

Part V. Conclusion and reference material

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Chapter 10. Summary and conclusion; envoy

10.1. Summary and conclusion

This book may be read at two different though complementary levels. I will briefly discuss them serially.

10.1.1. Merits and demerits of *Les Formes* as a social-scientific theory of religion

In the first place, this book is a sustained argument on the merits and demerits of the most influential religion theory of the social sciences – Durkheim's *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse* (1912). At this level, the interdisciplinary nature of my approach is manifest. Starting out as a philosopher profoundly trained in the French and German philosophy of his time yet ending up as a Founding Father of sociology, Durkheim traversed a trajectory opposite from that of myself – I who, almost a century later, started out as a social scientist and ended up as a philosopher (without totally giving up my earlier passion for the empirical social sciences). Before assessing Durkheim's religion theory, and especially the place of the paired concepts *sacred / profane* therein, I try to situate him (Part I), not only in the context of the extensive critical debate around his work among social scientists and philosophers in the course of the past 120 years, but also in his philosophical (conservative, anti-individualist, idealist) and religious (Jewish / agnostic / atheist) milieu, all of which turns out to have exerted fairly decisive influences on his theoretical position-taking. This orientation made him uncritically depart from a logocentric, transcendence-centred view of religion without realising that, in space and time (worldwide, and across the several million years of human history), logocentrism (in brief: the socio-cultural package of writing, the state, organised religion and proto-

science) has been very much a minority option. Around 1900 CE, at the height of Durkheim's career, the social sciences including anthropology were going through their formative years. Ethnographic methods especially the insistence on prolonged fieldwork with day-to-day exposure to the host society and with very considerable levels of mastery of their language and culture, were still in the process of establishing themselves as the disciplinary norm. Beyond abstract textual acquaintance, personal practical experience of societies outside Europe was very limited among the scholars writing on religion at the time, and any awareness of the decisive theoretical and comparative relevance of such societies for humankind as a whole was even more limited. For, the turn of the 20th century CE marked the height, not only of the capitalist mode of production in its most classic form, but particularly of European expansion in the trappings of imperialism, colonialism and racism. Under such circumstances, Durkheim's felicitous methodological choices (even though handicapped by the absence of the slightest personal experience with living religion outside Western Europe) were truly amazing. Determined to explore the 'elementary forms of religious life' not just by thought experiments but by a painstaking empirical argument based on state-of-the-art ethnographic facts,⁴⁷⁶ and only after a preparatory period of more than one and a half decades in which he read, interpreted, and wrote part studies on, all the ethnographic materials that were then being published on the Australian Aboriginals and on totemism in general, Durkheim wrote his book on the sociology of religion with masterly control of the data; with obvious skill and confidence; with the benefit of his international colleagues's critical reactions to the preparatory instalments that he had already published in the meantime; and with a liberating lack of the Eurocentrism, evolutionism let alone racism that otherwise marred much of the anthropological output of his time. *An exemplary social sociologist was about to end his career with (what in the pre-fieldwork phase of anthropology could be considered) an exemplary research design, exemplarily executed. Whatever the inevitable shortcomings of Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse, it certainly has the makings of a masterpiece in terms of scope, profundity, empirical underpinning, and universalising orientation.*

Thus amply prepared, we set out, in Part II, to assess the continuing utility of what Durkheim cherished as the alleged central concepts of any religion: the opposition between *sacred* and *profane*. Along a number of converging paths (immanent criticism of Durkheim's own conceptualisations and operationalisations; considerations of such criticisms as were levelled against Durkheim's approach by prominent social scientists both in the theoretical field and in the specialist field of Australian ethnography; a brief consideration of structuralism; the – probably – specifically Jewish roots of the paired concepts), Part II leads to a dismissive conclusion: *whatever the overall theoretical merits of*

⁴⁷⁶ Let us assume for a moment that it is meaningful to speak of ethnographic facts instead of literary fictions of a genre called ethnography; cf. Clifford & Marcus 1986.

Durkheim's religion theory, the paired concepts sacred / profane cannot be considered a universal aspect of all religions nor the backbone of all societies – let alone that this pair could continue to constitute a lasting and heuristically valuable part of the social-scientific toolkit for the 21st century CE.

However, having liberated ourselves, with this negative conclusion, from a burden which the present writer, for one, has been carrying for over fifty years, this ushers in an altogether opposite movement, that of *the empirical vindication of Durkheim's religion theory*, which takes up most of this book's space, and justifiably features in its subtitle. Two main lines of approach are followed towards the aim of empirical vindication:

- A. In the first place such empirical tests as may be derived from the application of Durkheim's religion theory in concrete ethnographic settings. Three such settings are being offered in the course of Part III of this book:
 - a. the amazing, very detailed, *convergence of shrines and societal segments in the highlands of North-western Tunisia*, which illustrates in detail Durkheim's claim (even though it is more metaphysical than empirical-scientific) that it is the social group which is being venerated as the object of religion
 - b. *the solution to the problem of intrinsic sacrality* which – considering Durkheim's absolute rejection of the idea – offers an important test case of his theory, and again one that, with proper modifications, vindicates the latter
 - c. the ramifications and contradictions of *transcendence among the Nkoya people (hunters and petty farmers) of rural Western Zambia*, in a context which admittedly does greatly differ from that of the Australian Aboriginals, yet is eminently relevant in the sense that, also among the Nkoya, logocentricity is far less developed than in the society Durkheim took for granted (*i.e.* West European industrial urban society c. 1900 CE); in a low-logocentricity society like that of the Nkoya, can religion still play the social role here which Durkheim attributed to it, or is his theory implicitly confined to high levels of logocentricity? *Again the answer here is positive, in other words, vindictory.*
- B. In the second place, *substantiation by projecting Durkheim's views of the 'elementary forms of religious life' far back into the distant past, and assessing through long-range methodologies how the theoretical contents of concepts and beliefs as framed in Durkheim's theory, tally with the empirical historical reality on the ground.* This leg of the vindication process takes up Part IV. It requires the extensive introduction of long-range methods in linguistics and Comparative Mythology, after a

lengthy critical discussion of current debates within religious archaeology (in a bid to show that that subject is not in a position to answer, by its own impetus, the long-range historical questions which Durkheim's theory poses, since religious archaeology tends to tacitly rely on cultural analogies which cannot be ascertained by archaeological means alone, but which necessarily require the contribution from comparative ethnography, linguistics and Comparative Mythology). Part IV takes up nearly half of this book's main text, it frequently stops to consider the trajectory already covered and the trajectory still ahead of the reader, and moreover the argument there is too technical and too complex to lend itself to ready summarising here. *Our initial misgivings concerning sacred / profane are once more confirmed from this long-range linguistic perspective. On the other hand, the fundamental significance of the moral, i.e. good-vs.-evil dimension of religion emerges as a serendipity! And the setback concerning sacred / profane is amply compensated by the amazing confirmation of Durkheim's intuitions on many other points, concerning the soul, spirit, prohibition, purity, altered states of consciousness, perhaps divination, as aspects of elementary forms of religious life. By and large, the vindication attained in Part III is continued and sustained in Part IV, which confirms Durkheim's genius to an extent I myself certainly did not expect when setting out to write this book after half a century of grappling with Les Formes.*

10.1.2. *This book's implicit levels of methodology and thematic orientation*

Underneath the specific discursive and empirical arguments that make up the surface content of this book, what may particularly strike the reader are the, predominantly non-sociological, undercurrents of my argument.

This concerns in the first place the considerable place accorded to philosophy, as a major inspiration of Durkheim and as the proper domain of Durkheim's intellectual achievements. As the philosopher Anne Rawls has insisted, it is Durkheim's social epistemology, more than his religious sociology, that constitutes his claim to lasting fame. In the present book, the attention for philosophy shades over into one for the History of Ideas, and as a result a great many discussions and commentaries are packed into the argument with (I hope) a relevance rather beyond the immediate case of Durkheim's last book. Rich in observations and references, often to less current literature in a wide variety of subjects, I have preferred to spare these many mini-essays the inevitable fate of footnotes (*i.e.: not being read*), and therefore have issued them with short descriptive titles, distinctively lettered consecutive numbering (of the format: #12, #13), and a separate section in the *Table of Contents*. Of course, similar, more or less extensive general discussions are scattered all over the main text of the book, but these mini-essays, contrary to the footnotes, are easily identified in the final section of the extensive *Table of Contents*, and need no further signalling.

In the background there is, persistently throughout this book, the confrontation (hopefully stimulating and inspiring, but perhaps disqualifyingly off-putting and depressing) with my own unusual perspective on the social sciences, philosophy, world history, the diversity of humankind yet the latter's fundamental unity. In my transition (mid-1990s CE, towards the final third of my career) from empirical social science to intercultural philosophy, I have had to reconsider my analytical position and the (fairly hegemonic, Eurocentric and logocentric) prerogatives on which my scientific research had been naïvely based until then – by virtue of the academic training I had received, and of the disciplinary, paradigmatic and peer-group pressures I was under. I have often and at length given accounts of this autocritical process (e.g. 2003a, 2015b), have also made several passing allusions to it in the course of the present book, and do not need to repeat myself here.

On the positive side, what is essentially at stake is *a vision of coherence and unity*. In recent decades, molecular genetics, long-range linguistics, Comparative Mythology and comparative ethnography have shown us that underneath the (often politically, ethnically, religiously and academically engineered and manipulated) *appearance* of extreme fragmentation of humankind and its products in myriad tiny constituent parts, there is a massive undercurrent of *unity*, which makes that in the last analysis every specific item of language, culture and religion, no matter how much proclaiming its independence, irreducibility, originality, and authenticity *vis-à-vis* all others, is yet connected with every other item, within a geographic scope that ultimately spans the entire earth (and is about to take off into space), and within a temporal scope that goes back into the remotest Lower Palaeolithic (and from there even further down through the animal and mineral kingdoms – if such an expression would not smack too much of antiquarianism à la *The Great Chain of Being*; Lovejoy 1978 / 1936). This insight is the ultimate fruit of ever more intensified research of the last few centuries, is sufficiently documented (to some extent, albeit mainly secondarily, even in the present book), and need not be substantiated here.

At this point, a comparison with modern physics may be illuminating. Even though by now nearly a century separates us from Einstein, Planck, Schrödinger, Heisenberg, de Broglie, Dirac, Born, Pauli, and other great innovators of our world picture from the early 20th c. CE, yet the apparently self-evident, common-sense worldview taken for granted by even highly educated inhabitants of the North Atlantic region and its dependencies, still continues to rely (e.g. in all the myriad everyday tacit assumptions underlying people's experience of reality, and especially in such specific points as the denial and ridicule of telepathy, of veridical prediction in divination, of faith healing, of psychokinesis etc.) on the obsolescent mechanistic physics which was dominant throughout the 19th c. CE. Based upon Newton's genius, classic physics still appears to work at the human scale when measured in metres, seconds and kilogrammes, and by the order of magnitude and locomotion speed of the human body, *because at that meso level the subtle boundary conditions of relativity and quantum mechanics*

attending the excessively macro-level and the excessively micro-level do not yet produce obvious effects observable to the naked eye. The commonly accepted consensus about the structure and functioning of the world always lags behind several decades, even centuries, as compared to the topical insights attained by specialists at the frontiers of science. Let us now take these natural-science lessons and apply them to the socio-cultural sciences of our time. It then becomes conceivable that, even if the socio-cultural world picture underlying this book seems counter-paradigmatic, this does not necessarily mean that it is invalid. The insights it leads to are certainly interesting, innovating, and very carefully, not to say exhaustively, grounded in the very wide range of such empirical data as are within the present author's reach – , mediated by a vast body of scientific literature (also thanks to recent digital facilities worldwide).

This book therefore, beyond even a sustained argument on Durkheim's religion theory, is a demonstrative application of the new, coherent and all-encompassing world picture that is now emerging. It stresses the fundamental unity (despite obvious differences in genetic, linguistic and socio-cultural attributes) of all humankind through space and time, and allows us to look back in cultural history and in the history of thought, to a depth and with a precision that only decades ago we would still have considered sheer science fiction. The accumulating reinforcement of that overall picture which its application throughout the present book brings us, is – I think – more important even than the specific vindication of Durkheim's theory, and more important than our specific finding that theistic religion emerged in the Central Branch of desintegrating *Borean (among the proto-speakers of Sinotibetan, Eurasiatic, and Afroasiatic), probably in Western Eurasia, less than 25 ka ago. In particular, the essentialising of Australian Aboriginals as globally isolated primitives lost in space and time, is confronted with extensive discussions (especially in Chapter 2) of their Old-World cultural continuities, *e.g.* in divination and mythology.

But the emerging world picture it is not a neutral one, based once for all on a claim (an illusion) of scientific objectivity. Changing from scientific (scientistic...) anthropology to intercultural philosophy, for me has in the first place meant: *reflection on the prerogatives and pretensions, possibilities and impossibilities, of intercultural knowledge formation across social, cultural and geographic boundaries.* Where I most admire Durkheim is not in his identification and analysis of the 'elementary forms of religious life' (even though his merits on this point, as brought out by the present book, are manifest and impressive), but in his visionary capability of breaking free from White, North Atlantic, elite privilege,⁴⁷⁷ and demonstrating what he took to be the essence of religion and of society on specific local socio-cultural forms (those of the Australian Aboriginals) which, in his time, were among the most despised and marginalised on earth – a situation that, as far as the original inhabitants of Australia are concerned, has only marginally improved in the century that has since passed. The growth of social theory was not yet sufficiently advanced

⁴⁷⁷ Alas, the time was not yet ripe for him to fully shed a masculine bias! *cf.* Lehmann 1994.

for Durkheim to vocally adopt an actor's frame of reference and a thoroughly emic perspective, but at least he allowed himself to be guided by considerations of *cognitive, epistemological charity* (i.e. 'taking something seriously because *the other* takes it seriously'). In the meantime – after our movement, in the course of the 20th c. CE, through cultural relativism, decolonisation, human rights, globalisation, and counter-hegemonic conscientisation – cognitive charity has become a cornerstone of intercultural philosophy. One can barely believe that Durkheim never set foot in Australia and never shared a hunt, a meal, a bed, an annual ceremony, a famine, a local ritual with its historical inhabitants. One can remain dismissive of his paired concepts *sacred / profane*, sceptical of his utterly transcendent and anti-utilitarian theory of symbolism, shocked by his dogged insistence upon the *reality* of religion (as a proclaimed epiphany of *the social*, of all possible referents); one may even be profoundly disturbed by his obsolete, corporatist, potentially fascist and totalitarian suspicion of the individual as against his total, unconditional championing of the social and the collective – entirely overlooking the dark sides of manipulative power games, group violence, genocide etc. Let us regret his lack of identity self-reflexivity which prevented him from realising the striking Jewishness of his entire approach to religion, history, the *sacred*, and sacrifice. *Yet in taking other modes of thought as seriously as possible, and in trying to think them through to their utmost consequences, Durkheim was surprisingly, admirably, innovatively modern, committed, enlightened, intercultural, and a shining beacon to any student of human thought, society and history.*

10.1.3. Apologies and disclaimer: *The dangers of interdisciplinarity and of homelessness*

Ever since the late 1990s I have participated in the *Black Athena* debate as initiated by the late lamented Martin Gardiner Bernal. I have repeatedly published critical assessments of his work (van Binsbergen 1997b / 2011a; 2013b). I have demonstrated not to be blind to his considerable errors of method, perspective, and fact, yet I have gone out of my way to defend him because his merits have far outweighed his peccadilloes. Of course I realise that the methodological and transdisciplinary license he took, has informed my own approach in the last few decades, and has had a negative effect on my own academic credibility. Again I think that the gains outweigh the losses, but let me try to make my position clear to the sceptical, firmly paradigmatic specialist reader. Disciplines and paradigms are too firmly anchored in national and global power structures than that I can hope to bring them in motion, with the present book, or with my latest half-dozen of books. But the least I may hope to achieve is to instill the reader with an awareness that the many shortcomings of this book are due, not in the first place to my (admittedly considerable) ignorance, incompetence, laziness and incipient senility, but to my deliberate and studied choices in the global politics of knowledge.

With all the boundary-effacing transgressions and ambitions that lie at the root of the methodologies developed and applied in the present book, it admittedly often

becomes difficult to acquire and maintain a professional, disciplinary, paradigmatic standard by which to decide on right or wrong; truth or falsehood; empirically grounded conclusion of science-fiction fantasy; state-of-the-art knowledge or second-rate, obsolescent transdisciplinary appropriations for which our Internet Age is so notorious; clever criticism or recalcitrant hypercritique. No doubt, specialists (including philosophers, even anthropologists) will find many examples of all these ills throughout this book – however much I have tried to avoid such shortcomings. I regret them, but I am not ashamed of them. One cannot very well move towards a new paradigm without failing in the light of an earlier paradigm. I have done my best. The present argument is the best I could produce, given my limited resources of time and health, the nearly total absence of any institutional assistance or support in research and editing, and the intellectual and communicative isolation in which the nature of my argument – at the same time highly specialised and interdisciplinary, an impossible contradiction – has irretrievably plunged me *vis-à-vis* my colleagues. Even so, writing the present book was a great adventure, and one that I would not have missed for the world. It prevented me, once more, from attending to the considerable number of book manuscripts that have been sitting for years on my computers ready for publication, and instead to write something totally new again, exciting, revealing.

In *Intercultural Encounters*, my first major book as an intercultural philosopher rather than anthropologist, the following illuminating passage occurs (2003a: 198):

‘...This indicates the central tragedy of the classic anthropologist, the one who in the course of years of intensive fieldwork acquires the language and the customs so as to be able to understand and describe another culture as if from the inside. According to a sixteenth-century CE source⁴⁷⁸ there was, among the possessions of the Viking king Svyatoslav in ninth-century Kiev (south-western Russia), a drinking vessel made from a human skull mounted in gold; it bore an inscription:

‘In search of the exotic he lost what was more his own than anything else’

– his skull, and hence his life. This is a lesson that eminently applies to classic anthropologists. Their fieldwork commitment means that they die, at least figuratively, in their own original culture, in order that they may live in their adopted host culture; but can they still go back home? The idea of ‘dying in order to live’, while having acquired Orphic, Dionysian and subsequently Christian overtones, goes back at least to the agrarian cults of Osiris and of Dumuzi in the Ancient Near East as attested from the late third millennium BCE.⁴⁷⁹ We are also reminded of Victor Turner, one of the greatest anthropologists of the twentieth century, who towards the end of his life contemplated the idea of the ‘*thrice-born anthropologist*’: originally born in her own culture, then reborn into a different culture through fieldwork, and finally taking the lessons learned in that other culture back home for a renewed insight, a third birth, in

⁴⁷⁸ Schreiber n.d. (*original footnote*).

⁴⁷⁹ On Dumuzi (Tammuz, Adonis), cf. Frazer 1914; Jacobsen 1970; Scurlock 1992. On the Osiris cult: Barta 1978; Bianchi 1971; Bonnet 1971; Budge 1973; Cooke 1931; Griffiths 1980, 1975-1986; Helck 1962; Hopfner 1940; Otto 1966; Scharff 1948. (*original footnote*).

her culture of origin.⁴⁸⁰ In the South Asian religious tradition, it is having completed a major sacrifice that causes a person to be considered at least *twice-born*...

Never quite at home in my native Dutch culture and society (not so much for some in-born romanticism, and not even because of the transnational orientation of my family ties, but mainly because of devastating family dramas in my own childhood and throughout our anterior family history) I did passionately embrace the cultures and societies of my serial fieldwork locations, repeatedly made huge socio-cultural, psychological, and linguistic investments to acquire whatever I needed to pass more or less as a member of the host society. And thanks to the immensely welcoming, accommodating and tolerant attitude of my hosts, I was to some extent reborn there – not, needless to say, in all the ephemeral sites summed up in an early footnote in this book, but certainly in the sites that I would frequent and work on for decades: in Hjumiriyya, Tunisia; among the Nkoya, Zambia; and among the *sangomas* of Northeast Botswana and adjacent countries. My subsequent vagrancy from academic discipline to academic discipline, to which the present book testifies again, has meant that, back in Western Europe, I was never effectively thrice-born but instead became almost an African exile there, engaging in an African worldview and in magical practices, whilst – beyond my African *Wahlverwantschaften* ('elective affinities' – von Goethe 1809 / 1879) – I was meaningfully and gratifyingly tied only to: the family home I had established with my second wife Patricia, to my five children, to my library, computers, paraphernalia, shrines, and to my scholarly and academic writing – but not tied to a class, a nation, a religious movement, a country, a Northern continent, net even to 'a distant northern land' (Nabokov 1962 – vicariously and fictitiously writing on 'Zembla'). In the process I seem to have somewhat contributed to the rehabilitation of the position of Africa and Africans in the global politics of knowledge. But I must seriously consider the possibility that in the same process, like Svyatoslav's victim, *I lost my head*, in the sense of no longer being able to produce recognisably sound, paradigmatic, mainstream academic writing, and instead being condemned to produce texts that despite all their system, erudition, meticulous editing and tightening, painstaking checking and referencing, originality, flashes of erudite insight and flights of the imagination (if I may say so of my own work), yet fail to convince, not only because of the many factual errors and one-sidednesses they inevitably contain, but especially because even in our globalising world they are still counter-paradigmatic: they are built around a deeply felt and broadly documented awareness of humankind's fundamental unity, around the idea that we all radically share one space and one history, in ways that are increasingly open to systematic, intersubjective research.

If despite these shortcomings, of which I am only too clearly aware, the tutored, scholarly reader for whom this book is intended, still finds anything of value in it, I will be sufficiently rewarded. If the counter-paradigmatic vision that underlies this book and most of my other recent ones, can gain some support through my specific vindication of Durkheim, I will be more than thrilled. Ultimately, through whatever means (whose ontology I need not spell out here; given time, I will do so elsewhere), Durkheim's shade may have inklings of my work; and even though this book constitutes – in terms of

⁴⁸⁰ V.W. Turner, personal communication, 20 September, 1979. (*original footnote*).

time, resources, commitment, and health – a very substantial sacrifice, I have sacrificed to lesser ancestors in my lifetime, and with less reward.

10.2. Envoy: The reality of religion, but beyond Durkheim

When, nearly forty years ago, I wrote the introduction to my first major scholarly book *Religious Change in Zambia* (1979 / 1981), I was suddenly filled with misgivings. I had been writing, passionately, theoretically and innovatingly, about African religion, in which I had often participated and which had struck me as being among my research associates's profoundest existential expressions – but had my apparently reductionist, Marxist approach to ecological cults, royal cults, ecstatic cults of affliction, witchcraft eradication movements and Lenshina's tragic Independent African Church, brought me and the reader any closer to those existential dimensions – or had my argument merely trivialised them and obscured them from consciousness behind layers of estranging academic textuality? My answer then was to take recourse in the truism that religion is history and history religion – perhaps the beginning of a more empathic, less deconstructivist and less altering attitude towards African religion, a first step on the path towards the African diviner-healer-priest I was to become a decade later, and the intercultural philosopher I was to become after yet another decade.

Much in the same way, I still feel rather dissatisfied with the results, summarised in the preceding section, which over half a century of grappling with Durkheim's religion theory have brought me. Vindicating the classic religion theory by one of the greatest social scientists of all time – should that not have yielded far more fundamental insights than summarised so far – insights into the very essence of religion and into what it is to be human? Durkheim's own answers seemed to be of a sufficiently encompassing scope: *the essence of religion is that it allows us, brings us, to submit to the social, and thus makes human social life possible without which we could not be human*. However, although specific sociological hypotheses may be derived from Durkheim's theory, and although I did subject several of such hypotheses to empirical testing and – somewhat to my surprise – have confirmed them (Parts III and IV of his book), it is my conviction (both as an empirical scientist and as a philosopher) that the very statement italicised 5 lines up, does not belong to the realm of empirical social science, and is just as incapable of being empirically tested as the question as to the existence of God. It is in fact the same question.

I suspect that the enthusiasm which *Les Formes* has seldom failed to kindle in its readers, has much to do with its tacit and illicit yet apparently permissible smuggling of metaphysical claims, into a realm that had hitherto grown impervious and inimical to such claims: notably, the field of science. And that contraband came with all the attending existential hopes against all hopes, in a world where by general agreement God was dead.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸¹ God had died in Nietzsche's works, several decades before *Les Formes* were published; but in fact – as Nietzsche could not help being aware, as a classicist; and as we have seen two foot-

My own personal solution to this dilemma (is it not the central dilemma of signification, of the creation of meaning, in the North Atlantic region and its dependencies ever since the Enlightenment?) has been to ironically accept the role of diviner-healer-priest, and to continue to identify with and discharge that role, even long after the initial commitment brought about by the cultic and initiatory brainwashing I had undergone had worn out. I playfully continued in my African role even though I fully realised that the spiritual beings venerated in the cult I served had no independent existence of their own, but were merely brought to life (and most effectively and undeniably so, as I experienced time and time again during my divining and healing activities) as a result of our human cultic actions. *I began to realise that religion is an amazing technology, difficult to master and to control yet often undeniable in its effects, for accessing and channeling the creative and communicative powers of the Universe as a whole.* And I began to design an ontology that would be commensurate to these shocking findings which came my way in the course of nearly thirty years of ironic ritual practice.

As a poet, a social scientist, a practising diviner-healer, and an intercultural philosopher, I did find inspiration for what I consider more satisfactory answers to my existential question, and I found it way outside the logocentric, upper middle-class, academic realm where Durkheim, and I myself, lived our adult lives. Presenting these answers, explaining how I arrived at them and why I take them more or less seriously, requires another book – and probably a different readership than the one that has (hopefully) followed me throughout the preceding four hundred pages of academic prose, to this point. That other book has already been a few years in the making, it is provisionally entitled *Sangoma Science, or The Reality of Religion*. I am tempted to take the risk of losing my academic audience, and to present a short preview here.⁴⁸²

‘10.2.1. Thinking about God and the universe

‘It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of him.’ Francis Bacon, ‘Of superstition’, 1612 / 1625; Bacon 1852: 49.

...I am not in the least saying that it is nonsense to reflect on the existence or non-existence of God and on the meaning or lack of meaning of the universe. I have considered these questions all my life, during my devout Roman Catholic childhood, my loss of faith during adolescence, my passion for the natural sciences and for evolution, as a poet and novelist, during my periods as an existentialist and Marxist, in my becoming an anthropologist of African religion, an African diviner-healer-priest, and an intercul-

notes up – dying gods were common mythical matter in Ancient West Asia and Ancient Egypt; cf. Moret 1927-1932; Frazer 1906; Budge 1973 / 1911; Cooke 1931; etc.

⁴⁸² What follows is an excerpt from van Binsbergen 2018: an excessively long, and unexpectedly positive, review of Dan Brown’s masterly recent achievement in the field of science fiction: *Origin* (2017), in which the focus is on the debate between (popularised, media-appropriated) science and modern organised religion about creation, notably the origin of life on Earth.

tural philosopher. But as a result of this preoccupation for much longer than half a century, I have now come to the insight that we need a totally different logic to pose, debate, and answer, such questions.

The question whether God exists, is meaningless; so is the assertion that it / she / he does, or does not, exist. Such questions belong to the realm of binary oppositions in the attribution of truth and falsehood – a realm which scholarship has carved out ever since the creation of Aristotelian binary logic, but which is utterly insufficient to address the most fundamental existential questions humankind is facing. God exists and does not exist at the same time. God is dead, and (because of our own ritual actions, prayers, myths, offerings) is alive and kicking at the same time. God coincides and does not coincide with the material universe. Therefore

- life⁴⁸³ was *both* created out of lifeless matter by special divine intervention,
- *and* emerged from lifeless matter by the sheer play of natural laws governing matter, more or less, since the beginning of time.

By the same token, the Huygens-Newton debate over the true nature of light, either corpuscular or wave-like, ended in a draw: light is both, but now the corpuscular, now the wave element is more conspicuous to the human observer. This appears to be worlds away from the most basic quality of man-made symbols: the essence of a symbol is that it refers to an aspect of reality – yet also in this connection the same ambiguity obtains, for at the same time the symbol may occasionally and temporarily detach itself from that referent and take on independent life of its own. The first achievement in the invention of the transistor was a compact electronic switch which, without qualitative changes, could ‘flip-flop’ i.e. serially assume two essentially different and incompatible positions. Human life, thought, myth, culture, the interaction of cultures, human’s interspecies interaction with other life forms, life’s interaction with other material forms, the universe at large, may be seen as one continuous, immense complex circuit of such switches. The binary opposition is a great and relatively recent achievement of human thought and language, and has become the principal tool of scientific thought, but at the same time it is utterly artificial and deceptive: as can be demonstrated from the oldest reconstructed human language forms, those of the so-called *Borean language of the Upper Palaeolithic; and as has recently been stressed by post-structuralist philosophers especially Derrida, every given always carries inside itself, by implication, the very opposite of its contents.⁴⁸⁴ Considering both the contradictions and the interconnections of our human experience, the only way to conceive of a coherent and credible universe is by making allowance for all possible alternatives at the same time, contradictory and mutually exclusive as these alternatives may appear to be. So both Kirsch (the agnostic, Faustian protagonist in Dan Brown’s *Origin*) and his devout religious opponents are right, but neither can afford (for fear of annihilating the proper ground on which their own respective stand is based) to explain the underlying meta-logical mechanism, tell us why this joint applicability of apparently irreconcilable

⁴⁸³ The question as to the origin of life is at the heart of Dan Brown’s book and hence of my 2018 review of it.

⁴⁸⁴ Derrida 1967. On these issues, cf. van Binsbergen 2012d, 2015b; van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011 – the operative concept is ‘range semantics’ as discussed there; and sporadic discussion of the same topic in the present book.

opposites should at all be the case; and neither side can firmly establish his truth as a result of scientific truth-finding procedures.

e 1 List of the principal propositions of Darwin's theory, extracted from the *Origin of Species* (Darwin 1859, 1872)

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1. Supernatural acts of the Creator are incompatible with empirical facts of nature
 2. All life evolved from one or few simple kinds of organisms
 3. Species evolve from pre-existing varieties by means of natural selection
 4. The birth of a species is gradual and of long duration
 5. Higher taxa (genera, families etc.) evolve by the same mechanisms as those responsible for the origin of species
 6. The greater the similarities among taxa, the more closely they are related evolutionarily and the shorter their divergence time from a last common ancestor
 7. Extinction is primarily the result of interspecific competition
 8. The geological record is incomplete: the absence of transitional forms between species and higher taxa is due to gaps in our current knowledge
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Not only were theologians his first and most critical interlocutors; also Darwin himself made theological pronouncements a pivotal element of his evolutionary statements, like in the first line of the above table (derived from Kutschera & Niklas 2004: 256). Further textual analysis is needed before it can be ascertained precisely why, for the self-made philosopher Darwin, 'supernatural acts of the Creator are incompatible with empirical facts of nature'; cf. Darwin 1859: 167). It would probably be more prudent, and more convincing, to say: 'attempted explanations in terms of supernatural acts of the Creator exist on a different plane from explanations grounded in empirical facts of nature, and therefore the two kinds cannot be considered to be mutually exclusive'.

Table 10.1. The theological dimension of Darwin's theory of evolution was conspicuous from the very beginning

I have recently bundled much of my life's work in religious anthropology (van Binsbergen 2017a), but that has been only the first leg in a more ambitious trajectory. One of my principal current writing projects is a book *The Reality of Religion*, also with the working title *Sangoma Science*, in which I seek to set out what I have learned from a life in which I have continuously straddled religious situations in Europe and Africa. If God can both exist and not exist at the same time, and if this seems to sum up the essence of religion, we may perhaps go one step beyond this already unusual and audacious position. In the prospective book I dwell on my extensive experiences as a Southern African *sangoma* (diviner-priest) since 1990 (many of these experiences have already been extensively described in van Binsbergen 1991, 2003a). Although I bring to these experiences my academic expertise as an internationally operating anthropologist of religion, and although the distancing debunking / deconstruction of religious beliefs was an implicit principle in religious anthropology during most of the hundred years of its existence, I was in for a very big surprise. Of course I knew full well that the powers of clairvoyance, divination and healing (not to speak of even more contentious claims such as levitation, bilocality, asity⁴⁸⁵ and other such extreme mystic achievements or claimed achievements) that are supposed to be the ancestors' gift to the *sangoma* as their chosen representative on earth, constitute a mere fantasy, performatively enacted so as to attract clients and to address their existential problems with imaginative but essentially invalid answers. Yet it has yet been my frequently repeated experience that when acting *ex officio* as the ordained and initiated *sangoma* that I have been since 1991, donning my ceremonial robes, wearing my strings of beads and casting my divination tablets which had been consecrated in the blood of my sacrificial animals, these

⁴⁸⁵ Levitation is the ability to scorn gravity and suspend one's body in the air without any physical supports; bilocality is the ability to be in two different places at the same time and interact there demonstrably with other humans; asity is the ability to live without food for a considerable time, exceeding normal limits. All have been common claims in the esoteric accounts of the lives of sages, mystics, saints and sorcerers, on a near-global scale.

powers which could not exist, would turn out to be at my disposal – I could heal, and I could make veridical pronouncements about clients and the details of their lives about which I had no previous ordinary sensory-based knowledge. The conclusion I reluctantly draw from this confusing lot is that the supernatural beings that do not exist unless as figments of our imagination, through our very ritual action (after all, the entire creative power of the universe self-reflexively flows through us as humans!) are sometimes, somehow, brought to independent life and are occasionally endowed with the ability to have their own demonstrable, material impact on our human reality – not just by virtue of an individual or collective *placebo* or otherwise deceptive illusion, but simply on the ground, on the level of ordinary sense reality.⁴⁸⁶ *The reality of religion is that through our rituals and prayers we create gods that subsequently have such a impact upon reality as we no longer control.*⁴⁸⁷ Again: God exists, and does not exist, at the same time. This, I suspect, is a truth even more shattering to organised religion, and to organised science, than anything Dan Brown has imagined in *Origin*; or anything Durkheim has thought up in *Les Formes*. It suggests even that, *because* Brown imagined it, what he describes in *Origin* is actually (does actually create retrospectively) one of the ways in which life has originated, and is actually (does actually create prospectively) one of the ways in which humankind is currently developing – as Brown’s protagonist Kirsch is predicting – into some amalgamated digital hybrid species. I fully realise that with such pronouncements, my writing on *Origin* as science fiction becomes in itself science fiction raised to the power two. The well-trained and experienced scientist in me revolts against such *Dreams of a Spirit-seer* (Kant 1766 / 1900), but the sum total of my life experiences leaves me little choice. What the strictest application

⁴⁸⁶ Of course it remains possible that my frequent subjective observations as to the unexpected and amazing effectiveness of my ritual actions, *in themselves have been delusions*. Sangoma training is an intensive and consuming affair, offered within specialist lodges which are (typologically as well as historically) continuous with South Asian Hinduist *aśrāms* – and as I have realised, and duly reported (van Binsbergen 1991), sect-like brainwashing through deprivation, shock and indoctrination is a standard technique here. However, I graduated as a *sangoma* in 1991. Fearing the intense and open envy which my position inside the lodge generated (I was supposed to be the lodge leader’s reincarnated brother and heir, the only member privileged to wear a leopard skin, and I had seen at close quarters to what homicidal extremes envy among *sangomas* could lead) I have not been even near a *sangoma* lodge since 1992. Working (like most of my fellow-*sangomas*) in isolation, as an independent ritual entrepreneur, the initial brainwashing conditions have no longer obtained, my critical ethnographic writings on the subject have helped me to disentangle the mechanisms of manipulation and deceit attending part of my training, and although I have kept going through the motions I have been fully aware of the non-existence of the spirits I am invoking – yet the effectiveness of my ministrations as a *sangoma* have largely continued.

⁴⁸⁷ This, I am afraid, is the real reason (beyond unfamiliarity with the latest literature – *Google Scholar* and digital libraries put paid to that – and with the neuroscience discipline in general) why I do not buy the recent neuroscience approach to religion and to religion’s emergence in the course of human evolutionary history: it is merely another, post-modern version of the old debunking strategy which has characterised the Western science of religion, including religious anthropology, from the late 19th c. CE. *‘African gods cannot exist, so please step aside and we shall explain to you to what delusions you have fallen victim’*. Unless neuroscience manages to turn around and address, not only the demonstrable impact of the world upon the brain, but also of the brain upon the world, and why the latter should be the case (it is merely what one would expect in a thinking universe) we are not going to find in the neuroscience discipline the answers students of religion have been searching for for centuries. There are certainly possibilities here, as generations of (habitually and facilely discredited yet statistically highly significant) parapsychological research have suggested; in particular the ability of the human mind to influence computers without any detectable physical intermediary has been established in hundreds of cases (Radin & Nelson 1989). But as long as such research remains completely counter-paradigmatic, it will easily be dismissed as belonging to the crackpot variety.

of my flipflop theory of religion would make of Durkheim's vindicated theory, the reader may easily imagine: If society is God, it is a God which we create through ritual action, and which thus does come into being and confirms the truth of Durkheim's theory...

For the contents of world religions such an insight, if taken seriously, is truly devastating. Today's religiously-orientated conflicts, such as those between Islam and the West, and between Creationism and science, are often interpreted as if people are fighting and killing over *doctrine*, over the contents of religious and cosmological statements and claims. This is also what appears to motivate Brown's many murderers and conspirators throughout his books. There are however reasons to seriously doubt such an interpretation (*pace* Whitehouse 2000). Most people who are engaged in such fights, have only a second-hand and imprecise knowledge of the doctrinal issues at stake. They are joining a band wagon much like others prefer particular forms of music, or brands of state-of-the-art clothing, home decoration or whisky: in a half-hearted quest for artificial belonging, now that post-modern globalisation and digitalisation have eroded such genuine (or nostalgic?) identification as might once have come with the sense of belonging to time-honoured social groups and identities. Their violence is not so much a means to an end (the proclaimed end being to let their supposed doctrine become triumphant), but (much as theorised in the work of René Girard and his followers) their violence is simply the most effective means of powerful group formation. Ideas and doctrines are primarily the dummy fillings of processes of group formation and group conflict, but any ideas or doctrines could have served that purpose, and in fact are often demonstrably interchangeable.'

So far my new book in the pipeline. But with such ideas as expressed in the last paragraph, the circle is closed and we are reaping, once more, the fruits of Durkheim's genius.

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Appendix I. A listing of the reconstructed *Borean (approx.) lexicon

These data gleaned from © 1998-2008 *Tower of Babel*, Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008, with immense thanks. A *Page Index of Borean Roots as Discussed in the Present Book* appears below as Appendix V.

semantics (English)	*Borean (approx.)
1st p. pron.	*NV
a demonstrative element	*NV
a kind of berry	*MVRV
a kind of bird	*CVLV
a kind of bird	*CVMV
a kind of bird	*KVLV
a kind of bird	*KVMV
a kind of bird	*KVNV
a kind of bird	*KVPV
a kind of bird	*KVTV
a kind of bird	*LVKV
a kind of bird	*SVKV
a kind of bird	*TVRV
a kind of cereal	*LV(N)TV
a kind of duck or hen	*TVKV
a kind of fish	*KVMCV
a kind of fish	*KVRV
a kind of fish	*NVNV
a kind of fruit	*HVMCV

semantics (English)	*Borean (approx.)
a kind of gallinacean bird	*KVRV
a kind of grass	*WVLV
all	*HVLV
all, join (?)	*KVLV
angry	*HVRV
animal hair	*MVNCV
ant, insect	*KVMCV
ant, insect	*TVPV
antelope	*KVRV
arm	*KVNV
arm	*KVRV
arm	*LVLV
arm, leg	*CVKV
armpit; to tickle	*KVLV
arrow, harpoon	*LVLV
ashes, burn	*PVTV
ashes, dirt	*PVLV
back	*HVKV
back	*HVRV

back	*KVTV
back	*TVPV
back, rear	*KVNTV
back, side	*PVNV
bad	*HVKV
bad, dirty	*TVRV
bad, evil	*PVCV
bad, harm	*CVKV
bark	*KVLV
bark	*KVPV
bark	*KVRV
bark, skin	*KVRPV
basket	*KVCV
be angry	*KVRV
be destroyed, fall apart	*HVRV
be full, complete	*KVPV
be ill	*LVHV
be satiated (?)	*HVWV
be visible, see	*NVKV
beard	*MVCV
beat	*PVHV
beat	*TVKV
beat, hit	*CVTV
beat, hit	*TVPV
bee, insect	*PVRV
behind, anus	*RVCV
behind, buttock	*CVTV
belly	*PVNKV
belly	*WVNCV
belly, heart	*KVNv
belly, intestines	*KVTV
belly, intestines	*PVHV
belly, liver	*KVLV
belly, stomach	*KVRPV
below	*HVLV
bend	*KVLV
big	*TVHV
big	*WVLV
big fish	*KVLV
big tree	*TVNV
big, large	*MVKV
big, thick	*CVKV
big, thick	*TvtV
big, very	*HVNV
bird	*CVKV
bird	*HVWV
bird, fly	*PVHV
bite, chew ?	*KwVv
bite, tear	*KVCV
biting insect	*CVNcV
bitter	*CVPV
bitter, gall ?	*PVCV

bitter, sour	*KVCV
black	*CVNV
black	*HVPV
black	*KVRV
black	*PVRKV
black, dark	*CVLV
black, dark	*KVMV
black, dark	*NVLV
blade, whetstone	*HVLV
blister, boil	*TVRV
blister, wound	*HVLKV
blood	*CVMV
blood	*KVNv
blood	*PVLV
blood	*PVRV
blood vessel	*PVHV
blood, breath	*CVHV
blood, breath	*HVNV
blood, red	*KVRV
blood, spirit	*CVNV
blood; red	*WVRV
blue	*CVNV
board, stick	*TVLV
boat	*LVLV
body	*PVTV
boil	*PVRV
bone	*HVCV
bone	*CVMV
bone	*HVKV
bone	*HVMTV
bone	*KVCV
bone	*KVRV
bone	*LVNV
bone	*MVKV?
bone	*RVNV
bone, horn	*TVKV
bone, rib	*RVLV
bone, tooth	*PVNV
bosom	*HVPV
bottom	*TVHV
bovine ?	*LVWV
bow	*PVKV
bow, arc	*TVNV
brain	*MVNV
brain, head	*WVTMV
branch	*KVNv
branch	*RVTV
branch, stick	*HVLV
break, chop	*CVPV
break, split	*PVTV
breast	*KVRTV
breast, udder	*MVLKV

breast, udder	*WVNXV
breath, smell	*CVVV
bridge, road	*LVMV
bright	*HVCV
bright	*PVRKV
brother, sister	*HVCV
brown	*PVRV
brown, dark	*KVVV
build, house	*TVMV
build, house, roof	*PVNV
burden; back	*KVLV
burn	*MVKV?
burn	*PVLV
burn	*PVRV
burn	*WVRV
burn, boil	*HVLTV
burn, fire	*KVTV
burn, fire	*TVLV
burn, hot coals	*KVRV
burn, roast	*PVKV
burn, roast, dry	*KVVV
burn, shine	*CVNV
butterfly	*PVRPV
calf, bull	*PVRV
callus, fingernail	*HVRV
cave, hole	*KVVV
chest	*TVKV
chest, belly	*PVRV
child	*LVKV
child	*MVKV
child	*NVHV
child, to bear	*PVRV
chin	*KVVV
chin, beard	*CVKV
chin, jaw	*KVPV
chopped piece, to cut	*KVTV
clan member	*HVRV
clay, mud	*PVNV
clean	*CVNV
cloud	*PVLV
coals, soot, burn	*CVLV
cold	*CVNV
cold	*CVRV
cold	*KVRV
come, go; rise	*HVRV
coniferous tree, resin	*PVNCV
corner, enclosure ?	*KVNTV
cough	*KVHV
cover	*TVKV
cover, close	*KVPV
cow	*RVHV
crane	*KVRV

crust	*CVRV
dark	*HVMV
dark	*LVMV
dark	*RVMV
dark	*TVMV
dark, black	*CVMV
dark, black	*LVNV
dark, black	*MVCV
dark, black	*MVTV
dawn, light	*KVVV
dawn, light	*LVNV
day, shine	*TVVV
day, sun	*HVKV
day, sun, light	*NVRV
deer	*HVLV
deer	*MVNV
demonstr. pronoun	*MV
demonstr. pronoun	*TV
demonstrative pronoun	*CV
demonstrative pronoun	*KV
die, finish	*MVTV
die, starve	*HVLV
die; kill	*NVKV
direction, road, pass	*KVCV
dirt	*CVRV
dirt	*KVTV
dirt	*LVKV
dirt, earth ?	*HVMGV
dirt, faeces	*CVKV
dog	*CVKV
dog	*HVCV
dog	*HVMV
dog	*KVCV
dog	*KVLV
dog	*KVPV
dog	*NVKV
dog	*NVNTV
dog, wolf	*CVRPV
dog, wolf	*KVTV
dog, wolf	*PVRV
door	*HVRV
dream	*CVMNV
drink	*JVKV
drink, liquid	*CVTV
drink, swallow	*HVMV
dry	*CVCV
dry	*KVCV
dry	*KVKV
dry	*KVMV
dry	*KVRV
dry	*RVNKV
dry, burn	*KVLV

dung, mud	*KVRV
dusk, dim, cloud	*LVPV
dust	*PVRV
dust, ashes	*TDTV
dust, dirt	*PVKV
dwelling	*KVLV
eaf, flower	*PVNKV I
ear	*CVRV
ear	*HVNV
ear	*KVRV
ear	*LVLV
early	*HVCV
early	*HVRV
earth	*TVHV
earth	*TVKV
earth, dust	*TVRV
earth, mound	*PMMV
eat	*HVNV
eat	*TVNV
edge	*CMMV
edge	*HVNCV
edge	*MVCV
edge	*PVLV
edge, side	*PVRV
egg	*TVLV
elbow, cubit	*KVNTV
elder male relative, father	*HVTV
elder relative	*HVKV
enclosure	*KVRTV
enclosure	*KVRV
enclosure	*WVCV
enclosure, yard	*TVRV
enemy	*KVRV
evening	*CVPV
evening	*CVRV
extinguish	*CVNTV
eye, pupil of the eye	*HVPV
eye, see	*HVKV
eye, see	*HVLV
eye, see	*HVRV
eyebrow (> eyelid); hair of head	*CMMV
face	*MVNV
face	*HVHV
face, eye	*WVMKV
face, forehead	*PVNV
face, forehead ?	*PVHV
face, head	*MVLV
face, head	*MVTV
fall, descend	*HVWV
far?	*KVRV
fart	*PVCV

fat	*KVJV
fat, intestines	*CVPV
father	*HVPV
feather	*PVLV
female	*PVNV
female genitalia	*MVTV
female in-law	*KVLV
female relative	*HVNV
female relative	*MVNV
female relative	*NVTV
finger, claw	*CVPV
finger, fingernail	*PVRV
finish	*KVCV
fire	*CVCV
fire	*HVHV
fire	*PVHV
fire	*TVHV
fire, burn	*HMMV
fire, burn	*HVNCV
fire, to strike fire	*CVKV
fireplace, burn	*PVPV
fish	*CMMV
fish	*TVKV
fish trap, fence	*CVLV
fist; ? squeeze with a fist, crumple	*MVCV
flat	*LVPV
flat	*TVPV
flat, level	*PVLV
flat, plain	*TVLV
flea	*PVRV
flesh, blood	*CVLV
flow	*NVRV
flow, gush	*PVLV
fly	*PVRV
fly, flea	*PVLV
fly, insect	*TVMTV
fog	*MVSV
food, eat	*HVLV
foot, hoof	*MVLV
foot, knee	*PVLNV
foot, toe	*KVRV
forest, wilderness	*NVNV
fork	*KVNLV
four	*HVMKV
fox	*CVLV
fringe, thread	*CVNV
frog	*KVRV
front	*HVNTV
front	*HVTV
front, breast	*MVNV
front, outside	*HVLV

frost, cold	*PVCV
frozen snow	*CVKV
fruit	*PVRKV
full	*HVPTV
full	*MVLV
full	*PVNV
full	*TVNKV
full ?	*MVHV
full, all	*WVNCV
full, fill	*TVMV
furrow, hoe	*HVRV
gather, assemble	*PVRV
genitalia	*KVTV
get in pairs, pair > two	*MVLV
gift, allotment	*HVTV
give	*CVHV
glittering?	*KVLV
glue, join	*CVPV
go, come	*HVJV
goat	*TVKV
goat, deer	*HVRV
goat, ram, deer	*PVKV
good	*HVKV
good	*NVKV
good	*WVNLV
good, fit	*TVKV
good, new	*MVRV
good, take care ?	*HVCV
goose	*LVKV
grain	*CVRV
grasp	*KVMV
grass	*KVCV
grass, reed	*CVMV
grey	*CVRV
gum, resin, mud	*PVNV
gums	*NVLV
hair	*CVKV
hair	*CVRV
hair	*KVCV
hair	*LVHV
hair	*NVNV
hair	*NVRV
hair	*PVNV
hair	*PVWV
hair	*TVRV
hair (feather; whiskers)	*PVLV
hair, beard	*KVLV
hair, feather	*PVTV
hair, hair of head	*PVRV
hair, head	*KVRV
hair, rope	*NVJV
hair, tail	*CVPV

hair; feather	*KVMV
hand	*MVNV
hand(ful)	*KVMV
hand, arm	*PVKV
hand, bone	*NVLV
hand, fist	*PVNKV
hand, limb	*HVTV
hand, paw	*PVCV
hard	*CVKV
hard	*KVMV
hard, firm	*PVKV
head	*CVKV
head	*WVNLV
hear	*CVMV
hear, ear	*MVHV
heart	*CVLMV
heart, breast	*RVKV
high	*PVRKV
high	*RVNKV
hill	*KVVV
hill	*TVLV
hill	*TVPV
hill, rock	*PVHV
hit	*WVTV
hole	*HVNKV
hole	*KVCV
hole	*KVTV
hole	*TVNV
hole, cavity	*KVVV
hole, empty	*KVPV
hollow, cavity	*HVLV
hoof	*KVPV
hoof	*CVTV
hoof, finger(nail)	*TVPV
horn	*KVRV
horn, ear	*LVRV
horn; root	*MVRKV
horned animal	*PVRV
horned animal a kind of	*MVLV
house	*HVLKV
house	*HVTV
house	*PVRV
house, village	*KVMV
husband	*LVSV
I, myself; we [1st p. pronoun]	*HVKV
I, we [1st p. pronoun]	*MV
I[1st p. pronoun]	*CV
ice, cold	*HVKV
ill, die	*MVRV
insect	*CVKV
Insect a kind of	*CVCV

Insect a kind of	*CVNV
Insect a kind of	*HVLTV
insect a kind of	*HVMKV
Insect a kind of	*KVMV
Insect a kind of	*KVTV
Insect a kind of	*MVNV
Insect a kind of	*PVNCV
Insect a kind of	*PVNTV
Insect a kind of	*SVHV
insect, vermine	*TVKV
insect, worm	*KVVV
insect, worm	*LVNV
inside, stomach	*HVTV
internal organ	*CVNCV
interrog. or relat. pronoun	*NV
interrogative pronoun	*KV
interrogative pronoun	*MV
intestine	*CVLV
intestines	*HVRLV
intestines	*KVCV
intestines	*KVMV
intestines	*LVNTV
jaw, palate	*HVNV
joy	*BVHV
kill	*KVWV
knife, cut, break	*KVNTV
know, hear	*TVNV
know, name	*NVRV
large fish	*LVMV
large predator	*CVNKV
large, heavy	*CVRV
laugh	*KVLV
laugh, joy	*LVHV
leaf	*LVPV
leaf	*PVLKV
leaf	*PVLV
leaf tree	*PVLV
leaf; reed?	*HVRLV
left[?]	*KVCV
leg	*KVVV
leg	*LVKV
leg, arm	*KVLV
lick	*LVCV
lick	*LVKV
lick, drink	*TVLV
light, burn	*HVRV
light, fire	*HVKV
light, loose	*CVLV
light, shine	*HVLV
light, shine	*JVKV
limb	*PVTV
lip, soft excrescence	*KVNPV

liquid	*HVRV
liquid	*LVTV
liquid	*CVWV
liquid, flow	*LVJV
liver	*KVPV
liver	*PVKV
liver	*PVNTV
liver	*TVPV
liver, belly	*TVRNV
liver, intestines	*MVLV
lizard, worm	*MVLV
long	*TVLV
long bone	*CVNV
long, far	*KVLV
long, high	*HVKV
long, wide	*WVRV
loose(n)	*LVCV
louse	*JVLKV
louse	*MVHV
louse	*TVJV
louse, nit	*NVJV
love, good	*HVJV
luminary	*MVNCV
lung, liver	*PVLV
male	*KVNTV
man	*KVCV
man	*MVNV
many	*MVNV
many	*PVHV
many, big	*PVTV
many, full	*PVLV
marsh, uncultivated land	*CVMV
marten	*KVVV
meat	*CVKV
meat	*HVMCV
meat	*NVKRV
meat, animal	*CVCV
meat, blood	*TVLV
meat, liver	*MVKV
middle, inside	*HVLV
moisture	*MVTV
moon, luminary	*TVLKV
morning	*PVKTV
morning ~ evening	*CVKV
mother	*HVJV
mother	*HVMV
mountain	*MVLV
mountain	*WVRV
mountain, high	*TVKV
mountain, hill	*KVRV
mountain, hill	*PVLV
mountain, top	*PVRV

mouse, squirrel	*CVKV
mouth	*SVWV
mouth, hole	*HVWV
mouth; speak	*HVPV
mushroom, sponge	*PVTV
mutual help	*KVWV
name	*LVMNV
name, call	*PVTV
name, know	*PVNV
nape, back	*CVKV
nape; back	*TVKV
narrow	*CVNV
neck, collar	*KVNVK
neck, head	*KVHV
neck, throat	*KVLV
negative particle	*CV
negative particle	*HVLV
negative particle	*PV
negative verb	*HV
net	*MVNV
new	*MVHV
new	*CVNV
new, young	*CVRV
new, young	*WVLV
night	*KVCV
night	*LVLV
night, dawn	*NVNV
night, sleep	*CVNV
night, sleep	*HVDV
nit, louse	*CVRV
nose	*KVNV
nose	*NVKCV
nose	*NVRV
nose	*WVKV
nose, nostril	*CVRV
not	*HVNV
now; new	*NVWV
numerous, full	*TVRV
nut, fruit	*HVRLV
old	*CVRTV
old	*KVRV
one	*HVCV
one	*HVRV
one	*HVTV
one, finger	*TVKV
one, self	*HVNNV
one?	*SVMV
onion, odorous grass	*CVNV
open space	*HVRV
open; hole	*HVKV
other	*HVLV
other	*KVJV

pain, wound	*MVNVK
painful state, grief	*KVLV
pair, one of a pair	*KVKT
palate, tongue	*NVNV
palm	*CVLV
palm of hand, handful	*PVLNV
part of nose	*TVNV
part of shoulder, joint	*CVKV
paw, foot	*HVPV
paw, grasp	*KVPCV
peg, nail	*KVKV
penis	*PVCV
penis	*PVLV
people, army	*CVPV
person, relative	*MVKV
pig	*WVRLV
place	*PVJV
plank, board	*PVLV
pond	*KVLV
pool, low ground	*LVKV
pot	*PVTV
pot, vessel	*TVNV
predator (?) a kind of	*KVRTV
prohibitive / negative particle	*MV
prohibitive particle	*TV
pus, rot	*CVRV
push, move	*NVKV
quick	*TVRV
rain, pour	*HVRV
rare, new	*HVRV
ring, hook	*KVCV
ripe, rotten	*RVMV
rise, up	*HVPV
road	*HVRV
road	*RVMKV
roast, boil	*CVRV
rod, strap	*LVKV
rodent a kind of	*KVLV
rodent a kind of	*RVKV
roof, cover	*LVNV
roof, house	*MVRV
root, bone (??)	*TVMV
root, herb	*WVRTV
root, stalk	*KVRV
rope, thread	*WVRV
round	*KVLV
round	*TVMPV
rump, neck	*NVKV
run	*PVKV
run, drive	*HVRKV
sack, bag	*LVMV

salt	*CVLV
sand	*KVCV
satisfaction	*TVRPV
say	*TVHV
say, call	*WVKV
say, sound	*CVWV
scatter, sift	*CVCV
scrape, scraper	*KVNCV
scratch, scrape	*KVCV
scratch, scrape	*WVRCV
sea, water	*CVWV
sea, water	*JMV
see, eye	*HVNV
seed, kin	*PVRV
seed; to sift	*CVHV
seize	*HVMV
semantics (English)	*Borean (approx.)
semen, egg	*LVNV
separate, split	*PVTV
settlement	*PVLV
settlement (< *root, seed?)	*HVLV
sharp	*HVCV
sharp	*LVMV
sharp object	*CVNV
sharp point, tooth	*HVKV
sharp stick	*CVLV
sharp, to whet	*PVHV
sharp; to scrape	*CVKV
shell, bark	*KVNV
shin, thigh	*KVNCV
shine, bright	*PVRV
shine, burn	*MVLV
shine, burn (several roots?)	*PVLV
shine, light	*PVHV
shine, sun	*PVCV
shine; burn	*LVKV
shoulder	*PVRKV
shoulder, arm	*LVLV
shout	*RVWV
sick, ill	*HVCV
side	*PVKV
sinew; root	*CVRV
single, first	*CVNV
sister, woman?	*CVCV
skin	*KVLV
skin	*LVLV
skin	*PVRV
skin	*PVTV
skin, bark	*PVKV
skin, hair	*TVKV

skin, husk	*KVMV
skull	*KVPV
sky, cloud	*HVKMV
sleep	*HVMV
sleep, dream	*HVMLV
slime, dirt	*CVLV
small	*CVKV
small	*KVTV
small	*TVHV
small bird	*CVPV
small, child	*KVRCV
small, thin, short	*TVNV
small, child	*PVWV
smear, fat	*MVRV
smear; fat	*CVMV
smell	*CVNV
smell, breathe, smoke	*PVNV
smoke	*CVNV
smoke, cloud	*NVPV
smooth	*KVLV
snake	*HVNV
snake	*NVTV
snake	*PVCV
snake	*PVMV
snake, lizard	*WVRLV
snake, worm	*LVRV
soft, fragile	*LVMV
soft, weak	*LVNV
soft, wet	*LVPV
soul, breath	*HVMSV
sour	*CVRV
sour, bitter	*CVMV
sour, ferment	*CVKV
span	*TVKV
speak, say, sound	*JVNV (VNV)
spin, twist	*PVNV
spit	*TVPV
spit, fang	*KVWV
spit, spittle	*TVHV
spleen	*LVPV
spleen, liver	*LVLV
split, tear off	*CVLV
spread, extend	*CVRV
spread, long	*PVTV
spring, flow	*PVRV
sprinkle	*PVCV
stalk, peg	*KVNPV
stand	*CVKV
stand	*PVTV
stand	*RVPV
star	*TVCTV

star, shine	*HVCRV
steppe, valley, meadow	*CVLV
stick	*KVLV
stick	*PVCV
stick, tree	*KVRV
stinging insect	*MVCV
stinging insect	*NVMCV
stinging insect	*PVKV
stomach, intestine	*RVCV
stone	*CVCV
stone	*HVMCV
stone	*HVNLV
stone	*HVRV
stone	*LVNV
stone	*PVNV
stone	*RVMCV
stone	*TVHV
stone	*TVLV
stone, mountain	*CVNV
stone, mountain	*KVWV
stone, rock	*KVLV
stop, stand	*TVNV
storm	*PVRV
straight	*HVTV
stream, flow of water	*HVWV
stump, trunk	*TVMKV
suck	*CVKV
suck	*CVPV
suck, swallow	*MVKV
sun	*CVWV
sun, burn (?)	*KVMV
sun, day	*TVNV
swamp	*LVMV
sweep	*CVPV
sweet	*CVTV
sweet	*MVCV
sweet, taste	*TVHV
tail	*KVTV
tail	*MVHV
tail	*TVKV
tail	*TVNV
tail, (long) hair	*PVNCV
tail, back	*CVPV
tail, back	*CVRV
tail, back (?)	*KVRV
take	*HVNV
take	*KV
take, bring	*KVRV
take, bring	*TVKV
take, carry	*HVPV
take, get	*KVTV
take, grasp	*KVNTV

taste	*TVMV
tasty, sweet; pungent	*PVRV
testicle	*KVLV
that, that near	*PV
that, this	*HV
that, this	*HV
thick, full	*TVKV
thick, swel	*PVNKV I
thigh	*PVKTV
thigh, leg	*KVSV
thigh, leg (?)	*PVCKV
thin, narrow	*CVPV
thing; interrog. stem	*HVTV
think	*LVWV
this	*CV
this	*HV
thorn	*CVKV
thou [2nd p. pronoun]	*HV
thou [2nd p. pronoun]	*MV
thou [2nd p. pronoun]	*NV
thou [2nd p. pronoun]	*TV
thou [2nd p. pronoun]	*WV
throat	*HVNKV
throat, intestines	*KVTV
throat, swallow	*KVLV
tie, knot	*KVRTV
tie, weave	*TVKV
tip, spout	*CVCV
to ask, call	*TVPV
to ask, pray	*PVRV
to bare teeth	*MVCV
To be	*HV
to be	*HVCV
to be	*PVHV
to be	*WVLV
to be angry	*KVCV
to be lost, exhausted	*TVKV
to be mad, stupid	*PVKV
to be well	*CVLV
to be, live	*HVLV
to bear	*CVWV
to bear, lift	*TVLV
to beat	*PVTV
to bend	*CVKV
to bend	*KVKV
to bend	*KVNv
to bend	*KVRKV
to bend, bow	*LVNKV
to bend, turn	*KVRV
to bend; hump, heap	*KVPV
to bind, girdle	*KVTV
to blink, shine, shade	*CVJV

to blow	*TVWV
to blow	*PVCV
to blow	*PVHV
to blow, fan	*HVPV
to blow, wind	*LVNV
to blow, winnow	*HVWV
to boil, foam	*KVPV
to bore, dig	*LVNV
to break, crumble	*PVCV
to break, cut, wound	*HVRV
to breathe	*HVNVK
to burn	*CVWV
to burn	*HVCV
to burn	*TVKV
to burn, bake	*KVRV
to burn, boil	*KVJV
to burn, heat	*KVPV
to burn, sun	*NVJV
to burst, split (many roots)	*PVKV
to call	*KVRV
to call	*KVWV
to call, swear	*NVKV
to care	*CVRV
to change, borrow	*HVRV
to collect, count	*LVKV
to collect, put	*PVNV
to come, go	*PVHV
to cover	*KVTV
to cover	*TVPV
to covet sexually	*KVNV
to crush	*PVCV
to cry, shout	*KVWV
to cut	*HVCV
to cut	*KVCV
to cut	*TVNV
to cut, hit, saw	*PVWV
to cut, knife	*KVLV
to cut, sharp	*CVRV
to cut, split	*CVKV
to cut, split	*RVKV
to cut, tear	*MVCV
to deceive	*TVLV
to die, kill	*KVLV
to dig, hack	*KVPV
to dig, hole	*TVWV
to divide, cut in half	*PVLV
to drink, flow	*TVRV
to dry	*CVRV
to eat	*CVHV
to eat	*HVTV
to eat, gulp	*KVMV
to fall	*KVTV

to fall	*PVTV
to fall, fly	*PVLV
to fear, be angry	*PVLV
to finish	*KVTV
to fit, be good	*KVNV
to flash, shine	*CVLV
to flow, drip	*CVRV
to follow	*CVNV
to follow, send, leave	*LVKV
to get up	*HVRV
to give	*PVRV
to give	*TVHV
to give birth, family	*KVMV
to go	*HVMNV (?)
to go	*KVJV
to go, come	*CVHV
to go, come	*NVNV
to go, walk	*MVRV
to grasp	*HVPV
to grasp	*KVPV
to hang	*TVJV
to hate, be annoyed	*CVRV
to hear	*KVLV
to hide, protect	*KVRV
to hit, push	*MVKV
to howl, cry	*WVLV
to join, together	*HVNTV
to jump, run	*LVKV
to know	*KVNV
to know, consider	*CVHV
to know, think	*CVNV
to lead, to go	*WVTV
to lick, swallow	*LVMNV
to lick; lip	*LVPV
to lie	*KVWV
to lie, fall down	*KVLV
to listen, hear	*HVLV
to live	*HVJV
to live, stand	*JVNV
to look, show	*TVKV
to lose, hide	*KVLV
to make	*HVKV
to make	*WVRV
to melt, flow	*TVNV
to move	*CVLV
to move quickly	*NVTV
to move, step	*CVKV
to open, spread	*PVNCV
to peel, naked	*LVKV
to pierce	*CVKV
to plait	*CVKV

to plait, weave	*HVPV
to plait, weave, rope (?)	*RVCV
to pour	*LVWV
to pour	*PVHV
to pour, drop	*TVKV
to pour, wash	*PVKV
to prepare food	*PVCV
to press, seize	*NVMV
to pull, stretch	*TVNV
to push, beat; grind (2 roots?).	*NVKV
to put	*TVHV
to receive (+ bestow)	*HVLV
to rise	*KVTV
to rise, raise	*KVLV
to roll	*HVLV
to roll, twist	*MVRV
to rub, scratch	*PVKV
to run	*TVKV
to say	*HVNv
to say, pray	*MVLV
to say, speak	*HVLV
to scrape	*KVRV
to scratch	*HVKV
to see	*TVNV
to see, eye	*CVLV
to see, eye	*WVTV
to see, guard	*HVJV
to see, know	*CVKV
to see, perceive	*HVCV
to seize, press	*PVTV
to sew, cloth	*RVPV
to shake	*TVRV
to shine, glitter, flash	*LVPV
to sink	*CVPV
to sit	*TVNV
to slide, creep	*CVLV
to speak	*HVWV
to speak	*WVTV
to speak, shout	*CVWV
to speak, sound	*MVHRV
to spin, wind	*KVRV
to spread	*PVRV
to stand	*CVRV
to stand (?)	*CVLV
to stand up, move upwards	*HVHV
to stand, hang down (?)	*CVNCV
to stand, plant vertically	*TVKV
to stand, rise	*NVKV
to stay, be, stand	*NVHV
to stay, reside	*MVNV
to steal	*HVRKWW

to stick in, pierce	*NVKV
to stir, mix	*PVLV
to suck (?)	*CVRPV
to suffer	*CVRV
to suffer, die	*HVNv
to suffer, die	*TVWV
to swallow	*CVMV
to swallow	*HVPV
to swallow	*LVKV
to swallow, throat	*KVRV
to swallow, throat; pipe	*PVLV
to take	*PVRV
to taste, eat	*CVMV
to taste, sour	*HVMV
to tear, break, split	*PVRV
to think	*MVNV
to tie, bind	*KVNv
to tie, net	*TVLV
to trace	*KVKV
to turn round	*TVRV
to understand, see	*KVRV
to wake	*CVRV
to wake; see > eye (?)	*TVLV
to walk, run	*KVRV
to wash, pour	*LVNV
to weaken, disappear	*MVJV
to wish	*HVWV
to wish	*WVLV
to wish, let	*CVWV
to wound, kill	*HVWV
tongue	*CVHV
tongue	*LVLV
tongue	*SVMV
tongue, lick	*MVLcV
tongue, to speak	*KVLV
tooth	*LVKV
tooth	*MVNV
tooth	*PVLV
tooth, fang	*KVRcV
tooth, peg	*HVNv
tooth, sharp edge	*KVMPV
top	*KVKV
top	*TVNV
top of head	*KVMPV
top of head, hair	*TVMV
touch, plaster, attach ?	*TVPV
trap a kind of	*TVPV
tree	*PVJV
tree	*WVTV
tree a kind of	*HVJWV
tree a kind of	*KVJWV
tree a kind of	*NVKV

tree, wood	*TVRV
tree? a kind of	*HVLMV
twig, branch	*CVLV
twig, rod	*CVTV
two	*CVNV
two	*CVRV
two	*TVWV
two, pair	*JVRV
understand, brain	*HVNV
ungulate	*MVRV
ungulate	*HVRV
ungulate a kind of	*CVNV
upper part of body; handle	*HVLV
urine, urinate	*SVKV
valley	*KVLV
vessel	*KVLV
vessel	*KVPV
vessel a kind of	*KVKV
vessel a kind of	*PVNV
vessel, boat	*TVKV
vessel, to scoop	*TVKV
village, house	*KVTV
vulva	*PVTV
walk, roam, ford	*KVLV
walk, run, road	*TVRKV
warm	*KVCV
warm	*LVMV
warm	*TVPV
wash	*MVCKV
water	*HVKV
water	*HVNV
water	*KVHNV ?
water	*PVNV
water	*WVTV
water, pond	*TVKV
water, pour	*CVLV
water, to submerge?	*KVTV
water, wet	*MVWV
we	*LV
we	*PV
we	*TV
we, I [1st p. pronoun]	*WV
weak	*HVLV
weak, tired, dead	*NVWV
weak, young	*TVRV

weapon (spear, sword)	*TVNV
wear, dress	*WVCV
wet	*HVLV
wet	*MVKV
wet	*MVRV
what	*PV
what	*RV
white	*CVKV
who	*CV
whole	*KVLWV
whole, full	*CVLV
wide, open	*PVTV
wild cat	*MVRV
willow	*CVLV
wind, to blow	*CVLV
winter ~ spring	*PVNV
winter, cold	*KVMV
wish	*HVNV
wo / four / eight	*HVNLV t
wolf, dog	*KVVV
woman	*KVVV
woman, female	*NVCV
word, name	*MVKV
worm	*KVJV (HVKVJV)
worm	*KVRV
worm	*MVTV
worm	*PVRV
worm, insect	*NVLMV
wound, scar	*LVNV
yard, building	*KVVV
year	*WVTV
year, old	*CVNV
you	*CV
young	*PVLV
young animal, plant	*TVLV
young male	*MVRV
young of animals	*KVRV
young, child	*KVVV

Appendix II. A provisional and selective bibliography of mystery religion

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Appendix III. Another global etymology: ‘leopard / speckled / striped / granulation’

Several times already in the course of this book, I have referred to the amazing results of my global comparative research into leopard-skin symbolism, and granulation in general. Below follows a summary, which follows closely my text in van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 412 *f.*; references below to Tables 29.5-6 are also to that book.

Our point of departure is the controversial Ligurian (modern Southern France / North-western Italy) river name *Porcobera* (*cf.* later reflections on this river name in Krahe 1959; Goggi 1967; Danko & Witczak 1990; Arenas-Esteban & de Bernardo Stempel 2005). Gray 1928 does not downright reject Whatmough’s [1927] reading [see below] but reminds us that in modern times the bed of the river in question has been dry and devoid of fish. Devoto 1961 supports the traditional reading of the second segment as ‘bearing’ (also *cf.* above. ‘snow-bearing mountain’), but is unconvinced by the identification of the first segment as ‘perch, river fish’. Whatmough [1927] sees the first segment of this name as cognate with Greek πέρκη, Irish ore and Latin porcus ‘perch, a river fish’. Although we might be alarmed by the fact that precisely the Celtic listing deviates far from the Ligurian one (Ligurian is generally considered a branch of Celtic), this approach has the appearance of a straightforward and convincing etymology, endorsed (...) by the *Tower of Babel* database.⁴⁸⁸

Yet such a proposed etymology does not do the cause of Indoeuropean much

⁴⁸⁸ Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008, ‘Indoeuropean etymology’. (original footnote)

good. If the form in question is mainly attested in Greek and Latin, and the Germanic forms are probably first millennium CE borrowings from Latin, Table 29.5's claim of a fully-fledged Indoeuropean root in its own right may be exaggerated. In fact, the Pokorny reference brings out that what we have here is not so much a fish name, but the designation of a surface texture. Trout, perch and salmon are spotted / speckled or striped (the two patterns are often interchangeable in etymologies), but so are numerous other animals (including wild pig – another and more common referent of Latin *porcus* –, leopard, and hawk), which therefore, as Pokorny clearly perceived (while he graciously adopts Whatmough's *Porcobera* etymology), may be subsumed under the same root or cognate roots listed in Table 29.6. [included below]

Part of the background of such emphasis on surface texture is that hunters / fishermen have the widespread tendency to use evasive circumscriptions for their animal quarry, mention of whose true name is taboo and invites failure (cf. Portengen 1915). Such a designation for a variegated, granulated surface texture is by no means confined to Indoeuropean, but encompasses most macrophyla, and therefore must be considered to be older than the emergence of Indoeuropean as a distinct phylum.

(a) Pokorny (1959-1969): Number: 1497

- (b) Root: *perk*-2, *prek*- 'spotted' / 'gesprenkelt, bunt', oft zur Bezeichnung gesprenkelter, farbig getupfter Tiere
- (c) Derivatives: *perko*-, *porko*-, *perk-no*-, *prk-no*- ds.
- (d) Material: Mit n-Formantien: altindisch *pṛśni*- 'gefleckt, bunt', griechisch *περκνός*, ur-sprüngling 'ποικιλός', dann, dunkelflechtig, dunkel, blauschwarz', *περκαίνει* 'wird dunkel'; *πρακνόν μέλανα* Hesiodus; *Πρόκνη* 'die Schwalbe'; ohne -n- mittelirländisch *erc* 'gefleckt, dunkelrot', auch 'Lachs, Forelle, Kuh, Eidechse', cymrisch *erch* 'gefleckt' (= *πέρκος*); althochdeutsch *forhana*, mittelhochdeutsch *forhe(n)*, forhel 'Forelle', altsächsisch *furnia*, altenglisch *forn(e)* (...) (**prk-nā*), ablautend schwedisch *färna* 'Weißfisch' (**perk-nā*);
- (e) mit -uo: althochdeutsch *faro*, mittelhochdeutsch *vare*, flekt. *varwer* 'farbig', substantiviert althochdeutsch *farawa* 'Farbe' (**pork-uó*-); lateinisch-germanisch *fariō* 'Lachsforelle' (germanisch **farhjōn*-, älter **farhwjōn*-);
- (f) andere Bildungen: gr. *πέρκος* m. 'Sperber' (Aristotle),⁴⁸⁹ *περκό-πτερος* 'weißköfige Geierart', *περκάζει* 'wird dunkel, schwarz'; *πρός*-, -*κός* f. und *προκάς*-, -*άδος* 'Hirschkalb', *πρώξ*-, -*κός* 'Tautropfen'; *πέρκη* (Latin *perca* (...)) 'Barsch', Latin. *porcus* 'ein Fisch mit Stachelflossen', ligurian (...) *Porco-bera* ('Forellen führend'); mittelirländisch *orc* (auch *erc*, siehe oben) 'Lachs'; altisländisch *fjorsungr* 'trachinus draco' (**perks-ηκό*-); redupl. vielleicht *πάπραξ* ein thrakische Seefisch ('Forelle?');
- (g) vielleicht hierher durch Dissoziation eines **perk-ro-s* zu **pelcro*-, **polcro*-: Latin *pulc(h)er*, Oldlatin *polcher* 'schön' (= 'bunt').
- (h) Pokorny 1959-1969: II 45 f. (...)**

after van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 414 Tabel 29.6; Pokorny (1959-1969)

Table AIII.1.: Ligurian *porc*- is probably a name, not of an animal species but of a surface texture

[Elsewhere] (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 178, n. 389)] [I] have already

⁴⁸⁹ The European hobby (= small falcon), *Falco subbuteo* Linn., as discussed by Aristoteles, *Historia Animalium*, 9.36, I. (Liddell *et al.* 1897: 1204, s.v. *πέρκος*).

introduced the important semantic theme of ‘speckledness / granulation’, which can be observed for many animal species and for all the phyla and macrophyla, often with striking lexical convergence as if we have to do with a very ancient and very persistent phenomenon. In Chapter 6 [of van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011] we touched upon this theme in our discussion of the bright / smooth / even versus dark / speckled semantics that we argued to underlie the semantics of the Biblical names of Japheth and Ḥam, not as historical ancestors but as cosmological concepts, and in Table 6.19 of the same chapter it came back in relation with Nimrod (also *cf.* van Binsbergen 2003b, 2004a, 2009b: 24 *f.*). There we had occasion to point out that one of the principal manifestations of granulation in ancient modes of thought has been the leopard or panther (*Panthera pardus*). Its habitat extended all over Africa, the Near East, South, South East and East Asia until well into historical times. In an extensive study of leopard symbolism in the Ancient Near East (going back to the Neolithic of Çatal Hüyük, Anatolia; Mellaart 1966, 1967)⁴⁹⁰ and Ancient Egypt (Störk 1975-1986), Kammerzell (1994) called attention to two interchangeable roots, *prd and *prg, which he demonstrates to inform leopard terminology throughout [the West Asian] region since Neolithic times, in a way that straddles or transcends the habitual distinction between Indo-European and Afroasiatic. Similar affinities are studied in Ray (1992). Unaware of the significance of the number four in the general context of emerging, recursive post-Palaeolithic modes of thought (as discussed in [van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011:] Chapter 6 (...)), Kammerzell lays too much emphasis on number-four symbolism that happens to surface in the [Ancient] Egyptian case (treating the leopard, with its four-pronged claws, as a ‘four’ animal, inviting Earth symbolism,⁴⁹¹ etc.); so he underplays the granulation / speckled element as the centrally determining semantic factor – often evocative of rain, stars, impurity, and feminine gender subordination. While Kammerzell already demonstrates the range of the roots *prd and *prg for Indoeuropean and Afroasiatic (*cf.* Proto-Semitic *barūd- ‘spotted animal, leopard’ and the extensive discussion (...) above [*i.e.* van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 177 *f.*], *s.v.* ‘Nimrod’), further exploration (*cf.* Behr 1998; more recently, the closely related lion lexicon of Eurasia was explored by Blažek 2005) yields an even wider range, including Sinotibetan (豹), modern (Beijing) reading: bào, as typically highly eroded form

⁴⁹⁰ In 2018, the celebrated archaeologist Mellaart, the original excavator at PPN { Pre-Pottery Neolithic } Çatal Hüyük, Anatolia, Turkey, was posthumously accused of having faked some of the iconographies he published on that emblematic Neolithic settlement, including the famous ‘first map’ (Mellaart 1967, Fig. 59-60, opposite p. 132). I assume, however, that the site photographs documenting the extent of leopard iconography were genuine. For whatever Mellaart’s peccadilloes the Çatal Hüyük archaeology cannot all have been faked; *cf.* Hodder 2006 / 2011.

⁴⁹¹ In many Asian and Asian-derived cosmologies, the earth is conceived as a square, and its four corners plain an important role; *cf.* van Binsbergen 2012d.

of Preclassic Oldchinese: *prēkʷs*(~ *ēw*), ‘leopard’ – which is remarkably close to our Ligurian river name!), and Khoisan (Proto-Zhu: **g!kxàrú*, ‘leopard’; Proto-Khoekhoe: **|aru*, ‘spotted, dappled, variegated; leopard’, *cf.* also Nama *|garu* ‘scatter, disperse’; Haacke 1998: 58; Rust 1889 / 1969: 77; Dickens 1994: 211; Snyman 1975: 55). Although in historical times the Khoisan macrophylum has been attested only in East and Southern Africa, a convincing case has been built (Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 1994) for significant ancestors of modern Khoisan speakers having lived in West Asia c. 10 ka BP; this also may throw light on this macrophylum’s apparent affinity with, especially, Northcaucasian. The vertical stroke indicates a click sound. The global ramifications may be extended to include Proto-Austronesian: **balang*, *-lang* ‘striped’ (or **buring*, *kuring* ‘striped’); Proto-Eurasiatic / Nostratic: **mVrV* ‘spot, dirt’ *cf.* **Borean *PVRV*, ‘to spread’ (*cf.* Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008). Even Meso-American Mayan *b’alam*, ‘jaguar’ (*Pardus onca*), seems to correspond with this overall pattern and might be contemplated as a distant cognate (under Greenberg’s 1987 contested Amerind hypothesis a branch of the Penutian-Hokan phylum of the Amerind macrophylum, considered to be among descendants of the oldest migration wave into the New World). My own recent research (...) suggests (*cf.* Fig. 8.16, above) relatively close genetic relations between Amerind, African languages including Nigercongo / Bantu and Khoisan, in the light of which the *b’alam* suggestion may have some plausibility. For the apparently cognate spotted / leopard complex in Niger-Congo / Bantu, *cf.* van Binsbergen 2003b. In the Austric macrophylum this complex is represented by Proto-Austronesian: **balaŋ*, *-laŋ* ‘striped’ (or **buriŋ*, *kuriŋ* ‘striped’), leading to the Austronesian meaning ‘spotted, striped, multi-colored’.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹² Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008, ‘Austric etymology’.(original footnote)

Appendix IV. Yet another global etymology: The complex ‘earth / bottom / human’

In earlier work I have repeatedly presented yet another global etymology: the complex ‘*earth / bottom / human*’. To further demonstrate the utility of a long-range linguistic perspective, and because in the course of the present book I have occasionally referred to this particular etymology, I reproduce it here in its original form (source: van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 76-77; cf. van Binsbergen 2012d: 185 f.):

‘The root *-ntu*, ‘human, person’, although only one of hundreds of reconstructed proto-Bantu roots (cf. Guthrie 1948, 1967-1971: **-nto*, Guthrie no. 1789; Meeussen 1980: **-ntu*), is found in many or all languages of the large Bantu family (a division of the Niger-Congo or Niger-Kordofan phylum). It was so conspicuous in the eyes of Bleek (1851 – the first European linguist to subject these languages to thorough comparative study), that he named them ‘Bantu languages’ after that root (*ba-* being a common form of the plural personal nominal prefix). However, *-ntu* is not exclusive to the Bantu family. This is already clear from proto-Austronesian **taw*, ‘human, raw’ (Adelaar 1995). Looking for an etymology of the puzzling Greek word *ánthrōpos* ‘human’, the Dutch linguist Ode (1927) had the felicitous inspiration to see this word as a reflex of what he claims to be proto-Indo-European **-nt*, ‘under’ (cf. the more consensually established proto-Indo-European: **ndho* ‘under’ cf. Pokorny 1959-69: I, 323) – thus proposing an underlying semantics of humans as ‘ground- or underworld-dwellers’. This, incidentally, also offered Ode an interesting etymology of the long contested Ancient Greek theonym

Athena as an underworld goddess.⁴⁹³ Along this line, many more possible (pseudo-?)cognates from many language phyla come into view. The background assumption in this kind of historical linguistic reconstruction is that standard methods of historical and comparative linguistics allow us, with intersubjective scientific plausibility, to reconstruct progressively older levels of parent forms, right up to the oldest possible reconstruction, *Borean; nearly all linguistic macrophyla spoken today contain, among an admixture of forms of unidentified provenance, also arguable reflexes from *Borean. Against this background, (pseudo-?)cognates of Bantu *-ntu* seem to be proto-Afroasiatic **tV?* 'a kind of soil' (cf. Old Egyptian *t* / *t3*, 'earth', e.g. *T3wy* 'the Two Lands' = Upper and Lower Egypt, with cognates in Central and East Chadic and in Low East Cushitic), from *Borean **TVHV*, 'earth'; a reflex of this root is also found in Sino-Caucasian notably as 土 *tǔ* (modern Beijing Chinese), 𠩺 (Classic Old Chinese), 'land, soil', Karlgren code: 0062 a-c, suggested to be of Austric origin: notably proto-Austronesian **buRtaq* 'earth, soil', proto-Austroasiatic **tɛj* 'earth', Proto-Miao-Yao **Ctau* (cf. Bengtson & Ruhlen 1994: 60, *tak*, however the latter two authors – according to Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008 'Long-range etymologies' s.v. **TVHV*, 'earth' – seem to confuse the reflexes of *Borean **TVHV* with those of **TVKV*. Considering the incidental similarities between Southern and Eastern African Khoisan and North Caucasian,⁴⁹⁴ one should not be surprised that also some Khoisan language families seem to attach to the very old and very widespread earth / human complex which we have identified here: South Khoisan (Taa): **ta^*, **tu^*, 'person'; North Khoisan (proto-Zhu) **žu*, 'person' – Central Khoisan has **khoē*, etc. 'person', which might well be a transformation of **žu*. (Note that here, too, like in Bantu, it is the word for 'human' that produces the ethnonyms Taa, Zhu and Khoe / Khoi, or Khoekhoe / Khoikhoi!) Further possibilities are contained in the reflexes of another *Borean root **TVHV*, 'bottom', which however is both semantically and phonologically so close to **TVHV* 'earth' (however, in *Borean reconstructions, the vowels, indicated by *-V-, had to remain unspecified and therefore could differ) that we may well have to do with one and the same word: thus proto-Sino-Tibetan **diəiH* 'bottom' (e.g. Chinese 底 **təj?* 'bottom' Karlgren code 0590 c; 抵 **təj?*, 'root, base', Karlgren code 0590 d) from proto-Sino-Caucasian **dVHV*, 'bottom'; from the same *Borean root **TVHV*, 'bottom', also Afroasiatic **duH*, 'low' (e.g. Egyptian: *dH* (21) 'low', East Chadic: **dwaHdaH* 'down') as well as proto-Austroasiatic **d? uj* (also **tuɔ j* 'tail, vagina'), proto-Miao-Yao **i[o]i.B* 'tail', Proto-Austronesian: **hudi* 'buttocks' (not in Proto-Austronesian B) (also **udehi* 'last, behind' – the latter, Austric forms being predicated on a semantics of 'lower part of the rump', cf. English 'bottom') (cf. Peiros 1998: 157, 165; Starostin & Starostin 1998-2008).'

⁴⁹³ For alternative etymologies, of the name *Athena*, cf. Hrozný 1951: 228; Fauth 1979a; Bernal 1987 (contested by Jasanoff & Nussbaum 1996, Egberts 1997; van Binsbergen 1997c / 2010a); and Blažek 2007.

⁴⁹⁴ Which the geneticists Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* – 1994 – have sought to explain by suggesting that today's Khoisan speakers are a hybrid African-Asian population which had still ancestors in West Asia 10,000 years ago – they are another possible example of the Back-to-Africa movement. I will come back to this point in Chapter 7.

Appendix V. Page index of the *Borean (approx.) roots as discussed in this book

For the semantics of these roots, see Appendix II

*CVCV, 309, 400, 416, 420-421	*HV, 419n	*HVPV, 318, 418	*KVVV, 416, 421
*CVHV, 361, 377	*HVCV, 343, 424	*HVRCV, 325, 417	*LV, 361
*CVJC, 376	*HVHV, 421	*HVRLV, 427	*LVJV, 421
*CVJV, 325, 354, 376, 395, 417	*HVJV, 424	*HVRV, 361, 416, 421	*LVKV, 324, 365, 367, 416
*CVK, 364	*HVJWV, 417, 421	*HVTV, 362-363	*LVLV, 318, 325, 417
*CVKV, 318, 343, 364, 366, 416, 421, 423	*HVKMV, 421, 323n	*HVWV, 373, 416, 421	*LVNTV, 373, 392
*CVLC, 325, 417	*HVKV, 318, 324, 362, 416, 421, 423- 424	*JVKV, 416	*LVNV, 318, 362, 416, 421
*CVLMV, 372	*HVLMLV, 417, 421	*JVMV, 421	*LVPV, 373, 382, 416, 421
*CVLV, 318, 324-325, 343, 357, 361, 366, 416-417, 421, 362n	*HVLTV, 353	*KVCV, 368, 400	*LVRV, 324, 417, 420
*CVMNV, 381	*HVLV, 346, 362-363, 372, 416, 421, 426n	*KVHNV, 421	*LVSV, 363n
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cf. = ‘compare, see also’; *q.v.* = ‘see there’; *passim* = ‘does occur frequently but no specific pages listed’; *i.e.* = ‘that is’; – = ‘insert the entry’s key word’

The indexes in this book have been prepared with software designed by my brother Peter D.H. Broers and written / rewritten by him and me jointly.

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in view of the wide range and often specialist character of the topics discussed in the present book, this General Index is not a just simple mechanical listing of proper names and pages, but an exhaustive, encyclopaedic, explanatory presentation of all proper names and most major concepts reviewed in the present book

proto forms of languages appear under the main language name, *e.g.* for Proto-Afroasiatic see Afroasiatic

composite surnames *e.g.* Robertson Smith, von Leibniz, de Saussure, have been indexed under the first term, so under *Robertson, von* and *de* respectively

following common Classics usage, works of Ancient Greek authors appear under their conventional Latin titles; by and large, Ancient Greek names are rendered in their (awkward!) conventionalised Latin / English form

aware of the unavoidable pitfalls and inconsistencies of any orthographic and transliteration system, I have transliterated words and names in Arabic according to a hybrid system that strikes a compromise between the Encyclopaedia of Islam usage and common English spelling, so Ḥumiriyya, not Kroumirie, nor Khumiri(y)a; consonant assimilation in the mere pronunciation (as distinct from writing) of the Arabic definite article al- (*e.g.* Tra^caya al-bidh, but Tra^caya as-sud) is not reflected in the transliteration

q.v. = 'see specifically *there*'; *cf.* = 'also see'; a lower-case 'n' written after a number indicates a footnote on a page of that number

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Bio-bibliographical note

WIM VAN BINSBERGEN (*1947, Amsterdam, the Netherlands) took two social-science degrees from Amsterdam University (1968, 1971), both with major fields in general linguistics, and crowned his formal education with a *cum laude* PhD (1979), from the Free University, Amsterdam (supervisor M. Schoffeleers, external examiner T.O. Ranger); two years later this thesis became his first major book, *Religious Change in Zambia [1500-1979 CE]*, London: Kegan Paul. He taught theoretical sociology at the University of Zambia (1971-1973), and held professional chairs in the social sciences at Leiden (acting), Manchester, Amsterdam, Berlin, and Durban, prior to succeeding the Hegel scholar Heinz Kimmerle in the Chair of Foundations of Intercultural Philosophy at Erasmus University Rotterdam (1998). From 1977 on van Binsbergen has held senior appointments with the African Studies Centre, Leiden, where since his retirement (2012) he has been an Honorary Fellow. His recent scholarly books include *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (with Fred Woudhuizen, British Archaeology Reports, 2011); *Black Athena Comes of Age* (LIT, 2011); *Before the Presocratics* (Quest, 2012); *Vicarious Reflections* (Shikanda, 2015); *Researching Power and Identity in African State Formation* (with Martin Doornbos, UNISA Press, 2017); and *Religion as a Social Construct* (Shikanda, 2017). He is the Editor of *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy*; a poet incorporated in the Dutch literary canon (Komrij, Pfeijffer); a certified diviner-healer in the Southern African tradition; and the adopted son of king Mwenekahare Kabambi, Zambia. He was president of the Netherlands Association for African Studies (1990-1993), and has been founding member and director of the International Association for Comparative Mythology, since 2006. Most of his published work is also available from <http://www.quest-journal.net/shikanda>, with full lists of his numerous publications including over three dozen books. Vindicating the place of Africa within global cultural history, and *a fortiori* within the global politics of knowledge, has been his principal scholarly concern during the last few decades; his theoretical, methodological and interdisciplinary explorations, which provide the backbone for the present book's argument, have been prompted by this concern. He is married with the breathing pedagogue and musical performer Patricia Saegerman, and father of five adult children.

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