

In memoriam Fred C. Woudhuizen (1959-2021) Ancient Historian, Luwologist, Etruscologist

When on 11 October 2021 I returned from a short holiday trip to Sardinia, Italy, I learned to my dismay that on the day of our departure, 28 September, my close friend, co-author, and former PhD student Fred Woudhuizen had suddenly died.



Figure 1. Fred Woudhuizen in 2007

He had often been on my mind while I was sampling the landscapes, *nuraghe* (Bronze-Age fortresses), and museums of Sardinia – inevitably, for that central Mediterranean island had played an important, if puzzling, role in the monumental study *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* which we had co-authored and published in 2011; one of the moot points between the two of us had remained the question ‘was Sardinia merely called after Levantine Sardens after their hypothetical migration West, as one of the Sea Peoples who had dominated the eastern Mediterranean scene by the end of the Bronze Age, or were the Sardens already called after Sardinia when hypothetically they left their central Mediterranean island and set sail for the Levant in order to join the other Sea Peoples in their concerted attacks upon the states of *Hatti* (Hittites) and Egypt?’

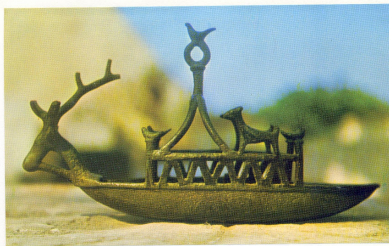


Figure 2. Bronze boat model from nuraghe Sardinia



Figure 3. Nuragic bronze figure of a warrior

I knew that Fred had been suffering from a virulent form of leukaemia for over a year; I did not know he was dying, and I had attributed the lapse in our e-mail conversation to his being busy with yet another book. It was nearly a year ago that I had visited him in his solitary abode, in his comfortable new apartment (formerly his mother's) in the small town of Heiloo, in the province of North Holland, and that we had had a splendid dinner in a restaurant facing the famous Well of St Willibrord – c. 700 CE, the Apostle of the Frisians, and my personal patron saint at Roman Catholic baptism. During our last day together, Fred for the first time dwelled on the Indonesian career of his parents prior to their settling down in the Netherlands and having children; I suspect that the severe shock of repatriation and the attending loss of social and financial status may go some way towards explaining, even if only vicariously, Fred's enigmatic personality and professional career. His complaints had not been conspicuous, apparently he was working steadily, and had recently completed, with his co-author Zanger, an authoritative but charitable assessment of the work of the great excavator of Neolithic Anatolia, James Mellaart. The latter had recently been accused (apparently not totally without grounds) of high-handed fraud in his archaeological reports on Çatal Hüyük. With his exceptional command of the Luwian languages and documents, Fred had at least been able to demonstrate that Mellaart's rendering of texts could be vindicated: they had contained authentic fine points of lexicon and syntax which, if they had been forged, would have required a far greater knowledge of Luwian than Mellaart could be given credit for. The episode was characteristic of Fred's intellectual stance: *original and critical, taking passionate responsibility for the treasures*

of Ancient History and their relevant languages, and never afraid to formulate an opinion, but making sure that that opinion was based on state-of-the-art knowledge of all the relevant documents, all the linguistic details, and up-to-date in terms of the scientific literature.

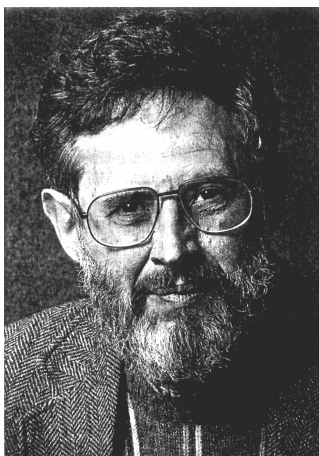


Figure 4. Martin Gardiner Bernal ca. 2000 CE

My acquaintance with Fred dated from the days of the *Black Athena* debate, which the Anglo-American Sinologist (!) Martin Gardiner Bernal had initiated in the 1980s with a series of books in which he argued tightly, imaginatively, and accessibly (but not always convincingly), what many specialists in the field of Ancient History, Assyriology, Mediterranean archaeology, etc. had already been convinced of ever since the time of Lepsius (1903), Winckler (1905), Childe (*e.g.* 1929) and the *Ex Oriente Lux* movement, at least half a century earlier: classical Greek civilisation (which the West has propagated as its main intellectual origin) was not in the least a miracle, was not an antecedent-less proof of isolated Greek genius, had not just fallen from the blue Aegean sky, but was merely a creative appropriation and localisation of the achievements which the great civilisations of West Asia and North East Africa, from Sumer to Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Hatti, Crete, Nubia, Mitanni etc. had worked out in the course of the preceding three millennia. The decolonisation of Asia and Africa in the mid-20th c. CE had brought a favourable climate for dispelling the Eurocentrism and White racialism of earlier decades, and for rehabilitating the West's indebtedness to Africa and Asia. In the mid-1990s I was struggling, as a specialist on African cultures and religions, to determine what such a perspective could mean for sub-Saharan Africa – to which Bernal's gaze (but unhindered by specialist Africanist knowledge) had gradually turned when it was brought home to him (as the 'academic Elvis' – the term is Berlinerblau's – in other words, the White man appropriating Black achievements and selling them for his own) that much of what Bernal had to say, had already been said for decades, even one or two centuries, by Afrocentrist Black writers in the New World and in Africa. As a leading member of the Leiden African Studies Centre, and as designated successor to the Rotterdam Chair of Foundations of Intercultural Philosophy (which I was to occupy in 1998), I wanted to bring Bernal to the Netherlands through a conference devoted to his yet path-breaking work, but I found that scarcely any of my Africanist colleagues could be interested in this kind of problematic. So I had to mobilise the few Assyriologists and Ancient Historians in my personal network – which included such specialists as a result of a year of the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences, where I had been co-opted into a study group on Religion and Magic in the Ancient Near East;

moreover I had done anthropological and oral-historical fieldwork on the Southern shore of the Mediterranean in the beginning of my career, and had retained a great interest in this region despite focussing for decades on sub-Saharan Africa.

In addition to Bernal, our group of participants for the 1996 Leiden conference consisted of an Egyptologist, an archaeologist, three Ancient Historians including Jan Best and his young protégé Fred Woudhuizen (they had already published together two books on the languages of the Ancient Mediterranean), and myself as someone engaged in the study of the intercultural epistemology and global politics of knowledge, and more specifically of the global distribution and history of a particular, prominent class of divination systems – notably *geomantic* ones, which range from China's Taoist 易經 *Yi Jing*, to inconspicuous Indian forms, the dominant forms of Islamic divination under the heading of علم الرمل *ilm al-raml*, moreover famous African systems such as *Ifa* and *Sixteen Cowries* in West Africa, *Sikidy* in Madagascar, and *Hakata / Dithlaoa* in Southern Africa (where I had studied the system during fieldwork and had been initiated as a fully certified diviner), and finally ramifications in the New World largely due to forced migration in the time of the transatlantic slave trade.


The *Black Athena* debate focussed (somewhat one-sidedly, as I would gradually learn) on the relationship between Ancient Greece and Ancient Egypt, and in that context Fred's conference contribution fittingly addressed the ramifications of a bee sign as found in Cretan hieroglyphic, as compared to the Egyptian situation (where royal symbolism especially of Lower Egypt, and of the Neith cult so central to Bernal's thesis and publicrelations, revolves on bee symbolism – the Ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt being called, by one of the principal royal titles, 'She of the Reed and the Bee'  *nswt-bit*).



Figure 5. A central point of reference in the discussion of Egyptian / Cretan continuities in bee symbolism in the Bronze Age: The Mallia pendant, Minoan artwork, 1700–1550 BCE, from the *Chrysolakkos* necropolis in Mallia, Crete; inset: *Vespa orientalis*. Illustration from *Black Athena Comes of Age*, 2011, where Fred's final argument on the matter was published, followed by further reflections in the next article in that book, from my own hand

The 1996 Leiden conference was a considerable success. Its proceedings were published in a special issue of the specialist journal for Mediterranean archaeology *TAAANTA*, for which a launching party was organised in the context of the *Black Pharaohs* exhibition at the prestigious international

exhibition venue *De Nieuwe Kerk* in Amsterdam; in that connection the first copy was ceremonially presented to Timothy Kendall, a visiting Egyptologist / archaeologist working on Nubia. The collection was subsequently augmented with much new material, and reprinted, in 2011. Despite Fred's impressive performance at the conference, his original paper was not available for inclusion in the 1997 edition of the proceedings (at the time it was already in the press as an article in *Kadmos: Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik*; updated, it was included in the 2011 edition).



Figure 6. Fred (l.) with the Assyriologist Frans Wiggermann (seated) and the Nijmegen anthropologist of religion Eric Venbrux, 2007

Soon after our conference Fred had entered into a period of several mental distress which was to last for several years. When emerging from this state, he was ready to accept my offer to write a PhD thesis under my supervision. My NIAS colleague the Assyriologist Frans Wiggermann, with whom I had written a well-received synthetic analysis of Ancient Mesopotamian magic, directed Fred's focus to the unsolved problem of the *ethnic background(s) of the Sea Peoples*, and with the support of a year's stipend from the Erasmus University Rotterdam, Fred's thesis shaped up within the stipulated time and was successfully defended before a commission in which such relevant disciplines as Egyptology, Assyriology, linguistics, archaeology, ethnic studies, and intercultural philosophy, were fairly represented. Co-opting that commission proved unexpectedly difficult for me as supervisor. In the first place, the field of Sea Peoples's studies turned out to be greatly politicised because it is very popular among Israeli archaeologists (with the tendency to see continuity between the Bronze Age Sea Peoples and modern Palestinians – the principal enemies of the state of Israel ever since it came into being, on time-honoured Palestinian lands, in 1948). Needless to say that Fred's highly original work on the Sea Peoples was impossible to reconcile with such oversimplification. Another difficulty arose when it became clear that Fred's former patron, the politically committed and vocally anti-anti-Semitic Jan Best, had left a trail of injured sensitivities when he had resigned from his externally endowed chair at age 50, – a conflictuous situation that even years later still reflected negatively on his sometime pupil Woudhuizen. Nonetheless, Fred's PhD thesis *The Ethnicity of the Sea Peoples* was successfully defended and gradually won the admiration of the international community of specialists. On a prominent international academic website, it even became the item most frequently downloaded over the years.

Already at the time of the *Black Athena* conference, Fred was closely associated with the journal TAAANTA, and with ever increasing commitment and responsibility this link was to last for over a quarter of a century. During this period the international climate for scholarly journals severely deteriorated, and TAAANTA had repeatedly to change course, but it was partly due to the efforts of Fred, like of a handful of others, that the journal still exists and continues to command respect and authority.

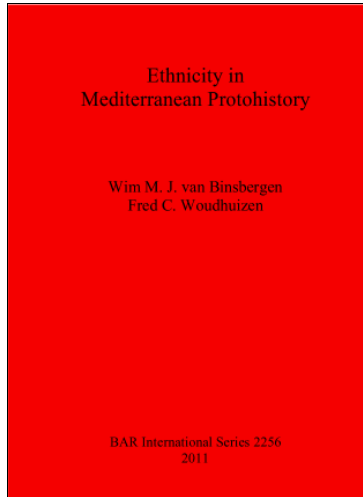


Figure 7. Our 2011 monumental book (two columns, large quarto page size, 518 pp.)

When Wiggermann (one of the Netherlands's most prominent and accomplished Assyriologists) suggested that Fred's thesis should be devoted to the ethnicity of the Sea Peoples, this admonition was characteristically cast in ironic, flippant words:

‘Je houdt er immers van een beetje te klooiën met gekke talen en zo’ (‘After all, you clearly like fooling around a bit with funny languages’).

Implicitly this not only applied to Best and Fred's two co-authored books, and to Fred's early exploration on *The Language of the Sea Peoples* (1992a), – but I wonder whether Wiggermann as an Assyriologist was aware of this relatively obscure work), but also touched on a fundamental one-sidedness in Fred's intellectual orientation: he had a fair command of Mediterranean Ancient History and archaeology, an adequate knowledge of relevant languages (with the exception of Semitic languages and Sumerian), but was scarcely interested, let alone versed, in the fine points of ethnic analysis and ethnicity theory. The latter had been the subject of my professorial chair at the Free University, 1990-1998, prior to my moving to Rotterdam, and the justification of my acting as Fred's thesis supervisor in the first place. In the actual thesis, Fred more or less solved this dilemma by a perfunctory, and admittedly shallow, discussion of the theoretical and methodological problems attending the ethnicity of the Sea Peoples. However, with characteristic awareness of his limitations, when it came to publishing the thesis material in an international publication format he sought to remedy the main weakness of his argument by inviting me to be his co-author. And thus, in an arduous and most intensive but exciting process of as many as five years our monumental book *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (2011, British

Archaeological Reports (BAR) International Series No. 2256) came into being; for an extensive summary of this book, click here: [http://www.quest-journal.net/shikanda/topicalities/summary Ethnicity in Mediterranean protohistory.pdf](http://www.quest-journal.net/shikanda/topicalities/summary_Ethnicity_in_Mediterranean_protohistory.pdf). In view of the considerable differences between us two contributors, we decided that each would be responsible for identified sections of the book, while sharing the editorial pages such as prelims, synthetic conclusion, bibliography, and indexes.

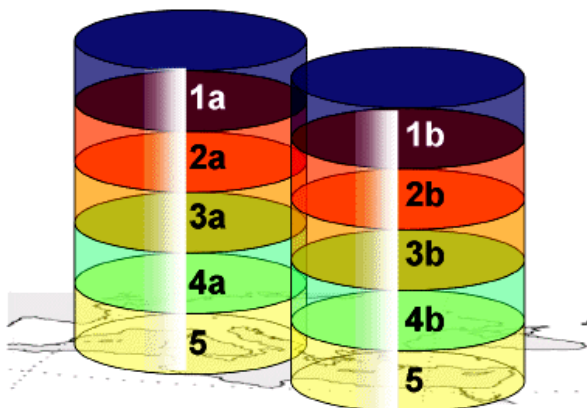


Figure 8. My schematic rendering of Karst's tiered model for linguistico-ethnic relations in the Acienc Mediterranean, projected onto a map of the region

While (after the TAAANTA special issue on Bernal) publishing a book with BAR was my second opportunity of articulating myself as the professional archaeologist which I am certainly not, I paid a very considerable price for this book. As a senior Africanist researcher and a professor of philosophy, my intensive work on this project (meant as a breakthrough in ethnic theory and archaeology but not directly nor conspicuously in African Studies nor in philosophy) was generally frowned upon by my close colleagues at Leiden and Rotterdam, and this added to the devastating institutional ostracism to which I was to fall victim in the years of our book's preparation (2007-2010), only a few years before my retirement, and after having served the African Studies Centre Leiden in leading positions for more than three decades. Yet when I overlook the scientific benefits which my work on this project yielded, *especially* for my ongoing Africanist, globally comparative, and intercultural-philosophical research, they were surprisingly numerous and significant, greatly worth the tribulations, and have inspired my work ever since. The following is a selection of major benefits of my collaboration with Fred on our book; none of these points were directly initiated nor explored by him, but his collaboration certainly had a formidable catalytic effect, and stayed my hand from all too sweeping conjectures; this is why it is still fitting that I mention these topics here in Fred's obituary – without his catalytic presence they would never have seen the light of day. All these points, duly expounded and referenced, found their way into our 2011 book; many became the subject of more extensive discussions in my subsequent publication projects.

- I discovered the presence (among other 'uninvited guests such as Sino-Caucasian, Khoisan and Uralic) of *proto-Bantu* in the Bronze Age Levant, of all places; this has helped me to reconstruct the transcontinental early history of that language cluster which has been so crucial to Africa

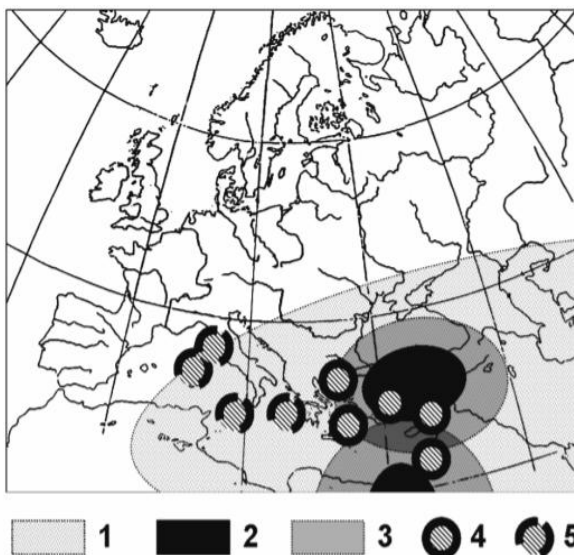
- in a bid to pinpoint whatever could have produced the communality on the basis of which the very heterogeneous Sea Peoples with their manifest differences in names, dress, and weaponry managed to unite and to pose a real military threat to such impressive states as Hatti and Egypt, I was brought to formulate the *Pelasgian Hypothesis*, as a model for early West Asian influence upon the Bronze Age Mediterranean, after which selected elements of the Pelasgian cultural package (including male genital mutilation, sun cults, boat and sea symbolism, aquatic-bird symbolism, the twelve-league, etc.; our book contains a list of as many as 80 such traits) by the end of the Bronze Age would be disseminated in all four directions, including sub-Saharan Africa
- Among the Pelasgian traits which I scrutinised in a bid to reconstruct something of the cultures of the Sea Peoples, *megalithic* phenomena appeared at first to be significant – a promising line of comparative research which in the end proved of little direct value for the Sea Peoples problematic, but all the more for my subsequent comparative projects notably those focussing on *Sunda*
- I discovered the likely presence of Sunda (South East Asian) elements in the Ancient Mediterranean: pivotal proper names such as Neith, Osiris, Minos, etc. turned out to be explicable by (among others!) an Austric etymology; this was for me the beginning of a line of research on the Sunda Hypothesis which produced a considerable output in the next decade (van Binsbergen 2017, 2019, 2020)
- In order to make sense of the various manifestations of Flood myths and other water symbolism in the Mediterranean Bronze Age, I was brought to formulate the hypothesis of the succession, in the Upper Palaeolithic, of two cosmogonies, one based on the Separation of Land and Water, the other and more recent one on the Separation of Heaven and Earth. I spent many months on a multivariate analysis of Flood myths worldwide, relying on the rich and extensively referenced data which Mark Isaak had collected and made available on the Internet (cf. van Binsbergen with Isaak 2008; van Binsbergen 2010) it was while I was absorbed in this time-consuming but exciting and most productive exercise that my loyalty to Africanist research was institutionally questioned, with the dramatic and painful effect of three years of exclusion from all African Studies Centre benefits except my salary
- In order to reconstruct remote long-range cultural history in prehistoric and illiterate situations, I considerably improved my historical reconstruction method based on the contemplation of global ethnographic distribution patterns
- Major advances were made in my approach to comparative mythology: I traced the global distribution, and possible history, of divine *triads* as an innovation of thought and religious belief; and pinpointed the *masculinisation* process, i.e. the supplanting, throughout the Bronze Age Extended Fertile Crescent from West Africa to China, of supreme female goddesses / creatrices, to male successors; as well as the remarkable category of *White Gods* of creation or second creation
- I learned to use the reconstructed corpus of the *Borean lexicon as a prolific source of prehistoric ideas; in addition to the analysis of specific ancient semantic / conceptual clusters, this brought me to the formulation of a typical Upper Palaeolithic mode of thought: ‘range semantics’, in which meaning is defined, not yet in terms of binary opposition, but by indicating the two opposite poles between which the full range of a lexical item oscillates, e.g. one *Borean word $C_1V_2C_3V_4$ (C= consonant, V = vowel) would cover the opposites ‘penis’ and ‘vulva’, or ‘wet’ and ‘dry’, or ‘dark’ and ‘light’. This insight proved essential for a reconstruction of the gradual evolution of human thought from primitive Palaeolithic modes, via the cosmology of the cyclical transformation of elements (van Binsbergen 2012b), to the conception of elements as immutable, mutually irreducible ontological positions parallel to each other, and to the acuity of the Aristotelian logic of the Excluded Third (‘where P there not not-P’) which has become the basis for modern science and scholarship -- but not necessarily nor inevitably so (van Binsbergen 2021b)

- I had to come to terms with the extensive data which the standard genetic analysis in terms of classic genetic markers, and subsequently the genetic revolution toward molecular biology, was yielding towards an understanding of the demographic history of the Ancient Mediterranean, and by extension of the Old World as a whole
- Forced to sort out the specific relationship of modern linguistic macrophyla considered as parallel reflexes of the hypothetical *Borean language form supposed to have been spoken in Central to East Asia in the Upper Palaeolithic, my glottochronological multivariate cluster analysis surprisingly demonstrated the close affinity between Austric (South Easts Asia, Oceania), Amerind (the New World) and African languages (Nigercongo, Nilosaharan, Khoisan – but not Afroasiatic e.g. Semitic and Egyptian), as a Peripheral Cluster, as against a more Central Continental Cluster comprising Eurasiatic (including Indo-European, Altaic, Uralic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, etc.), Afroasiatic, and Sinocaucasian; for an understanding of the continuities between sub-Saharan Africa and North America in the fields of material culture, divination, games, puberty rites, etc. this has been a crucial step
- By and large, I made decisive steps towards the formulation of a long-range integrated global model of analysis, to which all my subsequent work has been indebted, in the first place my 2012 monograph *Before the Presocratics*.

Even if our 2011 joint book would not have been published as a major archaeological contribution in one of the world's most prestigious archaeological collections, the above yields would have fully justified the years I passionately spent on the Sea People's project; these achievement sprang from my determination to rise to the many challenges which the very limited corpus of Sea Peoples data posed. But it was in part Fred's generosity and patience that made these advances possible and stimulated me to work them out to the full extent which the evolving theory, method and data allowed.

In many ways our book was a compromise between disciplines and between personalities. While Fred favoured the (by now mainstream) conception of the Sea Peoples Episode as based on an Eastbound movement from the Central Mediterranean and the Aegean towards the Levant, I favoured the opposite conception, for what I still think are valid, even compelling, reasons duly set out in our book and in subsequent work (especially van Binsbergen 2021a). And while Fred was pleased, even impressed, with the theoretical and methodological sophistication I brought to our book with my first six chapters, and appreciated that this was what Sea People studies needed at this stage over a hundred years after the inception of that field, he was less pleased with later chapters in which I tried my own hand at solving the empirical riddles of the Sea Peoples material. Particularly, he could not bring himself to summon the kind of awed admiration I had meanwhile developed for the work of the Alsatian (German / French / Strassbourg) linguist Joseph Karst. The latter's theories (however muddled and largely implicit) in my opinion anticipated on, and provided an initial (even if preposterous) answer to, most of the puzzles of ethnicity in the context of the Ancient Mediterranean. But admittedly, specifically Karst's linguistics, his utterly defective social theory, and his almost non-existent archaeology had of course been unable to keep pace with the times. They could only be considered to be severely outdated, eighty years after the publication of Karst's main work under the ominous, irreparably old-fashioned title *Origines Mediterranae: Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervölker nach Ursprung, Schichtung und Verwandtschaft: Ethnologisch-linguistische Forschungen über Euskaldenak (Urbasken), Alarodier und Proto-Phrygen, Pyrenaeo-Kaukasier und Atlanto-Ligurer, West- und Ostiberer, Liguro-Leleger, Etrusker und Pelasger, Tyrrhener, Lyder und Hetiter* (1931, Heidelberg: Winters). For Fred, today's specialist linguistics formed the main constituency to which he felt to be answerable, while he tended to reduce ethnic theory to little more than a perfunctory embellishment of an argument that – in the best tradition of Mediterranean 'positive' scholarship – he supposed to be based on, apparent and alleged, 'solid facts'. So he put his

foot down concerning the inclusion of a fair chunk of Karstian argument in our book. Short of breaking up our co-authorship and destroying our project, I had no option but to take on a meagre selection of Karst's approach in our book, without lending it the central position I would have preferred. When we had taken that hurdle, another almost insurmountable problem came up again: the choice for an Eastbound (Fred) or a Westbound (Wim) model for the Sea People's Episode. Again total breakdown of our collaboration threatened, but I managed to design a compromise (Fig. 10 below) in which both models were more or less reconciled, at least sufficiently so as to carry Fred's approval – and this became our concluding, synthetic chapter. In hindsight, I am brought to suspect that it was Fred's gratitude for the PhD degree and excessive respect for his supervisor, more than genuine scientific conviction, that brought him to agree to have the book published under both our names.



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.

Figure 9. Our book's Fig. 29.3: The precarious synthesis of the approaches of Woudhuizen and van Binsbergen

In the ten years between the publication of our book, and Fred's demise, we each largely went our own way, sustaining our friendship and exchanging our many individual publications, but without a further attempt at co-authorship. Increasingly unheeded of the specific analytical positions we had agreed on in our 2011 book, but without explicitly taking, autocritically, his distance from that earlier position, Fred continued to concentrate on the Ancient Mediterranean, made extremely significant contributions to Luwology and Etruscology, and was a major force behind TAAANTA; I returned to my work on intercultural philosophy, geomantic divination from an African but increasingly global perspective, African

ethnography, and the exploration of global patterns of human religion, thought, symbolism, mythology, and cultural exchange. In 2018 my Shikanda publishing house was honoured with the opportunity to publish one of Fred's books: *Indo-Europeanization in the Mediterranean: With particular attention to the fragmentary languages* (Hoofddorp: Shikanda, Papers in Intercultural Philosophy / Transcontinental Comparative Studies, no. 16). But the time of our intensive and fertile collaboration was over.

Meanwhile, I continued to be dissatisfied with the limited place we had been able to give Karst in our 2011 book, and a decade later I published a monograph on: *Joseph Karst: as a pioneer of long-range approaches to Mediterranean Bronze-Age ethnicity: A study in the History of Ideas: New edition, vindicating Karst's four-tiered model for the Bronze-Age Mediterranean*, Hoofddorp: Shikanda, Papers in Intercultural Philosophy / Transcontinental Comparative Studies No. 12 (click here for the text: <http://www.quest-journal.net/shikanda/topicalities/Karst%20tulu4%20Def4%20FINAL7.pdf>). That book, based on scraps left over from the draft of our joint 2011 book, in its final redaction still owes much to Fred's detailed critical reading, in 2020, of an earlier version and his insistence (explicitly reflected in the book's blurb) that such a book could only have value, at this late hour, if it manages to empirically vindicate Karst's four-tiered model of ethnic and linguistic relations in the Ancient Mediterranean – a model (see Figure 8, above) adopted in our 2011 book but without substantial and detailed empirical underpinning, yet – if it could be substantiated at all – of lasting value for an understanding of the Ancient World. The final part of my 2021 book, therefore, is devoted to such substantiation, and I believe I have succeeded at least to my own satisfaction.



Figure 10. Cover of my 2021 book on Karst

Understandably, considering the extent of our collaboration, in this obituary I have mainly dwelled on the joint work of Fred and me, and have paid little attention to Fred's numerous other publications. Some (but by no means all) of Fred's works realised in the most recent decade may be spotted in the bibliography below. When his death appeared to be imminent, initiatives were taken to posthumously manage and publish his intellectual inheritance; in this connection several articles and even volumes are now being prepared or already in the press, a process in which Fred's colleague the Ancient Historian Jorrit Kelder plays a central role, and to which I hope I may also contribute. This initiative is to ensure that Fred's light will not just peter out unjustifiably, and that his importance for the study of the Ancient Mediterranean, its languages and cultures will

increasingly gain the recognition he deserves but did not effectively seek. Among the students of the Etruscan corpus Fred has excelled for his careful, systematic, transregional and ideology-free approach; and the claim on his funerary announcement to the effect that he is *the* decipherer of the Etruscan language, is certainly no idle boast. His related achievements in the field of Luwian studies are practically unrivalled.

Fred's academic performance meanwhile remains an enigma. As he often confided to me, his one-year stipend in preparation of his PhD thesis was the only occasion when he ever had a regular income from scholarship. He very occasionally worked as a bookkeeper, but for most of his lonely adult life he lived on social security, mentally unable to bear the burden of a regular appointment let alone to survive and prosper in the Killing Fields of ambition, manipulation, impression management, envy, and factionalism, which academic life had become in the course of the 20th century CE. On this minimum income, he bought his cherished books, took care of his extensive computer needs, and with an almost weekly routine travelled (from his Heiloo residence 50 kms North of Amsterdam) to the major academic libraries of Leiden and Amsterdam in order to remain up-to-date, attended editorial meetings, and sustained his personal academic contacts. The dogged dedication with which he continued to produce article after article, book after book, was an exemplary sign of the greatest passionate love (a love long unrequited) for his academic subject, in the light of which all considerations of personal recognition, let alone fame, let alone income, let alone institutional backing, meant nothing to him.

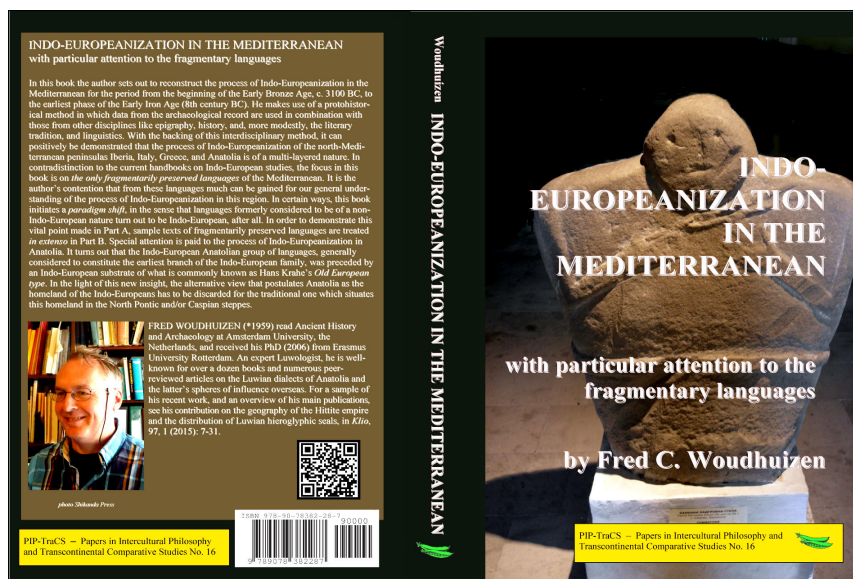


Figure 11. Front and back cover, and spine, of Fred's 2018 book on the Indo-Europeanisation of the Ancient Mediterranean

Admittedly, as is already clear from our joint book, I did not always see eye to eye with Fred on details of historical, sociological, even linguistic, interpretation. Not only did I disagree about the fundamental direction (eastbound or westbound along the axis of the Mediterranean) of the Sea People's movement; I also rejected Fred's etymology of *Atlantis* in favour of one linking up with

proto-Afroasiatic tal-, ‘luminary, star’; contested his claim that no non-Indo-European substrate could be identified in Ligurian or Etruscan; I insisted on the incomparable merits of Karst’s approach; I sought to improve Fred’s discussion of the Cretan bee sign by stressing the wasp nature of the Mallia pendant, and by linking up with bee symbolism elsewhere in the Ancient Mediterranean, and in Ancient Egypt; I contested that the mere fact of speaking a branch of Indo-European (at a time when that phylum was already disintegrating into numerous clusters that can no longer be considered to have been mutually intelligible) could ever have been a sufficient unifying factor for bringing the heterogeneous Sea Peoples to effective military action; and I felt that his treatment of ethnicity was not profound enough. This is, after all, how intellectual exchanges develop in the pursuit of an empirically and methodologically underpinned, intersubjective truth. Yet I wholeheartedly pride myself in our many years of close and fruitful collaboration. I learned an enormous lot from Fred, and learned even more under the catalytic conditions of the intellectual puzzles he put before me. It was my privilege to be instrumental in granting this shy and institutionally resourceless, but brilliant scholar a chance to gain the one formal recognition which publishing alone could not bring him: the formal status of a PhD degree; in return I received years of brilliant conversation (not to say: extensive informal tutoring) on Ancient History; a generous share as first co-author in our joint book project; a roller-coaster of intellectual challenge; and a charitable but firm check on my own tendency to jump to conclusions while ignorant, or to embrace obsolete approaches.

In Fred Woudhuizen we have lost a kind and humble, reticent man, whose enormous achievements and merits certainly equal those of others far more institutionally endowed and famed. It is now up to us to honour his memory by further research along his lines of dedication and integrity.

Bibliography

I have included the principal publications by others referred to above, and most titles by Fred Woudhuizen in so far as I have them on file, but this does not pretend to be anywhere near a full, or even a representative, selection of Fred’s output over the years.

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