to be confined to Africa), which suggested to me the unexpectedly great continuity between the sub-Saharan Africa on which most of my professional life had concentrated, and the Ancient Mediterranean.

In my analysis of the empirical data relevant to this monograph on Joseph Karst I shall more or less implicitly (and, in relation to male genital mutilation / circumcision, and solar cults, explicitly) appeal to a methodology and a set of background paradigms which I have developed over the years but whose detailed discussion falls outside our present scope. Here the reader needs specific clues as to my handling of distributional data in order to arrive at provisionally reconstructed processes of cultural history of the *longue durée*. Rather than inserting an abstract theoretical discussion in the main text of my monographic argument, I think it best to refer the reader to my recent extensive discussion of *head-hunting* (van Binsbergen 2020: ch. 12), where the major theoretical and methodological strategies and pitfalls come to the fore. The reader may be puzzled by the specific topic I chose as a peg for my methodological discussion. Admittedly, head-hunting was once a sensational pet topic in the altering, stereotyping, primitivising scholarly writings of the 19th and 20th century CE, but today – in our post-colonial, post-imperialist, totally justified insistence on autocritiquing the hegemonic tendencies built into our North Atlantic perspectives – an embarrassing antiquarian puzzle, much like cannibalism, infanticide, and the couvade, one whose very discussion is hardly permissible any more from a point of view of political correctness in the representation of distant cultural others. However, given the rich ethnographic and historical data on head-hunting, it is as good a topic as any other to illustrate the methodological progress from data to global history.

There is at least one very obvious weakness in this book's argument. Its author is *not in the first place* an archaeologist, linguist, Biblical scholar, or Ancient Historian – hence often his argument has the ring of *remaining external to these subjects and especially to their massive recent literatures*. Karst brings up a large number of themes that have featured in later studies, e.g. cultural continuity between Hyperboreans and Greeks, the nature of the Amazones, the detailed ethnico-linguistic and archaeological connections between a great many specific groups in the history of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the interrelations between major linguistic phyla and macrophyla, intercontinental continuities between, and within, the Old World and the New World etc. I have usually mentioned Karst's point, criticised it, and if it suited me, I may have adopted it as a more or less plausible hypothesis, because some of the things that Karst has to say do turn out to tally with my own recent research – not so much in detail but in general, comprehensive, globalising, unbounded scope. *What however I have not been able to do* (perhaps with the exception of the six case studies featuring in the Concluding chapter), *is to trace the widely ramifying modern scholarship on all these Karstian themes up to their present (2021) state of the art*. I apologise for this omission, but to try and do otherwise would have fallen way outside my competence and also, I fear, outside my time budget. I hope specialists will forgive me for this strategy, which rather than plundering their reserved field, makes them all the more indispensable. It may put them in a slightly milder mood, after I – on the basis of so limited an authority and so obsolete a scholarship as Karst's – have so greatly offended their mainstream self-evidences with this book's argument.

This book was largely finalised in 2019 under conditions of considerable medical distress, which may be manifest here and there in the text, and renders me less optimistic for the timely completion of the many book projects still in the pipeline. Perhaps I may take some comfort in the fact that I am now nearly 20 years younger than Karst when he died... Much recovered, in 2020 I wrote my major book on the Sunda Hypothesis, revisiting much of the same material, and then again (see that book's indexes) I had occasion to refer repeatedly to Karst and confirm the overall heuristic value of his work. When I let Fred Woudhuizen read my final draft on Karst, he insisted that at this late hour the book's only saving grace could be to try and vindicate Karst's four-tired model of the Ancient Mediterranean. That is what I did in the present version, but in the meantime Fred died (*cf. van Binsbergen 2021a*); this book is dedicated to his memory.

Haarlem, September 2014 / Hoofddorp December 2019 – October 2021

Chapter 2. Joseph Karst's idiosyncratic contribution to the theory and method of ethnicity in Mediterranean proto-history

2.1. Introducing Joseph Karst's alternative approach to the problems posed by ethnicity in Mediterranean proto-history

Joseph Karst (1871-1962) was a professor of Armenian Studies at the University of Strasbourg, France / Germany¹⁹ in the 1920-1930s, a prolific writer on Armenology, and moreover the author of a number of books exploring (pioneering, in fact) long-range linguistic and ethnic continuities in Mediterranean pre- and proto-history, largely based on linguistic *mass comparison*²⁰ and on the distribution and etymological interpretation of ethnonyms and toponyms. Despite important contributions, such as a German translation (Karst 1911) of the Armenian text of the *Eusebius Chronicle*,²¹ and stimulating suggestions²² concerning the

¹⁹ A major ancient city in the Alsatian / Lorrainian borderland between the French and German spheres of influence, Strasbourg was German from 1870 (French-German War) to 1919 (end of World War I), before and after that period French, and is now an important sub-capital for the European Union as a whole.

²⁰ For this term, see below, p. 145.

²¹ Using many ancient sources no longer available to modern scholarship, the 5th-c. CE cleric Eusebius of Caesarea (Palestine) offered what is considered the first more or less accurate chronology of Ancient History. Incidentally, it was in the *Eusebius Chronicle* that, among the *thalassocracies* ('maritime powers') allegedly

continuity between Basque and North Caucasian as a branch of what today would be called the Sinocaucasian linguistic macrophylum, his work is now largely forgotten. But, as we wrote in *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 97 n. 223):

'Karst is not totally forgotten. Only recently, homage was paid to his controversial but perceptive theories of the nature of Basque (Sarkisian 1999), whereas in a feminist context of literary studies Karst's views of a Pelasgian realm stretching from the Caucasus to the Western Mediterranean ('the goddess Circe's double garden') were cited in agreement (Percovich n.d. [2004], referring also to the work by the feminist comparative mythologist Momolina Marconi who expressed agreement²³ with Karst 1934). Incidentally, in essence a similar, only marginally more restricted, view [of an underlying Pelasgian substrate throughout Europe] was held by van Windekens (1952: 154), who saw his reconstructed Indo-European Pelasgian language, cognate to such Western European language families as Germanic and Baltic, extend from Western Anatolia to Northern Italy.'

Sporadic but enthusiastic reference may still be made to it in circles of Basque, Slavonic, and Balkan studies (e.g. Sarkisian 1999; Los 1969: 234 n. 26, where Karst 1931a is called

'een weinig bekend en zeer verward boek, dat echter waardevolle gegevens bevat').²⁴

It has proved almost impossible for me to find biographical details on Karst, beyond his projects which resulted in published books. Living and writing in a part of Central Europe that for many centuries has formed the contested interface between Germanic-speaking (in fact, German), and Romance-speaking (French) language communities, and the concomitant identity / political ideologies, one cannot rule out that his preoccupation with ethnicity and myth spilled over – like has been argued for some of his near-contemporaries such as Eliade, Jung and Dumézil – into ideological partisanship of a kind that, from today's perspective across nearly a century, might be considered unsavoury and unfit for civilised company, let alone academic admiration. When people passionately engage in the study of identity, they are likely to get sucked into the claims and political camps of one identity and

ruling the Mediterranean in the course of history, the Pelasgians were mentioned (Helm 1926: 245). They were claimed to have exercised maritime power for 85 years during the 9th c. BCE. Karst produced a scholarly edition of the Armenian version of the Eusebius Chronicle.

²² In line with work by such students of Basque as Gaspar Eskolano and Edward Spencer Johnson, and foreshadowing the work of e.g. the prominent long-range linguist John Bengtson in recent years, cf. Bengtson 1996, 1997, 1999.

²³ In Percovich's rendering: 'This double garden is read as one of the proofs of the spreading Westward of the Pelasgians. M. Marconi quotes the research of Joseph Karst, 1934, who had found the names Kerketai in the Caucasian zone, to indicate the local population now called Circassian, the Gergithes in the Anatolian Troad, the Gergesaias in Palestine, all names indicating "the people of Circe"'. [Circe appears as an isolated, uncontrolled Mediterranean island goddess with Homer, *Odyssey* X and XII; she is considered to be a daughter of the sun, and to hail from Colchis, where her brother Aeëtes is king, father of Circe's niece Medea – WvB]

²⁴ Los's book contains yet other approving references to Karst 1931a: on the penetration of Indo-European speaking groups in North Africa in prehistory (1969: 238 n. 55); on p. 115 Los cites the results of Lhote's research of the Tassili frescoes, which he takes as a confirmation of Karst's contention that such penetration has taken place. Modern molecular genetic confirmation of his view has been adduced by Rando *et al.* 1998 when they conclude on the basis of a detailed examination of the North African mtDNA gene pool:

'The majority of the maternal ancestors of the Berbers must have come from Europe and the Near East since the Neolithic'.

Such analysis yields genetic associations, not directions of the compass; so the reference to 'Europe' may be taken to mean: 'ancestors with genes of the type now predominantly found in Europe' – i.e. associated with Indo-European languages and a probable provenance from Western Asia.

to misrepresent the other sides – as happened more or less to myself as a student and partisan of Nkoya ethnicity in Western Zambia, to the detriment of a fair representation of the Lozi / Barotse side as the Nkoya's main perceived ethnic enemies; and perhaps as a student of Sea Peoples' ethnicity, to the detriment of a fair representation of the present-day Israeli position. Could the remarkable silence surrounding Karst despite his extensive publication record, be attributed to a smudge on his ideological and political record? Was, for instance, his insistence (see below) on the presence of Indo-European (a branch of the Eurasian macrophylum) in Bronze Age North Africa (where today hardly any other languages are being spoken than Arabic (< Semitic) and Berber – both being branches of the Afroasiatic macrophylum), merely a case of insistence on the objective truth, or did it carry an element of hidden Indo-European chauvinism, perhaps even antisemitism? Below we will subject Karst's approach to race to scrutiny, and conclude that – to judge from his writings alone – he certainly does not appear a racist nor, more specifically, an antisemite. Yet the tendency to let Semitic / Afroasiatic expressions (for instance the Jewish prophet Jesus of Nazareth / Joshua bar Miriam / °Aïssa bin Miryam; and even Judaism as a whole) pass for Indo-European ones, has been noted in the identity struggles in the course of the first half of the twentieth century in North Atlantic society; and has been resented, and exposed.²⁵

When his *magnum opus* on Mediterranean Bronze-Age ethnicity (Karst 1931a) appeared, he was already 60 years old – but he was to live for three more decades, and also published after World War II. He wrote alternately in French and German, but one does not know what role he played in World Wars I and II. Below I will argue that, despite carrying the imprint of his times when race was still the standard concept to explain cultural distinctiveness and continuity, he was free from the kind of anti-Semitic and anti-Black racialism that was much *en vogue* then. If I show myself somewhat sympathetic to Karst in the present study, it is with this important reservation that I only know his thought from his published work, and am absolutely ignorant of his historic performance in a particularly testing time of recent European history. One would not like to see a repetition of the case of the Dutch

²⁵ ON ARYANISATION AS A RACIALIST STRATEGY. On the Aryanisation of the legendary founder of Christianity (*i.e.* Jesus of Nazareth, rather than its most vocal codifier, St Paul), *cf.* Fenske 2005. On similar related topics, *cf.* the patently suspect and racist Scheffelowitz 1901; and *ditto* Lanz von Leibenfels 1912. In a book by von Bunsen, translated into English under the title *The Hidden Wisdom of Christ and the Key of Knowledge* (1865), the last chapter begins with an evocation of 'The Aryan Brothers': Cain and Abel (my italics). Rather to my embarrassment, in this connection I should acknowledge that also the British poet, novelist, essayist, and mythographer Robert Graves (1895-1985), whose work I admire considerably for its visionary scope and courage despite his many errors of fact and interpretation in the fields of mythology and linguistics, and with whom I share a belief in the significance of the Pelasgian identity, has been (somewhat understandably) accused of playing down any independent Afroasiatic roots of Judaism and laying too much (chauvinistic?) stress on that world religion's alleged Indo-European roots. My strategy in such identity struggles is to bring them out into the open, rejecting their racist thrust, yet without allowing myself to be deterred from being inspired by the heuristic value of Karst's, or Graves', ideas – ideas which I do not accept on these authors' authority but seek to ground in better and more recent scholarship. Meanwhile a confusion of concepts and interpretations must be appreciated at this point. With the scholarly definition of the Indo-European linguistic phylum, in the late 18th c. CE, *Aryan* became a standard, neutral (albeit now largely discarded, except in the expression 'Indo-aryan') designation for groups speaking languages belonging to this phylum, and more or less closely associated (often erroneously) with the South Asian subcontinent – where, of course, the legendary 'Atlanteans' were supposed to hail from. Only with the pseudo-scientific racist theories soon adopted by German Nazism, did 'Aryan' take on the connotations of 'non-Jewish'. For example, when Warren (1919) wrote on 'The Myth of Io Viewed in the Light of the East Aryan Conception of the Earth', this is scarcely a case of 'aryanisation' in the more or less Nazist sense exposed by Fenske 2005, but simply and innocently a case of detached, albeit obsolete, scholarship.

physicist Peter Debye, who was a pre-World War II Nobel Prize laureate and after that war had a university institute named after him in the town of Utrecht – until it was found out that, joining up with German physicists in the 1930s and becoming an office-bearer in their national professional organisation, he had gone out of his way to please his German Naziist colleagues by excluding Jewish colleagues from that organisation.

Karst's approach to the problems of onomastic identification posed in the general context of Late Bronze Age ethnicity in the Mediterranean must have arisen out of his decades of research on Armenian ethnicity. Ultimately, that approach was totally different from established Biblical and classicist scholarship, although, with a nonchalance typical of his academic discipline and of the early twentieth century CE, Karst's remarks on theory and method are so limited and so concerned with relatively insignificant details that an outline of his method could only be based on our own reconstruction, such as I will offer below. Karst's life-long research on Mediterranean ethnicity and its linguistic bases gave him a considerable insight in ethnic and toponymical mechanisms, such as Polynymy, Personification, Chorism, *etc.*, and many of the other onomastic mechanisms which I have outlined in Chapter 2 of our *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011), and shortly present here in Table 2.1.

<p>Since ethnicity revolves on <i>named</i> social groups, much ethnic analysis consists in the consideration of onomastic material attaching to social groups; to persons symbolising or representing social groups; and (by virtue of the common oscillation between spatial and descent idiom) to localities associated with social groups. If we are able to explicitly structure the tasks of onomastic analysis, our approach to ethnicity will have greatly gained in lucidity and scientific intersubjectivity. In the analysis of ancient onomastic material, I propose to discern the following typical situations, processes and mechanisms. Their identification and terminology is mine, but the background inspiration has been Karst's to a considerable extent.</p>	
<p>1. <i>Allophyly versus Autophyly</i></p>	<p>There are broadly speaking two basic kinds of ethnic labels. The autophylous type states what people call themselves, the allophylic type state what people are called by others, including their neighbours. Among autophylous names we expect to find those meaning (or obliquely deriving from a meaning:) 'man, person', 'descendant', 'descent group', and those evoking striking features of the group's home landscape or of the group's collective history; whereas allophylic names are typically those meaning (or obliquely deriving from a meaning) 'stranger, outsider', 'settler, colonist', 'non-native speaker', <i>etc.</i> Nicknames and insults projected by ethnic others onto a particular set of people are always allophylic, but they may secondarily be adopted by the group thus addressed or designated, and then become autophylic.</p>
<p>2. <i>Polynymy</i></p>	<p><i>Different ethnonyms may apply to one and the same human group as defined in time and place.</i> Such polynymy may be more than just a manifestation of free variation. The interplay between the entire range of possible ethnic mechanisms leads to all sorts of contradictions and non-sequiturs, not only in the eyes of today's academic analysts, but also for the historical actors themselves. Polynymy may be one of the latter's strategies to resolve or dissimulate such contradictions.</p>
<p>3. <i>Homonymy</i></p>	<p><i>The same ethnonym, or apparently the same ethnonym, may be applied to different human groups as defined in time and place;</i> similarly, the same toponyms may be attached to a number of different spots on the earth's surface. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Table 2.1 (p. 43). gives a few examples.</p>
<p>4. <i>Personification</i></p>	<p>Many ethnonyms actually appear in the form of the personal name of an eponymic ancestor, phylarch, king, culture hero, demiurge, or god, and the epic or mythical exploits of such a person are likely to reflect, in some oblique way to be painstakingly decoded, some of the historical migrations and exploits of the people for which that person symbolically stands.</p>
<p>5. <i>Chorism</i></p>	<p>A specific human group's ethnonym may attach to a place, and from there again it may attach to subsequent, different human groups supplanting the original group in that place. In combination with other ethnic mechanisms outlined in the present list, this may lead to a repeated to-and-fro movement (for which the technical term 'choristic oscillation' could be coined), between ethnonym and toponym, where the connota-</p>

	tions of an ethnonym are transferred to a place, to a new group settling there, to a new place where this group migrates to, to a new group living in that new place, <i>etc.</i> Far-fetched and against Occam's Razor ²⁶ as this model would appear to be, it yet pinpoints one of the most characteristic phenomena in onomastic history.
6. <i>Migrancy</i>	Although few cultures explicitly identify as migratory, and although most human groups emphatically identify with their present place of settlement and justify their presence there in ideologico-mythical terms cultivating images of 'home', yet migration, whether at the level of individuals, small groups, or more comprehensive groups, is the perennial human condition.
7. <i>Relational Projection</i>	In the process of migration, the ethnic and toponymical arrangements characteristic of an earlier place of settlement (<i>i.e.</i> arrangements involving the interrelation between several different names at the same time), tend to be projected onto the later place of settlement. For instance, in the West of the Netherlands, since medieval times, the city of Haarlem was flanked by the city of Amsterdam (<i>c.</i> 15 km East of Haarlem), while <i>c.</i> 20 km South of Amsterdam the village of Breukelen was to be found. In the second half of the seventeenth century CE, this geographical layout was projected onto the Manhattan region on the Eastern seaboard of North America, where the newly founded city of New Amsterdam came to be flanked by the suburbs of Harlem and Brooklyn.
8. <i>Inertia</i>	Most modern scholars derive from societies where scientifically induced and literacy-based technological and social innovation has been the order of the day for several centuries. We therefore tend to take cultural change and cultural drift for granted. We know from our own societies' history that most artefacts, institutions and linguistic forms undergo noticeable alterations within decades, and tend to change beyond recognition in a matter of a few centuries. However, we have to take into account the possibility (well attested, <i>e.g.</i> , in Palaeolithic lithic industries) that human creations such as artefacts may remain virtually unchanged through thousands, even tens of thousands of years. Even so, we cannot take such Cultural Inertia for granted, and still have to account for the social (specially ritual) or neurological mechanisms of active unaltered reproduction – in the face of the inevitable tendency to cultural drift and erosion. Under pre-modern conditions, a comparable inertia may attend institutions and language forms, as is brought out, for instance, by the wide spread and similarity, hence temporal inertia, of Indo-European kinship terms, by the even wider distribution of similarities in basic counting practices, and the existence of human near-universals such as marriage, cat's cradles, and the four-based symbolism of the earth. I propose that such universals do not simply spring from the identical innate structure of the human brain all over the world (although there is a neurobiological argument claiming just that), but that they belonged to the cultural package with which Anatomically Modern Humans left Africa 80-60 ka ago: some of the elements of this package became sacred, deeply ingrained in human institutions and virtually immutable, however much these institutions were, in other respects, affected by localising transformation (see below). By the same token, ethnonyms and toponyms have been recognised by scholars to display very high temporal inertia. Yet in the course of history their retained formal near-immutability may be applied in very different social and cultural settings, in other words may undergo radical changes in function. As a result very different groups in different places may be called by the same ethnonym, while in the same place the same ethnonym may be applied, over time, to a succession of local groups that may considerably differ in language, culture, economic specialisation, and political history.
9. <i>Transfer of Ethnonyms</i>	<i>Nominal continuity in name, in combination with discontinuity in the specific identity of the bearers of that name.</i> The idea of ethnonymic and toponymic Inertia, in combination with the process I described as Chorisim, means that extant ethnonyms may also be inherited by peoples which have only a superficial association in time and place with the more original bearers of that ethnonym. The above enumerated onomastic mechanisms work largely irrespective of any meaning a toponym or ethnonym may have. Yet toponyms are part of the linguistic context in which they first emerged, and usually have some original meaning there. Given the constant merry-go-round of ethnonyms and toponyms as a result of the various mechanisms already listed, it is often impossible to tell which application of such a name in which specific context of time and space was the original one. However, when an ethnonym can be argued to have a convincing specific etymology in a specific, identified language, along some of the usual semantic lines ('descent group', 'offspring, seed', 'person', 'salient feature of the landscape', 'professional specialisation'), it is tempting to claim that ethnonym's origin to have been in that specific language context, which often may also point to a specific region. Many ethnonyms, however subject to cultural Inertia in their traceable historical functioning, turn out to be reducible, in the last analysis, to an etymon 'man, woman, person' or to one of 'descent group, gens' in an older, more original language than the language context in which we find that ethnonym functioning.

²⁶ William of Occam was a late-medieval philosopher, still famous for his adage (known as 'Occam's Razor') to the effect that *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*, in other words: that it is methodologically inadvisable to make more assumptions than the minimum we need to try and solve any problem at hand.

10. <i>Transformative localisation</i>	The combination of Chorism, Migrancy and Inertia in the terms defined above, means that, like most other cultural items, also ethnonyms are typically involved in a continuous process of transformative localisation. Despite Inertia, human culture tends to be specific in both time and space; if it were not, we would only have cultural universals, and cultural inertia would not have to be pointed out as a condition easily escaping our modern attention. Migrancy in the sense of spatial displacement therefore usually involves the transition from one specifically structured cultural (including technological and linguistic) realm to one differently structured. One of the great discoveries of the social sciences in the first half of the twentieth century CE was that of the integration of culture: <i>in a specific time and space, cultural items tend to fit together as parts of a whole, hence structural themes informing one sector of sociocultural life in that space and time, tend to be repeated in other sectors, so that, much like a book or an artist's life's oeuvre, a rather unique and unmistakable all-pervading style would be recognised to be characteristic of that spatio-temporally specific cultural arrangement.</i> The structural-functionalist discovery – in itself a result of fieldwork – of the integration of culture initiated the period of prolonged local field-work in anthropology, as a means to imbibe and chart the local and present cultural arrangement in its totality. It also meant the end of classic diffusionism (the dominant anthropological paradigm from the late 1800s to c. 1930), which had no theory of culture and therefore only managed to consider fragmented cultural items to be analytically treated in isolation, detached from the other integral parts of the same spatio-temporally specific cultural arrangement. But the bad news was that, with the discovery of the integration of culture, and with the exclusive fixation on personal field-work (inevitably within very narrow horizons of space and time) as a knowledge strategy, anthropology became obsessed with presentism and localism to an extent that eclipsed all considerations of wider cultural continuities in space and time, and that made diffusionism a dirty word in anthropological discourse.
11. <i>(Proto-) Globalisation</i>	Technology sets specific limits, both to the speed with which Migrancy can take effect, and to the geographical destinations to which a migrating individual or human group has access. The technological explosion of modern times has had a profound effect on the field of human transport and communication, hence we tend to characterise the last few decades as the era of globalisation. However, proto-globalisation has always been with us. Ever since at least the Middle Palaeolithic, any migratory process from anywhere on the globe may lead to and may end up to anywhere else. For reasons of the manageability of data and the fragmentation of scholarship in numerous academic sub-disciplines we may be well advised to limit our analyses to one historical period and one region, but this is merely for convenience's sake, and tends to obscure long-range connections which may well contain fundamental clues to an understanding of more local and temporary limited contexts.
12. <i>The fundamental unity of mankind (at least in the sense of Anatomically Modern Humans)</i>	The above implies that onomastic mechanisms similar to those outlined are likely to be at work, in principle, all over the world. Specific cases of onomastic manipulation could then be argued to have echoes, parallels and feed-back effects in other parts of the world and (because of the finite nature of the earth's spherical surface) – like in some Einsteinian relativist universe – may come back to their origin in disguised, transformed form after a tour around the world. This means that both in terms of the mental capabilities required for such onomastic manipulation, and in terms of genetic make-up, mankind (at least in the sense of Anatomically Modern Humans, from c. 200,000 BP on) must be considered to possess a <i>fundamental unity</i> (van Binsbergen 2015a: 8 f., 2020c) and all differences in nomenclature, somatic appearance, and location to be in principle relative and more or less ephemeral. If in this context we introduce genetic notions such as 'clade', 'gene pool', 'population', 'descent group', etc., this is only to take into account undeniable biological variation as an empirical clue to the details of human migratory history, and does not imply any deterministic view of socio-cultural differences or inferiority.

This is a highly truncated version of my original argument appearing in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: section 2.4

Table 2.1. The principal mechanisms of onomastic transformation (affecting ethnonyms and toponyms) which Karst has helped us to identify

Against this background, Karst looks at the names in the *Table of Nations* as a collection of historical onomastic flotsam from near-global provenance over thousands of years, that as a result of highly complex and only partially retrievable mechanisms of transmission, manipulation and transformation ended up in one particular text (*Genesis 10*), and that in different forms and combinations is also to be found elsewhere in and near the Ancient Mediterranean, and throughout the Old World (and even part of the New World). For Karst, the question of hermeneutically interpreting the specific historical and geopolitical understand-

ing of the author of the *Table of Nations* at the specific moment when the *Table's* redaction was established, does not come in. He states (1931a: 426):

'In the Biblical *Table of Nations*, in the Prophetic Books as well as in other West-Asian and Egyptian sources we find traces of a very ancient, archaistic knowledge of peoples and places, whose terminology differs radically from the established one which is based on Hellenic documents of the historical period.'

For Karst, there is no reason to assume that in geographical scope, and in time, the *Table of Nations'* contents matches with that of any contemporary authors or editors of these Biblical fragments. For Karst, the only way to interpret the *Table of Nations* is through a painstaking, all-inclusive analysis of the *Table's* inter-textuality with, *in principle* (and within the limits of practicality), *all* other ethnic and toponymical onomastica, not only from the Bible, but from all over the Ancient Mediterranean and in fact from all over the world, and from all historical periods, not only up to and including the period in which these documents were written, but also later periods, in which the same onomastic material is likely to have percolated. No historical actor can be expected to have an adequate, exhaustive understanding of the many wanderings and transformations of the onomastic material he uses in his document; at best, an historical actor can alert us of such connections that were most obvious and recent to him, while he remains unaware of other equally relevant connections, and of the overall picture. Only in some fortunate but rare cases (*e.g.* Plato's *Timaeus*) do we hit on an ancient document whose insightful and privileged information allows us a little glimpse beyond the mystifying mists that the superimposition of so many onomastic mechanisms over very long periods of time, manages to create. From this perspective, the double occurrences in the *Table of Nations*, of Lud and Ludim / Ludites; of Havila; and of Šeba are likely to refer each to two different peoples, for no allowance needs to be made for the consciousness of one unique historical actor who would have distinguished them more clearly if they had not been meant to be the same.

I would not go to such lengths in my discussion of Karst's approach if I did not have the impression that it offers at least moderately plausible proposals for some of the most glaring contradictions which the *Table of Nations* has posed to Biblical scholars. But if we admit that Karst has a point, the next question is to decide how many of the nearly eighty names in the *Table of Nations* are amenable to interpretation in Karstian terms, and how many may be taken literally with the conventional approach of Biblical scholarship. The question cannot simply be decided by using the literalist, more conventional, methods for the names with unmistakable Mesopotamian, Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian parallels in non-Biblical documents, while reserving Karst's approach for the remaining trouble cases. Like in the interpretation of the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, we must take into account the possibility that the ancient authors and / or editors of the *Table of Nations* made deliberate attempts at archaising and at adding sufficient 'colour locale' so as to make their texts look more convincing, archaic, credible, and recognisable. But if in that process they have added, to (i) some pre-existing documents, full of onomastic material from outside their own personal experience, (ii) ethnonyms and toponyms from their own contemporary experience, then a double problem arises:

- a. we would not know very well which, specifically, those items qualifying as (ii) may have been, and
- b. also those (ii) names, from these historical actors' own personal experience, would have been subject to the same onomastic mechanisms as the (i) names,

older and often from far away, that featured already in the original document.

Our dilemmas on this point are impossible to solve: we cannot, hypercritically, dismiss all widely accepted identifications of the names in the *Table of Nations* as naively presentist and localist; but on the other hand, once we have been confronted with the Karstian approach it has become difficult to continue to support the more conventional, literalist identifications wholeheartedly, without suspecting that, underneath their contemporary trappings from the perspective of Israelite writers ca. 600 BCE, they contain, in coded form waiting to be decoded by our sophisticated scholarship, far older and far more remote references, that if decoded would cast considerable light on proto- and prehistory – as set out in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: chs. 2-4.

My aim in the present argument is not to make specific pronouncements on empirical matters concerning the ethnicity of the Aegean, other parts of the Mediterranean, and the Ancient Near East in proto-history; for this I largely lack the authority and the competence. Given the methodological and theoretical tasks which I have set myself here, it is sufficient to alert current and future interpreters of the *Table of Nations* to the conjectural yet somewhat plausible alternatives which the Karstian approach is offering. However, in order to accomplish even this humbler, methodological and theoretical aspect of my task, it is inevitable that I discuss Karst in detail, including his specific suggestions concerning the *Table of Nations*, and the Sea Peoples. And in the long run we will see that the distinction between theoretical and methodological foundations, on the one hand, and concrete empirical application, on the other hand, is largely artificial and arbitrary, and that I simply cannot refrain from taking specific positions on specific empirical points. I would be perfectly happy, and I believe I have fulfilled the aims of the present study, if such empirical discussions as this chapter and the following chapters contain, help bring out more clearly the fundamental theoretical and methodological points, even if I fail to convince the specialists of my particular empirical points. The latter the specialists are very welcome to take with a pinch of salt.

2.2. Karst's general approach

2.2.1. An unreadable book

It is scarcely surprising that Karst's *magnum opus*, *Origines Mediterraneae: Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervölker nach Ursprung, Schichtung und Verwandtschaft* (1931a; the title means: *Mediterranean origins: The prehistoric peoples of the Mediterranean – Their origin, layered composition, and interrelations*) did not establish itself as a classic in the field, and is now almost completely forgotten. This is not primarily a result of the unconventional, radical connections its author makes, in defiance of the established paradigms of its own times or of today. Nor can its falling into oblivion be totally explained from the fact that English, Russian and Chinese have become the international languages of scholarly communication, supplanting German. Much simpler: the work is almost unreadable. Highly characteristic of this work (and in general of much, also of much later, work in the field of historical and comparative linguistics) is its extremely fragmentary presentation: the detailed characteristics of the data, in the light of an entirely implicit interpretative theory, determine the flow (or rather, the spasmodic stagnation) of the argument, more than broad, explicitly formu-

lated guiding themes. If we agree that scholarly writing is a strategy of truth production by means of the disciplined use of lexicon and syntax, Karst's book is simply written too badly to be able to be considered true by most of his colleagues, then and now. I can only hope this error is not repeated in the present study – but I have my fears. Although the *Table of Nations* is referred to in Karst's book dozens of times, there is never a coherent overview of the, yet highly controversial and innovatory, positions which he takes with regard to this mainstay of Biblical ethnic scholarship. The situation with regard to the Late Bronze Age Sea Peoples is similar, with this difference that Karst's references to them are less numerous. Only a very strenuous close reading of Karst's difficult and obsolescent German text has allowed me to *reconstruct* the theoretical and methodological principles guiding his approach to pre- and proto-historic ethnonyms and toponyms, to combine these into a coherent scheme (*the four-tiered linguistico-ethnic system of the pre- and proto-historical Mediterranean*), to identify how Karst has applied these principles and this scheme with regard to the onomastic material relating to the *Table of Nations* and to the Sea Peoples, and to draw the complex maps that would render his views most clearly and comprehensively. It is no exaggeration to claim that, for whatever it is worth, my extensive rendering of Karst's approach in the following pages is – for better or worth – an original piece of scholarship in its own right; let us just hope that this recreation of what is, inevitably, a dated position harking back to the early 1930s, yields the results that somewhat justify so much effort.

Indeed, what makes reading Karst's convoluted and repetitive, and very poorly integrated argument, full of additions and additions to additions, extremely difficult to follow, is the total absence of maps, in a study where toponyms are of central importance.

Moreover, the book was very poorly composed. Contradictions between two rival explanations of the same name occurring at different places in the book are seldom resolved, even if such contradictions could be explained, on the basis of Karst's own method, as a result of the principle I have above identified under the heading: *Layeredness and Homonymy with Relational Projection*. Thus Karst fails to apply the obvious method of making his views appear true: he does not present them in a logically coherent narrative, does not *make* them true – convinced as he was, not doubt, that they were, anyway. His principal 1931a book has an excellent, nearly exhaustive index, but that does not compensate for the fact that more than 1 / 3 of the main text (Karst 1931a: 396-613) consists of detached, fragmentary excursions and addenda, which often introduce new and apparently contradictory material, without being integrated in the book's overall argument, rambling as the latter is already. Prolonged torture attends any attempt to extract from the book such riches of fact and interpretation as it, nevertheless, contains in abundance.

I make no secret, neither of my surprised admiration at Karst's insights, not of my extensive reservations vis-à-vis his method. His *magnum opus* is not just fragmentary and often self-contradictory. Considering the tremendous advances made in linguistics, ethnic studies, archaeology, and physical anthropology since 1931, it is often impossible to render Karst's ideas without first thoroughly bowdlerising and rephrasing them. Otherwise their sheer form would immediately put off a modern reader, regardless of the actual content and potential of these ideas. I will spell out these cosmetic changes here, lest I be accused of masking, and propagating, an impossible fossil of scholarship, and a racist one at that.

Considering that German is no longer the international language of scholarship it was a century ago, my rendition of Karst had to be in English. For this purpose I had to adopt a number of systematic transformations of Karst's terminology. The critique of the notion of

'tribe' has occupied a substantial part of modern ethnic studies (Colson 1968; Lancaster 1974; Mitchell 1970, 1974; Ranger 1982; van Binsbergen 1985a; and references there) and it is no longer possible to translate literally Karst's (as usual, undefined) concept of *Stämme*, 'tribes'; instead I have adopted the term 'phyla', which is sufficiently vague to convey both the element of genetic descent and that of ethnic / cultural / linguistic distinctiveness, implied in the original German term (sing. *Stamm*, plur. *Stämme*) as used by Karst. For lack of a modern theory of culture (see below), Karst uses the word *Rasse* very much as if it denoted a larger variety of *Stamm*, with the same double connotations. Also the word *Rasse* I have rendered as 'phylum', thus avoiding to lose time and to create misunderstanding over a concept ('race') that in Karst's time had scientific as well as ideological status, but that after World War II with its genocidal atrocities can no longer be used as a scientific concept.

The fascination with race as apparently the best, or even only, explanation of the covariance of ethnico-identitary, linguistic and genetical-somatic variables, which became virulent with the emergence of (quasi-)scientific racism in the mid-19th c. CE, was far from over with World War II. A book like Coon (1939) continued to be regarded as a respectable standard work. The leading physical anthropologist Ashley Montagu (1942 / 1974) had to warn against 'race' as if it were still the standard paradigm of the day (also e.g. exponents of the same opposition to racism: Benedict 1945; Lévi-Strauss 1952). Kroeber's *Anthropology* (1923 / 1948 / 1963), in many ways an impressive, standard mainstream achievement, took race very seriously and even prided itself in proposing its own superior race classification. A quarter of a century after the end of WWII, the Dutch historian of Eastern Europe Dr F.J. Los (1969), still used race as the principal tool to order the complex facts of his field of interest. Meanwhile, half a century later, race is no longer permissible as an etic academic concept, although it is still in use to denote the historic actors' own emic perception of broad somatically-anchored groups (e.g. Goldstein 2013; McClintock, 2013), especially in the USA, South Africa, and the Black – including Afrocentrist – segments of the North Atlantic region.

With the exception of only one or two places where Karst speaks of a more advanced *Rasse* capable of higher culture, Karst shows every sign, in hundreds of instances of his use of the word, that it is meant in a scientific, non-evaluative, non-ideological and therefore, essentially, non-racialist sense. He is a Central European, teaching at Strasburg, equally at home in German as in French, the celebration of hybridity is (as we shall see) at the very heart of his approach to ethnicity, he shows himself to be completely immune to whatever geopolitical myth (including racism, fascism, nazism) that circulates in Europe around 1930, and happily sketches a picture of pre- and proto-history in which Black, Brown and White peoples, mainly speaking other languages than Indo-European, incessantly interact in order to produce ancient and modern peoples, their languages and their cultures (including latter-day European culture and the Indo-European language family), without according any especially exalted or especially despised place to Blacks, Jew, Gypsies, or Indo-European speakers (in the dated but generally used idiom of Karst's times, 'Aryans'). It would be unfair, I think, to render, in my translation, such an enlightened and globalised position by a literal translation of some terms which, meanwhile, and for horrific reasons, have anachronistically obtained quite a different, negative load. Therefore I have also tacitly rendered Karst's *indogermanisch* as 'Indo-European', and his *hamitisch* most of the time as 'Afroasiatic'. Yet such transpositions must be executed prudently and cannot be applied blindly. When Karst speaks of Ibero-Aethiopians, Nuba, etc. as 'Hamites / Hamitic', it is clear that he does not so much consider them as speakers of Afroasiatic in the technical linguistic sense, but rather, ethnically, as

population groups who, by some interpretation of the *Table of Nations*, would have been considered – by some historical actors – as descendants of ʕam. In a footnote I point out that Karst's cunning use of the *double entente* present here, is essentially unscholarly. In order to distance myself from Karst's contentious expressions, I have often placed 'Hamitic' and its combinations such as 'Liby-Hamites' between quotation marks.

Special mention must be made of the concept *deutero-*, which Karst prefixes to many ethnonyms and names of languages in order to indicate that this is the same name, but used for a later, often very different load. For instance, the original, primal Pelasgians, who are claimed to have first emerged in Africa Minor and adjacent regions, are claimed to be transformed Ibero-Aethiopians hailing from a distant South Central Asian homeland and speaking languages to be situated somewhere between Sinocaucasian, Khoisanoid, and Nilosaharan (e.g. Nuba). By contrast, the *Deutero*-Pelasgians were designated by the same Pelasgian ethnonym both by themselves and by other historical actors in their time. *Deutero*-Pelasgians may share a substantial genetic (and even cultural) ancestry with the Primal Pelasgians, but their language is largely overlaid with later linguistic forms (Afroasiatic and especially Indo-European, underneath which earlier elements lurk as substrates), and they have largely drifted from their North African home to other parts of the Mediterranean and much further afield. Homonymy, Transformative Localisation, and Inertia are some of our already familiar technical terms to describe the processes involved. I have consistently translated *deutero-* by Secondary.

2.2.2. Bringing out a hidden complexity

Against Biblical scholars' confidence in assigning unique and exhausting identifications to the names in the *Table of Nations* within, largely or uniquely, a Biblical lands' context, Karst's reminds us that *simple, unique identifications of a ancient toponym or ethnonym are seldom exhaustive; and many of scholarship's established identifications (e.g. of the names in the Table of Nations) are wrong or incomplete, anyway.* Moreover he insists that Biblical names need not have an originally Hebrew etymology. Karst thus adds a whole dimension of complexity to the usual approach to ancient onomastica. We must, however, avoid the impression that Karst mobilises this entire arsenal of complexity (which, if he had rendered it explicit, would largely amount to my list of onomastic mechanisms in Table 2.1) for each and every onomastic case. Often he resigns himself to one and only one identification, which is then treated as utterly unproblematic. It is the trouble cases, like Lud, Cashluḥim, etc., which Karst's method manages to elucidate more convincingly than most of the alternatives rooted in Biblical scholarship.

Frequently, Karst's adage seems to be: '*In ancient onomastic matters, nothing is what it appears to be or what established scholarship has made it out to be.*'

Thus, for Karst, the Athenians of the Atlantis²⁷ legend in Plato's *Timaeus* are not the Atheni-

²⁷ THE DECEPTIVE GENRE OF 'NON-FICTION SCIENCE FICTION'. Even though I mention 'Atlantis' here only in passing, and will below have occasion to come back to this point more extensively and critically, it is never too early in an argument to distance ourselves from the delirious temptation of amateur, media-seeking pseudo-science ('non-fiction science fiction' seems an apt characterisation) that tends to accrue, in hopeless entanglements and ramifications, around pet topics of popular non-fiction such as like Atlantis, the Yeti, Noah's Lost Ark allegedly on Mt Ararat, the

ans whom we know from history, associated with the city of Athens in Greece, but a very different people, apparently a pre-Hittite, Anatolian people – perhaps the original Pelasgians?

‘Die in dem ägyptischen Atlantisbericht [*i.e.* in Plato’s *Timaeus*, which claims to report information given by Egyptian priests – WvB] noch durchschimmernde alte Kunde von einem “grossen Athenervolke, das mit den Atlanten im Kriege lag und sie besiegte”, ist zu beziehen nicht auf die attisch-griechischen Athener, sondern auf ein grosses prähittisch-alarodisches Volk Vorderasiens, dasselbe, über welches sich auch Amazoneninvasionen

likewise lost Ark of the Covenant, the ‘blood-line’ allegedly linking present-day French nobility to Jesus Christ and Mary of Magdalen, extraterrestrial visits to the Earth, the West African Dogon’s alleged knowledge of the double, even triple, nature of the star Sirius, the Piri Reis map, Admiral 鄭和 Zheng He’s world tour (*cf.* van Binsbergen 2012 c) of all the seas and oceans, *etc.* Viewed across the distance of a few generations, genuine attempts at scholarly knowledge production, of which I take Karst’s work as an example, are often indistinguishable, in method and outcome, from the most blatant travesties of knowledge production which today have grown into a distinct text genre of its own right, propagated in print, television and the Internet, and making incredible best-sellers. The Internet has offered a worldwide public hitherto lacking scholarly specialist knowledge, unprecedented access to sources of academic knowledge and their travesties, without at the same time teaching the critical skills that allow the consumer to sift corn from chaff in knowledge products of the ‘non-fiction science fiction’ type. Typical of the genre of pseudo-science now *en vogue* is the mimicking of genuine scholarship, through meticulous references, bibliographies, acknowledgments, tables and diagrams. (Of course, with such a statement it is only a matter of time before it is boomeranged back to me by malevolent specialist reviewers, and my own writings be exposed as ‘non-fiction science fiction’...) As a result, hopelessly unfounded fantasy finds itself embedded in much that is scholarly passable and plausible, and that lends credibility to the sham core it is surrounding. This puts the present-day commentator of, *e.g.* Karst in an awkward position, whose trickiness may be brought out by the following historical parallel. Astrology and alchemy once (two to three millennia ago) were the paroxysm of scholarship and in fact provided vital models and contexts for the emergence even of modern, accomplished science; yet *after* the latter’s emergence, astrology and alchemy inevitably had to be relegated, by the later standards, to the status of pseudo-sciences – the status accorded them specifically in the work of the theoretician of science Karl Popper (1959 / 1935). In much the same way older scholarship, like Karst’s, even though only less than a century old, often appears like pseudo-scholarship and may produce the same irritations in present-day specialists. The irritation and the dismissal based on it are largely justified, even though they have an element of anachronism, and tend to blind us to the few things that may yet be valuable in such generally obsolete approaches. The Atlantis myth, and the amazingly numerous attempts to vindicate it, are not – in my opinion – among these elements of lasting value. Yet Karst is writing on Atlantis, bringing to bear the full extent of his knowledge and method, and in the full awareness of being accountable to the global community of fellow-scholars then, now and in future, finds himself in an appreciably different bracket from such authors as Colin Wilson, Cayce, Velikowski, Churchward, Hancock, Baigent, Bauval, Donnelly, Haggood, Menzies, *etc.* The latter writers (although embellishing their texts with many of the trappings of apparent scholarship; while yet misspelling authors’ names *e.g.* Falkner instead of Faulkner (an Egyptological lexicographer), or listing multi-volume series like Needham *c.s.* 1954-2004 with the wrong dates and far too few volumes, *etc.*; Flem-Ath & Wilson 2001: 374 f.) are textually fantasising without authority (although only too prone to press into service the non-existing authority, in these matters of cultural history and geophysics, of a public icon of science like Einstein; Flem-Ath & Wilson 2001: 1, 10 f., 15 f.), without method, without data, even without the slightest formal, scientific, and public accountability to any external forum except their fellow-adepts of such fantasies. In fact, one of the striking features of this genre is what I would call, by analogy with the Grimm Brothers’ *Goldene Schwan* (Golden Swan), the contagion effect: just like expressions like ‘warp speed’ and ‘hyperspace’ have become part of a common discourse among literary science-fiction writers and produces for the readers of their texts a sense of recognition and of (deceptively) confirmed reality, so the authors of the non-fiction variant of science fiction copy each other’s concerns and topics even though they have little to do with the specific issues at hand – a new book on Atlantis would not be complete without some digression on the Grail, the blood-line, extraterrestrials *etc.* – thus mimicking – for the indiscriminating reader – the way genuine scientists refer to each other’s works and build upon it. It is high time for a more profound sociological, historical and philosophical analysis of the public craving for sensational illumination that is behind the genre of ‘non-fiction science fiction’, but such is behind our present scope.

ergossen; diese atlantisch-amazonischen Athenaioi sind eigentlich *Andehay,²⁸ d. i. Endehay, gewesen, die kuschitoiden oder von Kuschito-Hamiten beherrschten Vorfahren der Grossarmenier und der "Gross-Ĥeta". — Armenia Minor, "Kleinarmenien", deckt sich landschaftlich teilweise mit dem Lande Guti der assyrischen Keilschriften, teilweise mit dem kappadokischen Kita—Ĥitagebiete: der Ausdruck erscheint demnach als volksetymologische Rückübersetzung aus einem Appellativum guti (kit); baskisch guti bedeutet "klein, wenig". (Karst 1931b: 64)

Nor was, in Karst's view, the Greek city of Athens as we know it the scene of the legendary Amazonian invasions: these merely affected the aith-eĥenu, the Libyans, an ethnic group situated on the South-Eastern shore of the Mediterranean and closely associated with Danaos prior to the latter's legendary migration from Libya to Argos in Greece (Karst 1931a: 367).

In order to unravel the historical events underlying the mystifications of ancient geographies, and bring out the complexities attending ancient toponyms and ethnonyms, Karst makes reference to all of the mechanisms which I identified in 2011 (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: section 2.4; cf. Table 2.1, above), but mainly relies of two among them: Layeredness, and Homonymy with Relational Projection:

1. *Layeredness*: Most linguistico-ethnic constellations that are specific in place and time, are claimed to be internally layered or tiered, usually in a 4-partite (but occasionally 3- or 5-partite) arrangement that is situated on top of an original basic layer or substrate; in the complete system (but not all tiers need to be in place) there are three layers, underneath a top layer that often constitutes, socially and historically, a ruling class of more recent immigrants. Each of these layers has its own history, place of origin, migratory history, and specific language association. When the historical actors make reference to such a constellation in ancient documents, they usually do not distinguish between these layers but conflate them under one ethnonym or toponym. As a result, more than one language affiliation, migratory history, and place of origin may be hidden under one and the same ethnonym and toponym. and it is the task of the modern scholar to unravel this complexity. In the process, we are likely to produce more than one account, and often totally different accounts, for a particular toponym or ethnonym, as Karst often does in different places his 1931a book – much to the dismay of the reader, who already has to reconstruct, in the first place, Karst's methodology by himself or herself without much explicit methodological or theoretical guidance from that author; in the concluding chapter we shall come back to layeredness and vindicate Karst's four-tiered model
2. *Homonymy with Relational Projection*: The canvas on which Karst sketches his reconstructions of prehistoric and proto-historic demographic, ethnographic and linguistic reconstructions of affinity and movement, extends from East Central Asia to Western Europe, and has time depth extending into the Upper Palaeolithic – although it is usually limited to the period from the Early Bronze Age onward. Karst cites examples of toponymical Homonymy in abundance (cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 43, Table 2.1; also Table 2.1 in the present book), which conveys Karst's contention that a small number of onomastic relationships repeat themselves in space and time, from an epicentre which he situates in Central and South Central Asia.

²⁸ By good linguistic usage, the asterisk * designates a theoretically reconstructed language form which however has not been attested in a language's speakers actual practice.

- a. For instance, among the several Libyas of ancient geographies, the original one is in East Central Asia ('Turan')²⁹ with extensions to the South (the Indian Ocean coast between the Persian Gulf and Gujarat), the secondary one in Africa Minor with extensions to the East and the West. As a consequence, for instance, the Triton Lake in Libya where Greek mythology situates the birth place of Athena, must not primarily be sought in North Africa but in Central Asia, and it may well be the Tarim basin.³⁰

Fontenrose (1980 / 1959) has explored the background of several snakefooted dei-

²⁹ ON TURANIC RAMIFICATIONS ACROSS ASIA. Turan is an ancient designation of Central Asia, no longer used by North Atlantic scholars. Hence I have placed quotation marks around the name, in the many cases where it is used, below – except in literal quotations from Karst. The present passage invites a further remark. Here as elsewhere in the Karstian universe, connections and concatenations accumulate with dazzling intensity. The goddess Athena is also 'Turanic' in Karst's (1931a) perception – it is in Central Asia that Karst identifies her and Poseidon as constituting a Pelasgian divine pair – traces of which are still to be found in the city of Athens in the Classical Age (when however the two gods also appear as rivals). In Ancient Graeco-Roman mythology Athena was associated with Libya, where Lacus Tritonis (now the salt lake of Ṣoṭṭ al-Jerid in South Tunisia) was allegedly her birth place (Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, v. 292 f.) – but this all makes sense in the Karstian logic: the Greeks' Western Libya is to be considered only the Western, secondary duplication of the original Libya in the East, which coincided with 'Turan'. I remind the reader that the Etruscan name of Aphrodite – linked to Hera and Athena in the Paris Judgment – is Turan. The primary geographic origin of the Etruscans has been confirmed as Anatolian (Woudhuizen 1992a, 1998, 2001a, 2005b, 2008), but their cultural and social-organisational affinities reach much further East, all the way to China. Thus the snake-footed figure abounds not only in Etruscan and Ancient Greek iconography, but also in that of China, where the primary creation gods Fu Xi and Nu Wa (伏羲 and 女娲) tend to be thus depicted. This is not sheer coincidence, for the standard Pelasgian political organisation form, that of the 'amphictyony' or Twelve League, extends not only all over the Ancient Mediterranean including Ancient Israel (with recent traces even in Pelasgian orientated rural North Africa; cf. van Binsbergen, forthcoming (a), but also into China (von Vacano 1955: 65 f.). So does landscape augury and geomancy, from Etruria to China (Feuchtwang 1974; van Binsbergen 2012a, with extensive references). The geographic scope of Eurasia is huge, and one would not readily expect long-range continuities there, yet the invention of horse riding and especially (in the Middle Bronze Age in Kazakhstan) of the spoked-wheel chariot, turned the entire Eurasian Steppe into one continuous cultural area (Anthony 1995, 2010). There are considerable indications that Sinocaucasian, perhaps even Sinotibetan, was among the languages spoken in West Asia and Sardinia in the Neolithic and Bronze Age (McCall & Fleming 1999). Nor is this alleged presence of Sinocaucasian likely to have been a recent development: Sinocaucasian is widely proposed to have been the macrophylum spoken by the creators of the 'painted caves' (considered to be the ancestors of the Basques) in the Franco-Cantabrian region (South-West France / North-East Spain) during the Upper Palaeolithic (cf. van Binsbergen 2012a: 197 f. and references cited there).

³⁰ Karst comes back to this topic in his 1931b little book, which is mainly an addition to 1931a, and then (as an example of Karst's tendency not to resolve the conflict between alternative interpretations) strikes a different note: Athena's Tritonian association could be sign of an Indoaryan invasion to Africa Minor, as an Indo-European language and population element among a Westbound migration from West Asia whose leading class was large Afroasiatic speaking, cf. Hyksos:

'Bei Diodor, Sic., Kap. 56—68, wird von einer Göttin Tritonis Athena berichtet, deren Kult in der Gegend des libyschen Tritonisees heimisch war. Diese tritonische Göttin Athena ist sicher identisch mit der arisch-iranischen und pontisch-kappadokisch-armenischen Anahit. Tritonis oder Triton ist als Goettesattribut, als Theophorname derselben Gottheit zu fassen und direkt zu identifizieren mit der eranischen Gottheit Thrīta oder Thraetaona (Thraetana), bzw. dem indischen Trīta, dem wassergeborenen Gotte Aptya, der iranisch als Athwya erscheint. Dies wäre ein weiteres Argument für eine einstige ostarische Besiedelung Kleinafrikas, vorausgesetzt, daß, nicht schon in der Diodorquelle eine Verwechslung des hesperisch-libyschen Tritonisees mit einem homonymen irano-turanischen und der afrikanischen Libya mit dem innerasiatisch-turanischen Libyenlande vorliege. Hierfür sprache die bei Diodor, Kap. 68, erwähnte "libysche" Dionysosinsel mit Stadt Nysa in der Tritonissee, wo es sich vermutlich ursprünglich entweder um die "indische" Nysa (Nyssa) handelte, die Heimat des jungen Dionysos, bzw. um das medisch-hyrkanische Nisaea oder um die Nisaischen Gefilde in Medien Kaspien, also um Lokalitäten des innerasiatischen Libyen.' (Karst 1931b: 95f.)

ties and heroes including Erichthonius³¹ (Athens) and Fu Xi (China) (Fontenrose 1980 / 1959: *passim*, esp. p. 98), and (on the basis of Herodotus' account of Heracles) Targitaos (the apical ancestor of the Scythians), and Keltó (apical ancestress of the Celts, with Heracles). Remarkably (given the widespread phallic symbolism of the snake), the snake element in these apparent *Mischwesen* seems to represent the local, maternal side; the non-snake-element seems to stand for the alien, divine, side in the ancestry. Also Keto, as a manifestation of Astarte, appears with snake-like feet on an Ashkelon coin, source: *Coins of Gaza and Ashkelon* (Macalister 1913: Fig. 5, p. 112).

- b. By the same token, Hesperia as a general name for the Atlantic coastal regions of North Africa and (South-) Western Europe, had a more original counterpart in the Ponto-Caspian region, which was the West as seen from 'Turan'. Hesperia would mean 'Westland', 'Evening land' in an Indo-European context; but – according to Karst³² – with a possible – in the Central Asian context somewhat out of place – Finno-Ugric etymology meaning 'Sea Coast', which would reduce the meaning 'Evening Land' to a popular etymology, produced by association with Greek *hesperos*, Latin *vespera* 'of the evening'.
- c. For Pu(n)t / Phut, Havila, Phrygia / Iphrika / Perke, Colchis, Iberia, similar East-West parallelism can be argued.
- d. On the ethnonymic side, Iberian / Eber, Joktan / Jaccetani-Aquitani, Noah(ides) / Enakim / Inaḥus (Inaḥides) / Janus – the Ancient Italic cosmogonic god to which we shall return below – would be a few examples of the same East-West parallelism. To this may be added Ichnussa as the ancient name of Sardinia, and perhaps even Ainu as a East Asian residual group long recognised to be phenotypically close to somatic Caucasians.

This model greatly enhances the scope and the flexibility for any attempt to identify ancient toponyms and ethnonyms, and allows our scholarly imagination much (no doubt, too much) leeway to understand the manipulations, misunderstandings and double ententes of the ancient actors. I shall come back to this point shortly.

³¹ ON MASTURBATION AND SNAKE-FOOTEDNESS. In Graeco-Roman Antiquity, the name of Erichthonius, the snake-footed mythical first king of Athens, was considered to derive from the Greek words for 'wool' and for 'earth' – which presumably gave rise to the following aetiological myth. The goddess Athena (a patroness of artful crafts, among other things) came to collect her new armour in the workshop of her crippled half-brother Hephaestus (patron of similar crafts, but in the first place a fire god). Her presence aroused him sexually, and he ejaculated against her thigh. In disgust she wiped off the sperm with a clump of wool, and threw it to the Earth. But Earth, as a major goddess, immediately obliged and produced a snake-footed child, whom Athena refused to acknowledge, but who became the first king of the city of Athens. Hephaestus married the love goddess Aphrodite, but in Athens he was ritually joined with Athena, his female counterpart (cf. Fauth 1979; Blažek 2010; Allen 2010; Frontisi 1992; Newton 1987; Atsma, 'Hephaestus', with very full classical references; van Binsbergen, in press (f).) An interesting aspect of the myth of Erichthonius' birth is that it has a very close parallel in the Ossetian (Caucasian) Nart Saga, where the role of Athena is played by Setenaay (the mother goddess, also known as Satana – cf. the Satan / *shaitan* of Judaeo-Christian-Islamic tradition), and that of Hephaestus by the Narts' herdsman Sos; the latter's seed hit a stone across a river, and from this stone as kept by Setenaay the hero Chwezyyey was born after nine months (Smeets 1999; Dumézil 1965). Another parallel is with the Ancient Egyptian myth of the primal god Atum's production of the first creatures (Shu and Tefnut) through an act of masturbation (cf. Bonnet 1952 / 1971a).

³² I have been unable to find confirmation for this claim. The only remotely applicable words from proto-Uralic seems *jārŵä, 'sea'; *terV, 'shore' (Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008, 'Uralic etymology').



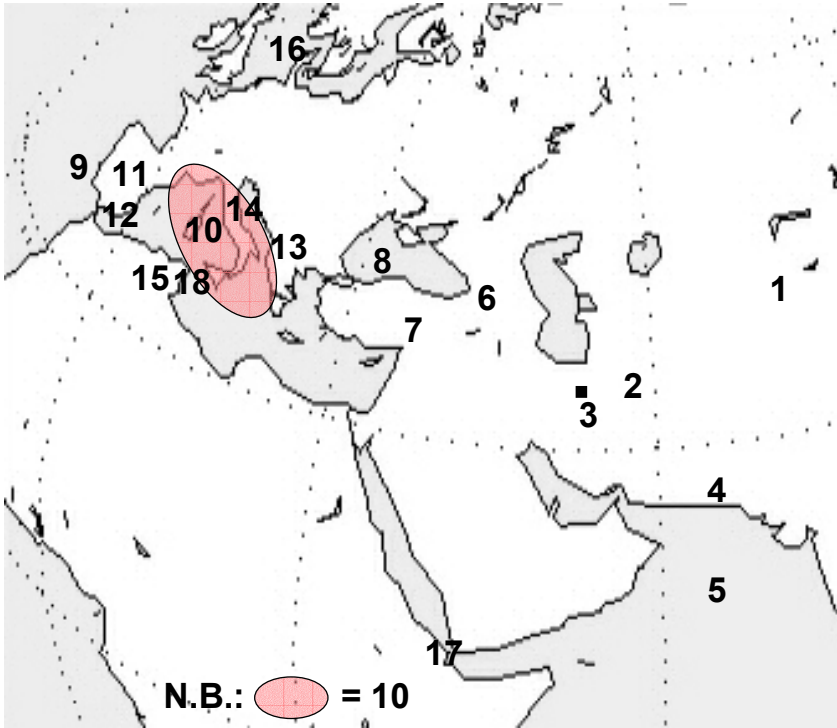
source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turan#/media/File:Iran_Turan_map_1843.jpg, with thanks

Fig. 2.1. Stieler's 1843 map of Turan (top right)

A particularly striking example of the peregrinations and transformations of the ancient onomastic material can be seen in the name 'Africa' (Fig. 2.2). Here it appears that the fixation of that name onto the continental land mass South West of Europe and West of Asia is a relatively recent development mainly of the last two millennia, and that before that time the name, and its close cognates, had attached to many parts of the Old World outside Africa, from Central Asia to Scandinavia.

name	situated in:		
	I	II	III
Babel, Babylon	Mesopotamia	Egypt	
Phut, Punt	Erythraean (= Red Sea) Babylon	Egypt	
Gihon	Egypt (Nile)	India (Nila Ganga)	Bactria / Sogdiana (Oxus)
Cush and Havila	Upper-Egypt	Persian-Babylonian Gulf	
Miſur / Miſraim / Egypt	country of the Nile	region on the Persian-Babylonian Gulf	
Senaar / Sinear / Sinhala	Upper Egypt	Babylonia	Ceylon
Heliopolis	Lower Egypt	Coelesyria	Chaldaeae (cf. Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus)

Table 2.2. Some of Karst's (1931a: 281f., 293) examples of toponymical homonymy



- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 Perke = 'Turan' | (Ver)jana, Verŕ, Virŕ, < *Ivirik) = | 13 Perke = Thracia |
| 2 Phrygia Magna = Iberia I (Eastern Iberia) | Ascania, Ascanians, Askanioi = | 14 Aborigines |
| 3 Afrikya or Afrykya, Median metro-pole | Aškenaz | 15 Afri / Africani / Africa (Africa Minor) |
| 4 Abhira / Abhiria = Ophir = Africa | 8 Axinus Pontus = Black Sea | 16 Perke / Aperka / Aphrika (North Sea and Baltic Lands) |
| 5 Indian Punt Sea = Indian Ocean | 9 Hesperia II = Iberia III (Westernmost of Hesperian Iberia) = Lusitania = Ophiussa | 17 Havila / Hevila = Haver = Africa = Iphrika = Ophiussa [NB: Havila, Libya, Punt also elsewhere, and also more extensive] |
| 6 Hesperia I = Iberia II = Western Iberia | 10 (shaded field) Tyrrhenians | 18 Erythia / Thetis / Elišša / Ophiussa |
| 7 Phrygia / Phrygians / Briges | 11 Iberi people | |
| | 12 Perkes river = Baetis = Guadalquivir | |

Once Karst has brought all these elements together, it is not difficult for us to spell out the phonological structure:

[optional vowel]+[p / b / f / v / F]+[r / l]+[i / e] + [k / g],

which underlies both Africa, Phrygia and Perke, and is close to Hiberia and even to Havila (<*Havirŕa)

Fig. 2.2. Multiple geographical locations bearing the name 'Africa' and related terms in ancient geographies; cf. Libya, Havila, Punt, Phrygia, Peleg, Pelasgians (according to Karst 1931a).

It was the Orientalist (and, alas, notorious founder of 'scientific' racialism – which makes it admittedly problematic to cite that author in a serious academic context today) de Gobineau, who identified Afrikya or Afrykya as the Median metropole (cf. de Gobineau 1868: I, 187f.; cf. Karst 1931a: 567). Karst also stresses (1931b: 100f) that the Phrygians, who loom large in the ramifications of the name Africa, are primarily to be understood as 'free peoples', and that it is remarkable that *-phryg-, 'free', has no convincing Indo-European etymology, as is indeed the case (the existing etymologies all play, unconvincingly, on a semantic shift from 'beloved' to 'free' as coinciding features of kinsmen (de Vries 1958 /

1967 / (& de Tollenaere) 1983, van Veen & van der Sijts 1997, Partridge 1979, Kluge-Götze 1934 / 1881). Taking the cue from ancient writers, Karst considers the Phrygians (a cognate name to 'Africa') as the oldest civilised people, hence as closely associated with South Central Asia as, what he postulates to be, the cradle of civilisation.

The ramifications of the Phrygian ethnonym include (Karst 1931a: 377):

'Bretagne, Breiz, cf. Friezen / Frisians, Preussen (cf. Sanskrit *purusha*, 'human being'), Armoric-Venetie Breiz, Breic'h to the Phrygo-Thracian circle of peoples, modification of Briges, Phryges, just like the name for Georgians among the Cappadocians and in habitants of Asia Minor: Berdzeni, Berdzuli. Canaanitic-Hittitoid Pherizzi. And finally the series Africa, Afri, A-borigines.'

We note a striking characteristic work of Karst's: *he seeks to offer an poetics of ancient onomastica at the emic level of the historic actors, who of course were never constrained (in their associations and popular etymologies) by the laws of historical linguistics.*

2.2.3. Onomastic analysis by 'free association'

Karst's reconstruction of Mediterranean pre- and proto-history is based, in part, on the more usual type of linguistic analysis, where extensive lexical, syntactic, and phonological comparisons are made to determine the degree of family relationship between specific languages and language families. For this purpose, and in regard of pre- and proto-history, in the paucity or even absence of contemporary documentary (including monumental) sources is compensated by the use of latter-day onomastic material, especially ancient toponyms, hydronyms and ethnonyms. The latter onomastic elements are used to identify, for a particular place and time, substrate languages whose relationship with the other languages on the scene was determined by linguistic comparison. Assuming an intimate relationship between a population and their language, the complex history of languages is taken to reflect the complex history of migration and settlement of peoples.

Meanwhile the example of the name 'Africa' brings out a second method of proto-historical reconstruction on which Karst heavily relies, and which we could characterise as 'onomastic analysis by means of free association'. 'Free association' is a technical term from the early days of psychoanalysis (cf. Freud 1963 / 1916): the subconscious conflict matter postulated to manifest itself in patients' dreams was considered to reveal itself when the patient was asked to name simply the first word that came to mind. In a somewhat similar way, and as if his principal concern is to produce some sort of 'Poetics of Emic Onomastica'³³ Karst produces chains of association that link names that have only a rather superficial sound similarity in common, but for which we lack all documentation as to the fact that historical actors saw them as similar or identical, and which we can neither claim to be cognates on the basis of the established etymological methods of state-of-the-art historical linguistics. Perke, Phrygia and Africa; Aškenaz, Ascanians, and the Pontus Axinus; Abhira, Ophir, and Africa; Aborigines and Africani: to connect these words one

³³ *Poetics* in the original sense of 'poetica': a set of rules, a grammar, of poetic composition and invention; *emic* in the sense of: reflecting, and seeking to render, the conscious thought processes of the historical actors themselves, who of course could never be hindered by the scientific rules of professional linguistic etymology. The distinction which anthropologists make (cf. Headland *et al.* 1990; van Binsbergen 2003: 22 and *passim*; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 48 *f.*) between *etic* and *emic* rendering of the cultural complexes they study, is also eminently suitable as a methodological guide in the study of proto-historic ethnicity: the former concept designates description in outsider terms, imposing analytical categories and perspectives regardless of how the historic actors themselves define their situation; the latter seeks to capture these actors' perceptions and categorisations, in a bid to make their acts and motivations transculturally understandable.

must be an adept at the genre of advanced language puzzles called 'cryptograms'. Any specialist knowledge of historical linguistics would be an impediment to solve such puzzles, for one would be only too well aware that there are no established or acceptable correspondence rules for the transformation of one word into the other however similarly sounding. Moreover, one must forget whatever one believes to know about the internal morphological structure of a name, and no longer analyse e.g. Aborigines into the well-known Latin lexical elements 'ab- + origo'; instead, one must be prepared to consider these words and their associated meanings as mere impositions of a popular etymology, below which lurks, still recognisable on the sound level and as such faithfully transmitted through the centuries from some original language still to be detected, a root

$$a-[b / f / p]-(V)-[r /]-(V)-[k / g] \quad (V = \text{unspecified vowel})$$

which *Aborigines* and *Africa-ni* would then have in common, while Briges, Phrygians, Frisians, etc. are only one step away, only requiring the deletion of the prothetic *a-*:

$$[b / f / p]-(V)-[r / l]-(V)-[k / g] \quad (V = \text{unspecified vowel})$$

Karst's extremely 'flexible' (not to say: unscholarly unsystematic!) method of onomastic 'analysis' largely ignores any systematic linguistic underpinning of the connections he makes between vaguely similarly sounding names. In the process, he does not stop to consider the specific syntactico-morphological status individual parts of a name may have, by virtue of which that part has a different 'meaning' than the mere lexical segments.

E.g. in the ethnonym *Amazulu*, from the Southern Bantu context, much like in our earlier example *Aborigines*, the recognised morphological division of the Bantu form into the productive morphological feature

Ama- [nominal prefix for plural + personal]

and the nominal lexical form

-zulu, 'sky'³⁴

does not play a role for Karst, and does not prevent him from comparing *Amazulu* with *Amazons*, even though the latter ethnonym was attested in a totally different linguistic context (for Amazon: Greek / Indo-European; versus, for *AmaZulu*: Zulu / Nguni / Bantu / Niger-congo). If Amazon is not Greek in itself – and it does not appear to be – we would be inclined to seek its original linguistic context in the Mediterranean periphery, in the first place: Pelasgian, Libyan, or Scythian), which presumably would lead us to postulate a totally different morphological structure for the word Amazon, then the analysis *Ama-Zon* suggested by the Bantu analogy. However, Karst has seen, geographically immensely removed from each other, two names with *Ama-Z...*, and on these admittedly extremely flimsy grounds he postulates that a pre- or proto-Bantu element, unmistakable for *AmaZulu* but only hypothetical for *Amazon*,³⁵ attaches also to the latter word. Bantu, as a branch of Nigercongo,

³⁴ Cf. Guthrie's Common Bantu *jodo* (rejected reconstruction); Proto-Bantu *-*gòdò 5-* (Guthrie number 880; cf. Guthrie 1967 and n.d.; Meeussen 1980 and n.d.) reconstruction of Proto-Bantu has *-*gudu 5*. The numbers indicate noun classes in Bantu. The shift of **ò* to *u* and of **d* to *l / r* has occurred in many Central and Southern Bantu languages; e.g. in the Zambian Nkoya language, 'heaven' is *yilu / yiru*.

³⁵ AFRICAN AMAZONS? Although the guess is not completely devoid of circumstantial evidence. If the Amazons of the Greek tradition are considered to be an all-female warrior population only incidentally relying on male reproductive input, we must remember that female warriors, however inconceivable in the male-chauvinist

must be reckoned among the peripheral or substrate languages of Mediterranean proto-history, or so Karst proposes. We shall come back to this point in section 4.4.1. There we shall adduce some additional evidence so as to let Karst's suggestion appear less improbable.

But one swallow does not make summer. The only way to give a scientific foundation to such a linguistically impossible method, is by appealing to the constant misinterpretation of older names by historical actors, and to the latter's incessant invention and circulation of popular etymologies and punnings.

The method (if such we may call it) of onomastic analysis by 'free association' requires a good ear for sounds; an inventive memory capable of connecting names from one place and time with assonating names from often very different places and times; a decompartmentalised mind therefore, the kind of indifference vis-à-vis academic historical linguistics that only familiarity, not to say mastership, can breed (hence my great hesitations, as a peripheral linguist); moreover a belief in the indestructibility (*Inertia*, another of the onomastic mechanism of ethnogenesis, as identified by Karst 1931a, and discussed in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 44 f., 73) of names across vast stretches of space and time; and therefore also a belief in mankind's capability to transmit cultural items virtually unchanged across millennia, and across hundreds, even thousands of kilometres, by migration and communications, including sea travel. Globalised, 'long range', and in principle unbound by established historical linguistics, the method is postmodern *avant la lettre*. It amounts, not so much to a linguistic onomastic analysis, but to an *associative and vicarious poetics of ancient onomastica*: one can imagine ancient historical actors making the same kind of connections between names, through punning, invention, and popular etymologies, unhindered by the canons of historical linguistics, but with a keen, even eager, ear for assonance.

With such a method of extreme flexibility, one may well suspect that Karst displays not the slightest restraint in the manipulation and concatenation of onomastic material, and therefore must be handled with the greatest caution when it comes to details. The following is an example of the kind of apparently far-fetched proposals, often reminiscent of cabalistic word magic, which Karst's approach may produce; yet after nearly twenty years of struggling with this kind of data, I can only admit that the Shakespearean adage may yet turn out to apply: "Though this be madness, yet there is method in 't" (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act 2, Scene 2):

'Carians *i.e.* Horites were also found in Canaan. *Takara* (*Takkaray*) or *Taka-kara* was how the Egyptians called the Philistines. A metathesis³⁶ of the same onomastic type underlies *Kar-duḫi* (*cf.*

Graeco-Roman world unless as myth and as literary antithesis to male prowess, and however conceptually relegated to the utter limits of the inhabited world (Scythia, Libya; *cf.* Blok 1991), did in fact occur prominently in Nigercongo speaking Africa, *e.g.* in Dahomey (modern Benin), Angola, and Zambia (*cf.* Clarke 1984; Fraser 1988; van Binsbergen 1992: the Nkoya queen Shikanda, whose very name incidentally seems to derive from the South Asian war god Skanda (< Alexander)). Their counterpart from the Celtic world would be Queen Boadicea, who led an uprising against the Romans when the latter were occupying the British Isles (60-61 CE). Celtic / Bantu linguistic and cultural affinities are indicated, among other points, by close parallels in mythology (*cf.* van Binsbergen 2010a).

³⁶ A potentially relevant aspect, for my analysis of Proto-Bantu as a reflex of *Borean (van Binsbergen in press (d)) suggests that, next to the curtailing of a root deleting half of it, the metathesis of consonants (*e.g.* Bantu kolobe 'pig' = kVIVbV > (metathesis) *bVIVkV, after obvious sound shifts > pVrVkV = Proto-Indo-European *pork' – although

Tochara, Togarma). – Moreover, concerning: the intimate ethnic association between the Philistines and the Carians-Krethi-Ḫori; between P[h]eleg and Eber (Heber) (*Genesis 10: 25*); between Pelasgians-Leleges and Carians; and also in regard of the standing epithet of the Carians as 'nomadic people', *planetes*, as 'roamers' [our author adds a reference to Strabo I 3 21 and to the 'Philistaeon Capthorites']; we may construct an original ethnonym of the type **pheleg-kari* besides subtypes such as *pheladj-kari*, *phelaḫ (pheleh)-ḫori*. From this would be derived the Aegean Pelasgoi, which can be relegated to a primal form **pelab-gori*. In any case the Pelasgians must be situated here, especially the Attic Pelargoi (Dion. Hal. I 28, II 1; Strabo V 221; cf. the acoustic connection with *pelegrinus*, which may have reinforced the migratory connotations) who stand for **Pelagor < *phelaḫ-gor*. Via the hypothesis of an initial apocope imposed by Ancient Egyptian morphology (*pe-* erroneously taken to be the Egyptian pronominal article) we may derive, from the sub-type *pheleh-ḫori*, the Ligurians or Ligyes, who also stood for **peliguri*. Pelargoi-Pelasgoi, Ligurians and Lelego-Carians should then be conceived of as standing in a close connection as demographic phyla and as peoples. They would be joined by the very ancient Phleguans, a robber people from Central Greece counted as a division of the Minyans. *Phleguai* is a construction from **Phlegurai* and **Pheleg-gvari*. Moreover we should situate here the ancient so-called Giant People of the Pelagones, whom Hesychius interprets as the earth-born Autochtones. The correct ethnonym might be constructed as **Pelaguri* or **Pelargur-ni*. The same primal nation, associated with the Proto-Carians and the Ḫorites, and relegating to the Pelasgoi-Pelargoi, still shimmers through in the ancient Pelasgian name *Pelōr(os)* or *Pelōreus*, who represents a Proto-Pelasgian people (Nonnos 48, 39) of Spartans or Giants. The reminiscence of this very ancient people of Pelorians is toponymically still retained in Southern Italy (also cf. the Palician cult in Sicily;³⁷ there also *Palinurus* (from **Pelingur-*), and *Paliuros* in Cyrenaica), and in a cultural sense in the Thessalian Peloria festival in honour of Zeus Pelorios. *Pelōr* from **pelḫ-hvar = P[h]eleg-Heber*. If next to **pelḫ-hver* we propose an R-variant *pérḫ-hver*, then this may be the original primal form of the Berber ethnonym, which then represents **pheraḫ-eber*, *phereḫ-iberr*, i.e. P[h]eleg (Phaleg) + Eber. – Finally this throws light upon the dark, archaic tradition of an Italic primal people, which is designated by the standing expression 'Veteres Sicani'. Apparently we must interpret this standing expression of the ancient geographical terminology as nothing but a Latinisation of **Palaisiquani* or **Palaesiquari*, probably from **Palaesiqvar-ni*. This only constitutes a mild dialectical acoustic modification of our second type above, *phelaḫ-kari (-ḫvari)*, for which we might as well substitute the equivalent *phelaḫi-ḫvari* or *p'alezi-ḫvari*. From the Hellenistic-Southern Italian perspective this was also interpreted as *Palaioi Sikanoi* or *Palaeo-Siculi*. What was really meant was a Proto-Iberian so-called 'Pelasgo-Carian' i.e. Phelisti-Ḫori. Transposed to the R-phonetic level, we get a modified type *Pérez-i-ḫvari*: that is a composite of Pheresites and Carians or Ḫorites. By Hellenic mediation this leads to the construction of the *Prisci* as another ancient Latinian-Italic primal people. From this primal people of Itali, metamorphised into Prisci or Priskoi Latinoi, we may finally retrieve its authentic Ibero-Sicanian original name in the form of **P^eriskuri* or *Ph^erestori*, i.e. *Pherezi-ḫvari (ḫori, ḫuri)*. – Also the very ancient people of the Phal-iskoi in Etruria, which were only latinised at a late stage, must originally have carried the complete name of **Phalishur*, which was subsequently Graecised and shortened, after the model of Ligures.' (Karst 1931a: 590-592; my translation)³⁸

I have mapped the more important ones of this long chain of Peleg-related reconstructed or invented forms in Fig. 2.3. To complete the picture, and bring

this reflex cannot be extrapolated to the higher Eurasianic and *Borean level) was a standard derivational rule to produce Nigercongo / Bantu from pre-existing derivative reflexes of *Borean, notably Austric ones.

³⁷ A cult centring on twin volcano craters. There is more here than meets the eye. Duplication, the arrangement of items in pairs, is the simplest mental procedure to create recursion as a mode of thought at a relatively little developed level; cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 167 f.; van Binsbergen 2012: 192, 206-212, 293 (where recursion is defined as: a mode of thought based on self-referential repetition (...like in my own scholarly work of the last decade, full of self-references?...); van Binsbergen 2018: 314, 314n.

³⁸ One might be inclined to connect Pelasgoi with the Greek *pelagos*, 'sea', but Karst asserts that this is out of the question – although the Sea Peoples's Pelasgian connection could well use such an association. However, the Pelasgian dimension of the Ligurians (of contested Indo-European linguistic affiliation) and Berbers is affirmed by Karst.

it in the orbit of Graeco-Roman myth, Karst states that the Heraclidean migrations in Hesperia-Libya and Hispania, as recounted in Strabo,

‘must be interpreted as proto-historic reminiscences of colonisation trips of Phrygo-Thracian-Aegean migratory phyla to Hesperia, in the wake of Liby-Hamites [apparently a branch of Afroasiatic speakers is meant – WvB] who went to the same areas from Eastern Africa and West Asia.’ (Karst 1931a: 389 f.)

The Greek popular etymology of Heracles’ name in terms of ‘fame of Hera’ does not make sense: ironically, Heracles was reputedly the hated bastard son of Hera’s husband Zeus, and Hera tried everything to harm Heracles. Totally ignoring, once more, the conventional analysis of a word into its components (Hera-+-klēi-) in the language of attestation (Greek), Karst sees a contentious etymology for Heracles reverting back to Peleg / Pheleg, Briges / Phrygians – ‘colonist’, implicitly via a postulated underlying consonantal structure

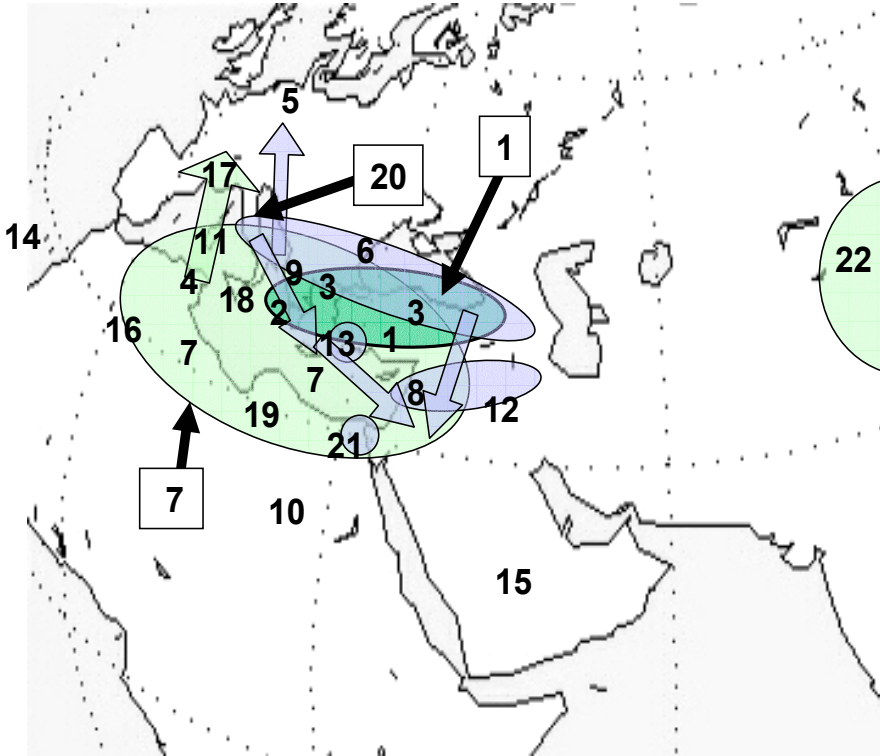
h-V-[r / l]-V-k-[duplication r / l]- < p-V-[r / l]-V-[k / g] = Peleg (V= unspecified vowel)

where especially the transition from initial p to h is far from obvious. Heracles emerges from the tales of these circum-Mediterranean wanderings, and of the Argonauts (Apollonius Rhodius), as a colonist and a leader or god of colonists. Heraclidean peoples also feature as colonists with reference to India, Lydia and Macedonia: these are all regions with East-Aryan i.e. satem³⁹ Indo-European speakers (of which the Secondary Phrygians are the typical exponents, if I understand Karst correctly. This brings Karst to a generalisation that we may render as follows:

Wherever legendary Heraclidean / Herculean migrations,⁴⁰ there Aryans, usually upon an Hamitic i.e. Afroasiatic substratum.

³⁹ The Indo-European language family is conventionally supposed to have manifested an early split between a predominantly Western branch, where the word for ‘hundred’ is **kentum*, and a predominantly Eastern branch, with **satem*. Hittite, and even Tocharian (from the Western fringes of China), however, ‘are’ **kentum*, whereas below we will encounter languages from the Mediterranean proto-history that ‘are’ **satem*. Some prominent linguists have however doubted the wisdom of the *satem* / *kentum* distinction and its projection onto the Eurasian map; cf. Meillet & Benveniste 1908 / 1937; Lehmann 1952; Kortlandt 1995; Szemerényi 1990; Anonymous n.d.

⁴⁰ ON HERACLES AS A PALAEO-PELASGIAN MYTHICAL THEME. A famous case is the ‘return of the Heraclidean’, a standard expression in Ancient Greek historical accounts referring to the Early Iron Age. However, the applicability of the Heracleian model appears even wider. The Scythian Eastbound expansion brought Heracles to China (Maenchen-Helfen 1935); a Western, Celtic manifestation seems to be the Irish hero Cuchulainn; among the Nkoya of South Central Africa, the royal hero Shihoka Nalinanga might also count as a Heracles manifestation (van Binsbergen 2010a). By and large the Heracles mythical figure may be considered another Palaeo-Pelasgian trait. It would take us too far to consider, here, the astronomical connotations of Heracles, whose club appears to represent the Celestial Axis – thus suggesting another link with Hera, for whose name a Kartvelian etymology may be suggested: **čwer-* ‘to sink (also of the sun)’ (Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008, s.v. ‘Kartvelian etymology’). The basic meaning of the name Hera would then be ‘setting sun’ (as against the rising sun of Apollo, and Egyptian counterparts), rather than the somewhat facile ‘heroine’, which smacks of a popular etymology. Hera is associated with Colchis, the home of Kartvelian, since she makes Jason her champion in the retrieval of the Golden Fleece from that region (Apollonius Rhodius, 1912).



A: Pelasgians / Pelasgoi / Pelargoi

- 1 semi-Indo-European speaking Tubal peoples, including
- 2 Dioi-Pelasgoi and
- 3 Armeno-Phrygo-Thracians
- 4 Oenotria / Thetalia / 'Thessalia' as Pelasgian homeland
- 5 Phalía / Falen
- 6 Secondary (Indo-European) Pelasgians
- 7 Lelegian Primal Pelasgians of Basque-Euskaran type, secondarily Afroasiaticised

- 8 Krethi; Horites = (Proto-)Carians
 - 9 Karthveloid toponyms on -opes
 - 10 Ḥamites
 - 11 Lydo / Tyrrheno / Pelasgians
 - 12 Secondary-European) Pelasgians of Syro-Palestine
 - 13 Carian-Armenoid
- B: other onomastic elements that might be associated with the name Peleg*
- 14 Blessed Islands = Insulae Felices / < *P[h]elegiae
 - 15 Arabia Felix / < *P[h]elegia

- 16 Berbers < *Pheret-Eber
- 17 Ligurians < *(Pe-)Lig-urians
- 18 Sicily with Veteres Sicani < *Palaioi Sikouloi < *Pheresi-ḫvari; and with the Palician (< *Peleg-ian) cult of twin craters
- 19 Palinurus as Cyrenaecan eponymic hero
- 20 Phalisoí of Etruria
- 21 Egyptian Delta
- 22 Pelasgian 'Mongols'

Fig. 2.3. Peleg (according to Karst 1931a); also cf. Eber (Fig. 3.3) and Joktan as 'sons' of Peleg; Phrygians; and Africa

In this connection Karst also refers to Armeno-Hittite *hiura-galuth* or *hüra-galethagan*. At first sight this would appear to be very different from 'The Return of the Heraclideans', which is a famous theme in Greece at the eve of the Iron Age,

c. 1000 BCE; however, it would be stimulating to reconsider this event in the light of the other ‘Heraclidean’ (in the sense of Indo-European-speaking) migrations, and rescue it from the splendid isolation to which a myopic, Aegean-centred Graecist classical scholarship has condemned the particular Aegean manifestation of this far more widespread migratory process.

Far-fetched all this undoubtedly is, and impossible to back up by etymological arguments acceptable to modern linguists; yet at the same time I am tempted to admit two things: in the first place, at a general level, as a scholarly rendering of the kind of incestuous concatenation of associations and misunderstandings that often appear to make up ancient geographical and ethnic nomenclature, Karst’s exposition does have the ring of considerable plausibility. Secondly and more importantly, Karst’s exposition seems to sum up most of what we need to know in order to appreciate the Palaeo-Pelasgian substrate in the Pontic-Mediterranean Bronze Age that, to my present understanding, constitutes the historical and conscious ideological basis for the ethnicity of the Sea Peoples.

2.2.4. Indeterminacy and unboundedness as disturbing implications of the Karstian approach; with corroborative evidence from outside the Karstian context

2.2.4.1. *How far can we go in terms of geographic distance, as far as translocal ethnic analysis is concerned?*

An apparent disadvantage of the Karstian methodology, and of my reformulation of it, is that the interplay between the various onomastic mechanisms that I have enumerated in the opening chapters of our *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (2011) inevitably lead to a global concatenation of peoples, identities and names, a boundary-less hotchpotch from which almost no lesson can be derived other than ‘everything hangs together’. No doubt, given the finite and global shape of the earth and the great duration of humankind’s history on earth, this is the objective historical truth (it is also, interestingly, the emic message behind the *Table of Nations* in *Genesis 10*), but in its undifferentiated form it is a meaningless truth, which spells death for the academic investigation of ancient ethnicities. For instance, Karst (1931b: 85) sees a marked parallel between Biblical Enoch / Hanoah, associated with the Cainites / descendants of Cain (whose alleged original home, the Land Nod, he surprisingly places in the Far East / South East Asia), and the Kanakians of Tahiti. By the same token, he feels that his analysis of Mediterranean ethnic prehistory is not complete without an extensive excursion into North American and Meso American ethnonyms and toponyms. This is certainly a feature (among several) in Karst which makes it risky for one to follow him without jeopardising one’s academic credibility; yet, as I will now set out, similar cases could be cited,⁴¹ and, considering the substantial benefits I derive from Karst’s approach, I am prepared to give him the benefit of the doubt.⁴²

⁴¹ One example is the worldwide ramification of the place name Kola, ‘a distant Northern land’ (cf. Zembla in Nabokov’s *Pale Fire*) from which dynasties all over South Central Africa claim origin. Shortly we will also turn to the discussion of other examples.

⁴² There are other, more systematic and less subjective reasons to take Karst seriously on these points. Most of Oceania was only peopled in the last few millennia, and significant continuities may be observed between West

Karst is by no means the only serious researcher to make the claim for ethnic affiliations to travel from one end of a continent to another, or from one continent to the next. One case in which this has been claimed with considerable conviction is that of the traditions of Eastern Mediterranean origins of communities in Italy and the Western Celtic realm, about which the archaeologist Piggott (in the wake of prominent British literary and historical minds; Milton *et al.* n.d. [1878]) declared:

'Dim folk-memories rumbled down the centuries, muddled now with the legends of Troy, and the New Peoples of the first millennium B.C. liked to date their beginnings to the movements of heroes after the Trojan War. It was not only the Romans; in the first century B.C. the Celtic peoples are recorded as thinking themselves of like origin (...), and while this might have been merely a quest for respectable ancestors, and a keeping-up with the Aeneases, it could be something more. And even the medieval stories about Trojan, Scythian, or Thracian origins for Britons, Irish, and Picts may not be only learned inventions based on Homer, Virgil, Dictys Cretensis, Dares Phrygius and the rest, but might once again in part strike back to indigenous oral tradition, and a faint memory of a time when peoples were on the move, especially from East to West.' (Piggott 1973: 168).⁴³

Let me give a few examples, from outside the context of Karst's work, of the extent of ethnic identities and of the wide, even intercontinental, spread of ethnonyms. Meanwhile, my ongoing long-range comparative / historical research on leopard-skin symbolism has brought up many more such examples, *cf.* Table 4.1.

2.2.4.2. *The Tonga throughout South Central Africa – and in Melanesia?*

Five different ethnic groups in modern South Central Africa are called 'Tonga' (Mitchell 1967). In letters to the Editor in the *Times of Zambia* in 1972, it was seriously suggested that all groups identifying as Tonga in South Central and Southern Africa in the twentieth century CE, derive their name, and their core populations, from immigrants from the Tonga Islands in the Pacific. At the time I dismissed this idea as a typical example of the phantasms of self-identity that arise with what we have since appreciated to be the *post-modern politics of recognition* (Taylor 1992). Today I

Central Asia and Oceania in terms of genetic composition (such as the distribution of mtDNA Type B and especially of thalassaemias). The latter is an hereditary anaemic condition yet having the advantage of rendering the bearer more resistant to malaria. Geneticists (notably Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1994 – implicitly on their Map 2.14.5A; and especially Oppenheimer 1998) have been inclined to consider thalassaemias as a tell-tale sign of Sunda connections – since in South East Asia and New Guinea they reach a global high. This applies more to thalassaemia alpha than to beta. Both the Fulani pastoralist on the Sudanic belt of Africa, and the Phoenicians, are highlighted in this respect. Other major indicators of Sunda influence (*cf.* van Binsbergen 2007, 2010c, in press (c), 2020 – the latter extensively discussing many Sunda-relevant East-West parallels) derive from comparative ethnography, and from long-range linguistics (to the extent to which Austric – the linguistic macrophyllum dominating Oceania – may be considered a reflex of *Borean, whose Central or Continental branch occupies the Eurasian heartland – as against the Peripheral Branch surfacing in Austric, Amerind, and African languages). A similar, admittedly equally conjectural, argument may be applied to links between West Central Asia, and the Americas. – not so much in view of postulated trans-Atlantic contacts, but in view of the high probability that the Out-of-Africa expansion of Anatomically Modern Humans, from c. 80-60 ka BP on, passed though West Asia on its way to the Bering Strait / New World.

⁴³ The indications from comparative mythology are considerable. There is a conspicuous strand of West Celtic mythology which is in continuity with West Asia, East Asia (Korea, Japan, Taiwan, via Scythian influence), and South Central Africa (van Binsbergen 2010a). Moreover, some of this connection may be backed up by state-of-the-art genetics, *e.g.* mtDNA pointing to migrations to the North Sea from the Black Sea and from Basque country (Forster 2004, mtDNA Type H). Also *cf.* Oppenheimer 2006 on the origin of the British. In the course of this book's argument we shall repeatedly touch on Karst's views concerning Celtic / Scythian diffusion of Palaeo-Pelasgian traits – which we may even believe to recognise among the Nkoya people of Zambia, South Central Africa (van Binsbergen 2020).

am not so sure any more. Admittedly, the name Tonga could very well be given a sound Bantu etymology, in a number of ways (Guthrie 1967-1971 and n.d.; Meeussen 1980 and n.d.):

Guthrie:

- *dòNgÒ, 'tribe', Guthrie no. 665 (status in Proto-Bantu uncertain), no equivalent in Meeussen
- *dÒNgà 3 / 4, 'river', Guthrie no. 662 (Meeussen -donga 3, 'river', 5.2.)
- *tòNg-, 'to thread on string', Guthrie no. 1846 (Meeussen has this as *-cnga L 3, 'string, thread', 1.1., which because of its initial consonant does not seem to be a likely etymon for Tonga)
- *tÒNg-, 'to crow', Guthrie no. 1793, ?, no equivalent in Meeussen

From Meeussen we may derive:

- *tong-, 'praise, sing', 5.2., no equivalent in Guthrie; and:
- *tonga 3, 'stick', 5.2., no equivalent in Guthrie.

Table 2.3. Possible Proto-Bantu associations of the ethnonym 'Tonga' in South Central Africa

This does however not totally rule out the possibility of an Ancient Oceanian connection for the Tonga name, especially not against the background of Oppenheimer-Dick-Read-Tauchmann's *Sunda Hypothesis* (cf. van Binsbergen 2019, 2020a). The *Tower of Babel* etymological database (Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008) lists under 'Austriac etymology' the Proto-Austriac form *tVʔŋ, 'come, to go', which would not be inappropriate for the ethnic designation of transcontinental voyagers. For another such connection between Austronesian and Bantu appears to be suggested by the lexical element *-nto, which does appear in Proto-Bantu as 'human' (it is this very element that led Bleek in the 1850s to the classification 'Bantu' languages), but also as *-taw in Proto-Austronesian (Adelaar 1994), and in fact belongs to a extensive 'global etymology' (cf. Bengtson & Ruhlen 1994) which I have presented repeatedly, last as Appendix IV in van Binsbergen 2018: 535 f. However, in that case we would emphasise common origin (as reflexes from *Borean), rather than recent long-distance, cross-cutting, actual geographic displacement.

2.2.4.3. Jewish identities in Africa

Another example relates to the wide distribution of Jewish identities both over North, West, East and Southern Africa, not only in urban communities in considerable contact with intercontinental Jewish social and intellectual life, but also in remote rural contexts where such contact has been lost for centuries, sometimes millennia.⁴⁴

2.2.4.4. Bana Kokalia in Southern Zambia

The ethnonym Bana Kokalia is used for a section of the Tonga people in the Gwembe valley, Zambia (Colson 1960: 167f.) – 'Kokalia' seems a strange intruder in its South Central Bantu linguistic environment, and I have always suspected a link with the Mediterranean legendary king (more

⁴⁴ ON JUDAISM IN AFRICA. There is a considerable literature on the distribution of Judaism in Africa – where only its presence in North Africa, and to a lesser extent the situation in Ethiopia, have been amply documented in the older literature; cf. Anonymous, 'Jews and Judaism'; Bruder & Parfitt 2012; Chouraqui 1968; Isaac 1985; Lange 2012; le Roux 2003; Mazrui 1984; Mendelsohn 1920; Parfitt 1993 / 1992, 2007; Parfitt & Semi 2005; Thomas *et al.* 2000; van Warmelo 1966; von Sicard 1952, 1953, 1962; Williams 1930.

likely: people) Cocalus, featuring in the Daedalus legend.⁴⁵ For a fuller discussion I must refer to my recent book on transcontinental continuities (van Binsbergen 2020; there I will also argue that my expectations of finding an Austric / Sunda etymology for the name Cocalos were largely thwarted,⁴⁶ which reduces the likelihood that the name Bana Kokalia is a trace of Sunda influence – an influence which however does abound among the Nkoya people and their neighbours, such as the Tonga; cf. van Binsbergen 2020, and 2007a, 2007b).

2.2.4.5. *The puzzle of Wounded Knee: Amerindian toponym and Southern African theonym*

Heitsi-Eibib (Hahn 1878; Hromník 1993; Lang 1885) is the highly venerated Khoi culture hero in Southern Africa, a shape-shifter, usually identified with the praying mantis. His overlord is the High God, Tsui Goan, whose name is claimed to mean 'Wounded Knee'. Besides being an example of the link between impaired locomotion and kingship,⁴⁷ this name hints (cf. the Amerindian's 'last stand', the Battle of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, USA, 1890) at significant continuities between Amerindian and Khoisan cultures – for which several more arguments could be given⁴⁸ and which almost certainly go back to a common residence in West Central Asia, a few millennia before the onset of the Holocene, of both the ancestors of modern Khoisan speakers, and of Na-Dene speaking Amerindians (the latter language group belongs to the linguistic [Dene-]Sinocaucasian macrophyllum stretching from the Caucasus, and probably even Basque country, via the Burushaski language insulate in modern India, to Tibet, China, and the South-Western USA).

1.2.4.6. *General implications*

The fairly undeniable facts of the earth's spherical surface and mankind's talent at migration by land and sea constitute the a priori necessary conditions for Karst's boundary-less approach to be at all possible: in principle every name originating wherever on earth can have travelled to wherever else. Here then also the weakness of this approach becomes manifest: if everything is connected with everything else in a global, unstructured manner, the focusing and structuring gaze of scholarship

⁴⁵ Cf. [Pseudo-]Apollodorus 1, 15; Diodorus 4, 78 f.; Sophocles, *Καμίκιοι* (cf. Rad 1977); Aristophanes, *Κώκαλος* (cf. Schneidewin 1845).

⁴⁶ In line with the common structure of such myths, the shell narrative is likely to contain an aetiological explanation of the name Cocalus, and this is also how (despite his recognised unreliability) Graves (1964) sees it, who interprets the Sicilian king's name as 'spiral shell'. In the story, Cocalus lets an ant draw a thread through the convolutions of a seashell (κόχλοσ), and thus gets the upper hand of his visitor Minos. Remarkably, 'threading' returns as the meaning of a possible Austric etymology of Osiris (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011) but such a flimsy and indirect correspondence is certainly not enough to conclude to Sunda influence. Meanwhile the Daedalus / Cocalus myth is reminiscent of ancient maritime links between Sicily and Crete, possibly with a bearing on the Sea Peoples, but probably older, and agreeing with Karst's otherwise rather contentious idea concerning Basquoid Westbound migration (to the Iberian Peninsula) and Eastbound migrations (returning to the Levant).

⁴⁷ E.g. Fraser 1911-1915, and Graves 1964 on divine kingship; von Sicard 1968-1969 on the Luwe / Mwendanjangua one-legged mythical character.

⁴⁸ E.g. *divinatory* tablets in Southern Africa are virtually identical to gaming tablets in North America; the format of female puberty rites is strikingly similar; both regions have the belief of the magical 'night gun' made of human bones; beside close correspondences in basketry, fish traps, myths, colour symbolism; cf. van Binsbergen 2012a: 260 f.). Parallels between North American and Central Asian cultures had been detected by scholarship already in the early decades of comparative ethnography, e.g. Emerson 1884.

has been relegated to idle irrelevance. Onomastic analysis is only convincing if it can explain how, and why, out of the myriad names that mankind has produced, some are closely related and other are less closely related if at all. How can we postpone the moment when we have to give in to undifferentiated overall interconnectedness – how can we structure this overall chaos, and plausibly argue boundaries, clusters, identifiable movements, and periodisation, within it? That seems to be the principal methodological problem of the study of ancient ethnicities. We have already repeatedly discussed one particular, obvious way of imposing at least statistical boundaries, i.e. gradients of lesser and greater relevance, in this chaos of interconnectedness: to make our analysis start with the conscious perceptions and classifications of the historical actors themselves. The tendency towards Transformative Localisation means that, whatever global undifferentiated, unbounded interconnectedness may be behind their conscious ethnic classifications, it is unlikely⁴⁹ to consciously and in any detail encompass the entire surface of the earth as a geophysical entity – the historical actors' world tends to be more or less a localised world, with extreme perspectival compression away from distant areas, and with emphasis on the centre, in which the actors find themselves. The same tendency at home-centredness can also be seen in historical actors' reliance on Relational Projection (another Karstian ethnogenetic mechanism; see Table 2.1, and van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: ch. 2.f) as an onomastic strategy: alien space is domesticated in terms of familiar toponyms and ethnonyms from 'back home' (as it is by projecting familiar faunal and floral names onto the unfamiliar species of the alien, new territory – a phenomenon very marked in Afrikaans, in South African English, and in Australian English).

While largely overlapping linguistic and onomastic material may be processed again and again in the ethnic worldview of closely or remotely neighbouring peoples, each local ethnic worldview would manifest a new and relatively unique combination and interpretation of this material. Economic, political, and religious factors would inform the details of this local ethnic process, and would in turn be illuminated by these details. Ethnic studies, starting with the emic level, would reveal a kaleidoscopic multitude of specific local emic structurings which turn underlying continuities in real space, into bounded nomenclatural discontinuities.

However, once we have identified (as I tried to do in my list of onomastic mechanisms, Table 2.1) the complex interplay of factors at work in the production of these local ethnic worldviews, we can turn around and try to utilise whatever we have learned of the details of the local ethnic process, to reconstruct not only the emic, but also the *etic* side of ethnicity, in other words, to reconstruct broad movements and continuous patterns of interactions of peoples and identities, as part of the heart beat of human history.

2.3. General outline of Karst's reconstruction of Mediterranean pre- and proto-history

In Karst's treatment of what turn out to be the trouble cases in the onomastic material of the *Table of Nations*, repeated and specific reference is made to his more general reconstructions of intra-Mediterranean linguistico-ethnic dynamics in pre- and proto-history, and it is

⁴⁹ Except in emic discourse of historical actors of patently globalising regions and periods: e.g. the Akkadians under Sargon the Great in the later 3rd mill. BCE; Romans in Imperial times; Tang China; the North Atlantic region and its global extensions after the Age of Discoveries. But even literary imagined worlds such as those evoked in the *Odyssey*, the *Argonauts*, Sindbad, and the Alexander / Iskander / Skanda epic narratives (Lombard 1993) are already in principle unbounded and universal.

to these that we now turn before a discussion of the trouble cases of *Genesis 10*. Once the main outline of these reconstructions is grasped, they will also help us to appreciate Karst's specific points in relation to this important but highly problematic ancient text.

2.3.1. Point of departure: The hypothetical baseline

Karst stresses (with an abundance of arguments, many but not all of which now obsolete) the very strong demographic, linguistic and cultural influences, upon the Biblical world and the Ancient Near East in general, and upon the Ancient Mediterranean, of Asian influences, specifically of the following nature:

- Central Asian ('Turanic'),
- South Asian ('Atlantean' – he considers prehistoric India the first cradle of civilisation and largely the inspiration of the Atlantis legend), and
- East Asian

Turning to the more specific context of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Syro-Palestine, underlying its commonly recognised population layers of Afroasiatic and Indo-European speaker, Karst argues the presence of a third linguistic element, that of the Caucasian languages, and moreover detects the presence of two major linguistic and genetic phyla which today are largely confined to East Asia:

1. an 'Inahid-Hyperborean' cluster⁵⁰ associated with the Palaeo-Asiatic physical type (*cf.* Ainu) and with what we would today call North and East Asian branches of Nostratic / Eurasiatic (essentially the Uralic and Altaic phyla), and
2. a 'Mongoloid' cluster associated with Sinotibetan, as a major branch of what today we would call the Sinocaucasian linguistic macrofamily.

⁵⁰ A CLOSER COMPARATIVE LOOK AT NOAH AND COSMOGONY. Applying Karst's preposterous methods would yield: AINU < A+Inu [= Janus]+ h < Nuah. In other words there is a slight suggestion that we may consider Noah identical to Janus – that it is the same White Primal God. This might lead to a reinterpretation of Noah as a flood hero which even goes much further than the hypothesis (sometimes attributed to Eric Burrows) to the effect that Noah is essentially a Hurritic flood hero (Rowley 1949; Raaflaub 2017; Haarmann 2005). Meanwhile the wine theme links Noah to Dionysus. If this cuts some wood, then the Flood story entails a rather different transformation than we would be inclined to think. The Primal White God (also a light god – light is the mark of cosmogony, *cf.* *Genesis* 1:3) would then be an original creation deity – a transformation perhaps of the Mother of the Waters. The Flood story is the account of a dissociation, where 'sea' is no longer the identity of the Primal God, maar comes to be dissociated from the latter to such an extent as turning into the latter's most formidable enemy; in the process, the Primal God sheds her connotations of absolute primacy, as well as her female gender, and (like so many other supreme female deities in the Old-World Bronze Age, *cf.* van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 142, Table 6.4) becomes subordinated to the sky god – the new Supreme Deity. Can we identify population groups that correspond with the triumphant sky god and the vanquished White Creation God? The sheer universality of the Flood story, and to a lesser extent of the sky-associated High God, suggests that this transformation already occurred in *Borean times and was carried all over the world by speakers of the languages into which *Borean disintegrated – in which case the White Primal God might even be a remnant of pre-*Borean speaking groups (Neanderthaloids?) subjugated in the process.

2.3.2. The case of Noah and the Inaḥide / Hyperborean cluster

In circles of Biblical scholars, the analysis of the *Table of Nations* seldom⁵¹ extends into an attempt to identify Noah in any specific ethnic or geographical sense. Usually the authors are satisfied to construct a theological reading of Noah as epitomising the unity of mankind, as sharing in the Judaeo-Christian God's covenant ('mankind is never to be destroyed by water again'), and in the divine rewards of righteousness. In order to interpret Noah and his three sons Šem, Ḥam and Japheth, Karst (against the background of his more general idea that gods and heroes in mythical accounts in the first place stand for distinct historic peoples in conflict) comes up with a proposal that is both simple and striking in its intercontinental scope:⁵²

'If we are not totally mistaken, we might consider the Egyptian report [*i.e.* Plato in *Timaeus*, which purports to render information derived from Egyptian priests] on the Atlantean migrations a reflex or a reminiscence of the spread of the Noahides across the earth's surface, as depicted in *Gen 10-11*. Noah is Inaḥus⁵³ and represents the eponym-patriarch of the Palaeo-Asiatic, Aino-Inaḥidic or sub-Mongoloid phylum. The Flood corresponds with the Neptunian cataclysm that struck the Atlantic empire.⁵⁴ Like the Atlanteans, also the Noahides direct their migrations towards the West. The Land Nod just like Atlantis is considered to lie in the Far East.

By Šem is originally understood, in the Biblical - Near Eastern terminology, not so much our so-called Semites, *i.e.* the historic peoples of South-Western Asia with their so-called⁵⁵ 'Semitic' language type, but rather the Palaeo-Asiatics, the East-Asian, Aino-Sinic or sub-Inaḥidic primal phylum.

Ḥam, in the sense of 'Primal Ḥamites' then meant the sub-Aetiopian or Ibero-Aethiopian intermediate phylum (Nuba, Fulbe, Elamo-Cossaeans, *etc.*) [whom modern linguistist would not consider speakers of Afroasiatic nor call Hamites; the Fulbe are classified as Nigercongo speaking, while in the

⁵¹ Omitted from our present Table 3.1, below, are the scholarly views concerning Noah (cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 6.19, s.v. Noah); there, reference is made to Burrows' hypothesis of a *Hurritic* flood hero after whom Noah is suggested to have been modelled. The Ancient Mesopotamian material suggests that we may interpret the Flood and Noah in a *Sumerian* context including Dilmun / Bahrayn.

⁵² Karst was not the first scholar to contemplate a transcontinental background for Noah far beyond the West Asian context of the Biblical narrative. In the time when Leibniz corresponded with the Jesuit missionaries in China (17th c. CE) the problem already came up whether Noah preceded or followed Fu Xi, and by implication could have come from China; Cook & Rosemont Jr 1984: 15. Having absorbed the Chinese elite culture of the times, these Jesuits engaged in what was to be known as *figurism*: considering the central Chinese book of wisdom, 易經 *Yi Jing / I Ching*, as prophetically prefiguring the mysteries of Christianity, and seeing relations with the Emperor, rather than with the *literati*, as the best strategy of spreading Christianity in China (cf. Anonymous, 'Figurism'). Also, there is a tradition – especially in Islam – to the effect that the Chinese people descend from Japheth – Japheth is equalled with Fu Xi, especially among Chinese Muslims (Leslie 1984).

⁵³ According to Greek legend, Inachus was the first king of mainland Greece. Ancient references to Inachus comprise much of the corpus of Ancient Graeco-Roman mythology, cf. Anonymous, Inachus, where the main sources are: Peck 1898 and Smith 1848, both s.v. 'Inachus'.

⁵⁴ While this study was first being drafted, the inconceivable disaster (nearly three hundred thousand deaths in half a dozen countries) that struck the countries around the Indian Ocean as a result of a submarine earthquake on December 26, 2004, drove home the possibility of such a disaster earlier in history, and the possible scope of its impact. The idea of a volcanic eruption and resulting *tsunami* causing the end of the Minoan empire has received ample consideration in the scholarly literature, e.g. Bernal 1991, with extensive references.

⁵⁵ In the context of references to 'Semitic' the possibility of anti-Semitism, and in response anti-anti-Semitism, is always around the corner. So let me explain that, in my reading and translation, Karst's expression 'so-called' here does not have any pejorative implications. He does not wish to cast doubt upon this modern linguistic classification, or on the Jews', Arabs', and Ethiopians' right to see their mother tongues subsumed under the modern term 'Semitic'. All Karst wants – in my opinion – is to draw attention to the fact that, as a classification which modern scholars derived from the very *Table of Nations* itself (which is at least two and a half millennia old and does not follow the canons of modern scientific classification), use of the term 'Semitic' in the present context introduces an element of irresolvable circularity.

Nuba Mountains of South Sudan both Nigercongo and Nilosaharan are represented – WvB].

By Japheth was in particular meant the phyla of the type of the Caucasian peoples.' (Karst 1931a: 279 f.)⁵⁶

Although favoured in the *Table of Nations* as encompassing the whole of mankind, the Noah people turn out, from a Karstian perspective, to be neither unique nor all-encompassing. Karst identifies:

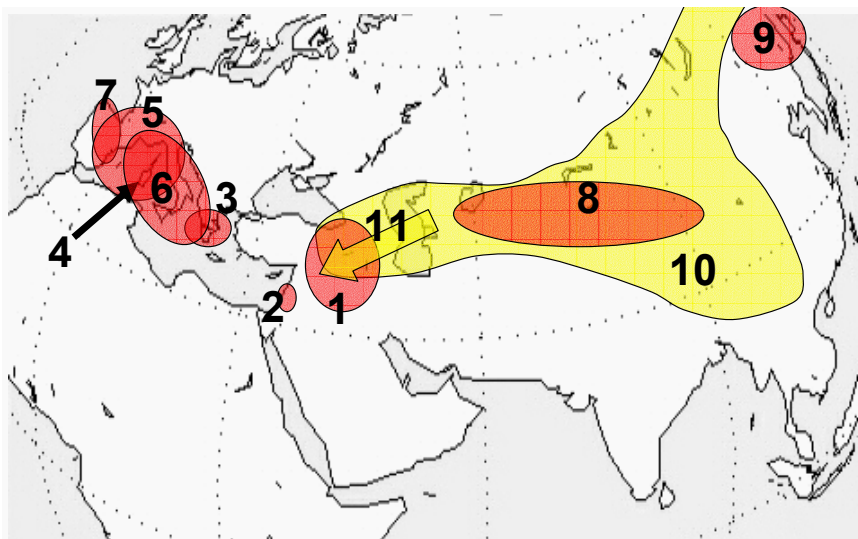
- the *Noah*-ides proper of the *Table of Nations*, with strong Armenian connotations
- *Enak*-im (not in the *Table of Nations* but in *Genesis 5* as a primal people of Syro-Palestine, closely related to the Arkites (also cf. Nimrod people and Sinim / Sinites)
- the *Inah*-us people as belonging to the primal inhabitants of the Aegean
- the very distant *Ainu* of North-Eastern Asia, and the distantly related Proto-Polynesians (Ainu-Inaḥidic-Malayan mixed phylum)
- the Tr-*inak*-ians or 'Inaḥidic Tyrrhenians', inhabitants of Tr-*inak*-ia i.e. prehistoric Spain, and by extension Liguria and Central Italy, worshippers of the god Janus, whose more original Basque name is Basojaun (with the claim, as we shall see, of Eastern Mediterranean parallels, going back to a common origin, in the Carian Osogōs – allegedly a variant of Poseidon⁵⁷ – and in the Armenian Oskia (the 'Gold Mother', whose name possibly associates with that of the Oscians of Italy)
- the inhabitants of *Ichn*-ussa, the ancient name of Sardinia; also called Daternians or Sardunii – the ancient forms Satur-*inacho*, Hatur-*inacho*, containing the *-inach*- element again.

Incidentally, we hit here upon another major weakness of Karst's method: *his criteria for considering two names as belonging to the same bundle are neither explicit nor strict*. There is not enough explicit methodology to guarantee that another researcher working on the same

⁵⁶ Here we see once more that it is no exaggeration to chide Karst for gross inconsistencies. The present passage from his 1931a book does not do justice to what he presents, only one page above (p. 278), as the tripartite schema of Atlantean migrations: I sub-Mongoloid = Šem ; II Ibero-Aethiopians = Ḥam; III Hamito-Semites. The Hamito-Semites would be the equivalents of Japheth in this scheme, but instead Japheth is now reserved for the Caucasoid peoples – in line with common Biblical interpretations in the early 20th c. CE – usually overgrown with essentialising notions of White, North Atlantic distinctness and supremacy (e.g. Marr 1899 / 1894; Crawford 1891; M. 1863). One way out of this dilemma is to stress that the original Biblical writers and editors, active mainly in the 6th c. BCE, were not early-20th-century scholars, and lacked the latter's linguistic, historical and genetic training, and preoccupations...

⁵⁷ We will return, below, to the Greek god Poseidon. The perspective that Karst opens up differs dramatically from the standard approach to Poseidon in Greek mythology. For Karst Poseidon (whom he also claims to recognise – 1928b: 36, 88 – under such manifestations as the Basque Basojaun and the Germanic Wotan / Odin – i.e. White Gods of Creation or of Secondary Creation – for a discussion of this extensive divine category cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 135 f. –, after a universal catastrophe such as the Flood) is in the first place the counterpart of the goddess Athena, with whom Poseidon allegedly forms a Proto-Pelasgian divine pair, not so much in the Aegean region, but in Central Asia – where they foreshadow the Chinese creation gods Fu Xi and Nu Wa. In Aegean mythology, Poseidon primarily appears as one of three brothers who have divided the world between them (Homer, *Iliad*, XV, 184 f.). For studies in the latter standard approach, cf. Schachermeyr 1950; Bloch c.s. 1985; Heimberg 1968; Schachter 1986; Suhr 1967; Poetscher 1977. In his own right, Woudhuizen has made interesting contributions to the study of Poseidon in his sections of *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (2011: espec. p. 323f.)

material would make the same connections between names. In fact, we have already pointed out as a weakness of Karst's poorly written book that he repeatedly allows several rival interpretations of a name to stand side by side, even if this means that the same name is then bundled with different ranges of other names.



1 Noah people

2 Enakim

3 Peloponnesus as Inahia, eponym
Inahus, Inahid people

4 Iḥnussa, ancient name of Sar-
dinia

5 Janus people

6 Tyrrhenians as Inahid people

7 Trinakia as Inahid region

8 Inahido-Caucasians of Central
Asia ('Turan')

9 Ainu

10 Sinocaucasian cluster, especially
Sinotibetan

11 Sem [Šem] people; the extent to
which they may be considered a
wedge intruding between peo-
ple associated with Ḥam and
those with Japheth, may be
gauged from Fig. 2.5, below

Fig. 2.4. Karst's (1931a) views on Noah, the Noahides, the Inahide complex, and the Šem people in the proto-historical Mediterranean and beyond


As Fig. 2.4 brings out, these Inahide peoples as distinguished by Karst constitute, in his opinion, a considerable presence, or substrate, all over the Ancient Mediterranean. Their onomastic and cultic shared features (notably the cult of Basojaun / Janus, cf. the West Asian Oannes and the South Asian Ganesha: yet further White Gods) may or may not have given rise to conscious recognition of kinship between them. Evidence on this point is scarce. But let us not overlook the fact that the *Table of Nations*, with its unitary structure of all-encompassing inclusion, is in itself a sign of such recognition of a common identity, which may very well (in line with both conventional and Karstian identifications of Javan's 'sons'; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 183, 188) have extended all the way from Palestine to the Ligurian coast. The pattern of the distribution of these 'Inahide' peoples can be understood against the general background van Karst's reconstruction of Mediterranean pre- and proto-history.

Further, Karst (1931a: 553 f.) sees Noah not as originating in the world of the Old Testament (Early Iron Age, North-Western Semitic – *i.e.* Afroasiatic – speaking, Palestine) but as a much older god, whose name he reconstructs (also on the basis of Amerindian and especially South Asian resonances, but extremely unconvincingly) as Nahuša-Jima-Manu, with Iberian (Central Asian / Proto-Sinocaucasian, pre-Afroasiatic) connotations.⁵⁸ Probably we should not look so far, and simply see Noah as comparable with the cosmogonic god Janus and his cognates. Karst did not clearly spot the cosmogonic element in Noah himself, yet we have shown it to be unmistakable to the extent to which Noah belongs to the type of the White God (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 137, Table 6.3).⁵⁹ And according to Greek myth, Inachus, the son of Oceanus and Tethys, was the tamer of the waters after the Flood, legendary first king of Argos, father of the moon goddess Io – so in many respects comparable with Noah and his moon-associated son Japheth (Japetus, < *Io-phet), but also with order-bringing East Asian culture heroes such as 大禹 Yu the Great, and 女媧 Nu Wa.⁶⁰

If we accept, in general, one of Karst's basic ideas (which clearly underlies the entire *Table of Nations* anyway) to the effect that the name of an eponym, mythical ancestor, hero, priest or god stands for an ethnic group, people or state as a whole, there is no reason why this should not apply to Noah. The problem is mainly that we have difficulty visualising how historical actors in the Late Bronze / Early Iron Ages could consciously conceive of the referent Karst proposes in this case, 'the Palaeo-Asiatic, Aino-Inaḥidic or sub-Mongoloid phylum', which would not present itself as a coherent, tangible element in their own spatio-temporal situation. Are we to assume that these historical actors used the same somatic distinctions as Karst, and that their distinctions encompassed the entire Old World and reached back into the Neolithic, Mesolithic or even Upper Palaeolithic? That would be implausible. However, what comes to Karst's rescue here is our appreciation that his conception of the kind of knowledge mediated in the *Table of Nations* is fundamentally different from that of most Biblical scholars: for him, the onomastic material in this data set is the mere sediment (above I used the expression 'flotsam') of broad historical and migratory currents stretching all across the Old World, as fragmented

⁵⁸ Nahuša features as a royal avatar of the primal god Indra in Hindu mythology (*e.g.* Hildebeitel 1977). Jima of Silla was a Korean ruler in the early 2nd c. CE. Manu was not so much the Chaldaean / Mesopotamian god of fate, but particularly the first human in Hindu tradition – the one saved from the Flood by Matsya as a fish-shaped avatar of the Hindu primal god Vishnu (Magnone 1999; Anonymous, *The Matsya Purana*; Sri Vyasadeva 1892). What seems to unite this rather heterogeneous assembly is their exalted, royal human nature. The contentious implication seems to be that Nahuša may be considered a variant of the name Noah.

⁵⁹ The late (beginning of the Common Era) description of the *albino* Noah at birth in the Ethiopian *Book of Enoch* suggests that Noah is another White God of Creation or Secondary Creation (after the Flood), and that the snow-white swan was closely associated with him if not, at one stage, identical with him, before he was thoroughly bowdlerised into a human person – albeit a unique culture hero from whom all of mankind descends, to whom we owe the (apparently central) invention of wine, as well as a fundamental ordering of the relations between man and the non-human world (*Genesis* 9), and a covenant with God that will prevent further global destruction by flooding.

⁶⁰ Apart from the phonological similarity of the names Noah and Inachus, the parallel between these two mythical characters may be even more extensive: Flood-associated Noah has substantial cosmological connotations. *E.g.*, a likely Ancient Egyptian etymology of his name would be  Nu(n)-Aḥ, 'Primal Waters / Celestial Horizon'. But also Boeotia has such connotations: Karst demonstrates (1931a: 430 f.) that also this toponym, meaning 'flood land' in a number of West Asian and Aegean contexts (including the one that Inachus allegedly ruled) was projected onto the heavens, as designation of the Northern celestial region.

hypertext that need not be consciously meaningful to the historical actors (in terms of their own experience in time and place) from whom we derive that data set. What is more, it is certain that the data set has been subjected to these historical actors' secondary reinterpretations in such devious ways as to make a retrieval of the original historical referents extremely difficult and problematic. Recent molecular population genetics (Forster 2004) has proposed a broad overall pattern of human migration over the past c. 80 to 60 ka years (since the 'Out of Africa' migration of Anatomically Modern Man) in terms of an initial movement due East along the Indian Ocean coast, to South East Asia, and from there more towards the North and the West into the Asian interior, only finally (ca. 40,000 years BP) to reach Europe. In such a scenario the recognition of somatically distinct phyla, and their autophylic association with specific names, eponyms, heroes,⁶¹ is a (albeit somewhat remote) possibility, even if we do not credit historical actors with the powers to impose such distinctions upon others than themselves, with such consistency and with such effective transmission through the ages, that the pattern remains discernable many thousands of years later.

2.3.3. Proposed 'Mongoloid' phyla speaking (Proto-)Sinotibetan: Nimrod, Arkites / Arkim, Sinites / Sinim in the *Table of Nations*

In his *Exkurs V: Ueber die subinachidischen oder mongoloïden Urstämme des praehistorischen Vorderasiens und Mittelmeergebiets* Karst (1931a: 447 f.; 'Digression on the sub-Inahidic or Mongoloid original groups of prehistoric West Asia and the Mediterranean') offers interesting, possible indications of the prehistoric presence of Sinotibetan speaking peoples and languages in and near the Mediterranean.

Although running counter to a modern geopolitical mindset which confines Sinotibetan speakers in the East Asia, Karst's conception makes some sense, considering that modern long-range linguists tend to discern a Sinocaucasian linguistic macro-family extending from the Caucasus (or even from Basque country) via the Burushaski language insulate in modern Pakistan to the modern Sinotibetan speaking region and then, across the Bering Strait, to the Na-Dene speakers of North America. The relatively late peopling of North America from Asia would then suggest a scenario according to which Proto-Sinocaucasian would have been a major language family in Central Asia, from where it ramified both West into the Caucasus region, and East towards Tibet, China, and North America. Karst merely confirms suggestions of an extensive continuity between West Asia and China, which, since the late 19th century CE, scholars have raised in connection with the origin and diffusion of writing, agriculture, astronomy, divination systems, divine kingship with funerary human sacrifice, Dionysian and leopard symbolism, the legendary founding population core of Chinese culture *etc.*⁶²

⁶¹ *Heroes*, more likely than *gods*, since the latter's transcendence appears to be a relatively recent invention with Neolithic connotations: the invention of the concept of transcendence as a mental movement seems to be closely tied up with the invention of writing, the state, science, and the priesthood.

⁶² ONCE MORE: SNAKE-FOOTEDNESS. See van Binsbergen 2012: ch. 7, pp. 215 f., with extensive references. The Assyriologist Temple (1976; unfortunately in an academically highly suspect argument notably one suggesting intercession by extraterrestrial beings) drew attention to the extensive continuities between the Sumerian Fish-

It is remarkable that also Biblical scholars have noted what could be interpreted as repeated references to China and Chinese, also in the context of the *Table of Nations* (Wiseman 1976; see below). Karst takes a radical stance in this connection, insisting on his point that in ancient onomastic material very extensive continuities in space and time become detectable; therefore, way beyond the regional context, he sees Šem (in other words, through the Karstian ethnicisation mechanism of 'Personification': the Šem people), around whose central position the *Table of Nations* is constructed, as representing an originally Sinotibetan ethnic element in the Ancient Near East.

At this point it may be instructive to quote our 2011 discussion extensively (p. 154):

'From the point of view of today's linguistic scholarship, the overall division of *Genesis 10* coincides with one between Afroasiatic (Ham and Šem⁶³ – Afroasiatic used to be known as Hamitic until well into the 20th century CE) on the one hand, Eurasianic (especially Indo-European) on the other hand. This suggests that the division may be rooted in some contemporary ethnico-linguistic reality perceived by the historical actors. Yet its designation in terms of an opposition between Ham and Japheth amounts to a cosmological division which, at the time of the redaction of *Genesis 10*, may have been at least 10 ka old! Given this extremely remote provenance, and its *Borean association, the Noah character could have come from anywhere in the Old World.

Human culture hero Oannes / Johannes from the Persian Gulf, and the snake-footed Chinese culture heroes Fu Xi (male, with solar connotations) and Nu Wa (female, with lunar connotations). The same iconography may be found among the Ancient Etruscans and Greeks, and more recently in Nigeria.

⁶³ ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF BIBLICAL NAMES, ESPECIALLY NOAH'S AND HIS SONS'. Please note that we are only referring to the present-day, etc, imposed linguistic classification of the main languages spoken in the geopolitical areas roughly indicated in the *Table of Nations*. Our suggestion is not that the names themselves of Noah and his alleged sons belong to any of these languages, specifically. One of the recurrent problems we run into when seeking to interpret Biblical proper names (especially those of Noah's sons, who provide the framework for the *Table of Nations* in *Genesis 10*), is that we can by no means be sure from which language or even phylum < macrophylum the name should be derived. Traditionally, Biblical scholars have assumed that Biblical names should have an Hebrew etymology, but this is unlikely for names that have a much older circulation in the Ancient Near East (such as the name Nimrod), and even world-wide (such as the name Noah; see van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Fig. 6.7, p. 154 f; espec. Tables 6.10-11, where – via Afroasiatic, Sinocaucasian or Austric – a *Borean-originating etymology is favoured: *WVNXY, 'breast, udder / nipple' (cf. Bengtson & Ruhlen 1994: 54), reinforcing the idea of Noah as a nurturing female creator divinity). Interpreting the name Šem would seem to be facilitated by the fact that there is a Hebrew word נִשְׁמָה ha-šēm, 'the name' – although 'name' is a puzzling... name for a person, and sounds rather like a dummy word or like the kind of pun Odysseus, 'Nobody / Ōūnç' was playing upon the Cyclops in the *Odyssey IX*. In the context of the Ancient Near East, interpretation of Šem as 'Name' seems to be corroborated by the fact that, still in the West Semitic linguistic realm, other divine figures are designated 'Name of...', such as Astarte and Anat, who appear as 'Name of Ba'al', in other words as 'hypostasis (subalterm, support)] of Ba'al' (Albright 1936-1937: 33; Ginsberg 1945). But even if there is a West Semitic fit, there is still a considerable chance that the name of Šem derives, not from Hebrew but from Egypt – as so much in Judaism, including the image of the Ark, the Cherubim, the overall temple outline, etc. (cf. Görg 1997); after all, during a large part of the formative period of Judaism, Palestine was under Egyptian rule, and Moses, the alleged founder of Judaism, was supposed to be an Egyptian royal prince. Apart from the figure of the pardivested Sm priest, who performs the opening of the mouth ceremony, Gardiner 1994 / 1927: 590, s.v. sm, lists a fair number of meanings for Egyptian sm, ranging from 'plant' to 'succour; unite; hair; slay' etc.

Considered from a cosmological point of view, the identification of Japheth as moon and Ham as sun would lead to a third element, Šem, to be identified with the stars (to which Abram's offspring is compared in *Genesis 15:5*). The latter metaphor (for reasons that would take us too far here, cf. van Binsbergen 2004, and in press (g)), would invite connotations of leopard symbolism, and shamanism, well in accordance with the image that is now materialising of the Šem people as an immigrant Northern or North-Eastern group from a different cultural and linguistic identity, establishing themselves in a position of ritual authority among the people of Northern Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine. From this perspective, there might, after all, be a hidden link with the Ancient Egyptian, pardivested Sm priest.

In Fig. 2.5, clearly, the essential bifurcation is between Ḥam and Japheth, while Šem is forced in between as a category not belonging to the same level as the other two – as an afterthought.

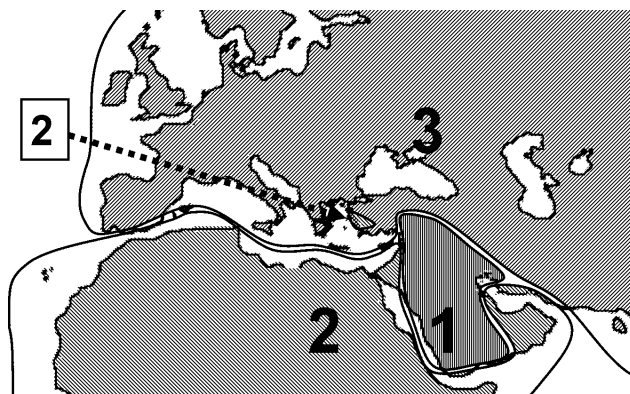


Fig. 2.5. The geographical regions associated, in *Genesis 10*, with the three apical ancestors, Šem (1), Ḥam (2) and Japheth (3)

Note the intrusion of Ḥam in the form of Lud - Lydians into the Japhethic domain in Western Asia Minor. This may be an indication of an Egypt-related migration from the Southern shore of the Mediterranean – perhaps of the same kind as, or identical with, what geneticists have reconstructed as the African origin of the Greeks (Arnaiz-Villena *et al.* 1999, 2001a). When, in the time of the Sea Peoples, we see the Egyptians sending shipments of grain to Lydia in order to alleviate a famine there (Barnett 1987), this may be related to this kind of long-standing affinities.

However, rather more inviting in Karst's picture is what he calls the 'Hyperborean' or 'Ligy-Hyperborean' language family, which is occasionally also adorned with the epithets 'Sumeroid', Finno-Ugric, Uralic, and even Jenisseian / Yenisiseian.⁶⁴ This is what Karst (1931a: 240) calls the 'Hyperborean-Palaeo-Eurasian element'. He invokes this element (*Einschlag*) as a substrate, to explain the numerous syntactic and lexical correspondences between (a) several Near Eastern languages and (b) Nubian-Libyan ones. In a modern terminology of long-range historical linguistics we would largely identify the Ligy-Hyperborean linguistic cluster as belonging to the Eurasiatic / Nostratic macro-family, of which it would constitute the geographically central group, *i.e.* Uralic and Altaic, as phyla whose present areas are to be found mainly East of the Indo-European phylum. In bewildering deviance from today's long-range linguistics, Karst sees Afroasiatic as emerging from the postulated interaction, in West Asia or North-Eastern Africa, between the Central Proto-Nostratic / Eurasiatic cluster, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a, Proto-Dravidian-related, linguistic element coming from South Central Asia and associated with the Westbound migrations of what he calls the 'Ibero-Aethiopians' – which is where the

⁶⁴ The latter two names derive, respectively, from (a) the Ural mountains which form the conventional boundary between Asia and Europe, and (b) from the Yenisei River. However, while Uralic is agreed to belong to the Eurasiatic / Nostratic macrophylum, by present-day scholarly practice – at least within the approach of the Tower of Babel etymological database (Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008) – the label Yenisiseian is reserved for a phylum within the Sinocaucasian macrophylum.

Nub[i?]an-Libyan element comes in; another such Westbound migration, but tending more towards the North and carried by brachycephalic people, Karst (1931a; 1931b: 27 f.) sees leading to the Caucasus and the Black Sea, as basis for the Caucasian-speaking peoples. It is virtually impossible to translate such a preposterous argument towards a mainstream modern terminology.

	PVCV sprinkle	PVCV to prepare food	PVCV penis (vulva)	PVCV to break crumble	PVCV bad, evil	PVCV fart	PVCV to crush	PVCV snake	PVCV hand, paw	PVCV shine, sun	PVCV stick	PVCV bitter, gal?	PVCV to blow	PVCV frost cold
TVNV sun, day														
TVNV big tree														
TVNV to pull, stretch														
TVNV to melt, flow														
TVNV weapon (spear, sword)														
TVNV pot, vessel														
TVNV to see														
TVNV to sit														
TVNV hole														
TVNV bow, arc														
TVNV eat														
TVNV part of nose														
TVNV tail														
TVNV know, hear														
TVNV stop, stand														
TVNV to cut														
TVNV top														
TVNV sun, day														
TVNV small, thin, short														

The dozens of-filled cells offer potentially meaningful if unlikely semantic combinations, such as 'with the small penis', 'sun heat causing the ice to melt', 'sun bow', 'sun spear', 'genealogical tree of issue from the same womb', etc. Without further context it is impossible to decide which are the more applicable ones. Yet the entire analysis carries the suggestion that it may not be too far-fetched to consider the name Poseidon not originally Greek from the Late Bronze Age (where it was first attested, cf. Pernasi 2001-2002: 223), but very much older, and originating more Easterly in Eurasia than the Aegean region.

Table 2.4. Possible semantics of the name of Poseidon conceived as *Borean *PVCV-*TVNV

Karst even has the bad taste of identifying the South Central Asian centre of tradition with Plato's Atlantis – as we shall see shortly; thus adopting the mythical theme of the Atlanteans, *en vogue* just before his time among such Theosophists and Anthroposophist as Helena Blavatsky and Rudolph Steiner. However, let us realise that Karst is pioneering modern long-range historical linguistics decades before their accomplished emergence in the 1960s Moscow School (Illich-Svitych, Dolgopolsky), the very concept of Nostratic / Eurasiatic was still beyond him, let alone the higher level of the *Borean reconstruction under which Nostratic / Eurasiatic has meanwhile come to be subsumed. We can reject Karst's clumsy proposals for long-range connections, but may forgive him for only dimly, or not at all, appreciating higher level differentiating between

- Nostratic / Eurasiatic with (Bomhard, Bomhard & Kerns) or without Afroasiatic (the Starostin school of long-range historical linguistics)
- Central Nostratic / Eurasiatic, *i.e.* Uralic and Altaic
- Proto-Nostratic / Eurasiatic,
- a Pre-Nostratic / Eurasiatic layer that might have been Proto-Sinocaucasian, but especially, even underneath the latter:
- Proto-Khoisanoid, and even *Borean.

In the context of the *Table of Nations* the principal gain of Karst's suspect pioneering attempts is the recognition of various ethnonyms and ethnic eponyms (Arkites / Arkim, Sinites / Sinim, Nimrod) as signs of the presence, in or near the Biblical Lands, of archaic Asiatic peoples who have to be added to our conventional picture of proto-historical Mediterranean dynamics involving Caucasian, Basque,⁶⁵ Afroasiatic and Indo-European languages and their speakers. Daringly but not surprisingly, the Sinites are specifically interpreted by Karst as Sinic, while Nimrod is taken to be the eponym of a 'Turanic' people with either Sinic, South Central Asian ('Atlantean' / Indo-European?), and possibly Uralic / Altaic connotations.

2.3.4. South Central Asia as a centre of prehistoric radiation of peoples, languages and cultures

Ultimately, Nimrod as the first warrior-king, the first empire builder, is relegated by Karst to the legendary beginnings of large-scale, almost imperial, civilisation, for which he takes Plato's (*Timaeus*) legendary image of Atlantis as a model. Finding that in prehistory an East-to-West movement of peoples, languages, cults, cultures, and names predominates, Karst seeks this supposedly oldest civilisation in Central Asia ('Turan'), South Asia, and East Asia. From today's standpoint, the Indus valley and the Bactria-Sogdiana Complex ('BSC') of modern archaeology, would offer suitable models, but they are far too recent to fit Karst's bill. It is in South Central Asia that, in Karst's opinion, the original 'Atlantis' is to be sought, although not under that name: Karst reconstructs an original name Kangha or Kangdiz, with Pashutan⁶⁶ as its ruler, hero or god. Nimrod, with his allegedly first empire in human history, is comparable with other legendary conquerors and primal rulers who penetrated deeply into Asia: Alexander, Dulqarnain,⁶⁷ the Ancient Greek god Dionysus, Sesostris, Osiris, and the Chinese primal emperor / culture hero / sun god Fu Xi. Inevitably, an enormous amount of conflation and mythical concentration has gone on around these figures,

⁶⁵ This presses especially when it comes to identifying the local (*i.e.* inhabiting the Western Iberian peninsula) ancestors, if any, of the Basques; Cavalli-Sforza (et al. 1994) suggests that they were Khoisanoid aboriginals, Mesolithic microlith-using hunter-gatherers, such as amply represented in the Mesolithic archaeological record, and he may be right.

⁶⁶ Pashutan is allegedly to be equalled with Plato's Poseidon. Conceived as *Borean *PVCV-*TVNV the name Poseidon could yield dozens of possible *Borean etymologies, see Table 2.4). Also the association of Poseidon, and even Athena, with horses could point to Central Asia, where horse riding and especially the horse-drawn spoked-wheel chariot were invented in the Middle Bronze Age.

⁶⁷ The dualis form Dulqarnain means 'Two-Horns', an epithet of Alexander of Macedonia (356-323 BCE); the epithet gave rise to a whole legendary cycle of its own, in several continents; *cf.* Gopala Pillai n.d.; Harrigan n.d.; Janaki n.d.; Lombard 1993; as well as the Shikanda motif among the Nkoya, van Binsbergen 1992, 2010.

so that their individual features, as legendary or even (as in the cases of Alexander of Macedonia and of Sesostrius (Senwosret I / III) of Egypt) historical persons, have blended. The existence of the name *Nimrûs*, 'Noon land', for the Central Asian province of Zabulistan, suggests Central Asian connotations of the Nimrod name, as well as bestowing on him the solar symbolism that is associated with kingship throughout the Old World. The Ancient Georgian *Vachtan Chronicle* (*non vidi*; Karst 1931a: 573; Karst was its editor) is claimed to mention the people of *Nebroth*, probably another manifestation of Nimrod. Also,

'With Ni-mrod (Nebroth), we might also consider the parallel Iranian primal king Kai-mors, Gaio-mart as an "Ibero-Hamitic" eponym for a pre-Indo-European primal people.' (Karst 1931a: 490).⁶⁸

I much prefer to ignore the legendary Atlantis connotations of this alleged cradle of civilisation. We may simply conceptualise it as a Central or South Central Asian region producing over-population throughout a number of centuries, even millennia, for whatever combination of ecological, technological, or socio-political causes. Now, from this region, several major migratory movements are claimed by Karst to have taken place:⁶⁹

1. A migration of people of sub-'Mongoloid' stock (but note that Mongolian is not a Sino-caucasian language but a Eurasiatic one), on the one hand to
 - a. the North ('Turan') and East (China *etc.*), as Proto-Sinotibetan speakers: on the other, to
 - b. the West, perhaps largely as Proto-Sino-caucasian speakers but more likely as Proto-Uralic ones, to provide a substrate for Sumer, Ancient Egypt, as well as traces in Palestine (already indicated above), and moreover in modern Libya, Mauretania *etc.* If we are to rely on the interpretation of Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* (1994) according to which modern Khoisan speakers had ancestors in South Asia c. 10 ka BP, this overall movement might also have included the migration (dated by modern population genetics to after 10,000 BP) of Proto-Khoisan speakers from West Asia to Africa – but according to more recent, molecular-genetic analyses, this interpretation may be spurious (Morris 2002; Barbieri *et al.* 2014)
2. A migration, also Westward, of 'sub-Iberians or Iberian-Ethiopians' (Elamites, Fulbe, Nuba, Upper Nilotics) which today we would identify as Nilosaharan speakers. Karst's use of the term 'Iberian' in this connection echoes the role which the modern Iberian peninsula (Spain and Portugal) is to play in the history of this migratory wave, yet is not at all to be limited to that peninsula in South-Western Europe. For

⁶⁸ Gayamaretan / Gāyōmart is the primal man in Zoroastrianism (*Bundahishn* III).

⁶⁹ In sketching this overall picture of Old-World cultural history Karst continues to use the Atlantean metaphor, which lends to his text the kind of mythopoetic overtones to which modern scholars tend to be highly allergic (even though we have to appreciate the inevitable mythopoetic elements in all scholarship, cf van Binsbergen 2003c, 2021a). I have reformulated Karst on this point in order to have maximum (perhaps, too much) agreement with the state-of-the-art hypothesis of the disintegration of *Borean into the various modern macrophyta (Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008, and ample literature there). One may well wonder what the criteria are which have to be met in order to substantiate the kind of long-range pronouncements as made by Karst. Here we could think of (a) explicit, methodologically sound, intersubjective, identification of a linguistic, archaeological, and ethnographic nature, and (b) the demonstrated convergence of these three identificatory dimensions. *Karst's argument is not meeting such criteria in the least.* But let us not forget that one of the most advanced fields of comparative linguistics, Indo-European studies, is likewise still far removed from the point where these three dimensions may be agreed, by the specialist, to demonstrably converge. The lack of matching between archaeological and linguistic evidence is a recurrent puzzle in this field (Hencken 1955; Mallory 1989; Renfrew 1987; Sherratt & Sherratt 1988; Gimbutas 1963, 1990; Nichols 1997; Cosmopoulos 1999; Hawkes 1987; Nichols 1997; Woudhuizen 1990-1991, 2015).

by analogy to the multiple Eastern Southern and Western locations of ‘Libya’, ‘Havila’, ‘Cush’ (cf. Figs. 3.4.4, 3.4.5, 3.4.6, and the textual discussion surrounding them; following in the trail of ancient geographers (cf. Ptolemy 1525; Butler 1908 / 1907), Karst (1931a: 224) also identifies a more original ‘Eastern Iberia / Hiberia’ in West Central Asia, whence the Western Iberia of Spain-Portugal derives its name. Moreover, in ways to be discussed below, Karst sees these toponyms as closely associated with an Eber people whose ramifications, while encompassing the Biblical Hebrews and the Hapiru / Abiru of the Ancient Near East in general, are even much more widespread. Proto-Bantuoids are supposed, by Karst,⁷⁰ to have been part of this movement, skirting – on their way to sub-Saharan Africa – the Mediterranean and leaving substantial traces there. In the process, a secondary ‘Atlantis’ was allegedly engendered in the maritime region comprising Africa Minor / Sicily / Southern Italy.

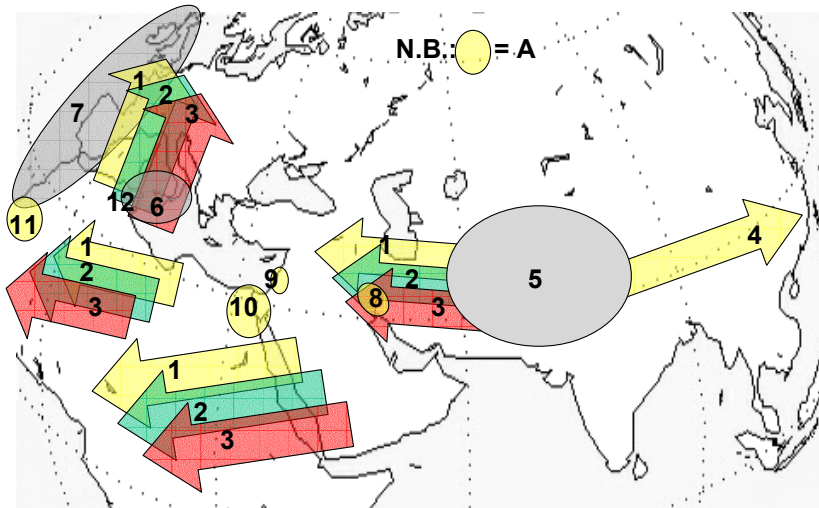
3. A migration of Proto-Afroasiatic speakers (in Karst’s dated terminology: ‘Hamito-Semites’).

One way of making some sense of this Karstian fantasy of origins and connections is to consider the essentially East-West movement he seems to have had in mind, as an implied aspect of the Back-into-Africa movement from c. 15 ka BP onward, which modern geneticists have discovered.

It is surprising that Indo-European speakers should not be explicitly mentioned by Karst as part of these migrations. Yet, as an Armenologist Indo-European would be his first allegiance. In fact, whenever we encounter Indo-European speakers in Karst’s book, it is as late-comers, in the wake especially of Afroasiatic speakers. One way of dealing with this situation is to opt for that particular version of the Nostratic / Eurasian theory (other versions deny that Afroasiatic is part of Nostratic / Eurasian) according to which Indo-European and Afroasiatic are closely related branches of Nostratic / Eurasian; perhaps Indo-European could even be considered as, specifically, an offshoot of Afroasiatic by the time the latter had reached West Asia. However, these are highly contentious fields of theory and historical reconstruction,

⁷⁰ Karst here joins the camp, to which also the great Italian linguist Trombetti (1905, 1923) belonged, of those who seek the origin of the Bantu linguistic phylum (< Nigercongo) outside sub-Saharan Africa. For an appreciation of Africa’s and Africans’ place in the modern world such a counter-paradigmatic position is of the greatest importance within the global politics of knowledge. Mainstream African linguistics has, for decades, held the view that Bantu emerged inside Africa, in the Late Chad region, c. 8 ka BP. I am inclined to follow Karst and Trombetti, on the basis of a number of converging empirical considerations that are based on painstaking research over the decades: (a) statistical analysis of the Bantu lexical material against the reconstructed protolexicons of the world’s macrophyla brings out that Bantu, in many respects, may be considered a descendant or reflex from *Borean, notably one that, along with Austric and Amerind, constitutes a Peripheral Cluster of the branches into which *Borean disintegrated c. 20 ka BP – as against a Central or Continental Cluster composed of Eurasian, Sinocaucasian, and Afroasiatic (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 77 f.; van Binsbergen, in press (d)); (b) finding (A) is corroborated by unexpected ethnographic convergence, not only between (1) the Bantu-speaking cultures of sub-Saharan Africa and (2) Indonesia (which could result from far more recent Sunda migrations; cf. Dick-Read 2004; van Binsbergen 2017b), but also between (1) and the originally pre-conquest cultures of North America; (c) despite the mainstream attempt (notably by Witzel, 2001 and 2012; cf. Cavalli-Sforza 1991, 1997) to relegate sub-Saharan African mythologies to a primordial ‘Gondwana’ realm of primitivism largely unrelated to the more developed and dynamic ‘Laurasian’ realm to which the civilisations of Eurasia belong, there is much detailed evidence to claim an essential continuity between African and Eurasian continuities (van Binsbergen 2010a).

deeply entrenched in the global politics of knowledge, and I decline to rush in where angels fear to tread.



More recent migrations overlay the older ones:
 1 sub-Mongoloids (probably including Proto-Khoisanoids) – A₁
 2 sub-Iberians or Ibero-Aethiopians (including pre- or Proto-Bantuoids) – B
 3 Afroasiatic speakers (Hamito-Semites) – C
 4 sub-Mongoloids to East Asia – A₂

5 South Central Asian centre of radiation ('Atlantis I')
 6 Erythia, Thettalia ('Atlantis II')
 7 Hesperia / Iberia / 'Atlantis III'
 A = regions manifesting the formative effect of stream 'y' in the West:
 8 Sumer
 9 Palestine, with the name Canaan, and with Amorites / Amurru as

reminders of migration 'y'
 10 Egypt
 11 Mauretania, with Maurusii and Pharusii as reminders of migration A₁
 12 Henani, Morgetes, in Africa Minor and Sicily, as reminders of migration A₁

Fig. 2.6. Three major migrations emanating from South Central Asia according to Karst (1931a)

2.3.5. The contentious megalithic dimension

Interestingly, the ethnic and linguistic distribution patterns that have become visible so far from a Karstian perspective, appear to have a considerable bearing on an old and tough bone of contention in archaeology: the distribution and interpretation of megaliths. In *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*, megaliths were discussed in the following terms:

More recent megalith studies would be less inclined to lump all types of megalithic structures and practices world-wide, yet I submit that a Pelasgian perspective even on an aggregated concept of megaliths would be illuminating in explaining, to some extent, the intriguing global distribution, which ranges from Western Europe to Korea, Indonesia and the Fiji Islands, and from Central Africa to the Baltic and the Black Sea (cf. Fig. 28.14, which sketches a tentative global distribution of megalithic structures and practices).⁷¹

⁷¹ [At this point, the original 2011 footnote lists several dozen published sources on megaliths worldwide.] Moreover, to Piggott (1973: 161 n. 4), whom Renfrew would however consider totally obsolete and unacceptable, we owe the reminder that henge monuments, conspicuous in the West European megalithic context, are also to be found in the Amerindian realm.

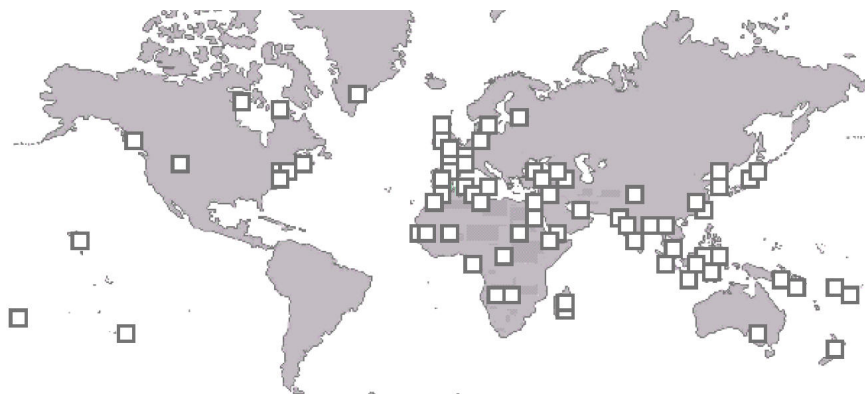


Fig. 2.6a. Global distribution of megalithic structures and practices (excerpt from van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Fig. 28.14)

Against this [apparently] Pelasgian background, considering the fact that some of the Sea Peoples ended up in Syro- Palestine and may even have originated there, and in the light of the abundance of megalithic remains in that region (...) I feel justified to propose, as a mere possibility, a megalithic dimension for the Sea Peoples.' (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 378f.)

When the postulated Atlantean migration reached Western Europe, Karst sees a *tertiary Atlantis* engendered on what we now, allegedly for that reason, call the Atlantic Ocean.⁷² Sharing the fascination for megaliths that characterised archaeology and diffusionist⁷³ anthropology in the late 19th

⁷² Although he attributes the third wave to Japheth, who is often considered, by others, to represent the Indo-Europeans, Karst classifies the third wave as 'Hamitic', i.e. Afroasiatic.

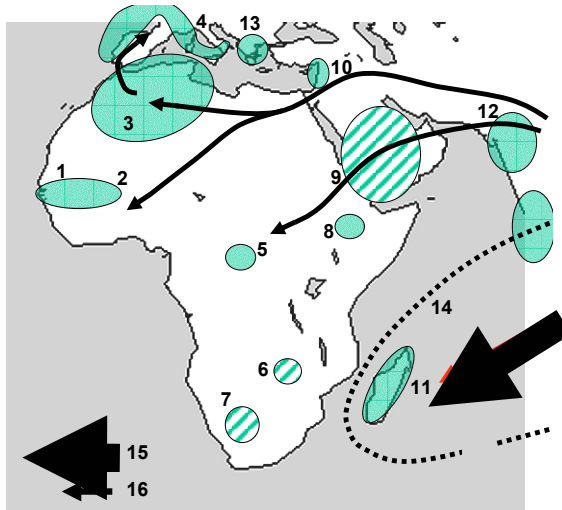
⁷³ ON DIFFUSION, CULTURAL INERTIA, UNIVERSALS, AND RELIGION. Although diffusion had constituted the main paradigm of early anthropology around 1900 CE, it became a dirty word among professional anthropologists once they had formulated a theory of culture and a method of prolonged local fieldwork – the paradigm of classic anthropology by which to distinguish themselves professionally from the paradigms of an earlier vintage. Diffusion remained disreputable among anthropologists for most of the 20th c. CE, even though the neighbouring disciplines of linguistics and especially archaeology continued to use the term as a key word. In the last decades of the 20th c. CE, globalisation studies lend a new lease of life to diffusion in anthropology, as far as the diffusion of modern practices and artefacts is concerned. Also the 'Out of Africa' hypothesis for the rise of Anatomically Modern Man, to which most palaeoanthropologists have come to subscribe since it was first formulated in the late 1980s, has given a new inspiration to diffusionist arguments. It has made us consider whether such (near-) universals of culture like articulate language, kinship, the incest prohibition, marriage, cat's cradles, red-white-black colour symbolism, and speckled symbolism, could have been part of the original 'Out of Africa' package: the cultural achievements of Anatomically Modern Humans inside Africa between 200 and 80 ka BP (I have termed this package 'Pandora's Box'), prior to the spread of this package, largely through demic diffusion, to other continents from c. 80-60 ka BP. If this is the true background of present-day apparent cultural universals, they would constitute a powerful argument for long-range cultural inertia over tens of thousands of years. (However, rival explanations exist: (a) parallel and convergent independent invention in the basis of a common human mind; and (b) the innate nature of certain aspects of what we usually consider to be culture, e.g. language capability, archetypes, arachnophobia etc.) But even if *Inertia* is at hand here, we would still have to explain why these, out of all possible or later institutions, could have been so utterly persistent – perhaps because institutions are in general simply more persistent than we always thought (a claim which flies in the face of all historic evidence); or perhaps their belonging to the original 'Out of Africa' heritage endowed them with particular sacrality throughout subsequent cultures (in its generality an undocumented claim, even though in many cultures the appeal to ancestral tradition is an important legitimisation basis for local cultural practices; or perhaps because they particularly address, in ways still to be ascertained, the genetically determined structure of the human mind, or survival strategies of human groups. Or, simply

and early 20th century CE.⁷⁴ He believed that megaliths mark this migratory path to the West; and he is excited when reports come in on megaliths in Ethiopia, which would be situated on this West-bound migration path (Azais & Chambard 1931; Wohlenberg 1936). Subsequent research including much improved dating techniques have led to a rapid succession of paradigms in megalithic studies since the times of Karst; and with a scholarly consensus tending towards a Bronze Age dating of most megaliths in Western Eurasia, Northern Africa (Senegal, Maghreb, Ethiopia), Madagascar, India and South-East Asia, the time scales would appear to be far too narrow to accommodate the vast processes of ethnic and linguistic change that Karst seeks to encompass, suspiciously monodirectionally, under this heading of 'Atlantean migrations'. Yet he may have a point in implying that the distribution of megaliths might be attributed to Palaeo-Pelagian migration from West Asia.

Interestingly, also Athena (more or less Poseidon's counterpart in Greek mythology, specifically his rival in a contest over the control of Attica; cf. Schachermeyr 1950; Poetscher 1977) finds her proper place here, in 'Turan' (one of the several Libyans of ancient geographies): Karst believes, quite plausibly, to be able to reconstruct Athena's birthplace, reputedly 'on the shores of Lake Triton in Libya', not (as most interpretations would have it) as the salt lake Šoṭṭ al-Jerid in Southern Tunisia, but as the Tarim basin of Eastern Turkestan, on the threshold of China. However, any attempt to see in the remarkably repetitive typology and worldwide distribution of megaliths anything even remotely suggesting long-range, even transcontinental continuities, comes up against a major dismissive paradigm, whose main exponent has been the leading British archaeologist Colin Renfrew (1967, 1976, 1983). Admittedly, the archaeological mainstream position has been, for decades now, that there is no megalithic culture, that such a non-existent thing never spread by demic diffusion *i.e.* by populations on the move, and that all apparent parallels and transcontinental continuities in this field are ideologically warped figments of the imagination. I beg to differ. It is the word of a gate-crashing peripheral archaeologist like myself against that of the most celebrated and institutionally powerful archaeologist of the United Kingdom, who is a Peer of the Realm, to boot. So I realise that my viewpoint does not carry much weight. However, I have personally studied what turned out to be a living megalithic religion in North Africa (with Pelagian overtones), and have more superficially explored similar cases in Sri Lanka and Java, Indonesia (van Binsbergen 1971a, forthcoming (a), 2016, 201b / 2017: 439-472). Our difference is not so much a question of different empirical exposure but mainly a question of opposing paradigmatic positions: Renfrew championing local or at best regional dynamics as the principal motor of archaeological processes – and me opting for a long-range perspective in space and time. In the retrieval of global cultural history, painstakingly reconstructed distribution of traits are my main stock in trade – and they speak an intersubjective, empirical, but admittedly conjectural, language. This discussion of megalithic phenomena is further continued in van Binsbergen 2020a: ch. 13, pp. 415f.

and most probably, because these institutions have been embedded in culturally highly marked, patterned, and sanctioned institutions of a religious nature, whose relatively unaltered transmission from generation to generation would thus be safeguarded. Further on this point see my discussion of universals in van Binsbergen 2018: 331f.

⁷⁴ For megalithic studies, cf. Arndt 1932; Azais & Chambard 1931; Baumgärtel 1926; Broca 1876; Carton 1891; Colani 1935; Elliot Smith 1912; Faidherbe 1869; Führer-Haimendorf 1943; Jensen 1939; Kaudern 1938; Lane Fox 1869; Perry 1918, 1927; Riesenfeld 1950; Thomassen à Thuessink van der Hoop 1933; Tissot 1876; Vatter 1931-39; von Heine-Geldern 1928; Wilke 1912; Wohlenberg 1936. This only lists the diffusionist approaches to megaliths as prevailing in Karst's time and into the next few decades, and not the later research in which connection the names of Daniel, Renfrew and Thom must be mentioned. Remarkably, much of the earlier work dealt with South and South East Asia in ways that could have been profitably discussed from a Karstian perspective, but did not.



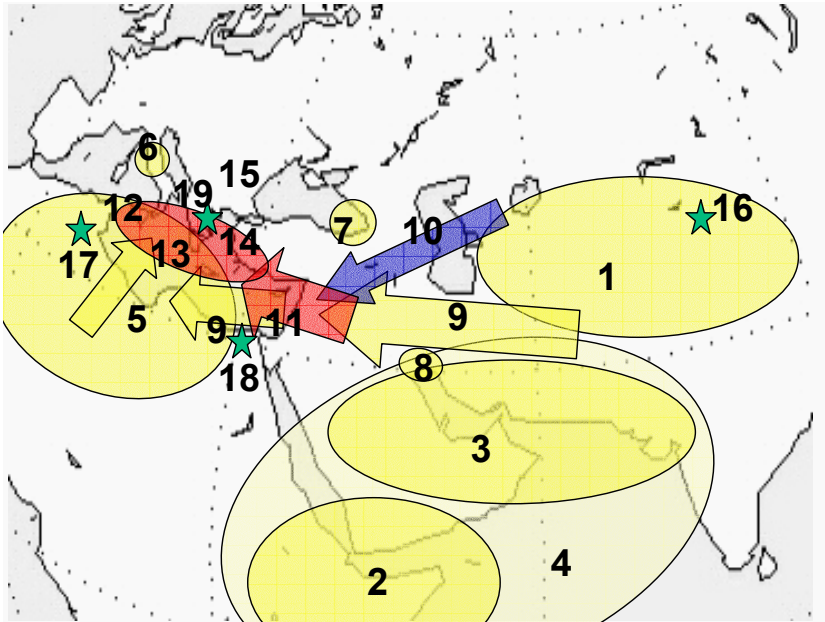
- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>1 Senegambia (Thilmann <i>et al.</i> 1986)</p> <p>2 Mali (Vogel 1999: 62; Phillipson 1993: 177f; Desplagnes 1951)</p> <p>3 Maghreb (Balout 1966; Broca 1876; Camps 1955, 1982; Camps & Camps-Fabre 1964; Carton 1891; Faiderbe 1868, 1869a, 1869b; Tissot 1876; Martin [year])</p> <p>4 West and South-West Europe (Baumgärtel 1926; Daniel 1958; Renfrew 1976, 1983)</p> <p>5 Central African Republic (David 1982; Phillipson 1993: 145)</p> <p>8 Ethiopia (Azais & Chambard 1931; Wohlenberg 1936; Phillipson 1993: 220; Anfray 1982)</p> <p>10 S1ro-Palestine (de Vaux 1986)</p> | <p>11 Madagascar (Middleton 1994)</p> <p>12 Pakistan / India (Jettmar 1960)</p> <p>14 Since Madagascar was peopled (15) from Indonesia at least in part via Sri Lanka, Madagascar's megalithic complex is probably continuous with that of South India / Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Melanesia (Arndt 1932; Baumann 1955; Colani 1955; Fürer-Haimendorf 1943; Glover <i>et al.</i> 1979; Hämerle 1984; Kaudern 1938; Peny 1988; Riesefeld 1950; Thomassen a Thuessink van der Hoop 1933; Vatter 1931-39; Viaro 1984; von Heine-Geldern 1928)</p> <p>15 Peopling of Madagascar from insular South</p> | <p>East Asia</p> <p>16 Karst's hypothesis of sub-'Mongoloid' and Ibero-Aethiopian expansion from South Central Asia</p> <p><i>contested or doubtful cases (hatched fields):</i></p> <p>6 Zimbabwe (Jensen 1939)</p> <p>7 Khoisan cairn shrines for Heitsi Eibib (Carstens 1975; Lang 1913)</p> <p>9 Arabian peninsula (Wellhausen 1927)</p> <p>13 Ancient Greek herms (Fauth 1979; Marwitz)</p> <p><i>Note the similarity with the distribution of circumcision (Fig. 5.4)</i></p> |
|---|---|--|

Fig. 2.7. Selected distribution of megaliths in the African context; note the preponderance of proposed East-West movements marked 16 (as Palaeo-Pelagian diffusion from West Asia?) in the conjectural historical reconstruction

2.3.6. Libya – and implications for the *Black Athena* debate

Exit Black Athena, apparently: for Bernal's (1987-1991-2006, 1997, 2001; cf. Lefkowitz & MacLean Rogers 1996; Berlinerblau 1999; van Binsbergen 1996-1997 / 2011) Herodotus-inspired *Black Athena* thesis, i.e. his view of the Egyptian (by extension *African*, and by racist stereotyping *Black*) nature of the Greek goddess Athena / Minerva, and Bernal's Quixotic insistence on an impossible (cf. Egberts 1997 / 2011) Ancient Egyptian etymology of Athena from **Ht Nt* 'temple of Neith', was never very apt as a key illustration of Bernal's otherwise excellent ideas on the rise of Eurocentric classical scholarship in Western Europe in the 18th c. CE. But if Athena is not originally at home in North Africa but in Central Asia, this would be a final blow for a Bernalian, Afrocentrist reading of Greek origins. Incidentally, the identification of both Neith and Athena with Iranian Anahita and Syrian Anat has been around for decades; also Karst makes that identification, 1931a: 473, 548. From other analyses than Karst's (cf. van Binsbergen 2004, in press (g)) it has become clear that also the Dionysus figure has a similar distribution in Central, East

and South Asia. These long-range distributional studies suggest that we had, indeed, better relegate Ancient Greece, and Europe as a whole, to their most essential status of being a peninsula appended to Asia, instead of the centre and origin of civilisation it appeared to be to the founders of *Altertumswissenschaft* in the 18th and 19th century CE; in the latter respect Bernal's popularising search for the Asian and African (although not necessarily Afroasiatic, in the linguistic sense) roots of European civilisation has lost nothing of its relevance, even though its central emblem (the alleged Libyan, in the sense of African, nature of Athena) has lost all credibility. Failure to appreciate that, as Karst repeatedly reminds us, the original Libya was in Asia, Bernal barked his essentially well-taken alarm cry up the wrong tree.



- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 'Turanic' Libya (I) | 10 Proto-Semites, resulted in: | 17 Šoṭṭ al-Jerid = Lacus Tritonis, reputed birth place of Athena |
| 2 Libya IIa = Lehabim, Lubim, Lubu, Lebu = Havila = Cush | 11 'Liby-Hamites', spreading to: | 18 Sais, major cult centre of Athena / Anahita / Neith |
| 3 Libya IIb | 12 Sicily | 19 Attica, with Athens as Athena's principal cultic centre, and scene of mythical contest between Poseidon and Athena |
| 4 Libya II | 13 Crete | |
| 5 Libya III = Phu-lbe | 14 Leleges lands | |
| 6 Libyans in N and C Italy | 15 Amazons | |
| 7 Chalybes | 16 Tarim Basin: presumable original scene of the birth of Athena / Anahita / Neith; NB 'Turan' is claimed by Karst to be the original realm of Poseidon | the stars signify places associated with the theonym Athena |
| 8 Kephenians (Libyans) | | |
| 9 sub-/Proto-Iberians or Ibero-Aethiopians or Liby-Aethiopians, + | | |

Fig. 2.8. Libya (according to Karst 1931a)

2.3.7. Karst: The basic four-tiered linguistico-ethnic structure of Mediterranean proto-history, and a discussion of the oldest or Caucasoid layer

Let us continue our account of Karst's reconstruction of Mediterranean pre- and proto-history. When, in his view, the second Westbound migratory wave, that of 'sub-Iberians or Iberian-Ethiopians' reached the Ponto-Caucasian region, interaction with Pontic Ligurians (whom we may consider, linguistically, as a branch of Proto-Sinocaucasian speakers) produced Proto-Euskaroids. In two waves the latter migrated West all the way to Western Iberia *i.e.* the modern Iberian peninsula (modern Spain and Portugal):

- one wave (which we might identify as the Westbound Pelasgian migration) along the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean (Syro-Palestine, modern Libya, Crete, Africa Minor);
- another wave over land, via Anatolia, the Bosphorus, Balkan, and the Ligurian / Aquitanian lands.

As a result of South Central Asian migratory pressure on Anatolia, brachycephalic people with a knowledge of metallurgy massively migrated to the Balkan and further West, into Western Iberia and even as far as the Atlantic shores of North-Western Africa. By virtue of this postulated migration, after a period in which Proto-Basque took fruition, Western Iberia became, in its turn, the jumping board for a return migration Eastward, which first produced the Sicilians and Siculians (*cf.* Vetter 1962) in the vast region from Liguria to Sicily, and then went on to produce the Leleges of the Aegean including Western Asia Minor (Caria), and extending all the way to the Syro-Palestinian coast (Fig. 2.9).

Thus, on both sides (West and East) of the Mediterranean, the scene for 2nd mill BCE proto-history would – according to Karst – be properly set by a layered structure as follows (Fig. 1.5, above; data: Karst 1931a: 58 *f.*):

Superimposed over Central Nostratic / Eurasiatic [*i.e.* Altaic and Uralic; Karst singles out Sumeroid but this is likely to belong to Uralic, *cf.* Fodor 1976; Ryan 2001]), Sinocaucasian, and possibly Khoisanoid substrates, we have

1. A Caucasian layer; this layer has, by definition, remained dominant in the Easternmost Mediterranean complex (Anatolia and Caucasus), but is less conspicuous in the West
2. A Basquoid ('Euskarán') layer
3. An intermediate layer with Afroasiatic (in Karst's dated terminology, 'Hamitic') connotations; this layer is less conspicuous in the Eastern complex, although far from absent even there. And finally
4. A top layer (often also appearing in the shape of a local ruling socio-political class) of semi-Indo-European speakers, largely but not exclusively of the *satem* branch.

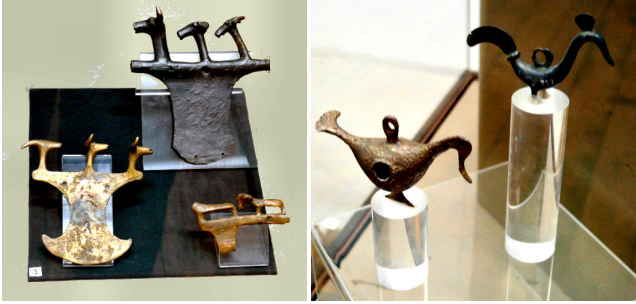
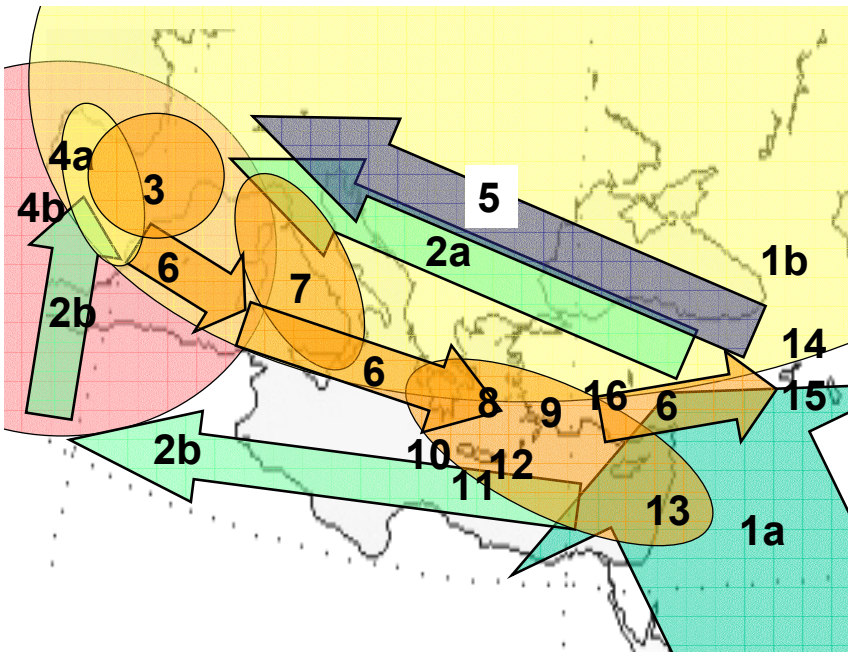


Fig. 2.10. Artefacts from the National Archaeological Museum, Sofia, Bulgaria, representing theriomorphic ('animal-shaped') iconographies relevant to the Sea Peoples episode



1a Nuba-Aethiopic South Iberians (the first major migratory wave from South Central Asia) in interaction with
 1b Pontic Ligurians a branch of Central Nostratic / Eurasianic [*i.e.* Uralic or Altaic] ('Ligy-Hyperborean')

2 resulted in Euskaroids, who subsequently moved West and North-West, across Europe along the Northern (2a) and Southern (2b) shores of the Mediterranean, into the Iberian peninsula
 3 where the Basquoid language

type emerged, in interaction with
 4a Liguro / Central Nostratic / Eurasianic [*i.e.* Uralic or Altaic] of Trinakia [and possibly
 4b with a further aboriginal language, possibly Khoisanoid]. After a formative pe-

<p>riod, the Westbound advance of 5 Secondary Ligians <i>i.e.</i> Younger or Secondary Sicilians caused 6 an Eastbound return movement of Basquoids c. 2000 BCE, comprising 7 Sicarian / Sicilian shifts, and bringing to the coasts of the</p>	<p>Aegean: 8 Leleges; to Southern Asia Minor: 9 (Insular) Carians; to 10 Crete (the very name itself has a Basquoid etymology): 11 Eteocretans and 12 Cydones; to Syro-Palestine:</p>	<p>13 Horites ≈ Carians. Connected with the same Eastbound movement is 14 Urartu 15 Urhasdim 16 the Basquoid royal title <i>koaldein</i> in Southern Asia Minor</p>
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Fig. 2.9. The allegedly circular movement of Basquoid Iberian migration, 3rd-2nd millennium BCE (according to Karst 1931a, except [4b])

The implication of Karst's claim of a tiered structure is of eminent importance for any analysis of ethnicity in the Mediterranean pre- and proto-history:

The notions of purity and homogeneity are often implied in (especially emic) ethnic discourse. However, given the ubiquitous superimposition of heterogeneous language forms, as a result of the incessant percolation of human beings all over the Mediterranean since the Early Bronze Age and even before, it is impossible for any pure types to occur, both in linguistic and in ethnic matters.

In this respect the Bronze Age Mediterranean, in the first stages of proto-globalisation, already began to display the features that we nowadays attribute to our own postmodern world (especially that of the urban North Atlantic region), under obvious conditions of globalisation and multiculturalism. *In the Bronze Age Mediterranean, every language group, even if designated by a deceptively unique name, is internally heterogeneous, with major substrate components lurking, barely concealed, under the dominant top layer. Every ethnic group, however struggling to present itself, in its present situation in space and time, and through a more or less successful process of Transformative Localisation, as a unity in its own perception and in its presentation to, and perception by, others) yet is internally heterogeneous, composed of various population segments each with its own intra- and often extra-Mediterranean history, and therefore often with different linguistic associations, most of which have been tucked away as substrates under a dominant recent language norm.* Moreover, the frequent occurrence of Polynymy and Homonymy of ethnic groups means that the suggestion of origins or filial branches elsewhere, with continuities of name, culture, and language, clings to many ethnic groups. *For these reasons any insistence on exclusive and exhaustive identification of ancient ethnonyms, on formulating one-to-one relationships between ancient onomastica and modern scholarly academic equivalents, is bound to fail, and shows a fundamental misunderstanding of the ethnic and linguistic structure of the Mediterranean Bronze Age.*

This is the vital methodological and theoretical insight that, like Ariadne's thread, will guide us through the onomastic labyrinths of the *Table of Nations* and of the Sea Peoples, in the remainder of my argument. In order to produce this insight, Karst deserved to be rediscovered and rehabilitated as a pioneer of great intuition, and to be given pride of place in the present pages. I hope that this basic insight will survive despite the inevitable obsolescence of even Karst's best empirical applications of his basic idea, let alone the very many cases (including some of those we have already seen above) where his reliance on now discarded linguistic and physical-anthropological approaches, his lack of a proper theory of culture hence his reliance on 'race' as a scientific category, his very limited use of archaeological data (even for his time), his embarrassing use of the Atlantis metaphor, and especially his lack of restraint in the application of his un-methodological method of 'onomastic analysis through free association' – where all these deficiencies of his work

have produced a concoction which modern scholarship would savour only very selectively and in very small portions. Below I shall come back to these various points of criticism regarding Karst, and take such distance from him as becomes me as, hope, a modern scholar; yet I will not budge from the one central point outlined and emphasised here. But let us proceed to consider Karst's second layer.

2.3.8. The alleged second layer: (Proto-)Basquoid; interpreting the name Urḥašdim

The second, Proto-Basquoid layer constituted a chain of peoples which will turn out to be of considerable significance for Karst's reading of the *Table of Nations*; incidentally, they will also feature prominently in a Karstian perspective on the Sea Peoples. This chain of peoples includes (if I interpret Karst correctly): the Ligurians of the Ligurian coast, Sicilians of Italy, Proto-Illyrians of the Balkan, Pelasgians of mainland Greece, the Leleges throughout the Aegean, and the Alarodians of Eastern Anatolia. To the same cluster belong Eteocretans, Urartu, the Ḥasdim (who feature in *Genesis* as Urḥašdim, erroneously – or so Karst claims – identified, in *Genesis* and in subsequent Bible-studies traditions, with Southern Mesopotamia Ur 'of the Chaldaeans', as Abram's reputed place of origin), the Island Carians, Cydones, and (by what Karst misleadingly claims to be⁷⁵ the Basquoid etymon of its very name, *krethi*, 'stranger') the Isle of Crete. The name Crete, incidentally, offers a nice example of the Karstian onomastic mechanism of 'Chorism' ('fixing to a place'; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: ch. 2; Table 2.1, above). Here we can distinguish a number of subsequent phases:⁷⁶

1. 'Cretan' would originally be an allophylic ethnonym denoting 'aliens' (Basque: *krethi* ??) according to Karst, but more likely 'islanders'; subsequently
2. projected onto a place or places (to be named 'Crete' – and preferably an island or peninsula) where specific groups of aliens happened to be highlighted in a situation of great and lasting historical impact emphasised in documents and oral traditions, after which
3. the name of Crete becomes a mere toponym that attaches to the other and to the later inhabitants of that place
4. who may take that choristic ethnonym, and carry it elsewhere in their migrations, etc.

Karst (1931a: 15 n. 1) rejects the habitual interpretation of *Urḥašdim* (*Genesis* 11:28, 31; 15:7; *Chronicles* 11:35, *Nehemiah* 9:7) as 'Ur of the Chaldaeans', claiming that the identification with the town of Ur in this connection is based on an arbitrary Rabbinical interpretation. Instead, he interprets *Urḥašdim* as

⁷⁵ One standard translation of 'stranger' in Basque would be *adze* (Trask & Wheeler 2008, s.v. 'stranger'; Starostin 1998–2008, s.v. 'Sino-Caucasian etymology', Proto-Basque: *Hace). None of the various Basque dictionaries at my disposal could confirm the existence of a Basque word *krethi* meaning 'stranger' (Trask & Wheeler 2008; van Eys 1873; Chaho 1856). But that does not necessarily mean that Karst is mistaken, but that, as so often, he expresses himself in vague and contradictory terms. Below (Section 4.4.5, when we shall discuss alleged 'sunken land bridges' and transcontinental maritime contacts, the puzzle will be more or less solved when we learn that behind the name Crete may lurk a Basque etymon *ugarte*, 'island'; *Ugarte* / *Huarte* / *Hugarte* is incidentally a common Basque surname (Anonymous, 'Ugarte').

⁷⁶ Karst 1931a: 392 and passim (see the index to that book).

< *Ur^hašdun, ‘the South Iberian, Mesopotamian formal correspondence of the Alarodian-Vanic *Urartu*
< *u^hḫardu-na’ (Karst: 1931a: 15 n. 1).


In view of heated later debates by Biblical scholars (cf. Pettinato 1977; Bermant & Weisman 1979; Gordon 1958; Sags 1960; Kittel 1898) on the claim that (besides the famous Ur of Southern Mesopotamia, a very rich archaeological site) a town Ur had been attested in Northern Mesopotamia near Ḫarran, it looks as if Karst’s interpretation does not survive.

2.3.9. The alleged third layer: Afroasiatic (‘Hamitic’)

In Karst’s opinion, the peoples speaking Afroasiatic (‘Hamitic’) resulted from the interaction between Proto-Semites (whom he considers to have emerged in a ‘Inahide-Hyperborean’, i.e. Central Nostratic / Eurasianic, in other words Uralic and Altaic, context) and the main stream (‘Ibero-Ethiopians’, in Karst’s terminology) of migration from South Central Asia. Thus a third, Afroasiatic layer established itself in Mediterranean lands, as a result of a Westbound migratory wave whose main route, in proto-historical times, was via West Asia, then Northern Africa (either modern Egypt or modern Ethiopia), then West and North to Western Iberia as well as South, into Africa. From West Asia (pre-Chaldaeian Elam, particularly) and the Southern shores of the Mediterranean, Afroasiatic inroads were made continually onto the Northern shores. At an early stage (third millennium BCE) this long-standing process resulted in the presence in the Aegean (Boeotia, Ogygia, Crete) of speakers of the Cushitic branch of Afroasiatic leaving traces (or so Karst maintains) in the toponymy and ethnonymy of these regions; also compare the Chalybes of the South-Eastern Pontus (Black Sea) shores. Perhaps also the designation of Southern Italy / Sicily as Oenotria (possibly from Egyptian, Afroasiatic, Tonuter, i.e. *t3 ntr.w*, ‘Land of Gods’) is a sign of a similar Afroasiatic extension to the Northern shore of the Mediterranean. Here Karst’s ideas run parallel to Martin Bernal’s, who in his work has greatly stressed the Afroasiatic element in the third-millennia BCE Aegean, but in the form of Ancient Egyptian, not of Cushitic.

Besides these immigrations from Afroasiatic speaking regions into Northern Mediterranean regions where *different* languages were spoken, Karst claims the presence of an *original*, primal Egyptian population in Lycia and Syria – in line with the fact that the name Mušri, Mišraim, originally extended over a much larger area (including also Palestine and Northern Arabia), and only secondarily came to be confined to modern Egypt (cf. Figs 3.5, 3.6). Presumably this original Egyptian population spoke Ancient Egyptian as a branch of Afroasiatic (cf. Kammerzell 1994 and Ray 1992 for modern discussions of the intimate relations between the Egyptian language and Anatolia). Karst reminds us that the very name Ḫatti has a possible Egyptian etymon ‘the North, Northerners’).⁷⁷ In many ways the proto-historic Egyptian Delta region can be considered an extension of West Asia, joined (in the First Dynasty) with the (more Sudan- and Sahara-orientated) Upper Egypt by military, political and ritual means in a process of unification that gradually obliterated Lower Egypt’s Asian connotations.

The Afroasiatic influence in Pelasgian helped produce the later variant of Secondary (in Karst’s terminology: Deutero-) Pelasgian, in contradistinction from Primal Pelasgian which is of the

⁷⁷ This is more or less confirmed by Hannig 2000: 93f., s.v. ‘Norden’:  *hd*, although admittedly *d* and *t* are not identical.

Basquoid type; far from being limited to the Aegean, this Afroasiatic influence extended to Caria, the Leleges lands (where it specifically produced the Secondary Leleges), and to Syro-Palestine, where an Afroasiatic-influenced Pelasgian population formed the original core of the Philistines, *long before (or so Karst suggests) the historical exploits of the so-called Sea Peoples by the end of the second millennium BCE*. More generally, influences of this type left a demonstrable Cushitic substrate throughout the languages and toponymy (and presumably in the gene pool) of Southern and Western Europe, including Ireland and Southern Britain.

2.3.10. The linguistic association of the postulated (Secondary) Pelasgian movement, in connection with Basque and Afroasiatic; Colchis

At what was probably a later stage, to be situated in the second millennium BCE rather than in the third, Afroasiatic inroads were often marked by an onomastic element involving the toponym of Colchis and the matching ethnonym of the Cashluḫites. With, by now predictable, Asian parallels in the form of an Indo-Punic Colchis on the Indian Ocean / Persian Gulf, and of an Indo-Scythian Colchis in 'Turan', the best known, most recent, Colchis was that the Caucasian-Pontic one, in North-Eastern Anatolia. This region was moreover significant, both as the site of the mythical dealings around Aëetes, his daughter Medea, and Jason, and Hera – but also as the only place in the Ancient World North of the Mediterranean (or so English 1959 asserts us) where male genital mutilation / circumcision was practiced. Cossaeans, Cassites, as well as the Cashluḫites in Lycia, further mark the extent of this Afroasiatic influence in Asia Minor – which will be relevant when, below, we briefly discuss the language of the Trojans. The Hyksos migration from North to South along the Syro-Palestinian coast, to end up in the Egyptian Delta and on the Egyptian throne, can be considered another episode in Cashluḫite wanderings; while strongly Afroasiatic, below we will also touch on its Indo-European component. Remarkably, Karst draws a parallel between the Hyksos and the *šʾrdn*,⁷⁸ who (according to 13th-century BCE Egyptian monumental inscriptions, where they feature among the so-called Sea Peoples) traversed the same itinerary along the Syro-Palestine coast several centuries later. Probably the *šʾrdn* / 'Sardana' name (epitomised to that of a military leader, Sardus) returns in Pausanias (X, 17 2; cf. Jones 1965) as that of the general leading a Libyan invasion to Sardinia; Sardus' epithet 'Son of Heracles Melkart' (ὁ Μακρήτιδος Ἡρακλέους) clearly brings out his Carthaginian / Phoenician / North-Eastern Semitic / Afroasiatic connotations since Melkart (*Mlk-krt*, 'Owner of the City') is the city god both in Phoenicia and in Carthage. The suggestion of a Hyksos / *šʾrdn* parallel is not implausible, for coastal North Africa presented the main route of Cashluḫite migrations towards the West, and from here they made inroads into Spain, and into Northern and Central Italy (Liguria with its Libyes / Libyans people, Etruria with the Lud / Letenu / Rutenu *i.e.* Etruscans (see below), Latium as an Afroasiatic enclave in Italy, the legends surrounding Aeneas as rendered in Virgil's great epic (*e.g.* Woudhuizen in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 267 *f.*), the Lake Peoples of Central

⁷⁸ 'Sardana': in Karst's over-confident, early Egyptological transliteration; vowels were rarely rendered in Ancient Egyptian scripts, and are notoriously difficult to reconstruct (cf. Egberts 1997 / 2011). The vocalisation 'Sherden', although favoured by modern non-Egyptological scholarship, is scarcely better.

Europe, also with Afroasiatic connotations). All this points in the direction that – contrary to mainstream scholarly opinion – it was not the Isle of Sardinia which gave its name to the *š3rdn*, but the other way round: the island was named after the *š3rdn* when some of the latter settled there while others continued their Westbound journey along the Mediterranean, at the end of the Bronze Age. In *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* we discussed at length the alternatives for an Eastbound movement of the Sea Peoples, such as forms the privileged model in modern scholarship.

‘Auch Kypern muss als einstige Zwischenstation des Misraimitischen Kaphtorstammes gefasst werden. Darauf deutet schon sein vorzeitlicher Name, der nach Astynomos (bei Stephanos Byz. sub v. Kupros) Kryptos (Variante Kyptos) gelautet habe. Kryptos steht durch Korruptel für *Kyptros, worin noch das biblische Kaphtor durchscheint. Kerastia (oder Kerastis), eine andere primitive Bezeichnung derselben Insel, hat, trotz Steph. Byz., mit Keras “Vorgebirge” nichts zu schaffen, erklart sich vielmehr als mutmaßliche Entstellung aus dem Ethnikon der Kreter. Amathusia und Akamantis, als Synonyma von Kypros, sind von dortigen Lokalnamen abgeleitete Bildungen; Sphekeia ist vom Ethnikon der Sphekes, eines kyprischen Urvolkes, deriviert. Méionis, eine weitere Synonymbenennung derselben Insel (Stephan. Byz.), deutet auf ethnischen Zusammenhang mit dem lydisch-maionischen Kleinasien hin; beiderseits, in Lydien sowohl als auf Kypern, breitet sich über einen lelegisch-pelagischen Grundstock eine hamito-semitische Oberschicht aus.’ (Karst 1931b: 82 f.).

Karst has not been the only author to discuss the identity of the Caphtorites. Wainwright (1931, 1956) seeks them in Cilicia / Cappadocia. Strange (1980) seems to adopt Karst’s preference for a Cypriotic identification. Cf. Merrillees 1982; Knapp 1985 notes a scholarly consensus towards Crete but admits that that position is shaky.

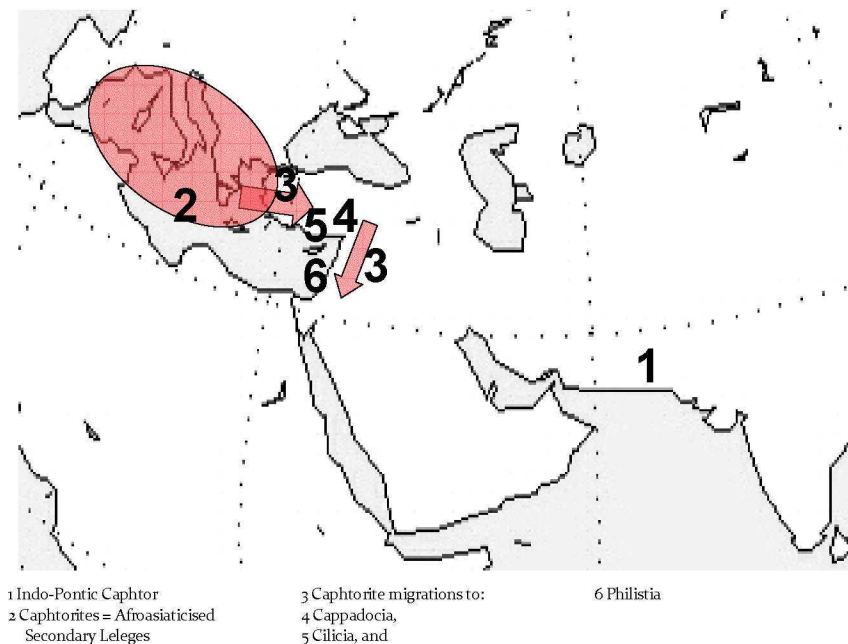
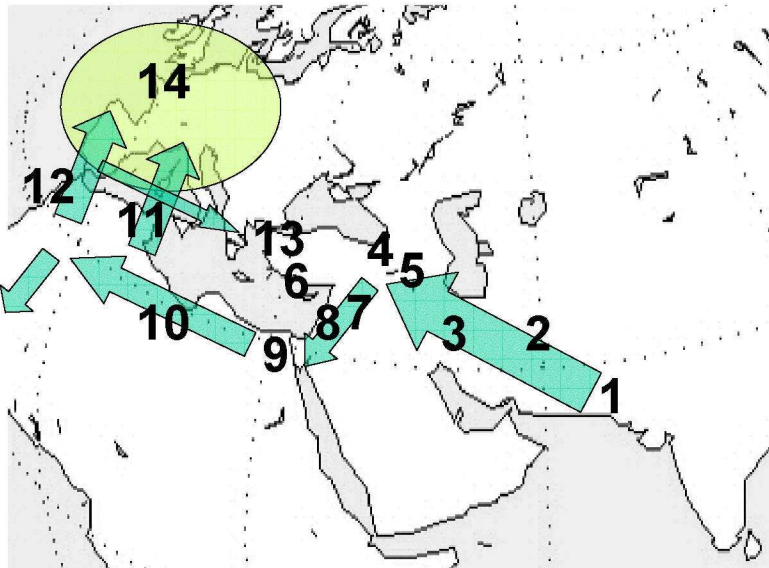


Fig. 2.11. Caphtor and the so-called ‘Cretan’ origin of the Philistines (according to Karst 1931a)

Closely related to the Colchis migratory complex is that of Caphtor and the Caphortites – a name that has received much attention in Biblical scholarship (see van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Table 6.19, pp. 177-182) and in the study of the Ancient Mediterranean in general (cf. Knapp 1995). Hypothetically harking back to some Indo-Pontic Caphtor in the same general environment as where Indo-Pontic Colchis would have been situated, Caphtor-related onomastic connotations attach particularly, as far as in the Mediterranean is concerned, to the Secondary, Afroasiaticised Leleges. Considering that the Leleges were the product of the Eastbound return migration of Proto-Basquoids, and that the original Westward migration of Proto-Basquoids took place in the second millennium, the emergence of these Secondary Leleges would only be ca. 1500 BCE at the very earliest. Sicily, Southern Italy, the Aegean including Crete, Cappadocia and finally Syro-Palestine (the full extent of this Central Mediterranean region ‘Caphtor’) would have been affected by the expansion of these Secondary Leleges.



- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 Indo-Pontic Colchis I | 8 Philistines | peninsula (cf. Andalusia, Lusitania) |
| 2 Indo-Scythian Colchis II | 9 Caṣluḫites / Hyksos in Egyptian Delta | 13 Proto-Lydians / Maeonians from Caṣluḫite Iberian peninsula |
| 3 Caṣluḫites in pre-Chaldaeian Elam | 10 Caṣluḫite (Lud, Ludim) migrations to the West | 14 extent of Afroasiatic <i>i.e.</i> Cushitic substrate in NW Europe |
| 4 Caucaſo-Pontic Colchis III | 11 Caṣluḫite migration into Tyrrhenian Sea region (Lutenu, Lud, Rasena) | |
| 5 Cossaeans, Cassites, Lud / Lot, Terahites / Abramites, Urhasdim | 12 Caṣluḫite migration into the Iberian peninsula | |
| 6 Caṣluḫites in Lycia, cf. Philistines | | |
| 7 Hyksos (and Adites) migration | | |

Fig. 2.12. Colchis and Caṣluḫites (according to Karst 1931a)

This is, in Karst's opinion, an important reason why the tradition of the Cretan origin of the Philistines came into being: Caphtor comprised the entire Central Mediterranean maritime region, but Crete was its Eastern outpost closest to Syro-Palestine. Another, etymological explanation of that tradition lies, at least for Karst, in the circumstance that, among the allegedly Basquoid inhabitants of Syro-Palestine at the time, the term *kreth* (later to be specifically limited to the Isle of Crete; and also known from Biblical sources to designate mercenaries in the Israelite king's army: the Cherethites and Pelethites of the *King James English Bible* translation, known as *Krethi* and *Plethi* in German, Dutch and French; e.g. 2 *Samuel* 8:18, 20:23) originally conveyed the meaning of 'stranger' more likely 'islander, as we have seen), properly applied to the immigrant Secondary Leleges who came to establish themselves as a ruling class upon the already Cushitised, i.e. Afroasiaticised, local Pelasgians.

Nor does this seem to exhaust the mileage Karst hopes to go with Caphtor:

'In Anbetracht, daß einst Lesgo-Kaukasier oder Kaspier über Thrazien-Dakien bis tief ins atlantische Nordwesteuropa hineinreichten [original footnote to: Karst 1931a: 248] darf die Cappa[-]nation, als Seitenstück zu den mit den Paphlagoniern zusammengehörigen Lagnes des urzeitlichen Irland, geradezu mit den Kappadoken geglichen werden. Das unter dem Namen Cappa überlieferte antediluviale Urvolk Irlands gehorte gewiss ethnologisch zu der Sippe Katpaduḡa, Kappadokia und Kaphtor. Jenes Cappa erscheint uns als apokopierte Kurzform eines Ethnikons *Kadhwa-duḡa oder *Kathwetor (-dor), welch letzteres noch historisch im Kassiteridenamen fortlebte. Wir hatten also als Fortsetzung der hesperischen Kaphtoriten ein atlantisch-hyperboräisches Kaphtor anzusetzen, das anthropogeographisch mit den Kassiterideninseln im weiteren Sinne, d. i. Britannien und Irland, sich decken wurde. Daß hier im fernen vorbritannischen Hyperboräergebiet wirklich einst Kappadoken oder Kaphtoriten ansässig gewesen, geht überdies bestimmt hervor aus einer richtigen Interpretation jener alten Nachricht über die Westwanderung der pontisch-kappadokischen Heneter oder Eneter nach den Küstenländern der Adria oder Hatria. Da unter letzterer Benennung wir [notably Karst 1931a: 361 – WvB] die Tirasländer an der Nord- und Ostsee eruiert haben, so folgt: die pontisch-kappadokischen Heneter pflanzten sich koloniasatorisch nicht nur nach der italischen Adria, sondern auch nach den Veneter- oder Venedästrichen an den baltischen und nordwestgallisch-britannischen Küsten fort. Jene pontischen Heneterwanderungen zur "Adria" wurden zeitlich und sachlich zusammenfallen und sich identifizieren mit den aus der Bibel bekannten Kaphtoriten- und Kasluḡen wanderungen

Ihrer ethnologischen Komposition nach haben wir im Laufe unserer früheren Forschungen diese Kasluḡen bzw. Kaphtoriten als ein Gemisch von Kaspi-Kaukasiern (Lesgiern) mit sog[enannten] "mišraimitischen" Kolchiern (Kuschito-Hamiten) definiert, denen obendrein noch ein arischer, wohl ossetisch-iranischer Bestandteil als Einschlag beigemischt war.

Ich vermute ferner, daß ursprünglich der Kult der kapitolinischen Gottheit (Jup Capitolinus) eigentlich ein Ausfluss und Zubehor der hesperisch-italischen Kaphtoriten und Kasluḡim war, und also vorrömischen, hamitoiden Ursprunges gewesen sein muss. Jupiter Capitolinus dürfte seinen nächsten Seitenverwandten im palästinischen, wohl durch die ägyptoide Philisternation vermittelten Jahve-Elohim haben. Dass die kapitolinische Urgemeinde des primitiven Roms eine ägyptisch-hamitische Siedelung gewesen, dafür sprechen auch insbesondere noch die alten Tribusnamen der Ramnes oder Romuliden, nebst Luceres, wovon jener mit dem ägyptischen *rom* "Mensch", dieser mit ägypt[isch]-kuschitischem *lukarāite* "Menschengeschlecht" oder "Geschlechtsnation" übereinstimmt.

Nun auch begreifen wir in ihrer Genesis die anatolisch-türkische Bezeichnung Kyzil-Elma für Rom und das Römerreich. Längst hatten wir darunter die entstellte, der osmanischen Sprache angelegene Ummodellung des alten Kasluḡenethnikons erkannt. Dies könnte aber nur erfolgen, wenn eine in der altasianischen Tradition wüzelnde Kunde vom Vorhandensein hesperisch-italischer bzw. hesperisch-atlantischer Kasluḡiten sich bis ins mittelalterliche, türkisierte Anatolien fortsetzte. Die türkische Bezeichnung Kysilelma muss also an eine altanatolische Tradition betreffs eines vorzeitlichen (prähistorischen) hesperischen Kaphtoriten und Kasluḡenreiches angeknüpft haben.

Wenn die Mutter des römischen Stadtgründers Romus-Romulus bald Ilia, bald Leuke-Lycia heißt, so dreckt sich in diesen verstümmelten Namen die Reminiszenz an dasselbe alte Ethnikon der Kasluḡen

aus bzw. an das der sog.[enannten] "ilisch-troischen" Elymer' (Karst 1931b: 105 f.).

The path from West Asia, via modern Ethiopia or Syro-Palestine, to North Africa and ultimately Western Europe and the African interior, with the same inroads towards the Northern Mediterranean shores, may also be described as that of migrations of the Berbers, speaking (Proto-)Berberic as a branch of Afroasiatic. In the Biblical context (but not exclusively there) the Berbers are associated with names that feature in the *Table of Nations*: Eber (cf. Iberia) and his 'sons' Joktan (cf. the Jaccetani of North-Eastern Spain) and Peleg. Especially the name Peleg is, as we have already seen, almost inexhaustible as a source of possible clues to proto-historic processes in and around the Mediterranean, including those involving the Pelasgians. Finally the Berber migratory pattern matches that of the Arabian Adites.

Presenting themselves mainly to Karst (who was in the first place a linguist, more than a historian, let alone archaeologist) in a linguistic / onomastic form, usually enshrined in the language use of much later (main Graeco-Roman classical) historical authors, it is very difficult to distinguish and periodise these various parallel and successive waves of Afroasiatic expansion, migration and influence in the Mediterranean, which largely followed the same routes throughout the third to first millennium BCE. Probably, the legends of Heracles' / Hercules' circum-Mediterranean wanderings, driving herds of cattle in front of him,⁷⁹ may be taken as a reminiscence of the North- and Westbound migrations of pastoral Cushites.

These migrations must have predated by many centuries the circum-Mediterranean migrations of the Basques, and this, perhaps, offers a clue to dating the emergence of the 'Lud' ethnonym by which a particular group of famous players in this field have been known to identify themselves: the Etruscans. If Karst is not mistaken and Lud does come from the Basquoid etymon *ɥaluda*, 'migrants, colonisers' (with the *ɥa*-element significantly misinterpreted as a detachable and dispensable Afroasiatic definite article, cf. Hebrew *ה* *ha*), the invasion of Afroasiatic speakers from North Africa into Basquoid-speaking Etruria cannot have been before 1500 BCE; as Karst suggests (1931a: 396 f., 432, 472), it may well have been part of the aftermath of the Egyptian defeat of the Libyan invasions under Ramesses III or Merneptah in the thirteenth century BCE. This would separate this later, largely Afroasiatic, wave from the, cognate, Cushitic (< Afroasiatic) one by one millennium or more. However, the same onomastic complex of Lud is also applied, by Karst, in the Northern Mesopotamia / South-Western Caucasus context, where he connects Urḫasdim of [the] Abram [people] 'son' of Teraḥ (hence Teraḥites), with the name of [the] Lot (Lud) [people], Abram's 'nephew'. Karst's conception of Lud offers at least one possible answer to the question as to why Lud / Ludim should appear under two different headings (Šem and Ḥam) in the *Table of Nations*. It thus provides an alternative to the kind of interpretation, common among Biblical scholars, that is entirely conceived within the confines of the Biblical world. We have sought to render this as follows (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 179, 395n):

The *Table of Nations* gives a classification on the basis of political geography; some of the Lydian immigrants into the Levant had been forced to accept Egyptian rule, hence became children of Ḥam; the others had effectively been incorporated in, or associated with, the Davidian state, and thus appear under Šem. The classificatory distance between the two Levantine Lydian groups in the *Table of Nations*

⁷⁹ Main sources on Heracles' legendary circum-Mediterranean peregrinations include: Pseudo-Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca*, 2.5.10 (cf. Frazer 1921); Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae*, X, 17, 5 (cf. Frazer 1898).

need not be an indication of their geographical distance on the ground. After the invasions of the Sea Peoples the map of Palestine was a checker-board of regions still under Egyptian domination, and regions where immigrating Sea Peoples had defied Egyptian rule.'

Karst's alternative interpretation would not exactly be an example of Occam's razor, but it convinces since it tallies with the idea of a much larger sphere of influence for Egypt, as Mišraim, encompassing Syro-Palestine and extending along the shores of Asia Minor.

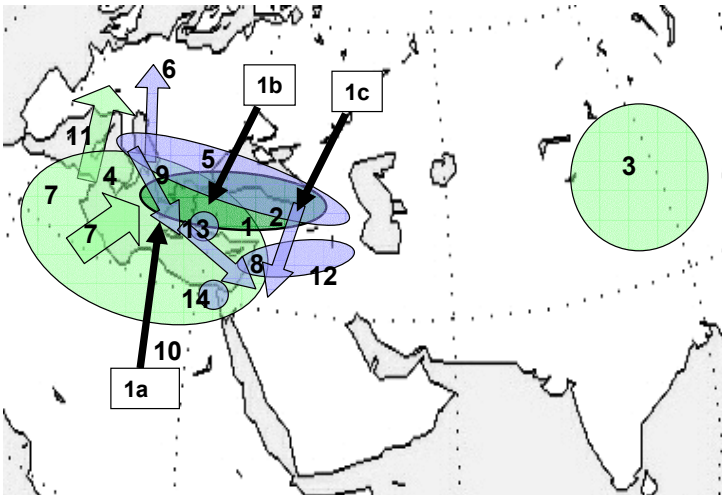
The Eastern Mediterranean environment is also reconstructed by Karst as having a Basquoid tier, in other words as having been Basque-speaking at some point, but since we need not reckon with the time-consuming detour via Western Iberia, a third millennium dating remains possible. This means that we can no longer tell the Cushitic from the Lud- or Tyrrhenian-related Afroasiatic migrations. Incidentally, Northern Mesopotamia (to which also the Etruscan practice of haruspicy would point) is infinitely closer to Maeonia (later Lydia) in North-Western Asia Minor – which Herodotus claims as to be the Etruscan homeland – than it is to Africa Minor (Karst's option), so there is no *prima facie* reason to reject a scenario according to which the Lud name would have travelled both to African Minor and to Maeonia, drawing from both places (both known as conspicuous sources of emigration anyway) an element towards emerging Etruscan language and culture. The latter, as the above overview indicates, was already composite without these additions, and was to be further complicated by Indo-European additions – a typical example of the four-tiered complexities of Mediterranean proto-history, comprising the incessant percolation of ethnic groups and heterogeneous linguistic elements over a vast area.

2.3.11. The alleged youngest layer: Indo-European speakers

In Karst's four-tiered linguistico-ethnic setup of the proto-historical Mediterranean, as sketched in the preceding pages and figures, the Indo-European language family almost appears as an afterthought, which merely modifies, and does not primarily define the linguistico-ethnic structure of the region. Significantly, no place of its own is attributed to Indo-European in Karst's model of Westbound prehistoric migrations from Central and South Asia. With the main migratory routes, and the specific flow along them, defined in terms of the distinction between Sinocaucasian in general, North Caucasian proper, and Afroasiatic, Indo-European speakers often appear as late free riders in the overall process, constituting a numerically limited class of warriors (*cf.* the Indoaryan caste name *kṣatriya*) especially in the processes of Afroasiatic migration we have reconstructed (such as the Hyksos migrations, and the various (other) Afroasiatic migrations along the North African coast).

Semi-Indo-European speaking Hittite-Armenian people (with a considerable Uraloid element, and with *satem* connotations which Armenian has retained, by contrast with Hittite proper which has been identified as of the *kentum* variety) began to expand Westward and Southward from the Anatolian plateau by 2,000 BCE, taking their short-horn cattle with them. Within Asia Minor, this led to Armenian, Hittite, Carian, Lydian and Phrygian. Out of Asia Minor, one over-land route led, by the middle of the second millennium BCE, across the Balkan, and gave rise to the Secondary Illyrians, the Phrygo-Thracians, the Sicanians, and the Tyrrheno-Etruscans (*i.e.* a Secondary, Indo-European, Tuscan layer, also designated as Tyrrheno-Pelasgian or Lydo-Tyrrhenian).

The expansion was continued into the Iberian peninsula (resulting in Ibero-Hispanic), but also up North (If they could be dated rather later, these migrations (also cf. Fig. 2.14, under 7-8-9) might have left the archaeological traces now recognised under the label of Urnfield Culture, from the Late Bronze Age on. Cf. Sprockhoff 1955; Roymans 1995.) where the Aesir / Ases of German mythology remind us of an Aesir / Ases / Ossian people bringing, as semi-Indo-European speakers, the ethnonym of Diugermani (cf. Togarma from the South-Western Caucasus region), to North-Western Europe; later, in the mouths of speakers of a later form of *kentum* Indo-European, this became, in Karst's opinion, the ethnonym 'German'. Another over-land route led South along the Syro-Palestinian coast, and constituted an Indo-European speaking element in the Hyksos wanderings. Finally, a third migratory route was seaborne, leading from the Carian and Lycian coast to Crete, and hence to Sicily (engendering the Secondary Sicilians), Africa Minor, and finally the rest of the Maghreb, and into the Iberian peninsula again. In their original Anatolian homeland these Semi-Indo-European speaking Hittito-Armenian people with *satem* connotations were close to, or indistinguishable from, Armenian Phrygians. However, meanwhile another group of Secondary Phrygians came up, whose *kentum* features deserves them the epithet Illyroid-Celtoid. An hybrid form between these two varieties of Indo-European speaking Phrygians is to be found in the Phrygo-Thraco-Illyrians of the Central and Southern Balkan, from where further



- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>1 Tubal peoples, including, towards the Western end of the Eastern Mediterranean extent,
 1a Dioi-Pelasgoi, towards its centre
 1b Taphloi or Tubarenians, and towards its Eastern end,
 1c Pontic Tibareni (< <i>dibarrani</i>, 'strangers')
 2 Armeno-Phrygo-Thracians</p> | <p>3 Pelasgian Mongolians
 4 Oenotria / Thettalia / 'Thessalia' as Pelasgian homeland
 5 Secondary (Indo-European) Pelasgians
 6 Phalia / Falen
 7 Lelego- Primal Pelasgians of Basque-Euskaran type, secondarily Afroasiaticised</p> | <p>8 Krethi
 9 Karthveloid toponyms on -opes
 10 'Hamites' [i.e. Afroasiatic speakers - WvB]
 11 Lydo / Tyrrheno / Pelasgians
 12 Secondary-European) Pelasgians of Syro-Palestine
 13 Carian-Armenoid</p> |
|--|---|--|

Fig. 2.13. Some transformations of the Pelasgian language and identity (according to Karst 1931a); cf. Peleg

migrations took place into

- Sicily,
- the Iberian peninsula (it was from here, or so Karst claims, that a return migration into North-Western Asia Minor resulting in the emergence of the Phrygo-Trojans – whose language, by *contentious* implication, would therefore tend to Basquoid / Sinocaucasian),
- the South-Eastern Pontic region ('Colchis' – associated with the Jason / Argonautic legend) and
- further East into Asia.

Meanwhile Phrygian, in Karst's perception, underwent the same fate as the other languages of the region, and became, in its younger variety, substantially influenced by Afroasiatic. If Woudhuizen (2018) claims the language of the Trojans to have been Thracio-Phrygian with a touch of Luwian, without paying any attention to the apparent traces of Afroasiatic, is it because he has made up his mind that such traces could only be late intrusions immaterial to Trojan identity in 'Homeric' times?

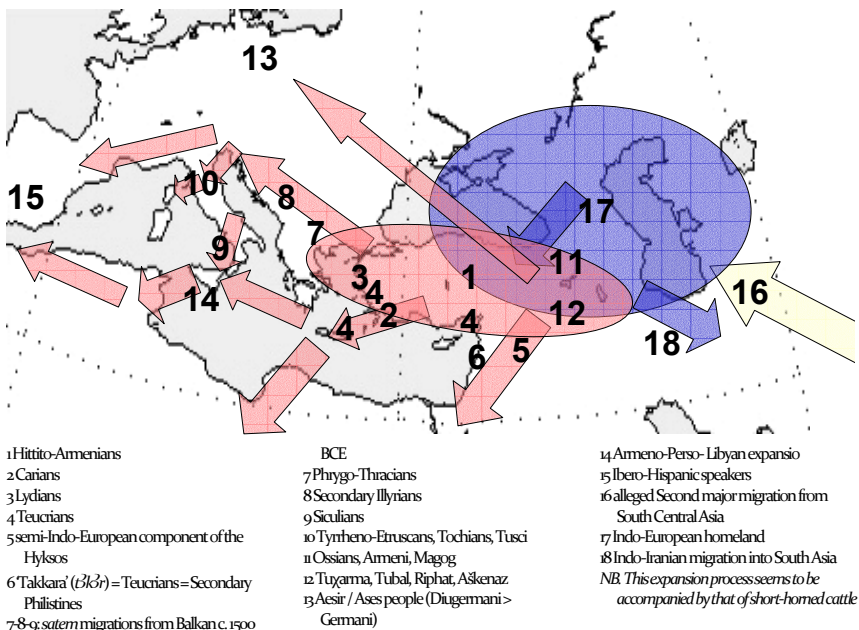


Fig. 2.14. Westbound expansion of Hittito-Armenian semi-Indo-European speaking peoples from 2000 BCE onwards: The emergence of the Tyrrheno-Pelasgian, *i.e.* Secondary Tuscan layer (according to Karst 1931a)

The same movement led, in Karst's view, to a transformation of Primal Lelego-Pelasgian (Pelasgian, in short) and its speakers. In Fig. 2.14 we seem to be looking at the emergence of a Palaeo-Pelasgian substrate in the Mediterranean region. In Karst's view, the genesis of

Pelasgian was extremely complex and layered, but in the first place it was originally a Basquoid language, secondarily Afroasiatised. Its original homeland⁸⁰ was probably in the maritime region stretching from Africa Minor via Sicily to Southern Italy, Oenotria / Thettalia / Thessalia / Erythia, and its subsequent extensions included (the coastal lands of) modern Libya, Syro-Palestine, and the Aegean. The original Pelasgians have been closely associated with the Tubal peoples or Tibarenians. However, by the same process as described in the previous paragraphs, Primal Pelasgian was transformed under the influence of semi-Indo-European into Secondary Pelasgian. It was in the latter form, as Secondary Pelasgian, that Pelasgian-associated onomastic elements penetrated Northern Europe (whence the regional name Falen), Thracia, the Southern Black Sea shore, and Syro-Palestine all the way to Northern Mesopotamia (cf. Fig. 2.14). Secondary Pelasgian, with its Basquoid substrate and strong Afroasiatic influences, was therefore the presumably largely Indo-European language of the Philistines, when they invaded the Egyptian Delta as part of the Sea Peoples episode.

The subsequent, eminently successful expansion of Indo-European in the Mediterranean realm and beyond falls largely outside our present scope, which is to be limited to proto-history.

2.3.12. Various other empirical findings to which the Karstian approach leads

2.3.12.1. *The Bantu linguistic phylum*

Karst's specific reconstruction of Mediterranean pre- and proto-history is based on the two methods of

- a. ordinary linguistic historical comparison, and
- b. his peculiar method of onomastic analysis through free association.

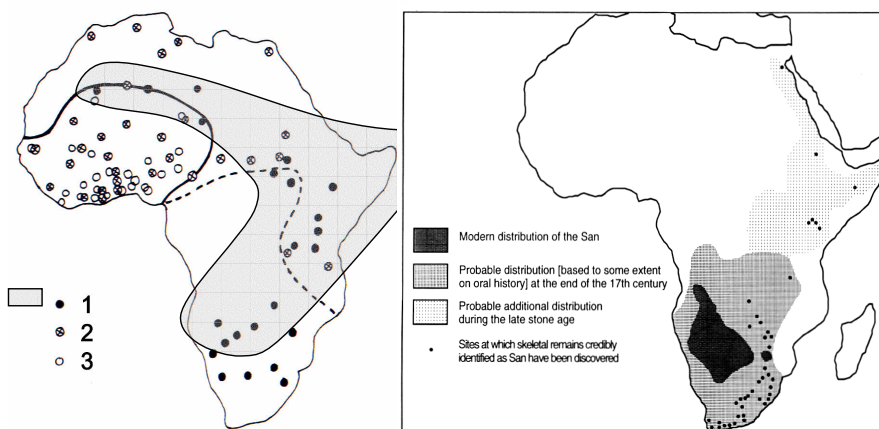
On the linguistic side (a), the picture Karst draws contains more languages and language families than we would normally include in an analysis of the Mediterranean. We have already seen how he draws into the orbit of his analysis Nostratic / Eurasianic (including branches not normally acknowledged in the Ancient Mediterranean context, such as Altaic and Uralic) and Sinocaucasian.

In this exploration of language families usually considered to be exotic to the Mediterranean region, Karst also touches on the Bantu phylum, the largest component of what today is usually designated as Nigercongo.

We have already seen how the river name Jabbok is surprisingly interpretable as Proto-Bantu *jabbok 'fordable place in a river'. My own first inkling of Bantu in West Asia was when I encountered in Gurney's (1955) synthetic account of the Proto-Hittite or Proto-Hattian a form *binu / lebina*, child / children, a lexical root and a pronominal prefix almost indistinguishable from Southern Afri-

⁸⁰ This hypothesis of Karst somewhat appeals to me: my anthropological fieldwork in precisely this region, the highlands of North-Western Tunisia, from the late 1960s onwards, has revealed the persistence of many apparently Pelasgian traits, including the veneration of local shrines, divination by the whisperings of oak trees, massive public cattle sacrifices for local gods / saints, an extreme parallelism between local social and ritual organisation, etc.; cf. van Binsbergen 1971a, 1971b, 1980a, 1980b, 1985b, 2018: 173-212, and forthcoming (a). The Pelasgian element in this region was already explicitly identified by Bertholon & Chantre 1913.

can Tswana: bana, lebana, ‘child / children’. Elsewhere (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Fig. 4.5, p. 86). I have pointed out cultural parallels, such as houses with round groundplan, and iconographic indications of the practice of elongation of the *labia minora* – the latter is world-wide very rare apart from Bantu-speaking sub-Saharan Africa. It would take us too far to collect and discuss the relevant linguistic / onomastic data in the present context, yet I suspect that diligent searching would reveal a substantially larger number of Proto-Bantu or similar forms in the extensive lexical and especially onomastic material⁸¹ available for the Ancient Near East and related areas.



1. Khoisan-related ostrich-shell beads; 2. beads made of natural stone (- - - = Southern boundary of their distribution); 3. akoris (blue glass beads) (— = inland boundary of their distribution); adapted after: van der Zwan, 1985

Fig. 2.15. (a) Distribution of archaeological finds of three types of beads in Africa; (b) Historic distribution of Khoisan peoples in Africa (Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1994: Fig. 3.2.2, for sources see there)

⁸¹ In addition to the wellknown dictionaries of specific languages of the Ancient Near East / West Asian Bronze Age, an astounding amount of potentially relevant onomastic material has been collected, which (if time would have allowed) I would have screened against possible parallels with Proto-Bantu: *e.g.* Sims-Williams 2006; Sundwall 1913; Zgusta 1964; Groneberg 1980; Kitson 1996; Laroche 1957, 1961; del Monte & Tischler 1978, 1992; Nashef 1982; Rix 1954; Rosenkranz 1966. Here lies an obvious task for future research.

Karst also points out that the name Canaan⁸² is significantly reminiscent (Karst 1931a: 343, 365 f.) of the Numidian (modern Algeria) H̄enani population, while Canaani is also a popular epithet of the Amazons. As we have seen, the initial string *Ama-* is (as a nominal prefix for the noun class denoting human pluralities) reminiscent of ethnonyms in South-Eastern Bantu (e.g. Amazulu, Amaxhosa); and this is one of the reasons, along with Karst's reading of Procopius and Gsell, to adopt Trombetti's (1905, 1923) idea of situating the origin of Nigercongo (including Bantu) languages in the Munda region of East India, and to postulate a migration of pre- or Proto-Bantu speakers from there to West Asia and subsequently into Africa. Karst considers the above Canaan-related cluster of names as a sign of the passing of pre- or Proto-Bantuids on their way West to North Africa and ultimately to sub-Saharan Africa, from an original Canaan, associated with the Cainites (eponym the fratricidal Cain of Genesis 4) and situated in or near the original Libya, on i.e. the Indian Ocean ('the Punt Sea', in ancient geographies).

The idea of an extra-African origin of Bantu is anathema to most Africanist linguists. They have come to situate the original homeland of Proto-Bantu in the surroundings of Lake Chad, ca. 8,000 BP; the Afrocentrist Clyde Winters (2012) even opts for a Saharan origin 12 ka BP. Moreover, most Africanists tend to agree with militant Afrocentrists at least in this respect⁸³ of rejecting, as racist and imperialist, any suggestion to the effect that essential traits of today's cultures and societies of Africa could have an origin outside Africa. Meanwhile, as we have seen above, state-of-the-art population genetics has established (in the works of Coia *et al.*, Hammer *et al.*, Underhill, Cruciani *et al.*), and using the kind of hard methods characteristic of the natural sciences, that, after the 'Out of Africa' migration of Anatomically Modern Man ca. 80-60 ka BP, considerable return migration back into Africa took place. This modern genetic research has identified at least one (albeit originally non-Bantu speaking) segment of the current African population to follow more or less precisely the trajectory suggested by Karst and Trombetti: some of the ancestors of today's Khoisan speakers in Southern Africa left West Asia c. 10,000 BP.⁸⁴

⁸² Which, as we have seen, could be straight-forward Bantu, from *ku kana*, 'to refuse request' – notably the popular etymology attached to the name of one of Noah's sons, because he *refused to board the Ark* when the Flood was imminent. Meanwhile, also Pett (n.d.) comes close to identifying an exotic, possibly Africa-related, element in the name Canaan:

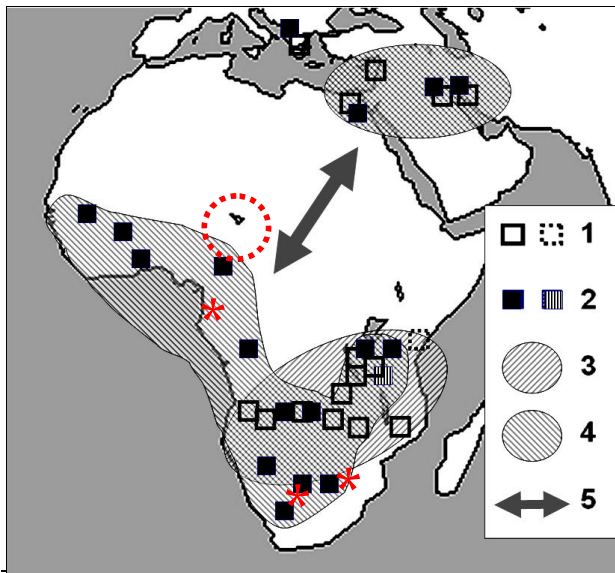
'The linking of Canaanites with the Hamites has been questioned. Some suggest it was because at that time it came under the influence of Egypt, but then we would expect 'son of Mišraim'. But the earliest known inhabitants of Canaan were in fact non-Semites and showed some affinities to the Sumerians, who were also non-Semitic, thus their original descent may well have been Hamitic.'

In my 2020 *Sunda* book, I adduce (see that book's general index) additional indications of Bantu lexical elements in the Ancient Near East including the Bible world: the names of Lot, Tīamat, and the latter's escort Kingu. I even venture to suggest an Austric etymology for the Sumerian term *asu*, 'healer'.

⁸³ For the rest, professional North Atlantic Africanists, and Afrocentrists, tend to be daggers drawn on most of the themes of Afrocentrist theory; cf. Fauvelle c.s. 2000; Amselle 2000; Howe 1999 / 1998. My own position in this connection has been that of a professional Africanist, with a strong personal, identity and religious identification with things African, who has sought to defend those (quite numerous) tenets of Afrocentrism that can be defended within a scientific discourse: van Binsbergen 1997, 2000a, 2000b, 2003, 2005, 2011a. This does not preclude critical distance from other Afrocentrist tenets, as the present study indicates.

⁸⁴ Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1994. In support of this claim we may also adduce (Fig. 2.15, above) the distribution of ostrich-shell beads: ranging all the way from North Africa to the Cape of Good Hope (Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1994: p. 160, Fig. 3.2.2 gives the African distribution of Khoisan c. 10 ka BP and around 1700 CE). Ostrich-shell beads are today as much a sign of Khoisan presence as when strings of such beads featured among the grave goods of pharaonic Egypt. But both ostriches, and ostrich shell beads, have also occurred in arid West Asia and North

Besides the genetically attested Khoisan migration – no doubt the result of these people, and their language, being pushed from the centre to the periphery of the Old World, as a result of the demographic expansion, into Europe and Northern Africa, perhaps of technologically more advanced hunters, but especially by agriculturalists and pastoralists, speaking Sinocaucasian, Afroasiatic and Indo-European. Beside the Khoisan speakers, there is cultural evidence of immigration from South Asia to the East African Bantu-speaking area, albeit on a much smaller scale and probably much more recently than Karst proposes. Here I rely on my own extensive anthropological and historiographical fieldwork among the Nkoya people of Western central Zambia, in South Central Africa, since 1972. Munda cosmogony from N.E. India (Daladier 2004) has many points in common with that of the Nkoya. In Nkoya royal families, names circulate such as Mangala and Shikanda, that are highly reminiscent of those of gods with bellicose connotations in the great Indian epic, the Mahabharata, composed around the beginning of the Common Era: (The transformation of Sanskrit Skanda to Shikanda is entirely as to be expected on the basis of Nkoya phonology, which abhors any succession of consonants unless separated by a vowel; and tends to aspire any sibilant into -š-).



India. Perhaps there is also mythical and onomastic evidence for such transcontinental continuity involving the Khoisan. The primal culture hero of the Khoi is Cagn (*cf.* Biblical Cain?), and Khoi myth reports how Cagn's two sons, identifiable as predators (one of them a leopard) by their names, engage in the first soricide when taking their new-born sister, an antelope, for a walk... Cain is the eponym of the Cainites (whom Biblical scholarship has long recognised as a major presence in South-Eastern Palestine throughout Old Testament times). Mythical continuity between West Asia and sub-Saharan Africa is no exception: among the Maasai (pastoralists like the Southern African Khoi) we find elaborate traces of Old Testament mythology (Julien n.d. / 1959; Merker 1904 – although criticised by Baumann), while the puzzling distribution of Flood and Tower myths in sub-Saharan Africa, to which we shall turn presently, have been revealed to be due to cultural transmission from Ancient Mesopotamia via Ancient Egypt to sub-Saharan Africa, as work by Dierk Lange over the last few decades has convincingly shown.

Source: from van Binsbergen 2012: 72 f.

1. Tower myths (broken outline = uncertain); 2. Flood myths (hatched symbol = uncertain); 3 and 4, extent of distribution of 1 and 2, respectively; 5, apparent distributional gap between sub-Saharan African and Ancient Near Eastern / Ancient Egyptian distribution. After van Binsbergen 2006a, with new data added. Sources of data points: Abrahams 1983; Budge 1989; Coulander 1906; Eliot 1976; Faulkner 1994; Feldmann 1963; Frazer 1919; Gaster 1969; Isaak 2006; Kahler-Meyer 1988 / 1971; Kelsen 1988 / 1943; Paminder 1982 / 1967; Sasson 1980; van der Sluijs n.d. [2004]; van Binsbergen 2010a; Vitaliano 1973.

The two themes happen to combine in the Bible (Gen. 6-11) although not in Ancient Mesopotamia (the Flood story of the Gilgamesh epic). To judge by their distribution they are independent in Africa.

The Tower mytheme is also known from South Asia, notably among Austroasiatic speakers. In Africa, it largely follows the lake belt towards the interior, and coincides with the distribution of sacred kingship, to which Austroasiatic influences may have contributed (cf. the peopling of Madagascar from Indonesia via Sri Lanka).

The Flood mytheme, by contrast, has a very wide distribution globally, and probably echoes (Anati 1999) the historical dramatic rising (by 200 m) of the ocean level in the beginning of the Holocene (10,000 BP). In Africa, this mytheme seems to follow the coast rather than the lakes. This could be because any actual rising of the ocean level would be felt on the coast and not on the interior. On the other hand, the distribution of the Flood mytheme brings out a pattern of continuity similar to that apparent in the distribution of geomantic divination, divination bowls, and perhaps the name of Mbedzi (marked as *) as a mythical ancestor / divine saviour – which suggests that this mytheme may not have originated in Africa but spread there from elsewhere, probably from (South West) Asia, and mainly by sea.

Meanwhile Bantu linguistic elements in the Biblical world (see my ch. 6), including the name Cainan (in the Septuagint, Talmud and Islamic tradition, cf. Proto-Bantu **káán*-; also cf. Canaan) for Noah's son who refused to follow his father into the Ark, suggest

- an African origin for the Flood complex
- a major African influence on the Flood complex, or
- (the Trombetti scenario, which is my opinion is the most plausible:) Africa-bound diffusion of a Flood complex from some hypothetical original pre-Bantu region in West or South Asia. However, Proto-Bantu is now generally considered to have arisen near Lake Chad, 8,000 BCE (broken circle).

Fig. 2.16. The puzzling pre-modern (*i.e.* reconstructed pre-Christianity, pre-Islam) distribution in Africa of the mythemes of (1) Tower and (2) Flood

The alternative name for Kahare / Kahale, one of the principal royal dynasties among the Nkoya, is that of Kale, and the founding traditions of that dynasty (van Binsbergen 1992) speak of an immigrant king impressing, upon his arrival, the locals – especially the local queen – with the incomparably beautiful music his orchestra produces, and his metallurgical accomplishments. This certainly rings a bell, for Kale is one of the principal ancient ethnonyms of the so-called Gypsies, people specialising in music and metallurgy (again the Cainite echo, cf. Tubalcain?), and spreading, from South Asia, very widely to the West and South, constituting a recognised presence in Egypt and Sudan, although their penetration to South Central Africa has so far gone unnoticed. Finally, Nkoya dynasties, like those of South Central Africa in general, traditionally trace their origin to a mythical homeland Kola, far away in a North Easterly direction, which may well be North-Eastern India (Kola, Kolar) but for which several other possible identifications struggle for precedence.⁸⁵ Again, we should not take the Nkoya situation as indication of some massive 'Bantu' migration from South Central Asia to East Africa, but as traces a migrant elite minority has left. Students of South Central African proto-history have long realised that the massive migrations royal dynasties claim in their official accounts, merely indicate a trickle of migrations at the level of families and sub-clans (van Binsbergen 1981; Cunison 1956, 1957; also White 1962). Despite the numerous traditions of such migrations, the main population of South Central Africa has been remarkably stable, as is brought out by archaeology: the pottery of Central Western Zambia dating from the beginning of the Common Era, is still almost identical to that of today.

⁸⁵ The question as to the identification of Kola, and the multiple uses of that name is too complex and comprehensive to be treated in passing, here. It is treated extensively in my 2020a Sunda book, see Index to that volume; also cf. my book in the press 'Our drums are always on my mind': *Nkoya history, culture, and society*. The place name Kola is also listed in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011 (Table 2.1, p. 43) as a very widely distributed Karstian example of the multiple application of the same name

In my book *Before the Presocratics* (2012: 73) I entered into a discussion of Dierk Lange's recent findings that go a long way towards resolving the puzzling gap indicated by the double arrow (5) in the preceding Figure 2.16:

'What puzzled me for a long time when examining the distribution of such myths in Africa, was the apparent large gap between the Ancient Near East / Ancient Egypt on the one hand, and sub-Saharan Africa on the other. I took this as an indication that, as stressed by Dick-Read, there has been no direct influence from the Middle East onto sub-Saharan Africa. The increasing unpopularity of the 'Hamitic Thesis' (henceforth to be designated as 'Hamitic Hypothesis') in the second half of the 20th c. CE added plausibility to this view. (According to the Hamitic Hypothesis, launched in the early 20th century by Seligman – *e. g.* 1913, 1934 – and his contemporaries, sub-Saharan Africa owed much of its advances in culture to the 'civilising' influence of medium-pigmented pastoralists from West Asia, brings also of the Afroasiatic (or, by the obsolete term, *Hamitic*) linguistic macrophylum. The implied colonial racialism of this position has meanwhile been amply exposed. There is an apparent *approchement* between the Hamitic Hypothesis and my Pelasgian Hypothesis; I discuss and refute this appearance in van Binsbergen 2011c.) The universal distribution of Flood myths world-wide, and their apparent African concentration near the Atlantic coast, are compatible with the hypothesis of South or South East Asian, in other words *Sunda*, seaborne provenance of these myths in Africa. On the other hand, the Flood myths among the East African Maasai and neighbouring peoples are remarkably close to those attested from the Ancient Near East including the Bible. Moreover, the massive and undeniable Ancient Egyptian traces, not only (as we have seen [; *cf.* van Binsbergen 2010a]) among the Nkoya but throughout West and East Africa,⁸⁶ and the very successful inroads of Islam in West and East Africa, convey a message of trans-Saharan continuity. The case is clinched, in my opinion, by the recent research of Dierk Lange (2004, 2009, 2012), who established beyond any doubt (*e. g.* by parallel king lists) direct Assyrian influence upon West Africa by the end of the Assyrian empire (c. 600 BCE) – and passing through Egypt which at the time was under Assyrian rule. (...) A combination of mainly Indian Ocean / Sunda influence around the Cape of Good Hope, with a measure of Arab influence directly across the Sahara, seems to best account for the details of geomancy in West and Southern Africa.'

Mitchell (2005: ch. 2 n. 3) signals how the Hamitic Hypothesis, although academically discredited, yet remains alive in public and media discourse. As I have explicitly argued elsewhere, my Pelasgian Hypothesis is *not* a Hamitic Thesis ! (van Binsbergen 2011c)

In the geopolitical mindset of the early-twentieth century North Atlantic region Trombetti's and Karst's linking of Bantu with India meant bringing two clusters of colonised peoples together that had each had their own role to play as subjects under colonial domination, in two neatly distinct continental settings (Asia and Africa), and therefore the verdict of scholarship, with regard to India and Bantu-speaking Africa, had to be that, like 'East' and 'West' in the geopolitical mindset at the height of the colonial period c. 1900,

'never the twain shall meet' (Kipling, *Barrack-room Ballads*, 1892).

In symbolic compensation for the devastation of the societies of Africa under colonial and postcolonial conditions, and for the humiliation and violence Black people had suffered outside Africa during the last few centuries, North Atlantic academic Africanists like, more recently, ideological Afrocentrists, have insisted, since the 1960s, that things African had to be treated in isolation, as exclusively and primordially African, not as deriving from some other continent. According to the 'Hamitic Hypothesis' (Seligman 1913; Aaron 1995; Sander 1969; Sharp 2004, Zachernuk 1994: 'West Asian, brown-skinned migratory peoples with superior technical skills had invaded Africa during Neolithic times and brought pastoralism, metallurgy, kingship, myths, religion *etc.*') has been cited in derision and indignation by such self-declared Africaphiles as an example of the extremes to which racist scholarship would go in order to deny Africans their own share of cultural creativity.

⁸⁶ Meyerowitz 1960; Wainwright 1940, 1949, 1951; overview: van Binsbergen 2011c.

Needless to say that these ideologists scarcely stopped to realise that the situation of Europe was almost identical to that of Africa under the most severe application of the Hamitic Hypothesis – for what was merely a hypothesis for Africa, is an established fact for Europe: European languages, pastoralism and agriculture, kingship, myths and religion, in great majority essentially derive from West and Central Asian sources – with a sprinkling of North African, including Egyptian, elements added.⁸⁷ Given the prevailing ideology and geopolitics, any suggestion that a major component towards the Bantu languages would derive from South Asia was unacceptable, as the Czech linguist Hromník was to find out with his book *Indo-Africa*. Tactlessly published in South Africa at the height of apartheid (1981), Hromník's book was inevitably seen as a racist attack on Africans' originality and mental capabilities (most unfortunately, some of his expressions did give food to such a reading), and it was condemned (Hall 1984; Hall & Borland, 1982) for reasons of the politics of knowledge before the book's contentious specific contents could be judged on their own merits by competent Bantuists and Indo-Europeanists.⁸⁸

Not burdened by any geopolitic mindset, neither (as we shall see) by any ideological racism, nor having any reason yet (in his own time, the height of self-confident colonialism) to particularly steer clear from anything reminiscent of the Hamitic Hypothesis, Karst (1931a: 243 f.) offers (Table 2.5, below) an interesting discussion of, possibly, Proto-Bantu onomastica in North Africa and the adjacent parts of Europe and West Asia. The widespread toponym Punt (see below) Karst sees coming back in Bantu names like Ama-Mpondo (ethnonym of a South African coastal people).⁸⁹ In general:

'Up to deep into the Near Eastern Semitic area a Bantu element is manifest' (Karst 1931a: 244) :

Especially in the field of divine names, Karst insists on accepting no boundaries between continents and language families, and in the extensive data set he thus has at his disposal some of the names appear that have special bearing both on the *Table of Nations* (the names Canaan, Enakim), and on the Sea Peoples (the names Ba'al, Janus, Apollo, Oannes). He suggests the Phoenician / Punic divine name *Moloḥ*⁹⁰ to be associated with

'Bantu *muluku* / *m-luko*, *mlungu*, *mulungu*, 'God, Heaven (a connection already posed by Wirth [cf. Wirth 1928 – WvB]) ; Canaanitic El / Bel cf. Bantu *y-ulu*, *e-ulu*, *wilu* 'God, Heaven' cf. Sardinian / Aegean *Julus*, *Jolos*, *Jolaos*.⁹¹ Cf. Aegean *Abantes*, cf. *Abantu*, 'people'. Bantu *m-logi*, *m-lozi*, *moloki*, *m-rogi*, 'magician, sorcerer', cf. *Loxios* (Apollo),

⁸⁷ I state this contention, even though the localising and Eurocentric tendencies in European archaeology of the last third of the twentieth century CE (of which Colin Renfrew is the most vocal and brilliant example) would no longer agree with such a sweeping 'Ex Oriente Lux' view and would stress evidence of genuinely European cultural initiative.

⁸⁸ However, the violent tragedy of apartheid is no longer dominating the global politics of knowledge, and while we might say that in 1981 Hromník was wrong for the right reasons, meanwhile so much evidence for the substantial influence of South Asia upon in Southern and South Central Africa in the 1st and 2nd mill. CE has accumulated (cf. van Binsbergen 2017, and 2020), with extensive references) that Hromník could be a valued participant in the 2012 Leiden conference 'Rethinking Africa's Transcontinental Continuities in Pre- and Proto-history'; van Binsbergen 2019.

⁸⁹ In this connection, Karst also refers to the Mombuttu [Mangbutu] people, who however are not Nigercongo / Bantu speaking, but Nilosaharan speaking.

⁹⁰ Which has generally been assumed to have a sound Afroasiatic etymology in m-lk, 'to rule', cf. *malik(a)*, 'king (queen)', *mulk* (rightful possession), *Melkart* 'Town Ruler' i.e. city god of Tyre and of Punic settlements in the Western Mediterranean; *Moloḥ*, 'local deity requiring child sacrifices', notably among the Phoenicians of the Levant and of Carthage.

⁹¹ *Jalaos* is the divine hero of the Ancient Sardinians; cf. Karst 1931a: 246.

Meilyxios (Zeus), *molo*, magical herb in Homer. Bantu *ô-wângi*, *uwingo*, *uwingu*, 'God, Heaven', Chaldaean Ôwan, Cappadocian Omanes, Aegean primal god Okeanos. Bantu *m-ngu*, *mu-ungu*, *mu-ingu*, 'God', cf. Minos, Menuas. Bantu-Zulu *Nkulu*, God, Basque *yinko*,⁹² Maasai *ngai*, *en-gai*! (Karst 1931a: 245f.; my translation).

Maasai, again, does not classify as Bantu.⁹³ Karst's other examples seem fairly correct as renderings of modern Bantu, although that does *not*, of course, imply endorsement for Karst's specific application of Bantu to names and concepts in Mediterranean religions. On the contrary. Like in his use of Chinese (see below, p. 118 f.), he does not make allowance for the historical transformations that words and entire languages undergo in the course of millennia. Considering that his reference is to the third and second millennium BCE, he should have referred to Proto-Bantu forms, which however had not yet been satisfactorily reconstructed by his time.

If we confine ourselves to Proto-Bantu, the Mediterranean parallels appear somewhat less conspicuous but nevertheless largely survive, as Table 2.5 indicates. However, there is a strong suggestion, especially in the case of table rows 1 and 2, that the parallelism claimed by Karst is more striking between Mediterranean onomastica and *late* forms of Bantu. If we stick to the hypothesis of a genuine connection, this suggests that the scenario is different from the one postulated by Karst: it is not so much that pre- or Proto-Bantu speakers passed by West Asia and the Mediterranean on their way to Africa, but that fully-fledged speakers of developed Bantu exerted an influence in the Mediterranean region, perhaps as advance parties sallying forth from what modern Bantuist specialists consider as the Bantu homeland, the Lake Chad region in Central West Africa. This, however, smacks of the kind of lukewarm compromise with which geopolitically and paradigmatically unwelcome data tend to be treated.

Rather than treating Nigercongo / Bantu as confined to a splendid isolation of Africanness, with an origin and spread entirely confined to what has only in the last half millennium taken the shape of a well-defined continent in our geopolitical awareness, I would prefer, for Africa, the same hypothetical historical exchanges with other continents that have long been accepted for Asia and Europe. It is not just linguistic material we shall concentrate on, but a total package, comprising language, archaeology, genetics, the distribution of ethnographic traits, and myths – in a way suggested, most imperfectly, by my argument in the present study.

But under either scenario, there is much reason to take Karst's suggestions as to a Bantu substrate in the Mediterranean very seriously.

	Connections proposed by Karst		Proto-Bantu	
	Mediterranean	Bantu	Guthrie (cf. 1967, and n.d.), with Guthrie number	Meeussen (cf. 1980 and n.d.), with noun classes
1	Phoenician / Punic Moloch	<i>muluku</i> / <i>m-luko</i> , <i>mlungu</i> , <i>mulungu</i> , 'God, Heaven	-dók-, to rain, 650, > ? mulungu, 'God'?	-dók-, 'rain, drip', 5.4., [> S.C. & S. Bantu mulungu, 'God']
2	Canaanitic El / Bel, cf. Sardinian / Aegean Julius, Jolos, Jolios	Bantu <i>y-ulu</i> , <i>e-ulu</i> , <i>wilu</i> 'God, Heaven'	-*gòdò 5-, top; sky, 880, [> -ilu- in S.C. & S. Bantu]	-*gudu 5 L LH, 'sky, above', 6.3.
3	Aegean Abantes	<i>Abantu</i> , 'people'	-*ntò 1 / 2, person, 1798	-*ntu L1, 'person, some (or other), any', 6.4
4	Loxios (Apollo), Meilyxios	Bantu <i>m-logi</i> , <i>m-lozi</i> ,	-*dÓg-, to bewitch, 644, [> -roθ- in S.C.	-*dog- L, 'bewitch', 5.4., / -*dog-L

⁹² I.e. a name variant, beside Yainco or Yanico, for the Basque god otherwise known as Basojaun, Ligurian / Italic / Sicilian name Janus; cf. Karst 1931a: 399, 451f.

⁹³ But, like Mangbutu, as a branch of Nilosaharan.

	(Zeus), <i>molo</i> , magical herb in Homer	<i>moloki, m-rogi</i> , 'magician, sorcerer',	& S. Bantu] / *dŌgi 14, witchcraft, 646, [> S.C. & S. Bantu -roŋi-]	1, 'witch', 5.4.,
5	Chaldaeian Ōwan, Cappadocian Omanes, Aegean primal god Okeanos.	Bantu <i>ô-wāngi, uwingo, uwingu</i> , 'God, Heaven',	-*gāNgā 9 / 10, 'medicine man', 786, / -*gāNgā 14, 'medicine', 787	-ganga L 1, 9, 'doctor, medicine man', 4.3. / -*gang- L, 'wrap up, bandage, heal', 4.3.
6	Minos, Menuas [Urartean king]	Bantu <i>m-ngu, mu-ungu, mu-ingu</i> , 'God',	? -*nĒnĒ DP, 'big', 1350; ? -*dŌk-, 'to rain', 650, [> S.C. & S. Bantu mulungu, 'God']	-*nĒne, 'big', 3.3.; -dŌk-, 'rain, drip', 5.4., [> S.C. & S. Bantu mulungu, 'God']
7	Basque. <i>yinko</i>	Bantu -zulu <i>Nkulu</i> , 'God'; Massai <i>ngai, en-gai</i>	-*yInk-, to give, 2085 ?; -*kŏdŏ DP, old, 1097, / -*kŏdŏ / 2 / 14, old person / old age, 1097, [> -kulu, in SC & S Bantu]	-*nink-, 'give', 2.3.; -*kŏdŏ 1, 'big, senior, adult', 6.3. [> -kulu, in S.C. & S. Bantu]

Source: van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Table 4.2, p. 82

Table 2.5. What possible light could more recent reconstructions of Proto-Bantu cast upon Karst's proposed connections between on the one hand Bantu, on the other hand Mediterranean divine names, religious concepts and ethnonyms?

As we have seen, the name Canaan may be interpreted, with Karst, as Bantoid (*cf.* Proto-Bantu *-káán-*, 'to refuse request', Guthrie no. 999; Meeussen *-káán-*, 'refuse, deny', 4.1.). Apart from the fact that we do not usually associate Bantu speakers with this part of the world, such a connection makes excellent sense, in view of the fact that Bantu-speaking regions of Africa (*e.g.* South Central Africa) abound with ethnonyms containing a semantic element 'refusal': the refusal to accept the overlordship of a precolonial king or emperor, the refusal to accept state rule (*cf.* Lancaster 1974: 324, where that claim is specifically made, on the authority of the Rhodesian colonial civil servant and researcher F.W.T. Posselt, for the Zambian Tonga). From c. 3000 BCE onwards, Canaan found itself in between two regions of major state formation: Egypt and Mesopotamia, with, from the mid-second millennium onwards, the Hittite empire in the none too distant North-West; and whereas there were extended periods when either region held political sway in Canaan, exacted tribute and had administrative representatives there, the Bedouin segmentary style of self-government often prevailed, and effectively it must have amounted to a refusal to accept such state rule, as repeatedly recognised in contemporary state sources, notably under the heading of Hapiru etc..

A little serendipity adds further credibility to this line of analysis. In a footnote below I shall suggest how the Canaanite hydronym Jordan might be given a Proto-Bantu etymology.⁹⁴ This shaky example has however a much more convincing counterpart. One of the most moving and enigmatic passages of *Genesis* concerns Jacob / Israel:

וַיָּקָם בַּלַּיְלָה הַהוּא, וַיִּקַּח אֶת-שְׁתֵּי נָשָׁיו;
וְאֶת-שְׁתֵּי שִׁפְחוֹתָיו, וְאֶת-אֶחָד עֶשְׂרִי;
וַיַּעֲבֹר, אֶת-מַעְבַּר יַבְבֹּק.
23 And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two
womenservants, and his eleven sons, and passed over the ford of the
Jabbok.

וַיִּקְחֵם--וַיַּעֲבֹרְם, אֶת-הַקָּדְלִי; וַיַּעֲבֹר, אֶת-
אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ.
24 And he took them, and sent them over the brook, and sent over that
which he had.

⁹⁴ My 2011 co-author Woudhuizen however claims (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 210n) an Indo-European etymology for the hydronym Jordan, 'based on Proto-Indo-European *dānu- 'river', see Rosenkranz 1966: 136' – which leaves the *jo-* part entirely unexplained.

25 And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day. (Genesis 32:22 f., King James translation; my italics; Hebrew text Mamre, Mechon 2005).

The hydronym Jabbok modern Naḥr al[/*aš*-]Šeria, has no certain etymology in Hebrew, although the name is usually associated with *bāqaq*, ‘to pour out’ (cf. Strong 1989: nos. 1238, 2999): the stream in question is a tributary of the Jordan. Biblical scholars⁹⁵ have sought to interpret this enigmatic passage by pointing out that the Jabbok was ‘always’ a natural boundary of Amorite territory;⁹⁶ but certainly more is at stake here; however, this leaves the *Ja[b]*-element unexplained. But as we have seen, the specific mention of the Jabbok as a fordable place, however, points unmistakably to a Bantu etymology, cf. Proto-Bantu -**jábok-*, ‘to cross river’, Guthrie no. 916; Meeussen -**jábuk-* L, ‘cross (a river)’, 4.3.⁹⁷

In fact, the world-view of Bantu-speaking cultures tends to attach great importance to spirit provinces, centring on streams (after which each province is named), and meeting at more or less elevated lands above the streams, where the latter have their watersheds. Hydronyms absolutely dominate Bantu toponymy: the landscape is essentially a map of hydronyms. Streams are venerated, particularly by small offerings (sprinklings of meal, beads, coins) when crossing. An elopement marriage is considered to be successful, irreversible, and legal, once the eloping couple has crossed the watershed and thus has passed into a different spirit province.⁹⁸ Meanwhile we must realise that many of these features are not specifically Bantu

⁹⁵ The great significance of the episode of Jacob crossing the Jabbok has been amply realised in circles of Biblical Studies, cf. Thompson 1981; Saydon 1950; Miller 1985, with Kamesar 1990; Tsevat 1983; Elliger 1951; Hentschel 1976; McKay 1987; de Pury 1979; Roth 1977; Stoebe 1954. The fact that in *Deuteronomy* 2:37 the area of this stream was forbidden to the Children of Israel may be important in this connection – could the reason be that it was still sacred to (postulated) local Bantu speakers with whom the Israelites under no condition whatsoever could be allowed to have any interaction? Or was it the sacred association, from the Israelite perspective, with their ancestor’s Jacob struggle with the Angel – with God, or with the local *genie* of the stream?

⁹⁶ Anonymous, s.v. ‘Jabbok’, Winkler Prins, 10: 270.

⁹⁷ Once more: there is an interesting puzzle at this point. On purely formal grounds, the variety of Bantu applicable to these Eastern Mediterranean Bronze-Age cases is more like modern Bantu than like the Proto-Bantu as reconstructed by Guthrie. That leaves us with at least two options: (a) either the Eastern Mediterranean forms are indeed late ones, and proof that the Bantu elements there are late intrusions from, presumably, a more original, African homeland – or (b) they simply imply that Guthrie’s reconstruction of Proto-Bantu is unreliable. The latter allegation has been made repeatedly in critical discussions of the origin and development of Bantu since Guthrie; therefore I opt for (b). The whole matter of the interpretation and aftermath of Guthrie’s work is far too complex to be treated in passing here. Cf. Bennett 1983; Chami 2001; Dalby 1975-1976; de Maret & Nsuka 1977; Ehret 2001a, 2001b; Flight 1980, 1988; Guthrie 1967-1971; Heine 1973; Lwanga-Lunyiigo 1976; Maho 2003; Möhlig 1974; Oliver *et al.* 2001; Phillipson 1976; Plaza *et al.* 2004; Posnansky 1968; Schoenbrun 2001; Vansina 1979-1980, 1984, 1990, 1995.

⁹⁸ ON THE BANTU LINGUISTIC PHYLUM OUTSIDE AFRICA. This legal convention only applies to an eloping woman who was never married, or who is widowed or divorced. Yet from a Bantu perspective Homer’s rationalisation for the Trojan war in terms of Paris eloping with Menelaus’ wife would look even more lame: Paris took Helena overseas, out of the spirit province where the marriage was supernaturally sealed, and (as is very clear from the Homeric poems) into the realm of essentially different spirits: whereas Hera and Athena side with the Greeks, Zeus, Artemis and Apollo side with the Trojans. There are many more parallels between the Homeric and the African world (for instance, the obligation to be ritually cleansed after murder; or the principle that the link between sister and brother takes precedence over the link between spouses), which to me as, essentially, an Africanist, makes Karst’s suggestion as to a Nigercongo presence near the proto-historical Mediterranean, worth

but more general Old World, with parallels in non-Bantu speaking sub-Saharan Africa, in North Africa, Asia, and Europe. For instance, in rural North Africa the belief exists that, health-wise, one can only rely on a particular source for drinking water, after one has placated the spirit of the source by a small initial offering (usually a narrow strip of textile torn from one's clothing on the spot and tied to a branch near the spring; in other words, by the creation of a so-called 'rag tree')⁹⁹ – a ritual link that needs to be reinforced occasionally (van Binsbergen 1971a and forthcoming (a)).

2.3.11.2. Religious themes emerging from the Karstian approach

Another empirical finding of Karst that complements his central theme of the four-tiered linguistico-ethnic structure of the Mediterranean pre- and proto-history, relates to continuities in the religious domain.

In order to put this point in the proper perspective, let me begin by evoking a few common empirical generalisations in the field of culture, which Karst, failing an adequate theory of culture, could not yet articulate systematically. Any local cultural complex, however heterogeneous in composition and origin, tends towards integration of its heterogeneous components via a continuous process of Localising Transformation. Hence the tendency, to be observed all over the world and throughout human history (yet only a tendency, which often is only imperfectly realised, and which may often turn into the opposite) for culture, language and religion to form one more or less integrated package, whenever they present themselves to us in a particular setting of place and time.

This makes us expect that such long-range continuities as Karst discerns in the linguistic field, also have their counterparts in the religious field. Poseidon and Athena, whom Attic myth brought together in a divine contest which Athena won by her sacred gift of the olive tree, and who despite their mythical enmity yet feature as a pair in annual Athenian rites (*cf.* Kerenyi 1978) feature in Karst's analysis as primal divinities of Central Asia (under such names as Bešūtan, Fešūtan, Pešūtan, Pesyotan, Peshotan, Pasotan, Peshotanu (Karst 1931a: 550; with the traditional popular etymology *pešha-tanu*, 'bearing the body of an owl', which brings out the complementarity between Poseidon and Athena – who in the Greek context is closely associated with the owl; *cf.* Justi 1895: 251 – Pusautan and Anahita), and it is only from there that their cults and myths diffused towards various parts of the Mediterranean. Considering this emphasis, on Karst's part, on Central Asian etymologies and provenances for Poseidon and Athena, it is confusing that he proposes (Karst 1931a: 69) an etymological identification between Poseidon, Potidaon and Odin / Wotan from *Wot-daon*, and even Athena (*cf.* Gadhlic *teine*, 'fire', *cf.* Etruscan Zeus Tinia). However, extension of the Central Asian / 'Turanian' complex into North Western Europe is only to be expected if we take the general outlines of the Karstian approach literally. And not only Wodan is identified with

considering – and reinforces the hypothesis to the effect that Nigercongo > Bantu originates not in sub-Saharan Africa but in South Central Asia (also born out by the idea that Nigercongo > Bantu may be considered a reflex of *Borean; van Binsbergen in press (d)).

⁹⁹ ON RAG TREES. Such rag trees may be found all over the Old World. Lucas 2006; Anonymous, 'Myth and more'; Lane Fox 1869: 63 f.; Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2007; Anonymous, Dochara Ireland from the Inside; Lymer 2004; author's fieldnotes, Eastern Atlas (North Africa), Tunisia, Central Thailand, and Western Java, Indonesia. I take the textile offering to a tree to be a Pelagian trait.

Poseidon, but also the major Basque god Basojaun or Basojaun¹⁰⁰ (cf. Karst 1928b: 36, 88; Karst 1931a: 308):

“The two great East Asiatic phyla, the [‘]Mongols[’] [Sinotibetan < Sinocaucasian – but Mongolian is Altaic < Eurasiatic, WvB] and the Ainu-Hyperboreans or Inahidics [Eurasiatic – WvB], would therefore have had parallel extensions all the way into Atlantic Europe. Regardless of whether we construct it as *januš or as *janux, the Hesperian [i.e. situated in Hesperia I or II, the Caucasus or South West Europe, probably more or less corresponding with North Caucasian – WvB] Janus people point similarly to the distant Ainu as well as to the Chinese expression for “people, folk”, *jěnn* [人 – WvB],¹⁰¹ via the Hebrew *ēnoš*, “mankind, people”, which stands for **ainoš*, **janox*, next to the prehistoric Enakim of Canaan.” (Karst 1931a: 331f; my translation.)

In view of the repeated migrations, East-West and West-East, along the length of the Mediterranean, we are to expect an Eastern Mediterranean counterpart of Basojaun, and it is there in the person of the Carian Osogōs, Osogōa, whose Poseidon-like nature is unmistakable. However, one of our foci of attention is the Sea Peoples, and against that background it is important that the Carians do belong to the chain of Basque Sea Peoples which Karst sees emerging along the length of the Mediterranean in the course of the second millennium BCE. It is even more important that Basojaun, under his apparently cognate name of Janus, under Basque influence becomes the god of Liguria, North and Central Italy (where under North African, Afroasiatic speaking influence he would subsequently give way to Jupiter Capitolinus as a variant of the Ancient Egyptian High God). If according to the dominant scholarly consensus (also supported by Woudhuizen; but not by me) important contingents of the Sea Peoples were actually drawn, after all, from the Western Mediterranean, these would have shared in the cult of Basojaun / Janus, presumably with important counterparts in the Eastern Mediterranean given its (postulated) strong Basquoid substrate and maritime cultural orientation. The circle closes itself when we bring in Oannes / Johannes, who shares with (a later, maritime form of) Poseidon his maritime connotations, and who, like his cognate Basojaun / Janus, might have a (Proto-)Sinic / Sinocaucasian etymology meaning ‘mankind, humans’ (Karst 1931a: 434, 453). However, Karst reminds us (1931a: 276) that in view of Chinese *koāng*, 光, (modern Beijing pronunciation *guang*-1, Old Chinese *kʷāŋ*, ‘light’), Oannes could also be a *light god* – although this leaves the deletion of the initial *ko-* / *gu-* to be explained. Such semantics, moreover, would tally excellently with the connotations of Janus, in the Italic / Roman context, as the cosmogonic god, the first being in the universe.¹⁰² According to Berossus,¹⁰³ Oannes manifested itself as an amphibian being in the Persian Gulf at the beginning of history. Typically for the liberties he permits himself, Karst even goes to the extent (1931a: 548) of linking Athena and Oannes in an

¹⁰⁰ Also called: Yainco (Jainco), Basque god, Karst 1931a: 451f.; Yainco or Yanico or the Janus- and Janiculus deity of the pre-Latinian Liguro-Sicanians’, Karst 1931a: 399.

¹⁰¹ By the Tower of Babel listing (‘Chinese characters’, s.v. ‘Character: 人’: Modern (Beijing) reading: rén; Pre-classic Old Chinese: nin; Classic Old Chinese: nin; Western Han Chinese: n̥jən [which may be the source of Karst’s *jěnn* – WvB]; Eastern Han Chinese: n̥jən; Early Postclassic Chinese: n̥in; Middle Postclassic Chinese: n̥in; Late Postclassic Chinese: n̥in; Middle Chinese: n̥in; English meaning : “human being, person, man; other persons, others; a person, someone”

¹⁰² ON LIGHT GODS, INCLUDING ELOHIM, JANUS AND OANNES. On Janus, cf. Syme 1979; Macrobius 1893, citing Nigidius Figulus and Cicero, specifically presents Janus as a light god; Anonymous, Janus; Grimal 1985; Merlin 1985; Oum Ndigi, in press; Pfligersdorffer 1973; Meillet 1959; Ernout 1957. The Israelite creation god Elohim creating light by his / her first act of will (*Genesis* 1:3) is connected with this complex, and so is probably the albino Noah.

¹⁰³ On Berossus, cf. Fragments, n.d.; Jacoby 1923-1927, no. 680; Burstein 1978; Verbrugghe & Wickersham 1996; Adler 1983; Cory 1828.

unattested construction *[Owan]-Libya-Athena = *Levi-Athan*, the Biblical sea monster, enemy of JHWH. Temple (1967; the book applies sound Assyriological and otherwise historical scholarship to the profoundly suspect topic of extraterrestrial intercession) pointed out the extensive iconographic (fish-tail-footed, snake-footed or rather turtle-footed) and thematic (culture hero) between Oannes and Fu Xi. But while the name Fu Xi scarcely makes sense in terms of a modern Chinese etymology (where it might mean something like 'Lord Ambush', which scarcely evokes a solar god,¹⁰⁴ culture hero and first emperor), I think that it could very well revert back to the 'Turanic' Poseidon (In other words, I suggest: Fu Xi < **Pu-shih-tan*); this, of course, leaves the *-tan* element unexplained, but I am confident that we could subsume that element under the very widespread expression *-tan/-dan/-dene-*, 'human, people', explored in Table 2.4). In this light Karst's *ad hoc* interpretation as if Oannes hailed from Egypt (1931a: 276) is, again, confusing, and we would rather settle with his more systematic explanation (1931a: 647) of Oannes as an exponent of Okeania-Libya = Panhaia, *i.e.* of a Proto-Chaldaean Oannes people or culture, ultimately another "Turanic" or South Central Asian element. Also the name of the Aegean heroine / moon goddess Io (part of the Inahide cycle)¹⁰⁵ is recognised by Karst to have an Egyptian / Coptic etymology, which he attempts, unconvincingly, to bend

¹⁰⁴ In ancient astronomies the great luminaries, Sun and Moon, may themselves be entrapped at moments of their temporary, regular or irregular invisibility (eclipse, setting below the horizon, lunar phases), so the forces associated with such impediment (lunar nodes, demons or predators swallowing these luminaries) might have connotations of ambushing, but never the luminaries themselves.

¹⁰⁵ ON THE ENIGMATIC MYTHICAL CHARACTER IO, AND TRANSCONTINENTAL CONTINUITIES. Io was considered a daughter of Inachus. In Graeco-Roman mythology (according to numerous ancient sources, conveniently listed in Atsma n.d., s.v. 'Io'), the figure of the heroine Io is an even better example than the contentious Athena / Neith equation of the kind of transcontinental Egyptian-Aegean continuity which was championed by Martin Bernal (1987, 1991, 2006; Egberts 1997 / 2011; van Binsbergen 1996-1997b / 2011a – where I at first contexted Egyptian / Greek continuity but soon had to admit that Bernal was right) as the central issue in the *Black Athena* debate. Spurred on by a gadfly (sent by Hera, the lawful wife of Io's lover Zeus), Io, in the shape of a heifer, is pursued across the Mediterranean from Egypt to the Bosphorus and hence on to Argos, Greece – where she became the founding ancestress of the local dynasty (Cotterell 1989: 210 f.; Mitchell 2001). She also gave her name to the Ionian Sea. As John Croft (2000) points out, the name Io has 'a clear Egyptian etymology in 'Ht, "wild cow" [𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏 iḥt – WvB; cf. Hannig 2000: 761, s.v. 'Kuh'], and by extension (I [= Croft] assume by association with the horns) "moon"'. The Egyptian-Aegean continuity underlying the Io myth is extensively discussed by Davison 1987 and Redford 1992. Fontenrose equates Io with Isis (1980 / 1959: 185, 338). Another Egyptian goddess often indistinguishable from Isis, her sister Hathor, is usually depicted in bovine shape. However, just as in art and myth the Phoenicians have been recognised to mediate between Egypt and West Asia / Ancient Mesopotamia, also in the case of Io it is often stressed that the non-Greek element in the Io story is Phoenician rather than Egyptian. – and may basically reflect a Phoenician migration to Argos, probably in post-Mycenaean times. As we have seen, Warren (1919) dealt with Io myth, but his argument scarcely touches on our present one. By what seems to be a strange coincidence, Io happens also to be the name of the Supreme Being of the Maori of Polynesia / New Zealand, of male gender, but that is somewhat outside our present scope (Best 1913; Ngata 1950). However, in a context so saturated with transcontinental hypotheses like the present one, we might admit that the Maori affinities with Western Eurasia are not totally absent (*e.g.* convoluted spiral iconography; low skin pigmentation and apparent Caucasian physiognomy of Maori royals as depicted in early Western portraits). In the course of the Bronze Age all over the Old World, major goddess have been supplanted by male celestial ones (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 142, Table 6.4), – a process which also the very Io myth seems to echo (notably: a pre-existing goddess in her own right subdued to become the mere mistress of the celestial male god Zeus), therefore a gender shift between Greek and Polynesian Io is not inconceivable. The point is all the more interesting against the background of the many striking mythological parallels between Oceania and Western Eurasia (the fishing up of land, the invention of sails, the delay of cosmogony because of Heaven and Earth's incessant mating, etc.) which however are outside our present scope; cf. van Binsbergen 2007a, 2007b, 2020: ch. 11, in press (c), in press (e).

towards Chinese. Finally, Thetis, the sea goddess, is recognised as the main patroness of the proposed original Pelasgian homeland in and around Africa Minor.

As a light god, Owan has an obvious parallel with Apollo, the god of the rising sun in the Aegean tradition. Little wonder that Karst seeks to trace the ramifications of the name Apollo through to North-Western Europe: in the Celtic sun god Belenus, < **pelemn-*, cf. Avalon, 'realm of the dead'; but Karst also stresses (1931a: 71) Apollo's link with Ba^cal – whose Philistinian manifestation, Beelzebub or Beelzebul, as a mantic god (also cf. the Biblical *ephod* priestly garment with mantic connotations; but more relevantly, cf. the Ancient Mesopotamian god Ea / Enki) has much in common with Apollo (although Karst tends to reverse – not implausibly – the direction of borrowing, and sees this type of mantic god as spreading, on the wings of Pontic-Palaeo-Pelasgian migrations, from Syro-Palestine to the Aegean and not the other way around). Closely related to Apollo is the Cilician Mopsus, who in Sea Peoples' studies features prominently, almost triumphantly, as a historical person reclaimed from mystification through pain-staking modern historical research (Barnett 1987; Helck 1979b: 117 f.), but whose alias, Calchas, conjures up reminiscences of the Egyptian / Mišraim / Afroasiatic connotations of Colchis, Cashluḫians, as in the case of Apollo under Karst's interpretation. Incidentally, Apollo's epithet Lukios / Lukaion may not, unless by a mere popular etymology, be associated with Greek *lukos*, 'wolf', nor with Lycia (despite the Cilicians' tradition of having an origin in Troy, likewise in Western Asia Minor), but instead might be relegated, or so Karst insists, to a root *loka*, 'ring, circle, year, luck' (Karst 1931a: 580), thus evoking the self-perpetuating ring (*ourobouros*) as, allegedly,¹⁰⁶ a perennial and ubiquitous emblem of magic and divination.

Partly on the basis of Trombetti, Karst (1931a: 233) discusses what he calls an 'Anatolian-Hittite-Pelasgian' divine family: Phrygian Annakos (Nannakos), Aegean-Pelasgian Anankē ('Fate, Necessity'), Canaanite Eneki(m), in the sense of 'Sons of Heaven, Dioscuri', Aḫvins, which corresponds with the twin pair of morning and evening stars; in relation with Aḫvins, also cf. Abḫazian *astcva*, 'star'; with Dioscuri, Mingrelo-Lasian [Kartvelian – WvB] *dačḫiri*, *daskuri* 'fire, spark, stroke of lighting'. This is not totally devoid of interest because it may help, again, to elaborate our argument (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011) on the partially West Asian / North Caucasian background of some of the symbolism of the Sea Peoples. Yet we also catch out Karst here in performing some sleight-of-hand characteristic of his lack of methodological and theoretical rigour: dissimulating the most likely (in this case, intra-Indo-European) connections between linguistic data, he appeals to assonance with a very different linguistic group (the Kartvelian phylum, with which he happens to be familiar as a

¹⁰⁶ Perhaps not totally without grounds. Thus the principal instruments of cleromantic divination in South Central Africa, the *hakata* tablets, also have a semi-rounded form and in the etymology of their name 'round' – with the same magical connotations as stressed by Karst – is claimed to be an important semantic dimension (von Sicard 1959). What is more, their material form is so close to North American tokens used for divination and games, that their form may well be suggested to hark back to Central Asia in the Upper Palaeolithic, c. 15 ka BP; they have also been attested in Upper Palaeolithic Europe, a few millennia earlier (cf. Dewez 1974; van Binsbergen 2012: 276, Fig. 8.6). A cross-cultural and historical exploration of roundness as an obvious cosmological principal is, however, outside our present scope. Let me just point out that one principal form in which roundness presents itself in the natural world is that of the section of tree branches and roots. Some authors on Ancient divination have explained the widespread prevalence of wooden tokens in divination as implicitly reflecting the sacredness of trees, which is already a Narrative Complex ('From the Tree') in the oldest reconstructed mythology, that of Pandora's Box (van Binsbergen 2006a, 2006b, 2010a, 2012a).

student of Armenian, – also from West Asia, but belonging to the Indo-European, not the Kartvelian, branch of Eurasianic / Nostratic).

We have now given an extensive account of Karst's work, mainly in the way (as unthankful as creative) of spelling out, streamlining and bowdlerising, and explicitly mapping, Karst's largely implicit assumptions and procedures – as task as unthankful as Karst's overall linguistic perspective is obsolete. We may now proceed to present his specific views on the identification of the trouble cases in the *Table of Nations*. After we have done so, we shall seek to assess *grosso modo* the (no doubt rather limited) extent to which Karst's work, dating from the early twentieth century CE and now almost totally forgotten, might stand the test of more recent scholarship and research; then we proceed by exploring the implications of Karst's approach to the study of the Sea Peoples; after which we conclude this book with an attempt to vindicate Karst's layered model of languages and ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean.

Chapter 3. Karst specifically on the Biblical ‘*Table of Nations*’ (*Genesis 10*)

3.1. Introduction

In our book *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011), the problems and method attending the study of ethnicity in proto-history are explored by reference to two apparently Bronze Age ethnic lists, the Homeric Catalogue of [Achaean] ships (*Iliad 2*), and the *Table of Nations* from *Genesis 10*. One hundred two-column pages, many tables and diagrams, the accepted texts in Greek and Hebrew, hundreds of references, make up our treatment in 2011. It is inopportune to go over my complex 2011 argument once again. Concerning the *Table of Nations*, our main conclusion had to be that

- despite all its inconsistencies it is convincing evidence of *the existence of one integrated overarching ethnic space*, an ethnic classification system encompassing the entire Mediterranean and adjacent regions, and informing much of the political, economic and religious perceptions and interactions within that space
- the details of that classification system, *i.e.* the identification of specific ethnic groups within that system, are so inconsistent, and have led to such divergent identifications by Bible scholars over more than two millennia, that we could not go beyond a mere lesson in method and theory, and in most cases had to refrain from any suggestion of actually pinpointing which concrete socio-political group on the ground would correspond with any of the 72 listings in the *Genesis 10*. The group names, major scholarly references, and a selection of existing scholarly interpretation, we had listed in our Table 6.19: ‘Modern scholarly views concerning the identification of ethno-

geographic proper names in the *Table of Nations*' (2011: 177-182). Below follows a selection from that Table, limited to those trouble cases on which Karst sheds light:

proper name	Common identification in Biblical scholarship (cf. Rienecker 1999)	Identification by others (only specified if absent in, or different from, Rienecker) ¹⁰⁷
Aškenaz	Scythians ¹⁰⁸	Scythians (Akkadian: <i>Ašguza</i>) or Phrygians (Soggin 1997: 169); in the Talmud (Neubauer 1965: 401): Asia as a whole. Identification of Aškenaz with the Phrygian Ascanians implies another meeting point between our two case studies: the Ascanians are mentioned in the Homeric <i>Trojan Catalogue of Ships</i> , <i>Iliad</i> II, 863
Caphthorites, Caphthorim	Cretans	Rendsburg (1987; cf. Soggin 1997: 173) thinks, not of Cretans who have migrated to the Egyptian delta, but of Egyptians who have migrated to Crete; Wainwright 1956, cf. 1931a, 1931b, 1931c: not Cretans but Cilicians.
Cashlukhites, Cashlukhim		Mitchell 1976c: 201: unknown outside the Bible; in <i>LXX</i> : <i>Ἰασμόνιαι</i>
Cush	Ethiopians	Soggin 1997: 170: probably Ethiopia, but possibly Kassites in Mesopotamia; Kitchen 1976b: 284 reminds us that in <i>Genesis</i> 2:13 a Mesopotamian region encompassed by the river Gihon is thus named, unrelated to usage of the name Cush for Nubia, which occurs many times in the Bible outside <i>Genesis</i> 10. Ahituv 1984: 85: 'Upper and Lower Kushu of the <i>Execration Texts</i> , where tribal chieftains (<i>wr.w</i>) governing their clans (<i>whyt</i>), are equated with Biblical Cush – an archaic name for Midian [ref. to <i>Habakkuk</i> 3:7 and <i>Numbers</i> 12:1]. Albright (1941a: 34, n. 8) proposed to locate the lands of Kushu South of the river Anon, stretching into the land of Midian. Mazar (1969) suggested a location in Southern Israel, since the tribes of Midian roamed in the Negev and Northern Sinai, as is evident from the story of Moses. Karst (1931a: 287) sees Cush as a denoting a proto-Chinese primal people from Mesopotamia: Ketsi, Ketsü, Kotchi, Kütsché,
Eber		Soggin 1997: 174: artificial eponym, merely stands for the later 'ibri, Israel; declines Pettinato's (1979) suggestion of a link with the Eblaitic <i>ebrium</i> , 'king' as 'uncertain, even fantastic'; van der Born 1966-69: 558-60 with extensive literature: Akkadian <i>ḫapiru</i> , Egyptian 'Apiru, Ugaritic 'pru, but a much larger group with much wider distribution than came to be known as the Hebrews in the Biblical context. Probably the etymology 'beyond' is a popular one, the word may well be non-Semitic (e.g. ḫurritic), and is probably not primarily an ethnonym but a general designation for nomads, ¹⁰⁹ stateless people, brigands, etc., which may have originated in the ethnonym of a more restricted group, or have later developed into an ethnonym, in ways familiar from my theoretical introduction; Wiseman 1976b: 331: the ethnonym Arab is probably a metathesis of Eber. A considerable literature has been devoted to the question of the identification of the <i>Hapiru</i> / <i>Abiru</i> / <i>ḫapiru</i> as Hebrews (e.g. Alt 1934; Bottéro 1954; de Buck 1954; de Koning 1940; de Vaux 1948; Dhorme 1924, 1938; Follet 1955; Greenberg 1955; Jirku 1924; Kraeling 1941; Lewy 1939; Nelis 1966-69b; Noth 1934; Parzen 1932-33; Wilson 1932-33), but the question is no longer so popular among Biblical scholars.
Ḥam		all people to the South(-West), especially the Egyptians (Soggin 1997: 167; cf. Lipiński 1992)

¹⁰⁷ In this connection I have greatly benefited from (but have far from limited myself to) the references in Soggin's (1997: 167f.) general discussion of the *Table of Nations*.

¹⁰⁸ This identification was first made by Maspero 1900: III, 343; cf. Custance 1975 / n.d., n. 42. From the Middle Ages onward the name Aškenaz has been projected onto the Yiddish-speaking Jews in Europe.

¹⁰⁹ It is tempting to suggest a connection here with the semantic cluster around 'speckledness, granulation and – especially relevant in the case of nomads – scatteredness', which in Indo-European and Afroasiatic languages such as Semitic and Old Egyptian often attaches to the form *prd / *prg (cf. Kammerzell 1994).

Havila	Havila	<i>Cf. Table of Nations</i> , item [72] sand desert in West Asia (Soggin 1997: 66, 167); appears as descendant of Ḥam; Mitchell 1976d: 506 reads 'circle, district', and suggests that the two Havilas are on both sides of the Red Sea
Havila		Sand desert in West Asia (Soggin 1997: 66, 167), <i>cf. Table of Nations</i> , item [20]; appears as descendant of Šem; Mitchell 1976d: 506 reads 'circle, district', and suggests that the two Havilas are on both sides of the Red Sea
Libya: Lehabim / Lehabites, Ludim / Lubim, with some Mišraim (see main text)		
Lehabim, Lehabites	Libyans	Mitchell 1976h: 728: unknown but often identified with Lubim, Libyans (also <i>LXX / Septuaginth</i>), perhaps Ludim (<i>Genesis</i> 10:13) is a scribal error for Lubim [although <i>d</i> and <i>b</i> , admittedly mirrored in Latin script, are quite dissimilar in Hebrew and in Greek writing – WvB]
Lud		Appears as descendant of both Ḥam and Šem, <i>cf. Table of Nations</i> , item [33]. Soggin 1997: 170, Lydians, but it is unclear why they appear now under Šem, then under Ḥam. Van der Born 1966-69: 888 believes that the two different Luds in the <i>Table of Nations</i> do refer to two different peoples. Inter-textuality (Lud is also mentioned in <i>1 Chronicles</i> 1:11, <i>Jeremiah</i> 46:9 and <i>Ezekiel</i> 30:5 next to Ethiopia and Put, <i>cf. Ezekiel</i> 27:120, which suggests that the location is meant to be in North-Eastern Africa or South Arabia. The second Lud, son of Šem, is equated with Lydia. Incidentally, in <i>1 Maccabees</i> 8:8; this Lud is mentioned next to India and Media. Kitchen 1976d: 755: usually identified with Lydia (which suggests Semitic influences there) ¹¹⁰ but may be Lubim, Libya ¹¹¹
Ludim, Ludites ¹¹²	Lydians	Appears as descendant of both Ḥam and Šem; <i>cf. Lud</i> [74]; it is remarkable (van der Born 1966-69: 1511) that they are not classified under Japheth, for which the explanation is offered that there were intensive relations between Lydians and Mesopotamia (Gyges / Asshurbanipal; Croesus / Cyrus). Kitchen 1976d: 755, see previous entry
Mišraim	Egypt	Kitchen 1976e: 337 <i>f.</i> : Mišraim as name for Egypt attested from Ugaritic and Amarna sources from 14th century BCE. The word could be a dualis but that is far from certain. However, in the first mill. BCE Assyro-Babylonian texts speak of Mušur or Mušri ('marches'? <i>cf. Pritchard</i> 1969: 279 n. 9), but this could refer both to Egypt and to a region in Northern Syria / South East Anatolia. Spiegelberg 1899: 39 <i>f.</i> however preferred to derive <i>mšr</i> from (<i>lmdr</i> , '(fortification-) walls'. Karst (1931a) speaks of a Greater Mišraim, which, beyond the narrower confines of Ancient Egypt (between Libya, the Mediterranean, Sinai and Nubia) would extend all the way into Africa Minor, South Italy, Greece, Anatolia and Syro-Palestine, and thus would more or less coincide with the Pelasgian realm as postulated in my Pelasgian Hypothesis (van Binsbergen 2010b, 2010c)

¹¹⁰ As is confirmed by the fact (pointed out to me by Fred Woudhuizen) that the most important Lydian text consists of a Lydian-Aramaic bilingual (*Lyd. no. 1*).

¹¹¹ On the principle that the *Table of Nations* gives a classification on the basis of political geography, this is not so difficult to explain. Some of the Lydian immigrants into the Levant had been forced to accept Egyptian rule, hence became children of Ḥam; the others had effectively been incorporated in, or associated with, the Davidian state, and thus appear under Šem. The classificatory distance between the two Levantine Lydian groups in the *Table of Nations* need not be an indication of their geographical distance on the ground. After the invasions of the Sea Peoples the map of Palestine was a checker-board of regions still under Egyptian domination, and regions where immigrating Sea Peoples had defied Egyptian rule.

¹¹² Their place in the context of the *Table of Nations* would suggest that the Ludites are situated in or near the Egyptian Delta. *Cf.* the name Lud, identified as a descendant of Šem, not Ḥam. Commonly, Lud and Ludites are both identified with the Lydians of the West coast of Asia Minor. Again it is brought out that the *Table of Nations* classifies on the basis of geographical propinquity, largely regardless of cultural or demographic origin. However, it is quite possible that instead of *lud* (לוד), *lub* (לוב) should be read here, which is generally considered to stand for Libya (Neubauer 1965: 411); such a reading would be much more in agreement with the specific placing of this name in the *Table of Nations*.

Ophir	South-West Arabia	Görg 1976: fantasy land; Soggin 1997: 174 however stresses that Ophir counts as the destination of seafarers and traders, therefore by implication is likely to represent a real community; van der Born 1966-69: 1044: also stresses intra-Biblical inter-textuality, and while acknowledging identifications as far afield as Sumatra and Transvaal (South Africa), settles for the Bab al-Mandab and surroundings; Wiseman 1976: 91: known from pre-Islamic inscriptions, Ryckmans 1934: 298, 339 f., 'Their area lies between Saba in the Yemen and Hawilah (<i>Hawlān</i>) as described in <i>Genesis</i> 10:29' – is considered to be different from the Ophir as gold land
Peleg		Soggin 1997: 174: may be any region of Mesopotamia; Wiseman 1976 f.: 957: name suggests splitting up of the earth's population in tribes, or the division of the soil in irrigated plots (Assyrian <i>palgu</i> , irrigation channel)
Put / Punt	Punt, <i>i.e.</i> both shores of the Southern Red Sea but more especially the Western shore	Soggin 1997: 170: formerly (Simons 1954) identified with Libya (which however is supported by <i>Nahum</i> 3:9, where Put warriors alongside Lubim, Egyptians and Ethiopians fail to save Thebes from Assyria; for this and similar reasons Kitchen 1976: 1066 prefers Libya). If we agree that the listing is primarily in terms of political geography, a more or less logical sequence on the map would allow us to choose between alternatives; in this respect I would prefer Put to continue to be identified with Libya, even if Put is Somalia in the Egyptian records of the times of Hatshepsut (temple at Deir al-Bahari)
Sidon	Phoenicians	One of the few names in the <i>Table of Nations</i> to be attested in Egyptian sources, <i>cf.</i> Ahituv 1984: 177
Tiras	Tyrsenians or Tyrrhenians	Soggin 1997: 69 adds the association with the <i>turuša</i> [twršš], one of the Sea Peoples attacking Egypt, probably (Mitchell 1976: 1283) connected with Etruscans; Talmud and Targumim: Tharka, <i>i.e.</i> Thracia, or (Rab Simeon) Paras, <i>i.e.</i> Persia (Neubauer 1965: 423); one of the Sea Peoples, see below
Tubal	Tibarenians, Anatolia	Soggin 1997: 169: perhaps fragmented Hittite groups, Tabala (Skinner 1930); <i>Jerus. Talmud</i> : Bithynia (Neubauer 1965: 422); Mitchell 1976: 811, closely associated with Meshech

Sources: unless specifically identified, the data in this table largely derive from Rienecker 1991; only when there is a risk of confusion with the opinions of the authorities cited, do my personal observations appear between brackets.

This table is largely an excerpt from: van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 177-182, Table 6.19.

Table 3.1. Modern scholarly views concerning the identification of selected ethnico-geographic proper names (mainly the trouble cases) in the *Table of Nations*¹¹³

Karst refers to the *Table of Nations* dozens of times in passing, and devotes several sections of his book to a more detailed systematic discussion (1931a: 343-349, 383 f., 397 f.).

In connection with the *Table of Nations*, Karst implicitly adopts the methodological principle that Biblical onomastica are to be interpreted against the entire range of available onomastica for the Ancient Near East and in fact for the whole world of that time. This gives Karst's method *in principle* an advantage over Biblical scholarship. Biblical scholars, whatever their status as believers or agnostics, tend to wear disciplinary blinkers – produced by a mind-set according to which most of the Biblical material needs to be interpreted in the local terms of Ancient Palestine. For the first book of *Genesis* up to Abram, including Noah, the Flood, and Noah's immediate 'descendants', this is much too narrow a scope.

¹¹³ For discussion of the etymologies of Biblical names, also *cf.* Crapo 2004. Above I have repeatedly made the point that, contrary to the common assumption among Biblical scholars, these etymologies need not be Hebrew nor even Afroasiatic.

To this methodological point of Karst, another may be added. Because he consistently sees the mythico-legendary names of ancient kings, heroes, priests, gods, as representing peoples *i.e.* named ethnic groups, we are encouraged to resolutely *resist* the temptation of treating Biblical genealogies referring to the remote past, as if they were comparable with recent genealogies involving real historical personages. For Karst, there is no question whatsoever that such ancient genealogies could ever involve real historical individuals, they only constitute a stereotypical classification system of named human groups. Although they may appear to display the tell-tale signs of genealogical manipulation that, in the context of references to real historical personages, may guide historicising anthropologists systematically to the unravelling of hidden historical facts, such genealogical analysis does not really apply here. Noah is not the father of three sons, but a device to speak about the principal subdivisions of humanity as a whole, Abram is not the son of Terah, but the Biblical account to that effect must be read as evidence of the existence, at some time presumably in the second millennium BCE in or near Northern Mesopotamia, of two closely related peoples or population segments standing in some hierarchical relationship of differential local priority in settlement history, or of socio-political domination: the Abram people and the Terah people. Any attempt to read meaningful historical information about individual persons in this and similar Biblical reports, *e.g.*, the inconsistencies of the reported birth order of Šem, Ḥam and Japheth, is doomed to fail. A historico-ethnic reading is, however, invited and may lead to illuminating results.

Let us now review how Karst approaches the large set of names in the *Table of Nations*.

3.2. Karst's identification of the names in the Table of Nations: (a) Names whose main-stream scholarly identification is accepted by Karst without substantial comment

Karst does not strive for iconoclastic originality and complexity merely for their own sake. It is not as if he finds fault with all the common identifications of the names in the *Table of Nations* that circulate among Biblical scholars. Nearly thirty of these names pass without any, or without significant, comment on Karst's part: Abimael, Adma, Almodad, Arvadites / Arvadim, Dedan, Dikla, Gaza, Gerar, Gether, Gomorra, Hadoram, Ḥamathites / Hamathim, Ḥazarmavet, Ḥivite / Hivim, Ḥul, Jeraḥ, Jobab, Laša, Obal, Ra(g)ma, Reḥoboth-ir, Seboim / Seboites, Shelaḥ, Šeleph, Semarim / Semarite, Sephar, Sodom, and Uzal.

It is remarkable that Shelaḥ / Salaḥ should not be explicitly discussed by Karst: considering the analogy which he draws (Karst 1931a: 21, 401, 368) between Shluḥ Berbers and Afroasiaticised Sicilians one would have expected him to bring in Shelaḥ / Salaḥ in that connection; for Shelaḥ / Salaḥ is listed in the *Table of Nations* as the father of the two eponymic ancestors, Eber and Joktan, who are frequently associated, in Karst's analysis, with Afroasiatic speaking Berber migrations to North-Western Africa and South-Western Europe.

For a considerable number of names in the *Table of Nations* Karst accepts, often without substantial comment, the more or less standard identification of Biblical scholarship. Thus, Aram is accepted as Syria and North Eastern Mesopotamia; and Arpaḥšad as associated with

the Northern Mesopotamian Arrapaḫites (Karst 1931a: 496).

Even so, Karst may add fine points inspired by the fact that his perspective is not exclusively on the Biblical Lands but encompasses the entire Old World (Asia, Africa, Europe) with substantial excursions into the New World. Thus the Amorites / Amorim are brought in perspective as a branch of Afroasiatic speaking Berbers and hence as an aspect of a much larger migratory process extending from South-West Asia to North West Africa and South West Europe. Also in the case of the Anamites / Anamim Karst points, convincingly I think, to the fact that by its ending on *-amim* this group identifies itself as belonging to a Berberoid phylum once extending along the Eastern Red Sea shore all the way North to Judaea, with the Benjaminsites (also known from Mari 18th c. BCE documents (cf. Pritchard 1969 / 1954) to which Karst had no access yet) as closely related.

We have already seen how Karst accepts the name Canaan to refer to Southern Syro-Palestine, but with extensive excursions into the likelihood of a Bantu connection for this name. His attempt to open up a wider perspective may be appreciated in the light of the fact that the name is unexplained by more conventional scholarship (cf. Ahituv 1984: 84 *f.*, who cites ten Egyptian attestations of the name):

‘Mazar (BASOR [Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research] 102 [1946], pp. 7-12) has proposed that it refers to the social stratum of merchants. M.C. Astour (JNES [Journal of Near Eastern Studies] 24 [1965], pp. 346-348) proposed a derivation from $\sqrt{\text{kn}}$ and explained it as “the land of sun-set”.¹¹⁴ So far the problem is still far from being settled.’

For Karst, (Proto-)Amorites, Gargasites / Gargasim, Jebusites / Jebusim and Heth in the *Table of Nations* are signs of a ‘Berbero-Hamitic’ in other words Afroasiatic presence; the latter in considerable deviation from common scholarly identifications, who tend to read Heth as Hatti / Ḫatti, our modern concept of the ‘Hittites’. Karst hypothesises (1931a: 41) that the invasion into Palestine described in the Biblical book of Joshua¹¹⁵ caused these Berberic phyla to migrate to North-Western Africa, where specifically the Heth people became the Gaetulians of Libya. In line with common Biblical scholarship’s identification of Joktan as referring to Arabian phyla, Karst sees an Afroasiatic element in Joktan, but again he extends it so as to encompass all traces (especially the trace of the Jaccetani who allegedly gave their name to Aquitania, i.e. France South of the Loire river) of a prehistoric Westward Afroasiatic migration from South-Western Asia; here he adduces the hydronyms Jordan¹¹⁶ / Jarden / Eridanos as an index fossil. Karst accepts Elam to be South Western Iran due East of the Euphrates / Tigris confluence.

With established Biblical scholarship he agrees (Karst 1931a: 448) that Javan may stand for ‘Greek, Ionian’, but he stresses, on the basis of Sanskrit *javana*, that also a less specific

¹¹⁴ This is very reminiscent of the principles of Relational Projection and Polynymy informing Karst’s approach, and some of his specific identifications, e.g. in the context of Greater Miṣraim. Incidentally, that there is more to Canaan than meet the eye is suggested by a relief commissioned by Seti I in Amun’s temple of Karnak, depicting ‘the city of Canaan’, ‘situated beside a body of water’.. (Ahituv 1984: Plate IV). The place is not properly identified. Given Syro-Palestinian hydrography, a coastal town on the Mediterranean is most likely, perhaps Gaza.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Noort 1998.

¹¹⁶ Perhaps to be compared with Proto-Bantu **-códŌ* 3 / 4, ‘stream’, Guthrie no. 406 (uncertain reconstruction; Guthrie 1967 and n.d.; *d* in Proto-Bantu has the tendency to develop into *r* / *l*), which however does not come back with Meussen (1980 and n.d.). The latter has the rather different **-gedi* L 3, ‘stream’, 3.2., which is a less likely etymon for *jordan*.

reading ‘stranger’ must be considered, particularly in view of the fact that, in his opinion, the ‘sons’ / branches of Javan (Elišša, Taršiš, Chittim and Dodanim) all four refer to Western Mediterranean groups in Celtic and Atlantic contexts (see below) without, or so he claims, any significant level of Greek influence in the Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age. On this point, later archaeological insights in the extensive spread of, notably, *Mycenaean artefacts do not bear out Karst’s assertion: the sphere of influence in question was much more extended than Karst thought to be the case.* Piggott (1973: 136) gives a distribution map of Mycenaean finds throughout Europe which I here reproduce as Fig. 3.1. It is most remarkable that no such finds are reported (at least, not up to the 1960s) for Sardinia and Etruria, which suggests that by the Late Bronze Age these two regions were part of a different maritime network than one including Mycenaean – or perhaps, less likely, that they were not part of *any* maritime network. By contrast, there is an abundance of Mycenaean finds in the British Isles and in Central Europe along the Danube.

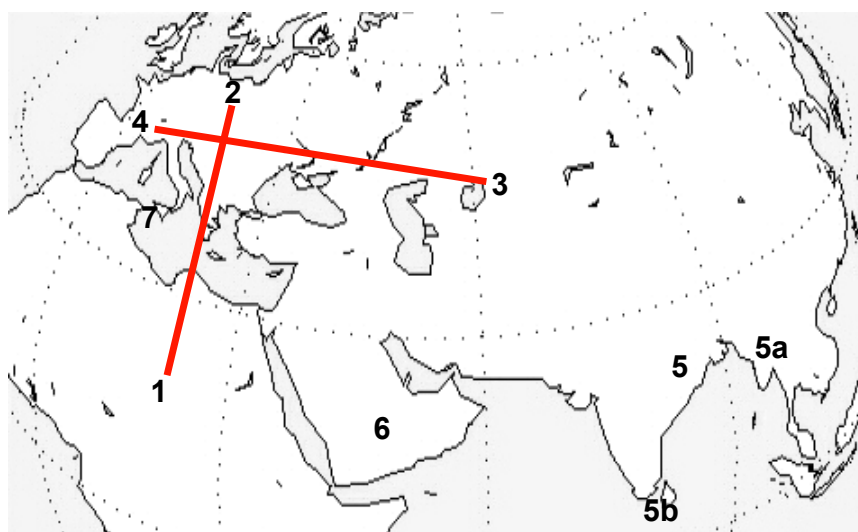


after Piggott 1973: 136, Fig. 73; 1. pottery; 2. metal-work; 3. decorated bone-work; 4. faience beads.

Fig. 3.1. Distribution of Mycenaean objects and influences beyond the Aegean (hatched rectangle)

Whereas Biblical scholarship has tended to identify Gomer as Cimmerians North of the Black Sea, Karst prefers a reading (South-)East of the Black Sea, considering that, according to Armenian tradition, Gamir, Ḥamir, is the ethnonym of the Cappadocians (Karst 1931a: 241); however, the difference is not dramatic, especially not in view of the fuzziness, perspectival compression and mythical tendencies of ancient geographies. More in Karst’s style is mean-

while the reminder (1931a: 45, n. 1) that in the ancient geographies the Cimmerians, rather than to be identified with one specific people in space and time, constitute a generic term synonymous with: Hyperboreans, for those dwelling near the Northern cardinal point, while the other cardinal points are occupied by Celto-Scythians (West), Aethiopes or Libyes (South), and Indi or Indo-Scythians (East) – in the manner illustrated in Fig. 3.2. (Like other authors, including Lemière (1881), Karst claims affinity between Celts and Scythians, also noticeable in the so-called animal style (cf. Rostovtsev 1929; Cammann 1958; Bunker *et al.* 1970.) Thus we are reminded, once more, of the incessant tension between, on the one hand, acknowledging the fuzziness and mythical nature of ancient geographies, and, on the other hand, the temptation to pin ethnonyms and toponyms down to a specificity in time and space, even though we thus risk to fall victim to the the same old fallacy of misplaced concreteness. Identifying the Cimmerians with one specific people in space and time, may not be totally wrong in a particular historical context, but, in its misplaced concreteness, it misses the point.




- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1 Aethiopes / Libyes (South) | 4 Celto-scythians (West) | 'Morning-land' |
| 2 Cimmerians / Hyperboreans (North) | 5 Nod (cf. 5a: Ibar-nud / Ibari-ndu, and 5b: Palaesimu-ndu = Sri Lanka) | 7 Oenotria < <i>T3-nt.r.w.</i> , 'Land of Gods' |
| 3 Indi / Indo-Scythians (East) | 6 Tonuter (<i>T3-nt.r.w.</i>), 'Land of Gods', | |

Fig. 3.2. Cardinal peoples and liminal lands in ancient geographies (according to Karst 1931a)

Above I summarised my Pelasgian Hypothesis in diagrammatic form. One of its most important features is the 'cross model': the idea that at the end of the Bronze Age (c. 1200 BCE) the Secondary Pelasgian complex spread in all four directions, from the Mediterranean region: North and West into Europe, South into Africa, and East, back into Asia, where it left substantial traces in West Asia, South Asia, East Asia, and even in South East Asia and Oce-

ania. Figure 3.2 shows that, remarkably, the mechanism had already been discovered by Karst, but with far more limited application.

Close to common Biblical scholarship is also Karst's identification of Magog as 'Sarmatic Nordic people', offering an etymology of this name in terms of 'seed, grain, offspring', a common type of ethnonym, from a plausible Caucasian substrate (Karst 1931a: 72, 596). For Mash, Karst accepts (1931a: 288) Flavius Josephus' identification (*Antiquitates Judaicae*, 1.6.4) as Mēsanaioi, people on the Northern end of the Persian Gulf. Meša is, equally meekly, accepted (1931a: 288) to be a border town in Joktanide Arabia, possibly Muscat. For Karst, Mesheḥ is not the Muski of Central Anatolia but the Massagetes or Moshians of the Black Sea, however, the overlap with Biblical scholarship is clear. For the Naphtuḥim / Naphtuḥites and Pathrusim / Pathrusites Karst (1931a: 40) accepts, without further argument, a localisation on Crete on the basis of the *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, a Greek-language chronicle dated at c. 500 CE, partly available in English translation at: <http://www.attalus.org/translate/barbari.html>. The name Riphath has received scarcely any attention in the Biblical scholarship of the *Table of Nations*, but Karst's proposal to read the very similar Hebrew letter ך d for ך r, by analogy with the common scholarly equation of Dodanim with Rodanim, leads him to the identification of Riphath / Diphath as a Northern branch of Indoaryan, with an Ossetic etymon (Karst 1931a: 518, 496, 72). Biblical scholarship has made little of Sabta and Sabteḥah, and here Karst's informed but simple guess is at least as good as the others that are available: an old Afroasiatic toponym with the connotations of 'shore, river bank' (*spot, spat*, cf. the name Septimania for Southern France, against the background of more general evidence of Afroasiatic settlements on the North-Western Mediterranean shores from North Africa; Karst 1931a: 60, 288, 457, 349; although he overlooks this point, Karst's interpretation is reinforced by Ancient Egyptian  *spʒt*, 'district, nome' – given Egypt's peculiar riverside ecology, all districts – except for a few Delta ones – were, effectively, river banks. Plausibly, Bernal (2006) sees this as etymon of the Greek place name Sparta. The same element can be suspected in Saba / Šeba, where Karst links up with existing scholarship but, within the latter's confines, opts for the Sabaeen identification over the Erythraean one (Karst 1931a: 60, 475). As an Armenologist, Karst (1931a: 72 f., 356, 422, 556, 605) has no difficulty identifying Togarma in the *Table of Nations* with Thorgom, the primal gens of the Armenians (an exponent of the first, lowest tier of the Eastern section of our four-tiered Mediterranean package), but in doing so he largely confirms Biblical scholarship which has commonly situated Togarma in Eastern Anatolia. Meanwhile Karst adds the insight (1931a: 72 f.) that Togarma, like Aškenaz, Magog, Riphath and Tubal, like the Tochians / Tusci of Northern and Central Italy, the Teucrians of North-Western and South-Eastern Asia Minor, and the 'Secondary Philistines' or *tʒkʒr* / Takkara of Syro-Palestine, are all members of a chain of *satem* Indo-European phyla stretching from South-Eastern to North-Western Europe. Finally, although Karst stresses (1931a: 349, 542) that 'Uz as the home of Job is a very comprehensive concept in principle encompassing much of the Ancient Near East, in fact he does not deviate much from the common identification of 'Uz in terms of South-Eastern Palestine.

3.3. Karst's identification of the names in the Table of Nations: (b) Names whose common scholarly identification is rejected by Karst, while he offers a straightforward alternative

With regard to the *Table of Nations*, we shall now discuss a category of names for which Karst rejects the standard interpretations (which are in terms of people and places in the Ancient Near East known to and meaningful to the ancient historical actors composing and reading the Bible), but for which he provides a simple, straightforward alternative interpretation in line with and supported by the general thrust of his main book's argument. Here, Karst steers away from the relative myopia that has tempted Biblical scholarship to look for an explanation of Biblical phenomena including the *Table of Nations* primarily in the Biblical Lands.

This is particularly clear in the case of Noah, his alleged sons Šem, Ḥam and Japheth, for Nimrod, and for the Arkites and Sinites, all of whom we have already discussed above. Like Poseidon's and Athena's, Nimrod's realm, too, or so Karst claims, is to be sought, as we have seen, in 'Turan' (Karst 1931a: 160). Hence it acquires the connotations of such legendary primal Asian lands as: Kôš / Cush (also mentioned in the *Table of Nations*), Meropis, Zohak, Sinhala, Selendiba / Serendip, and finally China. As a result, the string of place names mentioned in *Genesis 10: 8* in connection with Nimrod is denied, by Karst, to have primarily a Mesopotamian reference – another example of the Karstian anti-Occamist principle that, in ancient onomastic matters, things are seldom what they appear to be, and that greater complexity is the hallmark of credibility.

Here a dilemma arises. In the *Table of Nations*, the toponyms Uruk / Warka, Babel, Aššur, Calah, Niniveh, and perhaps even the more problematic Calnah could be demonstrated (already in Karst's time) to be at home in Mesopotamia by the Late Bronze Age or even much earlier; yet, according to Karst, their originals are to be sought in the legendary, pre-Indo-European / pre-Afroasiatic / pre-Sumerian Nimrod realm in Central Asia. Foreshadowing the Sinocaucasian hypothesis, but unable to make the – by now obvious – link to the reconstructed parent language *Borean, Karst presents evidence of a Sinotibetan substrate in much onomastic and general linguistic material from South-Western Asia (Sumer) and North-Eastern Africa (Egypt). Moreover he launches the interesting, but linguistically as yet unconvincing suggestion that mysterious Mediterranean names like *Eteocretan* and *Aethiopian* may be elucidated by reference to Chinese *hai tao* [海島 – WvB] 'sea island' and *hai tao pien* [海島濱 – WvB] 'sea island shore'.¹⁷ With rare perceptive-

¹⁷ More properly, *hai3 tau*, and: *hai3 tau2 bin*. What makes Karst's analysis unconvincing is *not* the reliance, as such, on Sinotibetan in an Eastern Mediterranean context (he adduces enough circumstantial evidence to make this a plausible hypothesis), but the reliance on *modern* Chinese lexical forms. Karst's suggestion is based on an inspection of modern Chinese words and therefore cannot be accepted in the form he makes it, considering the extreme erosion Chinese words have undergone in the last few millennia. Cf. character 海, modern (Beijing) reading: *hai 3*; Middle Chinese reading: *xáj*; Old Chinese reading: *sməʔ*?; translation: 'sea'; Karlgren number 0947 x-y. Middle Chinese *xáj* could perhaps lead to *ai-* (*a i thiop-*) or *e-* (*e teocret-*), but is far too recent (7th c. CE) to explain Early Iron Age names; it is hard to see how Old Chinese *sməʔ* could lead to *ai-* or *e-*, and even that

ness Karst identifies the enigmatic Greek mythological figure of Silenus as the representative of the Mongolian type and as eponym of Serians and Sinae; incidentally, he detects a similar 'sub-Mongoloid' physical type among the Etruscans, whose funerary sculpture does contain the suggestion of a physique similar to Silenus': with disproportionately large head and face, and disproportionately short extremities (both features however may be considered an artistic convention, and they do not appear in the Etruscan frescoes with their often very agile and ethereal characters of dancers and musicians).¹¹⁸ By the same token, Sinear in the Nimrod passage of the *Table of Nations*, is equated with China, although (in line with the inclusive, variable nature of ancient geographies) also a more specific reading is proposed when the primal plain of Sinear is situated in Hindostan especially in Indo-Scythia-'Turan' (cf. Kinear, Kaniratha; Karst 1931a: 257-262, 263, 279, 454 f., 574).

I have already mentioned how, in greater or lesser deviance from common scholarly opinion, Karst does not consider the 'sons' / branches of Javan (Elišša, Taršiš, Chittim and Dodanim as Greek-related. Rather than situating these in the Aegean (where scholars have tended to situate especially Dodanim, reading the initial consonant as R, 'Rhodanites', inhabitants of Rhodes), Karst claims that all four refer to Western European groups in Celtic and maritime contexts. In Dodanim he recognises a common etymological element with Danaoi and Danes: the 'Hyperborean-Ligyan' (allegedly, an intermediate language form between Central Nostratic / Eurasiatic and Basque / Sinocaucasian) for 'descendant / human being / people'. He does not totally exclude the possibility that the Isle of Rhodes is meant, but much prefers a reading in terms of the more extended and partly legendary 'Rhodes Island' (Erythia / Erythē / Erytheia / Pyrrodia / Trinakia / Trinacria / Ophiussa / Thetis, also appearing as a secondary Atlantis), the maritime region stretching from its core land, Africa Minor, via Sicily / Sicania to Southern Italy (Oenotria) and by extension, the Tyrrhenian and Ligurian Seas with their Northern shores (Etruria, Aquitania, North-Eastern Spain). Given the flexibility and fuzziness of ancient geographies, modern Rhodes might well have appeared as the Easternmost (i.e. nearest, as seen from Palestine) periphery of that vast region. Around Erythia Karst derives not only Rodanim, i.e.:

e-f-l-v-t > [...] r-v-d-[an]-[im] : Rodanim

and

e-f-l-v-t > e-[]-v-th / š-[a] : Elišša (V = unspecified vowel)

but also Elišša, from an conjectural original **flut*, **vrut* (cf. *Bruttii* in Southern Italy, Pha-

language form only dates from the Zhou dynasty, after c. 1000 BCE. For 'island' however the prospects look better, especially if we pick other words than Karst proposed: (a) Character 𪛗; Modern (Beijing) reading: tīng 1;

Old Chinese reading: thēŋ; translation: 'island' [Late Zhou]; Karlgren 1957 number : 0833 f. (b) Character: 洲; Modern (Beijing) reading: zhōu 1; Old Chinese reading: tu; translation: 'island in a river'. Similarly for 'shore':

character: 濱; Modern (Beijing) reading: bīn 1; Old Chinese reading: pīn; translation: shore, bank; Karlgren 1957

number : 0389 j; Sinotibetan protoform: *phīn (~ -t, -r), meaning: 'side'. Chinese data derived from the *Tower of Babel* etymological database, s.v.: 'Sinotibetan', and: 'Chinese characters'.

¹¹⁸ An arbitrary selection of studies on Etruscan art: Comstock & Vermeule. 1971; Shepard 1940; Gentile 1901; von Vacano 1955 / 1961; Müller & Deecke 1877.

russii or Persae in Mauretania, Rodanim and Ludim, as well as the autophylic ethnonym of the Etruscans: Lutu, Lutenu, Ruthu, Luthenu.

As part of the intricate puzzle surrounding the ethnonym Lud / Ludim / Ludite: Karst claims that by this ethnonym the Etruscans signalled their origin,

- not from Lydia in North-Western Asia Minor (as Herodotus would have it, *pace* Dionysius Halicarnasseus; cf. Woudhuizen's discussion (in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 257 f.) which takes a position diametrically opposed to Karst's)
- but from Africa Minor.

The latter would have been an aspect (or so Karst claims) of a massive East-West migration of Afroasiatic speakers from South-Western Asia to North-Western Africa and South-Western Europe in the late second millennium BCE, with incidental trans-Mediterranean inroads leaving traces, not only into Etruria – at least according to Karst,¹¹⁹ – but also Latium¹²⁰ and the Aegean.

In Karst's opinion, Kittim may coincide with Erythia but particularly refers to the latter's extension on the Italian mainland, in other words

'the pre-Celtic especially pre-Italic Tyrrhenian population of Italo-Gallic Hesperia' (Karst 1931a: 78).

In identifying Taršiš with Tartessus and thus placing it in the same extreme Western Mediterranean

¹¹⁹ ON FINE POINTS OF ETRUSCOLOGY. Karst's point here concerning the Etruscans appears to be totally mistaken, because Afroasiatic elements are not conspicuous in the Etruscan language (but see next footnote), and recent decipherments stress an Anatolian affiliation (cf. Woudhuizen 1982-1983, 1992b, 1998, 2006, 2008). Moreover, Karst seems to be unfaithful here to his own view concerning the tiered structure of the Bronze Age Mediterranean ethno-linguistic identities: partial provenance from North Africa of one Etruscan tier, could very well be combined with an Indo-European and Anatolian origin of another, ultimately more conspicuous and dominant, tier. And in addition one would expect to identify, in Etruscan, two more archaic and submerged tiers:

- (a) with Basque / Ligurian [Oscian?] / Sinocaucasian affinities, and
- (b) with Nigercongo and Khoisan affinities.

However, since the logician Sextus Empiricus, in the early centuries of the Common Era, we have recognised how difficult (although not impossible) it is to prove that something does not exist. Within the very pages of *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Proto-history*, I entered (pp. 410 f.) into a debate with Fred Woudhuizen concerning his denial of the existence of any non-Indo-European substrate in Etruscan. On the basis of one well-documented river name I argued that yet such a substrate can be demonstrated, and that it contained, presumably among much else, the near-global, ancient, certainly pre-Indo-European, lexico-semantic complex surrounding speckledness, granulation, the leopard (van Binsbergen 2004, 2018: Appendix III, pp. 531-534, and in press (g)). I would not be surprised if a further search for the above (a) and (b) would yield surprising indications of their presence, but such a search is evidently beyond our present scope.

¹²⁰ ON AFROASIATIC IN LATIUM? Ancient traces of such a tradition lie at the root of Virgil's *Aeneid*, whose protagonist's peregrinations led him from Troy to Carthage and then on to Latium. However, in a rather different vein: The idea that Latium constituted an 'Afroasiatic enclave' (Karst 1931a: 61) in Central Italy (where allegedly the cult of Jupiter Capitolinus, allegedly brought by Afroasiatic speakers, had allegedly largely supplanted that of the cosmogonic god Janus) casts an interesting light on modern approaches to compare the Afroasiatic and Indo-European lexicon, syntax and phonology (cf. Ehret 1995; Bomhard 1984; Bomhard & Kerns 1994). If the Latin material is allowed to feature unreservedly as a specimen of Indo-European, a considerable number of correspondences with, especially, Ancient Egyptian are found, which tilt the scales in favour of a rather close relationship between Afroasiatic and Indo-European. If one accepts the hypothesis to the effect that, specifically around Rome, a considerable Afroasiatic influence may have occurred during the Bronze Age, then one realises (*pace* Bomhard 1984, Bomhard & Kerns 1994) that the apparent affinity between Latin and Afroasiatic may be merely due to this historical contamination and does not imply a recent common origin between Afroasiatic and Indo-European. One of the aims of Takács's (1999-) monumental *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian* has been to put an end to such errors.

context, Karst agrees with common Biblical scholarship,¹²¹ but his profound awareness of mythical geographies saves him from the fallacy of misplaced concreteness: he realises that Taršiš is not one city, one harbour, but a comprehensive cardinal term, ‘Westland, Occident’, closely associated with or even coinciding with the river name Baetis / Perkes. While the latter often refers to the modern Guadalquivir in Southern Spain, ‘West’ is inevitably a relative term so that Tartessus and Baetis were also projected, from a much more Easterly position in Central or West Asia, onto places in or near the Eastern Mediterranean; ultimately Perke is another name for ‘Turan’, Central Asia.

Further relatively minor points of originality of the part of Karst occur, for instance, when he (1931a: 22, 382 f., 409, 452 f., 568) does not contest the common identification of Madai as Medes but brings out the layeredness of the Median identity, under which on the one hand a Phrygo-Thraco-Armenoid element hides (which links the Medes to Armenia, ‘Iberia’, Colchis and the Jason / Argonautic / Medea legend, and thus brings them very close to the Cashluḡians), on the other hand a Cushitic Afroasiatic element with Berber overtones (cf. Medians as Maurians, Amorites, and the Numidian Medi / Medoi).

Out of the nearly eighty names in the *Table of Nations*, our discussions so far have covered, in addition to the cases whose standard interpretation Karst accepts, as well as the cases for which he proposed a straightforward alternative, a fair number of trouble cases. Of the latter category we have already discussed: Noah, Nimrod, Arkites, Cašluḡites, Capthorites, Philistines. This leaves the following trouble cases: Aškenaz, Eber, Ḥam, Havila (2x), Cush, Lehabim / Lehabites / Libya, Lud / Ludim (2x), Mišraim, Ophir, Peleg, Pu(n)t, Sidon, Tiras, and finally Tubal. For these Karst puts up a complex argument, which (in my opinion) is often more convincing than the standard interpretations of common Biblical scholarship, and which anyway tends to provide good illustrations of the kind of mechanisms of association and transformation one encounters (cf. Table 2.1) in the study of ancient ethnonyms and toponyms. We will now discuss these trouble cases one by one.

3.4. A Karstian perspective upon the trouble cases in the Table of Nations

3.4.1. Aškenaz

Like many names of people in the proto-historical Mediterranean realm, the name *Aškenaz*, which appears in the *Table of Nations* (also cf. Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1979), may refer to different layers in the overall four-tiered structure that was postulated by Karst. In the Aškenaz / Ascanian case, all four tiers are involved, he claims – which makes for considerable complexity and possible confusion.

1. As representatives of the first or bottom layer, the Aškenaz or Ascanians are considered by Karst to be prehistoric Proto-Phrygians, associated with prehistoric Iran, where, still according to Karst, the original ‘Axenos Pontos’ inland sea was situated, before that hydronym got fixed onto the modern Black Sea.¹²² The Black Sea shares its apparent, and merely secondary, colour designa-

¹²¹ Cf. Görg 1976; Untermann 1997; M., J.L., [no full surname given] 1935. Karst’s pronouncements on Tartessus may be seen in a new light considering Koch’s discovery of Celtic continuities in Tartessian (Koch 2009, 2010, 2013).

¹²² I have been unable to ascertain whether the idea of such an Iranian inland sea in Early Holocene and Neolithic times is supported by state-of-the-art earth sciences; in principle such a development would appear to be

tion with the Aškenazi / Proto-Phrygians, in reflection of an ancient ethnic classification that originally may have had nothing to do with people's skin colour but that, as we have seen, probably had to do with the colour symbolism of the cardinal directions. Yet it remains likely (cf. van Binsbergen 2012: 229 f. and references cited there) that, being among the primal population of Central and South Central Asia (the Phrygians have been considered the oldest carriers of civilisation, and hence stand model for Karst's 'Atlanteans' in the latter's Westbound migrations), the oldest layer of Phrygians had a considerably higher level of skin pigmentation, were Blacks in other words (perhaps even proto-Africans? the name Africa for the continent may not be such a misnomer after all, considering the link with Phrygia), and that only subsequent miscegenation with more Northern peoples introduced the blond type later associated with Phrygians in their Berberic and Indo-European-speaking varieties, to which we shall presently turn. Considering their 'Turanic' prehistoric connotations, it is not surprising to see these Aškenaz / Ascanians mythically associated with the cult of Athena (whom we have safely situated in 'Turan'), and with the cities of Saïs and Athens.

2. In the second place, the Aškenaz / Ascanians are Basquoid Proto-Phrygians belonging to the second layer, whose Eastern section extended all the way from Crete to 'Turan'.
3. In the third place, there is an Afroasiatic dimension to the Aškenaz: from Phryges / Briges we come to Afri, Africani, I-beri, A-borigines indicating, not only the context within which, after a long and complex history in Asia, the name 'Africa' came to be fixed onto the modern African landmass, but more in general: the Berberic migration along the North African coast, with significant inroads towards the Northern Mediterranean shores; among them (a section of) the Etruscans, who in this connection appear as Aškenaz / Sicanians.
4. And in the fourth place, Aškenaz / Ascanians are *satem* semi-Indo-European speakers, coinciding with the Phrygians of the historical period, and typical of a chain of peoples stretching from Iran to Germany, the Baltic and Scandinavia.
5. Which of these four tiers applies in the case of the *Table of Nations*? The mention of Aškenaz among the sons of Gomer, together with Riphath / Diphat and Togarma, makes it clear that here the semi-Indo-European *satem* group of Phrygians in Eastern Anatolia is meant – the most recent variety of Aškenaz peoples, which is also in accordance with the late (c. sixth century BCE) date of the redaction of the *Table of Nations*.¹²³

Essentially the same argument could be repeated for Magog, Riphath / Diphat, Togarma and Tubal, although I shall still have occasion to discuss some of these below.

very doubtful: the global rise of the sea level since the onset of the Holocene would make one expect the emergence of new seas (e.g. the North Sea, and the waters separating the Indonesian islands, which are due to this rising level) rather than their disappearance. Or could Karst just mean the Caspian Sea, which does border on Iran? Given Karst's proneness to other geological fantasies such as transcontinental land bridges, I think we should take his suggestion as to the inland sea with a fair pinch of salt.

¹²³ Karst (1931a: 550) claims that the Aškenazim had also a Libyan connection, their name being similar to that of the Aith-an-nâs. Against the background of the *Black Athena* debate one is tempted (were it not for the Central-Asian connection as adduced by Karst!) to see a further assonance with Neith / Athena (who had explicit Libyan connotations) and with the city of Athens.

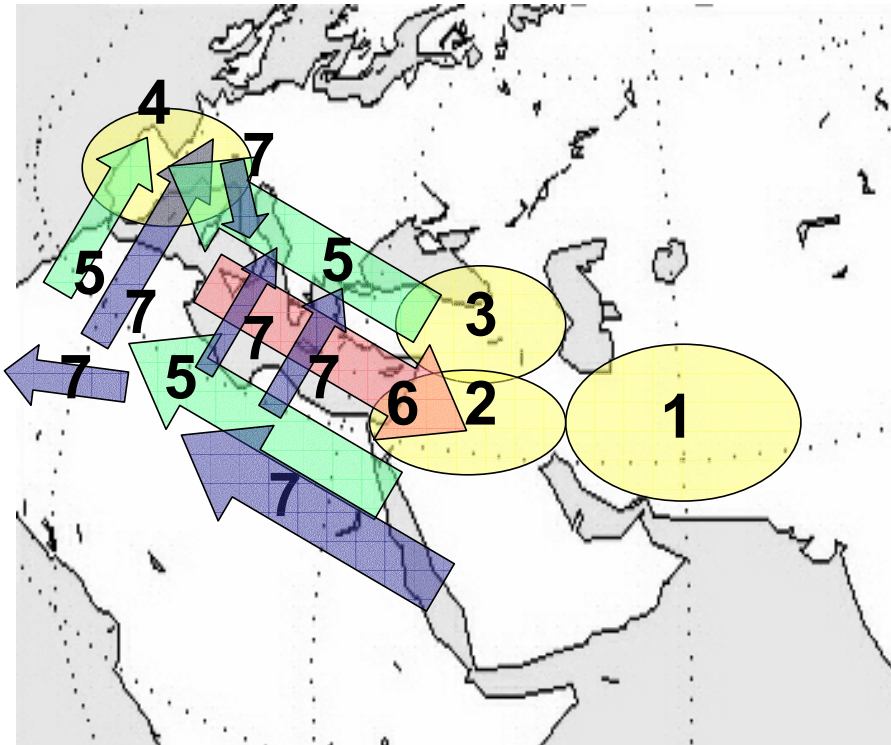
3.4.2. Eber

Our general discussion of the Karstian approach has already suggested the wide distribution and great significance of the Eber name in ancient geographies. Relevant in this connection is, of course, the entire question, hotly discussed over the past decades in the circles of Biblical scholars, as to what extent the Hebrews (and their putative eponymical ancestors Eber, whom many consider just an invention to accommodate his descendants the Hebrews) are identical to the Hapiru / Abiru that abound in the ancient literatures. A considerable literature has been devoted to the question of the identification of the Hapiru / Abiru as Hebrews (*e.g.* Alt 1934; Bottero 1954; de Buck 1954; de Koning 1940; de Vaux 1948; Dhorme 1924, 1938; Follet 1955; Greenberg 1955; Jirku 1924; Kraeling 1941; Lewy 1939; Nelis 1966-1969(b); Noth 1934; Parzen 1932 / 1933; Wilson 1932 / 33).

H-ebir-a (*cf.* Havila, of which Karst preposterously¹²⁴ believes the name Babel to be a variant) or H-iber-ia was an ancient name for Iran / Verḡana. There are indications (the wide use of the terms *abiru*, *hapiru* *etc.* in the ancient sources) that Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine together formed an ancient 'Eber-land'. The Hebrew word עֵבֶר *eber* = 'trans-, beyond' may have inspired popular etymologies, but a more original etymon may be sought in the Armenian *hiwr*, 'migratory people, strangers'; *cf.* Berberic *iberanijen*, 'the strangers' (Karst 1931a: 38; that Armenian and Berber appear here side by side becomes plausible on the basis of the above overview). The Ponto-Caucasian region was explicitly known as Iberia in Antiquity and may have constituted a Secondary or Western Iberia. Around 2,000 BCE, migrations from the Ponto-Caucasian region to the modern Iberian peninsula (probably deriving its name from the more original, Ponto-Caucasian Iberia) resulted, according to Karst, in the emergence of Basque and was followed by an Eastbound Basquoid return migration to the Central and Eastern Mediterranean.

Within this tangle of references, it is not easy to pinpoint which would particularly apply to the Eber of the *Table of Nations*. Considering that Eber's 'sons' Peleg and Joktan are especially associated with the Westbound expansion of Afroasiatic from West Asia, the connotations above given for 'Eber-land' are presumably the most appropriate, with the most appropriate level of (un-)specificity: the whole of Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine together, in the linguistic context of Afroasiatic.

¹²⁴ Again taking his distance from the mainstream accepted etymology *bab-ilon*, 'gate of heaven'.



- 1 H-*ebir*-a (cf. Havila) or H-*iber*-ia (I), ancient name for Iran / Verhāna
- 2 Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine together formed an ancient 'Eber-land' = Western *Iber*-ia
- 3 also the Ponto-Caucasian region as Secondary, (*Central*-) Western *Iber*-ia (II)

- 4 Extreme Western, i.e 'Hesperian', *Iber*-ia (III)
- 5 Westbound migrations from (3) to (4), c. 2000 BCE
- 6 Eastbound return migrations of Basquoids, 2nd mill. BCE
- 7 Westbound expansion of Afroasiatic into North Africa and S Europe: Joktanides / Jaccetani, Pelegides, Berberoid and Cushitic ('Liby-Hamite'), Hercules-associated) migrations

Fig. 3.3. Movements of peoples considered to be associated with the name Eber (according to Karst 1931a)

3.4.3. Ḥam

Below, in the discussion of Pu(n)t, we shall see the very great extent to which (as Afrocentrist writers have always maintained, if not for exactly the right reasons) the world of *Genesis* is the world of Ḥam. Here a few specific remarks may suffice. Karst (1931a: 510 f.) presents an interesting etymology for the name Ḥam. True to his method, he considers the occurrence of this name in the Hebrew context of the *Table of Nations* as incidental, and does not even stop to consider the possibility of an Afroasiatic etymology for this name (despite the similarity with Hebrew חַמָּה ḥammah, 'daylight,

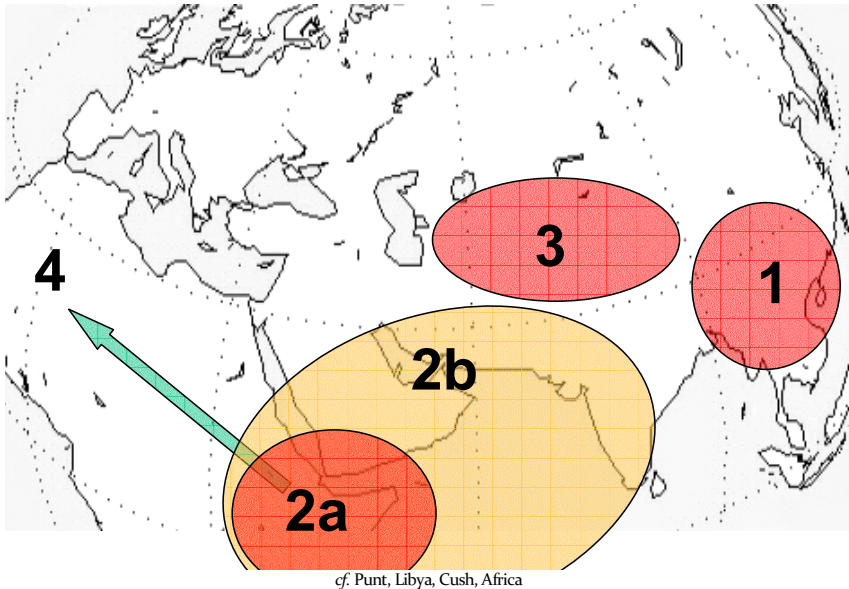
sun', which, even if rejected as the primary etymon, could be secondary, as a basis for punning and popular etymology). Instead, Karst lets the name derive from [North-Caucasian – WvB] Dargua-Lesgian *qam*, Avaro-Lesgian *χum, χon*, 'seed, gens, tribe', later equated, in a popular etymology, with 'people of the black earth'. But also the Pelasgians are known as 'sons of the black earth' (and so are, in a way overlooked by Karst, Egyptians, the Chinese and the Sumerians, in their own self-testimonies).¹²⁵ We have already noted the Primal Phrygians' association with blackness, either as a mere classificatory device (which, on comparative and systematic grounds, is the more likely), or as an evocation of their dark skin colour (which they may well have had but which – in an environment where, contrary to the pre-modern North Atlantic, a pale skin colour was probably not standard – may not have stood out sufficiently as a distinctive feature, so as to invite classification on that basis). This parallelism in the *black-earth* epithet is for Karst one of the indications (and not a very convincing one, considering the Sumerian and Chinese cases) of the presence of an 'Hamitic', in other words Afroasiatic, layer among the Pelasgians. Among Karst's reasons to postulate extensive Afroasiatic inroads on the Northern shores of the Mediterranean, is an ancient source known as the *Liber Generationis* (ed. Riese 1878; not to be confused with the *Table of Nations* in *Genesis 10*); this lists (p. 18 f.; Karst 1931a: 39) 'Hamitic' phyla, *i.e.* relating to Ḥam and his descendants. In Karst's play on the *double entente* of 'Hamitic' as (a) 'speaker(s) of an "Hamitic" *i.e.* Afroasiatic language' and (b) 'being classified as belonging to the broad population group considered to be descendants of Ḥam, son of Noah', he appears to be falling into the very trap of one of the principal mechanisms of ethnogenesis he has helped us to identify: the oscillation between ethnonym and toponym. The *double entente* is inevitable at the *emic* level of the historical actors' own conscious perceptions and expressions, and there makes possible much of the dynamics of ethnogenesis; the essence however of rigorously scientific scholarship is to avoid *double entente* and to tell apart, at the *etic* level, the very different political uses the historical actors make of their expression.

This Karstian sleight-of-hand is manifest in the following passage:

'Aegyptii, Libyes, Cares, Mysi, Mossynoikoi, Phryges, Bithynoi, Lycii, Mariandeni, Pamphyloi, Moschidion, Pisidion, Cilices, Cretes; moreover as Northern 'Hamitic' countries: Cilicia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Mysia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Camerlia (Camalia = Gabalis), Lycia, Caria, Lydia, Mysia altera, Troas, Aegolis, Bithynia. And finally the 'Hamitic' islands Sardinia, Crete, Cyprus, Corsula, Lampadusa, Gaudos, Cyprus [the repetition is original – WvB], Lesbos, Imbros.' (Karst 1931a; my translation)

This takes care of some of the groups puzzlingly listed under Ḥam in the *Table of Nations*; for further elucidation on this point, see below, under Mišraim, and Pu(n).

¹²⁵ Meek 1969: *Code of Hammurabi*, line 40; Anonymous, 'Sumer'; Kramer 1959: 72 and *passim*; Bard 1966: 104 (Egypt as *kmt*, 'black earth'), likewise Görg 1997 and numerous other Egyptological sources; on the Chinese people as 黎民 *li min*, 'black-headed people', *cf.* Lun 1975, and Winters 2002. Pelasgus, the legendary eponymical ancestor of the Pelasgians (otherwise reputed to be a son of Zeus and Phrygian-associated Niobe – the latter tragically challenged Apollo and Artemis), was considered to have been born 'from the black earth' (Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae*, VIII, 1, 4, in a fragment ascribed to Asius of Samos). For a further discussion of 'black-headed people' of Central Eurasia, *cf.* van Binsbergen 2012a: 231, 243 f.



- 1 Havila I (cf. [modern!] Chinese *hai* 海, 'sea?')
 2 Havila II / Pauntibiblon < *Punt-Tibia-Havila
 3 Havila III / Babel (!) / Indo-Scythia
 4 Gaetulians

Fig. 3.4. Havila, according to Karst 1931a

3.4.4. Havila (2x)

Havila occurs twice in the *Table of Nations*. Havila's semantic field is extremely extensive and flexible. Havila is polynymous with Cush, Libya and Put / Punt. This certainly encompasses the two contexts (as 'son' of Cush and as 'son' of Joktan) under which Havila appears in the *Table of Nations*. Meanwhile we must not overlook the 'Turanic' connotation, where Havila / Babel appears as a designation of Indo-Scythia. Greater precision is only to be achieved at the expense of the fallacy of misplaced concreteness.

3.4.5. Cush

Cush is, with Havila, Libya and Put / Punt, one the most elusive, most comprehensive names of the *Table of Nations* and of ancient geographies in general. Depending on the ancient actor's perspective, all three of these names may refer to

1. the Indian Ocean coastal area between Gujarat and the Persian Gulf
2. the interior of South Central Asia North of (i)
3. the lands on both sides of the Bab al Mandab, where the Red Sea opens to the

- Gulf of Aden and ultimately the Indian Ocean
 4. the extremely extended land area encompassing all of the above.

Succumbing to the fallacy of misplaced concreteness, many Biblical scholars have opted for the identification of Cush with modern Ethiopia (in Graeco-Roman Antiquity, the toponym Ethiopia has the same threefold, flexible and extensive connotations as enumerated above for Cush); the technical term of ‘Cushitic’ for a, primarily African, branch of Afroasiatic, and the racist interpretation of Ḥam and Cush as standing for a so-called ‘race’ of ‘Blacks’, have been among the factors establishing a geopolitical ideology in which Cush can only refer to North-Eastern Africa – totally at variance with the usage in ancient geographies. Meanwhile the ‘Turanic’ connotations of the Nimrod figure, and the vague general Indian Ocean connotations of Havila (which appears twice in the *Table of Nations*, once as a ‘son’ of Cush) *make it impossible to ignore the extensive Asian implication of the name Cush*. This solves many dilemmas, and particularly saves us the immense difficulty of having to explain (as many commentators have tried) the Nimrod figure (‘son’ of Cush) as a historical migration from Ethiopia or Nubia into Mesopotamia in order to establish an historical empire there. Cush has always been largely Asiatic in reference, and Nimrod (*i.e.* the people Nimrod stands for) never migrated from Africa to Asia but were situated in Asia to begin with.

More specifically, Karst (1931a: 287) situates Cush in the first place in East Asia as Ketschi, Ketsü, Kotchi, Kütsché, allegedly a Proto-Chinese primary people, suggested to hail from Mesopotamia, and allegedly associated with Indo-European traces in the wisdom classic 易經 *yì jīng* and its terminology. I have discussed Karst’s proposal, and the surrounding literature (especially that by the French-British Sinologist A.E.J.B Terrien de Lacouperie) in my *Before the Presocratics* (2012: 216 *f.*).

3.4.6. Libya: Lehabim / Lehabites, Ludim / Lubim, with some Mişraim

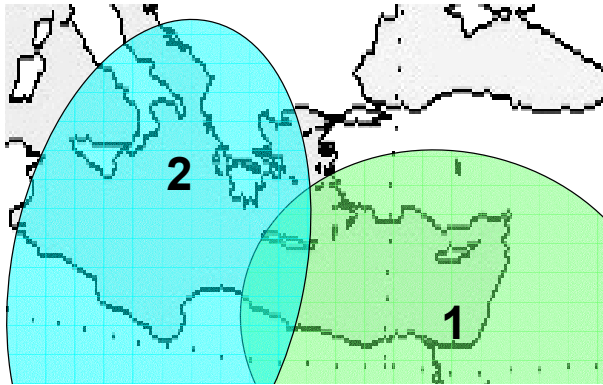
Karst (1931a: 331) maintains that the name Libya

‘is originally to be understood as “island or sea land”’

Libya was amply discussed in our general overview of the Karstian approach, and also features, above and below, in a polynymous context with Cush, Havila and Put / Punt. To the four options mentioned there (in which the Persian Gulf / Kephenia occupies a pivotal position), in the Libyan case a major fifth one must be added, notably that of the Eastern coastal region of North Africa, from which, according to Karst, ‘Liby-Hamites’ crossed to Sicily, Crete, the Leleges lands of the Aegean, and, as the legendary Amazons, further North-East.¹²⁶ The listing of both Ludim

¹²⁶ Probably Karst regarded these groups as speakers of Bantu; rather than making the detour via North Africa (a detour which sections of the Sea Peoples made on their way to West Africa, through the Sahara desert) they might as well have crossed the Eastern Mediterranean directly, coming from the Levant. In all these cases, we are torn between (a) reasoning in Karstian style as if that were the only possibility – and (b) adopting the sceptical position of modern scholarship and explicitly demonstrating the implausibilities of Karst’s approach. For stylistic and, frankly, aesthetic reasons, in order to avoid anachronisms in the rendering of Karst’s ideas, I

/ Lubim and Lehabim as ‘son’ of Mišraim make a reading in terms of ‘Libya as a ‘son’ of Egypt unlikely, especially if in the same context appears Mišraim’s ‘son’ Cashluḫim as ‘father’ to Philistim / Philistines – for the ascendance of the Philistines in the Sea Peoples’ Episode meant the very end of any earlier Egyptian rule over Palestine.



1. East Mišr; 2. West Mišr

Fig. 3.5. Greater Mišraim according to Karst 1931a – largely coinciding with what I would designate the Extended Pelasgian Realm

There is something to be said for Karst’s notion of Mišraim as an extended region encompassing modern Libya, Egypt, Syro-Palestine, North-Western Arabia, and the Eastern Mediterranean from Sicily via the Aegean to the Carian and Cilician Coast. Far from being reserved for modern Egypt, the name Mišr / Mušir was applied more generally to these lands, or so Karst claims – quite plausibly, given the protean nature of ancient place names which we have amply explored in Table 2.1, above, and in the opening chapters of *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (2011). Lehabim could then still be identified with Libya in the sense of the Eastern part of the Southern Mediterranean shore, while Ludim would, like Cashluḫim and Captorim, be a part of Mišraim among the Northern Mediterranean shore, probably Cilicia and Coelosyria, where in Karst’s opinion original primal ‘Egyptian’ populations occurred.

By analogy with the common scholarly argument concerning the mis-reading or mis-copying of Dodanim as Rodanim,¹²⁷ also Lud / Ludim could be read as Lubim (which is not in the *Table of Nations* but in *II Chronicles* 12:3, 16:8; and *Daniel* 11:43). This would take the name Ludim / Lud out of the controversial sphere of the discussion of the Lud people, Etruscans, Tyrrhenians *etc.*, and brings it comfortably (probably too comfortably) in the orbit of the, very wide and flexible, concept of Libya in ancient geographies.

have often opted for (a) even where (b) would seem the preferable course of action for a modern author like myself, seeking to avoid misunderstanding of my rendering of scholarly work nearly a century old.

¹²⁷ In post-Ezraic written Hebrew, *b* is written as ב, and *d* as ד. Copist’s errors are to be expected, and even more so in the case of ד *d* and ד *r*.

3.4.7. Lud, Ludim (2x)

About the two occurrences of Lud / Ludim in the *Table of Nations*, the most important things have already been said in the general overview of Karst's approach, and under Libya; and more will be said under Mišraim (notably the point will be made that it is unlikely that Ludim should be read as Lubim *i.e.* Libya, since the latter is already implied in Mišraim). Karst clearly does not believe in the co-ordinating integrative mind of the ancient historical actor(s) behind the *Table of Nations*, and therefore feels free to conflate the two mentions of Lud / Ludim, despite their very different genealogical / classificatory positions (as 'son' of Mišraim, and as 'son' of Šem). According to Karst's interpretation of Lud, the latter belongs in the first place under Šem, as, essentially, Lot / Teraḥide / [Ur-]Ḥasdim, the entire package of four layers in an Armeno-Northern Mesopotamian setting but with a fair helping of Afroasiatic and Indo-European, and hence Hyksos-like connotations if not downright identical with the Hyksos. Karst's proposal to conflate the two Lud / Ludim does not convince, not because we need to retain the idea of a conscious integrative mind behind the *Table of Nations*, nor because such conflation would allow us to trace the Lud identity all the way to modern Libya / Africa Minor, but because Karst uses it as a ground for denying all Maeonian / Lydian antecedents to the Etruscans. In his view, it is not from Western Asia Minor but only via the relative detour via Syro-Palestine and modern Libya over land, and then by Sea from Africa Minor, that the Lud / Ḥasdim connotations could have come to Etruria. Yet the former itinerary is much shorter and simply follows routes that (if Karst's general reconstruction is anything to go by) were certainly well travelled, in all directions, by the Middle Bronze Age let alone the Late Bronze Age. Although among Teraḥides, Tyrrheno-Libyans, Secondary Etruscans, and Tyrrhenians in general, the third, Afroasiatic, layer is strongly represented, this does not mean that they should be all equated as coming from one and the same source, and that through the mists of time and the complexities of onomastic manipulation that source can still be identified unequivocally. Karst was writing at a time when the puzzle of Etruscan origins was still unsolved, and although the *Table of Nations* is relevant in this connection, he does not solve it either; however, for eminently recent convincing attempts in that direction, we have already made ample reference to the work of Fred Woudhuizen.

3.4.8. Mišraim

Above the most probable identification of Mišraim in the *Table of Nations* was already given, more or less as 'Eastern Mediterranean'. Karst (1931b: 58 f.) believes that the ancient, Greater Mišraim extended all the way into the Aegean, and cites Egyptianising interpretations of Aegean place names (*e.g.* Macedonia, which Karst (foreshadowing similar Greek-Egyptian etymological proposals from Martin Bernal, 2006) proposes to derive from Egyptian *mahet*, 'the North'; Haimonia / Thessaly, from what Karst assert to be Egyptian / Coptic *hoim*, *hoimi*, *haime*, *plur. hime*, *hmaie* 'flood') in order to support his view.¹²⁸ However, in a wider historical and geographical context there are (and this is of course, the incessant polyonymous refrain in

¹²⁸ The several Ancient Egyptian dictionaries at my disposal (*e.g.* Hannig 2000, s.v. 'Flut'; Gardiner 1994 / 1957 / 1927, s.v. 'Egyptian-English vocabulary', pp. 549 f., notably s.v. 'inundation', Budge 1978 / 1920; Faulkner 1981) do not quite bear this out: the initial ḥ is there, but not the m as second consonant. Contrary to my expectations and hopes, Martin Bernal scarcely explored the implications of the alleged Egyptian roots which Karst cites.

a Karstian approach to ancient geographies) indications of a more Easterly, more original Mišraim, ‘Sunrise land’ (cf. Hebrew *mizraḥ*, Arabic *mašreq*, ‘sunrise’), to be situated between the Persian Gulf and Gujarat, Northwestern India. Karst surmises that this was the original region of the cult of Mithra, a sun god, and (perhaps on the flimsy grounds of the assonance between Osiris and Mušir / Mišr) of the cult of Osiris (a vegetation and underworld god at home in the Asia-orientated Delta; about Osiris’ obscure origin Egyptologists and comparative ethnologists have created an extensive and widely diverging literature, which is beyond our present scope (Barta 1978; Barton 1915; Bates 1915; Bianchi 1971; Bonnet 1952, *s.v. Osiris*; Budge 1973 / 1911; Cooke 1931; Cott 1994; Erman 1910; Frazer 1914 / 1906; Griffith 1966; Helck 1952; Hopfner 1940-1941; Hornblower 1937, 1945; Jasnow & Widmer 2017; Leahy 1979; O’Connor 2009; Otto 1966; Quack 2004; Scharff 1948; Sethe 1910; Werner 1952; Westendorf 1977; Yahuda 1944). Distributional considerations (cf. Fig. 5.4, below) suggest that this extended region might also have been an original centre of radiation of male genital mutilation / circumcision. Incidentally, the whole discussion around Mišraim, also the evidence which Barnett (1953, 1958, 1987) and Wainwright (1931a, 1931b, 1931c, 1932, 1939, 1956, 1960) provide about the connection between Egypt and the shores of Asia Minor around 1300 BCE, and finally the presence of mercenaries from there and elsewhere in the Mediterrean in Egypt, is another argument for one of my central theses in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011, to the effect that an extensive system of ethnic classification existed in the Late Bronze Age encompassing the entire Eastern Mediterranean!

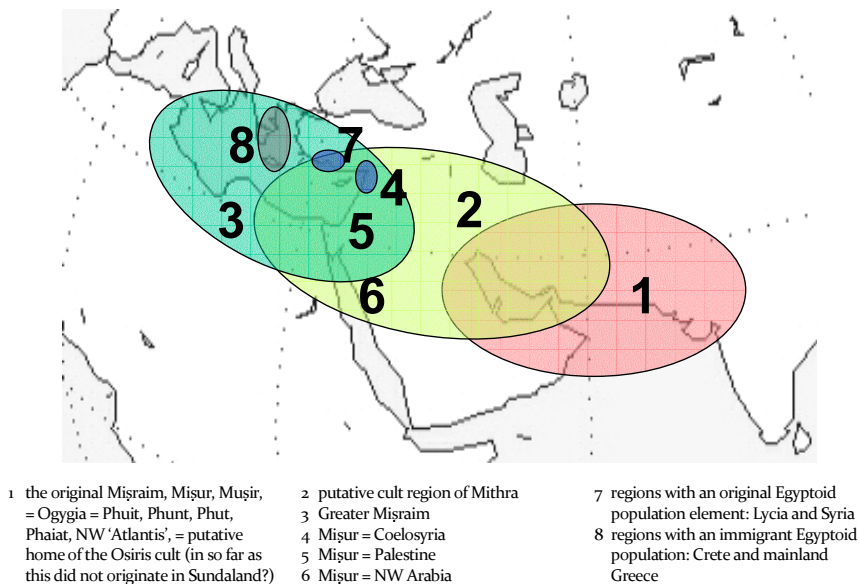


Fig. 3.6. Mišraim (according to Karst 1931a)

3.4.9. Ophir

As a comprehensive, somewhat legendary designation of a distant Southern or Eastern land, Ophir in the *Table of Nations* has much in common with Cush, Havila, Libya and Put / Punt. In addition to the predictable locations around Bab al-Mandab at the mouth of the Red Sea (the most common interpretation of Ophir), the Indo-Iranian Coast (whose ancient name from non-Biblical sources was Aphira, cf. Ophir), and ‘Turan’ (considering that in the *Table of Nations* Ophir appears next to Sinear), locations may be considered in Western Iberia (which, with a variant Ubhiria, is phonetically close to Ophir anyway), in Sinhala / South East Asia, and – Karst’s inventiveness knows no limits – even in Peru (as a wildly imaginative possible derivative from O-phir < Per-O, by metathesis). In the *Table of Nations*, the specific arrangement of Ophir as ‘son’ of Joktan, most of whose other sons have Arabian connotations, suggests the Erythraean location. However, from the Gulf of Akaba / Eilat and the Red Sea, the Bab al Mandab must be passed on one’s way towards the other Asian and American alternative Ophirs, and there is a parallelism between that strait and the Strait of Gibraltar, so that again only the fallacy of misplaced concreteness can tempt us to falsely choose between these alternatives.

3.4.10. Peleg

Like Aškenaz and Eber, Peleg (Eber’s ‘son’ in the *Table of Nations*) features in all sorts of obvious, less obvious, far-fetched and even impossible permutations in the onomastic material on which Karst has based, in part, his analysis of Mediterranean proto-historical ethnicity. While Karst insists on the equivalence between Peleg and Pelasgians (e.g. 1931a: 600), it is remarkable that he did not hit on the obvious assonance (at least, obvious in terms of his own method) between Peleg and Phrygians; nor did he extend his etymological / onomastic argument to include Belgians, although he did realise (1931a: 377) that *Frisian* could be a reflex of *Phrygian*. And although he does discuss the variety of Pelasgians that he calls ‘Armeno-Phrygian’, neither in that context does he suggest that Pelasgian and Phrygian could be conflated on phonological grounds (the same consonantal scheme underlying Peleg, Pelasg-ian and Phryg-ian:

[p / ph]-V-[l / r]-V-[optional s]-g-V.

Apparently there are still limits to the obsessive associations that form the backbone of Karst’s onomastic approach. As the allegedly oldest people, more or less sharing Abram’s (in Karst’s reading of the Teraḥites and Ludites) Northern Mesopotamian / Southern Caucasus connotations, the widely distributed Phrygians do have traits in common with the ubiquitous Peleg and his sons, despite Peleg’s relatively subordinate place in the *Table of Nations*. Karst extends the domain of Peleg to the Libyan / Afroasiatic contexts that Joktan as son of Peleg would make us expect. Thus he explains the cryptic expressions *Arabia Felix* and *Insulae Felices*

(the Canary Islands) as Latin assonances to the name of Peleg, in which the proper name Peleg is allegedly rendered by the Latin word *felix* but without the latter having its usual meaning of 'happy'; also *cf.* Palinurus, while the ethnonym *Berber* may be constructed as **phereḥ-eber*, featuring the names of both Peleg and his 'father' Eber. With the model of repeated Liby-Berberic and in general Afroasiatic inroads into the Northern Mediterranean shore, Karst reminds us of the Palician cult of twin craters on Sicily, of the puzzling *Veteres Sicani* (creatively analysed as the secondary Latinisation of a Greek expression *Palaioi-Sikouloi* < **Pherez-tḥvari*, *i.e.* 'Peleg strangers'), and of the Ligurians, whose name could be read as deriving from **Pe-Ligurians*, *i.e.* again the Peleg name but with the *Pe-* element secondarily misinterpreted as the Egyptian definite article. Moreover, the Pelasgians represent the Peleg name throughout the Mediterranean, in the various linguistico-ethnic layers with whose Karstian versions and interpretations we are, by now, familiar. In the Aegean, it is not only Pelasgians that associate with the name Peleg, but also Pelargoi, Peloreus, Pelagones (a Paeonian people originally in Macedonia), and the ancient Phleguans, a people of highwaymen. In this tangle of clues, one hesitates to propose a specific identification for the Peleg featuring in the *Table of Nations*. Perhaps we may understand Peleg as eponym of a primal Proto-Pelasgian-Berberoid population in Syro-Palestine, onto whom the Teraḥites / Abramites / Ludites grafted their Armenoid / Northern Mesopotamian element, themselves subsequently becoming drawn within the orbit of the Afroasiatic language phylum.

3.4.11. Put / Punt

Put / Punt was already discussed under Cush, as part of a polynymous cluster comprising Cush, Put / Punt, Havila and Lehabim / Lubim / Libya. Punt has extensive attestations in the ancient geographies of Egypt and the Graeco-Roman world. Put / Punt comes close to Lehabim / Lubim / Libya in that it may also be applied to the Eastern North African coast. However, it is also claimed²⁹ to have lent its name to the Pontus Euxinus / Axinus (Black Sea), as a fifth Punt region in addition to modern Libya, Bab al Mandab, the Indo-Iranian Coast, and the last two combined. In the latter context, probably on the Persian Gulf, the Punt Sidonians or Island Tyrians may be situated (whose name is perhaps to be understood, or so Karst suggests, as Put-Sidonians, Poseidon people, with strong associations with the Atlantic legend), before their migration to Phoenicia.

If one is naïvely driven by the fallacy of misplaced concreteness, and partial to the totally erroneous assumption that emic categories should be consistent and unequivocal like etic ones, one may be inclined to see in such indeterminacy a sign of weakness on the part of the analyst (in this case Karst, or any other student of ancient ethnicity). Yet since the historical actors' social and political including ideological uses of ethnic labels to large measure depend on such labels' indeterminacy, ambiguity, flexibility and manipulability, such indeterminacy once detected by the analyst is a sign of strength and quality in the latter, rather than of weakness. This problem

²⁹ Another preposterous claim. Of course, *pontos* is the usual Ancient Greek word for 'sea' (Liddell *et al.* 1883: 1254, s.v. *πόντος*), and rather than assuming that it springs from a place name *Pu(n)t*, one might suggest that the latter place name derives from the nearness of the sea.

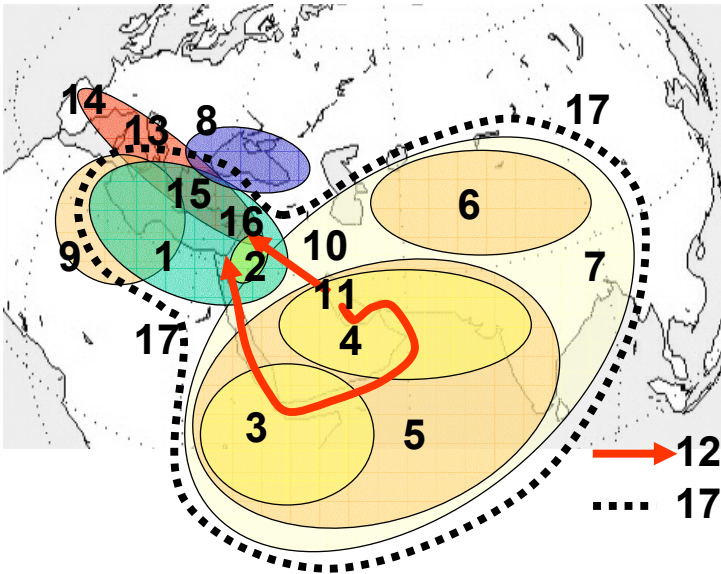
also has a more fundamental theoretical aspect: social and historical description is not only a matter of interpretation but primarily of representation, of translation. And on the latter point, the famous American logician Quine (1960, 1970, 1990: ch. 2-3) has posited his claim of the 'indeterminacy of translation' – contrary to what most ethnographers and historians naively believe, one can never be sure, according to this doctrine, that a translation is absolutely correct and complete.

Under this assumption, Mišraim and Canaan are (in the light of the above) the most unequivocally identified, as 1 and 2 respectively in Fig. 3.7. In this particular case, and under the assumption that the relevant historical data do not just constitute some blindly accidental and amorphous flotsam, but on the contrary can be considered to reflect *one integrative historical actor's mind*, Punt cannot be modern Libya, because that is already implied under 1. Since the historical actor chooses to distinguish between Pu(n)t and Cush, any of the following combinations may apply:

- 3 Pu(n)t or Cush and 4 Cush and Pu(n)t
- 3 Pu(n)t or Cush and 6 Pu(n)t or Cush
- 4 Pu(n)t or Cush and 6 Pu(n)t or Cush
- 5 Pu(n)t or Cush and 6 Pu(n)t or Cush

The Black Sea area can be Pu(n)t but not Cush, and is covered by Japheth and Šem, so need not be considered here; but if this argument does not convince, then also the following combination may apply:

- 7 Cush and 8 Pu(n)t



- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Mišraim 2 Canaan 3 Pu(n)t or Cush; Libya 4 Pu(n)t (= Dakšina) or Cush; Libya 5 Pu(n)t or Cush; Libya 6 Pu(n)t or Cush; Libya 7 Pu(n)t or Cush; Libya 8 Pu(n)t = Pontus Axinus | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9 Pu(n)t / Libya / Ogygia / Boeotia [so, 'Punic' is not 'Phoenician' but 'Ponic' – WvB] 10 Pu(n)t 3-4-5 / Poeni / Puni is Phoenicia, the homeland of the Pu(n)t people i.e. Proto-Phoenicians, cf. Poseidon < *Pu(n)t-Sidon, especially: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 11 Kephena / Insular Tyre / Turuša 12 migrations of Proto-Phoenicians to Syro-Palestine 13 the Basquoid substrate stretching from 14 Basquo-Ligurians, and 15 Leleges to 16 Syro-Palestine |
|--|--|---|

Fig. 3.7. Punt, Phoenicians, Libya; 'Where are the sons of Ḥam located?', according to Karst 1931a

There is perhaps no more convincing way to demonstrate the futility of trying to pinpoint, as either Cush or Pu(n)t, any spot on the modern map, against the background of modern geographical conceptions (particularly those of rational, exhaustive, consistent classification).

Despite the extreme indeterminacy implied in the polynymy of such extended regions, it may be possible to arrive at a more specific identification of Put / Punt in the *Table of Nations*, in the light of the concomitant identification, however broad and polynymous, of the other 'sons' of Ḥam: Cush, Mišraim, and Canaan. For this however we need again *the assumption* (which runs contrary to Karst's method and implicit theory) *that the genealogical classification in the Table of Nations reflects the conscious integrative mind of a historical actor who also could fully identify the names he was handling*, so that they were more for that actor than empty dummies conveying a sense of mythical, colourful localisation – an actor who therefore would use these names as mutually exclusive.

The same futility attends any attempt to demarcate, on a modern map and as an exclusive category, the extent of the area inhabited by Ḥam ('the sons of Ḥam') in general, which comprise (*Genesis 10: 6*): Cush, Mišraim, Put, and Canaan. There is hardly any such area to be demarcated, in the sense that Ḥam appears to encompass the entire central part of the Old World, *i.e.* North-Western Africa, South-Western Asia, and South-Eastern Europe, despite substantial inroads on the part of Japheth and Šem. Even though Karst's category of the 'South-Iberians / Aethiopians' will meet with little support from a modern scientific point of view, it does reflect the classification of the *Table of Nations* adequately, including the fact of drawing attention to the relatively peripheral status of Japheth and Šem: peripheral, not formally, in a classificatory sense, within the quasi-classificatory genealogical dendrogram of *Genesis 10*; but peripheral in terms of scope and location: Japheth and Šem are restricted to the distant North and West, and to the immediate vicinity of the historic actors' own home Palestine, respectively. *The world of the Ancient Near East, the international context in which the Bible situates itself, is primarily conceived, by the ancient writers, as the world of Ḥam.*

For Afrocentrist writers, who have always sought identification and self-identification with the Biblical Ḥam, this must be both a confirmation and a disappointment:

- (a) yes, despite whatever pejorative connotations (Noah's curse; the alleged 'punishment' of blackness – hence the infuriating and mutilating denial that high levels of dermal pigmentation may be part of what is 'normal' for humans; sorcery committed with the aid of Adam's body or Adam's first, leopard-skin, clothing as props³⁰) may surround Ḥam, he and his descendants dominate the scene of the Biblical world; but

³⁰ These are elements in the Talmudic and Islamic tradition surrounding Ḥam; *cf.* Heller 1993; Ginzburg 1988 / 1909; Lewis 1984; Landa 1919; Aaron 1995. Claiming to present time-honoured Christian lore, Suzetta Tucker (1997) gave a surprising twist to this account:

'Leopard skins are associated with Hebrew stories of Nimrod, a mighty warrior, descendant of Cush, and builder of the Tower of Babel (Gen 10:8-12; Mic 5:6; Gen 11:2-9). According to Jewish legend, Nimrod possessed the leopard skins which God used to clothe Adam and Eve when they discovered their nakedness (Gen 3:9-12, 21-24). These skins conferred great power upon their wearer, making Nimrod able to command wild creatures to come to his aid in battle. Nimrod used his authority over animals to take control over the seventy nations of his world and command people to worship him. Having conquered the world, Nimrod decided to build the Tower of Babel and conquer the Heavens.'

- (b) no, Ham is not the proverbial Black person later interpretations made of him, but shows all varieties of pigmentation to be found between Central Africa, the Mediterranean and South and Central Asia; albeit mainly those shades (from tanned white and olive-coloured to darker brown and black)¹³¹ that the 'race'-obsessed public culture of the present-day United States of America would indiscriminately identify as 'socially Black'

In the specific context of the *Table of Nations*, Karst (1931a: 293 f.) sees the Biblical name Phut / P'ul as primarily (but far from exclusively) referring to Atlantic-Hesperian Libya (*i.e.* the maritime area centring on Africa Minor, with extensions to Sicily and Southern Italy). For an etymology, he proposes that Phut / P'ul

'may be extended to a more complete form *Cal-phut, -phul, ḥele-p' ut, eljhe-phuli, -phuti*. (...) Thus we may assume that Phut or Phul is a half popular-etymological, half scholarly abbreviation of an ancient Atlantean, Hespero-North African ethnonym whose first element *kal, kel, hel, elhe* could have been interchanged with some homophonous Ibero-Libyan expression for "people".'

3.4.12. Sidon

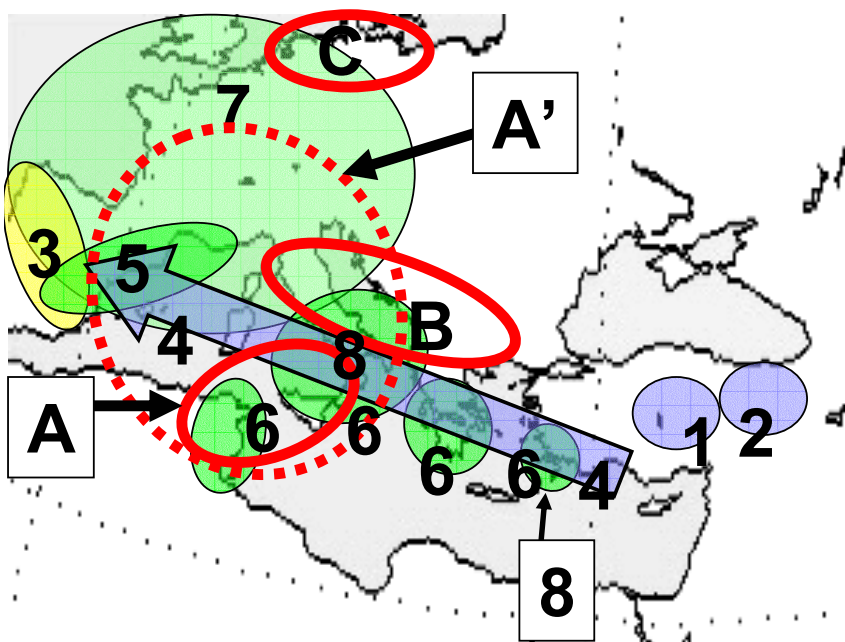
It has commonly been assumed that, in the *Table of Nations*, Sidon stands for Phoenicia, which was in ascendance in the Late Bronze Age, and whose main boost only came after the Sea Peoples' episode, possibly, in part, as a result of the latter. Our overview has indicated how, particularly on the Syro-Palestinian coast, the four layers of Mediterranean historical diversity were very well represented. For this region, Karst stresses the second, Basquoid layer, to which he largely attributes the nautical skills of the later Phoenicians; although even the Proto-Pelasgians must have had such skills, or they could not have spread from the North African coast to the Northern and Eastern shores of the Mediterranean. From 'Puntic Libya' / Kephenia / Island Tyre (more or less the Persian Gulf, perhaps Dilmun / Bahrayn), Karst lets the Proto-Phoenicians migrate both by sea (via the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea) and over land, due West, to their ultimate eponymic location, Phoenicia. Ahituv 1984: 193, 195 summarises archaeological findings to the effect that, at his time of writing, no signs of occupation of the island-city has been found prior to Middle Bronze II. Karst's interpretation is in accordance with this. But this complex provenance of the population of Phoenicia in Biblical times, from all over the Mediterranean and the Arabian littoral, is not likely to be reflected in the listing of Sidon as a 'son' of Canaan in the *Table of Nations*. Considering the ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity of Canaan's 'son', including Sinite, Berbero-Pelasgian and other groups, it seems that with Sidon in the *Table of Nations*, no complex, multi-interpretable, multi-layered designation is meant, but simply the inhabitants of Sidon and similar Phoenician towns, whose cultural, ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity of origins may have coa-

¹³¹ I am here arguing on the basis of the present-day distribution of pigmentation in this vast region, comprising the Western middle belt of the entire Old World. Probably this distribution pattern underwent considerable changes since the Late Bronze Age, as a result of, among other processes, the Indoaryan immigration into South Asia, further Bantu expansion in sub-Saharan Africa, Indonesian / South Asian expansion in Madagascar and presumably spilling over onto East Africa, Arab and Swahili expansion into the African interior, and Ottoman and European domination over North Africa. Much ink has been spilled over the question as to whether 'the Ancient Egyptians' were Black or White, but there, again, today's North Atlantic internal national concerns of identity and geopolitics are projected onto the remote past – the Blackness in that debate is mainly mid-20th-century CE USA social blackness (reflecting a racialist emic classification), which cannot be used as a tool for scientific measurement – but why try to give scientific underpinning, anyway, to the racialist myth claiming that somatic traits do matter otherwise than merely as obsolete and mistaken social constructs?

lesced into the appearance of considerable unity by the Early to Middle Iron Age, which the redaction of the *Table of Nations* was finalised.

3.4.13. Tiras

As far as Tiras in the *Table of Nations* is concerned, Karst accepts the general scholarly consensus that this name must be equated with that of the Tyrsenians. Armenoid Tyrrheno-Lydo-Hittites (Hay-Thorgom) invaded the coastal lands of Western Asia Minor, the Aegean in general, Southern Italy, Africa Minor, Eastern Spain (where they pushed the older, Inaḫide Tyrrhenians or Trinakians to the West of the Iberian peninsula) and the Ligurian coast, in the second millennium BCE. Even Northern Germany and Jutland are associated with the name Tiras, and Karst (1931a: 361) shows a preference for identifying the Biblical Tiras especially here, in these Northern lands. Their Northern peregrinations resulted in the emergence, he claims, of a Tyrrhenian substrate throughout the languages of Western Europe including Ireland and Southern Britain. Tiras became the Biblical designation of these Tyrrhenian groups, especially of two clusters: one stretching from Etruria to Albania, the other from Africa Minor via Sicily to Southern Italy. The latter region, Erythia, is also associated with the names Elišša (the Latin Dido of the Aeneas saga) and Ḫittim, which also appear in the *Table of Nations*. Tiras in the *Table of Nations* would therefore primarily refer to the Central and Western Mediterranean, and only secondarily if at all to North-Western Europe.

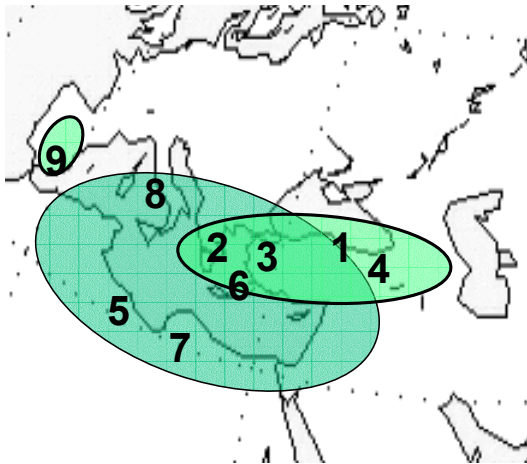


- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 Hittites, closely related to: | 6 Tyrrhenians | rodia / Ophiussa |
| 2 Hay-Thorgom | 7 Tyrrhenian substrate in NW Europe | A' widest extension of the application of
Tiras I, shading over into Tiras III |
| 3 Inajid Tyrrhenians = Trinakians | 8 Hittim | B Tiras II |
| 4 Westbound migration resulting in | 9 Rhodes, D[/ R]odanim | C Tiras III |
| 5 Hesperian coastal lands being massively
invaded by Tyrrheno-Lydo-Hittite
phyla in the 2nd mill. BCE | A Tiras I: Erythia / Elišša / Elisu / *Frut /
Rhodes / Rodanim (Dodanim) / Pyr- | |

Fig. 3.8. Tyrrhenians and Tiras, Elišša, Hittim, Dodanim (according to Karst 1931a)

3.4.14. Tubal

The Tubal group of the *Table of Nations* appears in Karst's book (e.g. 1931a: 17 f.) in the Anatolian context, in association with Telchines, i.e. the pre- or Proto-Leleges of Crete and Rhodes: as an Abḫazoid primal layer that corresponds with the general, Caucasian first tier in the four-tiered linguistico-ethnic system of the proto-historical Mediterranean. The Tubal people are also known (Karst 1931a: 38 n 1) as Pontic Tibarenians (i.e. 'of the Black Sea'), revealing their immigrant nature by the alleged etymon *dibarrani* = 'stranger' [cf. Proto-Indo-European *barbar-, 'stranger' (Pokorny 1959-1969: II, 106), and toponyms such as Wales, Wallis / Valais, and Wallonie; Proto-Altaic: *bařV, 'opposite, inimical' (Starostin & Starostin 1998-2006, s.v. 'Altaic etymology'); this root also occurs in Bantu, e.g. Tswana, as –war(war) 'a people that speaks gibberish'; however, a totally different source is suggested by Arabic الديران al-Dabarān, 'the Follower', = α Tauri (Allen 1963 / 1899: 383) – WvB] Related Tubal people are associated with the names of Dioi Pelasgoi in the Aegean, Telegon in Italy and Lelex associated with (modern) Libya; they are also found in the Iberian peninsula, as a result of Westbound migrations c. 2000 BCE, giving rise to Basquoid.



- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Tubal peoples, including | 6 Telchines, ≈ Primal Leleges (Abḫazo-Caucasian substrate) |
| 2 Dioi-Pelasgoi, towards its centre | 7 Lelex (in Libya), eponym of Leleges |
| 3 Tiphloi or Tubarenians, and towards its Eastern end, | 8 Telegon, cf. Telchines |
| 4 Pontic Tibareni (< <i>dibarrani</i> , 'strangers') | 9 Tubal peoples of Hesperia |
| 5 Lelego- Primal Pelasgians of Basque-Euskaran type,
secondarily Afroasiaticised | |

Fig. 3.9. Tubal, according to Karst 1931a

Also the Biblical [Ur-]Hushdim appear both in West Asia and in Western Iberia as a Tubal nation, associated with metallurgy, even though they constitute an Indoaryan-speaking ruling class. Apparently Indo-European speakers had superimposed themselves upon a Caucasian-speaking or Bantu-speaking primal population and had appropriated the latter's technology.

The fourfold tieredness which, according to Karst's claim (a justifiable claim, as we shall argue in the final chapter of this book), we find throughout the Mediterranean, and the onomastic parallelism between the Western and the Eastern ends of the Mediterranean, render it – as usual – impossible to make an unequivocal identification of Tubal 'son' of Japheth in the *Table of Nations*. Both Caucasus-related and Central-Western Mediterranean themes appear among the 'son' and 'grandsons' of Japheth, and without recourse to the fallacy of misplaced concreteness there is simply no telling whether Tubal in the *Table of Nations* is meant to indicate

1. the Western and Central Mediterranean, in general, or
2. the Eastern Mediterranean, in general, or
3. whether peoples throughout the Mediterranean were recognised as somehow constituting one and the same Tubal nation.

If this third possibility could somehow find support from additional data, it would be another sign of the existence of a comprehensive ethnic classificatory system encompassing the entire Mediterranean in the Late Bronze / Early Iron Age.

We have spend considerable time and space on the immanent discussion of Karst's view, *i.e.* a discussion which adopts Karst's own perspective while postponing detailed, if necessary devastating, criticism. Considering the obviously bizarre and preposterous nature of some of Karst's proposals in this connection, we may by now have taxed modern specialists's patience to breaking point. Time for us to turn to the next Chapter, where we shall confront Karst's approach with modern scholarship.

Chapter 4. Confronting Karst's approach with modern scholarship

4.1. Introduction

In this Chapter, I will briefly situate Karst within the context of modern scholarship, in a bid to ascertain to what extent his intuitions, so poorly presented and with apparently so little systematic grounding in empirical data, might yet partially survive in the face of modern findings and theories.

There is an obvious additional dimension to explore: the roots of Karst's own scholarship in the historical, linguistic and anthropological studies of his time. Karst is incomplete and inconsistent in listing his scholarly and documentary sources, but clearly important among these are: Herbig 1915; Marr 1899; and Moreau de Jonne 1873.

When turning, towards the end of this chapter, to Karst's many shortcomings such as his belief in sunken continental land bridges, prehistoric empires, Atlantis etc., or when we see him rely on the concept of race, we will understand that he is regurgitating the scholarly myths of his time. Although this is in a way a study in science history, our present scope is too limited than that we could explore in detail the formative influences upon Karst's work, yet his main sources of scholarly inspiration may be indicated in passing.

At the time, Karst's reconstruction of prehistoric patterns around the Mediterranean, could find only very partial and defective support from archaeology and genetics / physical anthropology (which, in the first place, were still in their infancy, judged by today's state of the art), while his linguistic methods were idiosyncratic and, inevitably, not up to modern standards and, as far as onomastic analysis is concerned, highly idiosyncratic. This makes us wonder what would remain of his findings when these would now be confronted with modern scholarship.

I would expect at least some confirmation here, on several grounds. As an anthropologist who has done extensive ethnographic and oral-historical fieldwork in North Africa and who has worked extensively on the comparative ethnography of the Mediterranean, I am struck by the fact that Karst's analysis allows me to explain – to a considerable although still limited extent – the intra-Mediterranean as well as trans-Mediterranean continuities in cultic and kinship institutions (in terms of Pelasgian and Afroasiatic, Sinocaucasian, and Proto-Bantu, distributions going back to the Neolithic, Mesolithic and Upper Palaeolithic) which I have scarcely seen addressed by other writers. Karst's hypothesis concerning Africa Minor as a focal point in proto-historical Mediterranean and specifically as the Secondary Pelasgian homeland somewhat appeals to me: my anthropological and historical fieldwork in precisely this region, the highlands of NorthWestern Tunisia (van Binsbergen 1970, 1971a, 1980a, 1980b, 1985b, forthcoming (a)) from the late 1960s onwards, has revealed the survival of many Pelasgian traits, including the veneration of local shrines, divination by the whisperings of oak trees, massive public cattle sacrifices for local gods / saints reminiscent of Homeric hecatombs, an extreme parallelism between local social and ritual organisation, etc.; the Pelasgian element of this region was first identified by Bertholon & Chantre (1913). After my North African fieldwork (1968 and 1970), I largely specialised as a sub-Saharan Africanist. Above I have already indicated how certain aspects of Karst's handling of Bantu appeal to me (even though he may fail to distinguish between Bantu < Nigercongo, and the other significant African macrophyllum Nilosaharan, and blunders in his handling of Bantu nominal prefixes), and how this helped me to identify and account for South Asian themes in South Central African royal institutions. Finally, from 1990 onwards most of my empirical research has concentrated on long-range reconstructions of cultural history (geomantic divination, mankala board-games, ancient astronomies and their nomenclature, leopard-skin symbolism), in a bid to identify enduring and possibly universal (or at least, shared by all branches of Anatomically Modern Man) traits of human thought, symbolisation, and world-view. Iconoclastic and boundary-effacing in my own approach to scholarly disciplines, historical periods and traditional provinces of regional studies, I recognise similar tendencies in Karst, and they are like music to my ears – but such infatuation may simply mean the recognition of a kindred, uncommon personality and admittedly mean nothing as to the scientific truth value of Karst's statements. My work since the mid-1990s, on intercultural philosophy including the *Black Athena* debate and Afrocentricity, has helped me to create a context in which Karst's inevitably dated views and superseded data set may yet be recognised as retaining some heuristic value.

However, my own work along these lines is far from mainstream, and has elicited considerable controversy (Amselle 2000). Therefore, beyond my own assertion to the effect that Karst's idiosyncrasies occasionally coincide with my own, we need a more systematic assessment. To the limited extent to which I can handle such an assessment given my limitations as a non-specialist in most of the relevant fields of research, I shall attempt to confront Karst with modern linguistics, genetics and archaeology. While this assessment will turn out to yield somewhat positive results for linguistics and genetics, it is on the archaeological side that Karst leaves most to be desired.

4.2. Karst and modern linguistics

4.2.1. Karst as pioneering modern long-range approaches

In the preceding chapters we have had ample opportunity to consider how difficult it is to match Karst's linguistics with those of today's specialists. Yet some positive points survive.

Karst's four-tiered overall linguistico-ethnic structure of Mediterranean proto-history (my Fig. 1.5) makes some sense, and not only because it brings out (as I argued above) such essential features of hybridity, complexity, percolation, homonymy, and proto-globalisation. The four-tiered scheme also corresponds with what also more recent long-range comparative linguistics would consider a likely temporal sequence – although the reformulation of Karst's vague and contradictory texts into modern terms inevitably entails distortion and *Hineininterpretierung*. On top of

- o a complex substrate of Liguroid-associated languages with Uralic and Altaic affiliation, and possibly such languages as are today confined to Africa: Khoisanoid, Niger-congo, Nilosaharan

Karst claims as the first tier

- 1 varieties within the Sinocaucasian macrophyllum, including
- 2 a (Proto-)Basque layer,

followed by two overlays of the most recent and Western reflex branches of *Borean, notably

- 3 (Proto-)Afroasiatic, and finally
- 4 (Proto-)Indo-European.

Confronted with the dazzling complexity of Mediterranean linguistic and identity forms, the common idea of the *substrate* has proved immensely useful: obsolete, underlying forms that were once dominant but that have been largely, but not completely, overlaid and supplanted by newer forms, while the substrate forms may occasionally still shimmer through the surface forms. Karst's idea of sustained North-Caucasian / Basque, Pelasgian, Cushitic and even Nigercongo substrates (underlying much of the more recent dominant Mediterranean forms of Afroasiatic and Indo-European signature) are no doubt in need of substantial revision but in broad lines appear to be confirmed in later work, e.g. that of Hubschmid (1953).

To try and bring such long-range complexity together in one scheme in order to illuminate Mediterranean pre- and proto-history is bold and visionary, rather than the work of a madman or crackpot. Or perhaps I am the last person to judge on such matters; in my own current research on leopard-skin symbolism, the validity of a long-range perspective encompassing several language families even macrofamilies was forcibly driven home to me when I had to come to the conclusion (cf. Table 4.1) that in all the linguistic families discerned by Karst in his four-tiered system, and in several more – in short, throughout much of the Old World and part of the New World, the leopard as a species was called by a similar word, not on any onomatopoeic basis (the terrifying, shrieking sound of the leopard is very indistinct and almost impossible to render in human words), but because most leopard names retain a primordial notion of spots or speckledness, in a lexical expression whose protoform appears to be Proto-Khoisan **garub*, 'speckled', whence (by metathesis of the *k* / *g* and *p* / *b* consonants, around the central *r*) Proto-Sinotibetan **prē(k)ʷs*,¹³² the Indo-European and Afroasiatic **prg-* / **prd-* (Kammerzell 1994; van Binsbergen 2004, 2018, and in press (g); however, e.g. Blažek 2002), etc.

¹³² Tower of Babel, n.d., 'Sinotibetan etymologies'.

lingu-istic macro-families	linguistic families	'leopard' = *prd / *prg	'spotted' = *prd / *pgror related	semantics of leopard's name dominated by 'spotted' / 'variegated'	'lion' = *rw / *lw- / *LB' / *leu	'bright' = *rw / *lw- / *LB' / *leu or related	semantics of lion's name dominated by 'bright' / 'smooth' / 'plain' / 'evenly coloured'
Eurasianic	Proto-Eurasianic / Nostratic ¹³³	+ / ?	+	+	+ / ?	+	?
	other Eurasianic / Nostratic ¹³⁴	+ / ? ¹³⁵	+	+ / ?	- ¹³⁶	+	+ / ? ¹³⁷
	Indo-European ¹³⁸	+	+ / ?	?	+ / ?	+ / ?	?
Nigercongo (incl. Bantu) ¹³⁹	Bantu	+ ¹⁴⁰	+ ¹⁴¹	+	- / ? ¹⁴²	- / ?	- / ?
Nilosaharan	Maasai	+ ¹⁴³	+ ¹⁴⁴	+ ¹⁴⁵	- / ? ¹⁴⁶	- / ? ¹⁴⁷	
Khoisan		+ / ? ¹⁴⁸	+ ¹⁴⁹	+ / ? ¹⁵⁰	? ¹⁵¹	? ¹⁵²	

¹³³ Cf. Dolgopolsky 1998; Bomhard 1983; Bomhard & Kerns 1993.

¹³⁴ Dravidian and Sumerian examples available.

¹³⁵ E.g. Sumerian (whose status as a branch of Nostratic is not uncontested yet widely accepted) *pirin*, 'leopard', more properly 'lion', from roots *bar*, 'to shine', and *nin*, 'thing'; however, also *nib*, 'cheetah, leopard', exists, from a combination of roots meaning 'strength' and 'to be angry'; also *nimur* (from Akkadian *numru(m)*): see Halloran n.d.; cf. Nimrod); Georgian (Kartvelian) *leopardi*, 'leopard', but also *იოეოფიო* (*yoeoyofyo*), 'leopard'.

¹³⁶ Georgian (Kartvelian) *lomi*, 'lion'.

¹³⁷ as above; however, also exists: *ur-mab*, 'lion' (= 'carnivorous beast' + 'mighty'); Halloran n.d.

¹³⁸ Extensive details in Kammerzell 1994.

¹³⁹ I made an extensive survey of feline nomenclature in over 200 Bantu languages, cf. van Binsbergen, 2003, 2004, 2018: Appendix III, and in press (g). The proto-names which Kammerzell (1994) identified for 'leopard' and 'lion' throughout both Afroasiatic and Indo-European, are *prd / *prg and *rw / *lw- / *LB' / *leu. These lexical forms are detectable in very many Bantu contexts, but probably as intrusions, because they do not feature in Proto-Bantu; the speckled / blotted / variegated versus smooth / light semantics however is unmistakable for the leopard versus the lion, also in Proto-Bantu and in many latter-day Bantu languages.

¹⁴⁰ E.g. Nkoya 'leopard' = *kampulu* = [ka-, a nominal prefix]+m/p+V+l/r+V[+d].

¹⁴¹ An extensive analysis is available in van Binsbergen 2004, and in press (g).

¹⁴² E.g. Nkoya 'lion' = *shimbwe*.

¹⁴³ Payne & Ole-Kotikash, 2008: Maasai: ol-mára [leopard], ol-owuarú kerí [the speckled beast], ol-kerí [the speckled one], ol-owuarú mára [the leopard beast].

¹⁴⁴ Maasai *keri* = 'spotted'.

¹⁴⁵ Maasai: ol-owuarú kerí, 'spotted beast'.

¹⁴⁶ Maasai words for lion are: ol-ŋátúny, ol-lémbálán, ol-kúrrúkúr, ol-ŋárurúmi; but apparently, preferably is used olowuarú 'carnivorous beast', with emphasis on a light brown, slightly speckled coat.

¹⁴⁷ In Maasai, in naming the lion the emphasis is not on the smoothness of its coat but on the contrary on the slight speckled / camouflage effects that may be detected there.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. *garub, etc. Cf. Argyle 1994: 'Table 6. CV1V2 Forms with click initials'.

¹⁴⁹ As previous note.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Argyle 1994, 1999, n.d.

Afroasiatic ¹⁵³	+ / ?	+ / ?	?	+ / ?	+ / ?	?	
Sinocaucasian ¹⁵⁴	+	+	+	+ / ?	+	+ / ?	
Austric	Austronesian	?	+ ¹⁵⁵	+ ¹⁵⁶	?	?	?
Amerind	Maya / Quechuan	+ ¹⁵⁷	+ / ?	+ / ?	?	?	?

NB: Nigercongo and Nilosaharan have been regarded branches of 'Super-Nostratic' (Kaiser & Shevoroshkin 1988); in the context of the *Tower of Babel* project, Khoisan is generally considered a branch of *Borean at a par with the other macrophyla.

Table 4.1. An example bringing out the validity and effectiveness of a long-range linguistic approach: The leopard and the lion across linguistic (macro-)phyla.

Several more similar long-range examples could be cited (in fact, over a thousand proposed Borean roots, see for instance Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008, s.v. 'Long-range etymologies'; van Binsbergen 2018: Appendix I, pp. 515 *f.*). Karst's approach therefore is, to my mind, not an obsolete expression of a linguistic fantast, but the strikingly perceptive intuition of a major linguist pioneering long-range comparison forty years before these emerged as the Moscow School. It is remarkable, in the light of similar, Africa-focused explorations by Argyle (1994, 1999, n.d.),¹⁵⁸ that Karst (1931a: 154 *f.*) already explored the possible correspondences between Afroasiatic and Nilosaharan, and in the process identified Nuba as an intermediate stage between these two language families. As far as Afroasiatic is concerned, however, many modern specialists would take exception to Karst's emphasis on West Asia as the Afroasiatic homeland, and would instead support the emerging consensus as to an Afroasiatic homeland in North-Eastern Africa, *e.g.* on the Ethiopian highlands;¹⁵⁹ on the other hand, the Natufian context of Mesolithic Syro-Palestine has convincingly been cited as the typical context (emerging agriculture) in which Afroasiatic is supposed to have emerged (Bar-Yosef 1998; Bar-Yosef & Valla 1991; Militarev 1996, 2002).

But while Karst was pioneering the idea of linguistic macro-family relations and thus must effectively be counted as one of the forerunners of the *Borean, Nostratic / Eurasiatic, and

¹⁵¹ Cf. Argyle 1994: 10 item 3, ʕali, 'shiny, reflective' (S6.AT), but there are several other words, very different, with the same meaning; p. 35 item 18: ʕuru, 'be dry, be hot, be in the sun, midday', which has both a semantic and phonological fit, *cf.* very widespread forms of lion symbolism associated with the *medium coeli*, mid-summer (when the Sun is in the zodiacal sign Leo, ʕl) *etc.*

¹⁵² Argyle 1994, 1999, and n.d.

¹⁵³ As previous note. However, Kammerzell was convincingly contested by Blažek 2002. Full etymologies for Semitic 'lion' and 'leopard' are given in the Tower of Babel database, Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008, 'Semitic etymology'.

¹⁵⁴ Tower of Babel n.d., 'Chinese characters': (a) 斑, modern (Beijing) reading: ban 1; Middle Chinese reading: pān; Old Chinese reading: pṛān; 'spot, variegated' (Late Zhou dynasty); Karlgren 1957 number 0190 c. (b) 豹, modern (Beijing) reading bao 4, Middle Chinese reading pāw, Old Chinese reading pṛē(k)*s; this strikingly corresponds with Kammerzell's (1994) *pṛg / *pṛd for Proto-Afroasiatic as well as Proto-Indo-European.

¹⁵⁵ Tower of Babel, s.v. Austric etymology: *ʔlVʔŋ (~ *rVŋ) 'striped, spotted'.

¹⁵⁶ Proto-Austronesian: *balaŋ, -laŋ 'striped' (or *burŋ, kurŋ 'striped'); Austronesian meaning: 'spotted, striped, multi-coloured'

¹⁵⁷ balaam (Maya), 'jaguar god'.

¹⁵⁸ I am indebted to John Argyle for making his papers available to me and enlightening me on the position of Khoisan in personal correspondence.

¹⁵⁹ Kammerzell 1994: 69 n. 150, with references to: Schenkel 1990; D'jakonov [Diakonof] 1981, 1988; Ehret 1984; Behrens 1985; Anttila 1989, 1993. also *cf.* Ehret 1996.

Sinocaucasian hypotheses, today's long-range linguists would, of course, not quite make the same connections as he does:

'The Altaic-Turanian languages have elements in common with Euskara-Basque. Henceforth these elements are to be appreciated as the influence of a pre-Mongolian linguistic family, which at one time must have been dominant in the Altai-Eastern Turanian regions as the Easterly extension of the great Eurasian language family of Basque-Iberian-Alarodic signature. Liguro-Iberoid or Proto-Phrygian-Alarodian ruling classes of Basque orientation once held sway in Turan in pre-Mongolian times...'
(Karst 1931a: 180, *apparently failing to differentiate between Altaic, North Caucasian (as a phylum within Sinocaucasian), Kartvelian, Nihali, Burushaski and probably other languages circulating in the vast region of Central Asia in prehistoric times; cf. Witzel 1999, 2006).*

Karst himself strongly emphasised this passage by character spacing; however, today we would identify such a postulated comprehensive Eurasian family not so confidently as being *pre-Mongolian* (i.e. a branch of *Altaic < Eurasiatic*) or rather (for this is what Karst seems to have in mind), *pre-Sinocaucasian – and yet Basquoid (< Sinocaucasian) at the same time*. The only level of linguistic reconstruction where all these ramifications come together in today's long-range linguistics is *Borean – to be periodised not in a few ka but in tens of ka! The classification of Basque has posed great problems to scholarship, and its identification (by the prominent specialist Bengtson 1994, 1999, 2001), as a branch of Sinocaucasian is far from universally accepted. Elsewhere in his main book, Karst stresses the differences between admittedly related Basque and Caucasian, and he shows a keen appreciation of the extent to which latter-day Basque shows the influence of later neighbouring languages and therefore is unlikely to constitute an original type already widely distributed in prehistory. In a bid to sort out this puzzle, later debate has concentrated on the genetic position of present-day Basque speakers. In my non-specialist opinion, much appears to be said for Cavalli-Sforza's view, who holds the modern Basque speakers to be the descendants of the interaction between immigrant agriculturalists from West Asia (probably speaking a Caucasian language), and an aboriginal population of hunters and gatherers on the Iberian peninsula. Of the latter, microlithic stone tools and rock art has been extensively found, dating from the Mesolithic. However, a setback from such an argument seems to be that present-day molecular genetics has brought out that Basques today are further removed from Georgians than the latter from any other European population (di Benedetto *et al.* 2000). While Karst, still unaware of these findings, stressed (in today's terminology) Central Nostratic / Eurasiatic i.e. Uralic and Altaic, and possibly Nigercongo connections for this aboriginal population, recent research has adduced a number of reasons to include Khoisan among their linguistic affinities: parallels in material culture (microlithic arrow points, rock art, ostrich-shell beads), and particularly the outcome of state of the art population genetics of an earlier vintage (based on classic genetic markers), leave little doubt that the ancestors of today's Khoisan speakers lived in Central and West Asia c. 10,000 BP (Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1994). Morris (2002), however, among many others, suggests that there might yet have been a local, African origin. With the recent, molecular approach where the genome is determined in the greatest possible detail, more recent research (e.g. Schuster *et al.* 2010) confirmed the great extent to which the hunter-gatherers of Southern Africa, considered to be the oldest known lineage of Modern Humans, are different both from other Modern Humans and from each other. Much more recently (between 0 and 1000 CE) there appears to have been an admixture, among Khoisan speakers, of a substantial West Eurasian element (Pickrell *et al.* 2014). This I would not interpret as a refutation of Cavalli-Sforza's long-range scenario in space and time involving a West Asian part origin 10 ka BP. Instead, I would see Pickrell *et al.*'s findings as a confirmation of what my South African colleagues Thornton (2012) and Hromník (2012), as well as I myself (2012a), have reconstructed

on the basis of archaeology, myth and oral tradition:¹⁶⁰ the presence of South Asians prospecting for minerals including gold, and establishing major Buddhist-orientated state structures notably those around Great Zimbabwe, Mapungubwe, and the Lunda region.

When Karst wrote, the classic edifice of comparative historical linguistics of Indo-European was largely completed, and solid foundations had been laid for the complementary edifices in *e.g.* Afroasiatic, Caucasian, Basque, Sinotibetan, Austroasiatic, Austronesian, African, and Amerindian linguistics. As far as I can judge as a non-specialist, Karst's approach reflects the state of linguistics in his time, but would be considered highly inadequate and dated by today's professional standards. He does appeal (*e.g.* Karst 1931a: 143 *f.*) to sound laws and offers correspondence tables, especially when visionarily precluding on issues of Nostratic / Eurasianic and Sinocaucasian long-range linguistics. However, his approach on these points would still worry the majority of modern linguists because such continuities as Karst plausibly, even justifiably, claims (*e.g.* between Basque, Caucasian, Burushaski, Sinotibetan and Na-Dene), are usually based by him, not on the painstaking reconstruction of proto-forms as basis for correspondence tables, but on the 'mass comparison' of surface form as attested in historical times (for which he provides extensive lists of lexical items, Karst 1931a: 95-157, 660-666). But although consensus in the discipline of comparative and historical linguistics is against mass comparison, we have to admit that that method has brought great success (in seeing arguable relationships, even unity, where before we only saw chaotic fragmentation) and commensurate fame to such recent long-range linguists as Joseph Greenberg (who applied it both to African and to Amerindian languages) and Merritt Ruhlen (who applied it to languages worldwide) (Greenberg 1978, 1987, 1987 / 2000; Greenberg & Ruhlen 1992, 2007; Ruhlen 1987 I-III, 1994, 1998).

Finally, also the basic Old-World East-West movement as the main flow of peoples, languages and cultures, which is stipulated by Karst, is supported not only by modern population genetics, but also, at least for Indo-European and Afroasiatic, by many modern historical linguists. I propose to discuss this point under genetics, below.

An apt illustration of the East-West prehistoric movement across Eurasia may be found in the Kyrgyz people (see: Anonymous, 'Kyrgyz people'), the 'Forty People' named after the forty clans headed by the legendary hero Manas – who also gave his name to the Manas epic which (as a widespread topic in comparative mythology, *cf.* van Binsbergen 2010a) described, among other things, the stealing of the moon (also one of the central myths of kingship among the Nkoya – which seems to be linked with the Sigiriya complex of Sri Lanka). I would be inclined to call this mythical complex 'Pelasgian', which would situate its origin in South Central Asia to West Asia. Meanwhile genetic analysis of the Kyrgyz genetic stock, with red hair and green eyes as widespread somatic characteristic, brings out an origin mainly in East Asia, in part South Asia, a small part from Europe, and hardly from the Middle East.

4.2.2. Onomastic analysis by free association: Unforgivable sin, or imaginative realism?


For Karst, the pioneering reconstruction of relationships between linguistic families and macrofamilies was not an aim in itself, but was to be subservient to his reconstruction of ethnic patterns in global prehistory, but especially Mediterranean prehistory. Here it would seem to me, as a non-specialist, that many of the hundreds of etymologies Karst gives of

¹⁶⁰ Thornton 2012 and in press; Hromník 2012 and in press; van Binsbergen 2017: Fig. 10.23, 'The Lunda region, South Central Africa, as a likely target of transcontinental, South Asian and South East Asian cultural influences during the Common Era', p. 399.

toponyms and ethnonyms are largely made up *ad hoc*, and many would be off-hand rejected by today's scholarship, for lack of systematic support in terms of correspondence rules, insufficient mutual reinforcement of both lexical, semantic, and phonological correspondence, or simply for lack of plausibility given extreme distance in space and time between proposed etymon and reflex.¹⁶¹

This has been one of the most vulnerable aspects of Karst's work: the fact that he has no systematic method by which to substantiate his etymological claims. A case in point is the following

'Some authors allow the idea of a common Indo-European thunder god, who was known from the North-European countries to Armenia. Joseph Karst, for example, associates the Nordic Þórr (Thor) with the pre-Christian Armenian deity Tork (Thorkh) and views them as identical (Karst 1931a: 604 f.). Based on the forms Thor and Thorkh, he has reconstructed a pre-Indo-European thunder and storm god *Thorqvin. Þórr would then be just an apocopated form from the original *Thorqvin. Karst argues that the Illyrian-Albanian *drek* (*trek*), or 'devil', is also a pale reflection of the same god. He derives the names from an Indo-European root √trox, tork, denoting 'the (world) circle'. Other authors have not supported this etymology and it is regarded as a mere speculation.' (Sutrop 2004: 43).

The situation is somewhat comparable to that of Bernal's much more recent attempt, discussed above, to explain (amidst numerous other home-spun Greek-Egyptian etymologies) the name of the Greek goddess Athena on the basis of the Egyptian expression  *ht nt*, 'temple of Neith', the cultic centre at Sais in the Western Delta which gained great prominence in the Late Period but was also prominently represented in the Early Dynastic period. As several scholars have argued (Egberts 1997 / 2011; van Binsbergen 1996-1997b / 2011a) Bernal's etymology had to be faulted on the basis that it was impossible:

1. in the light of the historical development of the Ancient Egyptian language,
2. considering the probable phonetic values of the usually unwritten vowels involved, and
3. the absence of any systematic basis in correspondence rules.

Stubbornly and angrily, Bernal has defended his pet argument for the '*Black Athena* thesis' against these criticisms, by claiming that since this etymology involved a proper name, and involved borrowing across linguistic families, in a context of cultural (specifically cultic) intercontinental influence, any systematic underpinning of the suggested etymology would be unnecessary and out of character, since such borrowings would always be irregular. The point is not that better etymologies for the Athena name are available (they are, notably such as stress continuity with West Asian Anahita, *cf.* Syro-Palestinian Anat and, indeed, Northern Egyptian and Libyan Neith) that are much more convincing both linguistically and historically. The point is (*cf.* van Binsbergen 1997) that any explanation is in the first place *generalisation* – the subsuming of the specific features of the *explicandum*, under wider classes of things whose interrelationships are known, or may be specifically argued, on the basis of systematic principles and generally applicable empirical regularities. In this respect an etymological claim of the type *Athena* < *ht nt* (regardless of the point that Athena seemed to have belonged in Central Asia before she became a North African, Pelasgian goddess) can never rise above the status of a felicitous *trouvaille* with more or less (typically less) support among academic peers, and will never amount to a factual explanation.

¹⁶¹ Today's long-range linguists have considerable consensus as to what constitutes a valid etymology; it should have the following three characteristics (Blažek, personal communication): 1. phonological fit; 2. semantic fit; 3. it should come with explicit productive correspondence rules defining in detail the path from etymon to reflex.

As an accomplished Mediterranean linguist, Karst does not quite stumble into the same pitfall as the, originally, Sinologist Bernal. Yet the saving grace of Karst's ethnic etymologies may, on second thoughts, even somewhat vindicate Bernal's general defence in terms of unavoidable lack of system (although his specific explanation of Athena, and his whole Egyptocentric approach, are definitely wrong). Admittedly, also Karst allows himself incredible leeway when linking one ethnonym or toponym to another, and above we have considered very telling examples of this procedure. However, while such linkages lack proof (unless in the extremely rare cases where the actors or ancient commentators explicitly report something like 'this is name K but at the time it was mistakenly pronounced as / understood as / changed into L'), the general play of the various onomastic mechanisms I have listed in section 2.4. (especially *Migrancy*, *Inertia*, *Transformative Localisation*) yet makes it possible to appeal here to a, *usually unattested*, emic process of selection and interpretation at the level of the historical actors involved – not as a basis for proof, but merely as a basis for some added plausibility. In this light I am prepared to attach considerable plausibility to Karst's explanations of continuous concatenations of assoning (but by no means identical) toponyms and ethnonyms throughout the Mediterranean, West Asia, and in fact almost on a global scale. It is not comparative linguistics alone which settles cases like this. For, in addition, we have to take into account the specific historical contexts in which actors project names onto the landscape and the groups that inhabit it, a process in which they are informed, not so much by blind linguistic systematics, but by their mythical world-view, and by their insistent quest for meaning and legitimation, in which ethnic and toponymical construction of self and others must have played a major role. At the emic level, in the hands of historical actors, the tendency to Relational Projection, *Inertia*, popular etymology, and punning, often provide, as a result of the actors' conscious and deliberate attempts at emulation and signification, the spatial and temporal continuities that Karst takes for granted, and for which he offers a few highly insightful examples (Cush, Libya, Hiberia, Havila, Pu(n)t, etc.). To these emic considerations a much less speculative argument may be added from historical linguistics itself. The identification of such ethnic mechanisms as *Migrancy*, *Transformative Localisation*, and *Choric Oscillation* make us appreciate the likelihood that ethnonyms and toponyms, when crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries, undergo changes that cannot always be systematically accounted for in terms of specific inter-language or inter-language-family sound laws and correspondence tables; especially if such crossing occurs repeatedly (as in *Choric Oscillation*, defined in Table 2.1) the result may be an inextricable tangle beyond systematic linguistic analysis. We have to realise that this argument is a double-edged sword: while it goes some way to explain the absence of hard, systematic linguistic support for otherwise plausible cases of trans-linguistic borrowing of onomastic material, it also casts doubt on those cases where such linguistic support could be found, for also in those cases the assumption of systematics may be rather unfounded.

In order to argue the greater or lesser affinity between languages, Karst presents many lists of lexical and morphological material (e.g. 1931a: 95-157), and occasionally he reconstructs specific phonological correspondences between languages. Here inevitably he bases himself largely on relatively recent (i.e. 19th and early 20th century CE) data. When he argues the presence of a substrate layer, and develops (however implicitly and unsystematically) his general thesis of the ubiquitous four-tiered linguistico / ethnic structure in the proto-historical Mediterranean, his argument is largely based on onomastic material from ethnonyms, toponyms and hydronyms. In principle, this is an acceptable approach (we shall vindicate it below), especially since it precludes on modern long-range macro-family linguis-

tics. The major weakness lies in the execution: in order to identify a particular name as belonging to a particular language or language group, Karst often relies on what he suggests to be reconstructed proto-forms; the latter, however, may have been *ad-hoc* inventions by the linguist rather than reflecting state-of-the-art systematic historical-linguistic analysis.

The same looseness attends Karst's decision to consider two place names that sound merely vaguely similar, as *identical*, and as sign (often the only sign) of the migration of a linguistico-ethnic identity from one place to a different place – often a place where prevailing geopolitical conceptions would scarcely make one expect such a presence. Considering Karst's shaky methodology, any conclusion that a particular identity was present in a particular, unexpected place, in the proto-historical Mediterranean, should never be made on the ground of onomastic analysis alone, but ideally should be backed up by one or more other arguments:

1. traditions recounted by ancient writers; and moreover,
2. genetic and
3. archaeological indications, and
4. additional ethnographic semantic indications that the postulated link has some tangible plausibility
5. comparative mythology.

All five forms of corroboration feature in Karst's book, especially the traditional one which was amply available in classicist scholarship, but Karst's genetic, archaeological and ethnographic underpinnings, which he used sparingly anyway, no longer comply with modern standards.

Admittedly, a major disadvantage of Karst's approach is that they first need to be confronted with state-of-the-art archaeological, genetic and linguistic findings before they can be adopted as corroborated by modern scholarship. However, such an attempt at corroboration would have taken me very far out of my field of professional competence. Moreover, the proof of the pudding is in the eating: having found that Karst's work had considerable heuristic value for my own ongoing research, I reckoned that it would become much easier to mobilise collective scholarly expertise for a modern critical reformulation of the Karstian approach, if I would first resuscitate his ideas from the grave of obsolete, German scholarly forms in which they were buried until now, and apply them, in English, and with greater or lesser success, to a specific set of analytical problems (the *Table of Nations* and the ethnicity of the Sea Peoples). This caveat is not a ruse to smuggle in even those of Karst's results for which I know there is no underpinning in modern scientific linguistics. My dilemma is simply this: I know that a lot is wrong with Karst, but there are a few essential things which he has seen sharper than anybody else working on Bronze Age Mediterranean ethnicity. I can only bring out the good things if I discuss the entire Karstian package, and (for the duration of that discussion at least) give him the benefit of the doubt. Critical reflection on Karst's work will make us see current state-of-the-art approaches to our topic in a new and refreshing light, even if ultimately we would have to leave Karst far behind us, and reject most of the specific empirical points that he makes.

4.3. Karst and genetics / physical anthropology

4.3.1. Karst's not really racist reliance on an analytical concept of 'race' for the lack of a theory of culture

In addition to onomastic / linguistic analysis, Karst's reconstruction of prehistoric patterns around the Mediterranean finds only very partial and defective support from archaeology and genetics / physical anthropology, two fields of research that have undergone tremendous growth since the early 1930s when Karst's book was published. I shall turn to archaeology shortly. On the genetic side, Karst had to rely on, now largely obsolete, measurements of skull-form types (dolichocephalic versus brachycephalic *etc.*), could not even use the evidence from blood group analysis (which came up as an ancillary to long-range history in the 1930s), let alone benefit from the very detailed and conclusive analysis of molecular biology from the 1980s onwards, once the human genome had been deciphered.

Above I have explained how Karst's use of the term *Rasse* poses problems of translation and invites misunderstanding. Today, 'race' is no longer a scientifically accepted term:¹⁶² too many atrocities, too much physical and psycho-social violence, have been committed in the name of 'race'. I repeat that despite Karst's use of the term *Rasse*, he cannot be considered a racist in the sense of 'one attaching serious implications of social, cultural, physical and moral superiority or inferiority to the hereditary somatic characteristics shared by large subsets of humanity'. To use, as was absolutely common at the time, the term 'race' for 'population with distinct somatic features in the phenotype', does not make one a racist in the ideological sense. Admittedly, Karst cites with approval some of the reconstructions of Indoaryan early history by de Gobineau (who was primarily a historian of Asia), but not the latter's racist theories.¹⁶³ It would be anachronistic to expect – as we could rightly expect *after* World War II – from Karst (whose *magnum opus* was published in 1931) the political correctness of denouncing de Gobineau's work altogether and refusing to cite it even in its empirical dimensions. For the rest, it is hard to imagine a scholarly work, published in Germany in the 1930s, which is more free from ideological racism than Karst's. Contrary to the then emerging ideology of Nazism with its glorification of the 'Aryan' race, and the White racism pervading the entire North Atlantic region in the early 1930s at the height of the colonial period, Karst makes a number of pleasantly surprising, even liberating points which show his immunity to Nazi racism. He scarcely discusses populations with high skin pigmentation as such.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand he claims:

¹⁶² Even though 'race' still has – most regrettably and naïvely – virtually unimpeded social circulation in the USA today, also in the hands of Black Afrocentrist writers, who are experts of experience as to the violence implied in the concept of 'race' and therefore should know better than to internalise the conceptual tools of their own exclusion and oppression. But of course, another mechanism is at work here, too: once a societal category (such as race) has firmly established itself in the political arena, by virtue of the inevitable contradictions on which every society thrives, such a category is not only a tool of oppression but also becomes one of mobilisation, political affirmation, on the very part of those oppressed by this term in the first place and have internalised it as an apparently inescapable social given.

¹⁶³ Cf. Poliakov 1979; de Gobineau 1853-1855, 1869; Biddiss 1970.

¹⁶⁴ Karst 1931a: 'dark' or 'black' Colchians, 515, 585; 'Sons of the Black Soil', 585.

- that the blond and blue-eyed somatic type, although largely associated with Northern Eurasia, is not primarily Indo-European speaking (Karst 1931a: 90; the phylum in question is probably Uralic-, possibly also Altaic-speaking);¹⁶⁵
- that Indo-European speakers are of mixed genetic stock anyway (Karst 1931a: 90);
- that Hebrews / Jews and other West-Semitic speakers belong genetically to the same stock as Indo-European speakers;
- that (overlying what we would today call a Sinocaucasian primary stock stretching from the Atlas and Portugal to the Caucasus) Cushitic / Afroasiatic speakers with dark complexion and curled hair were dominant among early inhabitants of the Northern Mediterranean shore, with inroads as far as Northern Germany, – a group which, in Karst’s opinion, continued, linguistically and genetically, to constitute a distinct layer along the Northern Mediterranean shore at least into the first millennium BCE;
- Karst stresses (1931a: 70, 484) that the Nordic mythology and cosmogony as mediated in the *Edda*, however much appropriated by German nationalism and Nazism, is closely related to that of the Thracio-Pelasgian and Asianic cultural region – it would-be Palaeo-Pelasgian, hence (*cf.* the Pelasgian connotations of the Levant, Ancient Egypt, and the Ancient Israelites / Semites) scarcely conducive to be classified, in Naziist terms, as ‘Aryan’.

In a time obsessed (also for reasons of the legitimization of class and colonial privilege, and to create – in the persons of Jews and Gypsies – politically convenient outsiders and collective enemies, like in Nazi Germany) with ‘racial’ difference, Karst shows himself totally free from any idea of racial superiority or inferiority, and lets – whenever the data at his disposal point in that direction – historical groups happily derive from the miscegenation between Whites and Blacks, Semites and Indoaryans,¹⁶⁶ blond and Chinese phenotypes, *etc.* Karst also refuses to read even somatic types in common ethnonyms with colour references (White, Black, Red, Blue),¹⁶⁷ and demonstrates this to be the overlay of a scheme of abstract colour classification, to add an extra dimension to the historic actors’ ethnic classification. Anachronistic allegations of racism are easily made through the rhetorical technique of project-

¹⁶⁵ Karst 1931a: 72:

‘Es muss eine Zeit gegeben haben, da die große südliche oder liby-äthiopische Rasse mit der nordischen blonden oder hellhäutigen Hyperborärrasse räumlich benachbart zusammenstieß, so dass eine kontinuierliche, nur durch verschiedene regionale Variationen modifizierte Dolichocephalenrasse urzeitlich von Nordafrika bzw. Südwestasien bis nach dem mittleren und nördlichen Eurasien hinaufreichte.’

¹⁶⁶ Whereas the initially linguistic term ‘Aryans’, gradually also used for ethnic and archaeological identification (*e.g.* Childe 1926), was finally captured by Nazism as an accolade of Germanic superiority, and therefore can no longer be used in an academic context of ethnic studies, the term ‘Indoaryans’ has remained a viable designation of the speakers of the South-Eastern branch of Indo-European, mainly concentrated in South West Asia.

¹⁶⁷ Here a remark on the colour symbolism of major seas may be in order. The point had also Karst’s repeated attention. Here Emerson (1884) is relevant. She claims, with some plausibility, that the dedication of colour to the cardinal points is universal in Central Asia. The geographical names of the Red Sea, the Yellow Sea, the White Sea (the Mediterranean), and the Black Sea are said to evoke their geographic position – apparently as seen by a speaker situated in the Eastern Mediterranean, *e.g.* in Egypt, Crete, the Levant, or further East, in Central Asia.

ing today's political correctness and other modern concerns onto past people's attitudes and their behaviour, but such well-intended allegations simply do not apply in Karst's case.

However, at least one fundamental correction needs to be made to Karst's use of the term 'race'. In his hands, this term does not just mean 'population with distinct somatic features in the phenotype', but also 'cultural group'. In the emergent social sciences, culture theory along modern lines was first pioneered by Tylor c. 1870 CE, when the latter identified culture as everything a human being derives, not from his individual biology and psychology, but from being a member of his society – everything learned, socially controlled, inherited, and transmitted through the medium of language, or through non-verbal imitative behaviour, including the handling of material objects. Whereas Karst's approach was largely conceived in the 1920s, it was to take until the middle of the twentieth century before anthropological culture theory had come to be widely received in continental European linguistics and historical studies, so Karst inevitably missed this boat. Karst does display occasional and insignificant lapses into the cultural evolutionism of the late 19th century (where mankind was thought to go through a fixed series of evolutionary stages, the highest stage being, inevitably, that of 'civilisation' characterised by writing, statehood, organised religion, and (early or proto-)science). But beyond such occasional evolutionism, and the notion of 'race', Karst had no conceptual apparatus at his disposal to denote a human group whose members share both somatic phenotype, and linguistico-cultural traits of high specificity. In this respect his work is dated beyond repair and must be used with great caution. To put Karst's shortcomings on this point in proper perspective we need to realise that the conflation of phenotype, language and other aspects of culture was common practice among linguists, literary scholars, historians and cultural analysts throughout the first half of the twentieth century CE; towards the end of that century, such conflation was still the main shortcoming of the work of the otherwise enlightened and passionately left-wing Martin Bernal (1987-2006, 2001). Well into the 21st century, it is still a major weakness in Witzel's (2012) otherwise monumental synthesis of global mythology since the Middle Palaeolithic.

In his (non-)approach to culture, Karst was inevitably a child of his time. This is also clear from the great influence that cultural diffusionism (in the writings of such writers as Seligman, Elliot Smith, Perry) exerted on Karst's work. The idea of a cultural complex that comprised the erection of megaliths and the cult of a solar god, and that allegedly was spread across half the globe by prehistoric seafarers, may be picked up in Karst's work around 1930, but was already elaborated by Perry in 1923 (1923 / 1927 and precluded by Elliot Smith 1915 / 1929; also cf. Figs 5.1 and 5.2, below). Karst's notions in the field of physical anthropology owed much to the work of the Italian anthropologist Sergi, who already in 1901 formulated the hypothesis of a Mediterranean *population type* (Italian: *Il Stirpe Mediterraneo*, the title of Sergi's main book 1895 / 1901) allegedly extending all over the Mediterranean region and far beyond in prehistory – a physical anthropological notion which Karst adopted and more firmly grounded in comparative and historical linguistics.

Another major influence on Karst lay in Max Semper's (1930) and Herman Wirth's (1928) attempts to correlate specific forms of religion with specific ethnic groups in Ancient West Asia. The absence of an adequate theory of culture (or rather, the lack of reception of such a theory in the circles of philologists / Orientalists) drove Semper,¹⁶⁸ like Karst, and like

¹⁶⁸ Particularly in Karst 1931b, *Atlantis und der liby-äthiopische Kulturkreis*, Semper's influence is strong.

Wirth, into the arms of a biological paradigm in terms of ‘race’ – which prevented them from making the essential distinction between a population, the culture it owns (much of which it is likely to share with other such groups in the immediate and distant surroundings), and its language (again, which – or cognates of which – may also be spoken by other such groups in the immediate and distant surroundings). The conflation of gene pool, culture and language gives the totally wrong impression that ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity are forever fixed onto a population as a matter of immutable destiny – instead of recognising that the relationship between these three variables has to be constantly sustained, renewed, or as the case may be relaxed or denied, not by a mechanism of genetic heredity (designated as ‘race’ – by a now totally unacceptable term), but by a social process of interaction: notably by learning. Considering the times (of colonial, Nazi and fascist racism pervading public discourse throughout the North Atlantic region, ever since the rise of so-called scientific racism with de Gobineau; 1853, cf. Biddiss 1970; Poliakov 1974), it was difficult to avoid that such an approach would be infected with ideological, subordinative racism. Mild traces of this tendency may be spotted with Semper, e.g. (1930: § 94, 392 f.), where considerable civilising effect is attributed to the alleged Aryan element:

‘Es ist bekannt und bedarf keiner weiteren Erörterung, daß die Vorstellungswelten der gnostischen Systeme und des Manichäismus durch Synthese iranischer und babylonischer Elemente unter Hinzutritt jüdischer und christlicher entstanden sind, und ebenso besteht kaum ein Zweifel darüber, daß eine beträchtliche arische Kolonisation in Babylonien als Wirkung der dahin verlegten achämenidischen, arsacidischen und sassanidischen Residenzen Träger der geistigen Einkreuzung war, soweit der Mazdayasmus in Frage steht. Diese kulturelle Beeinflussung setzte schon früh in achämenidischer Zeit ein, denn es wird gestattet sein die Notiz Herodots (I, 131), nach welcher die Perser den Kult der Mitre (Anahita) von den Assyern (Babyloniern) neuerdings überkommen hätten, umgekehrt dahin auszulegen daß die Perser diese ihre Göttin erst vor kurzem in Babylon eingeführt hatten. Nur wenn man annimmt, Herodot habe eine Mitteilung dieses Inhalts mißverstanden und fehlgedeutet, läßt sich ja sein Bericht mit dem anderweitig festgestellten Sachverhalt in Einklang bringen.’

Wirth, however, although mystically celebrating the Germanic past and its cultural expressions (cf. a suspect title like *Die heilige Urschrift der Menschheit: Symbolgeschichtliche Untersuchungen diesseits und jenseits des Atlantik, I-II*; Wirth 1931-1936) had to fly Germany because of his open dismissal of Nazi ideology. Against this background, also Karst, apart from one or two lapses, seems to have adopted a remarkably decent stance as far as race is concerned.

4.3.2. Karst’s approach in the light of population genetics of the Cavalli-Sforza school

Precisely because Karst could not have the benefit of modern population genetics, it is interesting to assess how much of his work survives when considered from this particular modern vantage point.

Before the genetic revolution caused by the decipherment of the human genome, modern population genetics in the line of the Cavalli-Sforza school (e.g. Cavalli-Sforza et al. 1994) had revolved on multivariate analyses of extensive collections of samples of genetic material from all over the world. In multivariate analysis, specifically in factor analysis, the statistical *variance* in a sample is first mathematically / theoretically reduced to a purely theoretical model containing the mathematically *minimum number of (mutually non-correlating) factors, or principal components*, capable

of accounting for the variance within the data set, taking into account statistical noise *i.e.* chance fluctuation); subsequently the resulting mathematical model is projected onto the geographical map. Here we must never forget an important feature of such multivariate analyses: the distinct factors that such mathematical analysis produce *are mere mathematical constructs, blind and unidentified* – it is the analyst's creative interpretation of this mathematical pattern, against the background of previous experience and with much trial and error, that allows one to (provisionally) attach meaningful labels to the factors thus mathematically conjured up, such as 'spread of agriculture', 'Kurgan culture', 'spread of Islam', *etc.* There is nothing in this procedure that prevents other analysts to look at the same data set and, even after the same process of mathematical analysis, come up with rather different identifications, especially not since⁶⁹ each specific mathematical model that emerges tends to be highly determined (*as a research artefact*) by the specific choice of initial mathematical parameters with which the model is fed in addition to the empirical data set itself (Baxter 1994; Wilkinson 1986; Gorsuch 1983; Rozeboom 1992). If the data converge to a single descent line involving one particular gene whose presence can be attributed to a local mutation, the estimated rate of mutation gives a time scale – usually with error distributions running into thousands, sometimes tens of thousands of years.

Research of this type generally confirms (*e.g.* Maca-Meyer *et al.* 2003) the essentially East-West movement from West Asia to North Africa that is a fundamental feature of Karst's model, and interprets it – as we have seen – partly as return migration from Asia back into Africa, subsequent to the 'Out of Africa' population movement *c.* 80-60 ka BP.

A highly aggregate analysis of genetic variation in Asia (Cavalli-Sforza *n.d.*; Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1994) brings out five principal components, of which the three strongest are depicted here in Fig. 4.1.

1. The 'dominant' (as Cavalli-Sforza 1991 puts it) factor, (1),⁷⁰ clearly shows a process of West-East movement; this would seem to be counter to Karst's model, but may reflect prehistoric population movements in the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic, way before the Bronze Age on which Karst concentrates.
2. I am likewise somewhat at a loss to explain the second principal component, which at first glance would seem to suggest a solid NW – SE population movement starting in northernmost Siberia; the vectorial interpretation however is secondary, and an adequate way to read these data seems to be: the gradual retreat of a Eurasian residual population of hunter-gatherers to the extreme North, under the impact of enormous population expansion and pressure (due, no doubt, to the Neolithic invention of food production) in the South and East of Asia
3. It may be the ambiguous, two-directional factor (3) that testifies to the vicissitudes of the demic diffusion of Eurasiatic speaking populations. across the Eurasian Steppe belt – a movement greatly facilitated by the invention of horse rising and (from 2000 BCE) the spoked-wheel chariot; it is strongest in Japan and Korea.

⁶⁹ Apart from the production of statistical artefacts, for instance through *multicollinearity* – *i.e.* when factors have been included in the analysis as if they were mutually independent, yet they are functions of one another; *e.g.* when, in research on children, we operationalise and measure 'age' by 'bodily length', yet enter both 'age' and 'bodily length' into our multivariate analysis next to one another.

⁷⁰ If, however, the data must be considered to refer to the Bronze Age and later, then his factor appears to agree with the Eastbound vector of the 'cross model' in my Pelasgian Hypothesis, and with the distribution of thalassaemias across the old World – but the latter then conceived as a result of West-East movement, and not the other way around, as Oppenheimer 1998 has claimed.

Factors (4) and (5), not illustrated here, contrast presumably African influence in S.W. Arabia versus Caucasoid influence in North India; and the expansion of the Turkic peoples.

Clearly the factors identified in genetic analysis may refer to very different time depths, and should be used with great caution. In particular, the presence of a gradient (as indicated by arrows in Fig. 4.1) can be ambiguous, because such presence could also result, not from an active migration in the direction of the gradient, but from the expansion of a different factor in the direction opposite to the gradient, upon an otherwise stationary population.

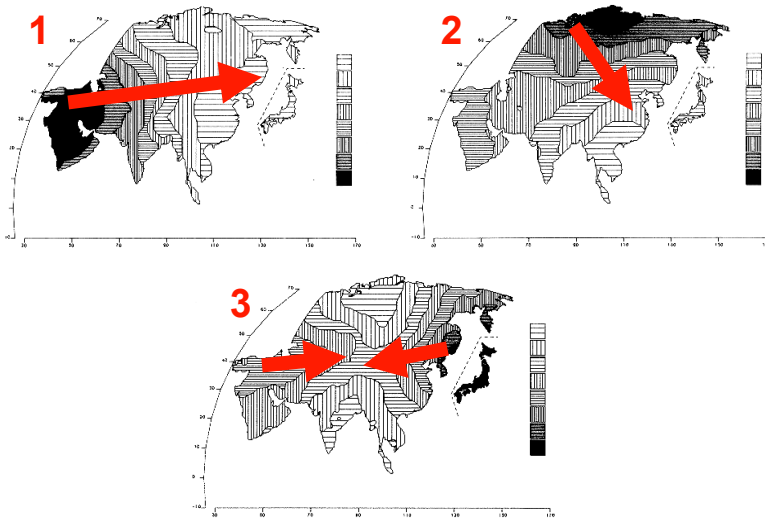


Fig. 4.1. Three main components in the genetic diversity of modern Asia (after Cavalli-Sforza 1991)

Regrettably but significantly, I see no possibility of bringing this relatively modern genetical analysis in agreement with Karst's claim, as cited above, concerning the parallel Westward extension into Atlantic Europe, of 'the two great East Asiatic phyla', notably 'the Mongols', and 'the Ainu-Hyperboreans / Inahidic' cluster.

Similar research was conducted for Europe alone, and one of the results is shown in Fig.4.2. The simple example pictured here shows how as much 73% (which is a very large percentage indeed, by statistical standards) of the total genetic variation for 95 classical polymorphisms within Europe can – by sheer mathematical procedure – be subsumed under as few as five distinct factors. Correlating the maps with known processes in European (proto-) history brings Cavalli-Sforza to identify, plausibly but perhaps with too much self-confidence, these factors as follows:

1. Spread of farming from the Near East¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Renfrew 1996; Ammerman & Cavalli-Sforza 1973, 1979. More recent studies have suggested that what was involved was not so much movement of peoples, but of ideas and technologies, and that the actual impact of population movement from the Near East as early farmers was very limited. Cf. Harris & Wood 1996; Underhill

2. Uralic immigration
3. Influx of Indo-European speaking pastoralists (*kurgan* culture; cf. Gimbutas 1970, 1965)
4. The expansion of the Greeks 1,000-500 BCE (but the second gradient, concentrated in Northernmost Europe where the Greeks scarcely penetrated, shows that other causes are at work, too, and that Cavalli-Sforza's identification had better be replaced by 'Uralic'¹⁷² expansion into Europe'
5. 'Retreat of the Basques', or rather, the increasing isolation of the West-Iberian Basque speaking population from the Asiatic and Eastern European populations with which it is more closely related, across a gap of more distantly related Western European populations

For Cavalli-Sforza, factor 5 is a reason to consider today's Basques as the lineal descendants of the Upper Palaeolithic artists of the Franco-Cantabrian region, albeit with an immigrant admixture from West Asia / Caucasus, which the model does not bring out specifically.

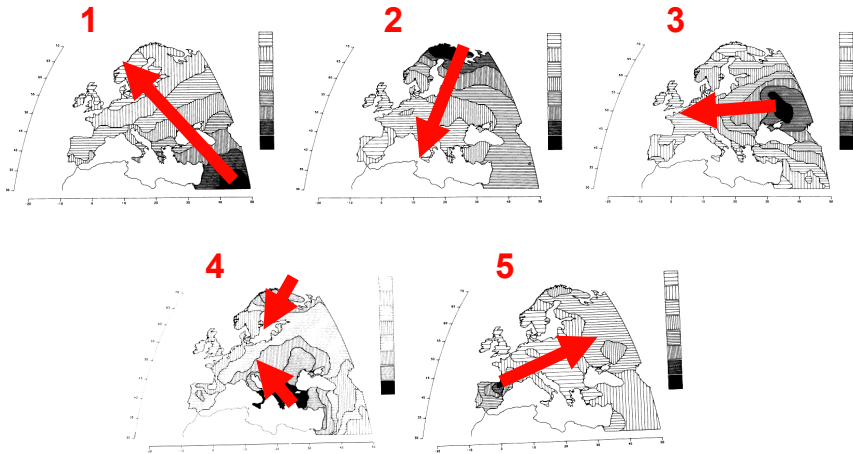


Fig. 4.2. How Cavalli-Sforza *et al* 1994 explain as much as 73% of the genetic variation in Europe from five factors with an apparent correspondence in established pre- and proto-history

Despite the negative result for Fig. 4.1., Fig. 4.2 *seems* to confirm, for the Mediterranean and Europe as a whole, the predominantly Westbound population movement that is a cornerstone of the Karstian model. Thus one of the main features of Karst's reconstruction has received

2003; Bellwood & Renfrew 2002; Militarev 2002. This could fault the agricultural identification of Cavalli-Sforza's Factor 1.

¹⁷² Of the Uralic-speaking peoples involved, we may mention the speakers of Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, and Hungarian.

considerable support from modern population genetics.¹⁷³ However, while Karst's time scale is measured in a handful of millennia, the modern work would instead suggests 10 to 20 ka.

In this connection it is important to realise that the idea of a massive migration from West Asia to the Mediterranean and Europe at large in later prehistory, was highly popular around 1900, and that it had been expressed (perhaps even inspired) by un-scientific, Theosophical and Anthroposophical ideas then circulating: the alleged emergence of humankind on the Ocean or Island Mu situated in the Pacific region, and the alleged subsequent conquest of the earth by the civilised Atlanteans hailing from South Asia. When Karst wrote, the idea of such a movement was a generally accepted collective representation, and as such could easily be transformed into the appearance of a serious scholarly paradigm. Modern approaches are no longer prepared to accept that paradigm lock, stock and barrel – in part because the underlying Eurocentrism has been exposed as hegemonic (since the 1960s, the peoples of Africa and Asia are no longer under European colonial domination, and formerly self-evident hierarchies had to be revised), in part also because several new hypotheses stressing an East-West movement across Eurasia have emerged: the Back-into-Africa Hypothesis, and the Sunda Hypothesis (by such authors as Oppenheimer, Dick-Read, and Tauchman); my Pelasgian Hypothesis stipulates East-West (and South-North) movement inside Europe, but West-East movement into Asia (as well as North-South movement into Africa)

When Karst wrote, genetics was still in its adolescence, and even the classic approaches which yielded the dominant insights of the 1980s-1990 on the basis of classic genetic markers, have meanwhile been supplanted by the results from far more precise analyses arrived at through molecular biology. Here is what this means for the peopling of Europe:

'Who are Europeans? Both prehistoric archaeology and, subsequently, classical population genetics have attempted to trace the ancestry of modern Europeans back to the first appearance of agriculture in the continent; however, the question has remained controversial. Classical population geneticists attributed the major pattern in the European gene pool to the demographic impact of Neolithic farmers dispersing from the Near East, but archaeological research has failed to uncover substantial evidence for the population growth that is supposed to have driven this process. Recently, molecular approaches, using non-recombining genetic marker systems, have introduced a chronological dimension by both allowing the tracing of lineages back through time and dating using the molecular clock. Both mitochondrial DNA and Y-chromosome analyses have indicated *a contribution of Neolithic Near Eastern lineages to the gene pool of modern Europeans of around a quarter or less. This suggests that dispersals bringing the Neolithic to Europe may have been demographically minor and that contact and assimilation had an important role*' (Richards 2003; my italics).

Modern genetics thus no longer confirm so massively the emphasis on a predominantly East-West movement which Karst believes to discern for the proto-historical Mediterranean. Yet the general plausibility of the idea of the spread of Indo-European and other branches of the Eurasiatic macrophyllum through demic diffusion¹⁷⁴ finds some support in recent, molecular-genetics research:

¹⁷³ For early molecular-biology discussions of major population movements at continental level, which could have brought a Karstian analysis up to the point when genetics using classic markers was supplanted by molecular approaches, cf.: Newman 1995; Cruciani *et al.* 2002; Cavalli-Sforza n.d.; Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1994. In the meantime, numerous more recent studies have added greater precision to these initial explorations.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. van Binsbergen 2012: 11, n8:

The archaeological expression "demic diffusion" designates the common phenomenon in cultural history, that cultural traits may travel as a result of geographical displacement of a population segment possessing these traits. Since culture is not transmitted genetically but is per definition obtained

‘The hypothesis that both genetic and linguistic similarities among Eurasian and North African populations are due to demic diffusion of Neolithic farmers is tested against a wide database of allele frequencies. Demic diffusion of farming and languages from the Near East should have determined clines in areas defined by linguistic criteria; the alternative hypothesis of cultural transmission does not predict clines. Spatial autocorrelation analysis shows significant gradients in three of the four linguistic families supposedly affected by Neolithic demic diffusion; the Afroasiatic family is the exception. Many such gradients are not observed when populations are jointly analyzed, regardless of linguistic classification. This is incompatible with the hypothesis that major cultural transformations in Eurasia (diffusion of related languages and spread of agriculture) took place without major demographic changes. The model of demic diffusion seems therefore to provide a mechanism explaining coevolution of linguistic and biological traits in much of the Old World. Archaeological, linguistic, and genetic evidence agree in suggesting a multidirectional process of gene flow from the Near East in the Neolithic. However, the possibility should be envisaged that some allele frequency patterns can predate the Neolithic and depend on the initial spread of *Homo sapiens sapiens* from Africa into Eurasia.’ (Barbujani *et al.* 1994)

By ever more detailed, recent molecular-genetic methodologies, we arrive at an overall picture of the relations between West Asia and the Mediterranean that does not differ too much from Karst’s:

‘The phylogeography of Y-chromosome haplogroups E (Hg E) and J (Hg J) was investigated in >2,400 subjects from 29 populations, mainly from Europe and the Mediterranean area but also from Africa and Asia. The observed 501 Hg E and 445 Hg J samples were subtyped using 36 binary markers and eight microsatellite loci. Spatial patterns reveal that (1) the two sister clades, J-M267 and J-M172, are distributed differentially within the Near East, North Africa, and Europe; (2) J-M267 was spread by two temporally distinct migratory episodes, the most recent one probably associated with the diffusion of Arab people; (3) E-M81 is typical of Berbers, and its presence in Iberia and Sicily is due to recent gene flow from North Africa; (4) J-M172(xM12) distribution is consistent with a Levantine / Anatolian dispersal route to South-Eastern Europe and may reflect the spread of Anatolian farmers; and (5) E-M78 (for which microsatellite data suggest an Eastern African origin) and, to a lesser extent, J-M12(M102) lineages would trace the subsequent diffusion of people from the Southern Balkans to the West. A 7%-22% contribution of Y chromosomes from Greece to Southern Italy was estimated by admixture analysis.’ (Semino *et al.* 2004)

Turning now to Karst’s treatment of the Basques and the Basque language (one of his specialisms), here again his views may not find general support among modern linguists and geneticists. On the basis of the identification of highly local clades specific for the Franco-Cantabrian region, Cavalli-Sforza proposes, as we have seen above, to identify the Basques as the direct local descendants of the Late Upper Palaeolithic (ca. 12,000 BCE) artists of Lascaux and Altamira, which would suggest a remarkably stable primal population in that region for rather more than ten thousand years. This finding however may not be incompatible with Karst’s suggestion that the Basque language emerged as a result of interaction of Caucasian immigrants on the Iberian peninsula ca. 2,000 BCE. Although Basque contains extensive Caucasian elements, in line with the presence of cultic and onomastic material from the Caucasus, it is certainly not identical to Caucasian, and its place in the Sinocaucasian or Nostratic / Eurasianic proposed macro-families is still contested. The decisive language shift, postulated by Karst, from Proto-Ligurian (in the Karstian model: presumably some form of Altaic, and more likely Uralic, akin to Sumerian and Finno-Ugric, but with a considerable Cushitic substrate and possibly also Khoisan and Nigercongo substrates) to Basque under influence of a Caucasian

through a learning process based on social communication with other humans, demic diffusion is by no means the only way in which cultural traits may travel – much diffusion of culture has taken place through communication, without any, or hardly any, population movement being involved.’

import language need not have involved such a massive population influx from the Caucasus that it would have obscured the pattern of local genetic continuity which Cavalli-Sforza claims for the Franco-Cantabrian region (also *cf.*, in support, Forster 2004: mtDNA Type H). In fact, the subsequent Eastbound return migration associated with Basquoid languages, which Karst claims for after 2000 BCE, is not in contradiction with the data summarised in Fig.4.2.

Meanwhile, Karst seems to have been right in claiming a somewhat exceptional position for the inhabitants of North-Eastern Spain and of Sardinia, within the total scene of the Bronze Age Mediterranean. In *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (2011: Section 2.8, pp. 57 *f.*) we asked ourselves if the scholarly perception of ethnic conflicts as persistent through the ages, does correspond with historical reality, or could be an epistemological artefact, in the sense that subconsciously our scientific categories are chosen in such a way that they seem to confirm, and allow for the projection into the very distant past, of ethnic boundaries and lines of contestation that in fact only emerged in very recent modern times. This is an important note of caution. The concern expressed here was shared by Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* (1994: Fig. 5.5.3, p. 271), and they present a map of Europe showing major lines of rupture involving ethnic and linguistic conflicts – with the useful lesson (which goes against the grain of modern constructivist theories of ethnogenesis among anthropologists) *that many of these cleavages have persisted for centuries if not millennia*. Therefore, as far as empirical scientific (in this case, genetic) findings are concerned, I am satisfied that the exceptional position of the Basques, and of the Sardinians for that matter, cannot be totally relegated to being a reflection of present-day conflict and nothing more – contrary to what MacClancy (1993) suggests. As a state-of-the-art summary of the findings has it:

'The most outstanding feature in the West Mediterranean genetic landscape is the outlier position of Sardinians and Basques shown by classical genetic markers (Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1994; Calafell & Bertranpetit 1994; Cappello *et al.* 1996) and Y-chromosome polymorphisms (Caglia *et al.* 1997; Scozzari *et al.* 2001; Bosch *et al.* 2001), although not so pronounced in the Basques. Nevertheless, mtDNA¹⁷⁵ data reveals no differences between these two populations and the rest of European populations. This has also been shown in Basques by analysis of 11 Alu insertion polymorphisms in West Mediterranean populations.' (Plaza *et al.* 2003: 315).

Another genetic study published in the same year however somewhat mitigates Sardinia's outsider position within the Mediterranean, which we still strongly emphasised in *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (2011: 93, n. 207, on the authority of Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1994 and Scozzari *et al.* 2001):

'Population genetics of Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia: (Francalacci *et al.* 2003): An informative set of biallelic polymorphisms was used to study the structure of Y-chromosome variability in a sample from the Mediterranean islands of Corsica and Sicily, and compared with data on Sardinia to gain insights into the ethnogenesis of these island populations. The results were interpreted in a broader Mediterranean context by including in the analysis neighboring populations previously studied with the same methodology. All samples studied were enclosed in the comparable spectrum of European Y-chromosome variability. Pronounced differences were observed between the islands as well as in the percentages of haplotypes previously shown to have distinctive patterns of continental phylogeography. Approximately 60% of the Sicilian haplotypes are also prevalent in Southern Italy and Greece. Conversely, the Corsican sample had elevated levels of alternative haplotypes common in Northern Italy. Sardinia showed a haplotype ratio similar to that observed in Corsica, but with a remarkable difference in the presence of a lineage defined by marker M26, which approaches 35% in Sardinia but seems absent in Corsica. Although geographically adjacent, the data suggest different colonization histories and a minimal amount of recent gene flow between them. Our results identify possible ancestral continental sources of the various island populations

¹⁷⁵ mtDNA: Mitochondrial DNA (Desoxy-riboNucleic Acid), a protein transmitting an hereditary trait located in the mitochondria (small insular bodies in the cellular nucleus) and exclusively transmitted in the maternal line.

and underscore the influence of founder effect and genetic drift. The Y-chromosome data are consistent with comparable mtDNA data at the RFLP haplogroup level of resolution, as well as linguistic and historic knowledge.' (Fracalacci *et al.* 2003).

The implication of such findings for Karst's work are not so easy to spell out, because that work was not formulated in terms of modern population genetics. I am tempted to see these modern results as confirmation: in Karst's model, the Basques and inhabitants of Sardinia constitute relatively primal populations which however have yet intensely participated in the percolation of people all across the Mediterranean from prehistoric times to the present; hence one would expect both a relative outlier position, and an overall continuity – just what the findings show. And also for the Mediterranean as a whole the match between the state-of-the-art literature with Karst's models is somewhat remarkable, even though modern population genetics research allows for much greater precision and reliability of findings than Karst's pioneering onomastico-linguistics explorations could possibly provide, and tends to operate with much longer time scales than Karst does.

To the state-of-the-art genetic markers, identifiable through detailed micro-analysis of the human genome, a classic non-genetic, macroscopic one may be added: the negative Rhesus factor in human blood, which reaches an exceptionally high percentage level among the Basque population today. Here we might have one simple test for the validity of Karst's model of a Basquoid Eastbound return migration c. 2000 BCE, giving rise to a chain of Basquoid maritime peoples in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean including the Syro-Palestinian coast (as incipient 'Sea Peoples' of the historical Episode of that name). If the modern littoral and island populations in these parts of the Mediterranean could be shown to share the exceptional Basque position in regard of the genetic markers and, especially, the Rhesus negative factor, that would be a strong argument in favour of Karst. But so far I have failed to scrutinise the relevant literature on this point.

4.4. Karst, archaeology and the social sciences in general

4.4.1. General

As far as archaeology is concerned, the study of the ethnicity of the Sea Peoples would be an excellent context for archaeology's confrontation with Karst's work, and so would be the study of the *Table of Nations*.

On certain points, possibilities which Karst had to keep open, or which he specifically privileged on the basis of onomastic and more general linguistic considerations, will now appear impossible in the light of today's much more extensive archaeological evidence. On other points, there will be a correction of Karst's one-sidedness.

For instance, Karst identifies, on systematic grounds (since Central Asia, especially 'Turan' or Bactria, features as the original reference and point of departure for many of the chains of Choric Oscillation that he analyses), the Tarim basin as the Lake Tritonia that was allegedly the scene of the goddess' Athena's birth. Here, interesting new perspectives open up with the find of the Tarim

mummies (Mallory & Mair 2000), with their strong suggestion of European somatic type and by implication probably Indo-European language, in the environment where Tocharian was actually discovered a century ago. This ties in with other work, e.g. Davis-Kimball's advances in the archaeology of the South Ural mountains (Davis-Kimball with Behan 2002), suggestive of a similar Eastbound movement with, incidentally, remarkable Amazonian features.

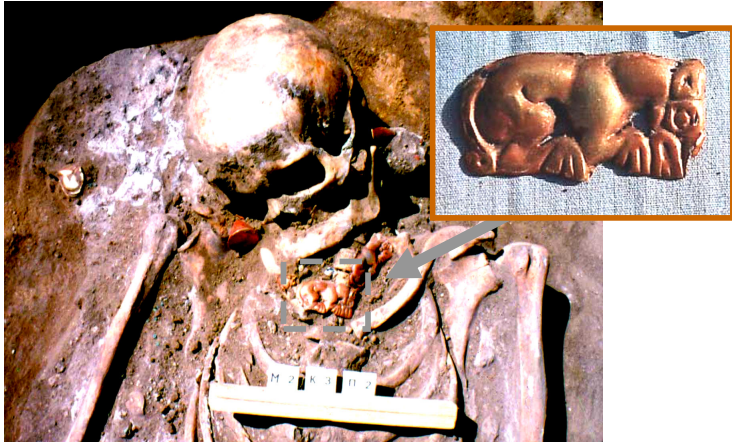


Fig. 4.3. Archaeological research by Jeannine Davis-Kimball c.s. (2002) has found evidence that, a few millennia before the Common Era, the Southern Uralic region was under the sway of warrior priestesses among whose grave goods golden figurines of leopards are conspicuous.

For, contrary to the postmodern deconstruction by Blok (1991, 1995) and others, the Amazons were clearly not just a myth of perverted male chauvinism projected onto the periphery of the world as known to the Ancients, and nothing more – the Amazons are now beginning to have a tangible archaeological reality. Interesting though this work is, it appears to merely add an auxiliary *Eastbound* component to the generally *Westbound* flow of cultural influence as stressed by Karst and by the *Ex Oriente Lux* movement (and confirmed as the *Back-into-Africa* movement by recent genetic research). However, far from being the dominant paradigm in North Atlantic scholarship in the first half of the twentieth century CE, the *Westbound* movement was not highly regarded. On the contrary, it was the *Eastbound* direction that was then privileged,¹⁷⁶ for geopolitical / hegemonic and ethnocentric reasons. Meanwhile the empirical evidence for the *Westbound* component was building up, and it was masterfully synthesised in Joseph Needham's and Wang Ling's work, with emphasis on the constant flow, through the millennia, of numerous *Westbound* cultural including scientific influences from China to the Middle East and to Europe.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ A case in point is the evidence (or is it merely early perspectival distortion?) on the spread of agricultural terms and implements from Western to Eastern Eurasia, Leser 1928. Present-day Chinese archaeologists have sought to reverse this equation.

¹⁷⁷ Needham with Wang Ling, 1954: *Volume I. Introductory Orientations*. I may point out that the embryologist and historian of Chinese science Joseph Needham (as a close friend of Martin Bernal's father: the biochemist and science historian John Desmond Bernal Sr; both scientists shared a Marxist outlook, but such an ideological position, however refreshing and liberating, can scarcely be considered a *result* of their professional disciplinary research), was a major influence upon Martin Bernal Jr. even though the latter trained as a Sinologist. Incidentally, although Martin had been legitimated by his father, his parents were never officially married – as state of affairs then (1937) and in those circles (in

In all fairness, we should not attach too much importance to an archaeological assessment of Karst's work. In general, it has proven already extremely difficult to match archaeology with today's linguistic analysis and theory.¹⁷⁸ It would be unfair to demand for Karst's (1931a) primarily linguistic approach an archaeological underpinning which even for today's linguistics remains largely absent. Given the theoretical and methodological orientation of my present contribution, as well as my own non-specialist archaeological status, I cannot pursue this empirical dimension here, beyond a few passing remarks.

Archaeology is clearly the weakest point in Karst's approach to Mediterranean proto-history. Beyond a fascination for megaliths as (far too recent, for generally Bronze Age) markers of the postulated migrations of his hypothetical Atlanteans, he scarcely considers the need to underpin his onomastic analyses with tangible archaeological data. His lack of attention for Egyptian, Minoan, Hittite, Mesopotamian, Indus *etc.* excavations shows him to be lagging behind the pace of archaeology in his own time. Hence we note a number of essential errors:

1. In addition to such obsolete views as are highlighted by the inevitable advances in archaeology since Karst's times,¹⁷⁹
2. he makes fatal errors of periodisation
3. believes in prehistoric empires
4. believes in geologically impossible land bridges
5. and struggles with the problem of Atlantis
6. yet makes some sound archaeological points, especially in connection with Ancient Egypt.

Let me discuss these points one by one.

Martin's own words: 'the *Bohemian* fringe of the British upper class' – Martin's maternal grandfather Alan Gardiner was the leading British Egyptologist of his time, and as owner of a Malawi tea estate a millionaire (to boot) far more frowned upon than in North Atlantic cosmopolitan society today. As Martin stated in an in-depth interview at my home following the Leiden 1996 *Black Athena* conference, the devastating awareness of being illegitimate was a major driving force in his exceptional and exceptionally ambitious career – as it has been in that of William the Conqueror (c. 1028-1087 CE), Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904), Oprah Winfrey (1954 -), and perhaps in mine.

¹⁷⁸ As the controversies around the origin and spread of the Indo-European language family have demonstrated; cf. Hencken 1955; Mallory 1989; Renfrew 1987; Gimbutas 1990; Hawkes 1987; Anthony 1995; Nichols 1997; Blench & Spriggs I-IV 1997-2000; Woudhuizen 2018; also cf. the footnote above on the lack of agreement between archaeological and linguistic approaches on this point.

¹⁷⁹ Apart from the growth of archaeological knowledge through more excavations, there is also the growth of theory, which has become much more systematic, with minute attention to small significant detail, extreme regional and thematic specialisation, the rejection of sweeping long-range generalisations, and the search for sophisticated theoretical models often of a processual kind, occasionally even mathematical. This makes archaeology one of the most exciting fields of scholarship today – to which, however, I have largely remained an outsider. Apart from my endeavours, with Fred Woudhuizen, in the field of Sea Peoples studies (2011, privileged by inclusion in the British Archaeology Reports International Series) my explorations in archaeology have largely remained limited to (a) the Black Athena debate (van Binsbergen 1997 / 2011); (b) archaeoastronomy and (c) an examination of the possibility of constructing an archaeology of religion with purely archaeological methods (for b and c topics see van Binsbergen 2018).

4.4.2. Aspects of growth in archaeology since Karst

Karst's insistence on complexity and his reliance, for the analysis of ancient patterns of ethnicity, largely on onomastic and linguistic data (without much of an input from archaeology) is refreshing and leads, especially for the *Table of Nations* and the Sea Peoples, to interesting and in part plausible results. However, this leaves us with the formidable task of confronting Karst's interpretations not only with what archaeology had already achieved by the first quarter of the twentieth century but also with the massive empirical evidence that these disciplines have brought to light in the three quarters of a century which have elapsed since.

For instance, some of the names of *Genesis 10* have apparent parallels in the Mari texts, which were not yet available to Karst. This parallelism would seem to favour an interpretation of the *Table of Nations* in local terms prevailing in Northern Mesopotamia in the early second millennium BCE, which is almost exactly the impression created by *Genesis 10* itself. Such an interpretation would be at variance with Karst's, who claims that the *Table of Nations* contains oblique, but decodable reflections of major prehistoric (Neolithic, partly even Mesolithic and Upper Palaeolithic) population movements and divisions which, far from being confined to Palestine and immediate surroundings, encompass much of the entire Old World. It is not so easy to make out which view is to be preferred, for, if Karst is right, the historical actors associated with the emergence of the Biblical texts in first half of the first millennium BCE would, even in their own local use of ethnonyms and toponyms, be regurgitating a corpus of much older ethnonyms and toponyms referring to more ancient and more widespread Old World processes.

Of course, the onomastic material deriving from Graeco-Roman, Mesopotamia and Egyptian written sources was largely available by 1931, and therefore the huge onomastic data set with which Karst had to work, is essentially valid and largely complete – which does not mean the same for his conclusion, of course. On the other hand, there have been very substantial additions in the three quarters of a century since Karst wrote: Gardiner's masterly study of Egyptian onomastica (1947), the decipherment of Linear B (1953), the discovery of Mari (1932, too late for Karst to take into account) and of Ebla (1975), much more work on Hittite, the discovery of the Indus valley civilisation (already by the late 19th century, but main publications only from 1930s, starting with Marshall 1931 and inevitably not taken into account by Karst). New documents have been found or have been made more accessible, in Etruscan, Hittite, Elamite, Eblaite, Linear-B, Cretan Hieroglyphic, Luwian, etc.; thus one of the innovations to recommend Woudhuizen's study (2006) is that he adduces, to the field of Sea Peoples studies, relatively new documents in Cypriotic and Etruscan.

We cannot reproach Karst merely for having written around 1930, when the archaeology of Europe was only coming into its own with the work of Childe, Stubbings, Blegen, van Giffen, when the heritage of Montelius, Schliemann, Kossina and Evans was dominating the field, when Hittite and Tocharian studies were a new field, and when the integrated chronology of the Ancient Mediterranean, based on Egyptian and Mesopotamian king lists and Egyptian pottery, was still a major puzzle although decisively illuminated by Petrie's relative dating of Egyptian pottery (cf. Petrie & Quibell 1896; Petrie 1953). Inevitably, the phenomenal expanse of this field in the three quarters of a century that have since passed, renders absolutely obsolete most of what Karst has to say, seems to say, or could have said, in the archaeological field. Particularly, his central emphasis on an overall Westbound movement, however

apparently confirmed by geneticists and linguists of an earlier vintage, strikes us to day as a one-sided 'Ex oriente lux' paradigm, as if it is *only* from Asia (and never from Africa,¹⁸⁰ let alone Europe) that early cultural, political and religious initiative could emerge. Subsequent developments in European archaeology (with which such names are associated as Renfrew, Piggott, Gimbutas, to mention but a few) have corrected this imbalance, stressing the great cultural initiatives all over Europe, including the Aegean and throughout the Mediterranean, since the Neolithic. Yet this shift of emphasis affects Karst's work less than one would expect. For it is mainly in Karst's scenario for the Neolithic and earlier that the role attributed to Asia is particularly decisive. His specific model for Mediterranean Bronze Age proto-history largely relies on *intra*-Mediterranean percolation, but also here the flow of cultural, political and religious initiative is mainly thought to emanate from the Mediterranean to the North, and not (as more recent work, including that on the Danube region and on the Sea Peoples, has sought to bring out, with lesser or greater success) also the other way around. Meanwhile, apart from such forgiveable obsolescence, there are more serious, and avoidable, errors in Karst's work from an archaeological point of view.

4.4.3. Fatal errors of periodisation

Careless periodisation attends Karst's view of the main migrations from South Central Asia to the West (for instance, Karst 1931a: 234 *f.* n. 1, 238 *f.*, n. 1). Karst situates

1. a (in his eyes rather, 'the') major Westward migration from South and South East Asia to North Africa and Western Europe in the 'middle-glacial period'; which is vague and confusing enough but might be read to correspond with the arrival of Anatomically Modern Man in France – which modern archaeology dates at c. 40 ka BP –, or with the height of glaciation in Europe during the last Ice Age, c. 20 ka BP. Yet
2. he sees this migratory path marked by megaliths, which modern archaeology consensually considers a Bronze Age (5000-2000 BP) expression.

More examples could be cited. When a linguist sets out to write prehistory, historians must be on their guard! (and the same applies, of course, when anthropologists and intercultural philosophers, like myself, set out to do the same...).

¹⁸⁰ The Afrocentrist argument, including Bernal's *Black Athena* version of it: although Bernal admits Phoenician and Mesopotamian influence upon the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Aegean, his conception of 'the Afroasiatic roots of classical civilisation' is predominantly in terms of Ancient Egypt as an Afroasiatic speaking culture. The next step, of Ancient Egypt as a predominantly African culture, is easily made, by Afrocentrists from Blyden and W.E.B. Du Bois to Diop, van Sertima and Asante, and by Bernal (although he clearly lacked the specialist Africanist knowledge to argue his case at the archaeological and cultural level, and remains unconvincing in a wholesale conflation of language, culture and phenotype). Having toyed with the same idea in the mid-1990s, it soon dawned upon me that Ancient Egypt has a crucial iconographical, mythological, linguistic, religious and cultural *West Asian* component, especially in the Delta, which is continuous with Syro-Palestine, Sumer, and Asia Minor, and cannot (van Binsbergen 2011; *pace* Hofmann 1980; Petrie 1914; Budge 1973 / 1911; Celenko 1996) by any stretch of the imagination be reduced to *then recent* influences from sub-Saharan Africa. Admittedly, given the Out-of-Africa Exodus, ultimately an African provenance must be acknowledged, but then in a perspective of tens of ka. Meanwhile a number of considerations (Dierk Lange's work on West Asian influx in Africa during the late Bronze / Early Iron Age; my own Pelasgian Hypothesis) would lead us to occasionally reverse the direction of the vectorial arrow, and to discern West Asian traits in sub-Saharan Africa, instead of merely the other way around.

Considering that Karst wrote three quarters of a century ago, what is surprising is not that much of his specific pronouncements are one-sided and wrong particularly in the field of archaeology, but that so much of his overall approach would appear to be still valuable and even uniquely enlightening for ethnic studies. This is only surprising if we see the history of science as a constant bulldozing advance of ever more detailed and more sophisticated data collection – with expanding disciplines such as archaeology and anthropology, Karst could never hope to remain up to standards of empirical analysis across a gap of three quarters of a century of science history. However, when it comes to theory, a totally different pattern emerges. Even in a field that is often regarded as exemplary for scientific research, fundamental physics, many of the absolutely leading ideas inspiring today's research were formulated nearly a century ago (quantum physics and the theory of relativity). Other sciences may show a different mix between very new ideas and those that are half a century old or even older. But for instance, also in the social sciences, in philosophy, and in psychiatry, very fundamental inspiration is still derived from a handful of founding fathers from around 1900: Durkheim,¹⁸¹ Marx, Weber, Pareto, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Dilthey, Freud. I am not suggesting that Karst is of such stature that he should be counted among their midst, but at least the scientific point needs to be dismissed that no book older than a decade should guide current research.

4.4.4. 'Prehistoric empires'

A decidedly unacceptable aspect of Karst's work is his tendency to speak of extensive prehistoric 'empires' (*Reiche*) for remote prehistoric periods in which prevailing modes of production precluded the continued generation, storage, management and transmission / redistribution of the kind of surplus without which a state cannot survive. For such claims he can adduce no other support than the distribution of a series of vaguely similar ethnonyms and toponyms, and the (often mythical) testimony of ancient writers. Without reflection on the technological requirements, both in the productive and in the organisational sphere (which would all point to a Neolithic or post-Neolithic context), Karst sees extensive state structures, 'empires', as the most obvious way to establish linguistic continuity.

Hence also his dream of a tremendous Egyptian prehistoric empire stretching all over North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean

'Kuschitische Hamiten haben zahlreiche Spuren in Hispanien und Sizilien hinterlassen. Das berberische Element ist anthropologisch und topographisch im prähistorischen Gallien, Norditalien und in Mitteleuropa nachweisbar. *Ein gewaltiges Aegypterreich* [my italics – WvB] erstreckte sich einst in gräuser Vorzeit über Nordafrika, wo die Guanchenkultur noch im Mittelalter einen ägyptoiden Charakter zeigte, und über Hesperien bis ins Alpenland hinein. Dass dabei auch völkische Elemente der ägypto-hamitischen Spezies weit ins nordliche Mittelmeerbecken, nach Nordostspanien, Etrurien und in die Aegäis durchsicherten und in festen Siedelungen sich ansetzten, geht aus archäologischen Funden und altertümlichen Überlieferungen der griechischen Stämme über vorhistorische Ägypterkolonien in Hellas, Einführung ägyptischer Kulte und dergleichen mehr hervor.' (Karst 1931b: ch. IV) [

Clearly, this is one of the relatively limited instances where Karst approaches Bernal's (1987,

¹⁸¹ I have recently concluded half a century of Durkheim-inspired religious research with a book *Confronting the Sacred* (2018) in which I vindicate Durkheim as the author of the most incisive and valid social-science theory of religion to date.

1991) Egyptocentrism, with characteristic themes such as the Egyptian colonisation of the Greek mainland in the third millennium.

In order to organise an empire, there are considerable technological requirements in terms of communication, social organisation, and surplus production. There is no reason whatsoever to assume that these requirements could be met anywhere before the Neolithic inception of planned and managed food production through the domestication of food crops and animals. But it is not impossible that in the near future the beginnings of this process will be set well before the somewhat magical date of 10,000 BCE. For the Neolithic and after, the claim of hitherto undiscovered or unrecognised kingdoms, states and even empires is not totally unrealistic: since 1800 CE, archaeology and linguistics have uncovered several major such political organisations (Sumer, Minoan Greece, the Indus civilisation, and more recently the Bactria-Sogdiana Complex, Jiroft, and Khambhat, for which historical documents from Antiquity had left us totally, or largely, unprepared.¹⁸² Quite possibly, comparative historical linguistics and the distribution of ancient, partly mythical, ethnonyms and toponyms (Atlantis!) can help us find more such unrecognised complexes – as it could be argued that some of Karst's suggestions (those concerning the centrality of the 'Turan' region, and of an 'Atlantis' on the Near Indian coast) precluded on several of these more recent discoveries. As we shall see below (end of Section 4.4.6), in the time Karst wrote his *magnum opus*, Frobenius claimed indications of a major Indian- and Buddhist-orientated empire in Southern Africa centring on the title of *Mbedzi* – and nearly a century later this appears to be fact rather than fantasy (van Binsbergen 2020). But even so, Karst used the term *Reich* ('empire') far too uncritically, also in terms of his own approach.

For, in terms of Karst's own method, ancient reports on mighty kings ruling, even conquering, extensive lands in the legendary past, should be deprived of their political aspect: they are to be understood as symbolic statements where such kings merely stand for peoples, as he claims to be the case for mythical heroes, demiurges ('Logos figures'), and great priests, founders of a religion. Karst should have realised that the equation can also be reversed: if legends on ancient kings convey simply a reminiscence of an ancient people otherwise lost in time, the royal format of that legend is a projection of the later transmitters of that legend, of forms of political organisation familiar to them. If Nimrod stands for an ancient 'Turanic' people, then Nimrod only became a king, not because an ancient Nimrod 'empire' was once a reality, but because kingship was a major form of political organisation in the Late Bronze Age when vague reminiscences of 'Nimrod' were circulating, and hence the most obvious way to represent an ancient people was by personifying that people into a legendary king.

In Karst's approach, the claim of such 'empires' is quite peripheral to the main argument; they must be understood, more diffusely, as 'politico-ethnic realm', in other words a claim for the geographic extension of a population and / or language group without any implications as to unified and complex political organisation. Such a relatively minor revision would make his work much more acceptable to the reader today.

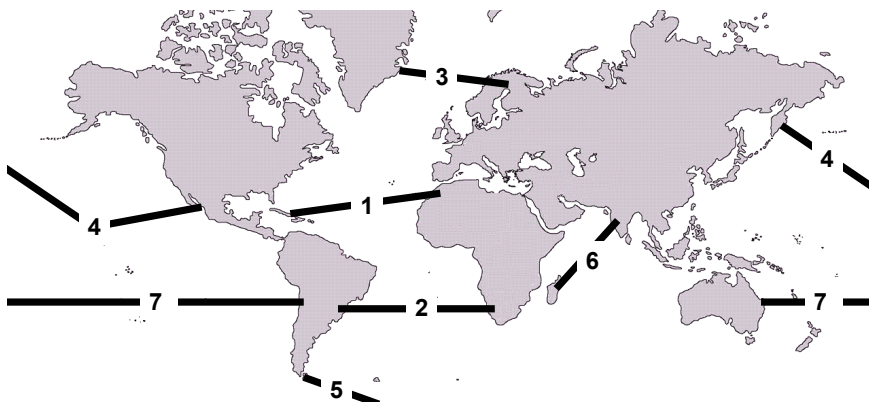
4.4.5. Sunken 'land bridges' and transcontinental maritime contacts

Convinced that the seas were impossible to navigate in remote Antiquity, and that the then available nautical technology was hopelessly inadequate, modern writers on such transcontinental continuity as could hardly be denied, yet was difficult to explain without long-distance sea travel, in the early 20th

¹⁸² Madjidzadeh 2003. One conceivable reason for their obscurity may have been their non-existence – at least, the industry of fraudulent recent artefacts around these sites has grown to massive proportions.

century frequently took recourse to the fantasy of extensive *land bridges*¹⁸³ supposedly allowing human populations to make a transcontinental crossing otherwise inconceivable. Such imaginary land bridges¹⁸⁴ were thought to feature in the Mediterranean Sea, and across the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans.

Marcou's original inspiration (1857-1860) for this now bizarre idea, for which there was not the slightest direct evidence in modern oceanographic / geological observations, were the unmistakable oddities in the global distribution of animal and plant species, *e.g.* the occurrence of *Marsupialia* in both Australia and South America (separated by the entire extent of the Pacific Ocean), or of *Lemurian* primates or their fossils in both Madagascar and India.



1. Archatlantis from the West Indies to North Africa
2. Archhelenis from Brazil to South Africa
3. Archiboreis in the North Atlantic
4. Archigalenis from Central America through Hawaii to North-East Asia
5. Archinotis from South America to Antarctica
6. Lemuria¹⁸⁵ in the Indian Ocean
7. Marsupials between South America and Australia

data derived from: Anonymous, 'Land bridge'

Fig. 4.4. Sunken land bridges proposed in the 19th c. CE and now radically rejected

¹⁸³ By analogy with, *e.g.*, the present-day Lesser Sunda Islands and land bridges leading towards New Guinea / Australia (Karafet *c.s.* 2005); or the present-day Aleutian islands between Asia and North America; Laughlin 1980; Williams *et al.* 1985; Colinvaux 1964. On recent mainstream views concerning the vital importance of Beringia as a land bridge between Asia and the Americas, *cf.* Tamm *et al.* 2007. And even such an apparently well-established point has come under attack in modern identity politics, with Native Americans (*e.g.* the writer and Nakota activist Vine Deloria, Jr) dismissing the idea of an Asian background for their people as disqualifying and dispossessing (Anonymous, 'Indigenous peoples of North America'; Lee *c.s.* 2001; Stone 2003). Implicitly Deloria's line of argument, like many Afrocentrist writers's argument, amounts to *essentialising* constructed identity positions within today's global politics of knowledge; and therefore, while worthy of our sympathy, as a claim to historical factuality invites suspicion.

¹⁸⁴ *Cf.* Bartlam 1938; Karst 1931: 437 *f.* (North-South across the Mediterranean) and 428 (across the Aegean); Anonymous, 'Land bridge', which led me to Corliss 1975, and Ingersoll 1920.

¹⁸⁵ According to other fantastic sources, Lemuria would be situated rather in the equatorial to Southern Pacific, and be identical with the land of Mu.

In the meantime, modern plate tectonics, and Wegener's theory (1912) of the desintegration of the primal continent designated Pangaea (initially splitting into what we have called Laurasia and Gondwana, then further desintegrating), have offered a totally satisfactory explanation (the (sub-) continents now oceans apart were once – hundred of millions years ago – adjacent and continuous). This rendered all land-bridge theories totally obsolete. Needless to add that human history is measured in millennia (ka), or at best a few million years (Ma) – far too short a period than that the macro processes of geotectonics could have a direct, specific and observable impact upon socio-cultural phenomena.¹⁸⁶

With hypothetical land bridges out of the way, and geotectonics inapplicable given the relatively short time span of human history, seafaring would be the principal explanation for transcontinental continuity in terms of horizontal diffusion. Refusal to entertain early, *i.e.* Palaeolithic, seafaring as a possibility has been an important reason for the almost total rejection, throughout most of the 20th c. CE, of the idea of horizontal diffusion, in favour of the three alternatives ((a) common origin – the favourite option of comparative mythologists such as Witzel; (b) universal human mind – the favourite option of structuralists à la Lévi-Strauss 1958-1973, 1949, 1962; and (c) pure chance – the facile and irresponsible platitude still adopted by many modern anthropologists).

Against this general background we can appreciate another offending feature of Karst's work: his careless juggling with hypothetical land bridges, island continents and inland seas. These assumptions may have found support in the, now obsolete, geology and physical geography of his time. However, we would now largely regard them as either totally imaginary; or at least as relating to a distant geological past tens, even hundreds, of millions of years before the appearance of Anatomically Modern Man on this planet, and therefore totally outside the context of Ancient Mediterranean toponyms and ethnonyms. In Karst's work, the many claims of such imaginary geophysical features serve a number of purposes:

- to lend a hypothetical material, geographical basis (in the form of a land bridge) to a continuity observed in the distribution of languages, toponyms and ethnonyms in the face of such *discontinuity* as present-day physical features (a sea, particularly) would make us expect;

¹⁸⁶ ON MISLEADING GEOLOGICAL IMAGERY IN RECENT COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY. This has implications, not so much substantial but aesthetic, and knowledge-political, for Witzel's recent work. Here he insists on the distinction between what he calls (a) 'Laurasian' proto-mythologies – those of Eurasia mainly, considered to be *advanced*, with exalted figures such as kings, and a linear progress of time between a cosmogonic / anthropogonic beginning and a *ditto* end; and (b) 'Gondwana' proto-mythologies, claimed to be characteristic of Africa, South America and Australia, and considered to be primitive, lacking both hierarchy and a developed sense of unilinear time. One recognises the familiar, late-19th c., colonial and hegemonic distinctions which inhabitants of the North Atlantic region thought, at the time, to self-evidently coincide with the distinctions between present-day continents – and which justified their colonial and imperialist impositions. One can understand if Witzel's (2000a) courageous and eminently well-taken stance in denying the origin of the Vedic scriptures within the Indian subcontinent, and particularly the violent and threatening reactions this triggered from the side of Hindu activists, have rendered him less prepared to take local, non-North Atlantic sensitivities into account in his scholarly work. Of course, he is sufficiently aware of modern geology to realise that the geological time scale of the desintegration of Pangaea is measured in hundreds of Ma (millions of years), and that of global mythology only in tens of ka (millennia) – a difference in order of magnitude of 10^3 (= 10,000). Yet his choice of terms remains unfortunate because it suggests, essentialisingly, that today's South peoples are to be relegated to a primordial category which North peoples have long left behind them as a sign of their superiority. Intriguingly, the region of Witzel's own specialisation, India (to which he predictably attributes Laurasian mythologies), geologically was a part of Gondwana drifting North, slamming into the Southern coast of Eurasia and thus producing the Himalayas some 45 Ma BP – dislocating the Lemurian primates in the process.

- to provide (in the form of a postulated island continent) a hypothetical central focus of emanation for a linguistic / onomastic complex only reconstructed on the basis of a peripheral secondary distribution;
- to accommodate a semantic implication of an attested onomastic complex, referring to maritime or coastal conditions.

Admittedly, some of Karst's geographical views find some support in today's earth sciences: the change of coastal lines with the melting of the polar ice caps at the end of each of the four glacial periods and particularly, most recently, at the onset of the Holocene (10,000 BP); the idea that the Nile valley (and *a fortiori* the Delta) was an uninhabitable sea arm until well into the Holocene; and the idea that the Sahara was fertile, perhaps even partly flooded, in Neolithic times. State-of-the-art geological analysis however (cf. Flemming 2002) makes it very clear that most of Karst's ideas in this connection, however, are totally impossible, e.g. the idea of a land bridge joining, at any time during the few million years of human history, Africa Minor, Sicily, and Southern Italy – a pivotal region in Karst's conception of the Ancient Mediterranean, where he situates 'Atlantis II', Thetis, Thettalia, etc., and the homeland of the Pelasgians.

'Pelasgian Crete is rather reminiscent of Basque *ugarte*, 'island' and may even be composed from the corresponding Ancient Iberian-Lelesgian **urgate* or *ugarte*. From a geological and ethnological perspective¹⁸⁷ Pelasgian Crete appears to be a fragment, a relict, of a presumable chain of lands and peoples, which may have stretched from the Southern Aegean via Sicania [Sicily] to Atlantis-Africa. Only in this connection and under these assumptions can we understand the Ancient Hebrew tradition about Caphtor and the Krethi peoples, to which admittedly also the *Philisti-im* must be reckoned. For Caphtor and Cashluḥim refer on the one hand to Illyroid Italia-Oenotria, on the other hand to Liby-Hesperia.' (Karst 1931a: 428; my translation and spacing – WvB)

But rather than seeking to confront Karst's physico-geographical hypothesis with today's state of the art in earth sciences, I should like to point out that a greater appreciation, on his part, of the extent and antiquity of sea-faring skills would have made many of his geographical hypotheses unnecessary. It is surprising that Karst should have to be chided on this point, for the question of the presence and origin of nautical skills in the Bronze Age Mediterranean was very much on his mind. However, when he invokes the idea of a (geologically totally impossible) Crete-Sicilian land bridge in order to account for linguistic and onomastic continuities between these two Mediterranean regions, simple maritime connections offer a much more plausible solution. There is the remarkable contradiction here, that Karst on the one hand greatly underestimates the role of maritime contacts in early human history, on the other hand appreciates the maritime skills of selected prehistoric peoples, e.g. those associated with the coastal areas of Near India and the Persian Gulf, and with the

¹⁸⁷ Of course, it is nonsensical and totally unacceptable when Karst equates the geological time scale and the linguistic one. The former is to be measured in millions of years (Ma), the latter in thousands of years (ka) – a difference of a factor 1 : 1000. Yet the error is not limited to Karst. When Witzel, rather hegemonically, applies the term Gondwana to Southern-hemisphere, and especially African, mythologies in order to distinguish them, as primordially and irrevocably primitive, from the allegedly more developed Northern-hemisphere, 'Laurasian' ones with which he identifies both as a European and as a student of Sanskrit, he falls into the same pitfall. The geological moment of disintegration of the hypothetical Gondwanan land mass so as to form, among others, the equally hypothetical Laurasian one, is estimated at the beginning of the Jurassic, 180 million years ago – the separation of Southern and Northern mythologies less than a few tens of thousands years ago (a factor of 1 : 10,000); what is more, the difference is only relative, for after their separation *the continued interpenetration of the two types of mythologies* has offered one of the most baffling puzzles of modern comparative mythology (van Binsbergen 2010a).

Mediterranean. This contradiction may have its basis in Karst's ambition to provide the final decoding of the Atlantis myth in Plato's *Timaeus*: with Plato, and not unlike Theosophical and Anthroposophical fantasies of around 1900 CE, he makes the Atlanteans into the first great civilisation, who from an epicentre on the Indian Ocean coast constituted the main driving force behind a general East-West movement of peoples and languages into Western Eurasia and Africa; I suspect Karst considered these hypothetical Atlanteans to be the inventors of maritime crafts, initially monopolising that knowledge and only sparingly and selectively sharing it with others.

Although Karst lays much emphasis on the apparently sudden emergence of nautical skills in West Asia and sees it as proof of a Basque Eastbound return migration, he displays the constant tendency to underestimate the extent of nautical skills as a factor in prehistory and proto-history. Thus:

'All Nigritic peoples, the African ones as well as the Papuan-Indonesian, are totally intimidated by the sea and have never known any nautical skills.' (Karst 1931a: 554)

This generalisation (which in its sweeping imputation of irrational fears to Black peoples could yet be read to have racist implications, after all) flies in the face of extensive ethnographic and historical evidence¹⁸⁸ and also of contemporary Afrocentrist, only partly ideological, claims of African nautical expeditions to the New World and China (Winters 1979, 1983, 1986; van Sertima 1976; for a devastating critique of van Sertima see Ortiz de Montellano 2000). It is also incorrect in view of the otherwise inexplicable peopling of Australia and New Guinea between 53,000 and 60,000 BP across a more than 70 km stretch of open sea (cf. Roberts & Smith 1993), and in view of mainstream ethnography, in which the *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (Malinowski 1922), with their impressive seaborne network of ceremonial trade extending over hundreds of kilometres, have their base just off the Papua Coast, while e.g. the Bijagos people of Guinea Bissau, West Africa, were greatly feared as pirates and their neighbours, the Manjacos, constituted a prominent nautical work force on European transoceanic ships from the mid-19th century onwards; so did, from the other end of the globe, Maoris from New Zealand...

Yet Karst (1931a: 265) does realise that maritime transport is a viable alternative to the fictitious insular continents and land bridges he proposes. He diligently quotes (without realising that he is contradicting his own sweeping generation minimising prehistoric navigation) the original Atlantis story in Plato's *Timaeus*, XI, where it says that

'by that time every sea was navigable'.

Indeed, Plato's insight is confirmed by the recent work of the prominent palaeoanthropologist Bednarik, who in numerous writings¹⁸⁹ has amply and convincingly stated the case for humans' ancient seafaring skills going back to at least the Middle Palaeolithic – which is the time when New Guinea and Australia were peopled already in the first phase of Anatomically Modern Humans' Exodus Out of Africa, 80-60 ka BP; geology tells us that between Indonesia (which before the rise of the sea level at the onset of the Holocene could be reached from Eurasia with dry feet, over land) and Australia / New Guinea, throughout the existence of humans on earth there has always been a gap of over 70 kms of open sea to negotiate.

¹⁸⁸ The peopling of Oceania in recent millennia was originally effected by mariners from Taiwan, Indonesia, and the Western Pacific (Anonymous 1962; Kirch 1997; Oppenheimer 2004), and so was the – hitherto little noticed – Westbound Sunda expansion into the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, Africa, and presumably the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea (Dick-Read 2004; Oppenheimer 1998; van Binsbergen with Isaak 2008); van Binsbergen 2019a, 2020a).

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Bednarik 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2003, and n.d., 'Seafaring in the Pleistocene', and n.d., 'First mariners Project...'

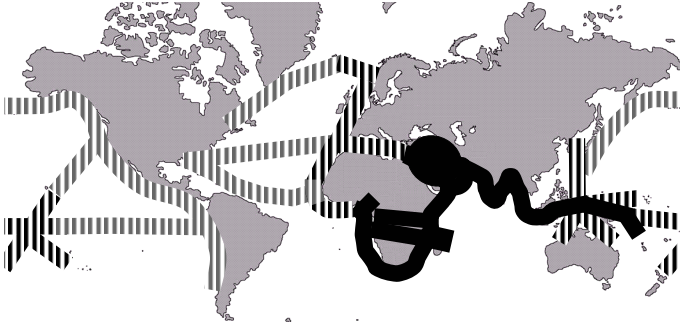
As far as the Bronze Age Mediterranean is concerned, Karst's very pertinent question as to the origin, apparently all of a sudden, of seafaring skills in that part of the world and that period,¹⁹⁰ I may here briefly refer (cf. van Binsbergen 2020, 2019, for more exhaustive discussions) to Stephen Oppenheimer's Sunda Hypothesis, meanwhile converged with the ideas of the British Africanist Robert Dick-Read and the German Asianist Kurt Tauchmann. In Oppenheimer's view, the rise of the sea level by the end of the Holocene (ca. 10 ka BP) flooded the then subcontinent of South East Asia ('Sunda') so dramatically that its inhabitants, allegedly possessing a highly developed material culture (including seafaring) as well as *ditto* symbolic including mythological culture,¹⁹¹ had to flee in all directions – Eastward and thus substantially contributing to the peopling the Pacific (generally considered to be relatively late, among the continents), but also Westward, along the Indian Ocean coast. Here they may be suspected to have had a decisive trigger effect on the civilizations of the Indus¹⁹² and the Persian Gulf (Oppenheimer even saw concrete Sunda influence in the myth of the aquatic Sumerian culture hero Oannes – although the latter was not evoked before the times of the Hellenistic writer Berossus, who had no specific detailed knowledge of the Sumerian civilization anymore). That influence may have extended to the Ancient Phoenicians (whose original home was traditionally considered to be the Persian Gulf) and on Ancient Egypt (where pivotal ancient names of gods and heroes, such as Neith and Osiris, may be argued to have Austric *i.e.* Sunda etymologies; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Table 28.4., pp. 370-372).¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ The literature on seafaring in the Ancient Mediterranean is very extensive, and cannot be done justice to in the present context. However, cf. Casson 1959; Demand 2012. Some relevant boat representations from Ancient Mediterranean sources are given in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 357, Fig. 28.5

¹⁹¹ Oppenheimer claims that the core mythologies of the Ancient Near East were ultimately derived from South East Asia and were transmitted through his postulated Sunda migrations. In a painstaking theoretical and statistical argument I have sought to refute the mythological claim (van Binsbergen with Isaak 2008), arguing instead for a Near Eastern origin of that mythology, possibly with an admixture of North American Amerind elements. However, in subsequent years I have recognised the great heuristic value of Oppenheimer's argument for other than mythological contexts, and I have especially explored (2007, 2012b, 2012c, 2017b, in press (c), 2020a, 2019a) the considerable extent to which his Sunda thesis throws unexpected and highly illuminating light on the pre- and proto-history of sub-Saharan Africa.

¹⁹² A linguistic argument is possible on this point. Austric is now the macrophyllum of the languages supposedly spoken by the populations hypothetically engaged in Sunda expansion from the pre-flooding subcontinent of South East Asia. Austric comprises two subgroups, Austronesian (the language cluster of insular South East Asia and Oceania) and Australasiatic (the language cluster spoken in continental South East Asia, but extending into East India with such language groups as Munda and Khasic). There are considerable cultural parallels – possibly due to relatively recent Sunda maritime expansion, but perhaps also to rather older terrestrial migration across the Old World in the context of the Back-into-Africa movement – between the Munda-speaking peoples and sub-Saharan Africa, notably the Nkoya of Zambia, in the fields of social organisation and mythology. Similar parallels I found between the Western Grassfields, Cameroon, and continental South East Asia (van Binsbergen, in press (c)). I have no access to Hembram 1982 *Austric civilization of India*, but possibly further clues may be found there. Moreover, Pedersen n.d. claims the existence of Austric words in Indo-European and Afroasiatic, but such a claim needs to be examined in the light of the *Borean hypothesis, according to which similar communalities may be due in the first place to a shared *Borean origin, and only in the second place to horizontal borrowing as stipulated by the Sunda Hypothesis.

¹⁹³ It is, I think, to Karst's credit that he did spot the possible Austric impact upon Ancient Egypt and sub-Saharan Africa (1931a: 457, where he sees a connection between Fulbe and Sunda notably a Malayo-South(ern) Asianic influence among the Cushites and Egyptians and among the Fulbe. On p. 559 he claims that the Proto-Polynesians were not just Malayan but also display an Aino-Inaïdic admixture.



Source: van Binsbergen 2012c. The solid, thick black lines indicate the proposed outlines of the 'Sunda' network; lesser density of hatching indicates lesser certainty. For sections of the proposed network, solid black is used to indicate interior regions of suspected Sunda influence: the Mozambican / Angolan corridor, the Bight of Benin / Western Grassfields corridor, and the Mediterranean connections with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, all of which obviously are not maritime trajectories yet appear to have a marked Sunda association.

Fig. 4.5. A proposed intercontinental, multicentred, multidirectional maritime network from the Early Bronze Age onward.

The geneticist / paediatrician Oppenheimer does not suggest that Sunda influence extended further West beyond the Indus and Sumerian civilisations, but subsequent research has brought out several suggestions to the effect that also the Ancient Mediterranean underwent Sunda influence by the Early Bronze Age,¹⁹⁴ while Sunda effects on the coastal regions of sub-Saharan Africa – both Indian Ocean and Atlantic Ocean – are manifest in the demographic and linguistic situation of Madagascar, and have moreover constituted the topic of fruitful research undertaken by Dick-Read (2005, 2012) and by myself. These and many other indications have brought me to suggest (van Binsbergen 2012: 78, Fig. 2.17, reproduced here as Fig. 4.5), but still without complete and convincing empirical and bibliographical substantiation, that, by the Bronze Age, a global maritime network was in fact building up connecting all regions of the world. This not only begins to answer Karst's question as to the origin of Bronze Age seafaring skills in the Mediterranean, but also, in true long-range fashion, dramatically extends (to South East Asia) the geographical scope within which elucidation of the puzzles of Mediterranean Bronze-Age ethnicity may be sought.

¹⁹⁴ These suggestions have been cursorily indicated in *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (2011: 19, 92, 354-355, 370-373, 55n, 336n-337n, 370n-371n). They include the astonishing fact that, as stated above, plausible Austronesian etymologies can be advanced for several of the principal names of gods, kings and places in Mediterranean proto-history, such as Osiris, Minos, Neith, Dilmun, etc. In that connection I also point at the obscure emergence of some of the oldest harbours of the Mediterranean, Jaffa and Corinth, and suggest a possible Sunda background. Oppenheimer (1998) has suggested a considerable number of medical conditions, artefacts and mythological themes which, in his opinion – as an accomplished geneticist but amateur cultural historian – may be taken as indicators of Sunda influence, notably the prominence of thalassaemias, the presence of the *mankala* game, of clay figurines, of axes with a cutting edge in the shape of a circle segment, and particularly the basic mythology of the Ancient Near East including *Genesis*. As I have demonstrated (van Binsbergen 2007a, 2007b, 2012, 2020a; van Binsbergen with Isaak 2008) most of these suggestions must be dismissed as invalid – but surprisingly this leaves intact the great heuristic value of the Sunda Hypothesis for an understanding of African pre- and proto-history.

4.4.6. 'Atlantis'

Surprisingly, the idea of Atlantis constitutes one of scholarship's main myths. Thousands of books have been written on the subject, some by the greatest minds of their time, such as Plato and Bacon. In the context of the Ancient Mediterranean, the Atlantis myth has been projected onto Thera / Santorini, Cyprus, Tunisia, and the Canary Islands, to mention only the most obvious cases. That the question is far from dead is clear from Woudhuizen (2002), where he seeks to identify *ta₅-ru-bú* in an Ugaritic document as the Atlantis of Plato's *Timaeus*.¹⁹⁵ The context of the Atlantis scholarly industry confronts us particularly with the fact that all scholars, in trying to reveal the truth, inevitably create their own myths, and that our only task as fellow-scholars can be, not to avoid creating our own myths in our turn (very clearly, I did not succeed in doing so in my present argument – and ultimately, the claim of scientific truth is the greatest myth of our time; van Binsbergen 2021a) but in bringing out the mythical in others' work, and ensuring that the extent of our own myth-building is constrained, as much as possible, by painstaking confrontation with empirical data (cf. van Binsbergen 2009a / 2017).

The two main migratory processes from South Central Asia that Karst postulates (and sometimes we should read West Asia instead) can find some support in modern archaeology, notably where the Neolithic expansion of agriculture is concerned. The support is especially in linguistics and population genetics, but even these reveal that the two processes may have been tens of millennia apart, and only the more recent one could, with considerable efforts of the imagination, be interpreted as 'Atlantean migration' if under Atlantis we understand an etic, scholarly designation of 'a hypothetical, highly influential Neolithic or Early Bronze Age centre of civilisation in South and / or South East Asia. We have seen how Karst associates the hypothetical Atlantean migration with the 'Middle Glaciation Period'; in other parts of his main book, however (e.g. Karst 1931a: 249), the Glacial connotations are left out, and we are left with the notion, still extremely problematic,¹⁹⁶ of

'the great Indo-Atlantic dolmen phylum, mankind's first primal carrier and distributor of culture (Karst 1931a: 253, cf. 283).'

But even in that connection Karst still speaks of

'the period when Northern Europe was largely glaciated,

a period which by today's reckoning ended with the onset of the Holocene, 10,000 BP, twice as long ago as the onset of the Bronze Age, to which megaliths are preferably dated.

In order to make Karst's book somewhat palatable to modern scholarship, it is necessary to treat his use of the concept of 'Atlantis' as merely metaphorical. Taking Plato's cue, Karst (1931a: 253 f.) believes that some 'Neptunic-Plutonian cataclysm', i.e. earthquakes, causing *tsunami* tidal waves, today known to be more destructive than nuclear bombs (still unknown in Karst's time), destroyed Atlan-

¹⁹⁵ This does not, however, exhaust our preoccupation with the name Atlantis, even though we are aware of the pitfalls attending that name. In our *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* we also advanced (201: 372, Table 28.4) a possible etymology of Atlantis as connected with the Austric root **VI*, presumably from **Borean TVLKV*, 'which makes Atlantis: "Venusland" or "starland", possibly also "Moonland" or "Sunland"' – possibly to extend to Dilmun / Bahrayn, and to other crescent-shaped islands along ancient trade routes, such as Madagascar and Ceylon. Apparently the lure of the mythical ancient land is too strong to resist, even for us. And very clearly for Karst.

¹⁹⁶ Carrying echoes of Theosophical and Anthroposophical legend of the Atlanteans as the primal civilised people, spreading Westward and erecting megalithics wherever they roamed.

tis I, especially its extended (but, except perhaps as an early maritime network, totally imaginary) ‘insular continent’, and caused ‘the Atlanteans’ to emigrate to the North and West.¹⁹⁷ Yet he takes the idea of this insular continent in what today is the Indian Ocean quite seriously, and sees Madagascar and the (entirely imaginary) ‘land bridge Taprobane’ (which may be Sumatra, and especially Ceylon – which appears under the name of Taprobane on many ancient maps and in many ancient writings) as its vestiges.¹⁹⁸ Anyway, since in Karst’s view ‘Atlantis’ continued to function as the centre of radiation of Westward migrations, it can hardly have been a one-time cataclysm that caused these migrations. If the overall picture has some truth in it, if these migrations did take place, and if their point of departure was South Central Asia (rather than the Pontic region, as is more likely), then the cause must be sought in more permanent structural features: a sustained high level of technological and socio-political organisation, warranting a surplus production over a long period of time, and leading to severe population pressures.

4.4.7. Karst’s positive points from an archaeological perspective

After so much devastating criticism from an archaeological perspective, one is relieved to note that, at least, some of Karst’s archaeological points are well-taken. This is particularly the case for his treatment of Ancient Egypt. Here, quite felicitously in my view,

- he lays stress on the Near Eastern (by implication Sumerian) influence upon Early Dynastic Egypt,
- on the marked continuity between Delta Egypt and West Asia, and


¹⁹⁷ Interestingly, Oppenheimer’s (1998) view of the inundation of the Sunda subcontinent at the onset of the Holocene was formulated in rather similar cataclysmic terms, with similar imputed effects of people fleeing in various directions, not only West (Indian Ocean and beyond) and North, but especially East – completing the peopling of Oceania. When, prior to our public exchange at the 1st Annual Meeting of the International Association of Comparative Mythology, in Edinburgh, Scotland, 2007, I spoke with Oppenheimer in private and confronted him with the obvious parallels between his model and that of Theosophists and Anthroposophists around 1900 CE, this greatly angered him. When in private correspondence I called his exclusive reliance on Frazer (1918 – for an argument on comparative mythology published in 1998) *unprofessional*, he threatened to take me to court. Apparently there are considerable differences to be appreciated between the cultural and communicative cultures of British genetics, on the one hand, and continental historical and social sciences, on the other.

¹⁹⁸ Yet there may be more to this than meets the eye of the present-day critical researcher. In South Central African traditions, *Mbedzi* (which in the Bantu languages spoken in that region would mean ‘Moon’ – but the word’s etymology is not necessarily Bantu, and it may be a local form of the name of the Buddha) appears as the name of a semi-legendary ancient kingdom established in the region by South Asians (Frobenius 1931; cf. van Binsbergen 2003: 302). Breuil (1933) however, despite his great admiration for Frobenius’ work and their occasional close collaboration, was dismissive of the idea of such a legendary kingdom; however, his knowledge of sub-Saharan Africa was minimal, limited to only a few archaeological topics. By the same token, most royal dynasties in Zambia and Malawi (and to some extent Angola) trace their origins to a distant and legendary Northern land, Kola, whose identification and transcontinental ramifications deserve a separate study in their own right (see van Binsbergen 2020a: 134-142 and *passim*). There are indications that in fact Buddhist-orientated state systems of South Asian background existed both in South Central Africa (Lunda) and in Southern Africa (around Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe; cf. Thornton 2012 and in press; Hromník 2012 and in press; van Binsbergen 2017: ch. 10, pp. 361-412, with Fig. 10.23 on p. 399; and 2015: p. 159 *f.*). It is also possible that such legendary kingdoms as the oral tradition claims existed, must be sought not on African soil but in South Asia itself. Thus there are uncanny parallels between Nkoya myths in South Central Africa concerning Kapeshe Kamununga Mpanda (‘The tower consisting of forked branches’) and the history of Sigiriya in Central Ceylon / Sri Lanka (van Binsbergen 2016, 1992). Another association would be the Indus civilisation. Moreover, modern evidence for the latter has been available since the late 19th century CE, *i.e.* before Karst, although Indus scholarship mainly started with the publication of Marshall 1931. The idea of a vanished South Asian primal kingdom is recently receiving a new lease of life with the controversial discovery of the Gulf of Khambat / Cambay civilisation off the coast of Gujarat, West India. Situated 40 meters below sea level, this complex of ruins is alleged to be incomparably old – unconfirmed first carbon dating 9,500 BP; cf. Kalyanaraman 2002.

• on the extensive influence of Egypt on the Eastern Mediterranean in historical times. The East-West movement which Karst sees as constitutive also for Ancient Egypt, is not supported by Africanising perspectives (*Black Athena*, Afrocentricity), nor by Hofmann's (1979 / 1991) highly influential synthesis which stresses Saharan influences, nor by modern Africanist scholars who (cf. van Binsbergen 2012d / 2019) tend to have an 'Africa for the Africans' bias; but it is supported, however, not only by my suggestion of Austric etymologies for Ancient Egyptian key names, and by my Pelasgian Hypothesis with its pivotal East-West movement into the Mediterranean region during the Early and Middle Bronze Age, but also by those stressing the Sumerian component in Early Dynastic Egypt (Rice 1990 and references cited there), while also there is increasing support (e.g. Kammerzell 1994; Ray 1992) of Hittite connexions in early Egypt. Karst (1931a: 49) cites examples that are to confirm an affinity between Ancient Egyptian and Kartvelian, e.g. Syennesis, the Cilician royal title, which he questionably proposes to expand as Ancient Egyptian *ju-en-jise*, 'exalted Lord'. In stressing the extensive influence of Egypt on the Eastern Mediterranean in historical times (especially in the form of a huge Egyptian empire encompassing half the Mediterranean), Karst was pioneering an issue which largely remained muted until Martin Bernal initiated (1985, 1987, cf. 1991) the *Black Athena* debate. Inevitably, considering that Karst shares with Bernal the focus on the proto-historic Mediterranean, he traverses much ground that was later to be discussed again by the author of *Black Athena*. Whereas Karst could not benefit from the immense growth of archaeological knowledge between the 1920s and 1980 (information which Bernal, for one, had at his fingertips),¹⁹⁹ it is striking that Karst's perspective is often the more convincing, precisely because he does not have Bernal's obsessive and ideologically underpinned preoccupation with the primacy of an Afroasiatic (including Semitic – Phoenician, Hebrew, Ugaritic – but especially Ancient Egyptian) element in the Eastern Mediterranean basin in the Late Bronze Age. Thus Karst's (1931a: 69) interpretation of the Cretan Curetes in terms of Finno-Ugric / Uralic seems fairly plausible to me – now that I believe to have spotted Uralic elements in Ancient Egyptian kingship and religion.²⁰⁰ More in general, there is something to be said for Karst's repeated glimpses on Mediterranean, West Asian and African penetrations into Central and Northern Europe, and the linguistic substrates these may have left here.²⁰¹

For an almost forgotten book nearly a century old, at the crossroads between several disciplines that, in the meantime, have made tremendous progress, I think that Karst's *magnum opus* has stood the test of modern scholarship only partially, yet better than we might have expected. The great weaknesses on archaeology are somewhat compensated by pioneering achievements in the fields of long-range linguistics and sufficiently confirmed by state-of-the-art population genetics to be taken seriously. It is with renewed confidence that I now turn to what we mobilised Karst for in the first place, in 2011: ethnic identifications of the Sea Peoples.

¹⁹⁹ For instance, the wide extent of Egyptian influence throughout the Bronze Age Mediterranean was documented by material records compiled by Lambrou-Phillipson 1999; also cf. Bietak 1995; Ward 1961, 1963, 1971.

²⁰⁰ Cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 88 f. The indications are few but significant: the Proto-Uralic word meaning 'wet' as a plausible etymology of the name of the Ancient Egyptian Neith, primarily a goddess of the Primal Waters; and Proto-Uralic *asurv- , 'prince', as a plausible etymology of  Osiris / Wsir. Admittedly such correspondences are more easily accommodated within a mainstream perspective of transcultural connections, than my contentious Austric / Egyptian suggestions for the same words. The Uralic / Egyptian correspondences also extend (*ibid.*) to the field of material culture, e.g. the royal diadem and the chariot (*ibidem*). Both these items, moreover, appear to be characterised by such massive cultural inertia that they are also found in the mythology and kingship of the (even though horseless!) Nkoya of South Central Africa (van Binsbergen 2010a, 1992).

²⁰¹ A general archaeological update on the extensive Mediterranean, West Asian and North African influences Karst claims for Central, Western and Northern Europe may be found in Schauer 1985.

Chapter 5. Modern identifications of the Late-Bronze-Age ‘Sea Peoples’ re-examined in the light of Karst’s approach

5.1. What does the Karstian approach mean for Sea Peoples research?

Under the Karstian approach, in the context of Mediterranean proto-history, the same people are likely to have multiple and very heterogeneous linguistic affiliations. This means that, whatever identification we would give to the specific constituent Sea Peoples,²⁰² they, like most peoples Karst discusses, would probably be composed of several historical and linguistic layers or tiers, so that from a linguistic perspective they may be identified as Sino-caucasian-speaking, but also as Afroasiatic or Indo-European speaking, for instance:

Miṣraimitische Kaphtoriten und Kasluchen waren einst gleicherweise über Kappadokien, Kreta und gewisse

²⁰² Karst 1931a: 77, 582, 42, 468. Given the slow and spasmodic development of Egyptology since the early 19th c. CE, and the fact that the Sea Peoples only came within the orbit of scholarly research in the late 19th c. CE, there is, between authors and periods, great diversity in the orthography of the names of the Sea Peoples; also see van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: *passim*. The conventions by Karst’s time, in this respect, are reflected in Eisler 1928 (cf. Karst 1931a: 401 f.). The then leading archaeologist Childe (1926) presented these names in an obsolete orthography and *ditto* vocalisation which suggest affinity with Indoaryan – exponents of which were present in the Ancient Near East in the form of the Mitanni people (cf. Kammenhuber 1968), famous for their fascination with horses rather than with boats. True to his adage *Ex Oriente Lux*, Childe shared my preference for the Westbound model in connection with the Sea Peoples’s movement across the Mediterranean.

Striche Ausoniens, d. h. des prähistorischen Italiens, verbreitet.²⁰³ Dafür zeugt der toponomastische Parallelismus zwischen Camisa, Camisene, Stadt und Bezirk in Kappadokien, und Camesa, Camasena = Urlatium; zwischen Lavinium, uralter Stadt in Latium (sog. "troische" Grundung), und Laviane, Laviniane' bzw. Laviniasene (Laviansene), einem Kanton in Kappadokien bzw. Kleinarmenien; ferner zwischen Chammanene, dem phrygisch-pontisch-kappadokischen Grenzbezirk, und Cammania (Cadmania) in Epirus, letztere eine sogenannte "phönikische" Kadmosiedlung, die wir in unserer Abhandlung *Ligures*, pg. 33, [Karst 1930b] als hamitisiertes Lelegergebiet wahrscheinlich machten; vgl. auch Nora 1. sehr alte Stadt Sardinien, eine Iberergründung, und 2. ein Bergschloß Kappadokiens am Füße des Taurus, das spätere Neroassos; ferner im libysch-iberischen Hesperien: Zama in Numidien gegenüber Zama in Kappadokien und Mesopotamien; Intibili in Hispanien gegenüber Andalalis oder Andavilis in Kappadokien.' (Karst 1931a: 42)

One further lesson to be learned from the Karstian approach, is that these relationships may *also* be seen as a result of already existing, and accumulating, prehistoric or proto-historic ties of kinship between peoples, and not *exclusively* as the result of a new distribution of peoples that hitherto had considered themselves as unrelated strangers, and of new contacts between groups of unrelated mutual stranger such as emerged during the Sea Peoples Episode itself.

With its hypothesis (to be substantiated in our concluding chapter) of a four-tiered overall Mediterranean system of linguistico-ethnic affiliation, and its reliance (as the historical actors may themselves have relied on for the establishment of ethnic associations) on names' mere sound assonances that would not stand up to professional etymological standards, the Karstian system accords us much (in fact: far too much) room for the identification of individual ethnonyms and toponyms, suggesting possible mechanisms for their manipulation and transformation, thus drawing them into a proto-historical domain. What this approach does, primarily, is to release the various peoples involved from the almost total obscurity in which the paucity of documentary and archaeological records has imprisoned them. We are tempted to add a few centuries, perhaps even an entire millennium, of proto-historical depth *prior* to their appearance in the context of the Sea Peoples Episode. Here one important problem is that of periodisation. By the time these peoples are discussed in Graeco-Roman documentary sources, Europe had largely been conquered by Indo-European languages; the latter's expansion gains momentum in the same second millennium which towards its end witnesses the Sea Peoples Episode (Woudhuizen 2018; Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995). How are we to apply the hypothesis of a four-tiered system ca. 1300 BCE? Was the Sea-Peoples Episode already – as I, personally, at variance with my 2011 co-author Woudhuizen, consider unlikely²⁰⁴ – largely an affair of Indo-European speakers (and

²⁰³ This means that in my geographic overview of Karst's treatment of the Caşluşim / Capthorim their extent may be stretched all the way to the Ausci region, modern Southern France / Northern Italy.

²⁰⁴ By a far shot we may begin to wonder whether the Sea Peoples' Episode was not part of another underlying, more comprehensive process: the cleansing of Europe from population elements that were neither lowly pigmented (in other words, non-'White') nor speakers of Indo-European or Afroasiatic. The Back-into-Africa movement as reconstructed by modern geneticists may well have amounted to the expulsion of highly pigmented populations to the only place where (because of the presence of an anterior Palaeo-African population, with low population densities and lacking the kind of elaborate socio-political organisation that might have prevented the invasion of displaced proto-Africans from Eurasia) they would find refuge: sub-Saharan Africa! Meanwhile in the South Asian and South East Asian continents similar processes seem to have taken place, leading to the emergence of the Dallits / Untouchables, and in general the highly pigmented populations of South East Asia, New Guinea and Australia (the latter partly of recent South Asian extraction). Perhaps such a comprehensive process of expulsion and refuge was all that took

were they of the *satem* or of the *kentum* variety?), or was that Episode still largely an affair of Afroasiatic, Basquoid, Sinocaucasian, Altaic, Uralic and Bantu speakers, with Indo-European elements limited, perhaps, to ruling and military classes?

However, before we apply the (admittedly contentious) Karstian approach in detail to the specific case of the Sea Peoples Episode, it is important to point out that for Karst, the notion of Sea Peoples does not necessarily, nor exclusively, refer to the historical or legendary-propagandistic reports on the monuments of Merneptah and Ramesses III. Karst already reckons with a chain of Basquoid maritime peoples throughout the Mediterranean, allegedly emerging as early as c. 2000 BCE as a result of a postulated Eastbound return migration from the Iberian peninsula; in his opinion later nautical cultural orientations, e.g. those of the Phoenicians, must have been indebted to these early seafarers who, according to his reconstructions, were already distributed all across the Mediterranean. Karst's notion of maritime peoples here is inspired, not by the modern literature on the 'Sea Peoples' (which by Karst's time was still very limited, after Maspero had coined the term in 1875), but by sources from the first few centuries of the Common Era: Diodorus²⁰⁵ and the *Eusebius Chronicle*, which give the list of the most ancient Sea Peoples as follows:

1. Lydians and Maeonians;
2. Pelasgians;
3. Thracians;
4. Rhodians;
5. Phrygians.' (Karst 1931a: 582)

There is a considerable overlap between this list and modern scholarship's identification of the specific Sea Peoples, c. 1300 BCE (e.g. Woudhuizen in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011). However, Thracians and Phrygians feature in this list as (from the perspective of mainstream Sea Peoples' studies) new additions and while these could be conceived as limited to the Aegean / Mediterranean, in fact it is attractive to see them as Black-Sea components among the Sea Peoples. We might take the Pelasgians to include the Philistines. The Central Mediterranean then appears to be left out of the list, unless Karst is right and we have to associate 'Rhodians' primarily with the Central Mediterranean, with Rhodes as another name for Africa Minor, which, incidentally, Karst has also identified as the cradle of the Pelasgians. For the rest this list suggests a *remarkable continuity* in the perception and ethnic composition of 'the Sea Peoples' (associated with piracy and maritime trade) between c. 1300 and one and a half millennia later.

Another Karstian point is that he tends to extend the continuities of these ancient Sea Peoples very far to the North, all the way to the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. The following

placed, so that formally the Sea Peoples' Episode proper (only emerging in scholarly discourse by the late 19th c. CE!) never actually take place and is merely a figment of the scholarly imagination; this is a respectable minority position, anyway, in the study of Late Bronze Age Mediterranean history. By and large, the Sea Peoples cannot be detached from a more comprehensive process of the expansion of West Asian and Central Asian peoples, cultures, and languages into the Mediterranean and beyond – a process which also my Pelasgian Hypothesis seeks to capture. If this cuts some wood, it would also imply that precisely the notion of an Eastbound movement of the Sea Peoples, from the Central Mediterranean to the Levant, is a modern Eurocentric and hegemonic myth.

²⁰⁵ Diodorus *floruit* c. 0 CE.

²⁰⁶ Eusebius *floruit* 313-340 CE. The Armenian version of the *Eusebius Chronicle* was translated by Karst.

passage describes, at the same time, the extension of the Caucasian-Anatolian Colchis system into North-Western Europe:

'The problematic pre-Germanic toponyms [on *-leben*, *-leba*, *-lewa*; cf. Heine 1906 – WvB] correspond with the Thracian ones on *-deba*, *-dava* and *-leba*. They are the sign of a pre-Germanic primal people, which we may characterise as Thracio-Illyrian or Ligy-Illyro-Thracian in the broadest sense. It may be considered a Northern extension, a protruding branch, of the large Tyrrheno-Pelasgian *i.e.* also Lydi-Tyrrhenian and Siculo-Ligurian chain of peoples. Apparently these are Sea Peoples who, equally as predecessors of the later Phoenicians, set foot in the Baltic-Germanic coastal lands as brokers in the amber trade, and settled there. Even so it remains possible that also along the Illyro-Pannonian inland routes several branches of the same people could have penetrated all the way to NNW Europe. As toponymical traces of this prehistoric Thracio-Phrygian people in the heart of Northern Germany we may count: Skandia, Scandinavia, as well as the Ascanian name which is attached to central Northern Germany (notably 'Anhalt' (Aškenaz [cf. Ascanians] has been retained as the designation for Germany in the Jewish tradition). Moreover the Nordic-Eddic Ases people, whose tradition is connected, on the one hand, with the Aryan-Iranian Ossetes or Ases of the Caucasus, on the other hand with the Ascanian Phrygians. As we know, the Eddic-Nordic cosmology and mythology are largely pre-Germanic and derive from a source pointing to the Thracio-Pelasgo-Anatolian cultural region. They may perhaps be explained by reference to our Nordic Germanic, Tyrrheno-Thracian Leba people.' (Karst 1931a: 484; my translation; this point is relevant for Sea Peoples studies, for (just like the boats with bird ornaments) these ethnonyms could provide a possible link of continuity with Northern Europe without upsetting the total picture – if only we could identify the Leba people more clearly. Identification just with the Leba town of Northwestern Poland does not solve this puzzle.)

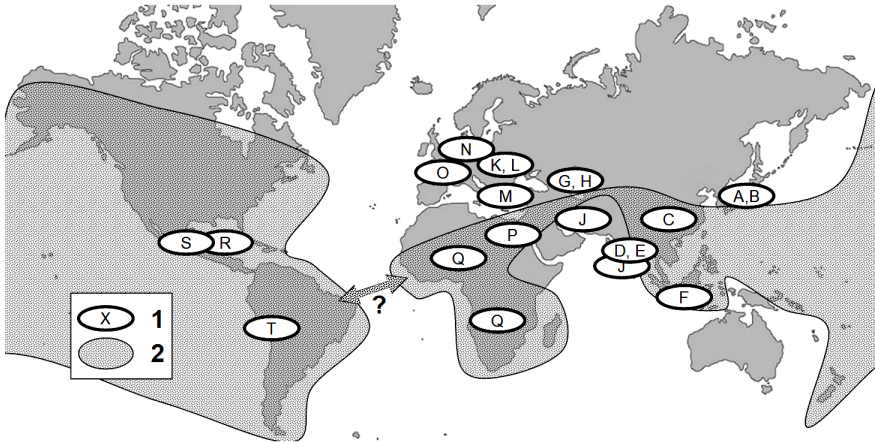
In this connection Karst's approach becomes even more conjectural than usual. As for Afroasiatic elements, Karst sees a Cushitic and Afroasiaticised Tyrrhenian substrate extending to North-Western Europe, and also cites what he takes to be toponymical indications of the cult of the Levantine goddess Ashera in Germany (Karst 1931a: 485). Thyrsians and Ases of the *Edda* classic (Jónsson 1875) may have been two inimical groups within the Leba people; the Ases would then be the Lelegian or Ascanian-Proto-Phrygian (Ibero-Basquoid) basic core of the Leba people, while the Thyrsians would correspond with the historic Carians proper.

It may have been Northern people like the obscure Leba that were responsible for the 'Hyperborean' participation in the Delphic Apollo cult, which far from being originally Greek, is probably a feature of the pan-Mediterranean religious system associated with the solar cult, with the names of Basojaun and Janus, and with the widespread second, Basquoid layer of the four-tiered system (Karst 1931a: 484 f.). For our further appreciation of the Sea Peoples' dynamics, these notions of Northern connections and trans-European continuity are of considerable importance, for they help us understand how the two cultural / symbolic features common to the Sea Peoples ((a) a peculiar type of ships with bird ornaments, and (b) a symbolico-cultic system featuring bird symbolism and a cosmogonic / solar god with Apollonian connotations) are not limited to any identifiable region within the Mediterranean, but have a much wider distribution extending far up North.

It is my impression that the postulated East-West population movement and cultural movement across prehistoric Eurasia (as an aspect of the somewhat wider Back-into-Africa movement introduced above) is related with the Pelasgian Westbound expansion in the Bronze Age, and – mainly somewhat earlier, in the Neolithic especially – with the spread of solar cults.²⁰⁷ These topics cannot be done

²⁰⁷ The idea of a sun cult associated with a major prehistoric population movement across Eurasia is by no means a novelty – in fact, a West-East solar-cult movement emanating from Ancient Egypt was so much a pet idea of the archdiffusionists G. Elliot Smith (1915 / 1929) and William Perry that still no mainstream anthropologist can afford to lend even the tiniest bit of credit to such hypotheses even as long as a century later. A postulated movement in the opposite

justice within our present, Karst-orientated scope.²⁰⁸ The remarkable richness of the *Borean lexicon in terms for 'sun' I have analysed in my recent book on Durkheim (2018: 386 f. and *passim*, see that book's Index) but for a more extensive and incisive treatment I must refer the reader to two of my books in the press (b), (h)). As a short preview of the argument of these two books, let me present here the distribution of solar cults as documented by Singh 1993, and the proposed historical reconstruction to be based on that reconstruction, on the basis of the method set out in Chapter 12 (pp. 391 f.) of my recent book on Sunda (2020a).

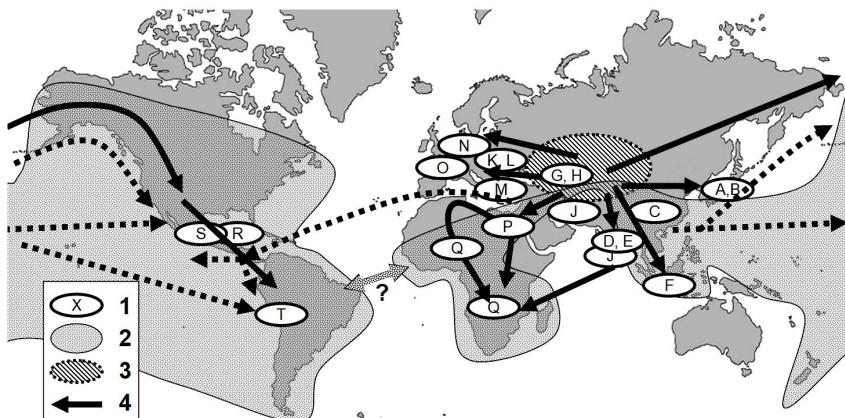


1. Region specifically singled out in Singh 1993
2. Proposed region of Austric / Amerind / Nigercongo (= 'Peripheral') communality going back to the desintegration of* Borean, Central to East Asia, Upper Palaeolithic (cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011, van Binsbergen 2010c, in press (h), etc.

Fig. 5.1. The regions of (proto-)historic sun worship as identified by Singh (1993)

direction, allegedly emanating from the Pacific ('the Land Mu'...) or South East Asia, and Westbound all the way to Europe, formed part of the self-styled mythology of Theosophy and Anthroposophy by the turn of the 20th century CE; this esoteric milieu considered the so-called Atlanteans (of Platonic legend) as the principal actors of this movement. Apart from miraculously forming a fertile ideological basis for admittedly excellent primary and secondary education through the Steiner schools, I consider the theosophical / anthroposophical ideas devoid of all scholarly value; yet I am simply under the impression that an overall Westbound movement emanating from the Central Asian Upper Palaeolithic is, for the time being, the most promising interpretation of the diagrams 5.1 and 5.2 as presented here for the global history of the solar cult. Such an interpretation also takes into account the fact that unmistakably solar motifs abound in Central Asia rock art; cf. van Binsbergen 2018: Fig. 9.2, pp. 348 f., for samples.

²⁰⁸ Karst has hardly a discussion of solar myths and cults. In 1931a: 279 f. he claims that Dionysus is a solar god – which, if correct (as a vegetation god ripped apart by the Titans – Helios the sun god was of Titanic descent himself – other interpretations would take precedence, in my opinion), would throw a particular light on Dionysus' association with the leopard, his mount. Given the extremely widespread dualist cosmological complementarity of the lion (with solar connotations) and the leopard (with lunar and stellar connotations), Dionysus' leopard association would then be a sign of victory over, rather than of identification with, the leopard. The dilemma is a familiar one in the study of leopard-skin symbolism: if gods, priests, kings, warriors, bards, don a leopard skin (in other words, are *pardivested*), is this then a sign that they are to be equated with leopards, or that they have subdued the leopard with all its connotations of subaltern evil? cf. van Binsbergen 2003b, in press (g) and (h). Also my Sunda book (2020a; see its index) contains a number of pertinent discussions of solar cults.



1. Region specifically singled out in Singh 1993
2. Proposed region of Austric / Amerind / Nigercongo ('Peripheral') communality going back to the desintegration of Borean, Central to East Asia, Upper Palaeolithic (cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011, van Binsbergen 2010c, in press (h), etc.
3. Proposed region of origin of solar cult in the Central Asian Upper Palaeolithic
4. Proposed diffusion; broken line: extremely conjectural

Fig. 5.2. Proposed reconstruction of the global cultural history of sun worship.

After thus highlighting the distribution and possible relevance of solar cults, let us now take a closer look at Karst's implications for the identification of the Sea Peoples.

5.2. The identification of the Sea Peoples by various scholars reconsidered from a Karstian perspective

5.2.1. [w?]šš / Oscians?

For Woudhuizen who favours a major Central Mediterranean contingent among the original Sea Peoples, [W?]šš are to be identified as the Italian Oscians.

The Oscians (Ausci, Osci) are a Western Mediterranean people of *Southern Italy* and *Aquitania*. Conform the model of a four-tiered general Mediterranean structure, they manifested themselves in a number of different successive historico-linguistic contexts. The oldest layer is (Proto-)Pontic-Caucasian (cf. the Armenian goddess Oskia, the Gold Mother?), with, possibly, a Sino-caucasian substrate. Their occurrence in two regions separated by nearly a thousand km is remarkable, and may well be in agreement with a history of migrancy, either by nautical means of overland, or both. The second layer is Basquoid; it may be from this context that their ethnonym derives, cf. Basque *auzoko*, 'neighbours'. These Liguro-Basquoids (extending into Proto-Illlyrians) may be considered the Proto-Siculians (Karst 1931a: 402). A third, Afroasiatic layer is not conspicuous (although Berberic inroads into Southern and Central Italy and Aquitania are indicated on other grounds, cf. the Jaccetanians who allegedly gave their name to the latter region; the Telegon(-os) legendary figure; and the presumed Afroasiatic enclave of Latium). In the fourth, Indo-European layer, their language corresponds with Samnitic-Sabellian.

In our 2011 introductory chapter I indicated how the classificatory aspect of ethnicity may be reduced to a binary opposition (what early anthropology called a ‘moiety system’), where the local ethnic system essentially comprises only two ethnic groups, ‘A’ and ‘not A’. In the context of Sea Peoples studies it is remarkable that Karst (1931a: 606) identifies the relation between Oscians and Tuscians (Osci and Tosci / Tusci) in precisely such terms, Tuscan allegedly meaning ‘Non-Oscian’. He adds:

‘Die Tosci-Tusci wären hierdurch als jüngere Einwandererschicht, die sich nachträglich über die eigentlichen protoliguroiden *Etrusci* lagerte, gekennzeichnet. Sie wären die eigentlichen Tyrrheni, wären vom Standpunkte der enheimischen Osken aus die “Fremdstämmigen, Allogenen”’. (Karst 1931a: 606)

Depending on when the Tyrrhenian immigration (ultimately from East Mesopotamia) is to be dated, this may mean that there is some indication that at least some of the prospective Sea Peoples found themselves already forming explicit and conscious interethnic structures together, even before their dramatic historic exploits actually took place.

As an Etruscan and Luwian specialist, Woudhuizen has the relevant data to support the Eastbound scenario at his fingertips, and he championed them in his sections in our *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (2011). For him, the Oscians existed as a distinct ethnic group in Italy, before they gave their name to the $[w?]ʒšš$ as a Sea People having reached Egypt. The additional points on the Oscians that Karst adduces, are not incompatible with such a scenario but they would also agree with the opposite Westbound scenario, according to which the identification of the $[w?]ʒšš$ as Oscians is in principle accepted, but where the $[w?]ʒšš$ are originally still an Eastern Mediterranean ethnic group which only *after* the Sea Peoples Episode, during the aftermath, ended up in Italy and there gave rise to the Oscians,²⁰⁹ – much in the way of my interpretation, below, according to which the originally Levantine $[š?]ʒrdn$ only secondarily became Sardinians, inhabitants of the Central Mediterranean island Sardinia.

With this proviso that the four-tiered linguistico-ethnic Mediterranean system assured these Eastern newcomers that they were not total strangers in the Central Mediterranean localities (first South Italy, then Aquitania) where they ended up in the aftermath, but, on the contrary, that they could be recognised as sharing essential cultural, religious and ethnic traits with their Italian hosts – an essentially Basquoid *reception structure* (cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Chapter 2) to which the Westbound $[w?]ʒšš$ may have brought – in addition to a sufficient Basquoid element so as to be recognised as ethnically related by their Central Mediterranean hosts – fresh Afroasiatic, Indo-European, Uralic, Altaic, Sumerian, or Bantu linguistic elements from the Levant. We do not have to choose between the Westbound and the Eastbound scenario at this point. Let us however not overlook that Helck (1979b) takes the Westbound scenario *for granted* – although he considers the $[w?]ʒšš$ in themselves as unidentifiable on the basis of our present knowledge. More important than choosing between these two scenarios is the realisation that pinpointing the fundamental dilemma they together pose, brings us much nearer to an appreciation of the Sea Peoples: *the latter cannot be understood as a strictly local phenomenon that gradually expanded to take regional and intercontinental repercussions, but must be considered as a hybrid, multi-tiered, intercontinental, inter-language-phyla affair from the very beginning.*

²⁰⁹ Considering that the phonetic value of the Ancient Egyptian ʒ is often ar, the $[w?]ʒšš$ may well have been Alasyans i.e. Cypriots; this tallies with the contemporary documentary reports concerning the last days of Ugarit (Astour 1965; Schaeffer 1983).

5.2.2. [š?]ʒrdn / Sardinians?

In similar fashion as for [w?]ʒšš, Woudhuizen identified the [š?]ʒrdn as Sardinians, and lets them sail from Sardinia to the Levant at the eve of the Sea Peoples Episode.

For Karst, the ancient name for Sardinia, Ichnussa, has Noahid / Inahid / Janus connotations (Central Nostratic / Eurasiatic *i.e.* Uralic or Altaic, upon a Sinocaucasian substrate), while Sardinia < Sardō is a Karthveloid toponym in other words belonging to the West Eurasiatic phylum Kartvelian in West Asia. This already indicates that even the oldest layers of Karst's four-tiered Mediterranean system may be postulated to feature in the Sardinian context. The names Saturnia / Sardunii reveal the modern Sardinia as the land of Turnus, associated with the Turnus people, *i.e.* the Turinii or Tyrrhenians. Thus Sardinia would appear to be suitably placed to be involved in the chain of maritime peoples which arose all over the Mediterranean as a result of the Eastbound return migration of Basquoids in the course of the second millennium BCE. Yet Karst puts a rather different emphasis. As we have seen, he connects the Sardinia name with the introduction of a North African, predominantly Afroasiatic speaking immigration under the legendary Punic / Phoenician general Sardus, whom he situates only in the aftermath of the battles involving the Sea Peoples proper. By the same token, and guided by the (unfounded) transliteration of [š?]ʒrdn as Shardana which was common in Karst's time, he sees this contingent of the Sea Peoples as having an origin in Western Asia, with an extensive parallel not to say identity with the Hyksos, and with predominantly an Indoaryan linguistic affiliation (which, at least in terms of Karst's four-tiered general system, may mainly refer to a ruling or military class – hence Karst's highly interesting proposal to consider Indoaryan *kšatriya*, 'warrior caste' as the etymon of Šʒrdn – and does not preclude Afroasiatic, Basquoid, Armeno-Caucasoid and Bantu elements among the [š?]ʒrdn).

If Karst's interpretation of the [š?]ʒrdn could be correct, it would, at least for the relatively conspicuous component of the Sea Peoples designated [š?]ʒrdn, reverse the model of an Eastbound movement starting in the Central Mediterranean – the scholarly consensus which has been emerging in Sea Peoples studies from the 1960s onwards, and which is reiterated in Woudhuizen's contribution to *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*. Sardinia and the Sardinians would only secondarily be named thus as a result of a migratory process that belonged to the aftermath, not the preparatory stage, of the Sea Peoples' episode. Such an interpretation would tally with the preliminary findings of archaeology on Sardinia (Guido 1963), where parallelism between Sardinian and Sea Peoples' material culture is not denied, but the Sardinian finds would suggest a dating of 1,000 BCE at the earliest – well after the Sea Peoples episode.

However, we must ask ourselves if an exclusively Westbound scenario does do justice to the very ancient connotations (which are also stressed by Karst himself; 1931a: 451 *f.*, 399), of Sardinia and its population as having been involved in a chain of Basquoid maritime peoples extending all over the Mediterranean and keeping alive the cult of an ancient Janus / Baso-jaun / Osogos god of beginnings, transitions and duplications, whose antecedents recede into remote Eurasian prehistory?

Karst's idea of a four-tiered reception structure waiting at the Western end of the Westbound scenario was invoked, in the [W?]ʒšš case above, to solve this dilemma. But perhaps the most convincing model would be one that (in line with the synthetic concluding chapter

of our 2011 book) combines a Westbound and an Eastbound scenario. Our study has revealed the immense potential at manipulation and transformation of the Ancient Mediterranean onomastic material; in view of this finding, the amalgamation, in Egyptian monumental inscriptions, of such heterogeneous elements under one name *šrḏn* need scarcely surprise us: both Syro-Palestinian elements reminiscent of *[šʔ]rḏn*, and Central-Mediterranean elements which indeed seem to have originated from the Isle of Sardinia. The *[šʔ]rḏn* dilemma would then be another reminder that the Sea Peoples episode did not consist in the sudden, blind and irrational domino-like precipitation (like the suicidal migration of lemmings) of unorganised and ignorant savage seafarers and overland travellers towards the, to them, mere legendary riches of the Eastern Mediterranean, in Hatti and Egypt. An alternative model is needed, perhaps along the following lines:

The Sea Peoples Episode is just one instance (brought out in monumental sources and with a note of drama and urgency (but also of distortive, exaggerating propaganda and scholarly paradigmatic one-sidedness), of what had been a fact for centuries, as one of the central features of the Mediterranean Late Bronze Age: the existence of a pan-Mediterranean loose network of ethnically and linguistically associated maritime peoples. In this network, people from West, Central and Eastern Mediterranean were in actual commercial contact, supplementing by trade what their home economies could not provide. Probably such contacts were underpinned by a certain cultic continuity, and by such rudimentary elements of a (possibly creolised or pidginised) lingua franca as their partially shared linguistic background (which Karst's hypothesis of the four-tiered system implicitly suggests) could provide all over the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean. Their military prowess and political neutrality vis-à-vis their host countries' domestic affairs had made them welcome mercenaries in Egypt, Hatti, Cyprus and Palestine, from where they took state-of-the-art military technology²¹⁰ and luxury goods back home – as labour migrants always do. What the Sea Peoples Episode mainly brings out is that occasionally these people used their contacts and their extensive information to take military advantage of the distant states which, in most other situations, they merely served as elite troops and allies.

5.2.3. *škrš* / Sicilians?

The group identified as *škrš*, Sicilian / Sicilians, constitute the third set of candidates for Woudhuizen's Eastbound scenario.

Greek legend situates Cocalus²¹¹ in the Daedalus cycle, which extensively refers to Minoan Crete. Daedalus died at Cocalus' royal court, which was Sicanian. Karst identifies Cocalus as an Ibero-Alarodian name,²¹² so we are still in the lower two postulated layers of Karst's four-tiered system. We are not sure if Afroasiaticisation took place before or after the Sea Peo-

²¹⁰ Although probably one decisive piece of military technology, the longer sword, was a Central Mediterranean invention rather than one picked up by the Sea Peoples in the Levant.

²¹¹ We have already met Cocalus above, in our passing reference to the Bana Kokalia among the Gwembe Tonga, Zambia, South Central Africa.

²¹² My suspicion of a possible Austric etymology was not confirmed; van Binsbergen in press (h).

ples's Episode. I tend, with Karst, towards an interpretation where it occurred mainly after the Episode, and largely as a result of it.

The *škrš* identity has been brought in association with both Sicanians and Siculians. The preceding overview of the Karstian approach has already indicated the complexity surrounding these two ethnonyms. In Karst's view, Sicania was originally probably a term for Iberian Hispania and Aquitania (cf. Trinakia, Erythia), relating to the Sicanus river in Western Iberia (today the Xúquer / Júcar River of Central Eastern Spain). In the four-tiered system, Sicanians existed

- as Ibero-Sicanians or Liby-Iberians, as an autochthonous group in the Western Mediterranean, with a North African / 'Libyan' origin, and extending into Sicily;
- as Veteres Sicani and Siqvani / Siquani and Spaniards, with Pontic-Caucasian connotations (first tier)
- as Basquoid Aškenaz-Sicanians (second tier) – involved in the Basquoid Eastbound migration producing the Leleges peoples, and subsequently pushed South by the expansion of Ligurian Secondary Siculians
- as Secondary Sicarians, extensively Afroasiaticised (third tier), in Southern Italy and Sicily, and finally
- as Indo-Europeanised Secondary Sicanians, whose Indo-European dominant class was called Sicanians, after – as Karst alleges – a Kartvelian etymon meaning 'strangers' (in this connection Karst cites a Georgian word *švani*, supposed to mean 'stranger'; – I am not equipped to check this; common Georgian translations of 'stranger' are: უცნობი, უცხოელი ; meanwhile it is surprising to see a Kartvelian term applied to Indo-European speakers in a context where the subaltern classes do not seem to have been predominantly Kartvelian-speaking...)

'As a later shift of the Caucasian[-speaking; WvB]²¹³ brachycephalic phyla to Western Europe we may consider what we know from history as the Siculian migrations, already involving younger, semi-Indo-Europeanoid population layers. These migrations are in their turn associated with the so-called Sicanian migrations. These are individual segments of a long chain of Ibero-Hesperian demographic shifts, which consisted in the fact that the autochthonous peoples of Ibero-Liguro-Inahidic Hesperia, pressed Southward by the Caucasian[-speaker; WvB]s coming in from the North-East, engaged in a seaborne Easterly return migration via Sicily, Crete to the Peloponnesian-Aegean coast all the way to Western Asia Minor. These are the Leleges migrations which, originating in Ibero-Ligurian Hesperia, ended in the Aegean-Anatolian basin, especially Caria, Peloponnesus and North-Western Asia Minor' (Karst 1931a: 248; my translation).

The Siculians or Sikeloi (cf. Szeklians) emerged, in their early form, as Basquoid Illyro-Thracians (Siculotians or Sikelotians), representatives of the second tier, upon an Uralic / Altaic substrate, expanding further West to produce the Proto-Ligurians. They are considered by Karst to be part of the expansion Westward (from 2,000 BCE onward) of what he – basing himself on the state of human biology in the 1920s – believes were brachycephalic peoples from the Ponto-Caucasian region. As Secondary or Younger Siculians or Siculians (Sikelians) proper (i.e. Secondary Ligurians) they constituted an Indo-European speaking group pushing the Sicarians to the South from Liguria; there is both a *satem* and a *kentum* variant. The assonance with Shluḡ or Shilkuh and Salah / Shelah implies that, predictably,

²¹³ Major 20th-c. CE tragedies surrounded the conflation of (a) speakers of a language and (b) the essentialised population group associated with that language and politically and constitutionally singled out for either genocidal oppression or supremacist domination: e.g. *Bantu* (in South Africa), *Aryan* (in Nazi Germany). Writing in the early 1930s, and a child of his times although far from a racist, Karst himself sees no objection yet against this practice, but we cannot naïvely continue to follow it, 90 years later. Yet Karst's indiscriminate use of the same names for (a) languages and (b) speakers of those languages, is so informative to his whole approach that we cannot very well render his ideas and arguments without following his usage on this point – even though under protest. In the course of this book's argument I have been uneasy about this policy on my part, but I do not see how it could have been avoided.

there was also an Afroasiaticised third tier among the Sicilians; this also finds expression in the Rhodes (Rodanim) / Lud / Erythia connotations of the maritime region extending from Africa Minor via Sicily to Southern Italy.

Despite this Afroasiatic connection, Karst (1931a: 468, 471) also recognises the link with 'Šardinia', and thus again implies a parallel between Sea Peoples and Hyksos, despite the fact that the two migratory movements were about four centuries apart. *Once more we get the impression that the Sea Peoples' Episode was not so much a unique feat of bellicose migration, but rather an aspect of a repetitive structural phenomenon revolving on the constant population flow, extending over many centuries, from West Asia into the Mediterranean, North Africa and Europe – a linguistically and culturally highly significant, relatively recent aspect of the Back-into-Africa migration.*

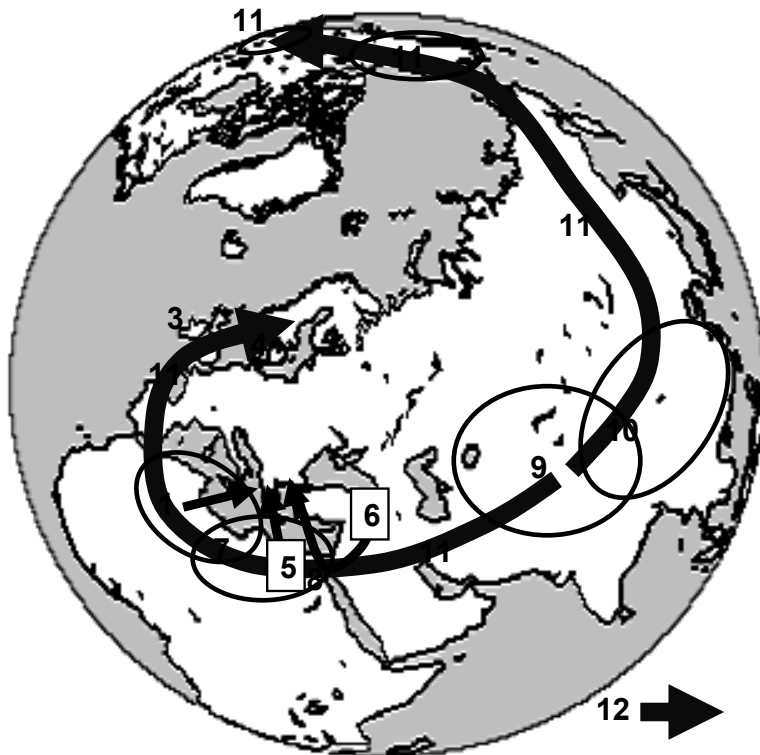
For the parallel between Sea Peoples and Hyksos, Karst relies on an dubious vocalisation of *škrš* as Šakaruša with its apparent Indoaryan affinities. His contribution on this point²¹⁴ flies in the face of a more mainstream identification, such as e.g. Woudhuizen's, of *škrš* in terms of Sicarians / Sicilians centring on the modern Isle of Sicily. Yet Karst's approach adds three dimensions to such an identification:

- the awareness of pan-Mediterranean ramifications of the *škrš* identity even if thought to ultimately originate from Sicily,
- the awareness of the internal layeredness of such an identity, from Caucaso-Armenoid, via Basquoid and Afroasiatic, possibly even Bantu, to Indo-European, also on Sicily
- and the possibility that in the proto-historical Mediterranean, leadership in migrations may have displayed mixed Afroasiatic and Indo-European connotations.

This approach thus makes us consider the precise geographical identification of *škrš* origins with considerable, laconic detachment: in the pan-Mediterranean percolation of peoples, languages of identities (such as is characteristic of the Bronze Age), 'no man is an island', in other words, no people, no language, not even an island, can be considered as insular, as closed onto itself; everywhere, in the proto-historical Mediterranean, the ethnic, linguistic, commercial, politico-military, and possibly cultic interconnections, with (some) other parts of the Mediterranean, are probably more relevant than the fact that, in the case of the *škrš*, these may have happened to focus on the modern Sicilian landmass.

²¹⁴ The New Kingdom started with the eviction of the Hyksos, which (whatever the specialists' vast disagreements on the details of Egyptian periodisation) must have been in a very different period from the times of Ramses III and Menerptah, when the heyday of the New Kingdom was already over --- these few centuries make all the difference!

5.2.4. dʒiniw / Danaoi?



- 1 Primal Pelasgians
- 2 Danaos, Danaoi as pre-Hellenic Pelasgians
- 3 Danan as primal people in Ireland
- 4 Danes (Scandinavia)
- 5 Danaos migrations, leading to Egypto-Danaeans in the Peloponneseus, cf.
- 6 Hyksos migrations (identical to 4?); here we should also place the Danunians, cf. Schade 2005: 'Azatiwada, steward of Ba'al, servant of Ba'al, a mighty man of Awariku, king of the Danunians'
- 7 Ta(/ e)ʒe(n)nu, Tamahu, (blond) 'Libyans' (Amazonian invasions in 'Athens' not in Athens in Greece,

- but meant is the aith-Taḥenu, Libyans)
- 8 *Dʒnyn* on Egyptian monuments referring to Sea Peoples
- 9 Pei-shu-tan / Poseidon / as primal 'Turanic' people / eponymic ruler
- 10 Proto-Sinotibetan: *t(i)ä(H) / *taj(H), 'red', as in Chinese: 赤 *tia? 'red earth, red pigment' (cf. also 丹, Old Chinese *tän 'vermillion, red', Karlgren 1957 number 0150 a-b); in view of Sinic presence in Syro-Palestine, possible link with Adam 𐤀𐤓𐤌 = 'redness, first human'
- 11 Na-Dene: dene = 'human being, people, flowing from Mother

- Earth; Sinotibetan and Na-Dene constitute, with Caucasian, Bursushski, and possibly Basque, the linguistic macro-family of [Dene-]Sinocaucasian
- 12 Proposed diffusion of the lexical complex -tan- / -dan- / -dene- 'descendants'; the continuity between [Dene-]Sinocaucasian, 'Turan' and (modern) Libya seems to corroborate Karst's hypothesis of sub-Mongoloid [Amerind?] and Ibero-Aethiopian [Proto-African?] migrations from South Central Asia

Fig. 5.3: Long-range distribution of the lexical complex -tan- / -dan- / -dene- 'descendant / human being / people'

The *dʒinīw* constitute the fourth component in the Sea Peoples. They are identified, by Woudhuizen and some of his predecessors, as the Homeric Danaoi, *pace* Helck, who absolutely declines this identification. On the basis of documents that have come available in the course of the twentieth century CE, Helck (1979b) rather seeks an identification with the Gulf of Issus region.

The importance of these wider, pan-Mediterranean ramifications, and the somewhat limited value, again, of pinning a particular ethnonym or toponym of the proto-historical Mediterranean down to a particular, narrowly defined space and time (e.g. an island like Sardinia or Sicily), is further brought out when we apply Karst's treatment of the Danaoi ethnonym to the Sea Peoples context. Pointing out the analogy (Karst 1931a: 69, 414) with Gadhelic-Irish *daoine*, *doini*, 'human being, people, folk'; cf. Danes [Scandinavia], Danaoi, Danan, Danians (as a pre-Celtic Ligyan ethnonym) and Taḥenu, 'Libyan' (cf. Tamahu (Libyans), Karst 1931a: 367; Tamahu, the Libyan ethnonym; Karst 1931a: 367, 487), Karst establishes the basic identity of the Danaoi as that of pre-Hellenic Primal Pelasgians, who settled in the Aegean as a result of migration from a North African homeland (Thessaly / Thettalia / Oenotria-Sicania; for Karst, Thessaly is the designation, not in the first place of a Greek region, but of people and lands associated with the Flood). We could go even much further afield and point out the continuity with Sinocaucasian, where we may identify the same lexico-semantic complex *-dan-* / *-tan-*. If the latter has such an astonishingly wide distribution as Fig. 5.3 suggests, and is so basic in ethnic nomenclature, then any identification between any two specific groups manifesting this element in their names risks to be arbitrary.

To this postulated substrate layer of Primal Pelasgians, subsequent developments were to add, in the course of the Bronze Age, an Armenoid / Basquoid layer resulting in 'Secondary Pelasgians' – essentially of the first and Second (Lelegoid) tier. The Cashluḫite and Caphortite migrations (involving ruling layers of Afroasiatic and Indo-European speakers) may have brought the Pelasgians in the orbit of the Hyksos exploits (Karst 1931a: 581) and added the third and fourth postulated tier; the fourth tier, moreover, was especially due to the expansion of Tyrrhenians.

Recent scholarship has tended to overlook possible West Asian and North East African components of the Sea Peoples in favour of more or less European Sea Peoples from, or so the emerging consensus insists, the northern shores of the Central and North-Eastern Mediterranean. From pre-Dynastic times onward, a strong 'Libyan' element, with standardised features in somatic appearance, dress style (penis sheath, beard and specific coiffure), language and cultic practice (the goddess Neith), has been recognised in Ancient Egyptian geopolitical stereotypes. Libyans were counted among the main enemies of the Egyptian state, featuring in a long series of real or propagandist-legendary battles, but they also provided an iconographic model for the Egyptian king in dress and hairstyle, and occasionally the king himself was Libyan. However, while Karst feels he is justified to include Taḥenu in the same cluster of ethnonyms with Dane and Danaoi, it is impossible to interpret the *dʒinīw* as Libyans – the orthographic differences are too massive, and anyway the Libyan ethnonym (contrary to that of the *dʒinīw*) occurs with great frequency in New Kingdom Egyptian documents in a few clearly established variants. Instead, Helck's (1979b) identification in the Gulf of Issus deserves serious consideration, both because of his stature as a prominent Egyptologist, because of his adamant dismissal of the Danaoi identification, and also because it is a plea for an alternative to the by now mainstream Eastbound scenario – in this case, a Southbound one.

5.2.5. *pr-wst* / Philistines?

The identification of *pr-wst* as Philistines from Crete is one of the established dogmas of Sea Peoples studies. The Syro-Palestine coastal region was more or less effectively under Egyptian rule from the early third to the late second millennium, the latter date marking the Sea Peoples Episode. Like in other parts of the Mediterranean, we find here the succession, upon a substrate of primal groups of, presumably, Central Nostratic / Eurasiatic (Uralic and Altaic) and Sinocaucasian connotations, a succession of

- Armeno-Hittitoid' (the ancient Pherizzi, 'Pheresites', (Karst 1931a: 41, 377, 380) or Pheresitic-Hittite-Philistaeon (Karst 1931a: 384),
- Basquoid (immigrated, as Secondary Pelasgians and probably explicitly carrying the name of Pelasgians, from the Leleges lands, *i.e.* the Aegean),
- Afroasiatic (in the context of the Cashlujim and Capthorim migrations, which terms summarise the Afroasiaticisation of, respectively, the Central and the Eastern Mediterranean), and
- Indo-European (*e.g.* in the course of the Hyksos wanderings, but especially as a (semi-) Indo-European speaking ruling class on the Syro-Palestinian coast, with close Illyrian affinities and closely related if not identical to the Lycians / Teukroi / Carians / Takkara).

The use of the word *Krethi* for a primal people in Palestine and on the Isle of Crete, has, in combination with the fallacy of misplaced concreteness, done much to over-concentrate scholarly attention on that island as potential Philistine homeland. While in several of these migrations, Crete was a station, perhaps even a springboard, for a migratory wave headed for the Syro-Palestinian coast, in view of the general, pan-Mediterranean percolation inherent in the Karstian model, it is unrealistic to consider Crete as the ultimate origin of any of the groups featuring under the *pr-wst* ethnonym.

'Pelasgian Crete is very reminiscent of Basque *ugarte*, 'island' and may even be composed from the corresponding Ancient Iberian-Lelesgian **urgate* or *ugarte*. (...) Only in this connection and under these assumptions can we understand the Ancient Hebrew tradition about Capthor and the Krethi peoples, to which admittedly also the Philisti-im must be reckoned. For Capthor and Cashlujim refer on the one hand to Illyroid Italia-Oenotria, on the other hand to Liby-Hesperia.' (Karst 1931a: 428; my translation)

For, since *Krethi* is merely a term for 'strangers' and does not originally refer, specifically, to the Island of Crete,


'the obscure report concerning a Philistinian or even Jewish primal homeland in Crete must by no means be taken literally, but instead as a mistaken interpretation of the appellative nomen *garerthi-querethi*, that in the Caucasian-Iberian languages and in the Proto-Hittite of Canaan in general meant "the strangers" or "the strange land"' (Karst 1931a: 379; my translation).

I remind the reader of Karst's (1931a: 392 and *passim*; see the index to that book) discussion of the name 'Cretan', as

1. originally an allophylic ethnonym denoting merely 'aliens', subsequently
2. projected onto a place or places (to be named 'Crete') where specific groups of aliens happened to be highlighted in a situation that happened to have a great and lasting historical impact emphasised in documents and oral traditions, after which
3. the name of Crete becomes a mere toponym that attaches to the other and subsequent inhabitants of that place

4. who may take that *choristic* ethnonym, and carry it elsewhere in their migrations, etc.

In this complexity, also Karst's own reduction of 'Takkara' (*t3k3r*) and 'Purusati' (*pr-wst*) to some Indoaryan invasion parallel to, or even identical with, that of the Hyksos, is rather beside the point. Still we owe to him an awareness of the layeredness of the Philistine situation, which cannot be relegated to one particular move from one particular mainland or island at one particular moment of time. (Proto-)Philistines, internally variegated according to place of origin, genetic composition, linguistic, ethnic and cultural affiliation (as no doubt brought out by the varying associations surrounding their weaponry and pottery), but called by approximately that name, occurred along the Syro-Palestinian coast, since the early second millennium, as exponents of a pan-Mediterranean network of maritime peoples.

If here we substitute for Philistines, *Pelasgians*, we are in excellent company, comprising not only Karst, but also (*bien étonnés de se trouver ensembles*) Barnett (1987: 375), Albright (1975 / 1987), and Woudhuizen (in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Chapter 19, pp. 281 f.). In the latter book (Table 28.2, p. 344) I gave – but on the handicapped basis of my admittedly minimal knowledge of Egyptian – arguments to doubt the interpretation of *pr-wst* (*pr-wst*) as 'Philistines' (in the sense of denoting a people who called themselves, autophyically, 'Philistines'); it seems likely that the local availability of an autophylic identification as *Pelasgians* (a possible Egyptian rendering of which might approximately be reconstructed as *pr3sgw* ) has helped shaping the Egyptian expression *pr-wst* ('[foreigners from the] Domain of Uset') into what only later was to become the fixed Philistinian ethnonym of the Old Testament world – which only occurs in Biblical redactions going back to the Middle Iron Age anyway. So I am not doubting that the *pr-wst* of the Egyptian inscription denotes the same people as who, in the Biblical record, are known as Philistines; what I doubt is that they already identified autophyically as Philistines by the time of the Sea Peoples Episode.

Without questioning the likelihood of the presence of smaller recent immigrant groups from the Aegean, another reason to doubt that the *pr-wst*, in their entirety, had arrived at their Syro-Palestinian home only shortly before the Sea Peoples Episode, lies in the fact that (cf. Barnett 1987) Philistine gods were largely Canaanite, for instance the sky god Ba^c-alshamen ('of the sky'), whom Mazar (2000: 214) considers to be not unlike Zeus. Margulies (1974) claims the existence of a Minoan fly cult (presumably largely on the ground of the famous Mallia double fly pendant which however is generally considered to depict either bees or horse-flies,²¹⁵ and certainly not the common housefly); this hypothetical cult would then explain the Philistine cult of Beelzebub, and confirm at the same time the Cretan origin of his adepts, the Philistines. However, rather than from an unattested Minoan cult we should look for a comparative context of Beelzebub closer to Syro-Palestine, in Egypt,²¹⁶ and in Mesopotamia, where flies represented the rainbow (Draffkorn Kilmer 1987), and thus

²¹⁵ See Woudhuizen 2011, and van Binsbergen 2011c: 298 f. for specific discussions of bee and wasp symbolism in Crete and Ancient Egypt, with references.

²¹⁶ In Ancient Egypt, valiant soldiers were honoured with a golden fly as an accolade for bravery. Bees or rather flies are also represented among the golden jewellery of Queen Ahhotpu I or II (see Maspero *et al.* 1903: IV, Part A). In this treasure we also find axes with a semi-circular cutting edge (more or less of the kind that Oppenheimer – 1998 – proposed (somewhat unplausibly; van Binsbergen 202a: 213, Fig. 6.1.k) as signs of Sunda influence, from South East Asia to Scandinavia, and which also occurs among the Nkoya of South Central Africa.

symbolised the sky god – the rainbow-sealed Covenant between the Supreme God and Noah after the Flood (*Genesis 9*) makes this also a Biblical theme. Karst presents a considerable argument on Beelzebul. He reverses the Hellenocentric or Eurocentric view according to which (cf. Richter 1979) the fly cult of Beelzebub in Syro-Palestine was a transformation of the Aegean Zeus Apomyios or Zeus Myiagros.

‘Wiewohl nun manches von Späteren auf die pontischen Kolchier und Myso-Thraken Bezogene ursprünglich gewiss auf puntisch-erythraische Völker gemünzt war, so lauten doch die Zeugnisse für „äthiopisch“-chaldäische oder hamito-kuschitische Zusammenhänge zwischen Nord- und Südvor-derasien derartig bestimmt und kategorisch, dass an deren Authentizität nicht zu rütteln sein wird. Bis nach Thrakien und Dakien-Mosien hinein reicht iberohamitischer Kultureinflug: der getisch-dakische Zamolxis – Zalmoxis scheint offenbar nur eine alte Variante des babylonischen Thamuz darzustellen: Thamuz aus *Thamurthe. Kultisches Bindeglied ist hier die skythische Genie Thomyris, die iberosudkaukasische Thamar, deren verblasstes göttliches Wesen noch vielfach in der halbmythischen Gestalt der mittelalterlichen Königin Thamar bei den Georgiern durchschimmert.2) (...) Dazu stellt der moabitisch-ammonitische Gott Khamoz < *Khamorthe lediglich die gutturale Lautphase dar. Zalmoxis steht lautlich gleichwertig für *dhamolxi, *dhamorthe, *thamorthe. Was uns bei Strabo vom getischen Gotte, beziehungsweise göttlichen Propheten Zamolxis ([Strabo, *Rerum Geographicarum Libres XVII*] 649, 7 f.) berichtet wird, verrät eine dem ägyptisch-kuschitisch-chaldäischen Kulturkreise entflozene Religionsübung bei den Voelkern der westlichen Pontusgebiete. Zamolxis ist engverwandt mit der Sippe Kybele < KybeleX und Moloch; letzterer ein Hypokoristikum aus *Khamaloch – *Zamoloch – JambluX; cf. Jamblychos. – Verwandt erscheint der thrakisch-dakische Ze-beleizis mit dem palästinischen Belze-bul (-but, -hub). Die Varianten -zebul, -zebul entsprechen ganz dem Verhältnisse Kybele / Kybebe. Mit demselben thrakisch-palastinischen Thema beleize radikal verwandt oder identisch erachten wir nun auch Polistae oder Plistae, dakische Anachoreten und Zalmoxis-Adepten (Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, XVIII, 115). Außer Pleist-oros, d. i. Dionysos bei den thrakischen Absinthiern (Herodotus, *Historiae*, IX, 119) [Original footnote: Die Gleichung ist zuerst von W. Tomaschek, [1883] *Restes de la Langue Dace*, pg. 407, aufgestellt worden. Im übrigen weichen wir in der Erklärung der Polisten von Tomaschek radikal ab.], stellen wir als mutmaßlich verwandte Termini noch hierher: Pleist-archos, Pleistinos, Pleisti-anax, Pleisto, Pleisto-nike, Pleisthenes; Belisar; Polias (Athen[a]); die theoi pelasgikoi oder pelasgi dii, worin pelasg als authentisches Divinnomen zu fassen ist. Vgl. breton[isch] beleg ‘Priester’, arm[enisch] erez C peretz ‘Geistlicher, Priester’ aus *pelesk, *peliasik. [Original footnote: Das armenische Priesterappellativ erez ist bisher bei den Philologen irrthümlicherweise mit dem homonymen Worte fuer ‘Ältester, Greis’ verwechselt worden (gr. *presbus*).] Hierzu ferner noch Belesys, Belesios, Beleus bei Babyl.-Assyren; Philesios (Apollo), Philetas, Philiskos, Philistos. Nach Philitis oder Philitton, einem ägyptischen „Hirten“ sollen einige Pyramiden benannt sein (Herodot[us], *Historiae*, II, 128) (Karst 1931b: 67 f.)

But whatever the details of regional symbolic and cultic continuity in this connection, the important point to be made is that such regional cultic continuity as the *pr-wst* display, *does hardly fit a scenario of very recent immigration from the Aegean* – of course, there would have been Transformative Localisation, also among Greeks from the Aegean settling on the Syro-Palestine coast, but it would not go so fast as to immediately adopt a local god as their main cult. Again Karst’s notion of a hybrid, four-tiered Mediterranean system for the Late Bronze Age might be profitably invoked. It is not necessary to deny that part of the Philistines were recent immigrants from the Aegean. But these were a section that was relatively quickly and smoothly assimilated among a larger body of Proto-Philistines that were already there and that had no recent links with the Aegean: hybrid Secondary Pelasgians displaying heterogeneous Pelasgian, Caucasian, Basque, Afroasiatic, Bantu, and Indo-European traits.

Albright (1975) makes much of the distinction, possibly just based on artistic free variation, between three types of decoration in Philistinian (Beth-shan) funerary contexts (helmets on anthropic sarophagi) in Palestine: a single row of circles, a double row, and a row of chevrons. This is all he needs to make the step to the Rhodians, whose tripartite political organisation is mentioned in

the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* (Homer, *Iliad* 2). Albright does not stop to observe that triad and tripartition have been recognised (Dumézil 1958, cf. Dowden 1993) to be, not just a feature of the inhabitants of the modern Isle of Rhodes in the Late Bronze Age, but an ubiquitous feature of Indo-Europeanness, occasionally spilling over to culturally related cultures such as those of Ancient Egypt and even Meso America (the latter probably as a result of South Asian influence, which has also been suspected in the case of colour symbolism and board games; cf. Tylor 1879, 1880, 1896). Interpretation is rendered difficult because the *Table of Nations* and the *Catalogue of Ships* seem to be the only places in ancient literatures where ‘Rhodians’ are mentioned. We are reminded of Karst’s important alternative interpretations of Rhodes, situated mainly in the Central Mediterranean / Africa Minor. However, the specific place names specified in the context of the Rhodians in the *Catalogue of Ships* (e.g. Ialysos) bear out Albright in so far as the identification of Rhodes is concerned (as the modern island of that name) – even though this does not totally rule out that ‘Homer’ may have been interpreting an ancient source that might possibly have referred, initially, to a different Rhodes, from among the range identified by Karst (e.g. Africa Minor and surroundings), and even though this does not confirm any Rhodian monopoly on tripartition.

The result of our reconsideration of the identification of *pr-wst* is a mixed bag: ethnic identities of long local standing, recent immigration, onomastic manipulation, and such continuity as is produced by the hypothetical four-tiered Mediterranean system, together make us doubt both specific identifications and a clear-cut scenario or itinerary of trans-Mediterranean displacement, in the context of Sea Peoples studies, yet convey an authentic feel of the proto-historical Mediterranean as a highly complex proto-globalised region *par excellence*.

5.2.6. ἰκζωῖς / Aḫaioi?

As we have seen in our discussion of the *Catalogue of Ships* (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: ch. 5, pp. 99 *f.*), by the early Iron Age the ethnonym Aḫaioi had come to be attached to the Hellenic inhabitants of the Aegean. It appears to be more or less interchangeable with that of Danaoi, and if any rules govern the application of either term, these rules have not yet been identified. Karst (1931a: 404, 414, 419) identifies Achaioi as an ethnonym of Pontic-Caucasian origin, notably as the ancient name of the Pontic-Caucasian[-speaking] Abḫazians, who incidentally have connotations of high skin pigmentation. This would relegate this ethnonym to the first tier in Karst’s four-tiered structure, with already a history of many centuries by the time of the Sea Peoples Episode. No further arguments in favour or against the identification of ἰκζωῖς as Greeks / Achaioi can be derived from the Karstian approach – unless the heuristic insight that a later people supplanting a preceding one in the history of a particular region may adopt the earlier name without sharing any of their predecessors’ linguistic or cultural characteristics: in other words, Homer’s Achaioi may be understood as Secondary Achaioi, to the otherwise very different Primary Achaioi, who did circumcise and who did feature in the Sea Peoples’ Episode. (Nor do we seem to need further arguments, for Helck is absolutely sure in his identification of ἰκζωῖς as Achaioi – so sure, in fact, that he apparently can afford to offer, without comment, two different vocalisations of the same Egyptian expression, as *’aqawas* and as *’aqajawas*...)

The ἰκζωῖς (Akawasha, in Barnett’s transliteration) were circumcised according to Egyptian records (Barnett 1987: 367; Helck 1979b: 122). In the present case, these records (Merneptah’s funerary temple; cf. Mercer & Hall 1922; Clarke 2013) can be considered reliable because they report something highly unexpected: when after the battle the corpses of slain enemies were piled up, those of the ἰκζωῖς, in recognition of being circumcised and in that respect sacred, were

singled out: their penises were not cut off as was the standard way of counting slain enemies, but instead their hands were severed. Authors on the Sea Peoples have mentioned this feature in passing without realising its immense significance. Could this possibly be the Homeric Achaeans? Of course, circumcision was a distinctive ethnic feature of the Israelites, among whom their putative ancestor Abram / Abraham was credited with the introduction of this custom (*Genesis 17*). Circumcision was also a common and very ancient practice in Egypt, which under the New Kingdom and the Late Period was increasingly emphasised as a precondition for kingship and priesthood.²¹⁷ However, these very circumstances cast serious doubt upon the identification of the *ἱκῶν* as Greeks from the Aegean. There is no evidence whatsoever to suggest circumcision in Early Iron, Archaic or Classical Greece. Herodotus (*Historiae*, II.4) merely suggests, in passing, the practice among the Colchians. To interpret the circumcised *ἱκῶν* one could think not only of Israelites and Egypt, but of the more comprehensive cluster of peoples in West Asia whose antecedents and subsequent intercontinental wanderings Karst has invited us to imagine. In line with the archdiffusionist C. Elliot Smith writing one or two decades earlier (1915 / 1929), Karst (1931a: 326) sees circumcision, like a few other traits including megaliths, tattooing and the couvade, as an ancient practice, originally associated with the South Central Asian centre of radiation from which major migrations went both West and East.²¹⁸ My distribution map of male genital mutilation (Fig. 5.4) shows that this is a possibility; however, on closer scrutiny of all available data a combination of West Asian with South East Asian epicentres seems more convincing (van Binsbergen 2020: 424f).

The presence of Sinic / Sinotibetan-speaking and Bantoid-speaking groups in West Asia in the Bronze Age, suggests, for the identification of the *ἱκῶν*, not Aegean Greeks but inhabitants of Syro-Palestine. If we accept that, as Karst insisted, the four-tiered and hybrid system of the Mediterranean was particularly conspicuous precisely in that region, certain groups in Syro-

²¹⁷ Strouhal 1993: 28 f.; Bonnet 1971, s.v. 'Beschncheidung'. Jeffreys 1949 is one of the arguments to claim that male genital mutilation reached sub-Saharan Africa from Ancient Egypt. My work in progress on the Sunda Hypothesis does *not* suggest that male genital mutilation originated in the Indo-Pacific but allows for the possibility that in the case of this trait, as in the case of several other traits, Sunda expansion was instrumental in further spreading traits already originated and established elsewhere. On classical Graeco-Roman attitudes to male genital mutilation and related anatomical aspects. cf. Hodges 2001.

²¹⁸ Remarkably, the Ancient Libyans, at least those in the Middle to Late Bronze Age, did not practice circumcision, as is documented in Ancient Egyptian sources describing the counting of Libyan victims' severed penises, which by implication could only be uncircumcised for else had been too sacred to cut off. Among the Libyan neighbours of the Ancient Egyptians (and Libyans also inhabited part of the Delta during certain periods) the male genitals were marked in a different, less enduring and more detachable way, notably by archaic penis sheaths, which thus penetrated Ancient Egyptian iconography for the rendering of Libyans but also of Egyptians kings. Yet in the Middle and New Kingdom, Libyans were considered to be so distinct from Egyptians that the former ranked among the stereotyped recognised enemies of the Egyptian state and of the Egyptian king. That yet these two categories were so close iconographically can only be taken as a further indication of the impact of Delta, Libyan, Levantine and ultimately Pontic-Caucasian influences upon the emergence of the Egyptian dynastic state, in addition to such sub-Saharan African influences as mainstream studies of the rise of the pharaonic state have stressed since the days of Petrie and Budge and as further highlighted in recent mainstream Egyptology as a result of the archaeological synthesis of Hoffman 1979, cf. Williams 1986. The Ancient Libyans are linguistically rather close to the – circumcising – Ancient Egyptians as speakers of Afroasiatic (> Berber), but have always been stressed as culturally distinct from the Egyptians (with very distinct style of dress, coiffure and weaponry). From a Karstian perspective the absence of the practice of circumcision among the Ancient Libyans is somewhat surprising, because their unmistakable Pelasgian orientation would mean that, in terms of Karst's preposterous theory, they would have been rather close to the original West-bound migrants from South Central Asia, who are supposed to have diffused the practices of circumcision, couvade etc. over many parts of the world. *Clearly, the Karstian scheme is far too simple to be taken literally.*

Palestine may well have combined cultural (besides linguistic) traits from a Bantoid-speaking or Sinocaucasian-speaking cultural substrate with traits more usually associated with Afroasiatic-speaking and Indo-European-speaking populations. In other words, the *ikʷwʷš* may have been Canaanites, of long standing. Contrary to what is suggested by the current general practice of medical circumcision of hospital-born male neonates in the USA regardless of religious affiliation, ritual genital mutilation is a major step, which is not lightly taken nor lightly abandoned because of the deep-seated symbolic load that every culture projects onto the organs of human reproduction. If the *ikʷwʷš* were newly arrived immigrants from the Aegean still clinging to their ethnic name, they would not have been circumcising, would certainly have abhorred circumcision, and it would have taken them several generations at least before they had adopted this custom as a practice so common that it could win them a preferential treatment in the Egyptian post-battle tally. The *ikʷwʷš* simply cannot have been Achaians in the usual, Homeric and Classical, Aegean sense.

Perhaps a closer identification becomes possible once we realise that a l / r sound lurks underneath the Egyptian enclitic particle *ʒ*. A plausible vocalisation of *ikʷwʷš* is therefore *ikarwarš*, and that comes sufficiently close to the autophylic Basque ethnonym *Euskara*, to remember that – at least in Karst’s opinion – the Basquoid element initiated, and continued to unite, the various maritime peoples in the proto-historical Mediterranean. (Cf. the name of the mythical figure Icarus? However, the name of the latter’s father, Daedalus, appears to derive from the root *-tal-*, ‘star, luminary’, from *Borean *TVLKV, and with reflexes in Eurasian, Afroasiatic, Austric, and Amerind, but not in Sinocaucasian; Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008, ‘Long-range etymology’.) As a very ancient people, retaining significant traces of a Bantu-oid-speaking or Khoisanoid-speaking primordial population on the South West European Iberian peninsula, it is quite possible that the *Euskara* did practice circumcision in the Late Bronze Age – their ancestors may have brought the custom from West Asia in the Upper Palaeolithic.²¹⁹ Nor is it at all necessary for the *ikʷwʷš* to come directly from the Iberian peninsula: if they transmitted circumcision as a trait along with their maritime skills, their cult of the cosmogonic god *Basojaun*, and elements of their languages, to the Central Mediterranean (Oscians, Primary Sardinians, Tyrrhenians, Sicilians and Sicarians) and the

²¹⁹ If (as Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1994 claim) they were the descendants of the makers of the painted caves of the Franco-Cantabrian Upper Palaeolithic, we might expect in contemporary iconography traces of circumcision. I am not aware that so far any have been identified with a methodological rigour that satisfies not only urologists (such as Angulo & García-Díez 2009, who for the Upper Paleolithic make a positive claim on this point) but also archaeologists; the iconographic material which Angulo & García-Díez adduce in support of their claims, is graphically vague, and sometimes of contentious provenance. Our 2009 urologists’ conclusion was:

‘The erection in Pal[a]eolithic art is explicitly represented in almost all the figures defined as unequivocally male that have survived to the present and in many objects of portable art. Circumcision and / or foreskin retraction [but these are two very different things from a ritual and even an anatomical point of view – WVb] of the penis are present in most of the works.’ (Angulo & García-Díez 2009)

This at least does not make it impossible that the ancestors of Bronze-Age Basquoid-speaking groups did practice circumcision. Modern Basque does not offer clear clues on this point: van Eys’s 1873 Basque dictionary gives s.v. ‘circoncision’: *circoncioneco*, as if the practice (inevitably known to Christian Basques from the Bible; and to Jewish ones, moreover, from personal practice) is a totally alien one and has no originally local lexical designation; yet the geneticists Arnaiz *et al.* 2001 cite an apparently genuine Basque word for circumcision, *bilebai*, as if the practice might be, or might have been, indigenous. However, we have explicit reasons to doubt the linguistic credibility of these authors (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 54, n. 84), and anyway, whatever the local practice, as Christians they would need a word for male genital mutilation simply to be able to translate the Bible.

Aegean (Leleges, Carians, Horites), then we would have found our circumcising *ik3w3š*, even complete with possible Aegean connotations.

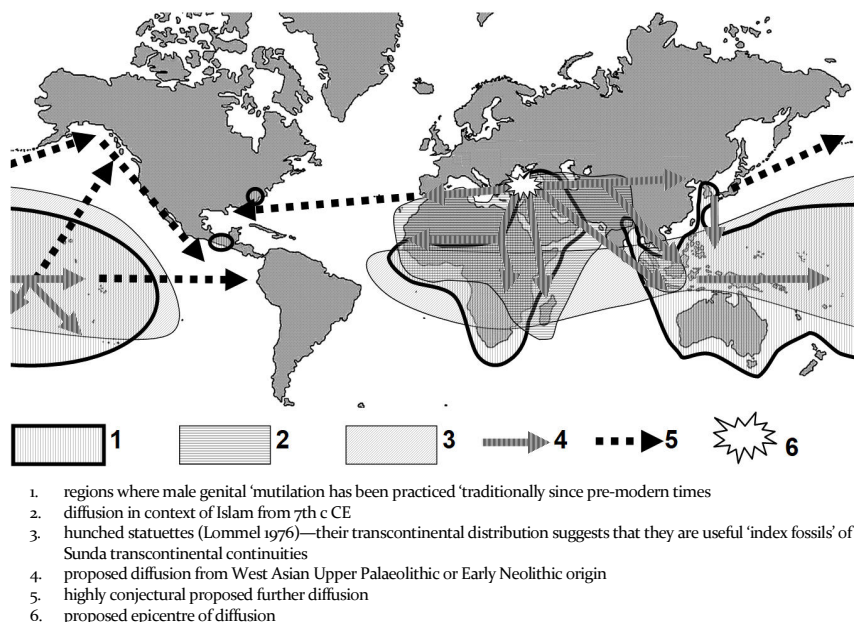


Fig. 5.4. Distribution and proposed diffusion of pre-modern male genital mutilation (circumcision)

What the present tentative sketch of the global cultural history of male genital mutilation does not do, is to affirm that trait as a *perennial African prerogative*²²⁰— despite the preponderance of this custom in considerable parts of Africa. My reluctance to follow that line of thought not only reflects my aversion against essentialisation, as the inevitable implication of such identitary claims; nor my scarcely smaller aversion against heliocentric Egyptocentrism.²²¹ my position is especially inspired by the situation I found in Zambia, South Central Africa, from the 1970s on. Here there was significant regional minority, the Lunda-Luvale peoples with neighbouring Chokwe and Luchazi, continuing across the Congolese and particularly the Angolan national border, who did engage in circumcision, and even in the towns along the country's 'Line of Rail' (Lusaka, Kitwe, etc.), under the term 'Mukanda' would annually organise initiation camps for young boys to be circumcised and to be taught traditional knowledge. The majority of Zambian however abhorred the rpractice of circumci-

²²⁰ As it is sometimes claimed to be, e.g. in the ethnic politics of Evuna Owono of Equatorial Guinea; cf. Cusack 2001. Certain food taboos e.g. on the consumption of pork are included in the same pan-Bantu ideological claims. For students of a possible Israelite / Jewish impact on sub-Saharan Africa this would be grist for the mill; for students of cultural politics this would be primarily a case of essentialisation.

²²¹ Elliot Smith (1929 / 1915: 104, and index ; cf. 1913) claims that also male genital mutilation is part of the heliolithic ('solar / megalithic') complex with all its contentious Egyptocentric and diffusionist connotations.

sion, both for boys and for girls, and shunned social, marital and sexual contacts with the circumcising groups. The Nkoya people whom I have studied ever since that period, found themselves in an ambiguous position: culturally and linguistically, they were akin to the circumcising groups, and in fact they had observed general male genital mutilation in the remoter past, while their royals still engaged in the practice until c. 1900 CE. In South Central Africa, the control over circumcision was historically a royal prerogative, and in Nkoya oral traditions the Nkoya's lesser kings rejection of the overlordship of the Mwaat Yaamv ('Lord Death') king of Musumba in Southern Congo, initially meant concretely also their rejection of Mukanda. The Humbu war to reconquer the absconding Nkoya kings was only partially successful, so that by 1900 only court circles were still engaging in the practice – with the hut-like royal kara shrine as a major visible attribute of such engagement. From the early 19th c. CE the Nkoya kings and their people were confronted with the encroachment – much stronger than the pull from distant Musumba -- from the Kololo / Luyana state in the Zambezi flood plain to the West of Nkoyaland. Colonisation redefined the Luyana state into the Barotseland Protectorate, with a privileged status within Northern Rhodesia (initially North-Western Rhodesia, since 1964 Zambia), and made it important to dissociate from the Lunda-Luvale peoples, who (contrary to the Nkoya) successfully eluded Barotse domination. Labour migration and urbanisation, meanwhile, created a situation where, in town, Nkoya migrants found themselves compelled to dissociate from the Lunda-Luvale, so as to avoid the stigma that had come to be associated with the latter. Rather than being a marker of primordial, immutable identity, male genital circumcision thus became a major symbol in the expression, and manipulation, of socio-political allegiance.

5.2.7. tʰkʰr / Teukroi?

Our picture of the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean has by now become sufficiently complex that it can meaningfully comment on Woudhuizen's identification of the *Tʰkʰr* as Teukroi.

Teukroi / Teucrians, with Carians, Lycians, Lydians, Cilicians, and Dardanoi, and extending into Mysia and Cyprus, constitute a cluster of peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean, that traversed all the four postulated tiers to end up with a Pelasgico-Indo-European dominant class. They are associated with the Tyrrhenians, and have some antecedents in the Western Mediterranean, which is implied in the second (Basquoid / Lelegoid) tier – as well as in Libya / North Africa; Crete is supposed (on the basis of an etic examination of their objective characteristics rather than as a statement on their emic self-perceptions) to have formed the springing board between these Western regions, and their final settlements in the North-Eastern Mediterranean.

'Besides, the Lycians, like the Lelego-Proto-Carians and the Teucrians give evidence, in view of their tradition and geographical position, of immigration via Crete, from regions to the West South West (i.e. Libya / North Africa)' Karst 1931a: 247; cf. Karst 1928: 134.f).

Karst agrees that the Teucrians extended into Syro-Palestine:

'[From the root] *ʰ-duxa* / **durxa* in 'Katpadu*xu*' [= Cappadocia; italics and quotation marks added – WvB] are derived:

- 'Turan' < *turʰan*;
- Turkish Turcoman, the Turkish nation;
- Thorgom-Togarma, < *torg arma*, the presumable pre-Armenian ethnonym;

- the Teucrian and Takkara peoples, who once extended from Cilicia via Crete all the way to the Palestinian-Philistaeian coast.
- Cappadocians,²²² Cretans and Carians once belonged to the same ethnic identity – notorious as the τρία κάππα κάκιστα²²³ [‘the most evil three Ks’, in our English rendering Cs – WvB] among the Aegeo-Lesgians because of their piracy – and as a fourth member the related Proto-Philistines joined them’ (Karst 1931a: 355f.)

Karst also accepts the identification of the Teukroi with ‘Takkara’ / *t3k3r*. The lesson that can be drawn from a Karstian approach in this case is, again, not to overemphasize the possible provenance of *t3k3r* from one specific point in time and place (e.g. the Troad by the mid-thirteenth century BCE, as Woudhuizen does in his contribution to the present volume), but to accept the wide distribution and essential continuity between the shores of the Aegean, Southern Anatolia, and Syro-Palestine – especially if we appreciate that this continuity means not the wide spread of one specific, monolithic linguistico-ethnic identity, but – at least the way Karst saw it – of a complex tiered structure which had emerged, with local variants, as a result of a common pan-Mediterranean history throughout the Bronze Age.

However, Karst’s reading of the Teukroi cannot be adopted wholesale. He stresses (Karst 1931a: 468) the parallel with the Hyksos, and accepts that Teukroi = Tiukara = Takkara. He sees them as a Western branch of Proto-Aryans immigrating into Western Asia Minor c. 2500, while the other branch migrated into Iran and India. The Western branch must be very clearly distinguished, or so Karst emphasises, from Phrygo-Thracian and Illyro-Pelasgian Asianics of Indo-European extraction. Greek reports on the migration of this Western branch would have come to us in the form of the Amazone invasions – which earlier on, however, Karst had attributed to a Bantuoid or Afroasiatic element.²²⁴ Karst’s discussion on this point is too cursory to base a serious discussion upon. He identifies the last wave of these migrations of the Western branch as the Hyksos migrations, which he dates (rather earlier than today’s scholarly consensus) at c. 1800 BCE but among whose predominantly Semitic-speaking stock he – apparently correctly – identifies traces of an East Aryan / Indoaryan ruling class commonly designated by the Sanskrit

²²² While there is a certain lack of consensus concerning the precise boundaries of Cappadocia, most authors agree that it does not and did not border on the Mediterranean – shielded off by Cilicia which lies South of Cappadocia. Some sources let Cappadocia stretch Northward all the way from Central Anatolia to the Black Sea shore. Does Karst imply that the feared Cappadocian hailed from the Black Sea? Or does he mean Cilicians instead?

²²³ The internal segmentation into three, ultimately four, separate groups whilst at the same time being considered one coherent ethnic category, reminds us of the internal segmentation of the Sea Peoples into distinct ethnic groups, before and after their military exploits.

²²⁴ Cf. Anonymous 2008 (*Caucasus Forum*, s.v. ‘Ancient Greek sources about the Caucasus’):

‘While Sayce [1882 – WvB] associated the name Amazon with the goddess Ma, Joseph Karst related it to a putative Hamazuni, deriving from Amasia...’

term *kṣatriya*.²²⁵ The Sea Peoples Episode may then be seen, in Karst's opinion, as a secondary Hyksos invasion – at least in part.


5.2.8. *twrš* / Tyrrhenians?

In Woudhuizen's discussion of the Sea Peoples, a pivotal significance is lent to the identification of the *twrš* with the Tyrrhenians – which offers him ample opportunity to show his expertise at Etruscan and at the ancient languages of the Mediterranean in general;²²⁶ it particularly allows him to contribute to one of the greatest and most passionate debates of Mediterranean proto-history, that about Etruscan origins.

Considering the sibilant which is explicitly rendered in hieroglyphic Egyptian, Tyrsenians rather than Tyrrhenians is a possible identification for the *twrš* / *Tusha(l / r). But the difference appears to be slight and immaterial. For at the end of Karst's discussion of the Proto-Libyans (Karst 1931a: 509), he adds:

'...Incidentally, the Ancient Libyan name *Taḥen[n]u*, from *tarḫe[n]nu (of which the Tuareg / Targi phyla of the Sahara are still reminiscent) can be well compared with the name of the Hesperian *Tyrrheni*. A different matter however is the ethnonym *Tyrseni*, from **Turḥeni* = *Turḥetani* = *Turḥuli*, the Iberian peoples of Southern Spain. This **Turḥeni*, in its turn, stands for *T-ruḥ-eni* and is merely an Afroasiaticised (Afroasiatic *t*-prefix) variant of the ethnonym of the *Retu* (Egyptians), *Reṭenu* / *Rutenu* i.e. *Letu*, *Lutu*, the Egyptian *Ludi-m*, which appears as a Mišraim phylum in the *Table of Nations* (*Genesis* 10: 13). For *Tyrseni-Turdetani* cf. the analogous doublets of variants: *Tartessus* / *Tarsis*, *Taršiš* < **tarḥiḥ*. (Original note: Properly speaking, *Tursenoi* stands for **Tursenn-o* from **turdetn-o* (= *t-ruḥepno*), which is the eroded, Graecised form of *Turdetani*; the latter once more manifest their kinship with the Canaanite *Ḥorites*, the Hispanic *Oretani*). In passing we note that the *Table of Nations* subsumes also Cushitic and Berbero-Afroasiatic peoples under the sons of Mišraim. At any rate, from all this we may conclude to an ethnic connection between the Tyrrhenian i.e. also the Tyrsenian Etruscans and the *Turdetanians* of Southern Spain, and with the *Atlanto-Libyans* of the *Erytheia* lands (Africa Minor)' (Karst 1931a: 509 f.; my translation)

Siding with ancient writers such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the latter's authority Xanthus Lydus, Karst (1931a: 519), with Niebuhr (1827: 114-151), rejects Herodotus' claim (*Historiae*, I. 94) to the effect that the Central Italian Etruscans are Tyrrhenians from Lydia. Karst reminds us that the region that was later, after the middle of the first millennium BCE, called Lydia in Western Asia Minor, was still called *Maonia* / *Maeonia* in Homer. Karst interprets Herodotus' statement in the sense that the latter must have misunderstood his original 'Asiatic-Lyidian' source. The people in question are Lydians all right, and they did migrate to Central Italy, but they were not the Lydians from Asia Minor, but the *Lud* people of the *Table of Nations* (eponymical ancestor the Biblical *Lot*, Abram's nephew), from Northern Mesopotamia – closely associated with the *Teraḥides* (of which the

²²⁵ *Hyksos* is a Greek rendering of the Old Egyptian  *ḥqꜣḥ ʿst* [ḥqarḥ arst], 'shepherd kings'; one wonders whether this term could be a corruption of the Sanskrit term कृषत्रं *kṣatra*, Hindi: कृषत्रपि, *kṣatriya*, as denoting the caste of royals, aristocrats and warriors. In the Ancient Near East, the Mitanni with their predilection for horses provide a likely connection.

²²⁶ Cf. Best & Woudhuizen 1988, 1989; and Woudhuizen's work as listed in the bibliography of the present book.

Abramites are a major branch) who in Karst's opinion constitute the original Tyrrhenians.

'The secondary Etruscans or Tyrrhenians, that is properly speaking *turxne*, *turxune*, already by virtue of their ethnonym present themselves as the Westernmost extensions and ethnic brothers of a long series of prehistoric primal peoples. In the Aegean these are known as Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, in Asia Minor they come back as Lydo-Tyrrhenians. Via the Cappadocian Capthorites they are associated, on the one hand, with the Palestinian Philistines, on the other hand with the Cassaeans, the Kutu, Gutium and South-East Armenian-Albanic primal phyla: the Dargua-Lesgians and the Turanian Caspians. This great [P]roto-Aiguptian[-speaking]²²⁷ or Turanian-Hittite[-speaking] phylum also ruled as a dominant class over the Carian-Cilician-Cretan circle of peoples. On the evidence of the [P]roto-Cappadocian numerals for which we have evidence from the Greek-Cappadocian idiom, as well on the evidence of [P]roto-Hittite-Cilician epigraphic fragments, and of the evidence concerning Mitanni language, of Urartaic-Haldic and of Tyrrheno-Etruscan, this phylum constituted an intermediate type between Lesgian-Caucasian, Palaeo-Asiatic (Hyperborean-Turanians) and Dravidian, in other words a language type which also had closely related members in the form of Hadjuna-Burushaski and Cossaeon' (Karst 1931a: 357).²²⁸

Karst (1931a: 508) cites in agreement the claim of Brinton (1890: 124) to the effect that the Tyrrheno-Etruscans derive from Africa Minor, in the sense that, after the defeat of the Tahenu-Libyans by the army of the Egyptian king Ramses III, round about the same time, i.e. c. 1200 BCE, a general emigration took place of 'Liby-Atlantean Berbero-Hamites' to the Northern coasts of the Tyrrhenian sea, one branch crossing over to North-West Italy and settling in Etruria. Karst sees a confirmation of this claim in the ancient and ineradicable tradition of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans:²²⁹ after arguing (Karst 1931a: 76 f.) that the Etruscans called themselves Lutu, Lutenu, Ruthu, Luthenu, this allows him to relegate them to the great Hesperian 'island' Erythia (Erythē, Erytheia < *E-Lud-ē / eia), which is Africa Minor, and of which traces resonate in And-a-lusia, Lusitania, Elysaei camp (*Elysion pedion*), Elišša (*Genesis* 10) (< *elupa), from an original *Flut, *vrut (cf. Bruttii in Southern Italy, Pharusii or Persae in Mauretania, Rodanim²³⁰ and Lud[im]²³¹ [²³²

²²⁷ Karst has already claimed (1931a: 354) that the term *Aiggyptos* only secondarily came to be identified with the region we know as Egypt, and originally had a more general meaning of 'of the East, of the sunrise', whose Hebrew equivalent was מִצְרַיִם *mizrah*, Arabic المَشْرِقُ *al[š]-šarq*, hence the conflation. But who is speaking, and from what standpoint, to justify such a label for the extreme North-East of Africa? Karst's claim can only make sense (if at all) by an appeal to the alleged practice of the dual use of standard toponyms, one for the East and one for the West, like in the cases of Libya, Iberia, Africa, etc.

²²⁸ My translation. A more modern terminology would identify Karst's complex and indirect linguistic characterisation as 'a branch of Sinocaucasian'; the language isolate Burushaski in Pakistan is generally considered another such branch.

²²⁹ A tradition recently born out by the authoritative work of Fred Woudhuizen (1982-1983, 1992b, 1998, 2008). The literature on the Etruscans is extensive and bitterly divided, between an emphatic autochthonous Italic origin, and various long-range scenarios from Anatolia and West Asia in general. E.g. Hencken 1968; von Vacano 1955, 1961; Beekes 1993, 2003; Conway 1926 / 1960; Drews 1992; Fugazzola Delpino 1979; Wainwright 1959a; Meriggi 1937; Pallottino 1956, 1968.

²³⁰ Sc. Dodanim, son of Javan son of Japheth, *Genesis* 10:4; we have already pointed out the similarity of ד ד and ג ר in post-Ezraic written Hebrew, as conducive to copist's errors.

²³¹ Lud[im], son / descendants of Mišraim son of Ham, *Genesis* 10:13 and 22. With his typical lack of precision, Karst does not stop to ponder over the duplication of Lud / Ludim, with very different positions in the Noahide genealogy which, of course, is really an ethnic and geopolitical statement. Also the puzzles around 'Rodanim' pass without Karst's comment.

²³² Although Karst agrees with Brinton on the Libyan / Africa Minor dimension of the Tyrrheno-Etruscans, he distances himself (1931a: 510) from the racialist theories by Brinton, Kossina and others about an Atlantic-European or 'Liby-Hesperian-Atlantean' ('Eurafrican') primal homeland of the Indo-Europeans.

The *twršʒ* of Egyptian monumental inscriptions would then coincide with the Tiras of the *Table of Nations*, and essentially refer to the Tyrsenians (cf. Thracians?) of the Western Aegean and the Adriatic.

‘-usa, -uša, usually means “island” in the Aegean-Mediterranean toponymy. Turuša would then means “Island Tyre” (Karst 1931a:....),

and in combination with the tradition that the inhabitants of Tyre derive from the Persian Gulf, this would lead to the view that

‘the so-called Lydian Tyrsenians of the Aegean logography are in fact Lydian Turuš(ani) from Chaldaea-Elam and the Perso-Arabian-Erythraean coastal areas. Migrated to North Palestine partly by sea, partly by land. (Karst 1931a: 523 f.).

The palm appears as a symbol of kingship throughout the Lydo-Tyrrhenian or rather Tyrrheno-Pelasgian realm: Italy, Greece, Syro-Palestine,

‘here we must assume the prehistoric presence of Tyrrheno-Pelasgian peoples, who survive in historical tradition now as so-called ‘Lydians’ (Rutenu), now as ‘Syrian Hittites’. (Karst 1931a: 514)

This does not exhaust the discussion of the palm in Karst’s work: According to Plato (*Critias* 115B) there is in Atlantis a tree fruit which provides both food, drink and balm oil; Karst (1930: 12) thinks that this is the cocos palm, and on these flimsy grounds situates Atlantis in the Indian Ocean region, unfortunately overlooking the prominence of the palm as a royal symbol in West Asia itself – particularly among the Hyksos.²³³

The question of Etruscan origins has generated a vast literature and bitter controversy, and there is no reason to expect that we could solve it in passing as a by-product of inspecting the methodology and theory of ethnicity in the proto-historical Mediterranean. My 2011 co-author, produced a number of authoritative monographs on the subject (Woudhuizen 1982-1983, 1992b, 1998, 2008), to which I refer the reader. With a lack of consistency in details that betrays that his book as a poorly integrated compilation of texts written over an extensive period of time, Karst returns in an addition towards the end of his *magnum opus* (1931a: 525 f.) to the theme of the Etruscans as, putatively, Lydians from Africa Minor, and repeats the idea of migration from Mesopotamia, but gives a different emphasis – now it is *tludi*, *teluthi*, that leads to Lusitania, Andalusia, and *Elysaei Campi*.

‘Similarly, with a phonetically modified toponymy, we come to Tartussis, Taršiši, i.e. the land of the Turduli, Turdetani in Baetica [South-Eastern Spain, Guadalquivir = Baetis – WvB], which also fully corresponds with the Turzetani people on the Libyan side. As the ethnonymic primal name of all these Westerly phyla we construct a type *Turth, Tulth, Teluth. From this are derived, in their turn, besides the Turdelani-Turduli:

1. The Etrusco-Tyrrhenian Lydians (*tlud),
2. Oretani in Central Spain;
3. Rodanim (Japheth phylum) and the pre-Celtic Rutheni in South(ern) Gallia;
4. The Tusci or Toscani from *turth-ki*, -kani;
5. the Tyrsians or Tyrsenoi (Tyrrhenian Toscanians and Aegean Tyrsenians), properly *Turthenu < turthetnu, which is essentially identical with the Turzetani of North Africa, i.e. the

²³³ The palm is also one of the few names of plants and parts of plants to occur in the lexicon of Proto-Bantu (Meeussen 1980 and n.d.: *-dada 4,5; *kindu- 3 2.1, and *-téndé 3, 9; 3.1; Guthrie n.d (cf. 1967-1971): *-bádÉ 21), although the various species of palms are so widespread in the tropics and subtropics of the world that this lexical datum cannot help us to locate the original Bantu homeland.

Baeto-Iberian Turdeani.²³⁴ (Karst 1931a: 525).

By virtue of Karst's four-tiered model, which allows for later Afroasiatic and Indo-European postulated tiers to be added (typically as a numerically small ruling class) onto the earlier postulated tiers without necessarily a change in ethnonym, this analysis with focus on the Central Mediterranean could, in principle, be combined with an identification of the *twrš3* or (in Karst's typical, somewhat unfounded vocalisation) the Turušani, Turuša, as coming from Elam. Karst reconstructs their migration over land and sea from their original home in an entirely hypothetical Arabo-Punic (Persian Gulf) 'Island of Tyre' (whose postulated existence and island status – however, cf. Bahrayn – wholly depends on the fact that *-usa, -uša*, usually means 'island' in the Aegean-Mediterranean toponymy, Karst 1931a: 523 f.) to their final destination in what came to be Phoenicia, as ancestors perhaps of the Druses. In general, we can agree that Karst's treatment of the Tyrrhenians and of the Etruscan question is one of the least consistent and satisfactory aspects of his work.

Anyway, in the emerging picture of Tyrrhenian origins and connections, we hit again on a Sea Peoples-related movement which could be conceived either as Westbound or as Eastbound. While the habitual search for concreteness would tempt us to choose either of these alternatives as the preferable one, it is perhaps time to resign ourselves to the idea that such East-West complementarity is a structural feature of the Sea Peoples Episode, and reveals an even much higher level of international long-distance coordination and ethnic interaction than we would hitherto have associated with the Late Bronze Age. In other words, the proto-globalised, multicentred, multidirectional intercontinental maritime network which was to be the reality of the second millennium CE from Early Modern times on, may be seen as already beginning to constitute itself by the Late Bronze Age; Karst's postulated model of a four-tiered, linguistically (and by implication culturally) heterogeneous structure of Mediterranean communities in the Late Bronze Age, is a further indication of this stage of proto-globalisation.

5.2.9. rkw / Lycians

The case, finally, of the Lycians (cf. Bryce 1974; Gander 2010) as identification of the *rkw* / *lwkk3* is similarly straightforward as that of the Teucrians, despite the complexities in time, space, continuities and discontinuities of migratory, ethnic and linguistic history, such as are associated with the postulated four-tiered system. Karst merely adduces a few refinements to what seems to be essentially an acceptable identification. He asserts out that, like Syria, the Lycian Lands constituted a region with an originally (autochthonous, non-immigrant) Egyptian population; cf. the discussion above, under Mišraim. This casts additional light on the extensive relations that existed between Egypt and Lycia, e.g. the grain deliveries from Egypt to quench famine in Lydia (due North of Lycia), and the existence, in Cilicia (due East of Lycia), of the *syennesis* royal title, for which an Egyptian origin may be construed (Karst

²³⁴ At this point in Karst's text follows an excursion on the Central American Toltecs. Although utterly unwelcome from the point of view of the anti-diffusion paradigm of most of 20th-c. CE anthropology, Karst's point here does converge with older anthropological writings, as well as recent Afrocentrist writing, stressing pre-Columbian direct links between Meso America and the Western parts of the Old World, cf. Nuttall 1909; Heyerdahl 1952; van Ser-tima 1976, totally, passionately dismissed however by the mainstream author Ortiz de Montellano 2000. Yet I believe that the available data suggest the likelihood of some extent of trans-Atlantic contact between Africa and the New World in the Neolithic and later; cf. van Binsbergen 2020a, Index s.v. 'Atlantic', 2021a: espec. ch. 3.

1931a: 49, 465). As for the possible etymology of Lycia, here Karst loosely adduces Lukios Apollo, this may be considered a cognate of Sanskrit *loka* ‘world, universe’, whose basic meaning would be ‘globe, circular movement’ – the turning of the world axis, of time, and of the wheel of fate, hence divination as a sacred skill associated with Apollo.

Incidentally, for the place name Troy – so significant in any argument on the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean – also an Indo-European etymology could be given: ‘round fortress’; cf. Indo-European **dreh-*, which would make Troy, ‘the city of turning / of the world axis or celestial pole’. I have already appealed to such an etymology in my above discussion of mythical aspects of the Trojan War, in the Introduction to this book. Unfortunately this is also an etymology that suspiciously circulates widely in esoteric and New Age ideological circles, where it is connected, for better or worse, with initiatory labyrinths, spirals, and circular or spiral board games. Such an etymology, too nice to be true, depends on the assumption that the name Troy has an Indo-European etymology. As we have seen, scholars have disagreed as to the linguistic affiliation of the language of Troy (Watkins 1986; Neumann 1999; Woudhuizen 2018: 123 f., with extensive references). In the light of the paucity of data, and their formal nature (mainly persons’ proper names, whose etymology is often not rooted in the living language of those who bear those names – cf. the very many present-day British and Americans with given names such as Jacob, John, Mary, Elisabeth – rooted, across two millennia or more, in the Semitic-speaking world of the Bible; also under proto-globalised conditions of the Mediterranean Late Bronze Age, similarly displaced exotic names have been attested; cf. Astour 1968; van der Toorn 1996; and theophoric names on the Canaanite goddess Anat in the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom of Egypt; Anonymous, ‘Anat’), such disagreement is understandable. Karst 1931a: 434, 473 f. suggests that the main Trojan population during the Middle and Late Bronze Age was *satem* semi-Indo-European speaking from the Western Mediterranean. Apart from his contentious claim of West Iberian / Ligurian origin, the *satem* Indo-European suggestion may tally with the prominence, in connection of Troy, of the pardivested hero Antenor as essentially a moon-associated Armenian deity (Karst 1931a: 473 f.). On the other hand, there is the alternative name Ilion / Wilusa (cf. Güterbock 1986; Woudhuizen in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 201: 206 f.), which Woudhuizen (2018: 124; following Neumann) interprets as a cognate of Hittite *wēllu-*, ‘meadow’. This reinforces Woudhuizen’s favourite identification of the Trojan language as Indo-European, leaving significant other language clusters of the Eastern Mediterranean out of consideration. Yet both on the basis of Afroasiatic / Semitic (Hebrew *el*, Akkadian *ilu* ‘god’), and on the basis of Nigercongo (cf. Proto-Bantu *godo*, ‘heaven’, which in modern Common Bantu – e.g. in Nkoya – often becomes *yilu*, ‘heaven’), an etymology may be proposed (‘Place of Heaven’; cf. Babylon, = *bab ilon*, ‘Gate of God / Gods / Heaven’) that is taxonomically far removed from Indo-European yet semantically surprisingly close to an Indo-European etymology of the place name Troy as ‘City of the Celestial Axis’.

In passing we hit here upon a general methodological principle, whose application is indispensable in the study of the Bronze-Age Mediterranean and its ethnic structure (as it is in African history; e.g. van Binsbergen 1981, 1992): *proto-historic sources must in the first place be examined as to their possible or probably mythical contents, against the background of long-range, preferably transcontinental, comparative mythology*; only when that exercise has been concluded to satisfaction, can we proceed to try and attribute a more factual, historic value to such sources. As long as the Ancient Greek epical accounts of the Troy War may be read as a localised Flood Story or even Creation Story, and Troy as a mythical city of the Celestial Axis, it would be nonsensically premature to try and identify real events, real persons, real movements and conflicts of real people, on the basis of such sources. In our time and age of scientism (the erroneous application of a natural-science model) and of defective training in the appreciation of symbolism and myth, the Fallacy of Misplaced Concreteness is one of the greatest pitfalls into which the proto-historian may fall.

5.3. Final remarks on the Sea Peoples in the light of the preceding review of Karst’s contribution

We have reached the end of our detailed discussion of the Sea Peoples in the light of the Karstian approach. While based, in large part, on the shaky methodology of ‘onomastic analysis through free

association', and displaying many other methodological, logical and factual errors of the type we have learned to recognise as Karstian, the results we have obtained have a certain degree of internal consistency, richness, and persuasiveness. The Karstian picture, with all its texture, complexity, context, ramification, may, after all, have some persuasiveness – even if it was arrived at by extremely problematic methods, obsolete linguistics, and an unacceptable disregard of archaeology.

Let me stress once again that this discussion, extensive though it had to be, did not aim at finding the truth behind the names of the Sea Peoples, – or those in the *Table of Nations*, for that matter; we have sufficiently argued against such a conception of the scholars' task in the approach to ethnicity in the Bronze Age Mediterranean (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011). The study of proto-historic ethnicity is not a field where certainties may be gathered – but where the reaches of the imagination are put to the factual and methodological test. We have now acquainted ourselves with the fertile, often wild and run-away, imagination of a forgotten scholar called Joseph Karst. Perhaps it takes a whimsical, rebellious and poetic mind like my own to appreciate such an attempt. Lest I would be the only one left to enjoy the rambling, ramshackled scholarly edifice which he erected, my task has been to present the reader with a virtual ground plan, and with walls and roofing perhaps somewhat more substantial than what Karst actually left us. *Particularly, I have invited the reader to share my own admiration for the audacity, unboundedness, globalising scope, and imaginative nature, of Karst's thought.* But with that, the project of the present book has been fulfilled – I am not in the least asking the reading to take up residence in that building, but to take its audacity and beauty, and its immense structural defects, into account when erecting similar buildings as statements on ethnicity in Mediterranean proto-history.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

6.1. Looking back

One needs only to take a look at the photograph of Joseph Karst which opens this book as the frontispiece, and which also appears on the spine, in order to realise that whatever his merits and achievements may have been in his own time, now ninety years behind us (as far as his *magnum opus* is concerned), it would be very unlikely that from our present-day standpoint, well into the twenty-first century CE, these merits would still strike us as having lasting and impressive value.

My aim with this monograph has not primarily been to vindicate Karst – much as initially unintended vindication turned out to be the outcome of my lengthy recent argument on Durkheim (van Binsbergen 2018), the implied sustained focus of much of my research over more than half a century. Although there are some superficial correspondences between Karst and Durkheim, the latter (the former's senior by only a few decades) had the advantage of having a sound Franco-German philosophical training which was strongly reflected in his methodological and argumentative rigour; a childhood exposure to specialist Jewish knowledge and practices which theoretically and existentially informed Durkheim's sociological views of the sacred (where Karst only had the contested ethnico-linguistic space of Alsace-Lorraine to feed his interpretative imagination concerning language and identity in the Ancient Mediterranean); and the ambition as well as the capabilities, not of joining an obscure and under-endowed field of scholarship (Armenological historical linguistics, in Karst's case) in a relative backwater of contested geopolitical status (Strasbourg, capital of Alsace / Lorraine), but of founding and organising a vibrant new discipline, *sociology*, at one of the recognised centres of North Atlantic intellectual life, the city of Paris (after a preparatory period in Bordeaux).

Pedantic, closed onto himself, a slight self-indulgent smile on his face, irretrievably dated, Karst peeks at us through his *pince-nez* as the proverbial nineteenth-century CE German professor of obsolete repute – although we must not forget that all the great minds of his time, even Marx, even Freud, even Einstein, even Lord Kelvin, Pasteur, Mendeleev, Hugo

de Vries, Pareto, Malinowski, Turgenyev, Dostojevsky, Proust, and other great natural and social scientists, and literary writers, whose works are still held in high esteem by their present-day colleagues, must have looked rather similar.

Have we allowed ourselves to be taken on a fool's errand, with the present monograph? That question would only be answered in the affirmative, so long as if my intentions as author are totally misunderstood. The academic study of the Sea Peoples and of Late Bronze Age Mediterranean ethnicity in general, poses a great many sheer insurmountable problems. All ethnic and linguistic labels, place names, claims of identity, historical traditions, turn out to be multilayered, contradictory, shifting like quicksand, inconsistent and unreliable, with a very considerable element of myth, fantasy, propaganda, and even fraud. An inspection of two sets of such labels, the Biblical *Table of Nations* (*Genesis 10*) and the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, as I have conducted in chapters 5 and 6 of our *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011) offers ample illustration of this state of affairs. Present-day specialist scholarship, assisted by philology, archaeology, genetics, the sciences of literature, of religion, of comparative mythology, and of comparative ethnography, have not been able to reach any degree of consensus as to the solution of these puzzles – as is very clear from the extensive listing of ethnic and geographical labels in Table 6.19 of our book (2011: 177-182), here reproduced in greatly shortened form as Table 3.1.

Now, to our surprise and delight, also Karst turns out to have confronted these difficulties, and he has done so by a two-pronged approach:

- a. offering an embryonic theory of ancient toponyms and ethnonyms which (as I have argued at length elsewhere; 2011: chs 1-3, pp. 17-72) despite its lack of systematics yet – once spelled out in the format of modern science – adds considerable sophistication and subtlety to the existing dominant approaches, and
- b. making, almost off-hand and without much of an empirical or methodological argument, pronouncements about the concrete historical and geographic identification and nature of many of these problematic labels.

Closely examining Karst's footsteps in relation with, especially point (b), makes us aware not only of his blatant errors and shortcoming, but also of the weaknesses of existing identifications now proposed and favoured in the literature. However, this should certainly not tempt us as to accept lock, stock and barrel, the fanciful alternatives which Karst has put before us. Also these Karstian alternatives continue, in large part, to be obsolete, suspect, mythical, unacceptable, suspended in the air.

More than anything else, therefore, this monograph has been an exercise, not in problem-solving, but in problem-formulation, against the background of the specific History of Ideas in the study of the Ancient World. Karst could not predict the enormous flight linguistics, archaeology, and ethnic studies would take in the near-century that followed his main work. Contrary to some of his contemporaries such as de Saussure, Bloomfield, Sapir, Julius Pokorny, Roman Jakobson, Karst himself, of all people, remained too much a child of his time and region than that he could to create, by his own impetus, much of lasting value for today's scholarship. Yet, in ways set out towards the end of my above Introduction, I have found his work, after much decoding and systematisation, much checking and sifting, and probably after a considerable amount of *Hineininterpretierung* on my part, of considerable inspiration, promising new directions of research and new solutions to our puzzles, in the none too distant future. Here key words are unboundedness in space and time, imagination, proto-globalisation, and disbelief in rigid rules and compelling

systematics. The informed reader will recognise that these are the very traits that have characterised my own life's work in scholarship, and have rendered it painfully controversial and unrewarded.

For that inspiration and that promise the present book erects a modest, at times bizarre and hilarious, and no doubt ephemeral monument.

Meanwhile, I believe to discern, among all that dispensable confusion, one firm contribution on Karst's part that I now propose to salvage and to nominate as eligible for inclusion in the paradigmatic canon of Ancient History: *the four-tiered linguistico-ethnic model of the Ancient Mediterranean*.

6.2. Towards the vindication of Karst's four-tiered linguistico-ethnic model of the Ancient Mediterranean

When my 2011 co-author Fred Woudhuizen read (to my unending gratitude) the semi-final draft of the present monograph, his response was far from positive. Like ten years ago, when we finalised our *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011), he continued to be extremely critical of Karst's linguistics and, as a consequence, of any specific Karstian ethnico-linguistic identification of the names in the Sea Peoples' Episode and in the Biblical Table of Nations. As I had occasion to signal in the present monograph, Woudhuizen has not adopted Karst's four-tiered model in his later work even though that model was applied under our joint name in 2011; and such non-adoption is fully understandable in the light of our considerable differences of opinion which we signalled in the concluding chapter of the 2011 work. He told me he had enjoyed – merely as an exercise in the History of Ideas, not as a summary of still viable approaches – such glimpses into obsolete theories and methods as my present monograph offers in connection with Karst and his contemporaries. *By and large, even if not adopted by Woudhuizen himself, he conceded that the only aspect of my monograph which might find a modicum of grace in his eyes as a valid piece of scholarship was Karst's four-tiered model of Mediterranean linguistics and ethnicity* – however, with this proviso that for Woudhuizen that model remained still entirely conjectural and still needed much further substantiation before it could ever be adopted into the canon of Mediterranean Ancient History.

Woudhuizen is a far more accomplished specialist than I am in the study of the Ancient Mediterranean, and I have always taken his judgment very seriously. His view of the mere conjectural status of Karst's model surprised me nonetheless, not so much because (a) (understandably, given the complex dynamics of our working relationship at the time, so shortly after his PhD under my supervision) he had accepted inclusion of Karst's four-tiered model in our 2011 work, but mainly because (b) I had sincerely been under the impression that, in view of the empirical underpinning of the four-tiered model such I believed to have provided in 2011 (van Binsbergen 201b; van Binsbergen and Woudhuizen 2011), and again in the present monograph, the mere conjectural phase lay far behind us.

Two considerations have allowed me to make sense of Woudhuizen's position while still retaining my faith, both in Woudhuizen's intellectual integrity and in Karst's four-tiered model.

In the first place there is the paramount power of *paradigms* in the study of the Ancient Mediterranean, or of any other major scientific / scholarly topic for that matter. Empirical data, facts, cannot speak for themselves, but are identified, selected, measured, weighed, interpreted, appreciated, canonised, in the light of a mind set which the researcher or critic brings to the scene of the investigation. Such a mind set is not a mere individual attribute – it is collective and intersubjective, to the extent to which academic research and scholarship, is conducted within a collectivity, a discipline or sub-discipline, and is to be accounted for and defended before of forum of peers (de Groot 1966; Popper 1935 / 1959). For about a decade and a half since 1987, the *Black-Athena* debate preoccupied the minds of Ancient Historians and Classicists, at the instigation of Martin Gardiner Bernal (*Black Athena 1-III*, 1987-2006); now, it has been the merit of one of Bernal's intellectual heroes, Thomas Kuhn (1962 / 1970, 1977, cf. 1957), half a century ago, to explain how scientific knowledge proceeds from on integrated, intersubjective *i.e.* collectively held, administered and defended, paradigm, to the next, via challenge, contestation and conflict – so that, from one point of view, the growth of science amounts, not so much to a gradual uncovering of one timeless truth, but to the circulation of rival paradigms, each of which can only lay claim to a partial truth, and represents the interests – intellectual, institutional, financial, political, moral, existential, as the case may be – of a particular intellectual faction, pressure group, or school.

When Fred Woudhuizen and I joined forces in the study of the Ancient Mediterranean (for him a lifetime constant centre of his attention, for me a peripheral but passionately studied subject ever since my student days) we did so from rather divergent disciplines and with rather divergent paradigms. For Woudhuizen, *ethnicity simply meant the unique, hopefully correct label under which a given population as demarcated in space and time, can be identified*: Achaioi, Pelasgians, Sardinians; if justifiably applied, such a label would imply a particular language, culture, socio-political system, and religious complex – all in line with the monolithic – basically *essentialising* – idea of the nation (*das Volk*) as developed in the European Romantic Era, c. 1800 CE. From this perspective, different ethnicities were thought to constitute different, fairly well demarcated and internally integrated, contiguous smaller spaces, adjacent to other such ethnicities, and forming more or less a patchwork quilt of contiguous, sustained, persisting, well-defined othernesses.

As an Africanist who had intensely studied the rise *and fall* (!) of the idea of nation and tribe in Africa in the 19th and 20th c. CE under precolonial, colonial and postcolonial conditions, and who had been particularly interested in the politicisation of the idea of such ethnic units within a colonial or postcolonial national political space; as incumbent also of the Chair of Ethnicity and Ideology in Third World Development Processes at the Free University, Amsterdam (1990-1998); and as the prospective author of my 1999 utterly constructivist and deconstructivist, implicitly postmodern, inaugural address for the Rotterdam Chair of the Foundations of Intercultural Philosophy (*'Cultures do not exist'*, van Binsbergen 1999a), I had operated, then for several decades already, in scientific disciplines that had raised the relative, recent, situational, manipulable, transient nature of ethnicity and identity to its central perspective. Far from a quilt of contiguous, adjacent, well demarcated and persisting entities, my ethnic units had to be historically shallow, ephemeral, with vague, shifting and contested boundaries, and if they turned out to be the carriers of a particular forms of culture, language, socio-political organisation, and religion, then the incidence of such traits would not be total but checkered, and in all probability adjacent ethnic units would show considerable continuity with their neighbours in regard of such traits – functioning as

boundary-effacing rather than as boundary-affirming, in most cases – often with some key traits being symbolically (and artificially) selected as emphatic boundary markers, e.g. Protestantism versus Roman Catholicism in Northern Ireland, circumcision or not in Western Zambia.

From my perspective, then, the whole point of ethnic studies, in recent Africa, in the Ancient Mediterranean, or wherever, is not to identify, once for all, the supposedly correct and appropriate ethnic labelling for each given group, but (and this I already set out very carefully and extensively in the first chapters of van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011) *to reconstruct and identify the essential features, structure, and structural dynamics of the extensive ethnic space (encompassing any number of ethnic units, adjacent, rival, overlapping, as the case may be) within which all such processes were taking place in dazzling complexity.*

From these two fundamentally different paradigmatic perspectives upon Ancient Mediterranean ethnicity a coherent, sustained, book-size argument had to be constructed – initially in the form of Woudhuizen's personal PhD thesis (2006), but soon, jointly, at his request, since he still felt uneasy about the handling of modern social-science ethnicity theory, in the form of our jointly written 2011 monograph. My appreciation of the Karst four-tiered model was prompted by the fact that it was so eminently suitable to break out of the monolithic, *essentialising* ethnic straight-jacket of the discipline of Ancient History so far (revolving on adjacent, mutually exclusive but internally contiguous ethnicities that were allegedly internally integrated packages onto themselves).

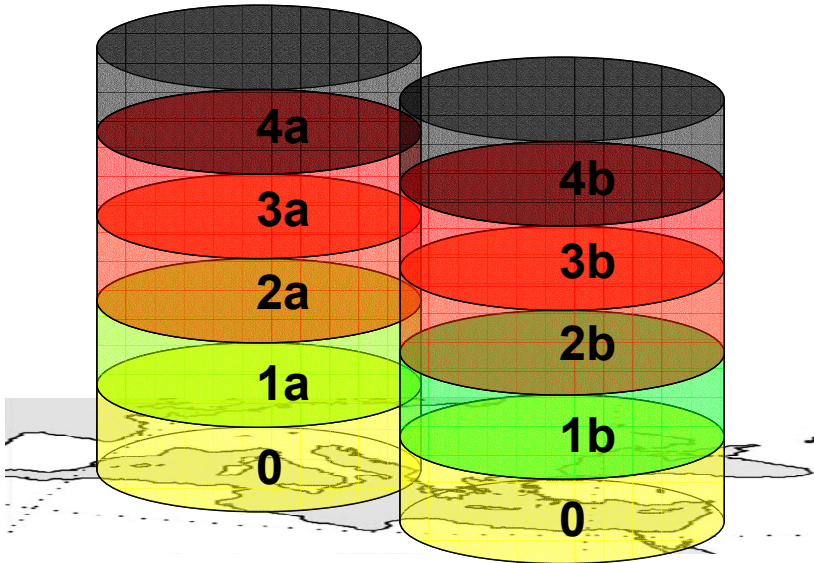
Woudhuizen's present continuing doubts concerning the Karst's four-tiered model I prefer to attribute in the first place, not to defects in that model, nor to Woudhuizen's inconsistency or lack of constancy or insight, but to the fact that he turns out to be clinging to an older paradigm of monolithic, contiguous ethnicity. The approach set out above as endorsed by me is paradigmatically unattractive for a scholar of that traditional Ancient-History orientation, a scholar moreover who is relatively unheeding of theoretical developments in the study of ethnicity worldwide in the course of the 20th c. CE. Given the inveterate Romantic belief that language, nation, culture, polity and religion should fully, or at least largely, coincide so as to constitute an integrated package which is unique in space and time, the traditional approach to ethnicity in Classics and Ancient History has been that of *essentialisation* – a regrettable logical operation which conceals the protean, politicised, contested, and inherently transient, manifestations of social and historical reality.

Foreshadowing essential features of the Postmodern approach to identity and ethnicity as developed in the second part of the 20th c. CE, Karst's four-tiered model explodes such essentialisation, and makes us realise the contradictory complexity of ethnicity *within a historically dynamic overall ethnic space* – not only in modern Africa, or the modern North Atlantic for that matter, but also in the Ancient Mediterranean.

In other words, if my much appreciated co-author and friend Fred Woudhuizen continues to be dismissive of Karst's four-tiered model as applicable, valid, and illuminating for the study of the Ancient Mediterranean, I feel justified to take such reluctance as the clinging to an older, now obsolescent, paradigm – not as a serious empirical assessment of the model's invalidity and inapplicability in its own right.

The second redeeming consideration is the following. One may reject a paradigm, but it is not so easy to reject empirical data well established within our splendid encyclopaedic knowledge of the Ancient Mediterranean. The proof of the pudding is in the eating – and

not only in our 2011 book, but also throughout the present monograph the concrete specific applications of the four-tiered model have sufficiently brought out its heuristic value time and time again –(even after I have carefully scrutinised the preceding chapters it in order to weed out any partisan, unequivocal declarations, on my part, in favour of Karst’s model).



based on: Karst 1931a except text between []). Note the bird’s-eye view of the Mediterranean as background
 o Complex substrate of ‘Liguro-[Central Nostratic / Eurasatic]’ (i.e. Uralic and Altaic) / Sinocaucasian / [possibly also Khoisanoid]
 1 [Sino-]Caucasian (W. Mediterranean, 1a: here this layer is inconspicuous, its place seems to remain largely occupied by ‘o’ Liguroid pre-Euskaran groups: Opici, Opisci, Sicani, Ausci, Proto-Basques; hence the slightly different colouring / shading from 1lb); 1b. Abḥasoids (pre-Leleges, Teleges, Telchines, Tubal peoples)
 2 (Proto-)Basquoid; W. Mediterranean: 2a. Basquoids, Ibero-Sicanians; E. Mediterranean: 2b. Liguroid or E. Basquoid Leleges
 3 Afroasiatic (‘Hamito-Semitic’ / ‘Hamitic’). W. Mediterranean: 3a. Jaccetani, Rhaetians, Rhasenna, Rutenu i.e. Afroasiaticised Sicanians; E. Mediterranean: 3b. Secondary Leleges. NB. Insofar as Cushitic, this Afroasiatic element is often 3rd mill. i.e. older than ‘2’
 4 Indo-European (a) *satem* groups; (b) *kentum* group; this layer manifests itself particularly as that of a semi-Indo-European language form associated with a local dominant class. W. Mediterranean:
 4a. Secondary Ibero-Ligurians, Capthor / Cashluḥim (with an Indo-European speaking ruling class) in Spain, Sicanians, Tyrreno-Tuscans, Proto-Illyrians; E. Mediterranean:
 4b. Secondary (Illyro-)Pelasgians (including pre-Israelite Pherisites, Secondary Philistines, Numidian Persae) Secondary Leleges, Capthor / Cashluḥim (with a partly Indoaryan ruling class) = Carians, Alarodians
 This figure is further explained in chapter 2; and we come back to it in the Concluding chapter.

Fig. 6.1. Once more: Setting the scene for Mediterranean proto-history: The four-tiered linguistico-ethnic system (the ‘layer-cake model’) of the proto-historical Mediterranean (a) Western Mediterranean (b) Eastern Mediterranean

I could leave it at this, and trust the reader to make her or his own final assessment of the value of the four-tiered model. However, that reader is more likely to be an Ancient Historian or Classicist than a student of modern ethnicity, and therefore risks to have internalised the monolithic, essentialising ethnic paradigm just as much as Woudhuizen proves to have. For the benefit of such a reader, let me once more set out Karst's four-tiered model, specifying the concrete settings in the Ancient Mediterranean to which the various entries are meant to apply, and adduce such empirical evidence (as implied in extensive bibliographic references) as I think are opportune at this point. This will bring out the following salient points:

1. *The four tiers are conspicuous in most (although, admittedly, not in all) of the six specific historical contexts that I am specifically addressing as parts of the Ancient Mediterranean: Liguria, the Bible World, Iberia of the West, Ancient Egypt, Etruria, and the Aegean World*
2. *Much of the relevant case material is already discussed (albeit in his characteristic, cursory, unsystematic, empirically flippant, ecliptic manner) by Karst himself in his 1931a magnum opus Origines Mediterraneae*
3. *Yet on essential points in the table below, data continue to be missing (as indicated by my remarks 'more data needed!!'), and while, admittedly, I am not enough of an accomplished Ancient Mediterraneanist to provide these missing data out of my own specialist competence, I am pretty confident that, once they have been carefully, systematically set out like in the present table, regional and period specialists will have little difficulty adducing these missing data on the basis of these own resources.*

6.3. Overall linguistico-ethnic contiguity yet micro-heterogeneity

Meanwhile there is another hurdle to be taken. *How can the suggestion of all-pervading fragmentation and heterogeneity, as seems to be implied in Karst's four-tiered model, be reconciled with the suggestion of vast linguistically contiguous areas that emerges from the classical historical record?* How should we imagine linguistic micro-heterogeneity in an essentially linguistically homogeneous area? In the study of the Ancient Mediterranean we are dealing with local ethnico-linguistic communities – often with a segmentary socio-political organisation – more or less loosely integrated (according to the time-honoured model of the 'peasant society' – Redfield 1956; Foster 1965) into larger regional and statal units, and into the catchment areas of regional cults. This situation is not without parallels in modern sub-Saharan Africa, where moreover southward diffusion of the Pelasgian complex from the Late Bronze Age has made for not only typological, but also material historical continuity with the Mediterranean and West Asia.

6.3.1. LINGUISTIC MICRO-DIVERSITY: THE EXAMPLE OF THE NJONJOLO VALLEY, KAOMA DISTRICT, ZAMBIA, AFRICA (1973-1974). Let me take an example from the Njonjolo valley in Western Zambia, Africa, which has been one of my principal fieldwork site in Africa for the past half century. After Independence (1964) Zambia has perpetuated, in greatly adapted form, the colonial administrative structure which amounted to a parcelling up of the national territory between hundreds of traditional leaders ('chiefs'); their rule is mainly symbolic and nominal, under the overall national constitution of the modern state of Zambia. Njonjolo is in Chief Mwenekahare's area, which encompasses the larger half of Kaoma district – the area of the district as a whole (23,315 km²) is comparable to some of the smaller states

within the European Union such as Belgium (30,689 km²) or the Netherlands (41,865 km²). Mwenekahare is chief of the Nkoya people²³⁵ at the same time as a senior member of the traditional administration of the former Barotseland, now Zambia's Western Province, under the Barotse or Lozi Paramount Chief, who resides 200 km west of Njonjolo in the alternate twin capitals of Lealui / Limulunga.

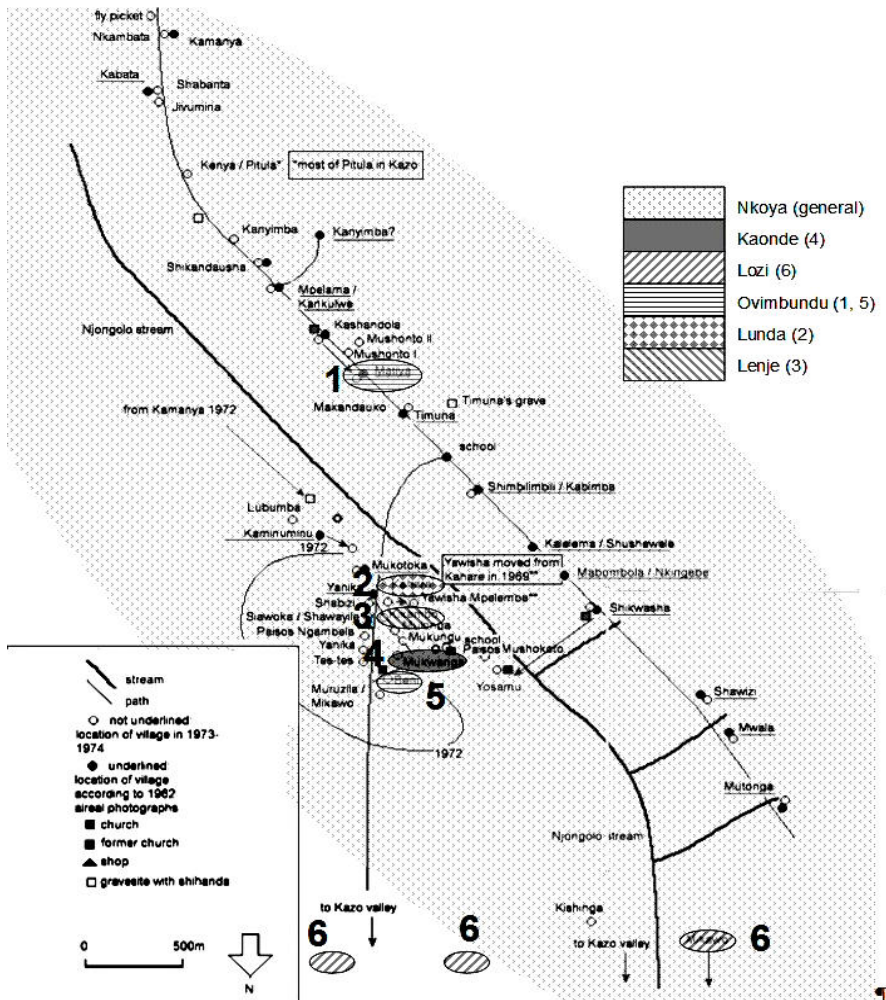


Fig. 6.2. Linguistico-ethnic diversity in the valley of Njonjolo, Kaoma District, Zambia, 1973-1974

²³⁵ I cannot go into a discussion of the historical dynamics of the ethnonym Nkoya, which in fact only arose as a result of incorporation into the Lozi/Kololo state. I refer the reader to my numerous publication on the Nkoya a listed in this book's bibliography.

Ever since the imposition of British colonial rule (1900 CE) the official language of Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) has been English, and ever since the Kololo invasion from Southern Africa in the second quarter of the 19th c. CE the dominant language of Barotseland has been Lozi / Luyi, a Nguni *i.e.* Southern Bantu language (like Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, and Ndebele), supplanting the earlier Luyana language that was virtually indistinguishable from Nkoya. Geographic displacement of individuals, of small kin units, and of larger socio-political groups, over dozens, sometimes hundreds of kilometres has been a dominant feature of the socio-political organisation of Western Zambia for centuries. This had made for a far-flung pattern of kinship and marital relations extending not only over much of present-day Zambia, but also all the way to Angola and especially the Democratic Republic of Congo – whence hail major royal dynasties in present-day Nkoyaland – all sharing the Lunda political culture that emerged in the course of the second millennium CE (*cf.* Vansina 1966; van Binsbergen 1992). As I have recently argued (van Binsbergen 2019, 2020), the Lunda complex displays considerable transcultural influence from South, South East, and East Asia. As said above, as the target area of the south-bound vector of the cross-model by which the Pelasgian substrate complex was diffused all over the Old World since the Late Bronze Age, this part of South Central Africa, like much of sub-Saharan Africa in general, has considerable socio-cultural continuity with significant other regions (the Mediterranean, West and North Europe, Central and East Asia; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: chapter 28.9, pp. 373 *f.*; van Binsbergen 201b, and in press (e).

Right up to the first decades of colonial rule, captivity resulting from local warfare, and indenture as legal punishment for man-slaughter, had created a situation where a sizeable minority of the population of Nkoya villages would consist of so-called slaves (*bandungo*): subservient individuals who had no right to return to their (usually distant) original homes (*cf.* Douglas 1964; van Binsbergen 2012a). From the 1910s on, the Nkoya region has been Christianised, first by the South African General Mission SAGM (from a regional base in South Africa, and mainly employing Angolan mission workers as local agents in Western Zambia); soon also by the Roman Catholic church, mainly relying on overseas senior staff; and after Independence also the many other Christian denominations active in Zambia, such as the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Also soon after Independence a major agricultural development scheme, named Nkeyema after a nearby stream, was established by the Zambian state in the eastern part of Mwenekahare's area (Hailu 1995; Nelson-Richards 1988 : 26 *f.*), and as a result large numbers of non-Nkoya prospective farmers flocked to the attractively serviced plots, mainly from such language groups as Tonga, Lozi, Bemba, Kaonde, Mbunda, and Luvale – to such an extent that in the next half century Nkeyema grew to constitute a major agricultural town with great ethnic and linguistic diversity. Clearly, it is in the first place in towns that we expect such diversity. And indeed, very high diversity did not extend all the way to the utterly rural Njonjolo valley, some 25 km south of Nkeyema. But even so the linguistico-ethnic situation in the comparatively small Njonjolo valley (roughly 8 kms long and 2 kms wide) is considerably complex, as Fig. 6.2 indicates. Comprising several dozen small villages, the valley's population has Nkoya as their dominant everyday language, but since many inhabitants hail from relatively distant places mainly within a 100 km radius, and maintain family ties over such a wide area, most adults are fluent in more than one language, apart even from

English and Lozi which function as *linguae francae* and as languages of administration and formal education. Focussing on individual villages, we note the following: linguistico-ethnic diversity which the Njonjolo valley showed during fieldwork in 1973-74, from south-east to north-west.

1. the Ovimbundu-speaking village of Matiya, not far from the grave shrine of Mwenekahare Timuna (died 1955), where King Timuna had his capital and where in the 1930s also the SAGM mission worker Matiya was accommodated.
2. Mwenekahare's capital, which, early in the reign of King Timuna's successor King Kabambi (the present writer's adoptive father), was moved to a more accessible spot close to the all-weather road which connects to the Lusaka-Kaoma tar road; here, Nkoya is still the main language spoken both for domestic / family purposes and for use in the royal council and law court, but like other Nkoya royal families – especially the one clustering on the western, Mutondo royal title) the royals take pride in their historic Lunda affiliation, keep up socio-political ties with other Lunda aristocratic groups, and may occasionally speak Lunda among themselves
3. near to the royal capital, the village of Headman Kikambo is inhabited by the son of a Lenje slave from Central Zambia, and the Lenje language is occasionally still resorted to here
4. like elsewhere in Africa, blacksmiths among the Nkoya tend to be strangers, and the blacksmith village of Mukwanga has retained its Kaonde identity (the ethnic cluster immediately north of the Nkoya, in Kasempa District) and occasionally language use of Kaonde
5. also a SAGM mission worker, Ben is the Headman of an Ovimbundu village, which also boasts a church building of the Evangelical Church of Zambia (as spawn by the SAGM), and one of the very rare cows in this valley surviving the constant tsetse threat
6. considering the incorporation of Nkoyaland in the Barotse traditional state as from the Kololo invasion, and its continued incorporation in that state even if the Lozi King Sepopa (who had extensive Nkoya antecedents) restored Luyana rule (but not the Luyana language) in the 1860s, it has been difficult for Chief Mwenekahare to check the encroachment of Lozi immigrants upon Nkoya land. Villages identifying as Lozi in ethnic identity and speech were not found in Njonjolo in 1973-74, but they already started to appear (with positive sanction from the part of Mwenekahare) in the forested area north of the Njonjolo stream, and in that of the Kazo stream immediately north of Njonjolo; in subsequent decades they have become rather more numerous.

Of course, I am not suggesting that Bronze-Age Mediterranean linguistic and ethnic diversity should be considered identical to modern African patterns, or dependent upon the latter, but only that – in both situations – the contradiction between overall linguistico-ethnic contiguity, and micro-heterogeneity, is only apparent, and need not deter us from adopting Karst's four-tiered model for the Bronze-Age Aegean.

6.4. Vindicating Karst's four-tiered model of Bronze-Age Mediterranean linguistics and ethnicity

6.4.1. Tabulating the distinctions and the evidence

Let us now return to our main issue at hand: the empirical underpinning of Karst's four-tiered model. For this purpose, the following table 6.1 should be fairly convincing. The proposed four tiers may be distinguished by their different shadings.

		proposed layers				remarks and selected references
I	geographic context	o Complex substrate of Liguro- / Central Nostratic / Eurasianic / SC / (certainly also Khosianoid)	1. Sino-Caucasian	2. (Proto-)Basquoid	3AA (Hamito-Semitic / Hamitic)	4.IE (a) <i>stem</i> groups; (b) <i>kenan</i> group; this layer manifests itself particularly as that of a semi-IE language form associated with a local dominant class
						for all entries; Karst 1934 (see summary below); Ziegler 1979; McCall & Fleming 1999
II		ia. in the W. Ancient Mediterranean this layer is inconspicuous; its place seems to remain largely occupied by o Liguro- pre-Euskaran (/ Basquoid) groups; Opaci, Opisci, Scani, Ausci, Proto-Basques; hence the different colouring / shading from lb) in the diagram;	ib. E./C Mediterranean; Albanoids (pre-Leleges, Teleges, Taldhines, Tubal peoples)	2a. Basquoids, Ibero-Scandinavians; E. Mediterranean; near:	2b. Liguroid or E. Basquoid Leleges	3a. Jaccetani, Rhaetians, Rhasenna, Rureni; i.e. AA-ticised Scandinavians; E. Mediterranean;
						3b. Secondary Iberians; Caphtor / Cashluhim (with an IE speaking ruling class) in Spain; Scandinavians; Tyrhenotuscan; Proto-Illlyrians; E. Mediterranean
III	Liguria	Complex substrate of Liguro- / Central Nostratic / Eurasianic / SC / (certainly also Khosianoid)	substrate of Liguro- / Central Nostratic / Eurasianic / (i.e. Uralic and Altaic) / SC / (also NC possibly also Khosianoid); Liguroid pre-Euskaran / Basquoid) groups; Opaci, Opisci, Scani, Ausci, Proto-Basques; hence the slightly different colouring / shading from lb) in the diagram;	Liguroid pre-Euskaran (/ Basquoid) groups; Opaci, Opisci, Scani, Ausci, Proto-Basques; hence the slightly different colouring / shading from lb) in the diagram;	[more data needed!] 3a. Jaccetani, Rhaetians, Rhasenna, Rureni; i.e. AA-ticised Scandinavians; E. Mediterranean	4b. Secondary Ligurians; Caphtor / Cashluhim (with an IE speaking ruling class) in Spain; Scandinavians; Tyrhenotuscan; Proto-Illlyrians; E. Mediterranean
						4c. Ligurians; Caphtor / Cashluhim (with a partly Indo-European ruling class) / ≈ Canians, Alavodians
						Caprin & Penarcco Sicardi 1984; Conway et al. 1993; Faye 1991; Grogg 1967; Herbig 1915; Karst 1938; 1950; 1994a; van Busbergen 201b, 201g; in press (e); Whatmough 1927; 1933

IV	Bible world	proto-Bantu conspicuous in Jabhok, Canaan, Lot, and for Ancient Mesopotamia: Tamati, Kingu	In the Table of Nations, some peoples may be interpreted as Mongoloid† phyta speaking (Proto-) ST: Nimrod, Arhites / Arkins, Sinites / Sinitim or Sinites in the Table of Nations many genetic, cultural and ritual elements in Ancient Judaism refer to the Caucasus, where for many millennia North Caucasian (as a phylum) within Sino-Caucasian) has been spoken	E/C Mediterranean: Alpsoids (pre-Leleges, Teleges, Telchines, Tubal peoples)	[more data needed!]	Hebrew and Phoenician, the dominant languages in the Bible World, belong to the AA macrophyllum	Hittites (Hatti) disantly present Biblical Hittites (bry- /ti) conspicuous, e.g. Uriah pattern of mining in Sinai peninsula reminiscent of IE mining traditions (Best 1996) horse and chariot complex e.g. of Milanni, strong IE connotations	4b. Secondary (Illyro ^a -) Pelasgians (including pre-Israelite Phrisites, Secondary Phalistsines, Numidian Pense) Secondary Leleges, Caphtor / Cashtulim (with a party Indusyan ruling class) = Carians, Alarcidians	Anthony 2010; Best 1996; personal communication; Dever 2006; Faust 2012; Ganes 2006; Klingbeil <i>et al.</i> 2008; Larnche 1986, 1998; Long 1999; McCall & Fleming 1999; Peet 1920; Thompson 2000; Timmer 2015; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 3f, 86 f.; van Binsbergen 2020; Volkmar & Davies 1998; Fig. 2.15 (a, b) in the present monograph; distribution of Khosianoids in prehistoric Mediterranean region
V	Iberia of the West	archaeological indications of the presence of Khosianoids: rock art depicting honey hunt	[more data needed!]	Basquoid languages dominate NE Iberian peninsula	from the Late Bronze Age on the eastern Iberian Peninsula underwent considerable influence from AA-speaking Carthage on the Mediterranean southern shore	IE Greek presence from Mycenaean times (late 2nd mill. BCE); Celtic and non-Celtic IE speakers form Middle Bronze Iberian material culture shows Hittite influence	Amatiz-Villena <i>et al.</i> 1999, 2000; Arnaiz-Villena & Alonso-García 1999, 2000; Bandt n.d.; Barcelo 1988; Bertranpetit & Cavalli-Sforza 1991; Calafell & Bertranpetit 1993; Celestino, & López-Ruiz 2016; Corte <i>et al.</i> 1996; Delaux 2017; Escacena 1986; Faust 1975; García y Bellido 1954; Harrison 1988; Kilgour 1972; Kurz 2010, with extensive bibliography; Lillios 2008; Lilliu & Schubart 1967; Lull <i>et al.</i> 2013; Monteaugudo 1985; Sammarti Ascaso 1986; Simón 2005; Woudhuizen 2014		

VI	<p>Egypt</p>	<p>archaeological indications of the presence of Khoisanoids: ostrich shell beads; Proto-Pelagians (with implied NC and Khoisanoid elements) extending from W Asia to N Italy</p> <p>Uralic and Altaic elements obliquely suggested by the archaeological record (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011:....)</p>	<p>[more data needed!]</p>	<p>[more data needed!]</p>	<p>Old Egyptian is considered a branch of the AA macro-phyllum also the Ancient Libyans, conspicuous in the Delta and immediately West of Egypt, spoke forms of berber as a branch of AA</p>	<p>during much of Egyptian history, the Delta formed an interface between Upper Egypt and the Ancient Near East; in the Delta IE elements can be discerned (Kammerzell 1994; Ray 1992)</p> <p>44. Secondary Ibero-Ligurians, Caphtor / Cashlujim (with an IE speaking ruling class) in Spain, Sicanians, Tyrrhenians, Tuscan, Proto-Illlyrians, E. Mediterranean</p>	<p>Brown 1975; Cornelius 1957 with Stricker 1963:983; Harrington 2021; Hoffman 1979 / 1991; Kammerzell 1994; Karst 1934; Knoppers, & Hirsch 2004; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990; Lhote 1959; Mercer 1924; Munro 1934; Murray 1944; Myers, 1997; Nellig 1996; Pendlebury 1939; Petrie 1891, 1944; Pitt-Rivers 1883; Ray 1992; Redford 1992, 2004; Rice 1990; Ross 2013; Schmidt, 1938; Sjöleboham, et al. 2008; Smith 2003; Torok 2008; Trigger 1993; van Binsbergen 2010; van Binsbergen 2009a; Wengrow 2006; Wilkinson 2013; Woudhuizen n.d.</p> <p>the special intermediate status of the Delta, between Upper Egypt and West Asia (Kammerzell 1994 (cf. van Binsbergen 2009a)</p>
VII	<p>Etruria</p>	<p>Proto-Pelagians (with implied NC and Khoisanoid elements) extending from W Asia to N Italy; the extensive continuities perceived between Etruscans and West Africa</p>	<p>[more data needed!]</p>	<p>[more data needed!]</p>	<p>in the absence of specific linguistic indications of a Sino-Caucasian presence in Etruria, we may point out that various institutions (e.g. augury, extispicy, the Twelve Tables as a form of political organisation, towards the east have ramifications all over Eurasia all the way to China</p>	<p>Various authors, foremost Woudhuizen, have demonstrated the essentially Luwian, hence IE, nature of Etruscan 44. Secondary Ibero-Ligurians, Caphtor / Cashlujim (with an IE speaking ruling class) in Spain, Sicanians, Tyrrhenians, Proto-Illlyrians, E. Mediterranean</p>	<p>Achilla et al. 2007; Bonifante & Bonifante 2002; Campano & Bell 2016; Conway 1936 / 1960; Dunneil 1996; Frobenius 191; Hefel 1943; Mueller & Dreeke 1877; Pallottino 1956; Turfa 2013; van Binsbergen 2010; van der Meer 1992; von Vacano 1955 / 1961; Woudhuizen 1982-1983, 1992b, 1998, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2013.</p>

VIII	Aegean region including Troy	Proto-Pelagians (with implied NC and Khloisnoid elements) extending from W Asia to N Italy; Athens and Lemnos (cults of Hephaestus) are emphatically Pelagian	ib. E/C Mediterranean; mean: Alpsoids (pre- Leleges, Telchines, Tubal peoples)	za. Basquoids, Ibero- Sicans; E. Mediterranean; mean:	zb. Liguroid or E. Basquid Leleges	AA / Semitic in Crete up to Middle Bronze Age zb. Second- ary Leleges, Nbk. Insular as Cushitic, this AA element is often 2nd mill. i.e. older than 2	Greek as an IE language	Avesturi 2016; Benzi 2002; Bernal 1987-2006; Boardman et al. 1982; Cline 2010; Davies et al. 1995; Dickinson 2007; Edwards et al. 1973, 1975; Emanuel 2014; Gorogianini et al. 2016; Korpania 2015; Molloy 2016; Mouton et al. 2013; Shelmerdine 2008; Unwin 2017; Wiersma & Voutsak 2016; Yasur-Landau 2010
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IE = Indo-European; AA = Afroasiatic; SC = Sino-Caucasian; ST = Sino-Tibetan; NC = Niger Congo; ANE = Ancient Near East; E = East; W = West; C = Central

Table 6.1. Towards the conclusive systematic analysis and empirical corroboration of Karst's four-tiered linguistico-ethnic system for the Ancient Mediterranean.

Table 6.1 does not offer sufficient space to present Karst's scattered though detailed observations on the six cases that I have singled out for demonstration of the four-tiered model. Such observations will therefore be selectively summarised below in itemised form. Like always, we need to compensate for Karst's habitual vagueness, lack of consistency, lack of completeness etc. My discussion is primarily meant to render Karst's ideas (mainly in Karst 1931a) in the matter, and only secondarily conveys my own assessment of the complex linguistico-ethnic situation of the Ancient Mediterranean – which I have divulged in much detail in our 2011 book and in the preceding chapters of the present monograph.

6.4.2. Ligurians

Ligures / Lyguria is claimed to be essentially a Basquoid designation (1931a: 222, 370), and the Ligurians are perceived as displaying 'the Basque somatic type' (1931a: 414; however much of a stereotype this may be). This brings Karst (1931a: 402) to conflate Proto-Sicilians, Basquoid Proto-Ligurians, and Proto-Illyrians. Leleges and Basquo-Ligurians are also seen as ethnically closely related (1931a: 8). For Karst (1928, 1931a), the Ligurians have important transcontinental connotations. Using, for better or worse, specific cultural traits, such as circumcision, the couvade, and the cult of certain deities including the Sun, as 'index fossils' for long-range cultural connections,²³⁶ he links the Liguro-Iberians and the Tibarenians, with the Near East (1931a: 225) and even the Amerindians (1931a: 307). For him, *Euskalduna*, allegedly the Basquian ethnonym (1931a: 74), marks not so much the Iberians proper, but 'potentialised Liguro-Hyperboreans crossed with Liby-Iberians' (1931a: 52, 46, 50), to whom he attributes an oriental origin (1931a: 11, 324), extending to the West already in prehistoric times (1931a: 57). Thus the Ligy [Liguro]-Hyperboreans are claimed to be Finno-Ugrians as a *degenerated*, Mongolised variety (1931a: 51).²³⁷

He identifies an autochthonous Ligurian or Atlanto-Ligurian element in Hesperia, especially Hispania, (1931a: 325, *cf.* 591, 368); in his opinion, an Atlantio-Ligurian element is also conspicuous among the Phrygians (1931a: 434), whose original layer may have been Basquoid Iberian, but overlaid with an Indo-European-speaking top layer, and ultimately ramifying off into Illyroid / Celtoid groups and Ashkhenazian groups (1931a: 434, 57, 178). Such an Atlanto-Ligurian element Karst also discerns among the Carians (1931a: 356, 415 *f.*, 434, 478, 592).

Karst sees the Ligurians – as North(ern) Basquoid phyla – in primal North West Europe (1931a: 227, 431): a Liguro-Lelegian-Alarodian [*i.e.* a variety of N. Caucasian < Sinocaucasian – WvB] chain of peoples (1931a: 178) extending from the Caucasus to North West Italy, so that we may discern a Liguro-Lelegian demographic layer (of Caucasoid linguistic type) in primal Italy (1931a: 406). In Hesperia (an ambiguous term, applying both to the Caucasus and the Iberian peninsula in South West Europe; but here mainly the eastern, Caucasus is meant) we can make out an Afroasiatic-speaking ('Hamitised') dominant class of Leguro-

²³⁶ *Cf.* van Binsbergen in press (g) – these and similar traits, privileged by an obsolete form of early anthropology, played an important role in the arguments of the archdiffusionist Grafton Elliot Smith, *e.g.* 1915 / 1929).

²³⁷ My italics – this is one of the very few instances where Karst used a negative evaluation ('degenerated') with regard to a specific people. What triggered his prejudice in this case we do not know. Certainly it was not the alleged Sinotibetan association, which in other contexts in his work is treated with considerable sympathy, *e.g.* as a possible [although unlikely – WvB] etymological background to the ethnonym 'Ethiopian'.

Leleges (1931a: 406). Karst is not alone in linking Liguria in North West Italy, and Elymians in Sicily, with the Eastern Mediterranean, notably with Troy (cf. Ziegler 1979).²³⁸

Leguro-Iberians, i.e. Basquoids (1931a: 14, 372) are claimed by Karst to constitute North(ern) Iberians or Leguro Iberians in the Central and North(ern) Mediterranean basin (1931a: 414), but also in primal Brittany (1931a: 499), so that we may speak of Hyperborean-Atlantic Ligurians (1931a: 327; cf. Oppenheimer 2006). Karst also discerns a Ligurian or North(ern) Basquoid element in Alpine lands (1931a: 502); and Liguro-Caucasians in pre-Slavonic (and pre-Indo-European- [Karst: pre-Indo-Germanic]speaking) East(ern) Europe (1931a: 492). Given the peculiar dynamics according to which toponyms and ethnonyms deceptively oscillate between one another – as discussed above, and in our 2011 book – , we may make out Secondary Ligurians, (1931a: 46 f.) or the younger Sicilian layer (1931a: 229, 371), close to the Secondary Iberians of Hesperia. Here there are two layers, a) an older *satem* layer; b) a younger but underlying *kentum* layer (1931a: 424). There is allegedly even an extension into Mauretania (1931a 470 f.). A Liguro-Sicilian immigration into Italy is discussed (1931a: 86). The connection between Basquoid and Ligurian is born out by the Ligurian syntactic element in Euskaran (1931a: 49 f.) – and further we may recognise a Basquoid linguistic element in South West [Northern] Caucasian, (1931a: 13), in Celtic and Latin (1931a: 52 f.) and in Greek (1931a: 53 f., in Illyrian, Germanic and Slavonic (1931a: 54 f.). The picture is, as always in Karst, kaleidoscopic and unsystematic; and while this may well reflect the basic linguistico-ethnic realities on the ground, it should not surprise us that such a picture does not particularly appeal to the present-day linguist (cf. Woudhuizen 2018a).

6.4.3. Bible World

After our discussion of a Karstian perspective upon the Table of Nations (*Genesis* 10) in a previous chapter, it is no longer necessary to present a synthetic account of Karst's view on the Bible World. His main contribution has been to emphasize the presence of proto-Bantu elements in various core Biblical names, such as Jabbok and Canaan. Later I was able to add a few names to this list, such as Lot, and to pinpoint the potentially Bantu elements in core names in Ancient Near Eastern mythology, notably Tiāmat and her junior male escort, Kingu (van Binsbergen 2020). These proto-Bantu elements I take to be aspects of the Pelasgian package,²³⁹ which are also likely to include Khoisan elements, although I have been at a loss so far to specifically identify them; but they seem to be implied by the fact that the distribution area of ostrich beads (a typical product of Khoisan speakers, also in Southern and East Africa, and in Ancient Egypt) extends, from North Africa, all the way eastward to North India (cf. Fig.2.15, above). Ever since the expansion of the Afroasiatic macrophyllum (specifically: Semitic linguistic, cultural and religious elements, with a fair helping of Old Egyptian – another Afroasiatic cluster) in the Ancient Near East this has been the linguistic macrophyllum of the socio-political top layer in the Bible World, with occasional elements of

²³⁸ As we have seen, Woudhuizen instead opts for a Thracio-Phrygian language for Troy, with a touch of Luwian, suggesting any Afroasiatic connection to be anachronistic for Homeric times.

²³⁹ Which is at its most conspicuous both in Ancient Egypt and in Syro-Palestine, although the *loci classici* (in Homer and Herodotus) refer to Dodona, Epirus, Ancient Greece, stressing the Pelasgians's non-Olympian, apparently primitive and aniconic, oracular cult – centring on interpreting the rustling of leaves on Zeus's sacred oak. Remarkably, this turned out to be still the main form of divination in the Eastern Atlas highlands of Humiriyya, NW Tunisia, when I did fieldwork there in the late 1960s CE.

Indo-European (Hittites, Biblical Hittites, the Mitanni group with its predilection for horse breeding and equestrian arts) – while also the pattern of mining in the Middle and Late Age in the Sinai has parallels with other Indo-European speaking groups (Dalley 1987; Peet 1920; Best 1996). Given the likely presence of Sinocausasian in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean especially in Sardinia (McCall & Fleming 1999; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 93, and index to that book), and also the Sinocausasian affinities often implied in the Pelasgian cluster, as well as the puzzling, Sinic-reminiscent names of a few peoples in the Table of Nations, we may be justified to surmise that also a Sinocausasian layer was present in the Bible World.

6.4.4. Iberians of the West

In the Table of Nations / *Genesis* 10, Eber appears as the father of Joktan, and Joktan may well stand for the Berbero-Hamitic migration from South West Asia to North West Africa and South West Europe. For Karst, Iberia refers in the first place to West Asia: Iran (1931a: 337, 567, 600), with the Iberians (associated with an apical ancestor Peleg in the Table of Nations) as the people from Eberland, Mesopotamia / Syria (1931a: 339). It is not impossible that also the Iberian connotations of South Western Europe refer to Eber (1931a: 34). The centrality and primal nature which Karst attributes to the Iberians in the Ancient Mediterranean may be illustrated by the following long excerpt from the Index to Karst 1931a (the figures are page numbers in Karst 1931a):

‘iii. *Iberians*, southern or *Ibero-Ethiopians*, 14, 253; *Ibero-Ethiopians*, Mediterranean Asiatic southern stock, 249; the *Ibero-Ethiopian* main stock (megalithic peoples, Indo-Puntic Atlanteans) 251 f.; their migrations West, 253; *Ibero-Ethiopian* settlements in Western Europe, 252; *Ibero-Ethiopians* as the second migratory wave of the Atlanteans, 279; *Ibero-Ethiopians* in India, 533; *Ibero-Ethiopian* substrate (basis) of the Sumerians, 275; *Ibero-Ethiopians* as the basis of Semito-Hamites; *Ibero-Atlanteans* or *Ibero-Ethiopians* in pre-Aryan India, 247, 557; their radiation to Insulinde and Oceania, 557 f.; *Proto-Iberians* (*Ibero-Ethiopians*) 14; Southern *Iberians* or *Ibero-Ethiopians* (Sumeroid phyla[WvB3]) as main component of the Basquoids, 325, 329; *Proto-Iberians* (*Liby-Iberians*, *Ibero-Ethiopians*), *Liby-sub-Ethiopian* intermediate stock, 228, 231; -, anthropological type, 237; the *proto-Iberian* substrate (basis) in prehistoric Aegean and in pre-Semitic Syro-Mesopotamia, 413; the *Ibero-Atlantean* stock in America, 319; South(ern) *Iberians*, 48, 338; *Ibero-Libyans* (South(ern) *Iberians*) in NW Africa, 509; *Ibero-Libyan* tendency among the South(ern) *Caucasians*, 333; - influence in British Celtic, 253; North(ern), *Liguroid Iberians*: the somatic Bask type, 414; *Ibero-Caucasians* or North(ern) *Iberians* in Aquitania and Ebro-Spain, corresponding with the *Karthvelo-Caucasians*, 46; *Ibero-Caucasians* (as prehistoric family of peoples), 242; *Ibero-Caucasian* as a mix factor in Dravidian India, 445; -, (*Casian*) cultural material in the Celtic lexicon, 446; North(ern) *Iberian* or *Karthvelo-Iberian* as secondary influence in Euskara, 15; Hamitoid layer of *Hamito-Iberians*, 34; *Ibero-Hamitic Hybrid* phyla in primal India, 533; *Ibero-Hamitic* element in Pelasgian identity, 410; *Ibero-Sicilians* (= *Hamito-Iberians*) in Spain and Sicily, 64; Secondary *Iberians* (semi-Indo-European type) in NE Spain, 18 f., 59; - ethnically closely related to *Phrygo-Thracians*, 470; toponymy of the *Ibero-Hispanians*, and its *Thracio-Phrygian* elements, 32 f.; *Hispanic* toponyms on -bri, -bria, -vria, 32 f.; *Iberian* colonies (Perso-Armeno-Median) in Hesperia, esp. in Pontic-Caucasian *Iberia*, 339, 409; the Aryan element, 469; West(ern) and East(ern) *Iberians*, 7; *oriental-Iberian* immigrations in Spain, 325 f.; migration of West *Iberians* to Asiatic *Iberia*, 57, 338; *Caucasian Iberians*, the ancient record of their *Hispanic* origin, 324 f.; East(ern) *Iberians* in the Punt land India, 334; *Ibero-Hesperian* fauna, 497 f.; rabbit and hare in *Ibero-Spain* and in Ponto[WvB4]-*Caucasian* Asia, 498 f.; *Ibero-Alarodian* royal names and titles in Hesperia: *Kokalos*, 507 f.; *Iberian* syntactic element in *Basquian*, 13 f.; -, demographic substrate in South(ern). *Britannia* and *Ireland*, 252; *Iberisation* phenomena in several Indo-European idioms, 127; *Iberians* (*Heberi*) as allophylic term in the sense of Armenian *hiwr*, i.e. migratory people'; - as presumable blanket term for 'strangers' = *Berberic Iberanijen*, the strangers', 38 (...); *Liby-Iberians* 9 = *Proto-Iberians*) 43 f., 46; - or *Ibero-Ethiopians*, 129 f.; *Liby-Iberian* or

Ibero-Ethiopian migrations of the Atlanteans, 328; Liby-Hesperian Atlantic, 313; Liby-Berberic, lexically related to Abkhasian, 404; (...) Secondary *Iberians* (Hispanic) coinciding with and identical with the -, 80 f.; Tyrrhenian Pelasgians (= Lydo-Tyrrhenians), 82, 357, 434; Tyrrhenian substrate in Atlantis-Europe, 79; Tyrrheno-Etruscan language, semi-Indo-European type or proto-indo-European satem kind, 47; Liby-Hesperian coastal lands massively invaded by Tyrrheno-Lydo-Hittoid phyla in the 2nd mill BCE, 92; alleged Lydian-Maonian origin of the Italian Tyrrheno-Etruscans, 435; allophylic ethnonym of the Tyrrheni, from Hamitic-Libyan *diberrani*, 'stranger', 76 (...) Phrygians, three layers: 1. Armenoid - (satem layer), 2. Atlanto-Liguroid - : a) pre-Indo-European, Basquoid-Iberian = Proto-Phrygians; b. Indo-European top layer [when the reference is clearly linguistic, we should translate 'Oberschicht' top layer, not with ruling or dominant class ; check throughout this document], Secondary-Illyroid-Celtoid (centum type), 434; Proto-Phrygians, 177 f.; - or Ashkenazians, East(ern) counterparts of the Euskaldunakh (East(ern) *Iberians*), 4. 57; - or Askenaz nation, 178; - , their prehistoric extension across North(ern) Near East all the way to Turan, across Crete etc., 223; Proto-Phrygian-Alarodic peoples, 14; proto-Phrygian-Basquoid peoples, 227; proto-Phrygian-Basquoid = Aškenazi peoples, 236; Proto-Phrygian as sister language to Euskara, 10, 14; Phrygians, 363, (...)

iv. Karthvelians, 57, 415; Karthvelian language, 11 f.; Karthveloid primal peoples in Syro-Canaan [Table of Nations], 379 f.; Karthvelo-Iberians in East(ern) Spain (Mingrelo-Georgian stock), in Raetia (Suanethian understock), 248; Karthveloid *Iberians* in Hesperia [West Asia - WvB], 400; Karthveloid Pelasgians in Illyria, North(ern) and Central Greece (ethnonyms on - opes), 425; younger (Secondary) Karthvelians as Aryan upper caste in Caucasian *Iberia*, 24

v. Cashluchites (in Lycia, compared [by whom?] with Philistines), 40;

vi. Kerethi (Crethi), 1 = Eteocretes [Eteo has been convincingly interpreted by Karst as 'island', possibly from Sinotibetan, cf. Chinese *hai tao*] ; 2. 'the allophytes, the strangers'; (...)

Tyrrhenians or Trinakians in prehistoric Spain, 86 f.; Hesperian -, closely related to the proto-Armenian Hay (Hay-Thorgom) and the Hittites, 88; Italian -, allegedly hailing from Asia Minor, 357, 397, 520; Secondary *Iberians* (Hispanic) coinciding with and identical with the Tyrrhenians or Trinakians in prehistoric Spain, 80 f.; Tyrrhenian Pelasgians (= Lydo-Tyrrhenians), 82, 357, 434; Tyrrhenian substrate in Atlantis-Europe, 79; Tyrrheno-Etruscan language, semi-Indo-European type or proto-indo-European satem kind, 47; Liby-Hesperian coastal lands massively invaded by Tyrrheno-Lydo-Hittoid phyla in the 2nd mill BCE, 92; alleged Lydian-Maonian origin of the Italian Tyrrheno-Etruscans, 435; allophylic ethnonym of the Tyrrheni, from Hamitic-Libyan *diberrani*, 'stranger', 76

xv. 'Pelasgian Crete is very reminiscent of Basquian ugarte, 'island' and may even be composed from the corresponding ancient *Iberian*-Lelesgian *urgate or ugarte. From geological and ethnological perspective [Karst believes that the geological time scale for major changes in coastline, land bridges etc. is comparable to that of culturo-linguistic change and the formation of peoples, which I find totally unacceptable] pelasgian Crete appears to be a fragment, a relict, of a presumable chain of lands and peoples, which may have stretched from the Southern Aegean via Sicania to Atlantis-Africa [= Africa Minor] . Only in this connection and under these assumption can we understand the ancient Hebrew tradition about Caphtor and the Krethi peoples, to which admittedly also the Philisti-im must be reckoned. For Caphtor and Kaslukhim refer on the one hand to Illyroid Italia-Oenotria, on the other hand to Liby-Hesperia.' 428]

Crete as primal home of the Philistines, 379 [sinceKrethi is merely a term for 'strangers' and does not originally refer to the Island of Crete, [379:] 'the obscure report concerning a Philistinian or even Jewish primal homeland in Crete must by no means be taken literally, but instead as a mistaken interpretation of the appellative nomen garerthi-qe?rethi, that in the Caucasian-Iberian languages and in the proto-Hittite of Canaan in general meant 'the strangers' or 'the strange land'

230: Under the Sicilian royal name 'Kokalos', Karst suspects the existence of a general Sicano-Iberian royal title 'kokala'; [cf the Bena Kokalia of the Gwembe valley, Colson] [The royal titles which Karst mentions here are interesting for the cast some light upon the political organisation of the Sea Peoples] [From affinities with toponyms in Iran and words for king in Sanskrit, Sumerian, Berberic etc. Karst derives the conclusion that 'Proto-Sicanian or Ibero-Sicanian was a South-Iberian idiom, that was genetically related to Sumerian, pre-Aryan Indian, and Lydian. The same proto-Sicanian-Iberian primal demographic layer must also have dominated in pre-Hamitic Libya at one time.

I would agree with any reader who claims that such a rambling account, while illustratively highlighting the limitless scope of Karst's imaginative vision, does disappointingly little to inspire confidence in his four-layer model (also *cf.* Woudhuizen, 2018a)!

Contrary to the widely supported model of the westbound spread of Neolithic production along the axis of the Mediterranean (Ammermann & Cavalli-Sforza 1973, 1979; Bellwood & Renfrew 2002), Arnaiz-Villena, Martínez Laso and Alonso-García (1999) adduce molecular genetic support for an alternative model of pre-Neolithic spread from the southern to the northern shore of the Mediterranean – a thesis repeated and further adstruced in Arnaiz-Villena, Martínez-Laso, & Gómez-Casado(2000). This particularly throws an surprising light on the Iberians and stresses their potential North African continuities, as well as the West-East overall continuity throughout the Mediterranean (except for the Greeks, who are out-lyers from sub-Saharan Africa; Arnaiz-Villena *et al.* 1999, 2001a). This picture acquires further detail in the work of Bertranpetit & Cavalli-Sforza 1991, and Bosch *et al.* 2001. An interesting angle is opened by a *Tower of Babel* comment (Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008, s.v. Basque etymology): *perhaps the Basquoid language was brought to Western Europe (Iberia of the West) from Anatolia by slaves or former slaves.*²⁴⁰

6.4.5. Ancient Egypt

Pelasgian traits score high in Ancient Egypt; Khoisan and Bantu traits²⁴¹ are implied in Pelasgian, also well with the range of ostrich shell beads (Fig. 2.15 above; also Conwell 1987). Hence Karst may speak of Egyptoid Pelasgians (1931a: 511). The Egyptian site name Gurob (Petrie 1891) has Khoisan connotations (*cf.* van Binsbergen 2004 and in press (j)). The extent of Egyptian water gods (Mercer 1921 including the famous goddess Neith who plays such a pivotal role in the *Black-Athena* debate) and the emphasis on regicide,²⁴² situate Ancient Egypt on a plane of continuity, not only with Old World prehistory, but especially with sub-Saharan Africa. Spiked wheel traps (Petrie 1914; Lindblom 1935; van Binsbergen 2010b) and basketry techniques (Schmidl 1928) convey the same message. Needless to remind the reader of the fact that Egyptian / sub-Saharan African continuity has been a long-standing claim among Afrocentrists, from Du Bois, Diop and Obenga to Martin Bernal.²⁴³ Of more limited, regional

²⁴⁰ This is interesting because there are also indications (van Binsbergen, in press (d)) to the effect that the emergence and spread of proto-Bantu was in the hands of a considerably pigmented subject population selectively appropriating and creolising fragments of disintegrating *Borean, more specifically East and South East Asian language elements from the Austric macrophylum (halving lexical roots and subjecting the remainders to consonant metathesis), prior to spreading in sub-Saharan Africa. Given Africanist and African identity sensitivities, this is however a moot point. Prehistoric gene flow from South East Asia to the Western Old World including Africa has been demonstrated by molecular genetics (Underhill 2004, and the other standard references – Cruciani, Caio, Hammer – on the Back-into-Africa movement), but precisely which language groups and which level of pigmentation are involved has not yet been ascertained so far. The Late Upper Palaeolithic gene flow from the Caucasus to the West Iberian peninsula is genetically clearly detectable, *cf.* the historical distribution maps in Forster 2004 in regard of mtDNA Type H.

²⁴¹ An important feature of the Bantu linguistic phylum is *nominal classes* that syntactically govern entire phrases of nouns and verbs. Similar syntactic phenomena exist in languages belonging to the Austric macrophylum (South East Asia and Oceania). In view of my emphasis on Sunda / Austric traces in Ancient Egypt, Takacs's 1995 observation on Egyptian parallels may be relevant.


²⁴² *Cf.* Murray 1914; Frazer 1890-1915; van Binsbergen 2020: 145n, identifying regicide as a Pelasgian trait with possible Sunda antecedents.

²⁴³ For an introductory review of the evidence and non-Afrocentric contributions, *cf.* van Binsbergen 2010b.

application is the Ancient Egyptians's predilection (especially among royals) for near-kin incest, which (although suggestive of a Pelasgian trait) especially shows continuity with the Hittites and Iranians. This already covers one (the Nigercongo / Khoisan one) of the proposed layers in the case of Egypt. Recent Afrocentric writers such as Ndigi and Anselin have stressed the continuity between Old Egyptian and the Bantu languages spoken in sub-Saharan Africa, specially those of Cameroon. Old Egyptian – as the language of the politically dominant population group in Ancient Egypt – is classified as an Afroasiatic language, more or less close to Semitic and Berber, Chadic, Omotic and Cushitic. Libyans are conspicuous throughout Ancient Egyptian history, not only as inimical western neighbours but also as dwellers in the Delta; several elements in the symbolism of Ancient Egyptian kingship (penis sheath, bull tail, apron, uraeus) were Libya-reminiscent, and Neith has Libyan connotations. The Libyans's proto-Berber Afroasiatic language contributed to the linguistic diversity of Ancient Egypt. West Semitic was spoken by sizeable Israelite groups east of the Delta; at Elephantine near the southern border with Nubia; and in Alexandria in Hellenistic times. Mythical themes such as the primordial distinction between Lower and Upper Egypt, and the glorious unification of the Two Lands under the first, legendary, pharaoh Menes (a name with Cretan and possibly even Austric reminiscences; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Table 28.4), have greatly informed, and warped, historians' perspective on Ancient Egypt. In addition to the Libyan presence, the Delta has been largely continuous with adjacent parts of West Asia through much of Ancient Egypt's history – so much so that in the formation of Ancient Egyptian culture, where in recent decades pride of place has been given to continuity with sub-Saharan Africa, the equally conspicuous continuity with West Asia specifically Hatti has tended to be overlooked (van Binsbergen 2011b), even though stressed by prominent specialists such as Ray (1992) and Kammerzell (1994). The latter's arguments are largely linguistic, and dwell on what appears to be a considerable Indo-European element in Ancient Egypt; but also cultural continuity may be considered, e.g. in the prominence of the bee²⁴⁴ among animal symbolism (in the dominant royal nomenclature in Egypt, *nswt-bit* );²⁴⁵ and in the custom of burial in animal skins in large ceramic vessels, which prevailed not only in the Delta but also among the Sumerians, Syrians, Cappadocians etc. Associations further afield may also be discerned. Other Egyptian mythical themes belong to a distributive range extending from Southern Africa to Japan, notably the reed-centred conception of cosmogenesis, and the celestial / solar / weaving / bow-and-arrow connotations of young womanhood. There has been a considerable debate on the extent (e.g. in such fields as writing, architecture, religion) of formative Sumerian influence on the emergence of Early Dynastic Egypt (Rice 1990; Waddell 1930; Smith 1992; David 1955; cf. Mark 1997). Uralic and Altaic influences may be suspected in Ancient Egypt in the form of shamanism and hippic technology. The extent of Sinocaucasian continuity remains unclear, but when specialists claim (McCall & Fleming 1999) that on the Northern shore of the Mediterranean Sinocaucasian languages (especially North Caucasian and Basque) were an important presence, while prior to the decipherment of Hittite by Hrozný, historians and philologists tended to link the Hittites to the Chinese (Conder n.d.), further exploration is likely to yield revealing data in this respect too. Karst at any rate lists several reasons to suspect a Sinic i.e. Sinocaucasian or even (as a more specific subgroup)

²⁴⁴ Cf. the Hittite *Telepinu Epic*, where a bee saves the world, and the general designation of Iron Age Mediterranean priestesses as *Melissai*, 'she-bees'.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Kritsky 2015; van Binsbergen, in press (m).

Sinotibetan substrate among the Ancient Egyptians as well as the Sumerians (1931a: 273-276, 282 f.). This perception is predicated on Karst's contentious hypothesis of a major 'Atlantean' demic and cultural movement (comprising, among other branches, Cushites and 'Berbero-Hamites'; 1931a: 251) – marked, according to Karst, by such cultural traits as circumcision and the *couvade*. He also mentions the *manes* cult, with ramifications both among the Chinese and the Etrusco-Romans (1931a: 454; extending Central Asia to the West, but in part coinciding with my Pelasgian Hypothesis, and thus likely to have spread south into sub-Saharan Africa). Meanwhile the enormous impact of Egyptian state, economy, art, and religion over the entire Mediterranean and very far beyond during three millennia (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990; Pendlebury 1930) has made for considerable continuity between Ancient Egypt and Mediterranean cultures especially towards the outgoing Bronze Age (Brown 1975; Stricker 1963-1989 concentrates on the conceptualisation of embryology, with applications all the way to the Ancient Near East, to Graeco-Roman culture, and especially to India (also cf. Cornelius 1957). In this connection it is unnecessary to dwell on the question of possible Austric / Sunda impact upon Ancient Egypt (cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Table 28.4; van Binsbergen 2020, where also (p. 189) shamanism is considered in such a light while acknowledging the – potentially Sunda – link with *Asu* and *Asipu* healing cults in Ancient Mesopotamia, cf. Ritter 1965). It is remarkable that Karst had already an inkling of such Sunda impact upon Egypt, upon the Cushites and upon the Fulani (1931a: 457). Remarkable in the context of the Ancient Mediterranean is that Karst explains (1931a: 61, 239) the toponym Oinotria, for Southern Italy (usually interpreted as having wine connotations), by reference to the Old Egyptian  *Tonuter*, 'gods land'. Given the principle – detected and given analytical status by Karst – that toponyms are likely to have multiple geographic applications especially to be duplicated between east and west, Karst (1931a) has an extensive discourse on the ramifications of the toponym Colchis, in which Egyptian connections play a major role

Colchis in its various meanings, 284 f., 356; – a) Indo-Punic b) Caucaso-Punic, 330; 'Egyptian' – , on the Punt Sea, 443; – on the Persian Gulf, 382; – in the sense of Chaldaeae-Elam, 338; Indo-Scythian – , 338; Colchians, 292, 346; – (Casluhans), 329; Indo-Ethiopian – , 329; 'Egyptoid' – , Kolarian Proto-Indians (Munda-Kolkh), 443 f.; Colchian migrations, 228; Colchian migrations to *Egypt*, 338 [were not these the Hyksos?]; Colchis migrations to *Egypt* and *Egyptian* colonies in Colchis, 284; 'dark' or 'black' Colchians, 515, 585. Cashluans, Casluchim, 292, 329 f., 346, 356, 428, 487, 586; – a. South(ern) or Punic-pre-Chaldaeae – ; b. North(ern) Near Eastern – , the so-called *Egypto*-Ethiopian Colchians in Pontus and Cappadocia; c. the Hesperian – , 330 f.

6.4.6. Etruria

One of the most eagerly debated aspects of the Ancient Mediterranean has been *the Etruscan question*: were the Etruscans as known from Central and North Italy – with an enormous formative impact on Roman culture, institutions and religion – *locals*, or were they *immigrants* from the Eastern Mediterranean (Pallottino 1942 / 1956; von Vacano 1955; Beekes 2003). The increasingly successful decipherment of the relatively well attested Etruscan texts, and the recognition of that language as a variety of Luwian (an early branch of Indo-European, close to Hittite; Woudhuizen 1992b, 1998a, 1998b, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2013, 2014; Georgiev 1962), have constituted decisive progress in this field of study in recent decades. In this light, Karst's kaleidoscopic explorations now look unintentionally hilarious:

Karst (1931a: 525) returns to the well-known theme of the Etruscans / Lydians from Africa Minor, and repeats the idea of migration of Mesopotamia, but gives a different emphasis, now it is *tludi, teluthi*, that leads to *Lusitania, Andalusia, Elysaei campi*. Similarly, with a phonetically modified toponymy, we come to Tartussis, Tarshish, i.e. the land of the Turduli, Turdetani in Baetica [Southeast(ern) Spain, Quidalquivir = Baetis], which also fully corresponds with the Turzetani people on the Libyan side. As the ethnonymic primal name of all these westerly phyla we construct a type **Turthm Tultth, Teluth*. From this are derived, in their turn, besides the Turdelani-Turduli: 1. The Etrusco-Tyrrhenian Lydians (**tlu?*), 2. Oretani in C Spain; 3. Rodanim (Japhet phylum) and the pre-Celtic Rutheni in South(ern) Gallia; 4. The Tuski or Toscani from *turth-ki, -kani*; 5. the Tyrsians or Tyrsenoï (Tyrrhenian Toscanians and Aegean Tyrsenians), properly **Turthennu < turthetnu*, which is essentially identical with the Turzetani of North Africa, i.e. the Baeto-Iberian Turdeani. [follows a far-flung excursion on the C. American Toltecs]

Karst concedes the link between Etruscans and Lydia, but:

(Karst 1931a: 38) The Etruscans are called Lydians (Ludoi), not because of any serious connections with Lydia in Asia Minor, but for a totally different reason: this is a Semitoid abbreviation of *khluda, khaluda*, where *kha* was, in a popular etymology, interpreted as the Semito-Hamitic article $\bar{\eta}$ *ha*. The proper meaning however is 'migrants, colonisers' - and refers to a particular (dominant) layer among the Etruscans which was are part of the Berbero-Hamitic migration from South West Asia to North West Africa and from there to the North West Mediterranean

However, the point here is not so much whether Karst's approach to the Etruscans is still acceptable (of course it is not) or must be recognised as flawed and obsolete (of course it is), but *whether the Etruscan case corroborates the four-tiered model as proposed for the Ancient Mediterranean as a whole*. With their West Asian connotations, the Etruscan presence on Italic soil constitutes an element of Pelasgian continuity, reaching across the island of Lemnos, and also into Syro-Palestine and Egypt as the Pelasgian core regions (cf. Cooper 2000; van Binsbergen, in press (e)). Divinatory practices (notably extispicy – Nougayrol, 1955; Schilling 1979; Thulin 1906a, 1906b; Regell *et al.* 1975 – and the reading of locational signs); the death demon Vanth (Paschinger 1992); the iconographic importance of *Mischwesen* (Boosen 1986; cf. Wiggermann & Green 1994); the far-reaching continuity with the Greek pantheon; the iconography of the fish-tailed monster (Shepard 1940 – ramifications not only into Greek art but also West Asia – Dagon, Ea – and even East Asia); and specific genetic traits (Achillia 2007; van Binsbergen 2020: 199 *f.*), all help to corroborate the Eastern Mediterranean / Near Eastern connotations of the Etruscans. Remarkable is, in many of these traits, the fact that they seem to extend all the way across Asia to China. This Asian distribution is also the case with shamanism (Muster 1948), and (von Vacano 1955) with the Twelve League, a form of segmentary political organisation found among the Etruscans, the Pelasgians in general, North Africa, Ancient Israel, and China (and possibly even in the Germanic World and in North East America). Meanwhile Leo Frobenius, the leading German Africanist of his generation (early 20th c. CE), has stressed continuity between the Etruscans and West Asia (metal-working techniques, impluvial architecture), which given the Etruscans' prominence in navigation²⁴⁶ may be attributed to simple diffusion. However, the unmistakable continuity between the Etruscan world view and that prevailing in large parts of sub-

²⁴⁶ Etruscan navigation is extensively discussed in the literature: Behn 1919; Gras 1977; Hagy 1986; Manzari 1976; Miltner 1948; Paglieri 1960; Rebuffat 1977; Tykot 1994; Vighio 1932; Wainwright 1959. The Etruscans feature prominently in Woudhuizen's view (in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011; a view not shared by van Binsbergen) of the Sea Peoples's Episode as essentially emanating from the Central Mediterranean (including Etruria / Tuscany), and as Eastbound.

Saharan Africa²⁴⁷ suggests that more is involved here than simple overseas cultural influence – for the Ancient Greeks (who have so much in common with the Etruscans that their respective pantheons and artistic predilections largely merged in Antiquity) a sub-Saharan origin has been established by state-of-the-art genetic research (Arnaiz-Villena *et al.* 1999, 2001).²⁴⁸ Does a similar African (rather than Near Eastern) background perhaps also apply to the Etruscans, despite the scholarly near-consensus of their Lydian < Anatolian origin? From the above discussion of Iberians and Basque we might begin to identify Sinocaucasian substrate traits among the Etruscans, we have also developed an angle on the Africa / Bantu / Khoisan dimension; so what would be needed to complete the four-tiered model for the Etruscans is an Afroasiatic element, and that has been specifically recognised by Karst: not only in his unconvincing musings on the Semitic article ה *ha*, but particularly in his perception of a prehistoric migration from Egypt to Latium / Etruria, which allegedly brought significant elements of the Egyptian cult of Amun Re^c to the Northern Mediterranean shore, where – according to Karst – it was subjected to transformative localisation so as to become the cult of Jupiter Capitolinus; however, Karst’s etymological argument on the identity between Ancient Egyptian $\overline{\text{rmt}}$ (people) and Italic *Roma* is unconvincing.

6.4.7. Aegean World

Karst (1931a) sees the Trojan elite as resulting from a Basquoid return migration from Western Iberia, which might explain their nautical skills (but not if we accept the state-of-the-art genetic suggestion of demic diffusion from the Eastern to the Western Mediterranean by navigational means). However, prominent Trojan names (e.g. Priamus, Hector, Paris, Alexandrus, Andromache, Hecuba, Antenor) are generally agreed to have a Luwian or Greek etymology instead of Basquoid one. In a global context nautical skills might have Sunda connotations (van Binsbergen 2020), but (contrary to the situation in Ancient Egypt and

²⁴⁷ Notably the association between cattle and the underworld; Small 1982; and notions concerning lightning and magic, cf. Schlosser 1972, 1992. In fact the entire Etruscan pantheon is distantly reminiscent of Southern Africa, cf. Brown 1926; Berglund 1976. An author to stress Etruscan / African continuities has been Frobenius, with emphasis on house architecture centring on an *impluvium* (rain basin), and bronze figurines – but his emphasis was on West Africa (where incidentally also a pantheon may be identified that is reminiscent of Ancient Egyptian and Greek religion), not Southern Africa.

²⁴⁸ ON THE GLOBAL HISTORY OF CIRCUMCISION. In the course of this book’s argument we have repeatedly touched on male genital mutilation / circumcision. Our initial question was how to account for this practice as attested for one of the Sea Peoples, if that particular group is specifically to be identified as *Aḡaioi* – whereas on the basis of the historical record for the classical Greeks any association with circumcision would seem anathema. On second thoughts, the Greeks’s connection – as demonstrated by modern genetics – with sub-Saharan Africa (where male genital mutilation is a fairly common occurrence especially among Nigercongo > Bantu speakers) may offer a welcome solution. If circumcision was already in place in parts of sub-Saharan Africa a handful of millennia ago, and if a fairly standard act of statal despotism made the Greeks (in accordance with the molecular genetic evidence furnished by Arnaiz-Villena *et al.* 2001b) to be displaced from sub-Saharan Africa to the Aegean region in the Early Bronze Age, then it is thinkable that (a) a small minority clung to the ancient custom, whereas (b) a majority adjusted to their new, non-circumcising neighbours in the Aegean region and dropped the custom, while both (a) and (b) came to be designated as *Aḡaioi* in the Late Bronze Age. Recently it dawned upon me (van Binsbergen 2020a: 424.f.) that male genital mutilation in Africa might be a relatively recent (Early Bronze Age) import from Sundaland, along with so much Sunda cultural influence travelling west; the custom may then have reached, while declining, the Aegean via sub-Saharan Africa.

Crete; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: Table 28.4) so far I see no indications for Austronesian etymologies in the Trojan connection.

For the Aegean World, the relevant key words – as mainly derived from Karst 1931a – have already been inserted in the overview Table 6.1, bringing out the four-tiered composition as stipulated by the model. In addition to Old Greek, also Lemnian and Trojan with their likely Luwian / Hittite affinities could have been listed under the Indo-European column – unless we yield to the indication for Afroasiatic > Semitic links in Troy (as suggested, not so much by the above core Trojan names as preserved in Greek tradition, but by the nearness of major Afroasiatic-speaking states in West Asia, the Levant, and probably Crete; and the ubiquitous presence of a Phoenician < West Semitic element in the Aegean islands); and Afroasiatic > Berber links in Lemnos (as suggested by the veneration of Hephaestus, whose name probably has a Proto-Berber etymology: **hifau*, ‘fire’ (van Binsbergen, in press (f)). Of course, an Afroasiatic element in Ancient Greek (especially the Egyptian element, overemphasised by Martin Bernal at the expense of the Mesopotamian dimension) was the core issue in the *Black-Athena* debate; and although many of Bernal’s (2006) Egyptianising etymologies of the Greek lexicon (especially his key exhibit *Athena* < *Neith*) have failed to convince the specialists (e.g. Egberts 1997), some of Bernal’s suggestions are strikingly impressive. While Bernal’s initial hypothesis of large-scale Egyptian colonisation of the Aegean in the Early Bronze Age has found no support, the Egyptian / Hyksos element in Late-Bronze Mycenaean Greece is conspicuous and (considering the allegedly heterogeneous linguistico-ethnic composition of the Hyksos and their retinue) in itself may be claimed to show all four tiers of Karst’s model. The Nigercongo > Bantu affinities as a substrate underlying the Pelasgian cluster (conspicuous in Epirus, Lemnos and Athens, but also in Syro-Palestine and Mesopotamia) are unmistakable (Goff & Simpson 2008; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011; van Binsbergen 2020; the present monograph, ch. 2); the Sinocaucasian (but not specifically Basquoid) affinities proposed to underly Leleges, Telkhines etc., remain largely conjectural so far.

6.4.8. Envoy

This concludes our discussion whose purpose has been the vindication of Karst’s four-tiered model. Among the $6 \times 5 = 30$ relevant cells in our Table 6.1, admittedly a handful of blanks remain, which further reflection on the part of regional and period specialists is likely to largely cover in the near future. By and large, however, I think the four-tiered model has stood the test of empirical scrutiny so well that my proposal to incorporate it in the paradigmatic canon of Ancient History stands firmly.

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²⁴⁹ The most recent decades have brought us digital accessibility of virtually the whole range of scientific knowledge. This has opened unprecedented opportunities for interdisciplinary research, including the present book. These opportunities come at a price. The new format of scientific access can no longer be dictated by the norms of scientific respectability hailing from 1900 CE, and necessitates new standards. *E.g.*, reference to *Wikipedia* lemmas is admittedly problematic (*cf.* reference to the disreputable mythographic work of Robert Graves): the contributions to *Wikipedia*'s collective amateur encyclopaedia are very uneven, and have in principle no accountability to a scientific forum. In practice however they often do contain valid and useful information, including further bibliographic reference to publications of impeccable scientific authority. Using the latter without acknowledging the former feels like plagiarism, which I seek to avoid by explicitly acknowledging my little debts to *Wikipedia*, even though it is never my only source. I prefer such honesty to the tacit, appropriate window-dressing which is often *Wikipedia*'s fate.

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General index of proper names other than those of authors cited

The indexes in this book were compiled with special software designed by Peter Broers with the assistance of Wim van Binsbergen, 1984-1985, and subsequently developed by the latter; *due to circumstances beyond our control, the actual page occurrences may be off by one or two pages from those listed*

The quotations from Karst's German texts present a special difficulty for indexing; in German, adjectives are invariably written with a lower-case initial, even when derived from proper names; such lower-case expressions are not picked up by our indexing software. Yet these quotations tend to be packed with relevant ethnic and linguistic designations. My procedure on this point has been to identify such proper-name adjectives in German, translate them into English (for the reader of this book is unlikely to search for German adjectives in the index), and then index these English versions.

In general I have favoured the modern English usage for the rendering of Ancient names from the Graeco-Roman and Biblical tradition, *i.e.* in a Romanised version of the more original Greek; thus Hephaestus, not Hephaisstos nor Hefaisstos. However, given the inconsistencies of that usage, and the German conventions followed by Karst (which could not help seeping into this book's Index, via literal quotations), it proved impossible to be consistent on this point – as is usual in intercultural representation, and in orthography.

Karst's work contains a dazzling abundance of proper names, which he tends to combine in all possible and impossible concatenations and orthographic variants; this makes the study of his work inspiring and often illuminating, but poses nearly insurmountable problems to the commentator let alone the indexer. Under such circumstances, consistency – although admittedly the hall mark of a scholarly text – is impossible to achieve.

Lacking a theory of culture, of racism, and of essentialisation, and writing his *magnum opus* a decade before the atrocities of World War II where such labels as Aryan and Semitic acquired lethal overtones, Karst did not carefully distinguish between languages and their speakers; *e.g.* 'Bantoid' for him means both speakers of a language more or less belonging to the Niger-congo macrophyllum, and population clusters speaking such a language whatever their somatic / genetic characteristics (but by implication with high skin pigmentation and woolley head hair); I greatly disapprove of such sloppy and potentially dangerous categorisation, but an Index is not the place to redress an other author's objectionable language use.

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