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David M. Goldenberg

BLACK AND SLAVE

THE ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF THE CURSE OF HAM

STUDIES OF THE BIBLE AND ITS RECEPTION

David M. Goldenberg
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In memory of my father
Rabbi Bernard (Binyamin) Goldenberg (1918–2011)
and
his sister Chaya,
her husband Noach Yitzchak Pasmanek,
and their two children Avraham and Daniel,
who,
together with the other Jewish inhabitants of Lomza, Poland,
were murdered by the Nazis

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Abbreviations

ACW	*Ancient Christian Writers* (Westminster MD, 1946–)
BT	Babylonian Talmud
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1953–)
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout, 1966–)
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866–)
CSCO	*Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium* (Louvain, 1903–)
EI2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1960–2005)
FC	Fathers of the Church (New York, 1947–)
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1901–)
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus … series Graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus … series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1844–55)
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris, 1907–)
PT	Palestinian Talmud
SC	Sources Chrétiennes (Paris, 1941–)

Introduction

This book attempts to reconstruct a history of the Curse of Ham, uncovering its origins and following its spread throughout history. The Curse of Ham is an origins myth ('etiology') explaining the existence of black slavery. In the biblical book of Genesis, a drunken Noah accidentally exposed himself, his son Ham sinfully looked at him, and as punishment Noah cursed Ham's son with servitude ("A servant of servants he shall be to his brothers"). Over time, this story was understood to say that black skin was part of the curse. The idea that blackness and slavery are inescapably joined and that the Bible thus consigned blacks to everlasting servitude had its most notorious manifestation in antebellum America, where it provided biblical validation for sustaining the slave system. But the addition of blackness to Noah's curse of slavery did not begin in America. The Curse of Ham has a long and involved history. In this book I attempt to unravel that history, to trace the development of the Curse and follow its course over time and space.

The Bible says nothing about skin color in the story of Noah, but this feature was somehow woven into the biblical text. In recent years several scholars, myself included, have attempted to explain how this devastating and patently false interpretation came about. In a work I wrote some years ago, I sought to uncover how the Curse of Ham came to be by examining how blacks were portrayed in the Bible, and how those biblical texts were interpreted over the centuries by Jewish, Christian, and Muslim writers. I examined how early views of race, color, slavery, and the related meanings assigned to the name of Ham were incorporated into perceptions of the black African eventuating in

the strange interpretation of Noah's curse.[1]

Exegesis does not occur in an historical vacuum, and it is no wonder that the Curse of Ham came into being to justify the phenomenon of black slavery. But historical forces and exegetical manipulation were not the only causes. There is a prior history to the Curse of Ham. In this work I show how the Curse, an etiology of black slavery, evolved out of an earlier etiology explaining the existence of dark-skinned people. I was led to this line of investigation when I realized that many contemporary scholars confused and combined the two separate origins stories, the one of black skin and the other of black slavery.

In the first part of this work, by means of a close reading of the primary sources, I unravel the separate exegetical and interpretive strands of the Noah story, uncovering their beginnings in the Near East and their reception and dispersion in Europe and America. I explain when, where, why, and how an original mythic tale of black origins morphed into a story of the origins of black slavery, and how, in turn, the second then supplanted the first as an explanation for black skin.

As we follow this process we shall see how formulations and applications of the Curse changed over time, depending on the historical and social contexts, reflecting and refashioning the way blackness and blacks were perceived. In particular, we will discover two significant developments. First, a curse of slavery, which was originally said to affect various dark-skinned peoples, was eventually applied most commonly to black Africans. Second, blackness, which was originally incidental to the curse, in time became part of the curse itself.

In the second half of the book I examine how and when the Curse spread to Europe. David Brion Davis once commented how there is little study of the transmission of racist ideas to Europe.[2] He considered the Portuguese royal chronicler Gomes Eannes de Zurara (15th century) as the first in Europe to mention the Curse of Ham.

This is a common view followed by many investigating the subject. In this work I show, however, that the transmission of the Curse to Europe began well before Zurara, and it continued long afterward.

I engage in this work with much trepidation and humility, for I venture outside the field of Jewish history and beyond the 8th century, the areas and times of my formal historical training. I can make no claim to thoroughness in discovering all relevant primary sources. Undoubtedly, there are more materials dealing with a curse of blackness or a curse of black slavery which have not found their way into later historical studies, and of which I was not therefore aware. And, of course, this is all the more true for material still in manuscript in various libraries throughout the world.[3] Nevertheless, I believe that I have sufficiently mined the available resources, on the basis of which I can make the argument of this book.

Definitions and Clarifications

This book deals with what is popularly, but confusingly, known as the Curse of Ham. It is confusing because it can have different meanings. Further confounding matters is that two other related terms – the Hamitic Hypothesis and the Myth of Ham – can also have different meanings, and in modern studies all three terms are often used as synonyms for one another.

The Hamitic Hypothesis properly refers to the now discredited theory of physical anthropology that any civilizing tendencies, cultural advances, or technological improvements found in black Africa derived from a nonblack people known as the Hamites, a subgroup, it was believed, of the Caucasian race, who came from outside Africa. Perhaps the most quoted statement of the theory is that by the anthropologist C. G. Seligman, who wrote in 1930: “[T]he history of Africa south of the Sahara is no more than the story of the

permeation through the ages, in different degrees and at various times, of the Negroes and the Bushmen by Hamitic blood and culture. The Hamites were, in fact, the great civilizing force of black Africa…."[4] In his book *Black Folk Then and Now*, W. E. B. Du Bois countered this hypothesis, which he described succinctly: "Africa had no history. Wherever there was history in Africa or civilization, it was of white origin; and the fact that it was civilization proved that it was white."[5]

The *Myth of Ham* has been used to mean almost anything. In *The Myth of Ham in Nineteenth-Century American Christianity*, Sylvester Johnson employed the term to mean the belief that blacks descended from biblical Ham, the son of Noah.[6] Others use the term as synonymous with the Curse of Ham.[7] St. Clair Drake used it to refer to the Hamitic Hypothesis.[8] This study will not be concerned with the Hamitic Hypothesis nor, for purposes of clarity, will I use the term Myth of Ham.[9]

The *Curse of Ham* is sometimes used broadly in modern writings to designate a punishment (whether or not a curse is invoked) of black skin imposed on Ham without any relationship to slavery. This is not how the term is used in this study. The Curse of Ham as used here refers to the belief that based on the story of Noah's cursing in Genesis 9, blacks have been afflicted with eternal servitude; in other words, the divinely sanctioned combination of black skin and slavery. This belief comes in various forms. It may assume that although the Bible restricts the curse of slavery to Canaan, his father Ham was included in the curse; that Ham is the ancestor of blacks or that Canaan is; that all dark-skinned peoples were affected or just black Africans were; that blackness began with the curse or that the one cursed was already black; that Noah issued two curses, one of slavery and one of black skin, or that black skin was a consequence of the curse of slavery. The one constant is that based on the biblical story, blacks have been cursed with servitude for all time.

In this study I use the term 'Curse of Ham' without distinguishing these various forms of the curse, with one important exception. Since

I attempt to explain how blackness and servitude were combined in interpreting the biblical narrative, it is important to determine whether blackness was believed to have its origin together with the biblical curse of slavery or whether the one cursed with slavery was black before the curse was imposed. If Ham/Canaan was perceived to have been black before the incident of Noah's drunkenness, the subsequent curse cannot be seen as an etiology of dark skin. A crucial aspect of this study is the distinction between the two etiologies of blackness and slavery, and the subsequent combination of the two. For the sake of precision, therefore, I use the terms "dual curse" or "dual Curse of Ham," only when blackness is believed to be part, or a consequence, of Noah's curse. If, on the other hand, Ham or Canaan was considered to have been black before Noah's curse was uttered, or if it is not clear when blackness entered the story, the term 'Curse of Ham' alone will be used. This usage differs from that in some modern scholarship where "dual curse" is used as equivalent to Curse of Ham, that is, the combination of blackness and servitude, without differentiation as to whether blackness preceded Noah's curse or resulted from it.

Plan of the Book

I begin this study by pointing to a confusion in modern scholarship between an ancient rabbinic etiology of black skin and the biblical etiology of slavery. This leads to an examination and deconstruction of the Curse of Ham into its two constituent etiologies of slavery and black skin (Chapter One). I then reconstruct the Curse by examining how, when and why a story of black origins was grafted onto the biblical story of slavery's origins. Etiologies of dark skin are found in several different cultures, some constructed around biblical figures. I examine these etiologies (Chapters Two – Four), as well as a tradition that Canaan was the ancestor of blacks (Chapter Five), showing how

and why one of these etiologies evolved into Noah's dual curse of blackness and servitude (Chapter Six). The "how" I describe shows how the different forms of the Curse evolved as an interpretation of the biblical story. The "why" explains how historical and social forces gave birth to the different variations of the Curse, finally resulting in the dual form, reflecting not only an association of blackness with servitude, but a disparagement of black skin itself. The evolution of the dual form of the curse against its historical background is traced from its origins in the Near East to Christian Europe (Chapters Seven and Eight), and from there to America (Chapter Nine).

Eventually the dual Curse of Ham became a much relied-upon etiology explaining the origin of African skin color irrespective of slavery, replacing other etiologies as the cause of blackness. This resulted in the confusion and conflation of the rabbinic etiology of black skin and the biblical etiology of slavery, which returns us to my initial discussion at the beginning of the book. I show how the confusion of modern scholars between the two etiologies has its beginnings in the 16th century (Chapter Ten). Having seen how the Curse was eventually used to explain African skin color irrespective of slavery, I then look at other dark-skinned peoples to whom the Curse was applied (Chapter Eleven). The penultimate chapter explores the Curse within the conceptual context of the meaning of blackness. A concluding chapter summarizes the results of the study.

The work is supplemented with three appendices and five excursus. The appendices list occurrences of the Curse of Ham in European and American sources, and the related Curse of Cain in both Europe and America. The first excursus is concerned with the question of whether in the rabbinic etiology of blackness Ham was said to have had sex with a dog, as is alleged by some. The second explicates a difficult passage in the *History* of the Muslim historian Ṭabarī (d. 923) dealing with the Curse. The third examines the claims of some that Canaan was black or the ancestor of blacks. The fourth explores the use of the term 'Kushite' in medieval Jewish literature to

refer to Egyptians or Arabs. Finally, the fifth discusses a much-quoted passage in the church father Origen, who appears to subscribe to a belief in the Curse of Ham.

Terminology: Kushite, Ethiopian, Sūdān, Negro, Moor, black, black African

The Curse of Ham is the divinely approved curse of slavery on blacks. But who are these cursed blacks? In the sources mentioning the Curse various peoples are identified: Kushites, Ethiopians, Sūdān, Negros, Moors, Africans, blacks, and black Africans.

In ancient Near Eastern literature Kush designated the area in Africa south of Egypt. In the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) the term Kush usually referred to this same area. Ezekiel 29:10, for example, indicates that the border between Egypt and Kush was at Syene (=Aswan), by the first cataract.[10] This border is reported for a long time, and is mentioned, inter alios, by the Greek geographer Strabo (b. 64/63 BCE) and the church father Origen (d. ca. 253).[11] The geographic identification of Kush south of Egypt continued into postbiblical Jewish and early Christian literature. Examples from late antiquity would include Josephus (d. ca. 100), who says that biblical Kush is represented by the Ethiopians of his day, and Jerome (d. 420), who echoed Josephus's comment: "Up to the present day, Ethiopia is called Chus by the Hebrews."[12] In Muslim sources we find the same identification of Kush as the area in Africa south of Egypt.[13]

In the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, which began in the third century BCE, the term Kush(ite) was rendered as *Ethiopia(n)*, the traditional etymology of which is 'burnt face,' i. e., dark skinned. From Greek to Latin, and from there to modern languages, *Ethiopia(n)* thus came to mean 'black Africa(n).' Consequently we find that in later Christian sources, the term 'Ethiopia(n),' adopted

from biblical usage, regularly has this meaning in nonbiblical contexts as well. So too, the term 'Kush(ite)' in later Jewish sources usually meant 'black Africa(n).'[14]

In time, the term 'Ethiopian' in Greco-Roman sources was broadened to include other dark-skinned peoples. Similarly, 'Kushite' in postbiblical Jewish sources, if not already in the Bible, was extended, in a transferred sense, to refer to various dark-skinned groups, such as the Arabs and Egyptians, and to individual dark-skinned people including even some Jews themselves.[15]

The same ambiguity applies to other terms mentioned in this work. The Arabic word *sūdān* (singular: *aswad*), which literally means 'blacks,' can indicate a variety of dark-skinned peoples, usually but not exclusively from Africa.[16] *Negro* and *black* found in late medieval and early modern European literature also cannot always be identified with a specific ethnic group or geographic location. Rather the terms indicate color, and that color encompassed a range of dark skin, including dark brown to medium brown. Although *negro* and *black* usually referred to black Africans, they were also used to describe the natives of the New World, East Indians, and others. Even when referring to black Africans, the terms were used to describe "every conceivable combination of Central African, Ibero-African, Afro-Arabic, and American-African mixtures."[17]

Moor originally referred to someone from the Roman province of Mauritania in northwest Africa.[18] In the Middle Ages the term came to indicate the North African or Berber Muslims, who had conquered Spain, and later, any Muslim. In addition, by extension of skin color and geographic contiguity, 'Moor' was applied also to non-Muslims in the Western Sahara and to sub-Saharan Africans as well.[19] For example, the anonymous (Pseudo-Jerome) Christian work, *The Cosmography of Aethicus Ister* (ca. 730): "We have seen the Moors [*morinos* = *maurinos*] <from> Ethiopia and Africa, the offspring of Ham from Chus and his descendants."[20] Similarly, a 13th-century illustrated manuscript of Alfonso the Wise's *Cántingas* depicts a

number of black African figures who are always identified as 'Moors.'[21] Sometimes the terminology is made more specific with the term 'black-moor' or 'blackamoor' to distinguish the sub-Saharan Moor from the North African Moor.[22] In short, all these terms (*kushite* in Jewish sources, *sūdān* in Arabic sources, and *negro*, *black*, *black African*, *Ethiopian*, *moor* in Christian sources) are ambiguous in meaning. They usually refer to darker-skinned Africans but not exclusively so.

This being the case, how, in this study, can I speak of 'black' with any degree of clarity? Furthermore, from the viewpoint of physical anthropology the term 'black' or even 'black African' as designating a particular racial group has no validity. There is no such reductionist racial essence that can be subsumed under these terms.[23] And yet, the terms continue to be used in the wider world to indicate different populations from sub-Saharan Africa. Similarly, in the medieval and later sources investigated in this book, these terms refer to sub-Saharan Africans. Although, as I said, this is not always the case, it is usually so. My usage of the term 'black' in this study, therefore, reflecting the sources being discussed, refers to the sub-Saharan, darker-skinned African, unless otherwise indicated.[24]

The Sources

The sources upon which this study is built derive from Christian, Jewish, and Muslim authors. The Christian authors, for the most part, present what they say in their own names. When they do quote an earlier author, the quotation can usually be verified in the writings of the quoted author. The Jewish and Muslim sources, on the other hand, often transmit traditions in the names of earlier sages, sometimes going back centuries, which often cannot be confirmed because we do not have the earlier writings, or because these traditions were never

put in writing but were handed down orally. Furthermore, studies of the chain of tradition, the *isnād*, in Islamic texts have questioned the authenticity of such attributions.[25] The same question of authenticity applies also to Jewish texts, where a chain of tradition is similarly found, although it is usually not as lengthy. A similar question arises when an individual is quoted in a text first redacted centuries later. Do we accept the authenticity of an attribution to, say, a third-century individual which is first recorded in a sixth-century text?[26] In this book, when considering the original author of a tradition I make no claim as to authenticity. I merely use this system as a convention to compile a relative chronological framework of the various traditions. In any case, I supply dates for both the original author, those who transmitted the tradition, and the work in which we find it finally recorded. When I offer an historical context for a particular tradition, all three are taken into consideration.

Acknowledgements

It is in the nature of research that one learns of many primary sources through the scholarship of others. This is especially the case in a work such as this, which encompasses a wide time span and geographic diversity. It is a pleasure for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to several scholars, from whose studies, quoted throughout this work, I learned of many of the sources on which my own work is based: Winthrop Jordan, Thomas Peterson, Stephen Haynes, Sylvester Johnson, Colin Kidd, Jonathan Schorsch, Benjamin Braude, and Werner Sollors. John Block Friedman's work on the monstrous races was a major resource for Chapter Two, where I deal with this topic. Lastly, Paul Kaplan's works were helpful for their discussion of artistic portrayals of blacks. This work could not have been accomplished without the magnificent resources of the libraries at the

University of Pennsylvania. I am most grateful to the staff for their help in tracking down and making available obscure material.

In this work I have relied heavily on printed books from the 16th-18th centuries. Access to these works has been made immeasurably easier during the last decade or so with many of the books being put online. I am amazed at how quickly and extensively printed works from the 16th century onwards have been digitized, access to which is easily gained through various American and European databases. In only a few instances out of hundreds did I not find a work online and had to trek to a Rare Book Room. For my earlier research conducted in the 1990s I was a regular visitor to the Rare Book Room at the University of Pennsylvania; for this work I visited Penn's Rare Book Room but a few times during several years of research. Another great help to my work has been Google's digitization of early and modern printed works. This too has been a considerable help in reducing my need to rely on trips to libraries and has, consequently, sped up the act of research. Most unfortunately, threats of legal action against Google have resulted in reduced ability to do full searches of scanned modern material. This may be a boon to copyright owners but it is a serious impediment to researchers.

I am indebted to my friends Mark Smith and Arthur Kiron for reading through an early draft of this work and making valuable suggestions which helped shape the finished product. Academics often ask colleagues to review, and comment on, a book's manuscript before sending it off to the publisher. In my case I chose wisely. Never have the words of Qohelet/Ecclesiatstes 7:5 rung truer for me: *It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise than to hear the song of fools*. Mark's and Arthur's wise 'rebukes' uncovered faults and led to what I hope is a much improved work. I also wish to thank the readers at De Gruyter, especially Barry Walfish, a member of the editorial board for the Studies in the Bible and its Reception series, for their valuable comments.

Chapter One
Black and/or Slave: Confusion, Conflation, Chaos

The book of Genesis tells the story of Ham in chapter 9, verses 18–25:

> The sons of Noah who went out of the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Ham was the father of Canaan. These three were the sons of Noah; and from these the whole earth was peopled. Noah, a man of the soil, was the first to plant a vineyard. He drank some of the wine and became drunk, and lay uncovered in his tent. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brothers outside. Then Shem and Japheth took a garment, laid it upon both their shoulders, and walked backward and covered the nakedness of their father; their faces were turned away, and they did not see their father's nakedness. When Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him, he said, "Cursed be Canaan; lowest of slaves shall he be to his brothers."[27]

Now, look how this story is transformed in Fidel Castro's retelling:

> Noah cultivated a vineyard, grapes, produced wine and drank a little too much. One of his sons mocked him, and Noah cursed him and condemned him to be black [*negro*]. It is one of the things in the Bible that I think someday the Church should change, because it seems that being black is a punishment from God.[28]

This was how Castro recalled the biblical story as taught to him as a youth. Castro's version is not by any means exceptional. The introduction of black skin color into Noah's curse has a long history. Since, according to the Bible, the curse was one of slavery, the joining of skin color to Noah's curse of slavery had a profound effect, for it

served to justify black slavery for many centuries. In 1848, the American anti-slavery minister John G. Fee succinctly described that effect, which was commonly believed in his time: "God designed the Negroes to be slaves."[29]

The idea that blackness and slavery were joined by God served as an ideological foundation stone of the South's peculiar institution. The influential African-American minister and abolitionist Alexander Crummell stated in 1850 that "no argument has been so much relied upon, and none more frequently adduced."[30] Although some scholars have questioned how widely accepted the argument was, it was certainly among the most popular arguments in defense of slavery.[31] The degree of its popularity is seen in this stark description by the Massachusetts pastor Increase Tarbox made in 1864:

> There has come down to us, by inheritance from our fathers, a set of ideas and opinions, which in the unquestioning period of childhood we were easily made to believe and which have been and are still firmly held by multitudes as undoubted truths…. [which] became matters of common talk, having as their groundwork 'everybody says so.' Passing thus from mouth to mouth, and having acquired such respectability as age can give, they stalk abroad with this halo of antiquity about them. There are thousands of men in our land, who, if you venture to disturb their faith in these old traditions, will start back instinctively as if you were trying to unsettle the foundations of everlasting truth.[32]

This interpretation of the biblical verse obviously has no basis in Scripture. Many pointed out that Ham, considered to be the forefather of blacks, was not the one cursed. Albert Barnes, a Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia, with alliterative bluntness put it this way in 1846: "This passage, by a singular perverseness of interpretation, and a singular perseverance in that perverseness notwithstanding the plainest rules of exegesis, is often employed to justify the reduction of the African to slavery."[33]

Not only didn't the biblical text support the belief in black slavery,

but the circularity of the argument for the belief was obvious. Edward Wilmot Blyden, the Liberian educator and diplomat, is most famous for advocating a return to Africa, a position later embraced by Marcus Garvey. At the age of 25, Blyden wrote a learned pamphlet, *A Vindication of the African Race: being a Brief Examination of the Arguments in Favor of African Inferiority*. The first argument he took up and refuted was the Curse of Ham. Those arguing for it, said Blyden,

> take the ground that the curse was denounced against Ham, the progenitor of the African race, and all his posterity; affirming that the general condition, character and capabilities of Africans point them out as the subjects of the malediction. Thus, by an argument *a posteriori*, notwithstanding the reading of the passage and other circumstances, plainly indicate the the curse was uttered against Canaan, the youngest son of Ham, they infer that it was uttered against Ham and all his posterity, simply because, on other grounds they cannot, or will not, account for the condition of the African race. They prove the *application* of the curse from the condition of the race, and then argue the *necessity* of that condition from the application of the curse. Does not such reasoning marvelously involve what logicians call the *argumentum in orbem?*"[34]

Nevertheless, these arguments, and others as well, didn't have much influence among pro-slavery advocates because the biblical story with its interpretation of black servitude undergirded the social order in the American South.

Those who embraced this interpretation of Noah's curse do not often explain how blackness came about. Sometimes it is just assumed that the one cursed was black. But the more common, and nefarious, interpretation found in antebellum America and continuing well into the 20th century, understood that both slavery and blackness were simultaneously generated by Noah's curse. It was, as Crummell described it, that "foolish notion that the curse of Canaan carried with it the sable dye which marks the Negro races of the world."[35] This is no doubt the meaning of what James Henry Hammond, the pro-

slavery governor and U. S. congressman of South Carolina, said in a speech to the House of Representatives in 1836: "The doom of Ham has been branded on the form and features of his African descendants. The hand of fate has united his color and destiny. Man cannot separate what God hath joined."[36]

Belief in the dual form of the curse continued well into the 20th century. In 1929, a publication of Jehovah's Witnesses declared that the curse which Noah pronounced upon Canaan was the origin of the black race, and in 1954 a sermon by the Baptist minister Carey Daniel commented on the biblical curse of slavery: "The Bible clearly implies that the Negroes' black skin is the result of Ham's immorality at the time of his father Noah's drunkenness."[37] Acceptance of the belief in a dual curse can be seen in a popular Bible commentary, which was reprinted many times and, at least as late as 1966, declared: "The descendants of Canaan became the black races who for long centuries furnished the world's supply of slaves."[38]

If there is no mention of skin color in Noah's curse of slavery, where, when, and how did blackness enter the picture? In a 1928 article, a Jesuit missiologist Pierre Charles suggested that the answer could be traced to an ancient rabbinic legend.[39] A couple of years later Raoul Allier, a Protestant minister and theologian, was more specific. He thought that the 17th-century Lutheran Johann Ludwig Hannemann learned the legend from Jews whom he knew in Amsterdam. Allier speculated that Hannemann, a doctor of medicine, met with Jewish doctors, for "a good many Jews there practiced medicine." In this way he must have learned the rabbinic legend, which was "born in the ghetto, of the feverish and sadistic imagination of some rabbis."[40]

Then, in 1968, the American historian Winthrop Jordan, without the specifics or bias of Allier, independently suggested that the idea of a curse of black skin was learned by Christian Hebraists in the Middle Ages from Jewish sources. The idea was then transmitted through the ages until it made its harmful appearance in the New World.[41] Jordan

admits that his evidence for Jewish dependency is weak ("the measure of [such] influence … is problematical"), but this has not prevented others from accepting it as proven fact, although several recent studies have challenged Jordan's claim of rabbinic dependency.[42]

The rabbinic source that Jordan cited tells that during the flood, all those in the ark were prohibited from engaging in sexual intercourse. Noah's son Ham transgressed, having sex with his wife, and as a consequence God punished him by blackening his skin. This story, which I will discuss in the next chapter, is an etiology accounting for the darker skin of some of the descendants of Ham. We will see that there are also other tales of origins found in a range of literature that explain the anomaly of black skin in lighter-skinned societies, as there are of white skin in darker-skinned societies, as punishment for some ancestral misdeed.

It is important to note that this rabbinic story says nothing of slavery. The etiology of slavery as depicted in the biblical account of Noah's curse of Canaan is a separate story. This is an important point, noted by others.[43] In the scholarship on this topic, however, this distinction is often not observed, and the two stories – the biblical one of slavery and the rabbinic of dark skin – are often conflated. For example, in his recent work, David Whitford quotes the church father Chrysostom (d. 407), who tells the story of Ham's indiscretion in the ark (not citing any source, rabbinic or otherwise). "In his Homily 28 on Genesis," says Whitford, "Chrysostom writes that Ham 'indulged himself in incontinence [*incontentiae*] at a time when the world was in the grip of such awful distress and disaster, and gave himself up to intercourse.' Because of Ham's incontinence, 'his son Canaan received the curse.'"[44] Whitford thus suggests that the church father considered Canaan's curse of servitude to be the punishment for Ham's incontinence in the ark. Whitford then reinforces this sin-punishment connection by immediately adding: "The nature of Canaan's curse is not described in Homily 28, though in Homily 29 Chrysostom does link Canaan's curse to servanthood." But it is not the

case that Chrysostom connects Ham's incontinence in the ark to Canaan's punishment of servitude, and this is clear from the full text of Chrysostom:

> [Ham] indulged himself in incontinence at a time when the world was in the grip of such awful distress and disaster, and gave himself up to intercourse; far from putting a check on the impulse of desire, already from the very outset the depravity of his attitude had become clear. So, *when a little later his son Canaan is due to receive the curse for the disrespect towards the father of the family*, Sacred Scripture had already anticipated its announcement on that account and revealed to us the name of the child at the same time as the intemperance of its father….[45]

Chrysostom was explaining why Scripture twice added the detail that Ham was the father of Canaan when telling the story of the curse of slavery in Genesis. The reason, he says, was to hint at Ham's intemperance in the ark, so that when we are told later that Ham looked at Noah's nakedness, we are already aware of Ham's evil nature. "When you later see [Ham] giving evidence of ingratitude towards his father, you would be in a position to know that right from the very beginning he was the kind of person not to be restrained even by the disaster," and that "with the same inclination with which he [i. e., Ham] gave himself to procreation in such a terrible situation [i. e., in the ark], he now vented his insolence on his father [i. e., Noah]."[46] Chrysostom does not say that, "Because of Ham's incontinence, 'his son Canaan received the curse,'" as Whitford claims. Chrysostom does not say that Canaan was cursed with slavery because his father Ham had intercourse in the ark. He does not make any causal connection by joining the rabbinic ark story of dark skin with the biblical story of slavery. Whitford, however, has conflated the two in Chrysostom, like others before him in reading Chrysostom.[47]

Stephen Haynes similarly claimed that Chrysostom connected the two accounts ("Canaan was cursed because he had been begotten on the ark"), and he added that so too did the church fathers Ambrose of

Milan (d. 397) and Irenaeus (2nd century).[48] Haynes does not say that Ambrose thought Canaan was punished because of Ham's sexual indiscretion in the ark, but he does connect the two stories. He does, but Ambrose does not. Haynes's source is a study by Jack Lewis who quotes Ambrose, but the quotation only says that Noah's curse left Ham "exposed to the shame of everlasting disgrace" (*mansit perpetuae obnoxius opprobrio turpitudinis*).[49] As for Irenaeus, the reference Haynes provides (via an article by Charles Copher) does not connect the stories and does not mention the ark incident at all. It refers only to the event in Genesis 9 and says, based on a biblical text before Irenaeus that had 'Cursed be Ham' instead of 'Cursed be Canaan,' that Ham was cursed and the curse affected all of Ham's descendants.[50]

The same mistake Whitford made reading Chrysostom, he made when reading the 16th-century French Orientalist Guillaume de Postel: "Postel creates or furthers three significant aspects of the Curse of Ham. First he places the curse on the wrong son of Ham – Cush…. Postel argues that it is the curse of Noah that turned Cham and his descendants black."[51] Postel, however, is not concerned in this passage with Noah's "Curse of Ham," nor did he "place the curse on the wrong son of Ham," i. e., not on Canaan as in the biblical story. As we shall see in detail in Chapter Three, Postel is not speaking of the biblical story of Noah's curse but is referring to the rabbinic story of sex-the-ark as a cause of blackness.[52]

And since the Elizabethan adventurer George Best (d. 1584), in his work also to be discussed later, is dependent upon Postel, Whitford mistakenly confused the rabbinic and biblical accounts in reading Best as he did in reading Postel. Assuming that Best is speaking of the biblical context, Whitford says that Best doesn't mention the association between blackness and slavery "because that was not his concern."[53] Not so. He doesn't mention it because he is recounting the rabbinic story which has nothing to do with slavery. Slavery enters into the picture only with the separate biblical story. And, as he did

regarding Postel, Whitford incorrectly states that Best put the "curse of Ham on the wrong son of Ham – … on Chus or Cush instead of on Canaan." Best does not does not identify Canaan as the one cursed because he is not speaking of the biblical account of Noah's curse of slavery.

Whitford is hardly the only scholar to conflate the biblical and rabbinic accounts when reading the early sources. Others have similarly misunderstood Postel and Best as saying that blackness derived from the curse recounted in Genesis.[54] And if I am correct in my reading of the 17th-century English cleric Peter Heylyn, to be discussed later, he has been misread in a way that once again conflated the biblical and rabbinic stories.[55] The same confusion is found in studies of Muslim and Jewish sources dealing with the Noah story. Akbar Muhammad did not clearly distinguish between the two traditions when he wrote that, "Jewish theologians interpreted [Noah's] curse as one of blackness."[56] Or when he wrote that "Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam … and al-Yaʿqubi … related a similar tale" to that of Ibn Qutayba.[57] No, they did not. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam related the rabbinic ark story while Ibn Qutayba spoke of the dualcurse elaboration of the biblical story. (As for Yaʿqūbī, he doesn't mention a curse of blackness at all.[58]) Gernot Rotter also conflated the two traditions when he mentioned different Arabic versions explaining the cause for Noah's curse of slavery, including some claiming that the curse was the result of sex in the ark.[59] We shall see that, in fact, the Arabic sources do not conflate the stories but some of those studying them do.

As for Jewish sources, in discussing the sex-in-the-ark story, Jonathan Schorsch quotes the Jewish commentator Rashi (d. 1105) that it was Ham's son Kush who first turned black, and then Schorsch concludes that this "would seem to imply that the [biblical] curse entailed the Blackness [*sic*] of some of [Ham's] descendants," and that Rashi "implicitly asserted the … dual curse."[60] Implicit assertions are, of course, hard to prove. Nowhere in Rashi's writings, however, is the

connection made between the rabbinic ark story and the biblical curse of slavery. And nowhere, I would argue, does Rashi even imply that Noah's curse of slavery brought about a change of skin color, as Schorsch claims. The latest iteration of this confusion of the Jewish sources is found in a work by Chouki El Hamel as recently as 2013.[61] This confusion of the biblical and rabbinic accounts is found throughout modern scholarly literature.[62] To repeat: "Noah's curse" occurs in the biblical etiology of slavery, which is distinct from the rabbinic story of the origin of blackness, which was not caused by Noah's curse.

These inaccuracies are understandable. Ham is, after all, punished for some misdeed in both the biblical and rabbinic stories. Winthrop Jordan's phrasing may serve as a paradigmatic illustration for how the inaccuracies came about: "The Hebraic literature … speculated as to whether Ham's offense was (variously) castrating his father Noah …, and as copulating 'in the Ark'…," and he refers to the ark story as "a slightly altered version of the biblically based story."[63] It is perhaps understandable that both stories, subsumed under the rubric "Hebraic literature," are seen as different versions of Ham's offense against his father, but to do so conflates an etiology of dark skin with a curse of slavery that are conceptually and exegetically distinct.

The two independent etiologies of dark skin and slavery and their later conflation constitute the story behind the historical development of the Curse of Ham myth, which I tell in this book. To see how the Curse came into being, it will be necessary to disentangle the blackness and servitude interpretations of the Noah story and to trace the transmission of the two traditions; to see where, when, how, and why they became entangled over the centuries. We must separate those exegetical and interpretive elements that led to a curse joining slavery and dark skin, the so-called Curse of Ham. What were the sources of these elements? Who transmitted what? How, when and why did the various components become combined to form the Curse of Ham?

Separating the Curse into its constituent elements of blackness and slavery will also enable us to follow the various transformations of the etiology of blackness, as it moves from one historical and social context to another until its eventual incorporation into Noah's curse. We will also see how the etiology is changed in the Curse narrative just as it changes the Curse itself. It is to be hoped that this kind of nuanced reading of the ancient sources will prevent the kind of misunderstandings we have seen, which continue to plague studies by otherwise reputable scholars.

I, therefore, begin the deconstruction of the Curse of Ham with an investigation of etiologies of dark skin. In Judaism, Christianity, and Islam such origins stories developed around the Bible, drawing on narratives and personalities in the Old Testament. Two stories are of particular interest for our investigation. One, the rabbinic etiology we have seen, claims that during the flood, Noah's son Ham was turned black for a sin he committed in the ark. The other, a Muslim interpretation, recounts the biblical narrative of Noah's curse but with two changes: Ham is the one cursed rather than Canaan, and the curse is one of black skin rather than servitude. We will track these two etiologies seeing where and when they appear, and what role they played in the development of the Curse of Ham combining blackness and servitude.

Chapter Two
Skin Color Etiologies

Stories of origins are common. They serve to explain the state of the world, especially natural phenomena that appear unusual or strange (e. g., "How did the tiger get its stripes?"). The Bible itself provides several well-known examples. The story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden accounts for the unusual, legless feature of the snake. The Tower of Babel narrative explains the multiplicity of languages in the world. Noah's curse of slavery is also an etiology, explaining the (actual or imagined) subservient position of the Canaanites in later Israelite society ("It came about when Israel became strong, that they put the Canaanites to forced labor." – Judges 1:28).[64]

The Universality of Skin-Color Etiologies

If the pigmentation of a population was, more or less, of a uniform color, the appearance of peoples with markedly different colored skin would often give rise to an etiology to explain the unusual phenomenon. We find such etiologies throughout the world from antiquity to modern times. Several appeared among the the New World indigenous peoples after they had been exposed to lighter-skinned Europeans and darker-skinned Africans. A myth of the Creek (Muscogee) Indians of Southeastern United States tells that three people bathed in a pond. The first emerged completely clean and he was the ancestor of white people. The second came out darker because the water was by now a bit dirty. From him came the Native

Americans. By the time the third person got to the pond the water was quite dirty and the person emerged black. He became the ancestor of the Africans.[65] A story told by the Orinoco and Guiana Indians of South America substitutes a mold for a pond.[66] The Pima of present-day southern Arizona see their own color as the ideal, with the white man and the black man being respectively underdone and overdone in the oven of creation.[67] A similar story is told by the Cherokee and the Seminole of Southeastern United States.[68]

When ancient Greece discovered the existence of black Africans, two explanations were generally advanced to account for their skin color. The first, not relying on myth, reasoned instead that those in the south are burned dark by the sun; those in the north are pale because of the lack of sun; those in the middle (Greece and, later, Rome) are just the right skin color.[69] This environmental explanation (which I shall refer to as the "Goldilocks theory"), was gradually accepted outside of Greece and Rome, as a consequence of which the "just right" geographic area naturally shifted.[70] As Robert Bartlett wrote, "Environmental thinking was rarely value-free. It usually turned out that the best environment, the one with the most desirable results, was the author's own."[71] The second explanation for the Africans' skin color did rely on myth. Phaethon, son of the god Helios (Apollo) brought the sun chariot too close to the earth. "It was then, as men think, that the peoples of Aethiopia became black-skinned."[72] Other Greek etiological myths accounted for the dark skin of Egyptians as well as Ethiopians. Zeus disguised himself by becoming black and seduced Io, from which union the black Africans and Egyptians descended.[73]

Mythic explanations are encountered also in dark-skinned societies. A reversal of the Phaethon myth was told by an American ex-slave in which the original humans, all black, were living in a cave. Those who slept closest to the opening of the cave were bleached white by the sun.[74] The Dogon of Mali say that blacks were created in

sunlight; whites in moonlight.[75] Like the Native American story, water plays a role in a Cameroon folktale (later incorporated in the Uncle Remus stories): The Mountain Spirit's two children became dirty while playing. Their father sent them to the sea to wash. One jumped in and emerged white again. The other was afraid of the water and only got the soles of his feet and the palms of his hands wet. This story accounts not only for the different skin colors of Europeans and Africans, but also for the lack of dark pigmentation on the Africans' soles and palms.[76] Other African etiologies include a wider variety of human skin color, such as a Dahomean story that, in addition to the white European and the black African, explains the origin of the Arabs, whose ancestor fell into frying oil and turned yellow.[77] Some stories rely on "maternal impression." A pregnant woman saw herself covered with mud and was so horrified by the image, her child emerged as dark as the object of terror, the mud. In this case the etiology accounts for the different shades of the Bandundu and Bafioti people of the former Kingdom of Loango. In another case of maternal impression a pregnant woman saw a very white (natural or painted) person and was so shocked by what she saw that her child emerged light-skinned.[78]

Implicit in many of these stories is the preference for the speaker's own pigmentation and, often, the disapproval of other skin colors. Sometimes disapproval can be more strongly expressed. A folk story from 20th-century North Carolina tells of God creating the first blacks out of the scraps left over after he had finished creating the world.

> He took these scraps and put them into a large iron pot. He stirred and mixed the scraps well, then He turned the pot upside down and said, "Iron pot, make whatsoever thou wilt." He left the pot turned down for a day and night. When He turned it over a little negro, or black boy and girl were standing there. And these were the first black people on earth.[79]

Worse is a folktale from Brazil that tells how Satan wanted to imitate God and create man but when he did so the man turned out all black,

since anything the devil touched turned black. Satan then took his creation to the Jordan River to wash him clean, but the river rolled back its waters so that man was able only to put the palms of his hands and soles of his feet in the water. An enraged Satan punched man in the face flattening his nose. But Satan realized that it wasn't man's fault so he drew him near and caressed his head. Satan's hand, however, was hot and man's hair curled from the heat. Thus the black African physiognomy.[80]

Several of these etiologies see the origin of the unusual skin color as the result of some ancestral sin or misbehavior, thus implying a negative value judgment of that color. The Greek myth attributes dark skin to Phaethon's arrogance in assuming that he could control the chariot of the sun; he couldn't and lost control over Africa, thus darkening the Africans. The Greco-Roman environmental-Goldilocks explanation for dark skin is little different in this regard. This theory viewed darkness as a result of exposure to extreme heat on the normal, light-brown (*albus*), skin color, the changed color being thus a kind of degeneration (*decolor*, that is "discoloration," in the Latin texts).[81] Here too the value judgment is the same.

Nor did the black African etiologies of light-skinned people express a different attitude. Veronika Görög-Karady studied the various skin-color etiologies of the Vili in the Congo and concluded: "The texts thus manifest a fundamental ethnocentrism…. The black constitutes the prototype of humanity from which all the 'races' have issued. What is more, [the black] appears as the normal condition by which humanity is measured where all the other species of mankind – mixed breeds (*métis*) or whites – figure only as deviations or incomplete or unsatisfactory forms…. The thematic nucleus of the majority of these Vili texts consists of a fault or misdeed imputed to the ancestor or one of the ancestors and to which the deviation of humanity issues directly [….] The racial differentiation flows directly from the nature of the crime…. The transformation of skin color appears as the punishment for an evil action…. All these texts affirm

the culpability and justified mythic damnation of the white ancestor."[82] Or, as Lawrence Levine wrote concerning skin color etiologies told by African-American slaves, "Black slaves, then, possessed their own form of racial ethnocentrism and were capable of viewing the white race as a degenerate form of the black."[83] In both light-skinned and dark-skinned societies, ethnocentric-driven folktales saw the origin of 'non-normal' skin color in divine punishment for disobedience. Only the colors are reversed. These value judgments are ethnocentric expressions of conformism to the dominant aesthetic taste, what social scientists call "somatic norm preference," that is, a bias for the society's normal pigmentation.[84]

Biblically-Based Skin-Color Etiologies

In biblically-centered societies it would not be surprising to find skin-color etiologies constructed around characters or events found in the Bible. A medieval example of a dark-skin etiology using biblical characters is found in the Christian *Vienna Genesis*, an anonymous, 11th- or early 12th-century German poetic paraphrase of Genesis. Adam's offspring through the line of Cain, we are told, disobeyed Adam's command to avoid certain plants, and as a consequence their descendants were turned into monsters including the dog-heads, the headless, the large-eared, the single-footed, those with mouths in their breasts, those with eyes on their shoulders, and some who

> completely lost their beautiful coloring; they became black and disgusting, and unlike any people. Their eyes shone, their teeth glittered…. [They] displayed on their bodies what the forebears had earned by their misdeeds. As the fathers had been inwardly, so the children were outwardly.[85]

The dog-heads, the headless, the large-eared, and the single-footed are commonly found in depictions of the 'monstrous races.' As far back

as classical antiquity it was thought that monsters or fabulous creatures were found in Africa and India, sometimes Scythia, areas thought to lie at the extreme ends of the world.[86] Herodotus (5th century BCE) described some inhabitants of Africa as having dog-heads, or being headless with their eyes in their chests.[87] Probably the most extensive catalogue of these monstrous races was provided by Pliny the Elder (1st century CE), who mentioned some monstrous beings in northern Europe but noted that, "India and parts of Ethiopia especially teem with marvels," and provided a catalogue of such creatures in those lands.[88] These images of the fantastic were repeated over the centuries, such as the list compiled by Isidore of Seville (d. 636).[89]

The connection beween Africa and monstrous races is seen in a 13th-century letter forged in the name of the church father Augustine (d. 430): "When I was Bishop of Hippo and with certain of the servants of Christ had gone to Ethiopia… we saw many men and women having no heads but with eyes fixed in the chest…. We also saw men with one eye in the forehead in the lower parts of Ethiopia."[90] The rediscovery of the classics during the Renaissance brought with it the descriptions (particularly Pliny's) of African monsters. During the Middle Ages, the most popular of the fabulous-race accounts was John Mandeville's *Travels* (circa 1360). Mandeville drew on every source available to him, and spoke of the Africans as being "divers manner of men of the yles, some headlesse, and other men disfigured." A partial catalogue of the disfigurements would include peoples with backward feet, one foot so large it acted as an umbrella when the person would lie down, lips so large they provided shade against the sun, ears so large they served as a blanket at night and could even substitute as wings, dog heads and no heads, glowing gold eyes, only one eye and no eyes, no mouth and no nose, and different colored limbs.[91] As Jean Devisse wrote, Africa became a "land of geographic, physiological, and intellectual abnormality."[92]

The *Vienna Genesis* was not the only medieval work to provide a

biblical genealogy for the monstrous races. The *Irish Reference Bible*, an anonymous Latin commentary on the Bible dating from the second half of the 8th century, quoting Augustine, named two possibilities as the progenitors of monsters: Cain and Ham.[93] Other Irish works, dating from the 11th to 12th centuries, recount that God prohibited the descendants of Adam's son Seth from intermarrying with the descendants of Cain, Seth's brother, but they transgressed, as a consequence of which monsters were born. After these creatures were wiped out in the flood, Ham, having been cursed by Noah, became the progenitor of the monsters.[94]Also the Old English poem *Beowulf* named Cain, or perhaps Ham, as the origin of monsters, elves, giants, and hell-demons.[95]

These imaginary creatures with biblical pedigree are sometimes depicted specifically as dark-skinned. In the medieval Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*, Ham's monsters include the "dark, one-legged creatures, and dark-hosted, sharpbeaked creatures," and the "the dun-colored one-footed folk."[96] A Swedish folktale tells that "Adam's first wife was not Eve, who was created from his rib, but Lucia [=Lilith]. With her Adam begat lots of children, whose skin was black."[97]

Whether or not the reference to "dun-colored one-footed folk," is based on knowledge of dark-skinned Africans, as John Block Friedman thinks, a more obvious allusion to black Africans, as both Friedman and Paul Freedman agree, is the *Vienna Genesis*'s idea that the sinful descendants of Cain "completely lost their beautiful coloring [and] became black and disgusting, and unlike any people."[98] An indication of this identification with the African is the text's explanation for dark skin: "[They] displayed on their bodies what the forebears had earned by their misdeeds. As the fathers had been inwardly, so the children were outwardly." The idea that dark skin is the outward manifestation of inner sin can be traced back to the early church fathers, especially Origen (d. ca. 253), who identified biblical black Africans ("Ethiopians") metaphorically as sinners or those not knowing God.[99] Barbara Seitz remarked that the black skin in the

Vienna Genesis, "a realistic racial feature of the blacks," is a symbol of sinfulness and evil, which was inherited from the symbolism of antiquity and Christianity.[100] As Debra Strickland put it, "[T]he connection between outward physical form and sin … would prove to be the major Christian contribution to the Monstrous Races tradition."[101]

The inclusion of black Africans among the monstrous races of Africa is famously found in Augustine, when he deals with the question of whether the monstrous races (*monstrosa hominum genera*) are to be considered human. After listing the various monstrosities, he concludes, "Whover is born anywhere as a human being, that is, as a rational mortal creature, however strange he may appear to our senses in bodily form *or color* or motion or utterance, or in any faculty, part or quality of his nature whatsoever, let no true believer have any doubt that such an individual is descended from the one man who was first created."[102] That Augustine meant black Africans with his reference to color, was clearly understood by Otto (d. 1158), bishop of Freising, Germany. When addressing the question "in what manner, with what age, sex and form the dead are to arise," Otto relied on Augustine and wrote: "We must not suppose that giants are brought back in such great stature, dwarfs in such extreme littleness, the lame or the weak in a state so feeble and afflicted, the Ethiopians in an affliction of color so disagreeable, the fat or the thin in their superabundance or their lack of flesh, to a life which ought to be free from every blemish and every spot. Hence Augustine says, 'All the beauty of a body consists in harmony of its parts together with a certain charm of coloring….' Of monsters and of abortions we must, I believe, hold the view that everything to which the descriptions 'a rational and mortal animal' applies will rise either to life or to death.'"[103] It is clear that Otto is based on the passage in Augustine and that he understood Augustine's "color" as a reference to the black African.

Another source that included blacks in the list of monstrous races is the *Chroniques des ducs de Normandie*, probably authored by the

French poet Benoît of Sainte-Maure (ca. 1150). Benoît wrote that the people of the extreme south, who have no law, religion, reason, justice or discretion, are black [*neirs*], without chins, large, with horns, have hair down to the ground, hanging ears, long noses, and large feet.[104] Friedman notes that "this portrait is designed to represent the Ethiopians."[105] Friedman also refers to illustrations of Ethiopians among the monstrous races in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of *Wonders of the East* (British Library, Cottton MS Tiberius B.v).[106] I reproduce here an illustration of an Ethiopian together with a Sciopod, one of the monstrous races, from another British Library manuscript (fig. 1).[107]

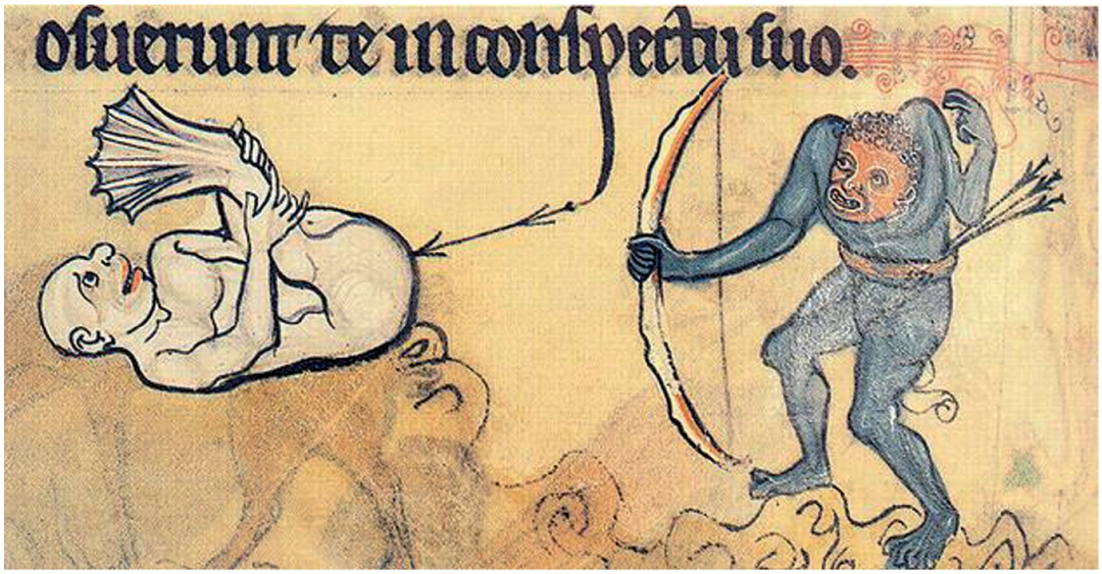


Fig. 1 Ethiopian included in depictions of monstrous races. The Rutland Psalter (ca. 1260), © British Library Board, MS Add 62925f.87v.

The inclusion of the black African among the monstrous races has obvious ramifications in terms of later views of and attitudes toward blacks. For one, we may note Strickland's thesis that "the Monstrous Races tradition provided the ideological infrastructure for later medieval Christian portraits of living outcast groups," including the black African.[108] It is not my intention, however, to explore this thesis. My only interest in this regard is to show that the texts and

illustrations discussed above make it clear that the *Vienna Genesis* is drawing on common notions when it grouped black Africans among the monstrous races, and that, therefore, its reference to those who "completely lost their beautiful coloring; they became black and disgusting, and unlike any people," is an allusion to black Africans.[109] When the text, therefore, explains that the Africans (with the monstrous races) originated in Cain's disobedience of his father Adam, we may view this as an etiology of black Africans.[110]

The notion that Cain is the ancestor of blacks has a long history, predating the *Vienna Genesis* by centuries. In my earlier work I traced this belief to an early eastern Christian mistranslation (or exegesis) found in one of the Armenian "Adam-books," dating probably to the 5th or 6th century. To the biblical verse, "And the Lord was wroth with Cain…." (Genesis 4:5) the Adam-book adds, "He beat Cain's face with hail, which blackened like coal, and thus he remained with a black face."[111] This biblical addition of Cain's blackened face in the Adam-book was based on a misunderstanding or exegesis of the translation of the verse found in the Syriac Bible (the Peshiṭta), a likely source for the Adam-book. The Syriac rendered the biblical "and [Cain] became sad" (literally, "his face fell") with *ʾtkmr* 'he became sad,' which is the reflexive form of the word *kmr* 'black.' The Adam-book understood or interpreted the word to mean literally 'he became black.' [112]

Whether or not the Adam-book was the source for later iterations of the Cain-black theory, in the Middle Ages we find several instances in European literature, in addition to the *Vienna Genesis*, of Cain and/or his descendants being black.[113] A 13th-century English psalter depicts Cain with Negroid features, as it does another figure – one of the men who arrested Christ at the Betrayal.[114] A Greek poem dated to about 1500 CE and containing earlier traditions describes God's curse of Cain as consisting of a change of color to black and a loss of power. [115] This may be reflected in a modern Greek folk legend that sees Cain in the cycle of the moon, which, like Cain becomes dark as it wanes

monthly.[116] From the early 17th century and through the 18th and 19th centuries, we commonly find the idea in European and American writings that God's mark of Cain (Genesis 4:15) was black skin.[117]

In a reversal of colors, some stories told by Africans and African-American former slaves see Cain as punished with white skin, and thus the origin of whites. A widespread tale with Cain turning white from fright when confronted by God was told by Africans in Sierra Leone, and repeated by African-American slaves and ex-slaves from, at least, the 1820s until the 20th century.[118] Others saw the source of white skin in the mark that God put on Cain for the murder of his brother or in the curse of leprosy on Miriam (Numbers 12:10) or Gehazi (2 Kings 5:27).[119] Another white-skin etiology told by blacks had it that after sinning in the Garden of Eden, God confronted Adam who turned white with fright.[120]

All these stories, whether told by blacks about whites or by whites about blacks, are etiologies accounting for the 'unusual' skin color of the Other. In Bible-oriented societies, we have seen that such etiologies are commonly viewed as originating in the misdeeds of a biblical personality. We now turn to etiologies of skin color based on the story of Noah.

Chapter Three
The Origin of Black Skin in Noah's Ark

Sex in the Ark: Eastern Sources

The varied sources across time and place examined in the previous chapter show how widespread were etiological myths accounting for different colored skin, and how the Bible served as a source for constructing these etiologies in Christian societies. We also find skin-color etiologies based on the Bible in Jewish sources. An early Jewish etiology of the different human pigmentations is found in Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*, a 1st- or 2nd-century Jewish paraphrase of the Bible. In recounting the biblical Tower of Babel story (Genesis 11), Pseudo-Philo says of the builders of the tower that "God divided up their languages and changed their appearances" (7.5). I have shown elsewhere that "changed their appearances," an addition to the biblical account, means a change from a universal human physiognomy into different ethnic appearances, especially skin color, just as the introduction of different languages in the biblical story indicates the diversification of human groups in the world.[121]

A Jewish etiology focussing specifically on the origin of black skin is the the rabbinic tale about sex in the ark, mentioned above.[122] God prohibited Noah's family and all the creatures in the ark from engaging in sex during the flood, but Noah's son Ham, the dog, and the raven transgressed the prohibition and had sexual relations with their respective partners. Ham's punishment was that he was turned black.[123]

As we saw, this story is often conflated by modern writers with the

biblical curse of slavery, thus producing an etiology of black slavery, the Curse of Ham. Is this, indeed, how the Curse of Ham began? Was the ark story somehow grafted onto the biblical curse of slavery, or did the introduction of blackness into the biblical story come from another source? To answer the question, we shall follow the appearance and iterations of the rabbinic tale, and see if and when it was combined with the curse of slavery.

The rabbinic texts that convey this story were redacted before the mid-6th century. They transmit the story in the name of authorities of the 3rd-4th centuries. From these texts, we find the story quoted in whole or part, including the part of Ham, in several Jewish works between the 9th and 14th centuries, as well as in the later Yiddish anthology *Ṣeʾena u-Reʾena* of Jacob ben Isaac Ashkenazi (d. 1624?) of Yanow/Janowa, Poland.[124]

The rabbinic source, however, may not be the earliest echo of this story. In an extended midrash on the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32:1–43), the Samaritan scholar and poet Marqe, who lived in the 3rd or 4th century CE, enumerated various punishments meted out to biblical sinners. Interpreting verse 21, he wrote:

> Cain, Kush, and Nimrod received their punishments according to their actions…. Kush – when he looked at his father's nakedness, was cursed and wore darkness (*lbš qblh*), he and all his descendants forever.[125]

"When he looked at his father's nakedness" is clearly an allusion to the biblical story of Noah. Such is the reading in the 16th-century manuscript, on which the edition of Marqe is based. However, a new edition of Marqe, being prepared by Abraham Tal, based on a superior and earlier (14th century) newly discovered manuscript does not have the all-important words "when he looked at his father's nakedness."[126] Marqe, therefore, may have been referring to the sex-in-the-ark story and the statement that Kush was "cursed" (*ʾtlʿṭ*) was not meant literally as a verbal curse. A later scribe, however, who understood Marqe as referring to the biblical story, added "when he looked at his

father's nakedness."

In Marqe's version it is Kush who is cursed with blackness, no doubt because Kush was seen as the ancestor of black Africans.[127] For the same reason, in their retellings of the sex-in-the-ark story, Ibn Hishām and Rashi name Kush as the one who turned black, as we shall soon see.

The sex-in-the-ark story is also found, sometimes with the introduction of new elements, in other sources from the East, almost all Muslim, from the 8th to the 17th centuries. The earliest of these is attributed to the Yemeni Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. ca. 730), considered by Muslim tradition to be an authority on biblical traditions:

> Noah placed the women in isolation…. Ham went to his wife one night and had intercourse with her…. When Noah awoke … he said to God, 'Allah, blacken his face and the face of the descendants of the one who disobeyed and had intercourse with his wife.' So Ham's wife had a black boy and he named him Kūshā …."[128]

The story is next recorded in the names of Qatādah (d. 735), one of Muḥammad's companions, and Ibn Jurayj (d. 767), from the following generation of successors, both of whom add that after Ham's sin in the ark, the composition of his semen changed and he thenceforth produced black offspring.[129]

Similarly, the historian and traditionist Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373) mentions the change of Ham's semen in the ark, and he adds that, although it was Ham who sinned, it was Canaan who first became black.[130] As I will explain later, a common Muslim tradition has it that blacks descended from Canaan. This explains the reference to Canaan as the one who first became black. The same tradition undoubtedly gave birth to an earlier variation of the story recorded by the Egyptian historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 870/1), in which Canaan was the one who sinned in the ark: "Canaan was the one who was ensnared in sin in the ark and Noah cursed him and he emerged black (*aswāda*)."[131]

The sex-in-the-ark story is commonly found in Muslim sources. In

addition to those authors already mentioned, I find it aso reported by the Persian historian Balʿamī (10th century), the Arab (or Persian) geographer al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283), the Syrian geographer al-Dimashqī (d. 1327), the Persian-language historian Mirkhond (d. 1498), and the Egyptian al-Ḥalabī (d. 1635).[132] Perhaps the story also lies behind an illustration in a 16th-century manuscript of the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*ʾ,which shows Ham and his three sons in the ark. Ham is depicted in a noticeably darker hue than the other figures in the painting (fig. 2).[133] Besides these Muslim sources, I find one Christian in the East, Ishoʿdad of Merv, the 9th-century bishop of Hedhatha (in today's Iraq), who recorded the opinion of some that Ham's blackness originated in his sexual transgression in the ark, although Ishoʿdad himself rejects this as an explanation for black skin.[134]

Although this list is not meant to be exhaustive, it shows the extent to which the ark story was known in the Near East. Jewish sources in Israel and Babylonia (Iraq) record the story, which is closely paralleled by the Christian Ishoʿdad. The Muslim sources provide some variation. While in the rabbinic texts Ham passively becomes black (he is "smitten in his skin" or "he exited the ark blackened"), in these other texts Noah is the agent of Ham's punishment, either cursing him with blackness or invoking God to make the change in skin color. This is in accord with another black etiology found in Muslim sources. In these accounts, which we will look at in the next c hapter, Noah cursed Ham with a black skin for the biblical sin of looking at Noah's nakedness. Another variation (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam) sees Canaan, not Ham, as the one who engaged in sex and was turned black. So too, Ibn Kathīr also has Canaan as the first to have black skin (although it was not he who sinned). These variations, as said, were most probably influenced by the Muslim traditions that see Canaan as the ancestor of blacks. Other Muslim sources have blackness beginning with Ham's descendants, usually unnamed but in one case (Wahb ibn Munabbih quoted by Ibn Hishām) it is Kush, as stated also by Rashi (d. 1105), the medieval Jewish scholar, in his

commentary to the ark story in the Talmud. The Kushites were known as a black African people, and this undoubtedly accounts for the mention of Kush as the first to be black.[135]

Fig. 2 From a manuscript of *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* by Isḥāq ibn

Ibrāhīm al-Nīshāpūrī (11th/12th century). Courtesy of The New York Public Library. Spencer Collection, Persian 46, f. 19a.

The Muslim writers report the ark story without citing a source. Did they learn it, or at least the essence of the story, the change of color, from the earlier Jewish sources? The Muslim accounts constitute what is known as *isrāʾīliyyāt*, that is, narratives about Old Testament events and personalities. They are found in qurʾanic commentaries (*tafsīr*), sayings of Muḥammad (*ḥadīth*), histories (*taʾrīkh*), and the Tales of the Prophets literary genre (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*ʾ). These narratives ultimately derived from those who accepted, interpreted and elaborated the biblical text, that is to say, Jews or Christians, often through converts to Islam.[136] In regard to the ark story, it is unlikely that the Muslim accounts derived from a Christian source, since the only Eastern Christian writer I know of who recorded the ark story is Ishoʿdad, who lived later (even if by perhaps only a generation) than Ibn Hishām, who died in 828 or 833, and certainly later than Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. ca. 730), to whom Ibn Hishām attributes the tradition. On the other hand, the Jewish source for the story is attributed to authorities of the 3rd-4th centuries and appears in texts redacted before the mid-6th century. It is likely, therefore, that the ark story in the Muslim traditions ultimately derived from Jewish sources, most probably as oral elaborations of biblical narratives current in the Muslim world. It is even possible that the original transmission of these narratives, as other *isrāʾīliyyāt* material, go back to pre-Islamic Arabia.[137]

An indication of the Jewish origin can be found in a statement by al-Kalbī (d. 763), who recounted a second element of the ark story as reported in the Jewish sources, the dog's transgression: "Noah commanded that no male should approach a female during the time in the ark. But the male dog mounted [*wathaba ʿalā*] the female dog, so Noah cursed him and said 'May God make it difficult for you [*allāhumma jʿalhu ʿasrīn*].'"[138] Not only the inclusion of the dog but

also its punishment most probably parallels the rabbinic account, in which the dog's punishment is that it is "tied" (*niqshar*); that is, after copulation it cannot immediately disengage from its partner.

It would appear, then, that the Muslim accounts of the ark story derived from the rabbinic tale. Even the Muslim explanation that blackness began with a change in Ham's seminal composition, while not mentioned in the Jewish story, may have originally or implicitly been part of it, for it underlies a 3rd-century rabbinic explanation of the sex-in-the-ark etiology, as I have explained elsewhere.[139]

Sex in the Ark: Western Sources

So the ark story travelled from Jewish to Muslim and Christian sources in the East. We also find it in Christian literature from the West. When and how did it come to the West? Was it through Jewish, Christian, or Muslim sources? If from Jewish literature, was it by means of the rabbinic text, its later Jewish citations, or by means of oral transmission? First, the sources.[140]

In western Christian material the story is first mentioned in *Extractiones de Talmut*, a work compiled in Paris between 1245 and 1248 to serve as a source-book for the Church in its polemic against Judaism. This text, preserved only in manuscript, quotes the rabbinic story this way:

> The teachers say that three copulated with their females in the ark: the dog, the crow, and Ham, and all were punished. The dog because it is stuck to its female when it copulates, the crow spits [and] copulates spitting, Ham because of this was cursed.[141]

The lack of Ham's punishment of blackness is probably due to a misreading of the talmudic statement that Ham was punished "in his skin" (*be-ʿoro*) as Ham was punished "because of this" (*beʿado* or

ba ʿavuro), either by the scribe of the Latin manuscript or the scribe of the Talmud text which served as the translator's source. So even if this text does not mention Ham's punishment, it explicitly quotes the rabbinic source that does.

The next appearance of the story in the West is found in the anonymous Spanish *Libro del caballero Zifar*, a chivalric romance written around the year 1300:

> Ham … erred in two ways; the first, that he lay with his wife in the ark, for which he had a son whom they called Cus, whose son was this king Nimrod. And then he cursed Ham regarding property. And also the Jews say that Ham was cursed because he lay with a dog (*cadiella*/*cadilla*) while he was in the ark…. And the second error that Ham made was when he discovered his father drunk, and he mocked him.[142]

In Ham's first error, the author is clearly speaking of the story of sex in the ark. Although Kush (Cus) is said to be the result of Ham's error, there is no mention of a change of skin color. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the *Zifar* is referencing the sex-in-the-ark story.

Luis Manuel Girón-Negrón thinks that the author of *Zifar* drew on the *Extractiones de Talmut*, manipulating it for his own anti-Jewish, polemical purposes to say that "Ham lay with a dog," a detail not found in the story as recorded in the Babylonian Talmud and the midrash *Genesis rabba*.[143]

It is true that these rabbinic sources do not say that Ham had intercourse with a dog, but with his wife, as we saw. It is possible, however, that the author of the *Zifar* or his source misunderstood the rabbinic story, presumably transmitted orally, as did several modern writers. It is also possible that the author relied on a report of the story as transmitted in a third rabbinic source, the Palestinian Talmud, which may allow for such an interpretation.[144]

The author of *Zifar* stated that Ham "erred in two ways," the first being sex in the ark and the second the biblical story. Of the ark error, *Zifar* recorded two variations: one that Ham had sex with his wife and

one that he had sex with a dog: "Ham … lay with his wife in the ark…. And also the Jews say that Ham was cursed because he lay with a dog…." Since the *Zifar* attributed the dog variant to Jewish sources, the wife variant presumably did not derive from Jewish sources. If so, it probably originated in Muslim sources, in which the story is commonly found, as we saw. Muslim cultural influence in Christian Spain at the time the *Zifar* was composed was pronounced, especially in Toledo, "long a centre of contact between the Christian and the Moslem and Judaic worlds," and where "the author had strong connexions."[145]

But more than that. The author of the *Zifar* says in his prologue that his work was translated from Arabic (*caldeo*) into Latin and from Latin into Romance. More than fifty years ago, the scholar of Spanish medieval literature, Roger Walker argued that, despite the dismissal of this statement by some scholars, it ought to be taken at face value. He marshalled evidence to show that "the basis of the first two books of the *Zifar* may be a common oriental story … which came into Spain via Arabic, possibly through a Latin translation … considerably reworked to fit it into a Christian, Spanish framework."[146] While Walker's theory of a lost Arabic model has not been embraced by scholars in the field, much of his evidence for traces of Arabic in the work has been accepted.[147] Given the Arabic evidence in the *Zifar* and the Muslim cultural influences in Spain at the time, it seems likely that the tradition of Ham's sex with his wife derived from the Muslim world. In short, the *Zifar* preserves two variations of the sex-in-the-ark story. One probably came from a Muslim source and the other from a Jewish informant. We shall return to the *Zifar* in the next chapter.

After the *Extractiones de Talmut* and the *Zifar*, the next western author I'm aware of to report the ark story is the French scholar and Orientalist Guillaume de Postel. Postel plays an important role in our discussion because, as we shall see, the confusion between the rabbinic account of Ham in the ark and the biblical narrative of Noah's curse begins with several European authors who followed and

misread him.[148] Writing in 1561, Postel quoted the ark story from the "secret tradition of the Hebrews,"

> which says, from the white [*albo*] parent Ham (just as Japeth and Shem were white) was begotten with such sin the son who was first born after the flood from this one [Ham], so that the pitiable boy was born with a black [*nigro*] color on account of the sin of his parents. The crime was of this sort: Once he [Ham] had believed that the son born or begotten immediately first out of those four males [i. e., Noah and his three sons] by the law of nature, and not by virtue of divine grace, ought to enjoy the privilege of the first born acquiring the whole world, within the ark itself, where all in the greatest fear trembled, seeing the Divine vengeance, and where (as reported) Noah warned his sons to abstain from any contact with their wives …. [Ham] met with his wife. Therefore, as evidence of the disobedience and contempt of the Divinity, God willed his son Chus to be born with a dark color, from whom the Ethiopians descend [as] do the others out of his stock.[149]

Postel earlier referred to Kush being born black from white parents because of the sin of his parents, but without providing much elaboration:

> …. the Ethiopians were born from Kush, son of Ham, who was otherwise born from the white wife of a white man, but stained by the crime of his father.[150]

> Kush, his [i. e., Ham's] first son [was] black colored, as I already have said, but came from white parents, having been stained surely in some way with the supreme sign of divine wrath on account of the crime of his parent.[151]

Postel says that the story of sex in the ark which he records is a "tradition of the Hebrews." How did Postel learn of the tradition? He knew Hebrew and may have read the story in one of the rabbinic texts.[152] Although his contemporary biographer, André Thevet, mentions only Arabic and Syriac manuscripts that Postel brought back from his trips to Constantinople and elsewhere in the East, it is certainly not impossible that he also had Hebrew manuscripts of the relevant

Jewish texts.[153] Postel's second trip to the East was subsidized by Daniel Bomberg, the Christian printer of Hebrew books,[154] presumably to collect Hebrew works among other manuscripts. Postel may even have had printed Hebrew texts, which began to appear some years before the publication of his work. By the time Postel's *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium* was published in 1561, which contains the quoted text, Bomberg had already printed two editions of the relevant talmudic tractate, in 1520 and 1529. There were also other printings of the talmudic tractate that existed by the time of Postel's work.[155] Postel often quoted directly from the Talmud.[156] In our case, it is likely that his source was indeed the printed page, since he incorporated Rashi's interpretation of the story that it was Ham's son Kush who was the first to become black. Rashi's commentary appeared alongside the talmudic text in printed editions of the Talmud but not in manuscripts of the Talmud.

But if Postel's source was Jewish tradition, as he says, we are faced with a difficulty: Postel's reason for Ham's sexual act – to gain world inheritance for his son – is not found in the rabbinic sources recording the sex-in-the-ark story. It is, however, found in some interpretations of another Noah-Ham story. A talmudic tradition claims that Ham had castrated Noah, with Ham providing his brothers the reason: "Adam had two sons, and one killed the other. This one [i. e., Noah] has three and wants to make it four!'"[157] Some medieval commentators to this passage clarify Ham's statement. In explaining why Noah's curse was one of slavery as a measure-for-measure punishment (a slave owns no property), they claim that Ham's motivation was to limit the number of Noah's inheritors, who would then receive a larger portion of the earth.[158] Could this explanation have been Postel's source?

Almost certainly Postel knew of this explanation. One of those who recorded it was Levi b. Gershon (Gersonides, Ralbag, d. 1344), the Jewish philosopher, who is quoted by the Benedictine monk and archbishop of Aix in southeastern France, Gilbert Genebrard (d.

1597), when dealing with the Noah story: "The Jewish teachers, as R. Levi writes in Genesis chapter 9, transmit that Ham cut off his father's testicles so that he should no longer beget children."[159] Genebrard's quotation omits the element of inheritance competition, mentioned by Levi, but it shows that Levi's commentary in general, and this specific comment, were known in Paris at Genebrard's and, presumably, Postel's time.[160] It is true that this inheritance explanation is applied to the biblical story of Noah's drunkenness but it would serve as, as well, to explain Ham's sexual crime in the rabbinic ark story, i.e., Ham wanted to gain world inheritance for his son, as Postel said. Postel may, therefore, have deliberately or inadvertently transferred the explanation from one narrative context to another. It is also not impossible that Jewish sources, written or oral, reported this explanation for the sexual crime, just as Postel claims, although thus far I have seen no evidence of it.

Whether Postel's explanation is his own or derives from Jewish sources, for our purposes it is sufficient to note that Postel is speaking of the sex-in-the-ark tradition with its etiology of blackness. Similarly in Postel's other two references to the origin of blackness he is again referring to the rabbinic story in the ark. When Postel does speak of the biblical story he presents it as in the Bible without any mention of a change of color: "Since this same Ham was excommunicated tacitly by his father, and was cursed at least in his fourth generation, and constituted the servant/slave not only of his own brothers, but also of those servants … [S]o that it seems to have accrued not only to himself…"[161] In sum, Postel does not conflate slavery (biblical) and dark skin (rabbinic). His account of Noah's curse of slavery does not include blackness.

The ark story was repeated by several 16th-century writers who learned of it from Postel. He is most probably alluded to by the French Hebraist Jean Bodin (d. 1596) who wrote: "I can hardly be persuaded that men are made black from the curse of Chus [i. e., Kush], as a certain learned man reports."[162] I presume that the learned man Bodin

had in mind was Postel, as the latter's work was known in learned circles. As we will see, between the years 1574 and 1599 Tycho Brahe, Gilbert Genebrard, and George Best all quote the Postel passage. Furthermore, Bodin specifically mentions Kush as the one who became black, as does Postel. It is unlikely that Bodin was referring to the biblical story in which it is Canaan who is cursed, and he is cursed with slavery, not blackness.

Reliance on Postel is explicit in the work of Genebrard. In the second edition of his *Chronographiae libri quatuor* (1585), he quoted Postel as saying that "Jewish tradition believes that from his white parent Ham (just as Japhet and Shem were white) Kush (or at least, his posterity) was born with a dark color as proof of his father's crime."[163] While Genebrard does not mention the specific crime (was it sex in the ark or the crime reported in the Bible?), since his explicit source was Postel, we may assume that he had the ark story in mind. Antonio Possevino (d. 1611), Italian Jesuit and Renaissance humanist, in turn quoted Genebrard's reliance on Jewish tradition that Kush (or his posterity) was born with a dark skin as proof of the crime of his father Ham.[164] I will return to Genebrard and Possevino later.

David Whitford argues that Postel was also the source for George Best writing some seventeen years after the publication of Postel's work.[165] Best was an Elizabethan adventurer who sailed with Martin Frobisher, the English privateer and explorer, in the 1570s and wrote an account of his discoveries in Africa. At one point in his writing, Best explained the origin of the Africans' peculiar skin color. Noah commanded his sons and their wives that while in the ark they should

> use continencie, and abstaine from carnall copulation with their wives….Which good instructions and exhortations notwithstanding his wicked sonne Cham disobeyed, and being perswaded that the first childe borne after the flood (by right and Lawe of nature) should inherite and possesse all the dominions of the earth, he contrary to his fathers commandment while they were yet in the Arke, used company with his wife, and craftily went about thereby to dis-inherite the off-spring of his other two

> brethren: for the which…God would a sonne should bee borne whose name was Chus, who not onely it selfe, but all his posteritie after him should bee so blacke and lothsome, that it might remaine a spectacle of disobedience to all the worlde. And of this blacke and cursed Chus came all these blacke Moores which are in Africa.[166]

Whitford is right, although his argumentation does not support his claim.[167] Strangely he does not rely on the one obvious proof that Best did, in fact, draw on Postel: the inheritance explanation for Ham's sexual act in the ark. This is not in the rabbinic texts and although, as I suggested, there may have existed such an interpretation of the rabbinic story, the similarity of language between Best and Postel argues for dependence of the former on the latter. Best's "being perswaded that the first childe borne after the flood (by right and Lawe of nature) should inherite and possesse all the dominions of the earth" is clearly dependent upon Postel's "once he had believed that the son born or begotten immediately first out of those four males by the law of nature, and not by virtue of divine grace, ought to enjoy the privilege of the first born acquiring the whole world…."[168]

A handful of European authors from the 17th century also mention the ark story. In the second edition of his *Microcosmos*, published in 1625, the English cleric Peter Heylyn (d. 1662) wrote:

> As for that foolish tale of Cham's knowing his wife in the Arke, whereupon by divine curse his sonne Chus with all his posterity, (which they say are Africans) were all blacke: it is so vaine, that I will not endeavour to retell it. [169]

By contrast, Heylyn's contemporary Samuel Purchas did not offer an evaluation of the story. Purchas, also an English cleric, is known as Richard Hakluyt's successor in publishing various chronicles of travels and discoveries. In 1625 Purchas published *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells, by Englishmen and Others*, based partly on material left by Hakluyt. But years before publishing

this work, Purchas wrote *Purchas his Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present* (1613), which was very popular at the time and went through four editions. In the last and fourth edition, in the section dealing with Africa, Purchas turned to the issue of the Africans' skin color. "Now if any would looke that we should here in our Discourse of the Negro's assigne some cause of that their *Blacke colour*: I answere, that I cannot well answere this question, as being in it selfe difficult, and made more, by the varietie of answeres that others give hereunto." He follows with several answers given the question and in a note refers to the sex-in-the-ark story (the second "Cham" is undoubtedly an error for "Chus"):

> Some tel a tale of Chams knowing his Wife in the Arke, wherupon by divine curse, his sonne Cham was black with all his Posteritie.[170]

The next echo of the ark story is found in a strange work entitled *Comte de Gabalis*, authored by the French clergyman Nicolas de Villars (d. 1673). De Villars wrote that God's intention for the world was that humans refrain from sexual intercourse with one another. Rather they should have sex with the incarnated spirits of the the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire, which are termed Gnomes, Nymphs, Sylphs and Salamanders respectively, and are identified with the "children of God" of Genesis 6:4. After the flood, which was caused by Adam's sin of having sex with his wife, Noah convinced his sons to forgo their wives and have sex with the Spirits. But,

> [o]ne of Noah's children, rebelling against his father's counsel, could not resist the attractions of his wife any more than Adam could withstand the charms of his Eve. But just as Adam's sin blackened the souls of all his descendants, so Ham's lack of complaisance for the Sylphs branded all his black posterity; whence comes the horrible complexion of the Ethiopians, say our Cabalists, and of all those hideous peoples who have been commanded to dwell in the torrid zone as punishment for the profane ardour of their father.[171]

In this account the incident took place not in the ark, but after the flood. Nevertheless it is obviously based on the ark story, which de Villars may well have learned from Postel. He cites Postel just a few sentences before giving this account of Ham's sin, although the work de Villars had in mind was undoubtedly Postel's *De Etririae regionis* and not his *Cosmographicae*.[172]

In the following generation the French philosopher Pierre Bayle published his influential magnum opus *Dictionaire historique et critique* (1697), which included several legends about Ham. One was the story about Ham having sex with his wife in the ark, resulting in the birth of Canaan: "It is believed that Cham did not contain himself, and that his Wife became the Mother of Chanaan in the very Ark."[173] There is, however, no mention of blackness in this story as Bayle transmits it. Bayle also quotes the *Comte de Gabalis*'s "Comedy" with its story of "Ham's lack of complaisance for the Sylphs [which] branded all his black posterity."[174]

About the same time that Bayle published his work, Johann Andreas Eisenmenger's notorious anti-Semitic tract *Entdecktes Judenthum* appeared, which quotes the rabbinic story, first in the original Hebrew then in translation.[175] Not long after, another German, Caspar Calvör (d. 1725), a Lutheran theologian, recounted the ark story, which "is babbled [*argutetur*] by not a few Jews." In Calvör's account, Ham's sinful union with his wife resulted in the birth of Canaan on the ark. Calvör also provided a literary measure-for-measure explanation for the creation of black skin: "[F]rom those works of darkness in the ark the blackness of the Ethiopians of Ham's posterity is contracted."[176] Calvör notes that Chrysostom also seems to say that Canaan was born in the ark, although I do not see this in Chrysostom.[177]

From Calvör's work in 1696 onward, the ark story does not seem to have played much of a role. I do not find it mentioned in the primary sources, except for a much later reference to it in Africa. In 1975 a member of the Tuareg, a south Saharan Berber people in Mali,

told a writer for *National Geographic* that Ham copulated with an animal on the ark and "chastised for his carnal sin, Ham turned black."[178] As I note below, this understanding of the ark story, which is a muddling of the original account in Jewish sources that speaks of Ham having sex with his wife, is found in modern scholarship.[179] It is not impossible that a similar confusion existed in West Africa, whether among Muslims, Christians, or Jews.[180]

Summing up our discussion of etiologies thus far, we have seen a number of tales of origins accounting for unusual skin colors, light skin in a dark-skinned world and dark skin in a light-skinned world, or both light and dark in a world inhabited by people of an intermediate pigmentation. Several of these stories deriving from Christian, Jewish or Muslim environments were constructed around biblical characters who had sinned and were thus punished with the strange skin color. We traced the transmission of one of these origins stories, that of Ham's sexual misbehavior with his wife in the ark. We saw that the story first appeared in rabbinic literature, no later than the 6th century, and then, presumably deriving from Jewish sources, in several Muslim and one Eastern Christian text from the 7th century onward. In the West, we found a reference to the ark story first in the church's *Extractiones de Talmut* (ca. 1245), and then in the Spanish *Libro del caballero Zifar* (ca. 1300) in two versions, one apparently derived from a Muslim source, and the other from a Jewish source. The story is then mentioned by Postel (1561), quoting Jewish tradition. Whether he learned the story in Paris or during his travels, the line of transmission in Christian Europe begins with Postel, who is quoted by Bodin (1565), Brahe (1574), Best (1578), Genebrard (1599), and, indirectly via Genebrard, Possevino (1603).[181] Six 17th-century authors then repeat the story, four of them (Heylyn, Purchas, de Villars, Bayle) without mentioning their source, and two (Eisenmenger, Calvör) with attribution to Jewish sources. References to the ark story thus seem limited in the West, for the most part confined to the 16th and 17th centuries. From this time onward, the

ark story does not seem to have played much of a role in the West. I will return to these authors, from Postel to Bayle, later in Chapter Ten, when discussing the beginnings of the confusion between the rabbinic ark story and the biblical story of Noah's curse.

Are these iterations of the ark story the origin of the discourse of a dual Curse of Ham? It seems unlikely, since none of these sources explicitly mentions slavery in connection with the ark-blackness tale. I argue later that the *Zifar*'s statement that Noah cursed Ham "regarding property," is an oblique reference to a curse of slavery. But the *Zifar*, although mentioning Kush as the result of Ham's sin in the ark, says nothing about the origin of dark skin. On the other hand, as we shall see in the ensuing chapters, the ark story is never mentioned as an explanation of blackness in the various accounts of the dual Curse. In other words, there is no evidence pointing to the ark story as the origin of a dual Curse of Ham. That story appears as a separate etiology divorced from Noah's curse of slavery. There is, however, another group of black-skin etiologies that does situate the origin of black skin in the biblical story, and this, I will argue, provides a more compelling explanation for the origin of the dual Curse of Ham, in which blackness becomes part of the narrative of Noah's curse.

Chapter Four
The Origin of Black Skin in Noah's Tent

In the previous two chapters we began our deconstruction of the Curse of Ham by looking at etiologies of dark skin based on events and personalities in the Bible, and then focusing on the sex-in-the-ark story. Another group of etiologies of blackness found in the Near East is more closely set within the narrative framework of the biblical story of Noah's curse, except that the curse is not one of slavery, as in the Bible, but of black skin.

The etiology of black skin as punishment for looking at Noah's nakedness is found with various elaborations across the Muslim East from an early period to modern times. Sometimes the story is incorporated into a larger narrative framework and sometimes merely alluded to. The core of them all is Noah's cursing of Ham with blackness as punishment for looking at his father's nakedness.

The earliest to record this account of black origins is attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (d. 653), a companion of Muḥammad, the prophet of Islam. He is quoted by Ibn Ḥakim (d. 1014/15) as follows:

> Noah was bathing and saw his son [Ham] looking at him and said to him, 'Are you watching me bathe? May God change your color!' And he is the ancestor of the *sūdān* [i. e., blacks].[182]

This tradition was well known and is recorded by others as well.[183] A bath scene is a logical development from the biblical comment that "Noah uncovered himself." In addition, a linguistic association between the name Ham (*ḥam*) and the Arabic *ḥamm* 'to heat water,' *istaḥamm* 'to wash onself, take a bath' may have had an influence.[184]

The element of changed semen, which we saw in some of the Muslim ark iterations, is found also in some of these accounts of Noah's curse of black skin. I find this as early as an attribution to Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. ca. 730), and as late as ʿAllāma Majlisī (d. 1698).[185] Several others transmit similar accounts. In one, a Middle Turkic version of the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiy*āʾ, written by Al-Rabghūzī (13th/14th centuries), we are told the identity of the blacks: Ham laughed at Noah's nakedness so "God blackened the sperm in Ham's loins on account of his wickedness. His children became black…. His offspring are the Indians, the Abyssinians and the Zanj."[186] Simlarly, a Sudanese manuscript, probably from the early 16th century, also adds the element of changed semen and the identification of those affected by the curse of blackness ("el Hind and el Sind and the Nūba and Quran and all the blacks….").[187]

In his Persian version of Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*, Balʿamī (10th century) recounts the same etiology but gives the curse wider results, affecting also the fruit of the land. "May God change the semen of your loins. After that all the people and fruit of the country of Ham became black. The black grape is among the latter." His account also associates light skin with the elite. "The Arabs, Persians, people of a white complexion, the good people, the juriconsults, the scholars, and the wise are of the race of Shem."[188]

Partly recalling Balʿamī is the account found in the *Thousand and One Nights*, an Arabic collection of stories which developed gradually, beginning in the 8th century, from Persian antecedents (which, itself, contained Indian elements). In one story "recorded by the devout," but not in the earliest extant Arabic version of the work, the result of Noah's blessing of Shem and cursing of Ham was that Shem's face turned white and from him came the prophets, caliphs, and kings; Ham's face turned black, he fled to Abyssinia, and from him came the blacks.[189] This is reminiscent of Balʿamī' statement that the elite are of the race of Shem. In Ṭabarī's version, which we will examine later, "Noah prayed that prophets and apostles would be

descended from Shem."[190] The same idea is reflected in a Muslim-influenced tradition among the Lamu in Africa, in which Noah asked God to make all the prophets come from Shem.[191]

On the other hand, several writers record the tradition without much elaboration. For example, Ibn Khalaf al-Nīshāpūrī in his Persian version of the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiy*āʾ (presumably before 1100), Ibn al-Jawzī of Baghdad (d. 1200) in his book defending blacks called *The Lightening of the Darkness, on the Merits of the Blacks and the Ethiopians*, Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) in his history of the world (to the year 628), and al-Dimashqī (d. 1327) in his geography just say that Noah cursed Ham with black skin for looking at his father's nakedness.[192]

Still other Muslim sources merely allude to the tradition. Al-Jāḥiẓ of Basra (d. 868/9), most probably of African or part-African descent, wrote a book in the literary genre 'Virtues of Blacks' like Ibn al-Jawzī. Although not explicitly referring to the black-Ham etiology, he almost certainly had it in mind when he has the Zanj say, "God, may he be exalted, did not make us black to disfigure us, but the land did this to us. … [This has] nothing to do with deformity or punishment, disfigurement or shortcoming." Jāḥiẓ's "the land" or "country" (*balad*) is a reference to the environmental theory, discussed earlier, which he accepted over the curse theory.[193] Similarly the Abbasid poet Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 1057) alluded to the same curse tradition: "Ham wasn't black because he sinned; God wished it."[194] Like Jāḥiẓ, he rejected it as the cause of black skin. So too Nūr al-Dīn Ḥalabī (d. 1635) clearly referred to the curse etiology when he wrote, after recording the sex-in-the-ark story: "It is recounted elsewhere that the reason for Noah's curse and blackness of the Sūdān is different than that which is given here."[195]

Two authors, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and Wahb ibn Munabbih, alluded to the same etiology of blackness as part of a larger narrative. Kaʿb (d. ca. 652) is said to be a Jewish Yemeni convert to Islam. Yet little is known about him and his very existence has been questioned. "Even if

he was historical there seems little doubt that his name was slavishly or spuriously quoted whenever a storyteller or interpreter of a folk-tale was demanded."[196] Kaʿb is transmitted by al-Kisāʾī in his *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*:

> When Noah died, Ham lay with his wife; and God opened his gaul-vesicle and that of his wife also so that they mingled and she conceived a black boy and girl. Ham despised them and said to his wife, "They are not mine!" "They are yours!" said his wife, "for the curse of your father is upon us."
>
> After that he did not approach her until the children had grown, when he again lay with her, and she bore two more black children, male and female. Ham knew that they were his, therefore he left his wife and fled.
>
> When the first two children grew up, they went out in search of their father; but when they reached a village by the edge of the sea, they stayed there. God sent desire to the boy so that he lay with his sister, and she conceived. They remained in that village with no food except the fish they caught and ate. Then she gave birth to her brother's children, a black boy and girl.
>
> Ham, meanwhile, returned seeking the two children and, not finding them, died soon afterwards of anxiety over them. His wife also died, and the other two children set out in search of their brother and sister until they came to a village by the shore, where they stayed. Then they joined the other two along with their own two children. They remained there and each brother lay with his sister, begetting black (*aswadayn*) male and female children until they multiplied and spread along the shore. Among them are the Nubians, the Zanj, the Barbar, the Sindhis, the Indians (*hind*) and all the blacks (*sūdān*): they are the children of Ham.[197]

Wahb ibn Munabbih is quoted by Ibn Qutayba (d. 889) as follows:

> Ḥām b. Nūḥ was a white man having a beautiful face and form. But Allāh … changed his colour and the colour of his descendants because of his father's curse. Ḥām went off, followed by his children. They settled on the shore of the sea, and Allāh increased them. They are the Sūdān [blacks]. Their food was fish, which used to stick to their teeth. So they sharpened their teeth until these became like needles. Some of Ḥām's descendants settled in the west. Ḥām begat Kūsh b. Ḥām, Kanʿān b. Ḥām and Fūṭ b. Ḥām. Fūṭ travelled and

> settled in the land of Hind and Sind, and the people there are his descendants. The descendants Kūsh and Kanʿān are the races of the Sūdān [blacks]: the Nūba, the Zanj, the Qazān, the Zaghāwa, the Ḥabasha, the Qibṭ and the Barbar.[198]

The fact that Noah's curse as an explanation for dark skin can merely be alluded to in several sources suggests that the tradition was well known in the Muslim world. And it continued well into modern times. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Finnish sociologist and anthropologist Edward Westermark recorded a modern-day Moroccan proverb: "The negroes are wicked people. They have become black in consequence of the curse which Sīdan Nōḥ (Noah) pronounced upon his son Ham, their ancestor."[199]

What is it about the biblical story of Noah that served as a peg on which were hung etiologies of black skin color, whether they be the Muslim stories in Noah's tent or the Jewish (and probably Samaritan) stories in Noah's ark? Two mutually-supporting explanations provide the answer. According to the biblical account, accepted in Muslim tradition, as well, of course, as in Jewish tradition, the world's population derived from Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and Ham was considered to be the ancestor of various black African and/or other dark-skinned peoples.[200]

In addition, it was believed that the name Ham meant 'dark' or 'black.' Although there is no etymological basis for a connection between the name and the meaning 'dark' or 'black' (or 'hot,' another false etymology, believed to indicate hot Africa), by the early centuries, sometime between the 2nd and 5th centuries, it was believed that there was; that, in other words, Ham meant 'black' (or 'hot').[201] The perceived etymological connection is seen in the rabbinic ark story recorded in the Palestinian Talmud, which highlights the supposed etymology (***Ḥam*** *yaṣaʾ mefuḥ**am***, "Ham exited [the ark] blackened"), and it would have been implicitly understood in the Muslim stories by various Arabic words (e. g.,

ḥammama, *aḥamm*, *ḥumamu*) sharing the same consonantal base as Ham (*ḥām*) and connoting blackness or charcoal, as in the Hebrew.[202] The belief in an etymological connection is reflected in the Arabic term *banū ḥām* and the postbiblical Hebrew term *bnei ḥam*, both of which mean "children of Ham" and bore the meaning "black African."[203]

These genealogical and perceived etymological ties to Ham explain the choice of the biblical narrative in Genesis 9 as the context for a tale of origins of dark-skinned people. This would have been especially so, since in the Bible Ham received no punishment. The various etiologies rectify that situation. In concluding this chapter, it is important to note that in both black-skin stories, whether the Muslim etiologies in Noah's tent or the Jewish etiologies in Noah's ark, there is no mention of slavery.[204] In other words, we do not yet see a Curse of Ham combining blackness and slavery.

Chapter Five
The Beginnings of the Curse of Ham

In my earlier work I pointed out that when discussing the biblical story of Noah's curse of slavery, early Jewish and Christian writers often assumed that, despite what it said in the Bible, it was Ham, and not Canaan, who was cursed, or that Ham was included in the curse on Canaan. I suggested several reasons for this, including the fact that in the following biblical genealogy, blacks did not descend from Canaan but from Ham (via Kush). This accorded with the social environment of the time, in which the black African had become identified as a slave, which, in addition, neatly coincided with the perceived, if incorrect, etymology that the name Ham meant 'dark' or 'black.'[205] Thus, although these sources do not say that the one cursed by Noah was black or the ancestor of blacks, the substitution of Ham for Canaan in Noah's curse (or the extension of the curse to include Ham) implied just that.

Beyond implications, an explicit link between blacks and slavery in the context of the Noah story first appears in a Syriac Christian work known as the *Cave of Treasures*, dating in its present form from the 6th-7th century at the latest, but originally going back to the 4th or 3rd century. Expanding on the biblical story, the work quotes the biblical text *Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers* and explains why Noah cursed Canaan with slavery, although Ham sinned. The reason offered is that Canaan had invented musical instruments, by means of which sin had multiplied in the world through song and "lewd play and … lasciviousness." It then continues:

> Canaan was cursed because he had dared to do this, he and his descendants were reduced to slavery, and they are the Egyptians (*egupṭaye*), the Mysiens (*musaye*), the Kushites (*kušaye*), the Indians (*hinduye*), and the abominable ones (*musraye*).[206]

The Arabic and Ethiopic versions of the work expand Canaan's descendants to include all blacks:

> [Noah] was angry with Ham and said, "Let Canaan be cursed, and let him be a slave to his brothers…. [Noah] increased in his curse of Canaan. Therefore his sons became slaves. They are the Copts, the Kushites, the Indians, the Musin (*mūsīn*), and all the other blacks (*sūdān*).[207]
> …. they are the Egyptians, the Kuerbawiens, the Indians, the Mosirawiens, the Ethiopians, and all those whose skin color is black.[208]

In these versions of the *Cave of Treasures* the biblical story is retold, Canaan is cursed with slavery, and then, in an addition to the biblical account, we are informed that Canaan's descendants were various dark-skinned peoples and "all those whose skin color is black." Here, for the first time we see the explicit association of blackness with servitude in the context of the Noah story.

What is strange about the *Cave of Treasures* text is that it is Canaan, and not Ham, who is the ancestor of dark-skinned people. This is strange because, as I indicated, the biblical Table of Nations does not consider Canaan to be the ancestor of dark-skinned peoples (see Genesis 10:15–19). As it turns out, however, there are early contrabiblical traditions that do consider Canaan to be the ancestor of black Africans and others of dark skin.

Such a genealogy linking Canaan and blacks (Kushites), independent of any connection to the story of Noah and contrary to the Bible's genealogy, is found commonly in Islamic literature attributed to authorities from the early 7th century onward. Thus Ibn Saʿd (d. 845),[209] Ṭabarī (d. 923),[210] Masʿūdī (10th century),[211] Qazwīnī (d. 1283),[212] Rabghūzī (13th/14th centuries),[213] Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406),[214] and Maqrīzī (d. 1442)[215] refer to Kush as the son of Canaan. Others

reverse the order and have Canaan as the son of Kush: Kaʿb al-Aḥbar (d. ca. 652) quoted by al-Kisāʾī (8–11 century),[216] Ṭabarī quoting Ibn Masʿūd (d. 635) and "some of the companions of the Prophet,"[217] and Dimashqī (d. 1327).[218] The Muslim tradition that Nimrod (a "black, flat-nosed boy") was the son of Canaan is also related to the Canaanite-Kushite association.[219] In the Bible (Genesis 10:8) Nimrod is the son of Kush, not Canaan.

Several Muslim authors extend Canaan's descendants to include other darkskinned African peoples. Wahb ibn Munabbih includes the Nūba (Nubians), Fezzān, Zanj, Qazān, Zaghāwa, Ḥabasha (Abyssinians), Qibţ (Copts) and the Barbar.[220] Masʿūdī adds the Bujā in East Africa, and the Kānim, Marka, Kawkaw, Ghāna and other peoples of the Sūdān, and the Damādim to the west of the Nile.[221] The *Akhbār al-zamān* includes the "Nabīṭ, Nabīṭ signifies 'black'" and the Ishbān "and many peoples that multiplied in the Maghrib, about 70 of them."[222]

Clearly, the genealogical link between Canaan and black Africans in these Muslim accounts is not dependent on the Bible, which presents the genealogy of Noah's descendants and shows Canaan and Kush as brothers, not as father and son (Genesis 10:6).[223] In fact, we find the same link much earlier than the Muslim sources. According to most scholars, it appears in a quotation from the 2nd century BCE in the name of one Eupolemus (whose identity with the Jewish-Hellenistic historian of that name is debated):

> The Babylonians say that first there was Belus (who was Kronos), and that from him was born Belus and Canaan. This one fathered Canaan, the father of the Phoenicians. To him was born a son, Chum, whom the Greeks called Asbolus [literally, 'soot'], the father of the Ethiopians and the brother of Mestraeim, the father of the Egyptians.[224]

Canaan fathered "Chum, whom the Greeks called Asbolus, the father of the Ethiopians." Following these scholars, Chum is a form (or corruption) of the name Chus, i. e., Kush. If this is indeed the correct

reading of the text, Canaan is the father of Chus/Kush and ancestor of the Kushites/Ethiopians. If, on the other hand, Chum is Cham, i. e., Ham, as others believe, then Canaan is the father of the one (Cham/Ham) who in both the Bible and in Eupolemus is the ancestor of the Kushites/Ethiopians. In either case, the genealogy presented by this author does not agree with biblical genealogy, which makes Kush and Canaan brothers, ancestors of two distinct lineages. Eupolemus/Pseudo-Eupolemus, rather, presents a contrabiblical, ancient Near Eastern genealogy, according to which Canaan is either the father or grandfather of the Kushites/Ethiopians, and is also the father of the Egyptians.[225]

It would appear that this ancient genealogical relationship between Canaan and the Kushites is reflected in the many Muslim texts that see Canaan as the ancestor of Kush or the descendant of Kush, contrary to the Bible.[226] The contradiction with the biblical text did not constrain the Muslim writers, since according to the Islamic principle of *taḥrīf* the biblical text is unreliable, having been corrupted by Jews (Old Testament) and Christians (New Testament). The Bible, therefore, is not accepted as inerrant. Moreover, the Bible was generally not known to Muslims directly, but primarily through later Islamic traditions. As Camilla Adang wrote, "In the first two centuries of Islam, the Bible had been a closed book to most Muslims, who were acquainted with biblical characters only through *qiṣaṣ al-anbiy*ā' …," that is, the Islamic genre of Tales of the Prophets.[227] Thus, for Muslim writers, the separate lineages of Canaan and the black ancestor Kush, as seen in the Bible, is not problematic. This may also explain the two Muslim texts (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and Ibn Kathīr), mentioned above (p. 47), which have blackness begin with Canaan in the sex-in-the-ark etiology.

Where the Bible was part of the cultural landscape, it would have been natural to associate this genealogy of blacks with the biblical story of Noah through the common character of Canaan, and that is exactly what happened in the *Cave of Treasures*. The association

between blackness and slavery framed by the biblical story thus reflects the Near Eastern belief in the Canaanite ancestry of darkskinned peoples. The black-Canaan tradition was so well accepted in the East that it was incorporated into the *Cave of Treasures*, a Christian work where one would not expect a contrabiblical tradition of Egyptians, Kushites, etc. descending from Canaan (see Genesis, chapter 10).

It wasn't only this ancient genealogy that gave birth to the connection of blackness and slavery seen in the *Cave of Treasures*. There was also the historical-social context, in which blacks outside of Africa were generally viewed as slaves. There is much evidence of black slaves throughout the Near East, Greece, and Rome from the earliest centuries. As far back as the beginning or middle of the third millenium BCE, thousands of Nubian slaves were taken as war captives to Egypt.[228] There was also an "active trade in black slaves from Ethiopia, that became popular with the Egyptians during the XIXth dynasty," that is, during the 13th century BCE.[229] A letter dating from the end of this dynasty from a high Egyptian official to a Nubian chieftan demands tribute of various kinds, among which are "many Negroes of all sorts."[230] And Egyptian texts from the reign of Thutmose III (1479–1425 BCE) indicate that "up to 154 Nubian slaves were being paid as taxes to the Egyptians each year."[231]

So too were there black African slaves in ancient Greece and Rome. These were usually taken as war captives in campaigns against Nubia during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but there is also evidence of a black slave trade out of Africa during the first six centuries of the Common Era, if not earlier.[232] As early as 300 CE black African slaves were also imported into China by professional Arab traders, who had established a base at Canton. Chinese literature during the T'ang period (618–907) has many references to black slaves, which may have "represented only part of the large group of African slaves imported into the region by Arab merchants."[233] Some scholars believe that the Arab slave trade in black Africans existed

also during the pre-Islamic era.[234] André Wink thinks it began about the year 100 CE.[235] David Mattingly concludes his discussion of the trans-Saharan trade routes: "The movement of slaves, then, is the most likely explanation for the development of the trans-Saharan trade in Roman times."[236] The pact (*baqṭ*) made between Muslim Egypt and Christian Nubia, which began according to tradition in 651/652 and required Nubia to furnish over 360 slaves annually to Egypt, is thought by some to be the continuation of an ancient tradition going back for hundreds of years.[237] Other such annual arrangements involving black African slaves are known.[238]

An interesting source that associates the black African with slavery is the 6th-century Alexandrian Christian John Philoponus: "The Scythians and Ethiopians are distinguished from each other by black and white color, or by long and snubbed nose, or by slave and master, by ruler and ruled," and again, "The Ethiopian and Scythian … one is black, the other white; similarly slave and master."[239] The Scythian-Ethiopian antithesis was commonly used by ancient Greek writers to indicate geographic (north-south) and 'racial' (light-dark skin color) extremes, with the Ethiopian indicating the dark-skinned southerners.[240]

All this is not to say that in the Near East, as well as Greece and Rome, slaves were primarily black Africans. That is not the case. As has been clearly demonstrated, "In antiquity … bondage had nothing to do with physiognomy or skin color."[241] Slaves in antiquity and into the Middle Ages were of all skin colors. This is to say, however, that although not all slaves were black, most blacks outside of Africa were slaves. This is reflected in the literature that assumes black Africans to be slaves.[242] The Arab poet Suḥaym (d. 660), a black slave, referred to himself as "a naked negro such as men own."[243] Rotter notes several indications of a black slave population in pre- and early Islamic Arabia, and concludes that the black African was already known as a slave at that time.[244] A 5th-century midrash, *Genesis rabba*, states that

when Joseph was sold to Potiphar by the Ishmaelites (Genesis 39:1), Potiphar at first refused to believe that Joseph was a slave, for he knew that "usually the *germani* [i. e., the light-skinned] sells the *kushi* [the dark-skinned], but here the *kushi* is selling the *germani*."[245]

In short, it appears that the *Cave of Treasures*'s inclusion of Kushites, Egyptians, Indians and other blacks among those enslaved derives from the Near Eastern genealogy of Canaan as the ancestor of various dark-skinned people. This, together with the identification of black Africans (with or without other dark-skinned people) as slaves in the world in which the author lived, led to the conclusion that "Canaan was cursed because he had dared to do this, and his descendants were reduced to slavery, and they are … all those whose skin color is black." This is the first time, to my knowledge, that we see an explicit joining of dark skin and slavery in an interpretation of the Noah story.[246] But this was not the only source of the Curse, nor was it the only version. In the next chapter, we will discover a different source, one which led to a particularly disturbing version of the Curse, which had far-reaching consequences.

Chapter Six
The Dual Curse of Slavery and Black Skin

In the previous chapter we saw that the *Cave of Treasures* associated dark-skinned people with the biblical story of Noah and the curse of slavery. A Georgian version of the *Cave of Treasures*, dated between the 9th and the 10th centuries, possibly as early as the 8th century, turned that association into one of cause and effect making blackness a result of the curse of slavery:

> When Noah awoke … he cursed him and said: "Cursed be Ham and may he be slave to his brothers" … and he became a slave, he and his lineage, namely the Egyptians, the Abyssinians, and the Indians. Indeed, Ham lost all sense of shame and he became black and was called shameless all the days of his life, forever.[247]

Here we see the dual Curse of Ham, in which black skin results directly from Noah's curse. This version of the Curse is commonly found in the Near East. Beginning from about the same time as the Georgian *Cave*, if not earlier, and continuing through the 13th century several Christian authors from the East write of a dual curse of blackness and slavery, as do two Jewish works from Yemen in the 14th and 15th centuries. But it is mostly Muslim writers who transmit the dual curse, recording several variations of it, ranging from before the year 732 until modern times, across a wide geographical area.

The earliest Christian writer I am aware of to mention the dual curse is Ishoʿdad of Merv, the 9th century bishop of Hedhatha. He quoted the opinion of some, which he rejected, that when Noah cursed

Canaan with slavery, "instantly, by the force of the curse … his face and entire body became black (*ʾwkmwtʾ/ukmotha*). This is the black color which has persisted in his descendants."[2]

In his commentary on Genesis, Ibn al-Ṭayyib (Baghdad, d. 1043), a Nestorian Christian philosopher and physician, said the same thing, although less expansively. He was commenting on the biblical curse of slavery, to which he added that when Noah cursed Canaan with slavery, "Canaan's body became black."[248]

A similar interpretation is attributed to the Syriac Christian church Father, Ephrem (d. 373), but it is generally held that this is a spurious attribution.[249] If so, the text reflects not the view of Ephrem but of the time of its composition, which is probably the 13th century (the manuscript itself is dated to 1528; author unknown). Since the text is a collection of exegetical comments on the Bible, and the lemma to Ephrem's comment is the verse describing Noah's curse of slavery on Canaan, we may assume that in the view of the author, Canaan was cursed with slavery in addition to receiving a curse of blackness, i. e., the dual curse.

We need not make any assumption for the 13th-century Christian Ibn al-ʿIbrī (Bar Hebraeus). In his commentary on the Bible, the connection between blackness and slavery is explicit. Commenting on the incident of Noah's curse of slavery, he wrote: "Canaan was accursed and not Ham, and with the very curse he became black (*ʾwkm*) and the blackness (*ʾwkmwtʾ*) was transmitted to his descendants."[250]

In addition to these Christian traditions, we find a dual curse mentioned by two Jewish authors living in the Near East, the Yemenis Nathaniel ibn Yeshaʿya (14th-century) and Zechariah b. Solomon ha-Rofe (15th century).[251] Like the Christian accounts they are focused on the biblical text that sees Canaan enslaved, to which they add the element of blackness. Nathaniel: *"And let Canaan be his* [or *'their'*] *slave* (Genesis 9:26): They will be black and ugly and God's presence will not rest on them."[252] At first glance Zechariah would appear not

to speak of blackness. He wrote: "His body became different [*nishtaneh*] from others and therefore we say the blessing *meshaneh habriyot* [i. e., 'Blessed be He who creates varied creatures']."[253] But Zechariah is using "different" or "varied" in the sense 'to become black' as the term is used in the relevant midrashic and halakhic literature.[254]

While these Christian and Jewish sources generally present a dual curse of blackness and slavery on Canaan, Muslim writers see Ham as the one affected by the dual curse. This Ham-based expansion of the biblical narrative is found across a range of Islamic literature, most commonly in histories, but also in the Tales of the Prophets (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*) genre, and possibly also in a political manual. In the Tales of the Prophets, it appears in al-Kisā'ī's version. Kisā'ī, whose identity and dates are uncertain, records the tradition anonymously ("it is said"):

> [A] gust of wind uncovered Noah's genitals; Ham laughed…. When Noah awoke he asked, "What was the laughter?… Do you laugh at your father's genitals?… "May God change your complexion and may your face turn black!" And that very instant his face did turn black…. "May He make bondswomen and slaves of Ham's progeny until the Day of Resurrection!"[255]

In his history, Ṭabarī (d. 923) quoted anonymous "others" that "Noah prayed … that Ham's color would be changed and that his descendants would be slaves to the children of Shem and Japheth."[256] Whoever these others may be, we can date them no later than Ṭabarī who quoted them. The tradition is found also in the anonymous history *Akhbār al-zamān*, whose authorship is uncertain but dates from the 10th or 11th century.[257] The *Akhbār* also mentioned the dual curse when discussing biblical Nimrod.[258] Reuven Firestone has suggested that Ibn Qutayba (9th century) also believed in a dual curse when he strung together two traditions, that Ham was enslaved to his brothers, and immediately following, that Ham was cursed with blackness, thus "provid[ing] a 'proof-text' for what may have already

been ‘common knowledge’: Ham’s curse included both slavery and blackness.”[259]

The dual curse affecting Ham is possibly found in an anonymous political manual, the Persian *Baḥr al-favāʾid* (12th-century), of the Mirror for Princes genre. It speaks of Noah “invoking evil” on Ham “so that his face was blackened” and he was “cast into abasement and lowliness until Resurrection.”[260] “Abasement and lowliness” may be a reference to the state of slavery. The editor and translator of the work, Julie Scott Meisami, notes the parallel to Kisāʾī who speaks of slavery, quoted above. Another Persian author, Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318), an historian and Jewish convert to Islam, presents a variation of the dual curse, in which the change of skin color is a result of the curse of slavery, and not a curse in itself.[261]

Not everyone accepted this cause of black skin color. The Muslim historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406), disagreed with it based on his investigation of the biblical text, which says nothing of blackness.[262] As Ibn Khaldūn, other Muslim writers too, such as Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Qazwīnī, and al-Jāḥiẓ, all mentioned above, rejected the Ham-based explanation in favor of an environmental cause.[263] Of course, their rejection indicates its acceptance in the general population. Those who accepted the environmental explanation were in the minority. Gernot Rotter notes that the great majority of Ibn Khaldūn’s contemporaries believed that Noah’s curse was the cause of blackness.[264]

The Muslim tradition of a dual curse was widespread over many centuries and continued even into modern times. In the account of his travels (around 1790) through Morocco, the Italian Hebrew poet and traveler Samuel Romanelli recorded a conversation he had with a black man (*shaḥor eḥad*), which presumably reflected Islamic traditions.

> I asked him about the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet which were white. He informed me that the blacks are the descendants of Ham. When Noah, Ham’s father, cursed him, his skin turned black (*nehefakh ʿoro le-*

> *kushi*). He wept and pleaded with him, and his father out of compassion took pity on him so that his palms and soles became white again. On account of this, however, they were subjugated and sold into slavery, thus fulfilling their forefather's curse – *Cursed be Canaan, the lowest of slaves shall he be to his brothers*.[265]

A few sources record that in addition to black skin, Noah's curse brought about another physiological transformation: the hair of Ham and his descendants curled and/or did not grow beyond their ears. Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 1175), for example, quotes ʿUthmān in the name his father that Noah asked God to blacken the descendants of Ham, not allow their hair to grow beyond their ears, and enslave them to the descendants of Shem.[266] Similarly ʿAṭāʾ (d. 732/3).[267] The historical chronicle of the Zanj of East Africa, the *Kitāb al-Zunūj* (*Book of the Zanj*), records the same tradition, noting that it is "widely found in history books."[268]

The dual-curse tradition also underlies a modern East African creation myth. The Lamu, a people living in the archipelago off the African coast, below the Somali border, tell a story that builds on the biblical characters of Noah and his sons but in a context different from that of the Bible:

> One day, Noah called him [Sam = Shem], and Sam came directly without delay. His father blessed him and asked God to make all the prophets from that son, and so the children of Sam were all white. When Noah called Ham, he did not come. He disobeyed his father, and Noah cursed him, asking God to make his sons black. Finally, when Noah called Yafith, he did not answer either, so Noah cursed him too, and asked God to make his sons red.… The sons of Sam were obedient and followed their father's will. But the sons of Ham were ashamed of their color, because they knew that their father had been white, and therefore they suspected that their mother had not behaved properly.[269]

According to Abdul Hamid El Zein, who conducted the study of the Lamu, "in the Lamuan creation myth, the slaves were believed to be

descendants of Ham, son of Noah, who disobeyed his father. Noah cursed his disobedient son by asking God to make the sons of Ham slaves and servants."[270] Apparently, then, in the creation myth we have an unspoken dual curse of blackness and slavery. This myth probably derived originally from the Muslim dual-curse stories. Not only is the geographical location within the Islamic orbit but the only other sources I know of claiming that prophets and/or the elite descended from Shem are Muslim (*The Thousand and One Nights* and Balʿamī, quoted above).[271]

Another Muslim-derived dual-curse story doesn't mention the biblical characters, and Muḥammad, not Noah, is the author of the dual curse, but the story is clearly an adaptation of the biblical event. It is recounted by John Hanning Speke, a 19th-century captain in the British India army, who is known as the discoverer of the source of the Nile. On one of his African expeditions his African guide Sidi Mabarak Bombay, who had earlier been captured by Arabs and sold as a slave, asked him why his, that is, Bombay's, people are "the slaves of all men." After Speke responded by recounting the story of the Curse of Ham, Bombay told him,

> The Arabs say that Mahomet, whilst on the road from Medina to Mecca, one day happened to see a widow woman sitting before her house, and asked her how she and her three sons were; upon which the troubled woman (for she had concealed one of her sons on seeing Mahomet's approach, lest he, as is customary when there are three males of a family present, should seize one and make him do porterage), said, "Very well; but I've only two sons." Mahomet, hearing this, said to the woman, reprovingly, "Woman, thou liest; thou hast three sons: and for trying to conceal this matter from me, henceforth remember that this is my decree—that the two boys which thou hast not concealed shall multiply and prosper, have fair faces, become wealthy, and reign lords over all the earth; but the progeny of your third son shall, in consequence of your having concealed him, produce Seedis as black as darkness, who will be sold in the market like cattle, and remain in perpetual servitude to the descendants of the other two."[272]

Clearly, the dual-curse tradition was widespread in the Muslim East.[273]

From an examination of the sources presented in this chapter, it is apparent that, as with the black-skin etiologies set in Noah's ark (Chapter Three) and in Noah's tent (Chapter Four), so too the elaboration of the biblical story, which joins slavery and blackness, i. e., the Curse of Ham, begins and is found for many centuries in the Near East. It is first found in the *Cave of Treasures*, composed not later than the 6th century. It then appears as a dual curse regularly in Muslim works with the earliest attestation perhaps appearing sometime before 732.[274] The dual form of the Curse is also mentioned by some Christian and Jewish writers living within the Islamic orbit beginning in the 9th and 14th centuries respectively, presumably influenced by the Muslim traditions. Thus requiring correction are statements such as that by Peter Martin: "Da diese Verknüpfung [i. e., of dark skin with the Noah story] in der christlichen Tradition (auch in jener der Ostkirche) vollkommen fehlte…."[275] So too needing greater nuance is Winthrop Jordan's statement that "the first Christian utilizations of this [= the Curse of Ham] theme came during the sixteenth century."[276]

It is not difficult to imagine why the hermeneutic development of a dual curse occurred when and where it did. Exegetical manipulation does not happen within an historical vacuum. It is not coincidental that precisely at the time when the dual curse begins to make an appearance we can trace a dramatic increase in the enslavement of black Africans. We saw that black slavery can be documented as far back as the third millenium BCE and well into the first several centuries of the Common Era. After the Muslim conquests in Africa in the mid-7th century, the appearance of black slaves and the black slave trade increased exponentially. Indicative is the exportation of the Zanj to Muslim lands. The word 'Zanj' is apparently related to 'Azania,' the name given to the stretch of the East African coast from the horn of Africa in the north to the island of Zanzibar (whose first element is similarly related to 'Zanj') in the south. Thousands of Zanj

inhabitants were enslaved by the Muslim rulers and shipped to Iraq to work in the salt marshes of the Tigris-Euphrates delta. In the 8th century the Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd observed that the number of black slaves in Baghdad was countless. We hear about the Zanj when they arose in the first of three rebellions in 689, although we don't know when they were initially shipped to Iraq.[277] The association of Zanj with slave goes back to the first known use of the name in Arabic writings. The author of a 7th-century poem wrote: "I am being led in Damascus without honor as though I am a slave from Zenj."[278]

The use of forced African labor for large-scale projects is reported for later periods as well. Thirty thousand black slaves worked in agricultural projects in 11th-century Bahrain, and black slaves worked the mines in Sudan from the 9th to the 14th centuries and the mines of the Sahara in the 14th century.[279] Al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 897) reports that "the inhabitants, traders (*commer*[3]*ants*) or not, have at their service the Negro slaves who work in exploiting the [gold] mines" south of Aswan.[280] ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Abu Hamid al-ʿUmari (fl. 855–870) raided Nubia for labor in the gold mines. He took so many slaves and so much gold that he sent a steady stream of both to Aswan, where Nubian slaves were a "countless multitude."[281] Black slaves are also reported in the Fezzān, Kawār, and Kānem in the Lake Chad area.[282] Other black slaves worked the stone quarries of Aden and yet others, primarily refugees from the suppressed Zanj revolt, formed contingents in various Persian Gulf armies.[283]

Aside from these incidents of forced labor, we find other reports of the increase in black slavery. Helmi Sharawi cites sources speaking of black slaves among Arabs in the early days of Islam, including "thousands belonging to close Sahaba [i. e., companions of Muḥammad]" and others.[284] Sometime before 715 it is reported that the Muslim ruler of Ceylon sent eight boat-loads of presents, pilgrims, orphans, and "Abyssinian slaves" to the caliph Walīd I and his ruler of

Iraq, al-Ḥajjaj.[285] In 734 an expedition led by Ḥabīb ibn ʿUbayda ibn ʿUqba from Morocco journeyed south into the Sudan and returned with many slaves.[286] Timothy Power mentions several cases documenting the Arab slave trade out of East Africa during the 7th-9th centuries, often to maintain slave armies, which "created a massive increase in the demand for African slaves." He quotes estimates of black slaves in the army of the Tulunid dynasty (ca. 868–905) in Egypt of between 40,000 and 45,000, and these massive numbers continued under the Fatimids beginning in the 10th century.[287] André Wink mentions evidence of black slaves listed among the major merchandise of Aden in the 10th century, with the north coast of Somali becoming known as 'Cape of Captives.'[288] Buzurg ibn Shahriyār of Hurmuz (10th century) refers to the capture of about 200 Zanj who were sold in Oman.[289] Al-Ḥakami (d. 1120/21) reports a tribute to a ruler in Yemen in the year 977 of 1,000 slaves, half of which were Abyssinian and Nubian females.[290] A number of writers, beginning with the Coptic Orthodox monk and chronicler John the Deacon (d. ca. 770), report a Muslim practice of kidnapping black African children and selling them as slaves in Egypt.[291]

There is no question that the Islamic conquest of parts of Africa, beginning with Egypt in 640/1, brought in its wake a continuous and large supply of slaves. In these early centuries of Islam, *"al-Nūba* became almost synonymous with 'black slaves,' because of the vast number of slaves bought from *Bilād al-Sūdān* [i. e., the country of the blacks], which includes *Bilād al-Nūba*."[292] Military conquest was followed by development of a black slave trade, thus instituting the commercialization of African slavery on a regular basis.

A particular feature of Islamic law encouraged these developments, for Islam prohibited taking slaves from Muslim lands. As a result, as more and more African lands fell under the banner of Islam, holy wars were pushed further to the frontiers and slaves were taken from non-Muslim areas. Since there was a continual need to replenish the "incessant demand for slaves," in the words of Claude

Meillassoux, and since sub-Saharan Africa was not yet Muslim, "black Africa [became] an important source of slaves for the Islamic world."[293] As Bernard Lewis explained,

> Islam created a new situation by prohibiting the enslavement not only of freeborn Muslims but even of freeborn non-Muslims living under the protection of the Muslim state…. The growing need for slaves had to be met, therefore, by importation from beyond the Islamic frontier. This gave rise to a vast expansion of slave raiding and slave trading in the Eurasian steppe to the north and in tropical Africa to the south of the Islamic lands. It is for this reason, no doubt, that the massive development of the slave trade in black Africa and the large scale importation of black Africans for use in the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries date from the Arab period.[294]

The Arab development of the African slave trade occurred also in North and West Africa in addition to areas south of Egypt. In a recent well-researched study, John Wright discussed the Arab slave-trade across Africa over time, beginning with the 7th-century conquests and the trans-Saharan trade routes. He showed how the trans-Saharan slave trade became regularized in the early Middle Ages when the Berbers mastered long-range desert travel on camel and "were in due course further motivated and inspired by the Islam introduced by North Africa's first wave of Arab invaders." The Arab contacts with the Sahel allowed for permanent contact between inner Africa and North Africa, and soon the Berbers were supplying black slaves across the desert to the Islamic caliphate. "For the medieval Islamic world, inner Africa became almost synonymous with, and a legitimate source of slaves. Existing practices of enslavement, slavery and slavedealing all tended to expand in the Sudan under the stimulus of this external, and seemingly insatiable, demand as they were later to respond in West Africa to the demands of the Atlantic trade."[295] Echoing Lewis's point, Wright notes that as more African states became Islamized, the slave raiding moved further south to pagan territories. In addition, pockets of pagan Africans within the Dar al-

Islam were also raided, and "some pagan peoples were deliberately not converted to Islam simply to maintain their eligibility for enslavement."[296]

As the quote from Lewis indicates, blacks were not the only slaves. Nevertheless, the distinctive physiognomy of black Africans was readily distinguishable, and since most blacks in Arab lands were slaves, an association between black and slave developed. As al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868/9) wrote when castigating the Arabs for their low opinion of the African Zanj, "You have never seen the real Zanj, but only those taken captive."[297] Lewis used this argument to explain why the Arabic word for slave, *ʿabd*, eventually came to mean 'black African,' whether slave or not: "One reason for the change is surely that those who were of black or partly black origin were more visible."[298] The same argument was made by Lloyd Thompson about blacks at a different time and place. Concerning the Roman declamation theme in rhetorical training, *matrona Aethiopem peperit* ("A Roman married woman has given birth to an Ethiopian"), Thompson wrote that Ethiopian infants appear in this declamation of adultery not because having a black African child was a particular disgrace, but because the adultery is most obviously seen when the child of Roman parents has black African features. Similarly, says Thompson, the Roman habit of associating blacks with low status is due to the fact that in Rome blacks "were mostly servants as well as being highly 'visible' people."[299]

The association between black and slave can be seen in Arabia as early as the time of the Prophet of Islam. Whether or not black Africans constituted the majority of slaves in Arabia at that time, there were clearly many black slaves there, and their distinctive appearance marked their social status.[300] We can see this association between black and slave in Arabia of the 7th century in the words of the Arabic poet Suḥaym (d. 660) I quoted above, who referred to himself as "a naked negro such as men own." As Rotter noted, in Arabia the black African was already known as a slave at that time.[301] The same is true

in other Muslim lands.

Clearly, the historical-social context of black slavery was influential in the development of the dual Curse of Ham, but that was not the only influence. Context allows for creation of the new. But how is the new created? What were the building blocks from which the dual Curse was fashioned? The dual Curse consists of a curse of slavery and a curse of black skin pronounced by Noah as punishment for Ham's crime. The curse of slavery is, of course, found in the Bible. Noah's curse of blackness is found in the Muslim black-skin etiologies reviewed above in Chapter Four. It will be recalled that the earliest form of the Curse of Ham, seen in the Syriac Christian *Cave of Treasures*, is not of a dual nature. It merely associates dark-skinned peoples with Noah's curse of slavery but does not attribute their skin color to his curse. On the other hand, the Muslim versions of the dual Curse of Ham examined in this chapter see blackness as originating in Noah's curse, just as is reported in the earlier Muslim dark-skin etiologies. In other words, the very nature of a dual Curse of Ham points to the black-skin etiologies as a source for its creation.

An indication that this is so is seen by a consideration of the differences between the Muslim and Jewish/Christian versions of the Curse of Ham examined in this chapter. The Muslim writers all put the dual curse on Ham, while the Jewish and Christian authors generally see Canaan as the one who was cursed, even if Ham was also affected by the curse on Canaan. The only exceptions to this are the Georgian version of the *Cave of Treasures* and Eutychius (Saʿīd ibn Biṭrīq), the Alexandrian Melkite patriarch (d. 940), who is apparently based on a version of the *Cave* similar to the Georgian. Both put the curse on Ham.[302]

This Ham/Canaan dichotomy is explained by the religions' different bases for the Curse of Ham interpretation. The Jewish and Christian accounts are closely linked to the biblical narrative which names Canaan as the object of Noah's curse. These accounts are either expansions of the biblical narrative (the *Cave of Treasures*) or

commentaries to the verse (*Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers*), which is often quoted in the commentary. The Muslim Noah stories, on the other hand, are not linked in these ways to the biblical text, nor were they based on a direct encounter with the Bible, which was considered corrupt (*taḥrīf*), as explained earlier. An obvious example of the lack of association with the biblical text is the missing element of Noah's drunkenness in all the Muslim black-skin or dual-curse etiologies. Noah, considered a prophet in the Qurʾan, would not have drunken wine, which is prohibited in Islam.[303] The Muslim stories ultimately derived from biblically-based accounts, but they had evolved into an independent collection of narratives (*isrāʾīliyyāt*) with no explicit connection to the biblical text.

Among these narratives are the black-skin etiologies, which, like the dual black-slave etiologies, also name Ham as the one who received Noah's curse. This agreement is thus an indication that the earlier (at least as early as 653) Muslim stories, which saw Ham turn black for looking at Noah's nakedness, influenced the later stories of a dual curse of slavery and blackness, which also saw Ham as the one affected by Noah's curse. This agreement is especially noteworthy in light of the fact that the Muslim genealogical tradition names Canaan, and not his father Ham, as the ancestor of dark-skinned people, as we saw in the previous chapter.

The Christian Georgian *Cave of Treasures* and Eutychius, which name Ham as the recipient of Noah's curse, are the exceptions to the Ham/Canaan dichotomy, which can be explained by the fact that these works were authored in the Muslim world and were likely influenced by its traditions. The Georgian *Cave of Treasures* was composed between the 9th and 10th centuries (possibly as early as the 8th century), periods of Arab rule in Georgia. In regard to Eutychius, Uriel Simonsohn has shown how deeply he was immersed in the Muslim cultural environment, and how he incorporated Islamic sources, including *qiṣaṣ alanbiyā*ʾ literature, into his *Annales*.[304] In addition, following biblical genealogy, Ham, through his son Kush,

not Canaan, was seen as the father of the blacks. This too may have influenced the Georgian *Cave of Treasures* to see the dualcurse affecting Ham rather than Canaan as is found in the other Christian authors and the original Syriac *Cave of Treasures*.

In sum, the new dual-curse interpretation of the Noah story seems to have evolved out of the earlier Muslim dark-skin etiologies. With the conquests in Africa and the increase in black slavery, those etiologies were now joined to the story of Noah's curse of slavery. The close connection between the two etiologies is shown by the shared idea of a curse of blackness and by the common character of Ham, who received the curse.

It is important to realize the nature of a dual curse. As opposed to seeing blacks as the descendants of the one cursed with slavery, as in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* ("… and his descendants were reduced to slavery, and they are the Egyptians, the Kushites, the Indians, and the Musraye"), a dual curse more profoundly and more insidiously ties blackness to servitude, for dark skin is now either a result of the curse of slavery or occurs with it as part of the curse. Dark skin is no longer merely associated with slavery. It has now become an intentional marker of servitude. The divine approval for the social order of black slavery is no longer implicit; it has become explicit in a most visibly forceful way ("May God change your complexion and may your face turn black!"). This change in the nature of the Curse is a result of the conquest of Africa, the increasing enslavement of blacks, and the consequent disparagement of dark skin.

Chapter Seven
The Curse of Ham Migrates to the West

Up to this point, the instances of the Curse of Ham that we have seen all emanate from the East. We have discovered two routes by which the development of the Curse occurred. The first grew out of the tradition of a black Canaan and appeared in the Eastern Christian *Cave of Treasures*, which associated dark skin with servitude in the context of Noah's curse. The second grew out of the Muslim etiology of Noah's curse of dark skin, which morphed into a dual curse of blackness and slavery, also found in Eastern, primarily Muslim, sources. It is not until much later that the Curse makes an appearance in the West. Scholars have traditionally pointed to the Portuguese chronicler, Gomes Eannes de Zurara (d. 1474) as the first in the West to record the Curse.[305] As we shall see, the Curse appears in Western sources earlier than Zurara, but still centuries later than its appearance in the East.

In his *Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* (1453) Zurara recounted the Portuguese expeditions to the African coast in 1441, when some "Moors" were captured and brought back to Portugal. We are given an indication of the ethnicity of these African Moors when Zurara tells us that their language was "Azaneguy of Sahara." According to Kenneth Wolf, "'Azaneguya' is a transliteration of the singular form of 'Idzagen' (Azenug), the name of a nomadic Berber people who inhabited the Western Sahara."[306] The Portuguese captured some of these Moors, including one "black Mooress (*moura negra*), who was a slave" to them. "Black Moors" appear again when we are told that, among those captured, was one "who was said to be a

noble (*cavaleiro*).” This noble, upon arrival in Portugal, said that if he would be returned to his people, he would give as ransom for himself five or six “black Moors (*mouros negros*).” After telling of the noble’s offer, Zurara continues, referring to the black Moors,

> [T]hese blacks were Moors like the others, though their slaves, in accordance with ancient custom, which I believe to have been because of the curse which, after the Deluge, Noah laid upon his son Ham, cursing him in this way: – that his race should be subject to all the other races of the world.
>
> And from his race these blacks are descended, as wrote the Archbishop Don Roderic of Toledo, and Josephus in his book on the *Antiquities of the Jews*, and Walter, with other authors who have spoken of the generations of Noah, from the time of his going out of the Ark.”[307]

Some believe that Zurara was distinguishing between Muslim blacks, who did not fall under Noah’s curse, and non-Muslim blacks, who did.[308] As I understand Zurara, however, his distinction is not one of religion but of ‘race’ (*geeraçom*, ‘generation’), between the Berbers of the Western Sahara and the people of sub-Saharan Africa. In the statement “these blacks were Moors like the others,” the term ‘Moors’ may carry the meaning that these blacks “had more or less converted to Islam,” as argued in the French translation of Bourdon and Ricard, or that “Moors” has an “elastic” sense encompassing those of darker skin color living in areas contiguous to North Africa, as argued by Kenneth Wolf.[309] Regardless, the distinction Zurara is making is not one of religion but of ‘race.’ In any case, in Zurara we have clear evidence of a belief in the Curse of Ham, combining slavery and black skin in the context of Noah’s curse, although it is not a dual curse.[310]

But Zurara was not the first in the West to refer to the Curse of Ham. Some thirty years before Zurara wrote his *Chronicle*, Don Luis de Guzmán, churchman and grand master of the Catholic Order of Calatrava, asked Rabbi Moses Arragel of Castile to compose a translation of the Hebrew Bible into Castilian together with Jewish interpretations. The work, illustrated by over 330 paintings, was

completed in 1430. In his comment on Genesis 9:25 Arragel wrote:

> *And Canaan was a slave of slaves*. Some say that these are the black Moors (*los moros negros*) who are everywhere captives.[311]

An accompanying illustration depicting the biblical scene of Noah's drunkenness is the first known iconographic representation of Ham as a black African.[312]Ham is pictured behind his brothers Shem and Japhet who are covering their drunken father (fig. 4). Presumably informed by the text's *los moros negros*, Ham's features are apparently meant to depict a black African although his skin color is only slightly darker than that of his brothers.[313]

Fig. 3 Courtesy of Paul Kaplan who scanned the image from the facsimile edition of the Bilder-Pentateuch of Moise dal Castellazzo: *Vollstäandige und originalgetreue Faksimile-*

Ausgabe des Bilder-Pentateuch von Moses dal Castellazzo, Venedig 1521, Codex 1164 aus dem Jüdischen Historischen Institut Warschau (Vienna, 1983–86), image no. 10.

Of importance to our discussion is Arragel's comment on the biblical text *And Canaan was a slave of slaves*: "Some say that these are the black Moors who are everywhere captives." Arragel's "some say" associates blackness with slavery in the context of Noah's curse. Clearly the Curse of Ham was part of the exegetical environment in 15th-century Christian Spain and Portugal.

Even before the 15th century we can find a reference to the Curse in Spain. When dealing with Genesis 9:25, Abraham ibn Ezra, the Spanish Jewish polymath and Bible commentator (d. 1164), recorded the opinion of others, with which he disagreeed:

> Some say that the Kushites are slaves because of Noah's curse on Ham. But they have forgotten that the first postdeluvian king was a Kushite [i. e., Nimrod, Genesis 10:8–10].[314]

Fig. 4 MS Alba Bible, f. 33r. Courtesy of The Fundación Casa de Alba, Madrid, Spain.

Obviously a king cannot be a slave. Ibn Ezra's rejection of that proposed by the "some" is seen again when he comments on the biblical *Cursed be Canaan, he shall be slave to his brothers*: "i. e., to Kush, Miṣraim (Egypt), and Put." Kush, the ancestor of the blacks, is the master, not the slave. And again, to *Ham is the father of Canaan* (9:18) he comments: "It says Canaan and not Kush because Canaan is the one who will be cursed." Clearly Ibn Ezra rejects the Curse of Ham interpretation, which was known to him.

We find clear references to the Curse outside the Iberian Penninsula as well. The early German law book *Sachsenspiegel*, written between 1220 and ca. 1233, mentions several opinions accounting for the origin of slavery, including those based on the biblical stories of Cain or Ham. The author Eike von Repgow writes:

> My mind cannot comprehend that one person could belong to another. Nor do we have proof of this. Numerous people certainly are missing the truth when they claim that servitude began with Cain…. Others maintain that bondage commenced with Ham, Noah's son. Noah blessed two sons but mentions no servile status of the third. Ham held Africa, Shem remained in Asia, and Japhet, our forefather, settled Europe; thus no one belonged to the other.[315]

The author contests the two biblically-based explanations for the origin of slavery – that it derives from Cain's punishment or from Noah's curse. He refutes the view that Ham, who "held Africa," was cursed with slavery: Ham was not cursed (it was Canaan), and since the descendants of Ham live in Africa while the descendants of Shem and Japheth live in Asia and Europe it is obvious that one does not serve the other.[316] In addition, Guido Kisch argued that part of Eike's argument is that "land ownership [Ham 'held Africa'] excludes the condition of servitude."[317] It is, in any case, evident that the opinion

being refuted was the Curse of Ham, which saw the ancestor of black Africans cursed with slavery.

A few other sources have been cited as evidence for a Curse of Ham in Europe but the evidence is shaky, if not entirely absent. The Provençal Jewish grammarian and biblical commentator David Kimḥi (d. 1235) wrote on Amos 9:7 (*Are you not as the Kushites to me O Israel?*): *"As the Kushites* – for they are slaves, and these are the blacks (*sheḥorim*) descending from Kush son of Ham, who are sold to be slaves." Jonathan Schorsch believes that since "Kimḥi felt it necessary to include the explanatory biblical genealogy of the Kushites" (i. e., "Kush son of Ham"), it indicates that the cause of Kushite servitude "would seem to reside in the curse of Genesis 9," so that we have here a reference to the Curse of Ham.[318] This seems a rather weak foundation for the claim that Kimḥi meant to allude to a Curse of Ham, rather than to simply identify Kush for the reader.

Even if we could include Kimḥi as evidence for the belief in the Curse of Ham, it is certain that there is no indication that Kimḥi subscribed to the idea of a dual curse. Thus Schorsch has no grounds for saying, "The notion, repeated by early modern Christian authors … that the Blackness [*sic*] of Ethiopians serves as a public rebuke for their progenitor's crime probably came, whether they knew it or not, from R. David Kimḥi, a favorite of Christian Hebraists."[319] To say that "the Blackness of Ethiopians serves as a public rebuke for their progenitor's crime," implies that blackness was a punishment for the crime, and Kimḥi does not say this.

Schorsch sees a Curse of Ham also in the work of the Lisbon-born, Jewish Bible commentator Isaac Abravanel (d. 1508). Abravanel explained Amos 9:7 (*Are you not as the Kushites to me O Israel?*) by saying that the Israelites are "like the Canaanite slaves and the Kushites who will not be free."[320] Although Abravanel does not explicitly mention Noah's curse, his juxtaposition of "the Canaanite slaves" and "the Kushites" indicates a belief in the Curse of Ham, according to Schorsch.[321] But Abravanel's "Canaanite slaves" is not

an allusion to the Curse of Ham, as Schorsch thinks. The term "Canaanite slave" has the common meaning 'gentile slave,' who is by biblical law a perpetual slave, as opposed to the Israelite slave who is set free after six years.[322] Abravanel interprets the simile in Amos to say that the Jew is perpetually enslaved to God just as the gentile slave is perpetually enslaved to the master. In addition, Schorsch compounds his misreading of Abravanel when he says, "The Blackness [*sic*] of Ḥam's descendants … seems to derive from Noaḥ's curse."[323] Even if Abravanel believed that Kushite enslavement derived from Noah's curse, there is no indication that he believed blackness to be part of the curse.

An even less certain reference to the Curse is that of Benjamin of Tudela (d. 1173), contrary to the suggestion of Edith Sanders.[324] Benjamin speaks of "the black slaves, the sons of Ham" [*ha-ʿavadim ha-sheḥorim bnei ḥam*] in the "Land of Assuan," who are captured by the Arabs and sold in Egypt.[325] By Benjamin's time the Hebrew term "sons of Ham" (*bnei ḥam*), as also the Arabic *banū ḥām*, has the meaning 'blacks' without any necessary allusion to the Curse.[326] When Ibn Ezra referred to the Hindus as *bnei ḥam* does he also mean to allude to the Curse of Ham and the enslavement of the Hindus?[327] Or when Joseph ibn Abitur in the 11th century termed the Bedouin *zeraʿ ḥam* (seed of Ham), a term equivalent to *bnei ḥam*, does he mean to allude to the Curse of Ham and the enslavement of the Bedouin?[328] Neither *zeraʿ ḥam* nor *bnei ḥam* need necessarily allude to the Curse; the terms simply mean 'blacks.'

In Chapter Three we looked at the *Libro del Cavallero Zifar* (ca. 1300), which reported that

> Ham … erred in two ways; the first, that he lay with his wife in the ark, for which he had a son whom they called Cus, whose son was this king Nimrod. And then he cursed Ham regarding property. And also the Jews say that Ham was cursed because he lay with a dog (*cadiella*/*cadilla*) while he was in the ark…. And the second error that Ham made was when he discovered his father drunk, and he mocked him.

Ham's first error was his sexual sin on the ark; the second error refers to the biblical story. Can we infer a Curse of Ham in this text, that is, a combination of blackness and servitude?

Although the *Zifar* does not mention a curse of slavery, it may have been implied when the author mentioned the incident of Noah's drunkenness. Whether implied or not, an explicit reference to slavery may be understood in Zurara's words "And then he cursed Ham regarding property [*los bienes temporales* or *bienes*]." I believe that the curse "regarding property" is a reference to the curse of slavery, for a slave owns no property. This would be similar to the descriptions of Noah's curse of slavery by Zechariah b. Solomon ha-Rofe (15th-century), as "he dispossessed him of his properties" (*she-nidahu mi-nekhasaw*), and by Nathaniel ibn Yeshaʿya (14th-century) with similar language (*hoṣiʾo mi-naḥalato*), mentioned earlier.[329] Guido Kisch argues that this relationship of servitude with a lack of property ownership also underlies the argument in the *Sachsenspiegel*, which I discuss presently. If my understanding of the *Zifar* is correct, the author indicates Ham's enslavement (*bienes temporalis*). Even so, we do not find a curse of blackness. As said earlier, although the *Zifar* records the ark story, including the birth of Kush as the result of Ham's sin, we are not told here, or anywhere else in the work, Kush's ethnic identification or skin color. It thus seems doubtful that we can assume a Curse of Ham in the *Zifar*.

Returning now to definite references to the Curse of Ham, we recall Ibn Ezra's comment on Genesis 9:25: "Some say that the Kushites are slaves because of Noah's curse on Ham." Who are the "some" who say this? Ibn Ezra lived in Muslim Spain until, at about the age of 51, he left for Italy and spent the rest of his life in Christian Europe. As we have seen, the tradition of a curse of blackness and slavery is commonly found in sources written within an Islamic environment beginning probably as early as the 8th century. Furthermore, note that although the Bible puts Noah's curse on

Canaan, the "some" claim that "the blacks are slaves because of Noah's curse on Ham." This echoes the Curse transmitted by the Muslim authors, which sees Ham as cursed with slavery and blackness, as discussed in the previous chapter. It would appear that when Ibn Ezra quoted the anonymous "some" he was referring to the surrounding Spanish-Muslim culture in which he lived.

Similarly, it seems that the same explanation obtained centuries later in Christian Spain and Portugal when Arragel quoted "some" that *los moros negros* are the slaves of Noah's curse, and also when Zurara wrote of the black Africans arriving in Portugal that, "These blacks were … slaves, in accordance with ancient custom, which I believe to have been because of the curse which, after the Deluge, Noah laid upon his son Ham, cursing him in this way: – that his race should be subject to all the other races of the world." It has been suggested that the source for this chapter in Zurara's *Chronicle* was the *General estoria*, the universal history produced under Alfonso X of Castile (d. 1284).[330] It is true that the *General estoria* served as one of the major sources of Zurara's work.[331] As far as I can tell, however, the *General estoria* does not say that blacks are enslaved because of Noah's curse, as does Zurara.[332] Nor is there any reason to assume, as Schorsch does, that Zurara's sources were Christian or Jewish merely because as an educated Christian, Zurara must have been familiar with them.[333]

Other scholars have suspected that Zurara's sources derived from the Muslim world.[334] There are good reasons for thinking of Muslim influence. The presence of Christians in Arab lands during the period of the Crusades led to the adoption of some Muslim cultural features by Christians. In addition, the spread of Muslim culture in Christian Europe was fostered by Arab trade and commerce. By about the year 800 Arab fleets dominated most of the Mediterranean. By the second half of the 10th century trade between Western Europe and the Arab world was increasing in volume.[335] But the major influence of Islamic culture on the West came via the Muslim occupation of Sicily in the

9th century, and especially Spain, occupied in 711. The height of the Islamic empire in Spain was in the 10th century, and although Toledo fell to Christians in 1085, Muslim rule continued elsewhere in the peninsula, with Granada, the last Islamic state, falling in 1492 as the Christians advanced southward.

During these many centuries Hispano-Arabic culture dominated Spain, including the various Christian communities under Muslim rule. Even after the Reconquista, Islamic or Hispano-Arabic culture prevailed. As Anwar Chejne noted, "Throughout the Reconquest, the Spanish Christians … came into immediate contact with Muslims and Arabized Jews and Christians, who entered the service of the new masters in the following capacities: administrators, tax-collectors, advisers, interpreters, and even as military commanders. Their role in the transmission of ideas within and outside Spain was enormous."[336] So too in Sicily, even after the Christian conquest during the second half of the 11th century, "in many respects [Sicily] remained a part of the Islamic world."[337]

From these centers, particularly Spain, Arabic learning spread elsewhere in Europe. Chejne devoted an article to showing how "al-Andalus was a fertile ground for cultural interaction and a natural link between Arabic, Medieval Spanish, and European thought," a place where, "people of different religious and ethnic backgrounds lived together for centuries. They were bound by geographical proximity, uninterrupted contact through marriage, conversion, commerce, and travel, all of which are conducive to intellectual interaction and borrowing."[338]

As several scholars have demonstrated, Christian Europe's adoption of Arabic learning and culture was massive and multifarious, what Francesco Gabrieli called "the great cultural transmigration from Muslim Spain." A listing of the areas of influence would include philosophy, literature, commerce, technology, science, mathematics, medicine, pharmacology, sea-faring, irrigation, building techniques, geography, music, painting and art, the scholastic method and the

structure of institutions of learning, economics, and architecture.[339] Recently, it has been suggested that modern Bible criticism also may have its roots in Muslim scholarship.[340]

There is no question that the influence of Islam on medieval Europe was extensive. George Makdisi speaks of the European "Renaissance of the Twelfth Century" as a reaction to Arabic cultural and intellectual influence.[341] Speaking of the period when Dante's *Divine Comedy* was written at the turn of the 14th century, Philip Kennedy writes that this was "an age in which the cultures of Christian Europe and Islam were far from being hermetically sealed," a time of an "intellectually syncretic Europe," a time when "Europe was "engaged … in the absorption, transformation and reappropriation of literary elements preserved in Arab sources."[342]

Until the Portuguese voyages of discovery in the 1440s and the development of the Atlantic slave trade, Arab merchants were the ones who sold black African slaves to Europeans.[343] Given the extensive influences of Islamic culture on Europe, which would have included views and attitudes associated with blacks and the black slave trade, it would be surprising if Muslim perceptions of the black did not also influence Christian Europe. Several scholars have suggested just that. Specifically, the long-standing enslavement of blacks in the Muslim world and the consequent negative images that developed alongside, it is felt, influenced European views of, and attitudes toward, black Africans.[344]

James Sweet found that the racism characteristic of American slavery already existed in the culture and religious ideology of Spain and Portugal of the 15th century: "Wide-ranging Islamic influence had profound effects on the thinking of Iberians and, in many respects, charted the course of emerging racial hierarchies." The racist ideologies of Iberia were inherited from the Muslim world, where these ideologies were a product of its development of African slavery and consequent debasement of blacks. Sweet noted in particular how "the Muslim world expected blacks to be slaves." Gradually, "Iberian

Christians became acquainted with the Muslim system of black slavery and adopted the same sets of symbols and myths," and one of those myths was the association of blackness and slavery deriving from Noah's curse. "Blackness quickly became a metaphor for servitude, and the curse of Ham legitimized the continued subjugation of black Africans."[345]

According to Sweet, then, a major route of the Curse of Ham to Christian Europe was through the cultural and commercial influences of Islam, particularly through the black slave trade and the "sets of symbols and myths" associated with it. It is thus understandable that the earliest reference to the Curse in the West is found in the Iberian Penninsula (Ibn Ezra in the 12th century), and that it is thereafter found there (Zurara, Arragel), where Muslim traditions had been part of the cultural landscape for centuries.[346] As for the references to the Curse in the *Sachsenspiegel*, Guido Kisch argued that the source for the passage was the Spaniard Ibn Ezra.[347] The same may be said for Kimḥi, if he did refer to the Curse (which, as I argued, is unlikely), for Kimḥi knew Ibn Ezra's work very well, often quoting him.[348] So the source for the *Sachsenspiegel* (and perhaps Kimḥi) also most probably derived ultimately from the Iberian Penninsula.

Chapter Eight
The Dual Curse in Europe

So far the evidence we have seen of the Curse of Ham in the West is not of the dual-curse variety. In the quotations from Zurara and Arragel and those in the West before them, there is no indication of a belief that blackness began with the curse of slavery rather than the curse affecting those already considered to have been black. Beginning in the 16th century, however, a more specifically defined curse begins to appear. Now black skin is said to derive directly from Noah's curse, in other words, the dual Curse of Ham.[349]

The earliest occurrence known to me appears in the writings of Francisco de la Cruz (d. 1578), a Spanish missionary who served in Peru. In his report to the Inquisition in 1575, he wrote: "The blacks (*negros*) are justly captives by just sentence of God for the sins of their fathers, and that in sign thereof God gave them that color." [350] "Captives by just sentence of God" refers to the curse of slavery in the Bible, which "in sign thereof God gave them that color." In 1592 Diego de Yepes (d. 1613), a friar and bishop of Tarazona in Spain, wrote that Noah's curse caused the destruction of the Canaanites as well as the physiological changes to Ham's other descendants, who are all born black and have other deformities. "Environment is not the cause of the change of color, but Noah's curse of Ham, which changed him from red to black as carbon (coal)."[351] At about the same time Alessandro Valignano (d. 1606), an Italian Jesuit missionary who served in Japan, wrote that some saw the Curse of Ham as the cause of the Ethiopians' color, although he preferred a variation of the climatic explanation ("some hidden celestial cause, combined with the

heat of the sun").[352]

Not long after these writers, beginning in the early 17th century, we find the dual curse throughout Europe, often in Spanish writings. The Franciscan missionary Juan de Torquemada (d. 1624), speaking of Noah's curse, quoted Yepes that Ham "was changed from red color to a black as coal,"[353] and Alonso de Sandoval (d. 1652), a Jesuit raised in Lima, described Noah's curse this way:

> [T]he black skin of the Ethiopians not only comes from the curse Noah put on his son Ham … but also is an innate or intrinsic part of how God created them, so that in this extreme heat, the sons engendered were left this color, as a sign that they descend from a man who mocked his father, to punish his daring. Thus the Ethiopians descend from Ham, the first servant and slave that there ever was in the world,… whose punishment darkended the skin of his sons and descendants…. Thus blacks (*negros*) are also born as slaves, because God paints the sons of bad parents with a dark brush.[354]

Several other 17th-century Spanish writers, such as the colonial historian Antonio de León Pinelo (d. 1660), the colonial jurist Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra (Pereira; d. 1655), the Franciscan Buenaventura Salinas y Córdova (d. 1653), and the Dominican Francisco Núñez de la Vega (d. 1698), all claim that the blacks' skin color derived from Noah's curse.[355] So too the Portuguese manuscript *Explicação porque saõ os negros negros* ("Explanation of Why Blacks are Black"), written sometime between 1579 and 1671. The title of this work proclaims its purpose – why are blacks black? – and the answer given is Noah's curse.[356]

In only a few instances did I find ambiguity as to whether the Curse was a dual curse, that is, whether blackness was part of the curse or preceded it. One of these is the only Eastern European reference I am aware of to a Curse of Ham during these centuries. It is found in a Jewish source from mid-17th-century Poland. Jonathan Schorsch has pointed to a work by one Moses Nirol, who wove together a series of metaphoric interpretations of biblical verses

containing the word *ḥam*. In an exegetical tour-de-force Nirol interpreted the sex-in-the-ark story, in which Ham "was stricken in his skin with the blackness of a Kushite," as follows: *If two lie together, they are warm* [*we-**ḥam** lahem*] (Qohelet/Ecclesiastes 4:11) means if two lay together in the ark, one of them was Ham, as a consequence of which *when the sun grew hot* [*we-**ḥam** ha-shemesh*], *it melted* (Exodus 16:21), i. e., Ham became dark skinned, as indicated by Song 1:5–6 (*I am dark but beautiful ... for the sun has burned me*), and he received another punishment for his sins in that *Canaan shall be a slave of slaves to his brothers* (Genesis 9:25), which is the meaning of *that my lord the king may be warm* [*we-**ḥam** le-leʾadoni ha-melekh*] (1 Kings 1:2), i. e., Canaan will be enslaved to his lord who rules over him.[357] Essentially Nirol has combined the ark story, in which Ham became black, and the biblical story, in which Canaan, whom Nirol reads as a stand-in for Ham, is cursed with servitude. Although Nirol's exegesis can be considered as representative of a belief in the Curse of Ham, we cannot categorize it as a dual curse because blackness is not seen as a result, or part, of the curse of slavery.

With the exception of Nirol and a handful of other cases, all other instances of the Curse of Ham published in 17th-century Europe that I have found are defined by black skin originating in the curse.[358] Thus, in England as early as 1607, the English cleric Robert Wilkenson delivered a sermon in London, in which he opined that Africans are "the accursed seed of Cham … [who] had for a stamp [of] their fathers sinne, the colour of hell set upon their faces."[359] Just a few years later, in an account of his travels to Africa in 1610, George Sandys wrote of the "Negros…descended of Chus, the sonne of cursed Cham; as are all of that complexion." He discussed the origin of black skin color, discounting environmental causes and concluding that blackness derived "rather from the Curse of Noe upon Cham in the posteritie of Chus."[360] In both the 1607 sermon and in Sandys's remarks a few years later, the reference is presumably to the biblical incident of Noah's drunkenness not only because the ark story was

little known and is not mentioned but because in the ark story there was no curse of Noah, as there was in the biblical incident. Reference to Noah's curse is undoubtedly to the biblical story.

That Sandys's reference is indeed to the biblical story is confirmed by Robert Boyle's rebuttal of Sandys's explanation for the origin of black skin. Boyle (d. 1691) was one of the founders of modern chemistry (after whom Boyle's law is named). Among his many scientific publications, he wrote *Experiments and Considerations Touching Colours*, in which he disagreed with the view that Noah's curse of slavery was "ratified" by Ham becoming black.

> There is another opinion concerning the complexion of Negroes that is not only embrac'd by many of the more vulgar writers, but likewise by that ingenious traveler Mr. Sandys, and by a late most learned critick, besides other men of note, and these would have the blackness of Negroes an effect of Noah's curse ratify'd by God's, upon Cham.[361]

Boyle rebuts that view, pointing out that the only curse on Ham [*sic*] mentioned in the Bible was one of servitude, not blackness, and adds, "Nor is it evident that blackness is a curse, for navigators tell us of black nations, who think so much otherwise of their own condition, that they paint the devil white. Nor is blackness inconsistent with beauty…. So that I see not why blackness should be thought such a curse to the Negroes…."

The belief in the dual Curse was so common in 17th-century England that it is found in all sorts of writings. We saw its appearance in religious works and sermons, travel accounts, and scientific studies discussing the origin of black skin, and these examples can be increased.[362] It even found its way into literary works where the question of the origin of blackness is not directly addressed. The playwright Edward Ecclestone wrote an opera in 1679 called "Noah's Flood," in which Ham turned black in connection with the curse of slavery on Canaan. At the relevant part in the drama Ham enters with a bough of fruit bleeding in his hand, and says:

What Prodigie is this! Wood drops forth Blood!
….
within these Mystick drops, I see,
Lies some Prognosticks so, Heaven change my Fate.
Oh Heavens! This does my wonder more create,
That a pure crimson hue should dye a black,
[all his hand turns black]
And make my ruddy Skin a sable take:

[….]

And I am loth the Spirit to expound;
It is a Curse against my younger Son,
For his contempt, and his derision:
Servant of Servants, a most retched Slave,
He shal for ever live, so pass to's Grave,
And like a Pestilence this Curse shall be,
Spreading Infection through his Progeny.

[….]

Ham. Since I am curst, and curst a Slave to be, …[363]

In Chapter Three when discussing the sex-in-the-ark etiology of blackness, I quoted the English cleric Peter Heylyn's (d. 1662) reference to it as "that foolish tale of Cham's knowing his wife in the Arke, whereupon by divine curse his sonne Chus with all his posterity, (which they say are Africans) were all blacke: it is so vaine, that I will not enndeavor to retell it." Several scholars have noted that Heylyn's opinion as to the possibility of this cause of blackness gradually evolved, for in the first edition (1621) of the *Microcosmos* there is no mention of the ark story as a cause of blackness; in the second edition (1625), which is the one I quoted above, Heylyn called it a "foolish tale" (repeated through the 8th edition in 1639); and in his expanded edition, entitled *Cosmographie* and published in 1657, he wrote:

Others more wise in their own conceits (but in no bodies else) will have the

> natural Seed of the Africans to be black of colour; contrary both to sense and reason, Experience and true natural Philosophy being both against it. And some will have this Blackness laid as a curse on Cham, (from whose posterity the African Nations do derive themselves) because, forsooth, he had carnal knowledge of his wife when they were in the Ark: a fancie as ridiculous, as the other false. So that we must refer it wholly to Gods secret pleasure; though possibly enough the Curse of God on Cham and on his posterity (though for some cause unknown to us) hath an influence on it."[364]

What did Heylyn mean when he said, "possibly enough the Curse of God on Cham and on his posterity (though for some cause unknown to us) hath an influence on it"? Presumably he was not referring to the ark story, for he had just said that the explanation of sex in the ark is a "ridiculous fancie." Heylyn, rather, had in mind the biblical story of Noah's curse, and the belief held at the time that with the curse Ham turned black. The ark story may be a "ridiculous fancie" but it is possible that Noah's biblical curse "hath an influence on" the skin color of Ham and his descendants, "the African Nations."

Support for this understanding of Heylyn may come from the anonymous *Athenian Oracle*, a collection of questions and answers taken from *The Athenian Mercury*, an English periodical published during the 1690s. Arguing against a climatic explanation for African dark skin, a "Queriest" asked,

> I rather incline to the Opinion of Dr. Heylin, who ascribes the Blackness of the Negroes to the Curse upon the Posterity of Cham. Pray your second Thoughts on the Matter. *A[nswer]*. The Cause of the Negroes Blackness, has been always accounted a great Secret in Nature, which the wisest can but guess at, and it may be after all, Ovid's Account on't, is as near the matter as any we have had since; who gravely tells us, that when *Phaeton* fired the World… [w]hich in the Mythologic Physiology, seems to imply no more than the commonly received Opinion, that the Ethiopians got their Blackness by being the Sun's too near Neighbours…. For tho' 'tis a pretty Notion that the Blacks were the Posterity of Cham, and carry the Mark of his Sin in their Countenances, … yet all this is knockt, and many other Probabilities are quite overturn'd by this Demonstration…. [365]

There is no reference here to the ark story, which presumably would have been mentioned were it what was intended in the question and answer. Rather, the undefined "Curse upon the Posterity of Cham" seems more likely to refer to the biblical story of Noah's curse of slavery, with its consequent blackness, which interpretation was current. As the physician and natural philosopher John Bulwer wrote in addressing "how so great a part of mankind became Black": "[U]nto examination no such satisfactory and unquarrellable reasons as may confirme the causes generally received, which are but two in number, that is, the heat and the scorch of the Sun, or the curse of God on Cham and his Posterity."[366] Similarly, the dual Curse of Ham is mentioned as a cause of blackness by other Englishmen, including the polymath Thomas Browne (d. 1682), who refuted the claim (it "is sooner affirmed than proved"), as did Bulwer and others.[367]

As I have stressed throughout this study, we must distinguish between the rabbinic ark story and the biblical story of Noah's drunkenness as a cause of black skin. It is precisely this distinction that allows us to parse Heylyn's words and better understand his meaning. But as discussed earlier, the distinction between the two stories is often not observed by moderns reading the sources. Heylyn provides us an example of this, for while he distinguished between the two stories, some scholars conflated the stories in their reading of this author.[368]

As in England so too elsewhere in 17th-century Europe, although apparently less frequently, we find the dual curse mentioned as the cause of blackness.[369] For example, in Italy the Catholic priest Agostino Tornielli, as early as 1610 recorded this origin of blackness, although he himself was of the view that maternal impression was the cause. Kush's mother looked at, or thought about, something dark at the moment of conception and thus imparted a black color to Kush, who in turn conveyed the blackness to some of his children.[370] The French administrator and explorer of Senegal Louis Moreau de Chambonneau cited the "reports of many" that the blacks [*Negres*]

"are descended from the lineage of the said Cham, cursed by his father, [and] are thereby distinguished from other men, as an eternal memorial of the curse."[371] In Germany, in 1677, the physician Johann Nicolaus Pechlin felt it necessary to refute the Curse origin of blackness, drawing on the opinions of Thomas Browne, Robert Boyle, and Hermann Conring.[372]

In the same year that Pechlin published his work, Johann Ludwig Hannemann, a Dutch theologian and physician, wrote *A Curious Inquiry into the Blackness of the Descendants of Ham*, in which he argued that Noah's curse carried with it the effect of blackness as well as slavery (via Ham and Canaan respectively). Thus dark-skinned peoples are condemned to eternal slavery. Hannemann claimed his teacher, Luther, as the source for this teaching.[373] As Albert Perbal noted, however, Luther does not say this explicitly, although he may have meant it. Luther said that the Bible depicts Ham in the "foulest colors" (*foedissimis coloribus*). Perbal, and Raoul Allier as well, thinks the expression should be taken metaphorically.[374] In any case, Hannemann seems to be the only Dutch instance of a dual curse in the 17th century. Ernst van den Boogaart writes that he did not find any 17th-century Dutch text, in which blackness is attributed to the curse of Noah. Although van den Boogaart missed Hannemann, his statement indicates the otherwise "absence in early Dutch sources … in which a link is made between the cursing of Ham and blackness."[375]

We saw in the previous chapter that the Curse of Ham tradition linking black Africans with servitude appeared in Spain as early as the 12th century (Ibn Ezra) and elsewhere in Europe in the 13th century (*Sachsenspiegel*). It was found also in Spain and Portugal from the 13th/14th to the 15th century (Zurara, Arragel). It is, however, during the 16th and 17th centuries that the Curse appears far more often, beginning in 1575. And it is during this time that we see a specific form of the Curse emerge. In the vast majority of the instances from the 16th and 17th centuries quoted above, the reference is to the

version in which blackness is part of the curse. Can we attribute this overwhelming preponderance of the dual curse at this time directly to the influence of Muslim traditions, which, as we saw in Chapter Six, were commonly of the dual-curse variety?

Probably not. I know of only two cases where direct Muslim influence is documented. The Swiss Orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger transmitted much information from Arabic sources in his *Historia Orientalis* (1651). When he recounted the biblical story of Noah's drunkenness, he quoted Kisāʾī that Noah cursed Ham for laughing at him by saying, "May God change your complexion and may your face turn black!…. May He make bondswomen and slaves of Ham's progeny." Hottinger tells us, still in Kisāʾī's name, that God complied, and then Hottinger adds: "For the Arabs maintain that indeed the blacks (*Aethiopes*), Ham's descendants, bear the stigma of his [Ham's] punishment by being marked by a dark or most black color."[376]

While Hottinger relied on Kisāʾī, the French Orientalist Barthélemy d'Herbelot in his *Bibliothèque orientale*… (1697) quoted from the *Taʾrīkh* of the Muslim historian Ṭabarī (d. 923):

> The author of Tarikh Thabari reports that Noah cursed Ham and his son Canaan, because they had not covered his [Noah's] nudity, which conforms to the text of holy Scripture. He [Ṭabarī] adds that by this curse the posterity of Ham not only became enslaved, rendered subject to his brothers, but also that the color of his skin changed and became black.[377]

Aside from Hottinger and Herbelot, the other Christian European sources do not draw on Muslim (or, for that matter, eastern Christian) sources.[378] At a later time, during the 18th century, by means of Herbelot, Ṭabarī's text became known in European (and American) thought. Augustin Calmet (d. 1757), a French Benedictine, quoted Herbelot in his popular *Dictionnaire ... de la Bible* (1728):

> The author of Tharik-Thabari says that Noah, having cursed Ham and

> Canaan, the effect of his curse was, that not only their posterity were made subject to their brethren and born, as we may say, in slavery, but that likewise all on a sudden the color of their skin became black, for they [i. e., the Arab writers] maintain that all the blacks (*noirs*) descend from Ham and Canaan. *Bibl. Orient*. p. 425.[379]

During the 16th and 17th centuries, however, it appears that the vast majority of European writers were not directly influenced by the Muslim Noah narratives, but were reflecting an accepted Christian hermeneutic tradition of the dual Curse of Ham.

The earlier, pre-16th-century references to the Curse in the West (Ibn Ezra, the *Sachsenspiegel*, Zurara, Arragel, possibly, but not likely, Kimḥi) did have their beginnings in Muslim-influenced Spain and Portugal, as I argued above, but they were not of the dual-curse variety. These earlier writings asserted that blacks were slaves because of Noah's curse but they did not claim the curse as the origin of dark skin. The interest of these authors was not in how black skin originated but in the fact that blacks were slaves. Nor can we include the *Zifar* (ca. 1300) as speaking of the dual, or even the non-dual, Curse of Ham, for, although this work implies a curse of slavery, as I claimed above, it does not mention blackness (and even its reference to Kush is made in the context of the ark story, not in the context of the biblical account of Noah's curse of slavery).[380] But as black slavery became more prominent in Europe, so too did the dual curse. Just as the dual curse came into existence with the development of black slavery in the Muslim East, so too in the Christian West the dual curse coincided with the expansion of black slavery, and for the same reasons: it more profoundly connected blackness with servitude as the intentional marker of servitude, the visible sign of the blacks' degradation. In the East this development was a result of the Muslim conquest of Africa. In the West it was a result of the European slave trade out of Africa.

With the Ottoman capture of Constantinople in 1453, Europe turned to Africa for its primary supply of slaves. Up to that point the

Black Sea and Balkan areas had provided the major source of slaves. This ancient source was now diverted to Islamic lands by the Turks. Although black African slaves had been arriving in Europe for many centuries from Muslim traders via the trans-Saharan trade routes, now they were brought directly from the coast of Africa, in addition to acquisition through the slave markets in North Africa. As a consequence, black slaves were increasingly found in Europe.[381] Ivana Elbl estimated that approximately 156,000 black slaves were brought to Europe and the eastern Atlantic islands between 1450–1521.[382]

In Florence a growing number of black slaves were brought over from Portugal beginning in the 1460s. By the second half of the 15th century, probably most of the slaves in southern Italy and Sicily were black; in Naples by the late 15th century it is estimated that 83 percent of the slaves were black Africans.[383] Due to ties with Islam and North Africa, blacks were even more numerous in the Iberian Penninsula. "After the establishment of the slave trade by the Portuguese, the dominant fact of the black existence in Spain and Portugal was his existence not as a black, but as a *slave*.... The black entered the Western architecture of signs conjoined as fact and fiction – black slave. He was black (*negro*) because he was naturally a slave (*esclavo*); he was a slave (*esclavo*) because he was naturally black (*negro*). To be a Negro was to be a slave."[384] This situation is graphically illustrated by the 1566 will of a Granadan widow who left her estate to two blacks, a brother and sister. The widow thought it necessary to write that "the color of their faces gives rise to the suspicion that they are slaves, but I say that they have never been but free people."[385]

It is estimated that by the year 1500, black slaves and ex-slaves in Lisbon constituted close to ten percent of the city's population, and that by 1565 there were 14,500 black slaves in the bishopric of Seville.[386] José Luis Cortés López calculated that between 1500 and 1515 blacks constituted about 68% of the slave population in Seville.[387] In Valencia it is thought that between 1489 and 1500 seventy

percent of the slaves imported into the city were black, and that between 1500 and 1515 blacks constituted 80.4% of the slave population.[388] For the 16th century in total, Cortés López estimated 37,430 black slaves in Spain, constituting 65% of the total slave population, and by the late 16th century, according to Emily Weissbourd, the slave population in Spain was predominately black.[389] As for Portugal in total, Russell-Wood figured that in the half-century before 1492 that country imported about 25,000 blacks from Africa to Europe. He noted that in 1466 the Bohemian baron Leo of Rozmital commented on "the extraordinary number of blacks in Portugal," a comment echoed by Hieronymus Münzer in 1494.[390] The increasing number of black slaves is found also elsewhere in Europe. Around the year 1500, blacks began to constitute the "great majority" of slaves in Europe.[391] In sixteenth-century England black slaves, which were brought from Spain and Portugal, were a visible presence.[392] By the second half of the 17th century blacks could be found all over England, with the largest concentration in London.[393]

The reality of African servitude was readily explained by the dual-curse elaboration of the biblical story, handily serving the purpose of explaining and maintaining the status quo in society and justifying the slave trade. As Kaplan said speaking of the dual nature of Noah's curse: "The curse of blackness did eventually become an accepted concept in Christian culture, just at that moment when, for historical reasons, we would expect it to have appeared really useful…. It did not play such a role until the nature of contacts between large numbers of African blacks and Christian whites required it."[394]

The same emphasis on the dual form of the curse is seen in Europe after the 17th century as well. Of 39 instances I have found where the Curse of Ham is mentioned (listed in Appendix I), 22 see dark skin originating in Noah's curse; the other 17 are ambiguous.[395] A particularly vivid description of the Curse and the emergence of black skin may be found in the writings of Anne Catherine Emmerich (d. 1824), a German mystic and nun being considered by the Vatican for

canonization (sainthood). While Emmerich's visions achieved fame in our time as the inspiration for the movie "The Passion of the Christ," for our purposes what is important is her reported belief in the dual curse as expressed in one of her visions:

> I saw the curse pronounced by Noe upon Cham moving toward the latter like a black cloud and obscuring him. His skin lost its whiteness, he grew darker…. I saw a most corrupt race descend from Cham and sink deeper and deeper in darkness. I see that the black, idolatrous, stupid nations are the descendants of Cham. Their color is due, not to the rays of the sun, but to the dark source whence those degraded races spring.[396]

We see here unmistakably the deprecating view of dark skin. No longer are darkskinned peoples the ones who were cursed by Noah but darkness itself is an integral part of the curse.

Several scholars have noted that beginning in the 18th century, there appears in Europe a growing interest in the origin of black skin color. "By the 1730s an increasing number of naturalists, anatomists, and religious writers began debating this question [of the origin of black skin] much more intensely…. Interest … reached a high point in 1739 when the Académie royale des sciences de Bordeaux … offer[ed] a prize for the best essay addressing the following question: 'What is the physical cause of *nègres*' color, of the quality of their hair, and of the degeneration of the one and the other.'"[397] It is during this period that nonbiblical, non-metaphysical, explanations for dark skin appear without any reference to the Curse, and of those that do refer to it, it is often to refute the Curse rather than affirm it.[398]

And yet, the Curse of Ham continued in European thought as an explanation for black skin. In this chapter we have seen numerous examples of this in the 17th century, and as is clear from a look at Appendix I, the Curse explanation continued in Europe well into the 18th and even the 19th centuries. So too, the Curse of Cain as an explanation of dark skin was common in Europe during the 17th-19th centuries (Appendix III). Roxann Wheeler may claim that the Curse

of Ham "loses purchase in British documents of the eighteenth century after the first two decades," and Edward D. Seeber may write that by 1788 in France the Curse of Ham (and Cain) "were now generally dismissed as pious absurdities," but the Curse of Ham (and the Curse of Cain) didn't die.[399] As Colin Kidd wrote, "[T]he sciences, though rising rapidly in authority, had themselves still to obtain full autonomy from the realm of scriptural exegesis. Even among the leading natural scientists of the early eighteenth century, the issue of racial origins still demanded a scriptural treatment." And specifically: "The curse of Ham managed to hold its own alongside naturalistic explanations of colour during the age of Enlightenment."[400] A more nuanced explanation is offered by Renato Mazzolini, who showed that there was a marked decline, *only among scholars*, in theological explanations for blackness. A biblical explanation for black skin, on the other hand, "was the opinion most widely held by the general public."[401]

Surprisingly the dual Curse of Ham was adopted even in black Africa. T. O. Beidelman wrote that it was preached as justification for black slavery, colonial expansion, and exploitation by the Church Missionary (of the Church of England) in Tanganyika, which is now part of Tanzania, and which began its work in the 1880s, and that it was "relayed to the Africans with whom these missionaries have worked."[402] We can see an example of this in the missionary-inspired dual-curse legend recorded in 1966 among the Iraqw people in Tanzania:

> Another man had two sons. One day the father forgot to cover himself when he went to bed. One of the sons came, saw his father, laughed, and went away. The other son also passed by. He found something to cover his father with. When the father woke up, he said to the first son: 'Because you laughed, you shall be black, and be the slave of your brother.' To the other son he said: 'Because you covered me, you shall be white, and your brother shall work for you.' This is the reason why you as a white man are superior to us blacks.[403]

Although the father and sons are not named, and there are only two sons, this legend clearly derives from the biblical story of Noah and his curse of slavery.

By means of Christian missionaries, versions of the dual-curse story made their way to other places in Africa. Nzash Lumeya recorded an oral tradition among the Mbala Christians of Zaire that when Noah cursed Ham with slavery, Ham turned black.[404] Lumeya claimed that the Mbala received their Christian teaching from missionary groups beginning in the 19th century, and that similar teachings were spread throughout Africa wherever the missionaries worked.[405]

Another African source mentioning a dual curse is recorded in the traditions of the Beta Israel (formerly, Falasha), the Ethiopian Jews living now in Israel. Hagar Salamon collected these traditions, among which was the following told her by an Ethiopian ex-slave in Israel:

> [Noah] would curse at the children who laughed at him and say that the teeth of the children of Ham would be white, and their hair kinky, and their faces black and ugly. [He would say:] "You'll always work for your brother, he will be above you and you below him."[406]

How did this tradition come to the Beta Israel? We have seen that the dual curse was known among Yemenite Jews of the 14th and 15th centuries, but there is no evidence for contact of the Beta Israel with this community.[407] The most likely explanation is that for which evidence exists of direct contact of the Beta Israel with those believing the dual curse, and this begins in the mid-19th century with the Protestant missionaries of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews. Although, in reaction to the missionaries, European Jewish emissaries made contact with the Beta Israel in 1868 (Joseph Halévy) and 1904 (Jacques Faitlovitch), the dual-curse story was all but unknown in European Jewish tradition. The only European Jewish source I am aware of that unequivocally subscribes to the dual curse is Zeʾev Wolf Einhorn in 19th-century

Lithuania (see Appendix I), and his view, it is clear, was his own deduction and was not transmitted from earlier Jewish sources. On the other hand, the dual curse, as we have seen, was common in Christian tradition. I therefore conclude that it was most likely through the Christian missionaries that the dual-curse tradition was transmitted to the Ethiopian Jews, just as it was transmitted to others in Africa via the missionaries.[408]

We also find in Africa an etiology of blackness without reference to slavery, although it was clearly based on the Noah story. It was recounted by Harold Faust, a Christian missionary to the Barabaig, a subgroup of the Datooga people in Tanzania, in 1966. He recorded the following told by one chief:

> Shortly after the man who had escaped the flood returned to the valley, he made himself a gourd of ghamunga, honey wine. He became drunk and sought the comforts of his bed. His sons found their father lying there naked, since his covering had fallen from him. The sons laughed at the nakedness of their father. He roused himself and cursed them. "You shall be as black as your hearts." From that day on, these sons and their sons in turn have become the dark races of the world. But sons who were born to the old man after this incident remained light and have peopled the light races of the world."[409]

Although this version mentions neither the biblical characters nor the curse of slavery, it, like the Iraqw story, is based on the biblical account, and thus derives from the dual curse tradition.

We saw earlier that the Curse of Ham was known in Christian Europe at least as early as the 12th century in Spain, apparently learned from Muslim sources. In this chapter we have seen that during the 16th-17th centuries, as a consequence of the African slave trade in the West, use of the Curse increased, appearing throughout Western Europe and, in one instance, in Poland. It is at this time, beginning in 1575, that we find a new development, the dual form of the Curse, in which blackness is joined with servitude. The preponderance of this

form of the Curse continued throughout the 18th-20th centuries in Europe, and even in Africa via Christian missionaries. Not surprisingly this usage coincided with and reflected the development of black slavery and the consequent disparagement of the black African. Denigration of the black is reflected in and strengthened by the dual curse, in which black skin was seen as the intentional marker of servitude.

Chapter Nine
The Curse of Ham in America

From Europe the Curse of Ham came to America, where it is mentioned as early as 1700 in the critique of slavery by the Massachusetts judge Samuel Sewall. He refuted the claim that "these Blackamores are of the Posterity of Cham, and therefore are under the Curse of Slavery."[410] A glance at Appendix II, below, will show that references to the Curse in America were commonly made from then onward, continuing into our own times, with its heaviest use during the 19th century. It is likely that the British colonies in America received the Curse of Ham from England, just as France and Spain were the sources for the transmission of the idea to the Spanish and French territories in the New World. Appendix I lists the many English writers from the 18th and 19th centuries who espoused this commonly accepted view in Christian Europe, and it should not occasion surprise if the Curse came to Anglophone America along with its English settlers. Some have thought that, in addition, there may have been another source.

We saw earlier that the Swiss Orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger (d. 1667) and the French Orientalist Barthélemy d'Herbelot (d. 1695) quoted Arabic sources for the Curse of Ham idea. We saw, as well, that the French Benedictine Augustin Calmet (d. 1757), in turn, quoted Herbelot in his *Dictionnaire ... de la Bible*. Calmet was then quoted by Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol and chaplain to King George II, who was in turn quoted by the American clergymen Philip Schaff and James Sloan.[411] The line of transmission was thus: Herbelot > Calmet > Newton > Schaff/Sloan. Thomas Peterson

thought that Newton was referring to Calmet's *Dictionnaire* with its Curse of Ham quote from the Arabic source, which thus played a role in the transfer of the Curse idea to America.[412] Whitford, however, has shown that Peterson was mistaken, and that Newton was actually quoting from another of Calmet's works, his commentary on the Bible, *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testaments*.[413] In this work Calmet did not mention the Curse but argued for reading Genesis 9:25 as *Cursed be Ham father of Canaan* rather than the traditional *Cursed be Canaan*. Newton's argument that the verse should be read as a prophecy, and that the prophecy was directed against Ham became very influential in American thought, but, as Whitford said, it did not refer to the dual Curse of Ham.[414]

It is possible that Newton's quotation of Calmet's *Commentaire* led people to Calmet's other work, the *Dictionnaire*, in which the Arabic source for the Curse is mentioned. Newton himself referred to the *Dictionnaire* elsewhere in his work.[415] Perhaps we can see a similar use of both of Calmet's works in an anonymous article examining the "Legality and Expediency of Keeping Slaves" published in the May 1758 edition of *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies*. There it is stated that Ham's "whole race, in the person of Canaan and his posterity, Noah cursed and predicted to Slavery and subjection under the offspring of Shem and Japhet; upon which (as an Oriental fable reports) their skin became black on a sudden."[416] The reference to Noah's prediction presumably indicates a reliance on Calmet's *Commentaire*, and the reference to the "Oriental fable" (possibly also the expression "on a sudden") a reliance on Calmet's other work, the *Dictionnaire*.[417] In any case, the *Dictionnaire* was very popular, having gone through several editions in both the original French and its English translation, which was widely available in America (it was also translated into Latin and the major European languages). Benjamin Braude writes that "the article on Ham in Calmet's *Dictionary* was the single most

important statement on the curse ever published, because of the authoritative character and longevity of the book."[418] It is thus possible that Calmet's *Dictionnaire* played a role in transmitting the Curse of Ham to America. There is, however, little direct evidence to support the claim. Thus far I have found only one writer who quoted the *Dictionnaire* directly for support of the idea, the anonymous author of *African Servitude; When, Why, and by Whom Instituted* (1860).[419]

Be that as it may, the Curse of Ham found a ready home in America, where it was regularly relied upon. Its popularity is seen not only by those accepting its veracity, but also by the number of those who felt the need to reject it. Arguments against the Curse were made from various positions. Most, like Sewall, argued on scriptural grounds that Canaan, not Ham, was the one cursed by Noah, and Canaan was not considered to be the ancestor of blacks. The Quaker Ralph Sandiford, like others, argued against those holding that Canaan was the blacks' ancestor, pointing out that the Canaanites had been destroyed according to the Bible, and no longer existed.[420]

Others used moral reasoning. In an essay published by Benjamin Franklin in 1762 but written some years earlier, the Quaker John Woolman contemptuously dismissed the Curse of Ham argument this way:

> To suppose it right that an innocent Man shall at this Day be excluded from the common Rules of Justice; be deprived of that Liberty which is the natural Right of human Creatures; and be a Slave to others during Life, on Account of a sin committed by his immediate Parents; or a Sin committed by Ham, the Son of Noah, is a Supposition too gross to be admitted into the Mind of any Person, who sincerely desires to be governed by solid Principles.[421]

In a clever piece, an anonymous African-American in 1859 relied on logic and humor: "We know it is customary to quote the curse of Canaan against us, to prove *our blood contaminated*. But Noah's curse could not have amounted to much, as against us especially, seeing that

both the Asiatic and European branch of his family, have repeatedly been in servitude." The author went on to speak of the curse on Canaan for Ham's sin ("This was very doubtful justice, to say the least of it") and concluded that Noah "had no right after a drunken carousal, to curse anything except the wine that had fuddled him." [422]

The argument that Noah's drunkenness invalidated his curse was leveled by other African-American writers as well. Samuel Ringgold Ward, who escaped slavery with his parents and became a newspaper editor, minister and advocate for abolition, wrote in 1855,

> I know that "cursed be Canaan" is sometimes quoted as if it came from the lips of God; although, as the Rev. H. W. Beecher says, and as the record reads, these are but the words of a newly awakened drunken man. There was about as much inspiration in these words, as there might have been in anything said by Lot on two very disgraceful nights in his existence.[423]

As in Europe, the dual aspect of the curse is commonly found in America. Perhaps the most extensive description of the physiological changes caused by this aspect of the curse was written by the Nashville publisher Buckner Payne ("Ariel"). Payne sought to prove that blacks were not human (they were beasts) and therefore did not descend from Ham. In setting out his arguments, however, he first took notice of "the prevailing errors, now existing in all their strength, and held by the clergy, and many learned men, to be true," among which was the curse on Ham, which he described this way:

> The curse denounced against him, that a servant of servants should he be unto his brethren; and that *this* curse, was denounced against Ham, for the accidental seeing of his father Noah naked – that this curse was to do so, and did change him, so that instead of being long, straight-haired, high forehead, high nose, thin lips and white, as he then was, and like his brothers Shem and Japheth, he was from that day forth, to be kinky headed, low forehead, thick lipped, and black skinned; and that his *name*, and this *curse* effected all this.[424]

Just as the curse of slavery was refuted by different arguments, so

too was the curse of blackness. Some resorted to scientific arguments. In 1744 John Mitchell, a physician and botanist born in colonial Virginia, investigated the "Causes of the Different Colours of People in Different Climates," and concluded that the original color of humanity was a shade between black and white, from which both black and white "degenerated," although white people "seem to have degenerated more from the primitive and original Complexion of Mankind, in Noah and his Sons, than even the Indians and Negroes." In arguing his case, Mitchell referred to the Curse: "[T]he black colour of the negroes of Africa, instead of being a Curse denounced on them, on account of their Forefather Ham, as some have idly imagined, is rather a Blessing, rendering their Lives, in that intemperate Region, more tolerable, and less painful."[425]

Perhaps the best refutation of all, as is often the case, was by the use of satire. In his story "The Fall of Adam" (1886), the biracial American novelist and short-story writer Charles Chesnutt has Brother 'Lijah Gadson say regarding the color of blacks:

> I be'n 'flectin' dat subjic' over a long time, and axin' 'bout it; but nobody doan' seem to know nuffin' surtin' 'bout it. Some says it's de cuss o' Caanyun but I never coul'n' understan' bout dis here cuss o' Caanyun. I can['t] see how de Lawd could turn anybody black jes' by cussin' 'im; 'case 'fo I j 'ined de church – dat was 'fo de wah – I use' ter cuss de overseah on ole marse's plantation awful bad – when he was'n' da – and all de darkies on the plantation use' ter cus 'im, an' it didn' make de leas' changes in 'is complexion.[426]

The different refutations of the Curse are indicative of its popularity, especially of the dual-curse variety. Of the 80 instances listed in Appendix II, below, where the Curse is mentioned during the 18th-20th centuries in America, only eight understand blackness as preceding Noah's curse. Forty believe, or record the belief, that it originated in Noah's curse, to which number we can undoubtedly add many from the large amount of ambiguous cases (32).[427]

Belief in the dual Curse is depressingly seen in its acceptance even among some black slaves. From 1936 to 1938 the New Deal program, known as the Federal Writers' Project, employed workers to conduct interviews with former slaves (the "WPA Slave Narrative Collection"). Among the interviews a few mention the Curse, among which is this statement by Gus (Jabbo) Rogers, a former slave from Alabama:

> [Y]ou know, Miss, Noah had three sons, and when Noah got drunk on wine, one of his sons laughed at him, and the other two took a sheet and walked backwards and threw it over Noah. Noah told the one who laughed, "You[r] children will be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the other's two children, and they will be known by their hair and their skin being dark," so, Miss, there we are, and that is the way God meant us to be. We have always had to follow the white folks and do what we saw them do, and that's all there is to it. You just can't get away from what the Lord said.[428]

Another former slave, Lizzie Grant, after giving some details of her life ("I was born in Dunbar, West Virginia, in the year 1847, and was owned by Ellis Grant, cousin to the great Grant that was the northern General"), told the WPA interviewer:

> [Y]ou know son we have been servants to the rest of the world ever since old Noah's son laughed at his father's nakedness and God turned his flesh black and told him for that act his sex [*sic*] would always carry a curse, and that they would be servants of the people as long as this old world in its present form remained.[429]

In America, as in Europe, the popularity of the dual curse is a reflection of the increasing denigration of dark skin. This is dramatically seen in the description of the curse of blackness by James A. Sloan, which easily rivals Emmerich's vision in its vilification of the black. Sloan, a Presbyterian minister from Mississippi, wrote in 1857:

> Ham deserved death for his unfilial and impious conduct. But the Great

> Lawgiver saw fit, in his good pleasure, not to destroy Ham with immediate death, but to set a *mark of degradation* on him…. All Ham's posterity are either *black* or dark colored, and thus bear upon their countenance the mark of *inferiority* which God put upon the progenitor…. *Black, restrained, despised, bowed down* are the words used to express the condition and place of Ham's children. Bearing the mark of degradation on their skin….[430]

Emmerich's portrayal was informed by the Christian interpretation of biblical black personalities as representing evil and sin, which I discussed in an earlier work and briefly review below in Chapter Twelve.[431] The minister Sloan was presumably also aware of this exegesis. But the intensity of Sloan's description seems to me to go beyond an exegetical interpretation of blackness, and reflects the reality of how the black African was perceived in the American South.[432] The association between the dual curse and the degradation of the black is clearly seen in American writings during the period of slavery.

Just as there was in Europe an increasing interest in the origin of black skin color, for which the Curse served as an explanation, so too was this the case in America. Sylvester Johnson even claims that in 19th-century America this was the most common use of the Curse. "The biblical account of Noahic descent… was primarily understood to account for Negro origins, and Ham was the progenitor of the Negro race.… The idea of a curse and the association between Ham and slavery were not the most important themes…. First and foremost, the Noahic account answered the originary concerns of not only ethnologists and religionists but also any other general publics who posed the pressing question: From whence came the Negro?"[433]

But I question this assertion, for I find that the majority of those resorting to the Curse in America do so to justify black slavery. In fact, this is one of the noteworthy differences that I see between Europe and America. A comparison of Appendices I and II shows that the number of those resorting to the Curse to justify black slavery as opposed to explaining dark skin alone is considerably greater in America than in Europe.[434] We see the same disparity between Europe

and America in regard to the Curse of Cain (Appendix III).[435] In Europe the Curse of Cain was overwhelmingly cited to explain blackness, not black slavery.[436] In America it was also used, as often, to explain and justify black slavery. The role of black slavery in America, and the importance of biblical justifications for it, are reflected in these statistics.

Earlier we looked at medieval examples of the belief that God darkened Cain, who became the ancestor of blacks.[437] According to the biblical account, after Cain killed his brother Abel, God put an unspecified "mark" on Cain "so that no one who found him would kill him" (Genesis 4:15). Some interpreted that mark to be dark skin. From the early 17th and through the 18th and 19th centuries we commonly find this idea in European and American writings (see Appendix III), and it even continued into the mid-20th century as an argument for segregation.[438] Unlike the story of Noah's curse of Ham/Canaan, the biblical story of Cain says nothing about slavery. Consequently, those who would wish to bind blackness to slavery needed to introduce the element of servitude, and they did so primarily by arguing that Ham married into the line of Cain, or that Canaan was of the lineage of Cain. Other explanations were also advanced. Some who associated Cain's presumed mark of blackness with slavery merely asserted that association without specifiying how it came about.[439]

The marriage connection between the lines of Cain and Ham is not mentioned in the Bible. It is a strained reading into Scripture, which served to support the institution of black slavery. So too is the Curse of Ham a forced interpretation, and not only because there is no mention of skin color in the biblical story. According to the Bible, Canaan was the one cursed with slavery, but Canaan was neither genealogically nor geographically related to black Africa (see Genesis 10:15–19). A common argument of the abolitionists and anti-slave writers was precisely that: in the Bible only Ham's son Canaan was cursed with servitutde, while blacks descended from another of Ham's

sons, Kush. As one writer, Jacob L. Stone, wrote, "The supposed prophecy consigning the African race to bondage … is founded upon a demonstrable mistake."[440] James Pennington, African-American abolitionist, former slave, and Presbyterian minister, sarcastically suggested that the slave owners would have a stronger argument if they were to find and enslave the Canaanites.[441]

W. E. B. Du Bois may have complained, "With what characteristic complacency did the slaveholders assume that Canaanites were Negroes?" but assume they did.[442] The reason is obvious: it justified and supported the institution of black slavery. Since it was Canaan who was cursed with slavery in the Bible, making him black underscored the connection between blacks and servitude. In American writings especially one can see this emphasis on Canaan. Some examples would include an incorrect reference to Thomas Newton's *Dissertations on the Prophecies* in the *Annals of Congress* of 1818 ("This very African race are the descendants of Canaan"); David Lee Child, a Massachusetts abolitionist, explaining the "slavites" position ("the curse pronounced upon Canaan, [which] was still clinging to the poor Ethiopians, his descendants"); the Southern eccentric John Jacobus Flournoy ("another race of blacks, the Canaanites"); the Baptist minister from Virginia Thornton Stringfellow ("Canaanites or Africans"); the widely read, anti-black author Josiah Priest ("the Negro or Canaanite slave"); the pro-slavery Baptist minister and teacher Iveson L. Brookes ("the Canaanitish or African race"); the Tennessee Methodist minister Samuel Davies Baldwin ("negroes … are of the stock of Canaan," a section entitled "Negro Type from Canaan," "negroes … are the lineal descendants of Canaan"); the anonymous H. O. R. ("these negroes are the descendants of Ham, of Canaan…."); and the Lutheran pastor William Dallman ("the Negro is the leading living descendant of Ham and Canaan").[443] Probably the starkest example of this emphasis on Canaan is found in the work of Samuel A. Cartwright, an influential pro-slavery physician from New Orleans. No one was more insistent

on the Canaan connection to blacks than he. An examination of his varied writings shows the numerous times he argued that blacks are descended from Canaan.[444] Even Frederick Dalcho, physician and minister in South Carolina, who accepted an Arabic version of the Bible which has Ham, and not Canaan, cursed with slavery, nevertheless emphasized that "particularly the Canaanites" were cursed with slavery and blackness.[445] At a later period, after the abolition of slavery, the belief in black Canaanites was used to argue for segregation, for the Bible often forbade "the intermarrying of the Israelites with the black races of Canaan."[446]

As Du Bois's comment indicates, many American writers assumed that they had in fact found and enslaved the Canaanites, that is, the black Africans, and this notwithstanding contrary geographic and genealogical evidence as presented in the Bible. The American educator Henry Parker Eastman described this exegetical sleight of hand. Eastman quoted the biblical passage at length to show that it was not Ham, the ancestor of the blacks, who was cursed with slavery by Noah, and then he continued:

> Forced by the plain teaching of the Bible to abandon his original position the modern Christian hastily seeks shelter for his 'brother in black,' in the theory that it was Canaan whom Noah cursed and changed into a negro."[447]

This quotation reveals plainly the reason for the belief in a black Canaan: it supported the belief that blacks were destined for slavery. If an examination of the Bible indicated that Ham, the ancestor of blacks (through Kush), was not the one cursed with slavery, then "the modern Christian hastily seeks shelter … in the theory that it was Canaan whom Noah cursed and changed into a negro." It was Canaan who was cursed with slavery in the Bible, so Canaan must be the one who was "changed into a negro," despite any evidence to the contrary.

That the situation of black slavery explained the Canaan-based interpretation was clearly stated by Edward Drummond-Hay, England's Consul-General to Morocco during the years 1829–44. He

recorded a Jewish belief in North Africa that Canaan was black: "The general idea among Jews at this day seems to be that, wherever Canaan or children of Canaan are mentioned in Holy Writ, Black people are designed." Drummond-Hay explained the reason for this belief: "[A]s the Blacks of Africa have been made this day, as slaves, so the Jews have supposed that all those who were thus enslaved were descendants from Canaan and vice versa, that all descendants from Canaan were blacks."[448]

Others posited a black Canaan for other reasons, but as I show in Excursus III, these explanations are historically, genealogically, or etymologically problematic. In other words, there is no evidence for a claim that Canaan was black or that blacks descended from Canaan. The only reason for thinking so is based on an invented interpretation of the biblical story meant to justify the existing situation of black slavery. As Edward Blyden said, "They prove the *application* of the curse from the condition of the race, and then argue the *necessity* of that condition from the application of the curse. Does not such reasoning marvelously involve what logicians call the *argumentum in orbem?*"[449] Or, as Du Bois succinctly put it when debating those who claimed that Canaanites were Negroes based on the Curse of Ham belief: "Are not Negroes servants? Ergo!"[450]

In sum, the Curse of Ham as justification for the enslavement of blacks, which first appeared in the Near East, and then in Western Europe, emerged finally and most vociferously in America, where it is commonly found beginning in 1700. Its popularity is indicated not only by the quantity of its occurrences in print but also by the amount and variety of refutations levelled against it. The form of the Curse that predominated in America is decidedly of the dual variety, in which black skin is seen as the divine mark of servitude and degradation. The symbolism of the color black had long been associated with evil, and Christian exegesis of the Bible had transferred that symbolism from abstract notions of color to black human beings, as I explain below. Nevertheless, the amount and

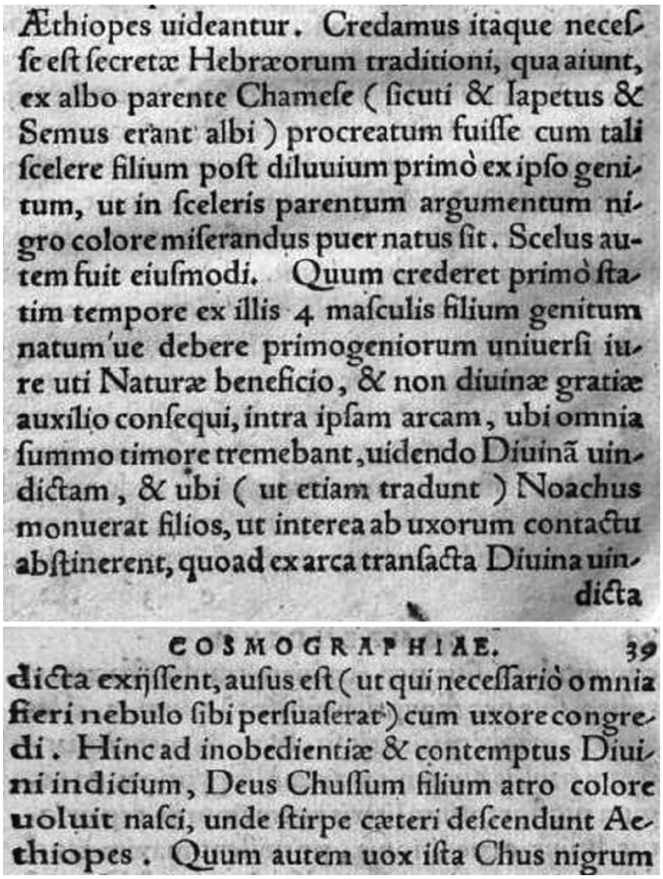
intensity of the application of the dual Curse in America goes beyond an inherited symbolic meaning of the color. It reflects and justifies, rather, the social situation of blacks in the country during the era of slavery (and the Jim Crow period). A comparison of the references to the Curse in Europe and America tells the same story. Use of the Curse of Ham (and Cain) to justify black slavery as opposed to explaining dark skin alone is much greater in America than in Europe. Similarly, the emphasis on biblically enslaved Canaan, as opposed to Ham, as the one who was cursed, occurs far more frequently in America than in Europe. All these factors are reflective of the position of blacks in America.

Chapter Ten
The Beginnings of Chaos

As we have seen, once blackness was considered to be part of Noah's curse, the Curse of Ham was employed in the West, as it was in the East centuries earlier, as an etiology to explain black skin, irrespective of slavery. Eventually the belief in Noah's dual curse became so well known in Europe that it completely replaced the rabbinic ark story as the cause of blackness. The displacement of the ark story is strikingly seen in those who immediately followed and quoted Postel. I noted earlier that Postel, in a work published in 1561, was one of the first in the West to quote the sex-in-the-ark etiology of blackness.[451] Not long after, in a work published in 1574, the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe quoted Postel as saying that the black skin color of the Ethiopians derived from the curse put on Ham for mocking his father's nakedness (as well as from the power of the sun).[452] "Mocking his father's nakedness" refers to the biblical story of Noah's drunkenness but, as we saw, Postel does not give this context for the etiology of blackness. His context is, rather, the ark story. In other words, Brahe misquoted Postel and confused the two stories, the rabbinic and the biblical. Apparently by Brahe's time the dual curse of black skin and slavery was so well known, and the ark story so little known, that Brahe unconsciously replaced the latter with the former (see figs. 5 and 6).

Some years later the second edition of Genebrard's *Chronographiae libri quatuor* (1585) appeared, in which Genebrard also quoted Postel to the effect that "Jewish tradition believes that from his white parent Ham (just as Japhet and Shem were white) Kush

(or at least, his posterity) was born with a dark color as proof of his father's crime." This is a faithful quotation of Postel's report of the ark story. Then Genebrard immediately continued in a new paragraph and in his own voice, "In addition there is the calamity of servitude [affecting the Kushites] … for of the descendants of Kush, the Arabs are partly extinct and partly under the yoke. The people of Africa, however, are liable to perpetual servitude to the Europeans and Asians."[453] Genebrard thus implicitly connected ("In addition ….") black skin color (Kushites) and slavery (Africans).



Æthiopes uideantur. Credamus itaque neceſſe eſt ſecretæ Hebræorum traditioni, qua aiunt, ex albo parente Chameſe (ſicuti & Iapetus & Semus erant albi) procreatum fuiſſe cum tali ſcelere filium poſt diluuium primò ex ipſo genitum, ut in ſceleris parentum argumentum nigro colore miſerandus puer natus ſit. Scelus autem fuit eiuſmodi. Quum crederet primò ſtatim tempore ex illis 4 maſculis filium genitum natum'ue debere primogeniorum uniuerſi iure uti Naturæ beneficio, & non diuinæ gratiæ auxilio conſequi, intra ipſam arcam, ubi omnia ſummo timore tremebant, uidendo Diuinã uindictam, & ubi (ut etiam tradunt) Noachus monuerat filios, ut interea ab uxorum contactu abſtinerent, quoad ex arca tranſacta Diuina uindicta

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dicta exiſſent, auſus eſt (ut qui neceſſariò omnia fieri nebulo ſibi perſuaſerat) cum uxore congredi. Hinc ad inobedientiæ & contemptus Diuini indicium, Deus Chuſſum filium atro colore uoluit naſci, unde ſtirpe cæteri deſcendunt Aethiopes. Quum autem uox iſta Chus nigrum

Fig. 5 Guillaume de Postel, *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium* (Basel, 1561), pp. 38–39.

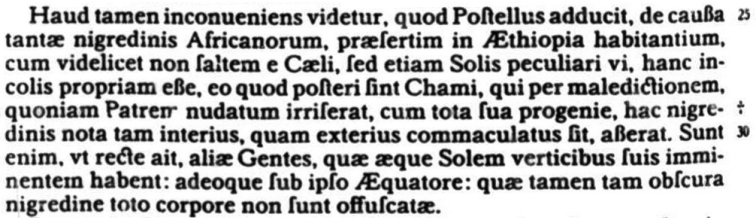

Haud tamen inconueniens videtur, quod Poſtellus adducit, de cauſa tantæ nigredinis Africanorum, præſertim in Æthiopia habitantium, cum videlicet non ſaltem e Cæli, ſed etiam Solis peculiari vi, hanc incolis propriam eſſe, eo quod poſteri ſint Chami, qui per maledictionem, quoniam Patrem nudatum irriſerat, cum tota ſua progenie, hac nigredinis nota tam interius, quam exterius commaculatus ſit, aſſerat. Sunt enim, vt recte ait, aliæ Gentes, quæ æque Solem verticibus ſuis imminentem habent: adeoque ſub ipſo Æquatore: quæ tamen tam obſcura nigredine toto corpore non ſunt offuſcatæ.

Fig. 6 Tycho Brahe, *Astronomiae instauratae progymnasmata* (1574) in Tycho Brahe, *Opera omnia*, ed. I. L. E. Dreyer (Hauniae, 1913–29), 3:230.

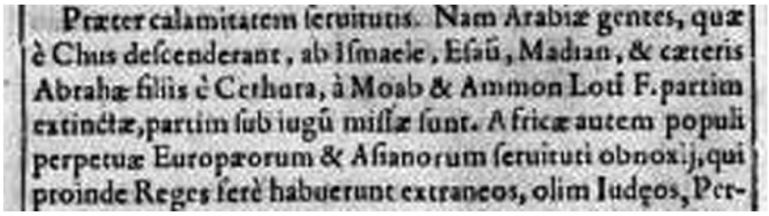

Præter calamitatem ſeruitutis. Nam Arabiæ gentes, quæ è Chus deſcenderant, ab Iſmaele, Eſaũ, Madian, & cæteris Abrahæ filiis è Cethura, à Moab & Ammon Loti F. partim extinctæ, partim ſub iugũ miſſæ ſunt. Africæ autem populi perpetuæ Europæorum & Aſianorum ſeruituti obnoxij, qui proinde Reges ferè habuerunt extraneos, olim Iudæos, Per-

Fig. 7 Gilbert Genebrard, *Chronographiae libri quatuor* (1585), p. 27.

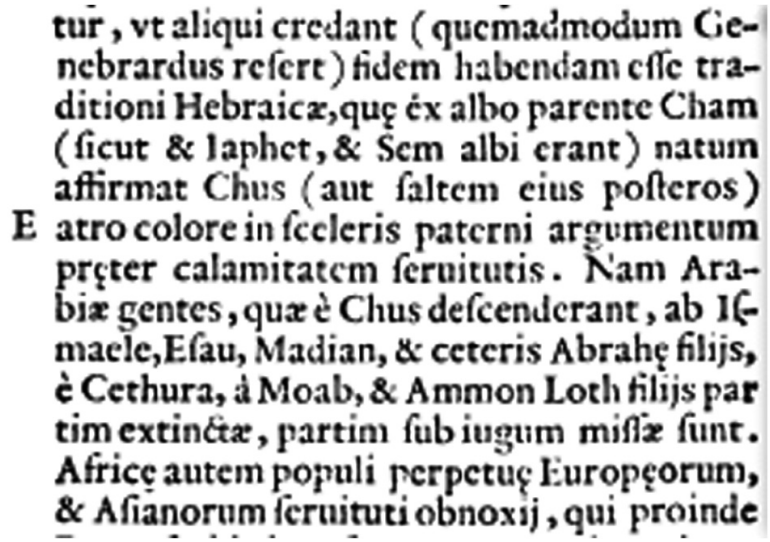

tur, vt aliqui credant (quemadmodum Genebrardus refert) fidem habendam eſſe traditioni Hebraicæ, quę éx albo parente Cham (ſicut & Iaphet, & Sem albi erant) natum affirmat Chus (aut ſaltem eius poſteros)
E atro colore in ſceleris paterni argumentum prçter calamitatem ſeruitutis. Nam Arabiæ gentes, quæ è Chus deſcenderant, ab Iſmaele, Eſau, Madian, & ceteris Abrahę filijs, è Cethura, à Moab, & Ammon Loth filijs partim extinctæ, partim ſub iugum miſſæ ſunt. Africę autem populi perpetuę Europęorum, & Aſianorum ſeruituti obnoxij, qui proinde

Fig. 8 Antonio Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studionum* (Rome, 1593), 2:214.

When some years later (1603) Possevino, in turn, quoted Genebrard, he made the implicit explicit and thus more firmly combined blackness and slavery, for not only does he not distinguish

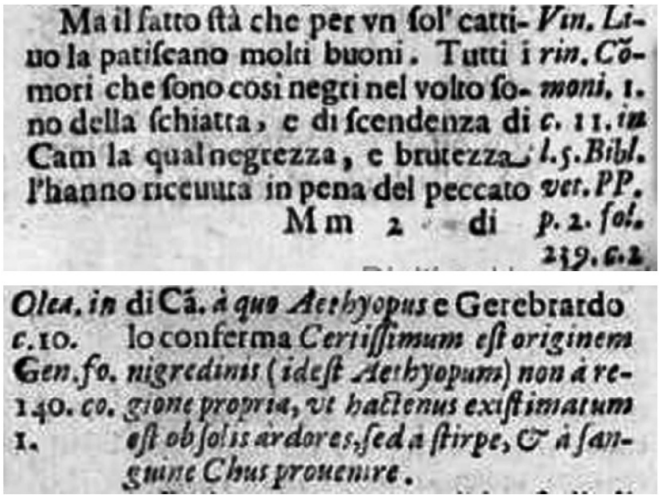
between Postel's words (blackness) and Genebrard's own (slavery), and not only does he not separate the two by a new paragraph, as did Genebrard, but he combines them into one sentence:

> Some believe (as Genebrard reports) holding faith with Jewish tradition that from his white parent Ham (just as Japhet and Shem were white) Kush (or at least, his posterity) was born with a dark color as proof of his father's crime in addition to the calamity of servitude. For the people of Arabia, who descend from Kush … are partly extinct and partly under the yoke. The people of Africa, however, are liable to perpetual servitude of the Europeans and Asians.[454]

As I read Possevino, Genebrard's separate statement about the misfortunes of blacks ("In addition there is the calamity of servitude….") is now combined with the punishment of black skin "as proof of his father's crime," i. e., "Kush (or at least, his posterity) was born with a dark color as proof of his father's crime in addition to the calamity of servitude," which is apparently also proof of his father's crime. Thus, dark skin and servitude are joined, and joined seemingly within the framework of the biblical story (and not the ark story, which is not mentioned). This, then, goes beyond Brahe's confusion of the rabbinic etiology of blackness with the biblical etiology of slavery, for in effect it conflates the two separate accounts of blackness and slavery resulting in a dual Curse of Ham (see figs. 7 and 8).

The same thing occurred in another who quoted Genebrard. Agostino Paoletti, an Augustinian monk, published a work in 1646 in which he wrote that the black color (and brutality, *brutezza*) of the Moors (*mori*) originated from the punishment received by Ham, from whom the Ethiopians descend. And then Paoletti quoted Genebrard as confirmation: "It is most certain that the origin of blackness (i. e., of the Ethiopians), is not from their own region … on account of the heat of the sun, but from the race and blood of Kush."[455] As we have seen, this is indeed what Genebrard, quoting Postel, said referring to the

sex-in-the-ark story and Kush's consequent change of color. But Paoletti was speaking of the biblical curse of Ham. Paoletti, in other words, like Possevino conflated the two stories, a misreading of Genebrard that continues into our times.[456]

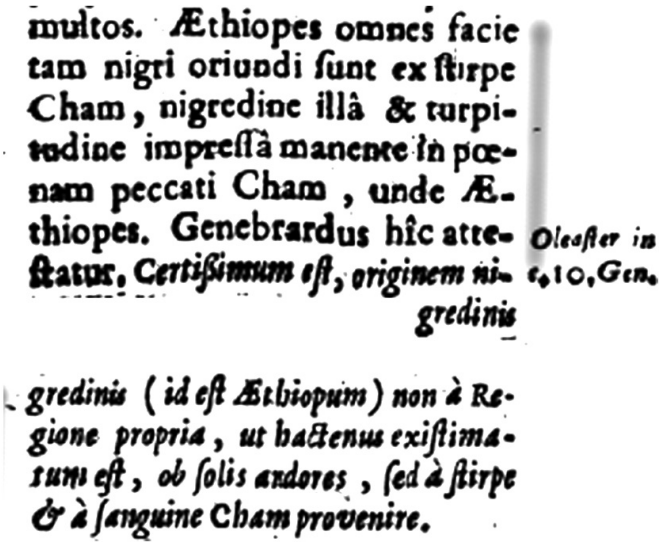


Ma il fatto ſtà che per vn ſol' catti-
uo la patiſcano molti buoni. Tutti i
mori che ſono così negri nel volto ſo-
no della ſchiatta, e di ſcendenza di
Cam la qual negrezza, e brutezza
l'hanno riceuuta in pena del peccato
Mm 2 di

Vin. Li-
rin. Cõ-
moni. 1.
c. 11. *in*
l. 5. *Bibl.*
vet. PP.
p. 2. *fol.*
239. *c.* 2.

Olea. in di Cã. *à quo Aethyopus* e Gerebrardo
c. 10. lo conferma *Certiſſimum eſt originem*
Gen. fo. *nigredinis (ideſt Aethyopum) non à re-*
140. *co.* *gione propria, vt hactenus exiſtimatum*
1. *eſt ob ſolis ardores, ſed à ſtirpe, & à ſan-*
guine Chus prouenire.

Fig. 9 Agostino Paoletti, *Discorsi predicabili di tutte le Domeniche e feste correnti* (Venetia, 1646), pp. 275–276.



multos. Æthiopes omnes facie
tam nigri oriundi ſunt ex ſtirpe
Cham, nigredine illâ & turpi-
tudine impreſſâ manente in pœ-
nam peccati Cham, unde Æ-
thiopes. Genebrardus hîc atte-
ſtatur, *Certiſſimum eſt, originem ni-*
gredinis

Oleaſter in
c. 10. *Gen.*

gredinis (id eſt Æthiopum) non à Re-
gione propria, ut hactenus exiſtima-
tum eſt, ob ſolis ardores, ſed à ſtirpe
& à ſanguine Cham provenire.

Fig. 10 Agostino Paoletti, *Discursus predicabiles in omnes dominicas et festa* … Ex Italico Latine redditi Opera et Studio R. Patris Gratiani a Sancto Elia (Antwerp, 1659), pp. 359–360.

An even more egregious example of this conflation is seen in a

later, Latin translation of Paoletti's work, in which the quote from Genebrard received an interesting change: "the race and blood of Kush" became "the race and blood of Ham" (*a stirpe et a sanguine Cham*).[457] This change of what Genebrard said is certainly due to the translator's (Gratian of St. Elias, a Carmelite monk) desire to make Genebrard agree with Paoletti, who had just stated that blackness began with Ham's punishment. But it is unlikely that Gratian would have made the change had he known of the ark story as reported by Postel and those who quoted him (Brahe, Genebrard, Possevino), all of whom speak of Kush as the ancestor of the blacks. In other words, Gratian's change reflects the conflation of the rabbinic ark and the biblical drunkenness stories and the replacement of the former with the latter as the cause of blackness (see figs. 9 and 10).

In the evolution of Postel's original statement we can see how well known the dual Curse of Ham had become. Postel didn't mention it as the cause of blackness, writing rather of the ark story. Brahe, however, misquoted Postel and mistakenly replaced the ark story with the story of Noah's drunkenness as the cause of blackness. Genebrard did quote Postel correctly citing the ark story as the reason for the change in skin color but then immediately added that blacks are also under the yoke of slavery, thus associating the two separate stories of blackness and slavery. Possevino then combined Genebrard's statements about blackness and slavery, creating a dual curse where none existed: slavery and blackness were now both caused by Ham's crime. A similar misunderstanding of Genebrard was made by Paoletti, who cited Genebrard's reference to the ark story as the cause of blackness to support his belief that blackness began with Noah's curse of Ham. And cementing the conflation of the biblical and rabbinic stories, Genebrard's *Kush* was changed to *Cham* in Gratian's translation of Paoletti.

The evolution of Postel to Brahe, Genebrard, Possevino, Paoletti, and Gratian came full circle in 1677 when Hannemann published his *Curiosum scrutinium nigredinis posterorum Cham i. e. Aethiopum*

and, like Brahe, misquoted Postel:

> It is not believable that all the descendants of Ham are black on account of the curse put on Canaan, as Wilhelm Postel opines in his *De concordia orbis*.[458]

Hannemann quoted Postel as speaking of the biblical curse of slavery put on Canaan but, as we have seen, Postel did not speak of the biblical curse but of the ark story as the origin of blackness.[459] Once more we see the conflation of the rabbinic and biblical etiologies, in which the biblical curse story had completely replaced the rabbinic ark story as the cause of blackness.

At the beginning of this book we saw several cases of such conflation by scholars in our own times. Another example of such confusion bridges the time span between the 17th and 21st centuries with a string of inaccuracies. That strange work, the *Comte de Gabalis* (1670), which I quoted earlier, recorded the story of Ham turning black as punishment for his "profane ardour" in not resisting his wife, and according to "the Cabalists," the skin color of the Africans is due to this act. Although the scene of Ham's sexual indiscretion in the *Comte* account takes place after the exit from the ark, it is not related to the biblical story of Noah's drunkenness. It appears independently as a recasting of the sex-in-the-ark story. Some years after the *Comte de Gabalis* appeared, Pierre Bayle published his *Dictionaire historique et critique* (1697), which included two stories regarding Ham. The first ("It is believed") is the sex-in-the-ark story but without any mention of changed skin color. The second is a quotation of the *Comte de Gabalis*. Neither of these stories is explicitly related to the biblical story of Noah's drunkenness.[460]

Now comes the Jesuit Pierre Charles in 1928, who conflates the two stories by quoting Bayle incorrectly as saying that "rabbinic legends confirm that after the sin of irreverence toward his father [i. e., after seeing Noah's nakedness] Ham became black. His descendants inherited this mark of infamy."[461] Charles also writes that

the *Comte de Gabalis* attributes the color of blacks to the fault of their father, another incorrect reference to the biblical story of Noah's drunkenness. It is not clear whether Charles is citing the *Comte de Gabalis* directly or via Bayle who quoted the *Comte*. In any case, neither the *Comte de Gabalis* nor Bayle connects Ham's changed skin color to the biblical incident, but to Ham's sexual indiscretion with his wife. They are transmitting variations of the sex-in-the-ark story. Whether Charles transformed Bayle's "it is believed" to "rabbinic legends" or he understood the *Comte*'s "Cabalists" as "rabbinic legends," the rabbinic sex-in-the-ark story, as we saw, is not connected with "the sin of irreverence toward his father," that is, the biblical account of Noah's drunkenness. Charles has transformed the rabbinic etiology of blackness into an element of the Bible's curse of slavery by Noah.[462]

Thus began the confusion and conflation of the rabbinic ark story and the biblical curse of Noah. We saw in Chapter Eight that it was during the 16th-17th centuries that the Noah story became the common explanation for black slavery and the origin of black skin. It is, therefore, not surprising that at this time those who quoted Postel confused his reference to the ark story as an explanation for black skin with the common explanation of Noah's dual curse. Beginning with Brahe, Possevino, Paoletti, Gratian, and Hannemann in the 16th and 17th centuries, to Charles in the 20th, this confusion of the rabbinic tradition with the biblical Noah story has persisted into our own times.[463]

Chapter Eleven
Which People Were Cursed with Black Skin?

In Chapters Two and Three we examined various origins stories of dark skin, and we saw how those stories reflected and explained the social context of those telling the stories. Those who became black were considered to be the ancestors of darker-skinned peoples known to the story-tellers. Thus the ancient Greek myth of Phaethon (as well as the environmental explanation) explained the pigmentation of the black African. The same is true for the etiologies told by Native Americans after their encounter with black Africans (and white Europeans). The Greek Zeus-Io myth included the Egyptians in its etiology of dark-skinned people, reflecting the Greek view of the Egyptians as dark skinned.

When we come to biblically-based etiologies, the matter becomes more complicated by the genealogical tradition in the Bible, which sees mythical Ham as the father of the historically-known Egyptians, Kushites, Putites, and Canaanites (Genesis 10:6). The ancient Jewish sex-in-the-ark etiology cast Ham as the one who became black, and, although this is based on a play on Ham's name (*ḥam*/*mefuḥam*), perceptions of the pigmentation of Ham's descendants presumably lie behind this etymological and etiological creation. We know that the Jews of late antiquity considered the Egyptians and Kushites to be dark skinned. We do not know, however, how they viewed the Putites and Canaanites.[464]

Ancient Egyptian tomb paintings, dating from the 13th and 12th centuries BCE, provide colored pictures of Canaanites and, perhaps,

Putites, but they may not be of much help. These paintings depict different ethnic groups as human figures. The Egyptian (*rmṯw*) is painted red-brown, the Kushite (*nḥsyw*) black, and the Libyan (*tmḥw*) and Syrian/Asian/Canaanite (*ꜥmw*) are painted in lighter colors (pink, yellow, or white; see fig. 11).[465] Even if we wished to draw evidence from a time period a millennium and a half removed from the time of the rabbinic authors, these depictions would not be determinative for our purposes. The Kushites and Egyptians are indeed painted in dark colors, but what about the Canaanites? They are light skinned in these paintings but in other Egyptian depictions, they are considerably darker, with either a light brown or a dark brown color.[466] As for the Libyans, we cannot say for certain whether they are to be identified with the biblical Putites. Although ancient testimony and most modern scholarship do support such an identification, others think that Put is to be identified with ancient Punt in or near modern Somalia, or with an area in the Arabian Peninsula.[467] In short, these paintings are not probative for determining Jewish late antique views of the Canaanite and Putite skin color.

Fig. 11 From a drawing made by Heinrich von Minutoli (1820) in Erik Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings*, trans. David Warburton (New York, 1990), p. 147, pl. 105: “The four races of mankind in the fifth hour of the Book of Gates in the tomb of Sety I.… Right to left are an Egyptian, an Asiatic (with long beard and colored

kilt), a dark-skinned Nubian, and four light-skinned Libyans (tattooed, with side-locks, and feathers in the hair)."

But it is not necessary to have this information in order to explain the ark story, for Ham's other two sons/descendants, the Egyptians and Kushites, were considered to be dark skinned by the rabbinic authors. The anomalous (from the Jewish perspective) skin color would account for an etiology of dark skin based on their common father Ham. The belief that Ham meant 'black' or 'dark' would cement the etiology.

Given that one of Ham's sons is Egypt and that the Jews viewed the Egyptians as dark skinned, we cannot say that the rabbinic story of sex in the ark, focused on Ham, grew out of a perception of the black African (Kushite) alone. This is especially clear in the Arabic writers who adopted the story. They speak of Ham's seed being altered because of his sin in the ark, as a result of which the "Sūdān" came into the world. The Arabic word *sūdān*, which literally means 'blacks,' can indicate, in addition to sub-Saharan black Africans, a variety of dark-skinned peoples inhabiting the Saharo-Sahelian sector of Africa running across the continent, as well as the Egyptians, Indians, and Arabs themselves.[468]

But in later iterations of the ark story it is not Ham but his son Kush who became black. We saw earlier that in the sex-in-the-ark account attributed to Wahb ibn Munabbih (b. 654/5) by Ibn Hishām (d. 828 or 833) it was Kush who became black.[469] In Jewish literature, the first appearance of this interpretation is found in a work called *Pirqei de-rabbenu ha-qadosh*, whose composition is judged to be from about the 9th or 10th century.[470] This work presumably derives from the Land of Israel, and since Wahb lived in Yemen and Ibn Hishām in Egypt, it is clear that this interpretation of the ark story was known in the Islamic Middle East during the 9th century, if not earlier.

Interpreting the story to refer to Kush, thereby excluding the Egyptians, restricts the change in skin color to black Africans alone,

the descendants of Kush. This is certainly the case in Postel's understanding of the ark story, which, as I argued above, most probably derives from Rashi, who, in turn, presumably drew on *Pirqei de-rabbenu ha-qadosh*. Postel writes: "As evidence of [Ham's] disobedience and contempt of the Divinity, God willed his son Chus to be born with a dark color, from whom the Ethiopians descend [as] do the others out of his stock." Of course, those (Bodin, Genebrard, Possevino, Best) who relied upon Postel had the same Kush interpretation. But even those Christian writers not dependent on Postel interpreted the text the same way. As early as ca. 1300, the *Zifar* would refer to Ham who "erred in two ways; the first, that he lay with his wife in the ark, for which he had a son whom they called Cus." Later, Heylyn, Purchas, the Comte de Gabalis (and Bayle dependent on the Comte), Eisenmenger, and Calvör similarly understood that Ham's sin in the ark resulted in the dark skin of Kush and the "Africans," the "Negro," or the "Ethiopians." Even the 13th-century English psalter, which refers to Cain as the one darkened by sin, depicts Cain with Negroid features.[471]

In my earlier work I argued that the restriction of dark-skinned people in these stories to the black Africans was a result of the encounter with the Africans. Based on the work of Bernard Lewis, I argued that color terms, which were originally used as indications of relative complexion, now became ethnic markers to describe the new, dark-skinned populations, with black marking the African. Blackness was no longer seen as a complexion with varying shades, which might encompass several peoples, the Jew and Arab included. Skin color, rather, became fixed, narrowed and specialized depicting specific ethnicities.[472]

But it wasn't merely the exposure to black Africans that was responsible for this interpretation of the ark story. It was the context of that exposure. With the Islamic conquests in Africa, beginning with Egypt in 640/1, and the subsequent enslavement of black Africans, the black became synonymous with slave, as we have seen. Although the

ark etiology says nothing of slavery, it is closely related to the biblical story that does. We've seen how the two stories were easily confused and conflated by various writers, both medieval and modern. The association of the black African with slavery was thus an additional factor that led to the reinterpretation of the ark story claiming that the one who became black was not Ham, which would include all his dark-skinned descendants, but Kush alone, the ancestor of the black African.

This change of perspective of 'the black' is most clearly seen when we compare the Muslim dark-skin etiologies with the Muslim dual-curse etiologies of blackness and slavery. In the former, we are told that the ones who became black (*aswad*) encompassed several different peoples living across the African continent in the Sahara and Sahel, as well in sub-Saharan areas, and included also the Egyptians and even the non-African Indians. Thus we hear that the Nūba, Zanj, Qazān (or Qarān or Quran/Qurān), Zaghāwa, Ḥabasha, Qibṭ, Barbar/Berber, Fezzān, and Indians (Hind and Sind) all have their dark skin due to Noah's curse.[473] The dual-curse etiologies, which associate dark skin with servitude, on the other hand, do not list these various peoples. When they do mention specific groups, they are either sub-Saharan black Africans (Abyssinians, "negresses"), or they are given descriptions that are typically associated with the sub-Saharan African (hair "not growing beyond the ears," or palms of the hand and soles of the feet being a lighter color than the rest of the body), commonly found in Greco-Roman, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim sources.[474]

This explanation is also in accord with the Curse of Ham version in the pre-Islamic, Syriac-Christian *Cave of Treasures*, which included several dark-skinned peoples (Egyptians, Indians, and others) among those cursed with slavery. The inclusion of these different peoples would have been unlikely if the *Cave of Treasures* had been composed in a period after the Muslim conquest of Africa. The enslavement of Africa's inhabitants and the consequent identification of the black

African as a slave would have likely led, rather, to a version in the *Cave of Treasures* restricting the curse of slavery to the black African alone, just as occurred in the other versions of the Curse of Ham we have examined.[475]

The connection of slavery to the black African is seen unmistakably in the earliest Western – Christian and Jewish – iterations of the Curse. The association is indicated in the terminology used to identify those affected by the Curse, who are the *mouros negros* (Zurara, Arragel), the blacks/*sheḥorim* (Kimḥi), or those from Africa (*Sachsenspiegel*). So too the term *kushim*/Kushites, used by Ibn Ezra and Abravanel most probably refers to the black African. Not surprisingly, this association is intensified in the later centuries in Europe and America after the development of the Atlantic slave trade, where the terminology describing the ones cursed (*negros*/negroes, Ethiopians, Africans, *Schwartze*, niger, *Mohren*, Blackamores) once again reflects a focus on the black African, as do physiological descriptions (e. g. frizzled hair, kinky headed, flat nosed, thick lipped). We have thus seen how, with the development of black African slavery and the increasing identification of blacks with servitude, etiologies of blackness that focused on various dark-skinned people were transformed into etiologies of blackness (the ark story) or blackness and slavery (Curse of Ham accounts) focusing on the black African alone.

But once blackness was understood to be part of Noah's curse, it wasn't long before the Curse of Ham was applied to other dark-skinned people besides the African. This would have been especially the case where these people were in a subservient position, as were the Africans. With the discovery of the New World, European colonizers compared the native peoples to the biblical Canaanites, thus justifying their conquests by drawing an analogy between the new land and its peoples with the land and people of Canaan. Giuliano Gliozzi identified Martín Fernández de Enciso (d. 1528) as one of the first to make the claim. In a report commissioned by King Ferdinand,

Enciso wrote that since, via Papal grant, God had given the Indies to the Spanish, the relationship of the conquistadors to the natives should be patterned after the conquest of Canaan, which had been given to the Israelites by God. Just as the conquest and subjugation of Canaan and the Canaanites was divinely justified, so too was the conquest and subjugation of the New World lands and its peoples.[476]

The Spanish were not alone in using the biblical story as a theological blueprint for their colonial activities. The analogy between the Indians and the Canaanites was made also by the English, God's new chosen people. "[I]n the ideology of early English colonialism, North America was portrayed as England's Canaan."[477] But the earliest to go beyond analogy and claim Canaanite or Hamitic ancestry for the New World peoples were apparently the French.[478] Hamitic genealogy was a common French view and was expressed as early as 1553 by Guillaume Postel, as Gliozzi noted.[479] Writers representing the other colonial powers were not long behind, with evidence for the Portuguese and Spanish before the end of the century, and for the English a few years later.[480] It is argued that this is also the case for the Dutch who colonized the Cape Colony in South Africa.[481]

Hamitic/Canaanite ancestry was at times used to explain what was seen (and/or desired) as the natives' servile character. The Spanish colonial jurist Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra (d. 1655) believed that the Indians of the New World descended from Ham and were servile because of the Curse.[482] At a later period, the Jesuit explorer and missionary José Gumilla (d. 1750) claimed that the Hamites left their original land and came to South America. There they were joined by the Jews who had been exiled from Israel, and the two nations thus formed the natives of South America. As proof of his contention, Gumilla states that the Indians voluntarily accept the state of servitude, that they are often drunk, and that they do not wear clothes.[483] As Perbal noted, the drunkenness, nakedness and the state of slavery are based on the story of Noah.[484]

Much more than the natives' purported slavish character, it was

their dark skin color that was explained by the Curse of Ham. For example, Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (d. 1625/6) is quoted by Salinas y Córdova and Pinelo as saying that the natives of Cuba believed that they have a "coarse nature, different (Pinelo: brown) color, and go about naked (*nacian rudos, de diversos* (Pinelo: *pardo*) *colores, y andavan desnudos*)" because of Noah's curse on Ham, from whom they descend.[485] Of course, this was learned from, or invented by, the Spanish, and Salinas himself held the same view.[486] Perhaps the clearest statement to this effect is by Juan de Torquemada: "[T]aking into account the color of this people it is not misguided to believe that they are the descendants of the children and grandchildren of Ham, the third son of Noah," and "[T]he black color is not from natural causes, but … these Indians and all who in other regions are colored brown are descendants of those children of Can [=Cam, Ham], or any of their descendants."[487] Salinas cites Torquemada and adds Juan de Lucena (d. 1506) and Jerónimo Osório (d. 1580) who also hold this opinion.[488] The view that the natives' dark skin derived from Noah's curse is found also in several other Spanish colonial writings.[489]

We find the same opinion among writers of the other colonial empires. In a sermon given around 1633, the Portuguese Jesuit António Vieira (d. 1697), known for the power of his oratory, preached to the slaves at the Church of the Black Brotherhood in Bahia, Brazil: "God's fire impressed the mark of slavery upon you; … the mark of oppression."[490] The "mark of slavery," a reference to Noah's curse, is dark skin, which was metaphorically the result of God's fire. Absent the fiery metaphor, the French Carmelite missionary Maurile de Saint-Michel (d. 1669) said the same thing about the people in the West Indies: "This nation carries on its face a temporal curse, and is the heir of Cham, of which it is descended; thus born to slavery from father to son, and to eternal servitude…."[491] And more explicitly, the Dominican missionary and scientist Jean-Baptiste du Tertre (d. 1687) wrote of the inhabitants of the French Antilles: "I

do not know what made this unhappy nation, to which God has attached slavery and servitude as a particular and hereditary curse, as well as the blackness and ugliness of the body." Although not explicitly mentioning the biblical context for the "hereditary curse" it is clear that the reference is to the Curse of Ham.[492] One writer, Auguste Malfert, explained the natives' (and the Africans') skin color as the sign that God put on Cain.[493]

In short, it wasn't only a political-theological construct justifying a "Canaanite" conquest, and it wasn't only the natives' perceived slavish character, or nudity, or idolatry, another common view, that gave birth to theories of Hamitic/Canaanite ancestry. It was also, perhaps most forcefully of all, the natives' dark skin color. By the time of the colonial conquests, blackness was understood to be part of Noah's curse, and served to explain, and justify, the new circumstances.[494]Even those authors who did not mention skin color, only referring to the natives' perceived servility, were doubtlessly influenced by the darker skin color of the indigenous peoples, which was understood to be the result of the dual Curse.

And the New World natives were not the only ones whose dark color evoked the Curse. Paul Freedman has thoroughly documented the belief in medieval Christian Europe that Ham's sin was seen as the origin of peasants and, especially, serfs.[495] Although Cain was sometimes considered to be the ancestor of the peasant, it is primarily Ham who played that role.[496] The connection with Ham was the more common etiology because serfdom was closely connected with bondage, which began with the curse on Ham. Freedman cites, among several sources, the early 14th-century *Mirror of Justices*: "Serfage in the case of a man is a subjection issuing from so high an antiquity that no free stock can be found within human memory. And this serfage, according to some, comes from the curse which Noah pronounced against Canaan, the son of his son Ham, and against his issue."[497] Ham was seen as the father of serfs, and "by extension the peasant, boor, lowly person."[498]

Of course, the biblical story itself, without the elaboration of skin color, would account for this belief. As Freedman wrote, "Ham was the progenitor of the unfree of whatever race."[499] Nevertheless, color may indeed have played a role. In my earlier work I showed how in a wide range of literature, from ancient Rome through the Middle Ages into modern times, in pagan, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim societies, slaves, peasants, and the lower classes in general were viewed as dark and ugly.[500] As explained by Ruth Karras in discussing medieval Scandinavian literature, this social construct had a basis in reality: the underclass was associated with manual labor done under the sun, or with dirtiness, ugliness, and sickliness in contrast to the ruddy skin of the free born or the bright white skin of the noble born.[501] It would seem that the perception of dark skin was a contributing cause for the belief in the Curse of Ham affecting the peasant, just as it was for the serf and the New World natives, as well as the black African.

Another group said to be affected by Ham's curse, like the peasant, boor, and lowly person also had no connection to serfdom or servitude. In 1531, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim wrote that the Gypsies, who are the "descendants of Chus, son of Ham, son of Noah, still bear the mark of the curse of their progenitor."[502] Presumably 'progenitor' refers to Ham, as James Sanford made clear in his English translation, *Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences* (London, 1569), where he rendered *progenitoris* by 'grandfather,' i. e., Ham. So too, a Bulgarian folktale attributes the origin of the Gypsies to an unnamed father's curse of his son. Although the father and son are not named, the story is identical to the biblical account and clearly derives from it.[503]

Why were the Roma (Gypsies) considered to have inherited Noah's curse of Ham? I understand the "mark of the curse of their progenitor," as dark skin color, for dark skin was, and is, part of a stereotyped image of the Roma, as noted by several writers. Paola Toninato quotes from three 15th-century and one 17th-century work describing the Gypsies this way.[504] Iyengar quotes the English writer

Thomas Dekker depicting the Gypsies in 1608 as "Tawny Moores."[505] And then there is Thomas Browne's reference to Gypsies as "Artificial Negroes" in his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646).[506] This view continued into later times. An English work by the author Samuel Roberts, published in 1836, quotes from "a small work, entitled 'The Gypsies,' written by a clergyman of the Church of England, who wrote of the swarthy race of Ham."[507] Before disputing the general view of Gypsie appearance, Walter Simson, in 1866, introduced his remarks by saying, "Every author who has written on the subject of the Gipsies has, I believe, represented them as all having remarkably dark hair, black eyes, and swarthy complexions."[508] David Mayall cites numerous works of the 19th and 20th centuries describing the Gypsies this way, and Toninato quotes from contemporary Roma writers who include dark skin in their self-representation.[509] Some have believed that Gypsie skin color was artificially acquired, but it seems, rather (or, also), to be a biological inheritance from Indian origins. Although it was previously believed that the Gypsies came from Egypt (thus the name Gypsy), modern research indicates India as the place of origin.[510]

In sum, once the dual Curse of slavery and dark skin became widely known in Europe it was then relied on as an etiology of dark skin irrespective of slavery. The slavery feature of the Curse could be disregarded or overlooked when slavery was not an issue. This does not mean that this aspect in some form was necessarily absent in the minds of those employing the Curse. It is possible that the notion of slavery became associated implicitly, with more or less force, with the marginal classes of society, such as the serf, the peasant, the Roma, and in some reports of the New World native. But it is not explicit. In these cases, the Curse appears as an explanation for dark skin.

Chapter Twelve
The Meaning of Blackness and the Curse of Ham

In Chapter Eight I argued that the dual curse in Europe that appeared during the 16th and 17th centuries did not derive from the Muslim narratives of a dual curse, but that both the Muslim and the Christian accounts developed independently out of the similar historical circumstances of black slavery. The earlier (12th-15th centuries) Curse of Ham traditions in Europe did have their beginnings in Muslim-influenced Spain and Portugal, but the specific form of a dual curse in Europe that began in the 16th century was an independent answer to the common phenomenon of black slavery. It should not, however, be assumed that this development occurred in a conceptual vacuum. There were prior understandings and assumptions about the meaning of black skin that provided fertile ground for the emergence of the myth of the dual curse. Similarly, these same understandings of blackness underlay the application of Noah's curse to explain the origin of dark skin irrespective of slavery, which we saw was common in Europe from the 17th century onward. Just as the dual curse explaining black slavery grew out of prior understandings of the meaning of blackness, so too was this the case for the application of Noah's curse to explain why blacks are black, and why the natives of the New World, the Roma, and peasants are dark.

During the last half of the previous century, scholars from various disciplines debated the cause of racism, particularly anti-black racism. One side claimed that anti-black sentiment and racism were the results of slavery. Where a slave class is identifiable by certain physiological

characteristics, such as dark skin, a negative attitude develops toward that group. This argument gained force, some claimed, with the increasing acceptance of egalitarian ideas in society. As a way of overcoming the inherent contradiction between egalitarianism and the exploitation of slaves, blacks were denied their humanity.

The other side in the debate argued that slavery was the result of racism, that prejudice toward blacks already existed among white Europeans before blacks were enslaved, and, in fact, was a cause of the enslavement of Africans. The prejudicial attitude, it was argued, derived from psychological forces concerning the negative values of blackness. The deep-rooted symbolism of white and black as good and evil in Western civilization was the determining factor, even if a sense of ethnocentrism and economic, political, and religious superiority may have also played a role.[511]

Of course, black Africans were not the only people enslaved throughout history. David Brion Davis notes the close correspondence between slavery and racial prejudice in various cultures. "'Slavs' and other light-skinned peoples were said to have all the slavish characteristics later attributed to black Africans."[512] The Chinese (of the T'ang dynasty) developed a racial prejudice toward Koreans, Turks, Persians and Indonesians whom they enslaved. Similarly the Aryans of India expressed contempt for the Dasas, a Dravidian people, whom they had subjugated. But Davis also implies a special relevance for skin color. He notes that while the Chinese expressed prejudice toward all those they had subjugated, "a special contempt was reserved for the dark-skinned" ethnic groups.[513] "To see slavery as the only source of racial prejudice," Davis writes, "is to oversimplify one of the most complex and troublesome questions in modern history…. It is possible [that] there was something in the culture of Western Europe that inclined white men to look with contempt on the physical and cultural traits of the African."[514]

A large part of that "something" is the negative value attached to the black color. Many studies have shown how deeply embedded, and

how widespread, are the negative associations of blackness. As Winthrop Jordan said, in discussing the origins of American racism, the skin color of the African American was "loaded with intense meaning."[515] In some of my earlier work I reviewed the literature on this topic, and detailed the role played by Christian exegesis in the development of racism. Beginning as early as the second century, Church fathers interpreted biblical blacks ("Ethiopians") as representing sin and sinfulness. Davis records that one of the arguments against the influence of color symbolism on the development of racism is that symbolism is "abstract, ambiguous, and reversible."[516] This is true, but Christian exegesis applied the abstract to a human being, the black African, even if that human was in the biblical text. By this move, abstract color symbolism assumed a human face, and by means of writings, sermons, and iconography, this image of the black continued throughout Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period in Christian Europe.[517]

When discussing the 11th- or 12th-century *Vienna Genesis* earlier, I mentioned the Christian exegetical treatment of dark skin and biblical blacks as symbolizing sin and evil. Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk made the same point about color imagery in the Ashburnham Pentateuch, an illuminated Latin manuscript of the first five books of the Bible, written much earlier, in the late 6th or early 7th century. She cited the church father Jerome (d. 420) as an example of how "the language of the early exegetes is filled with the binary images of black and white, light and darkness," and how "Jerome uses the Ethiopian's skin to construct a visual image in the minds of his readers." She noted how this language and these images are played out in the Ashburnham Pentateuch, where "dark skin suggests a dark spirit, a state of being before becoming one of God's people," concluding that, "the move from an image imprinted on the mind to an image imprinted on vellum is a short one."[518]

Surely, this centuries-long interpretation of the black in both textual and artistic representation (as well as the related identification

of the devil or demons as black Africans) engendered anti-black attitudes in the Christian world. When we encounter such anti-black sentiment in the Christian West beginning with the voyages of discovery, it is reasonable to conclude that the, by then, almost 1,300-year-old patristic exegetical tradition was a contributing cause.[519] When, with the discovery of Africa, the black was encountered in reality, scriptural metaphor was easily translated onto a live human being. I would thus emend Verkerk's last sentence to read: "The move from an image printed on the mind to an image imprinted on vellum is a short one, and the move from an image imprinted on vellum to the image of a real black person is a short one." The word became flesh.

Several scholars have addressed the impact these exegetical views of the black had on emerging racist attitudes. Carolyn Prager, speaking of the time of the Renaissance in England, says that "although the theological intent is to gloss sacred text, the result … is to encourage attention to … the blackness of Ethiopians … overlaid with the metaphoric associations of contemporary divines linking the African to sin and slavery."[520] The same was noted of artistic depictions of blacks. Jean Devisse asks rhetorically, "How many generations of Christians have been conditioned by looking at a grimacing black man torturing Christ or his saints? […] A whole mental structure, unconscious for the most part, was erected to the detriment of the blacks."[521] Similarly Ladislas Bugner writes of the artistic image of the black that it is "beyond question that this pejorative extension of the symbolism of black color reflected unfavorably on the person of the African."[522] Malvern van Wyk Smith finds the same concept in the medieval Hereford world map, where Christ is depicted as judging the world, with the righteous shown under his right hand being led by angels and under his left hand "the damned are being led away towards Africa by devilish figures." Writes van Wyk Smith: "I leave it to readers to imagine what impact such maps and ghouls must have had, through many centuries and in countless medieval churches, on the imaginings of local congregations

who tried to envisage 'Ethiopians.'"[523] Striking depictions of good and evil as light-skinned and dark-skinned humans respectively are found in several illustrations of the visions of the German abbess Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179), painted under her direction (figs. 12 and 13).[524]

It is my contention that this pervasive negative image of the black in Europe played a key role in the growth of the dual Curse of Ham beginning in the 16th century. It wasn't only that the Curse tied blackness and slavery together but it did so in a way that reflected and further deprecated black skin itself. It wasn't only that black skin was now seen as the intentional mark of servitude but black skin itself was a curse, a curse with divine authority. As de la Cruz wrote, "The blacks are justly captives by just sentence of God for the sins of their fathers, and that in sign thereof God gave them that color." Seeing black skin as God's punishment turned the metaphors of sin and evil into reality in a very understandable way, thus (to borrow the phrasing from an entirely different context), "inscribing the Symbolic in the Real, and hence producing real structural transformations."[525] This belief went hand in hand with an increasingly denigrating view of the black African. As the African American novelist Toni Morrison put it in describing the situation of the slaves in the antebellum American South: "These slaves, unlike many others in the world's history, were visible to a fault. And they had inherited, among other things, a long history on the meaning of color; it was that this color 'meant' something."[526] And as the Curse was later applied to all dark-skinned people, so too was its negative symbolism. As Paola Toninato wrote about the Roma, their dark skin was more than a physical quality, for it implied metaphorical darkness, evil, and the diabolical.[527]

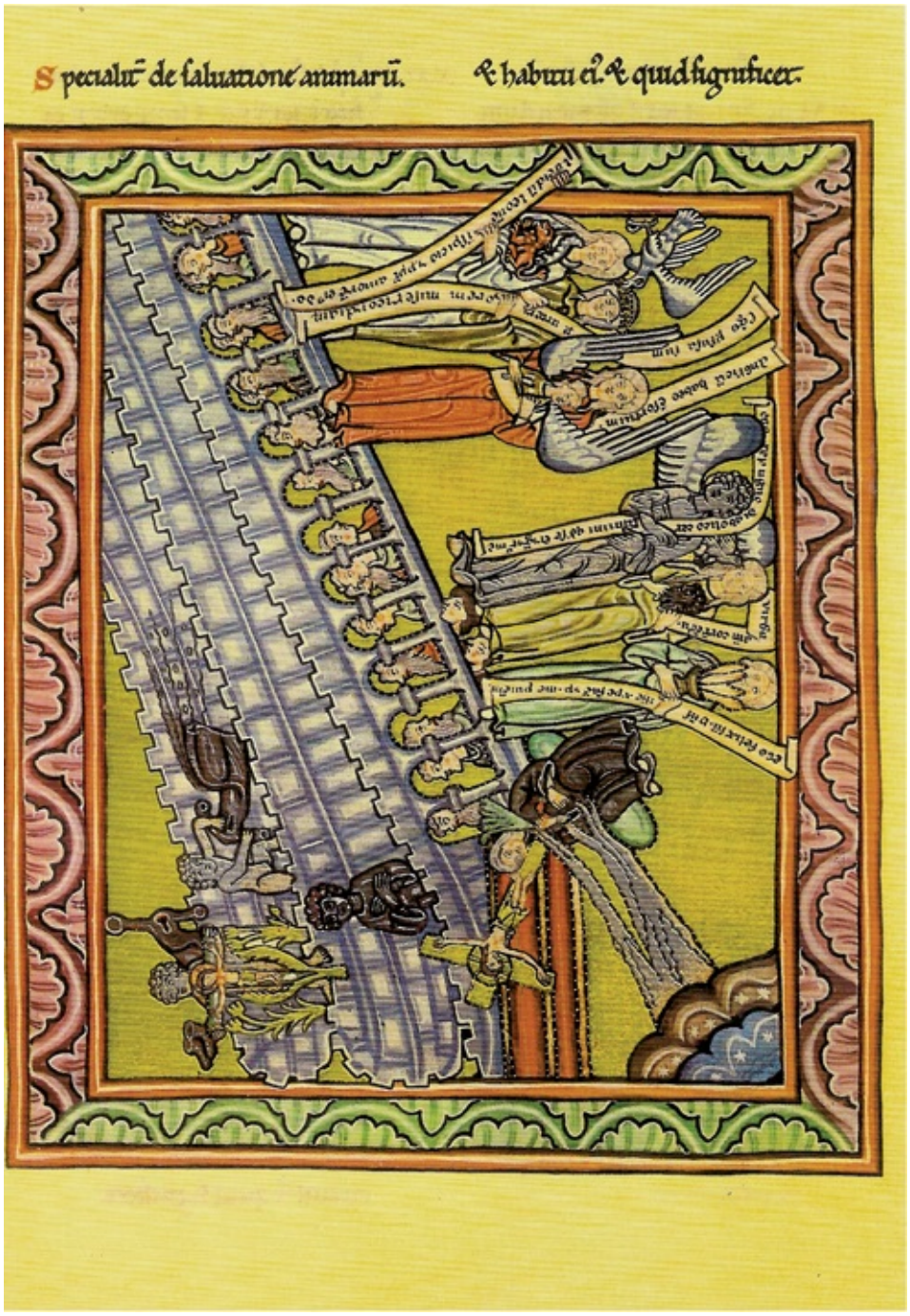


Fig. 12 *Scivias* by Hildegard von Bingen, edited by A. Führkötter, A. Carlevaris, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, vol. 43 A, plate n° 27, Turnhout, 1978.©Brepols Publishers NV, Turnhout, Belgium.

Fig. 13 *Scivias* by Hildegard von Bingen, edited by A. Führkötter, A. Carlevaris, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, vol. 43 A, plate n° 33, Turnhout, 1978. © Brepols Publishers NV, Turnhout, Belgium.

Can we say the same for the Muslim world? Was the dual curse in

that world preceded and influenced by anti-black attitudes? There is no doubt that Arabic literature depicts black Africans in decidedly negative terms.[528] But the question is whether these stereotypes derived from the reality of black enslavement or preceded it.

I argued earlier that the dual curse appeared in the Muslim world as a result of the black slave trade beginning in the 7th century. But about a century before the dual curse appeared, we encounter the Muslim etiology of Noah cursing Ham with black skin (Chapter Four). These earlier attestations are quoted in the name of authorities from the first half of the 7th century, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (d. ca. 652) and Ibn Masʿūd (d. 653).[529] Does this indicate the existence of anti-black sentiment in the early Islamic world or even in pre-Islamic Arabia?

Indeed, there are a number of pre-Islamic and early Islamic writers who do reflect such attitudes. So, for example, Abū Dharr (d. 652), an early convert to Islam, is said to have married a black woman, "for he wanted a wife who would lower him and not exalt him"; Antara, a black Arabic (his mother was a black slave, his father an Arab) poet, writes, "Enemies revile me for the blackness of my skin"; and Suḥaym (d. 660), another early black Arabic poet, wrote that women would shun him for the color of his skin. "If I were pink of color, these women would love me, but my Lord has shamed me with blackness.[530]

Although this denigration of the black is found in pre-Islamic or early Islamic times, Bernard Lewis believes that these writings actually reflect a later period. In the earlier period there was no stigma attached to blackness and blacks were not treated as inferiors.[531] The change of attitude toward blacks occurred, according to Lewis, after Muḥammad's death (632 CE) with the Arab conquests in Africa and the consequent distinctions which inevitably appear between conquerors and conquered.[532]

But Lewis's view is not accepted by all. The verses of the black Arab poets ("the crows of the Arabs"), Hunwick says, "demonstrate quite clearly that black persons were not fully accepted in Arab

society of the early Islamic centuries, at least not in certain circles."[533] ʿAbduh Badawī, quoted by Hunwick, writes that, "the black poets before Islam … were a depressed and downtrodden group and … they were excluded, sometimes roughly, sometimes gently, from entering the social fabric of the tribe."[534] And, based on a *ḥadīth* recording that some black African slaves refrained from coming to Muḥammad because they were afraid that he would drive them away, M. J. Kister remarked that "it is possible that some circles in Mecca entertained similar views about [black Africans] during the Jāhiliyya [i. e., the pre-Islamic period]."[535]

If Lewis is wrong, how can we account for the denigration of the black in pre-Islamic Arabia before the Muslim conquest and enslavement of Africa, which we see in these sources? Although the trade in African slaves was greatly intensified with the Muslim conquest, we saw above in Chapter Five that in the centuries before Islam blacks were commonly enslaved in the Near East. The degraded social position of the black African would explain the consequent negative attitudes as seen in the pre-Islamic poets. These attitudes are the seedbed from which was born the etiology of black skin as Noah's curse of Ham. With the intensification of the black slave trade after the Muslim conquests in Africa, servitude was joined to blackness and the dual Curse of Ham came into being.

This is not to say that the color symbolism of black and white did not exist in the Muslim world. Generally speaking, these colors had the same values among Muslims as they did in the West and in most of the world.[536] Black symbolized sin and evil, the devil and damnation, dishonor and shame; white had the opposite connotations. Such associations underlie much in Muslim legend, folklore, literature, proverb, and language.[537] But as far as I can tell, in Islamic literature the negative interpretation of blackness is not applied to the skin color of the black person, certainly not in the sustained way that we find in Christian exegesis. Whatever denigration of the black we find in early Islam is rather a result of the enslavement of blacks in the

Near East.

In short, neither in Christian Europe nor the Muslim Near East did black skin as a curse take root out of thin air. The phenomenon of black slavery in both places provided the immediate impetus for the development of this myth, but in both worlds negative views of the black were already in place. The Curse of Ham, a justification for black slavery and the black slave trade, was a outgrowth of pre-existing attitudes toward the black African, in the one case (Europe) nurtured by Christian exegesis based on color symbolism, and in the other (the Near East) derived from a centuries-long pre-Islamic enslavement of blacks.

Chapter Thirteen
Conclusions

This study has attempted to reconstruct the development, versions, and uses of the Curse of Ham idea that links black skin with servitude, and to trace the results of the reconstruction against the background of historical events, social forces, and perceptions of blackness. As part of this attempt I have, in addition, endeavored to explain a confusion, often found among modern writers, of a black-skin etiology with the biblical etiology of slavery. The following summarizes the results of the study.

The introduction of black skin into the retelling of Noah's curse of slavery grew out of two earlier traditions: an ancient genealogy of a black Canaan and an etiology of black skin based on biblical Ham. The development of these traditions leading to the dual Curse of Ham, as a means to explain and justify black slavery, was a reflection of historical forces affecting black Africans. The enslavement of blacks in the Near East from ancient times, the Muslim conquests in Africa, the commercial and cultural influences of Islam on Christian Europe, and the development of the Atlantic slave trade gave birth to the gradual and diverse expressions linking blackness and slavery, culminating in the Curse of Ham. As the enslavement and consequent debasement of blacks increased, the manner in which blackness appeared in these interpretations of the biblical story changed. At first dark-skinned peoples were said to be those affected by the Curse; in time blackness became part of the curse itself (the "dual curse").

The genealogy connecting Canaan with blacks is not found in the Bible. It occurs in ancient Near Eastern myth and was commonly

incorporated into Muslim traditions. It is unconnected to the story of Noah, but in time was grafted onto the biblical story through the common character of Canaan. It thus appears in the Christian Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, dating from sometime between the 3rd and 7th centuries. Recounting the biblical story, this text tells that Canaan was cursed with slavery, and then adds that Canaan's descendants were various dark-skinned peoples. For the first time, we see here a combination of dark skin and slavery in an interpretation of the Noah story. The impetus for this exegetical development was a social structure in which blacks outside of Africa were generally known as slaves, a situation going back for many centuries.

With the Muslim conquests in Africa and the consequent increase of black slaves in the Near East, the story of Noah took a new turn. The one cursed with slavery is no longer merely said to be the ancestor of blacks, as in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*. Black skin is now said to be part of Noah's curse. This development, reflecting the new historical situation, is seen in a wide range of Muslim literature and in Christian and Jewish works written in the Muslim East. The Christian and Jewish writers generally adhered to the biblical story that saw Canaan as the one cursed with slavery, to which was introduced a curse of black skin. The Muslim writers, on the other hand, considered Ham to be the recipient of the dual curse. As opposed to the Canaan-based stories, the Ham-based expansions of the biblical narrative were not known through a direct encounter with the Bible, but were transmitted through independent Muslim traditions.

While the Canaan-based Curse drew on ancient Near Eastern myth linking Canaan with blacks, the Ham-based version derived from an earlier Muslim etiology of black skin considered to be Ham's punishment for looking at Noah's nakedness. This was one of various tales of origins accounting for dark skin found in the Near East from the early centuries of the Common Era. As with the Canaan-based stories, the Muslim conquests in Africa had an effect also on these

Ham-based etiologies of blackness. The resulting increase in African enslavement transformed the black-skin etiologies into etiologies of black slavery in the form of a dual curse, in which black skin was believed to be part of Noah's curse of slavery.

Thus, reflecting historical developments of the early slave trade out of Africa, various traditions led through different routes, focusing on Ham (Muslim) or Canaan (Jewish/Christian), to a retelling of Noah's curse that combined blackness and servitude. The Jewish and Christian accounts derived from the biblical story that had Canaan cursed with slavery, to which was added a curse of black skin. The Muslim accounts of the Curse of Ham grew out of earlier Muslim etiologies of black skin constructed around Ham, to which was added the curse of slavery.

The dual form of the Curse of Ham, in which black skin is part of the curse, was a direct result of the increasing importation of black slaves to Arab lands, and the consequent degradation of their status. This was an important development in the Curse of Ham saga, for the dual curse more profoundly tied blackness to servitude. Dark-skinned people were no longer seen merely as those who were affected by Noah's curse of slavery. Now part of the curse itself, black skin became the intentional marker of servitude.

From the East, the Curse of Ham made its way to the West by means of the Muslim cultural and commercial influences on Christian Europe. It appeared first in the 12th century in the Iberian Peninsula, and from there spread elsewhere in Europe. Beginning in the 16th century the dual form of the curse became the predominant form of the Curse of Ham, and was regularly cited to explain the origin of black skin irrespective of slavery, replacing other dark-skin etiologies. This is seen strikingly in the misreadings of the French Orientalist Guillaume de Postel and the Benedicinte monk Gilbert Genebrard by several who followed them. Postel spoke only of the sex-in-the-ark etiological tale of blackness, but he was quoted as speaking of the biblical story of slavery, which produced black skin, i. e., the dual

Curse of Ham. Genebrard separately mentioned the etiologies of blackness and slavery but he was quoted in a way that conflated the two stories into one. So began the confusion between, and conflation of, the ark etiology of black skin and the biblical story of slavery, a confusion which is often found among modern writers.

In the West the Curse of Ham in general, and the dual curse in particular, became well-accepted components of Christian biblical interpretation, and, hence, world-view. And just as the dual curse was a product of the development of black slavery in the Muslim East, so too in the Christian West the dual curse coincided with the expansion of black slavery, and for the same reasons: it more profoundly connected slavery with black skin as the very marker of servitude, the visible sign of the blacks' degradation, and in the process deprecating black skin itself.

From Europe the Curse of Ham came to British colonial America, where it was used to justify black slavery as early as 1700 and continued well into the 20th century. As in Europe, in America too the dual-curse version was common, and as in Europe the popularity of the dual curse was a reflection of the increasing debasement of black skin. There is, however, a significant difference between Europe and America. The percentage of those resorting to the Curse to justify black slavery as opposed to explaining the origin of dark skin is much greater in America than in Europe. The same disparity is seen, as well, in the European and American reliance on another biblically based curse of black skin, the Curse of Cain. An additional difference between Europe and America concerns the emphasis put on biblically enslaved Canaan, as opposed to Ham, as the one who was dually cursed. This occurs far more frequently in America than in Europe. The role of black slavery in America, and the importance of biblical justifications for it, are clearly reflected in these differences.

After tracing the development of the Curse of Ham from dark-skin etiologies, and following the Curse's trajectory from the Near East to Europe and America, I then turned to the question of which people

were said to have become black. We saw how while the etiologies of dark skin drew on and explained the pigmentation of various dark-skinned peoples, the Curse of Ham was focused on black Africans alone. This transformation, a result of the development of black African slavery and the increasing identification of blacks with servitude, was expressed in different literary contexts. The Jewish ark etiology of dark skin, said to begin with Ham, the father of various dark-skinned people (at the least, the Egyptians and black Africans), was later interpreted to mean that Ham's blackness began exclusively with his son Kush, the father of the black African. We saw the same development, concerning which people were cursed with blackness, when we compared the Muslim dark-skin etiologies with the Muslim dual-curse etiologies of blackness and slavery. In the former, we are told that the ones who became black (*aswad*) encompassed several different peoples living across the African continent in the Sahara and Sahel, as well in sub-Saharan areas, and included also the Egyptians and even the non-African Indians. In the latter, the curse of dark skin is focused on sub-Saharan black Africans alone.

A subsequent development in the West then saw the Curse of Ham applied to different dark-skinned people. Once blackness was understood to be an integral part of Noah's curse, the curse was used to explain the dark skin of other people justifying their marginal status in society. Just as dark-skin etiologies morphed into the Curse of Ham in the early Muslim world, so now did the Curse of Ham morph back into a dark-skin etiology in the later Christian world. This is the underlying explanation for the application of Noah's curse to the New World natives, the Roma (Gypsies), serfs, peasants, and the underclass in general.

In a final chapter I explored the relationship of the Curse to anti-black attitudes and sentiments. We saw how in both Christian Europe and the Muslim Near East the Curse was preceded by a dislike of the dark skin of the African, which was expressed in different literary ways. The causes of this dislike are complex and have been explored

by many scholars. This study looked back to the debates of the previous century as to whether slavery gave rise to racism or racism to slavery. We found both to be true with diferent emphases in the Muslim Near East and in Christian Europe. The Curse of Ham in the Muslim world was preceded and caused by the centuries-long association of blacks as slaves in the Near East. In the Christian West, color symbolism associating blackness with evil, as seen in the exegesis of the church fathers, played a crucial role. In either case, one reflection of the antipathy toward dark-skinned people appeared in the notion that black skin was created as a divine punishment or curse. When this idea was joined with the etiology of slavery, the dual Curse of Ham was born, which justified and helped to keep in place a system of brutal enslavement of millions of black African people over centuries.

These conclusions inevitably lead one to think of the situation in our times. It is true that the Curse of Ham no longer has currency but the association between slavery and dark skin, which gave birth to the Curse, is still alive. Certainly in some areas of the world, where Islam is dominant, the phenomenon of black slavery is still found. Over the past fifty years there have been continuing reports of the existence of black slavery in Saharan Africa, specifically in Mauritania, Mali, Chad, and Niger. These reports all point out how skin color and family history determine the difference between slave and free. The slave-owning class consists of the White Moors, that is, the lighter-skinned Muslims, who have historically owned people with darker skin, who originate, for the most part, from sub-Saharan Africa. The ancestors of the darker-skinned slave families were captured by the lighter-skinned Muslims centuries ago. Estimates of the number of slaves existing today in these areas vary and are difficult to establish because contemporary slavery in Saharan Africa includes not just historical chattel slavery, but also its later evolution into child labor, kidnapping, and descent-based discrimination, including unpaid servitude.[538]

The point of importance for our purpose is not the numbers but the

skin-color differential between master and slave. And we find the same differential in the Sudan. In this case, the enslavement of the black Africans was the result of the civil war between the north and south from 1983 to 2005. One result of the war was the kidnapping of mostly women and children by organized raiding parties of the Muslim north against the Christian and Animist south. But such activity is not restricted to those years and not restricted to women and children. During the 19th century the Muslim north conducted raiding parties to capture slave soldiers in the south. "However much wartime enslavement can be connected to strategic calculations and political and military ends, it has not taken place in an ideological vacuum. Recent acts of enslavement (and other grievous abuses) can ultimately be traced to underlying ideologies of human difference."[539]

Whether in Saharan Africa or in Sudan, the association of black with slave is a direct or indirect result of the Muslim conquests in Africa and the "underlying ideologies of human difference." Chattel slavery, however, is not the only form of slavery and Africa is not the only place where slavery exists today. The Anti-Slavery International reports that the practice of slavery "still continues today in one form or another in every country in the world," and it defines modern slavery as including, among other forms of slavery, bonded labor, in which children and adults, indeed entire families, are forced to work for nothing to repay generational debts.[540]

Bonded labor, also known as debt bondage, is found particularly in South Asia. Debt bondage in India numbers in the millions, and the vast majority of debtors are from the Dalits (the lowest caste, called 'Untouchables'), who are generally darker skinned than other populations in India.[541] As reported in the newspaper *The Hindu*, "So much of anti-Dalit discrimination is on the basis of skin colour. It is the dark-skinned who face the brunt of the most obvious abuse."[542]

Is there a causal relationship between black skin color and the continuation of worldwide modern slavery? Against this possibility one may argue that the enslavement of the Dalit, for example, is a

result of their position as the lowest caste in Indian society, and is not due to skin color. But why were the darkestskinned Indians assigned to the lowest caste? And why has black slavery continued in Africa after its repeated legal abolition in the various African countries? To paraphrase David Brion Davis, is there something in the culture of lighterskinned people that encourages looking with contempt on those of darker skin?

In the previous chapter I noted how the negative value of the color black is apparently universal, and I referred to my earlier research on the relationship between color symbolism and color prejudice, where I concluded that color symbolism indeed played a key role in the development of anti-black racism.[543] To quote Toni Morrison again, "[T]his color 'meant' something."

The object of this study has been to trace the history of the Curse of Ham, not the relationship of skin color and slavery. But underlying the Curse and pervading it at every level is precisely that relationship. Who is enslaved, when, and by whom is a complex issue, no doubt differing from place to place and time to time. Nevertheless, when looking at the existence of modern slavery, whether it be chattel slavery in Saharan Africa and Sudan or debt bondage in India, or other forms of enslavement in our times, one cannot help but be struck by the convergence of dark skin and enslavement, which leads one to question the role played by color symbolism in this continuing human tragedy.

Appendices

The following three appendices list in chronological order references to the Curse of Ham in European (I) and American (II) writers, and the Curse of Cain in both (III), whether accepting or rejecting the validity of the curse. In the first two appendices I have included those who apply the curse to Ham or to Canaan, as well as to those who, in discussing blacks or black skin, refer to the biblical story even if they do not mention slavery, since the story assumes the curse of slavery. This would include especially those writers whose concern is the origin of black skin, which they see in Noah's curse. On the other hand, I have not included instances where the term "sons of Ham" meaning blacks is used without any reference to the biblical story.[544]

Appendix I
The Curse of Ham in Europe, 18th-19th Centuries

1705 The Italian Jesuit Jorge Benci, who served in Brazil, referred to Noah's curse as explanation for why the blacks are enslaved (*pretos que nos servem*).[545]

1707–08 In his poem "Solomon," written between 1707 and 1708 but not published until 1718, the English poet Matthew Prior wrote of Ham "marked with curses":

> And of three sons, the future hopes of earth,
> The seed, whence empires must receive their birth,
> One he foresees excluded heavenly grace,
> And marked with curses, fatal to his race.[546]

Perhaps the use of the word "marked" and the plural "curses" is an allusion to the dual curse of blackness and slavery.

1724 A clearer instance of the dual curse is found in the work of Hugh Jones, the English clergyman who spent two years in Virginia. He reasoned that,

> *Canaan* or the *Negroe* is our Servant and Slave; and it is said of him in the 25th Verse, a *Servant of Servants is* Canaan *unto his Brethren*. For the Negroes seem evidently to be Descendants from some of the Sons of *Canaan*.[547]

1728 The French Dominican missionary and naturalist Jean-Baptiste

Labat (d. 1738), drew on Johann Nicolaus Pechlin's *De habitu et colore Aethiopum* (Cologne, 1677), and agreed with him that the origin of blackness could not have come from a curse put on Ham.[548]

1738 The French Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Margat de Tilly (d. 1747) contributed an article, "Explication physique de la noirceur des Nègres," in the June, 1738 *Mémoires de Trévoux* (later called *Journal de Trévoux*), in which he disputed both the Cain and Ham/Canaan origin of blackness ("Mais pourquoi s'obstiner à attribuer la noirceur des Negres à un châtiment divin?").[549]

1740 The Anglican bishop Thomas Wilson, in 1740 wrote of the association of blackness with slavery: "[T]he Negroes … the descendants of Ham and Canaan … are become slaves to christians."[550] Wilson does not indicate how blackness came to Ham and Canaan, whether it originated in Noah's curse or whether Ham and Canaan were assumed to be black to begin with.

1740 The Curse as explanation for blackness is found in Germany as recorded by Johann Heinrich Zedler in his *Grosses vollständiges Universalexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste*: "The cause of the native-born blacks (*Schwartze*) is ascribed by various scholars to that curse, which Noah according to Genesis 9:25 put on his son Ham, since these blacks are considered to be Canaan's descendants."[551]

1741 A short work was published anonymously in Paris, *Dissertation sur l'origine des ne`gres* (1741), which argued forcefully against the view that the blacks' color derives from Noah's curse.[552]

1742 Among those who accepted the Curse was, surprisingly, the black African former slave, and minister in the Dutch Reformed Church, Jacobus Elisa Joannes Capitein (d. 1747). When Capitein writes, however, that Ham was cursed with slavery, and his African

descendants "would bear the mark of perpetual punishment," he means the mark of slavery and not the mark of blackness, as is clear from the similar usage by Alcimus Avitus (d. 523), bishop of Vienne, France, whom Capitein quotes directly: *primus enim maculam servili nimine sensit*.[553]

1744 In 1744 James Paterson glossed John Milton's lines in Paradise Lost, "Witness th' irreverent Son/Of him who built the Ark, who for the shame/Done to his Father, heard this heavy curse,/Servant of Servants, on his vicious Race," as follows: "Cham or Ham … was cursed for his Disrespect and Contempt of his Father … And this Curse has lain heavy upon his Posterity to this Day: For the Old Carthaginians, Grecians, Romans, and all the Nations of Europe, made Slaves of the Africans."[554]

1745 The English publisher Thomas Astley compiled an account of various travels throughout the world, in which he refers to two opinions held in his day, which he considered "the most ridiculous Imaginations": "Some fancy Blackness was the Mark said in Scripture to be fixed on Cain; Others imagine it was the Consequence of the Curse bestowed by Ham [*sic*] on his Son Canaan"."[555]

1754 Thomas Newton, an Anglican bishop, mentioned the belief in the Curse as cause for black skin, with which he disagreed. In his *Dissertations on the Prophecies* (1754), he ironically refuted an argument from Scripture that "exceed the limits of truth," by suggesting, "We might as well say (as some have said) that the complexion of the blacks was in consequence of Noah's curse."[556]

1763 In *The Life of Johnson*, James Boswell records Johnson as saying about the cause of some part of mankind being black, "[I]t has been accounted for in three ways: either by supposing that they are the posterity of Ham, who was cursed; or that God at first created two

kinds of men one black and another white; or that by the heat of the sun the skin is scorched, and so acquire a sooty hue."[557]

1764 In a chapter of his work *Le Commerce de l'Amérique par Marseille*, titled "De la couler des Negres," Chambon argued that neither the mark of Cain nor Noah's curse on Canaan was the origin of black skin.[558]

1765 The French surgeon Claude-Nicolas Le Cat published a work in 1765 exploring the reason for the different colors of humanity, especially that of the black Africans. He disagreed with the idea that black skin was the result of a sin. Before presenting his scientific explanation, he reviewed the three views common at the time: the mark of Cain, the Curse of Ham, and that Noah's three sons were of three different complexions (white, bronzed/basané, and black).[559]

1772 The Dutch physician and anatomist Petrus Camper objected to those who "claim that Ham …was cursed by his father, his complexion was altered and became black," which, he notes, implies "a sinister sense to black."[560]

1786 The English abolitionist Thomas Clarkson refuted the argument that the color of Africans proves that they are "designed for slavery." He discussed and rejected three proofs offered by those promoting this argument. "Some of them contend that the Africans, from these circumstances, are the descendants of Cain: others, that they are the posterity of Ham; and that as it was declared by divine inspiration, that these should be servants to the rest of the world, so they are designed for slavery; and that the reducing of them to such a situation is only the accomplishment of the will of heaven: while the rest, considering them from the same circumstances as a totally distinct species of men, conclude them to be an inferiour link of the chain of nature, and deduce the inference described."[561]

1786 A succinct expression of the curse of blackness was made by the Scottish poet Robert Burns. In his poem, "The Ordination," penned in 1786, he wrote:

> How graceless Ham leugh at his Dad,
> Which made Canaan a niger.[562]

1786 Ottobah Cugoano was kidnapped from Africa at the age of 13 and sold as a slave, eventually ending up in England where he became active in fighting for the abolition of slavery. In 1787 he wrote *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery*. "[T]here are some men," wrote Cugoano, "… because they are not black, whose ignorance and insolence leads them to think, that those who are black, were marked out in that manner by some signal interdiction or curse, as originally descending from their progenitors." Cugoano then proceeds to argue against the possibility that such a curse on either Cain or Ham could be the cause of the skin color of Africans, which derived, rather from the African climate.[563]

1789 Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier in his *Dictionnaire de théologie dogmatique, liturgique, canonique et disciplinaire*: The belief that the blacks' skin color derived from Noah's curse on Ham is just as unfounded as the belief that it derived from Cain.[564]

1789 Gilbert Francklyn, an Englishman who had spent time in the West Indies, took issue with Thomas Clarkson's argument that the blackness of Kush, ancestor of blacks, could not be the result of Ham's sin because Kush was born before Ham sinned. Francklyn responded that "the blackness of Chus was the mark set upon him, and his posterity, from the fore knowledge of the deity of the crime, and consequent punishment, which Ham would commit, and be sentenced to; and as a seal of that perpetual servitude to which his descendants were to be doomed by that sentence."[565]

1790 The Anglican priest and abolitionist Thomas Gisborne: "[W]e are told that the negroes are the descendants of Ham, and therefore devoted to slavery." He then refutes that claim arguing that it was Canaan who was cursed with slavery.[566]

1784–1791 The German philosopher Johann Herder referred to the belief that blackness had its origin in Noah's curse when he wrote that the black has as much right to consider whites "degenerated through the weakness of nature, as we have to deem him the emblem of evil, and a descendant of Ham, branded by his father's curse."[567]

1791 The French author and naturalist Jacques Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre: "The Negroes in general are considered as the most unfortunate species of Mankind on the face of the Globe. In truth, it looks as if some destiny had doomed them to slavery. The ancient curse pronounced by Noah is by some believed to be still actually in effect: "Cursed be Canaan! a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." In a footnote he added: "Politicians may ascribe the different characters of Negroes and Europeans to whatever causes they please. For my own part, I say it on the most perfect conviction, that I know no Book which contains monuments more authentic of the History of Nations, and that of Nature, than the Book of Genesis." Since "different characters" is presumably not a reference to skin color, Bernardin, although believing in the Curse of Ham, does not subscribe to the dual variety of the curse in this quotation.[568]

1793 The Scottish philosopher and poet James Beattie: "As to the opinion of those who derive this colour from the curse pronounced upon Ham, the wicked son of Noah, it is sufficiently confuted by Sir Thomas Brown….."[569]

18th century A Georgian story, translated from Greek in the 18th century, contains a series of biblical riddles that a princess puts to her

suitor. If he can answer them correctly, the courtship will be successful. One of the riddles is: "Who were born white, but later became black? – The sons of Noah who became black after their father's curse."[570]

1802 The philosopher Immanuel Kant rejected the Curse of Ham idea this way: "Some believe Ham to have been the father of the Moors (*Mohren*) and to have been punished by God with a black colour, which is now handed down to his descendants. But no reason can be advanced as to why the black colour should be more suited to be the sign of a curse than the white."[571]

1823 After quoting Mungo Park that "seven-eighths of the negro population of [Africa] (the descendants of Ham) are in hopeless and irredeemable slavery," the West-Indian slaveholder Henry William Martin asked, "who will presume to assert that [slavery] is unjust punishment upon the descendants of Ham for his individual transgression?"[572]

Before 1824 Anne Catherine Emmerich (d. 1824), a German mystic and nun, recounted one of her visions: "I saw the curse pronounced by Noe upon Cham moving toward the latter like a black cloud and obscuring him. His skin lost its whiteness, he grew darker…. I saw a most corrupt race descend from Cham and sink deeper and deeper in darkness. I see that the black, idolatrous, stupid nations are the descendants of Cham. Their color is due, not to the rays of the sun, but to the dark source whence those degraded races spring."[573]

1824 The French naturalist Julien-Joseph Virey: "It was destiny that the white race gradually emerged from its chains, while the ancient curse pronounced on the descendants of Ham, according to Scripture, only allowed them eternal slavery."[574]

1826 Abbé Henri Grégoire wrote about those who invoke the biblical curse of Noah, applying "to the negroes the curse pronounced upon Canaan," while also contradicting the Bible by arguing that the blacks constitute a separate race, not descending from Adam.[575]

1831 The naturalist Julien-Joseph Virey and the jurist Joseph Theophile Foisset subscribed to the Curse of Ham, which accounted for the physical condition, as well as the state of slavery, of the black African.[576] Foisset wrote that although the enslavement of blacks (Nègres) was an anachronism in his time, nevertheless it "is a living testimony to the words of Genesis."

1832? The Scottish minister Alexander Keith: "Slaves at home, and transported for slavery, the poor Africans, the descendants of Ham, are the servants of servants, or slaves to others."[577]

1852 John Cumming, Scottish clergyman, several times mentioned the Curse of Ham as illustrative of biblical predictions being fulfilled. For example: "Read the predictions respecting Ham, that his descendants, the children of Africa, should be bondsmen of bondsmen."[578]

1855 The Lithuanian rabbinic scholar Zeʾev Wolf Einhorn (Maharzaw; d. 1862): "Since we see that all of Ham's descendants are ugly and black, and the Torah says that Ham was cursed with slavery, apparently then the blackness was part of the curse."[579]

1864 John Hanning Speke, captain in the British India army, led expeditions into Africa looking for the source of the Nile. During one of his expeditions, he recounts that he was asked by his African guide Sidi Mabarak Bombay why his people are "the slaves of all men." Speke responded by recounting the story of the Curse of Ham.[580]

1869 Guillaume-René Meignan, Archbishop of Tours, cardinal and

scriptural exegete, wrote in 1869: “When one sees the abased condition of the black race, one cannot forget the curse pronounced against Canaan, the father of this unfortunate race.”[581]

1884 The *Kirchenlexikon* of Catholic Theology: “[Noah’s] curse was pronounced on Ham…. Noah’s prophetic words about the history of his descendants were faithfully fulfilled…. Ham’s descendants languish in slavery, are sunk in deepest barbarism.…[582]

1891 Gaetano Casati, Italian explorer of Africa, wrote of his experiences in a work published in 1891, which included the following: “Since the day in which men’s wickedness applauded the malediction pronounced upon Ham, his descendants have been condemned to nudity and slavery.”[583]

Appendix II
The Curse of Ham in America, 18th-20th Centuries

1700 The Massachusetts judge Samuel Sewall in his critique of slavery refuted the claim that, "These Blackamores are of the Posterity of Cham, and therefore are under the Curse of Slavery."[584]
1715 So too did John Hepburn, most probably a Quaker, refute the argument of the Curse, except that he spoke of Canaan, not Ham.[585]

1744 The scientist John Mitchell investigated the "different colours of People in Different Climates," and concluded that the original color of humanity was a shade inbetween black and white, from which both black and white "degenerated," although white people "seem to have degenerated more from the primitive and original Complexion of Mankind, in Noah and his Sons, than even the Indians and Negroes." In arguing his case, Mitchell referred to the Curse: "[T]he black colour of the negroes of Africa, instead of being a Curse denounced on them, on account of their Forefather Ham, as some have idly imagined, is rather a Blessing, rendering their Lives, in that intemperate Region, more tolerable, and less painful."[586]

1758 An anonymous article examining the "Legality and Expediency of Keeping Slaves," published in Philadelphia, records the view that Ham's "whole race, in the person of Canaan and his posterity, Noah cursed and predicted to Slavery and subjection under the offspring of Shem and Japhet; upon which (as an Oriental fable reports) their skin became black on a sudden."[587]

1762 In an essay published by Benjamin Franklin in 1762 but written some years earlier, the Quaker John Woolman contemptuously dismissed the Curse of Ham argument: "To suppose it right that an innocent Man shall at this Day be excluded from the common Rules of Justice; be deprived of that Liberty which is the natural Right of human Creatures; and be a Slave to others during Life, on Account of a sin committed by his immediate Parents; or a Sin committed by Ham, the Son of Noah, is a Supposition too gross to be admitted into the Mind of any Person, who sincerely desires to be governed by solid Principles."[588]

1773 An anonymous proslavery writer in a 1773 issue of the *Connecticut Journal* opined that the blacks descended from Ham and that they were "a race of men devoted to slavery."[589]

1775 In arguing that slavery is commanded in the Bible, Bernard Romans, surveyor and naturalist, referred to "[t]hose who are condemned to slavery for their crimes, which we but too often experience to be the case with the slaves imported to us from Africa." As proof for this statement he cited the Curse of Ham verses.[590]

1792 Hugh Brackenridge, in his novel *Modern Chivalry*, wrote: "Some have conjectured that a black complexion, frizzled hair, a flat nose, and bandy legs, were the mark set on Cain for the murder of his brother Abel…. Some suppose, that it was the curse pronounced upon Canaan, the son of Noah [*sic*], for looking at his father's nakedness."[591]

1797 Responding to a pro-slavery pamphlet, the Welsh Baptist minister John Morgan Rhys (Rhees) first quoted from the pamphlet and then replied: "Where a curse is, a mark you think will follow. The colour, shape, and even the hair on their heads, prove the poor Africans to be children of the curse, and fit for nothing but drudgery and slavery." …. "[Y]ou say, 'where a curse is, a mark will follow.'

Very true; the tree is known by its fruit. But who told you that the descendants of Canaan had a black skin on account of the curse?[592]

1802 Alexander McLeod, Scottish-American minister in the Reformed Presbyterian church, presented his arguments against black slavery in an 'objection and answer' format. Objection III reads as follows: "I firmly believe the scriptures…. [T]he blacks are the descendants of Ham. They are under a curse, and a right is given to their brethren to rule over them. We have a divine grant, in Gen. ix.25–27, to enslave the negroes."[593] McLeod proceeded to answer the objection with several arguments, including the point that blacks did not descend from Canaan, the one cursed with slavery.

1808 David Barrow, an anti-slavery minister in the Kentucky Baptist church: "I am persuaded, that no passage in the sacred volume of Revelation, has suffered more abuse, than 'Noah's curse or malediction' as it is generally expressed by friends of despotism. – … By it, they find out … how the Africans became black, have wooly hair, flat noses, no gristle in their ears etc."[594]

1818 In a speech given in the U.S. Senate in 1818, Senator William Smith of South Carolina quoted Bishop Thomas Newton's *Dissertations on the Prophecies* as saying that "this very African race are the descendants of Canaan, … and are still expiating in bondage the curse upon themselves and their progenitors."[595]

1823 Frederick Dalcho, physician and minister in South Carolina: "The curse [of Canaan] did not extend to the soul and eternity, but merely to their bodies and present life." Basing himself on an Arabic version of the Bible which has Ham, and not Canaan, cursed with slavery, Dalcho wrote: "[I]t is implied that his [i. e. Ham's] whole race was devoted to servitude, but particularly the Canaanites." And then, speaking of the "Negroes" and their enslavement in his day, Dalcho

continued: “Nothing can be more complete than the execution of the sentence upon *Ham*, as well as upon Canaan.”[596] Presumably “bodies and present life” refers to African physiognomy and state of slavery.

1827, 1828 *The African Observer* was “a monthly journal, containing essays and documents illustrative of the general character, and moral and political effects of negro slavery,” edited by the Quaker Enoch Lewis. In the October, 1827 issue it ran an article called “Scriptural Researches on Slavery,” which argued against the Curse of Ham interpretation, opening with the statement, “An opinion prevails, not only with slave holders, but many others, that however inconsistent slavery may be with the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence, that ‘liberty is an unalienable right,’ and however at variance with our free institutions, yet that it is not contrary to scripture, nor inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel.” In the February, 1828 issue an article appeared answering the defense of slavery made by Congressman John C. Weems of Maryland, which also debunks the Curse of Ham interpretation of Scripture. It introduces the argument by stating, “Previously to an examination how far the sacred volume can be made, by any latitude of construction, to sustain this position, it will not be impertinent to inquire, whether such a doctrine does not stamp a greater stigma upon the character of a benevolent Creator than the boldest atheist has ever attempted,” and then specifically addressing the Curse of Ham argument, it continued, “This argument is so old, that I know not by whom it was first advanced, and so weak that I wonder it was ever advanced at all.”[597]

1830s According to Mormon foundational documents, Cain was cursed with black skin, which was transmitted to Ham when he married into the line of Cain. The blackness was then inherited by Ham’s son Canaan: “[A] blackness came upon the children of Canaan, that they were despised among all people.”[598]And since Canaan was

cursed with slavery, Brigham Young taught that blacks would "continue to be the servant of servants until the curse is removed."[599]

1833 John Rankin, abolitionist and Presbyterian minister, wrote in regard to the biblical arguments for black slavery that in the Bible "you will find that the blackness of the African is not the horrible mark of Cain, nor the direful effects of Noah's curse, but the mark of a scorching sun."[600]

1834 Simon Clough, a pro-slavery New England minister, spoke of those who believed "the nature of the curse which in the course of time, was to fall upon the descendants of Ham."[601]

1834 David Lee Child, a Massachusetts abolitionist, delivered an oration in which he referred to the "curse pronounced upon Canaan, [which] was still clinging to the poor Ethiopians, his descendants," that was being used to justify black slavery.[602]

1835 In a discourse delivered in Richmond, Virginia in 1835, Charles Farley, a Unitarian clergyman, talking of the Africans, referred to the "mark … set upon them by God," as justification for their enslavement by some Christians.[603]

1835 Simeon Doggett, a pro-slavery Unitarian clergyman from Massachusetts: "[T]he purport of [Noah's] prophetic denunciation is, that the posterity of Ham would become a degraded, servile race, and eventually fall under the domination of the descendants of his other sons, Shem and Japheth. This extraordinary prediction has been wonderfully verified."[604]

1836 James Henry Hammond, the pro-slavery Governor of South Carolina and U.S. Congressman from that state, in a speech to the House of Representatives in 1836: "The doom of Ham has been branded on the form and features of his African descendants. The

hand of fate has united his color and destiny. Man cannot separate what God hath joined."[605]

1837 George Washington Freeman, bishop in the Episcopal church, argued that slavery was not against the spirit of the Bible, and his evidence was the Curse of Ham, "of which [the black slaves'] present degraded condition is a manifest fulfillment."[606]

1838 John Jacobus Flournoy, an eccentric Southerner who advocated for the expulsion of all blacks, slave or free, from the United States, wrote that "the blacks were originally designed to vassalage by the Patriarch Noah."[607]

1838 The abolitionist Theodore Weld: the Curse of Ham is "the *vade mecum* of slaveholders, and they never venture abroad without it."[608]

1837 Samuel Dunwody, a southern preacher and slaveholder, recorded the prevalent view of his time and place that the blacks were descendants of Ham and that Noah's curse was the cause for the American enslavement of the blacks.[609]

1838 Rev. Leander Ker thought that Ham, who was cursed with slavery by Noah, was born black (as Shem was born red, and Japhet white), and he proved the veracity of the language of Noah's curse ("he shall be a servant of servants") by referring to "the South and West Indies; where, on large cotton, coffee or sugar plantations, the slaves are divided in companies with a leader over them of their own color, who is also a slave.[610]

1841 The abolitionist, former slave, and Presbyterian minister James W. C. Pennington: "A class of men have gained the high reputation of attempting gravely to theorise themselves into the right to oppress, and to hate and abuse their fellow man! … Noah cursed his grand son Canaan, and this *dooms* the black man to slavery, and *constitutes* the

white man the slaveholder! Astounding![611]

1843 Even some arguing for evangelization among the black slaves did not dispute the validity of the Curse of Ham. In a letter to the "Friends of Maryland, Virginia, and other parts of America," the Quaker William Edmundson wrote: "And must not negroes feel and partake the liberty of the gospel…? And what if they were of Ham's stock, and were to be servants of servants?[612]

1843 The widely read, anti-black author Josiah Priest developed a theory that Adam was born red and that the black and white races began with the miraculous transformation of the complexions of Ham (black) and Japhet (white) in their mother's womb, and that "Noah's curse of Ham, was God's judicial decree that slavery was thus entailed upon the negro race."[613]

1844 Josiah Nott, South Carolina physician and slave owner, argued for a polygenetic origin of humanity. As part of his argument that blacks and whites could not derive from the same ancestor, he wrote: "The curse of heaven fell upon Canaan, but we have no reason to believe that the curse was a physical one."[614] This would seem to be a reference to the view that "physical" blackness derived from Noah's curse.

1844 John England, Catholic bishop of Charleston, who was for the abolition of the slave trade, nevertheless in speaking of the enslavement of blacks thought that it "certainly was not then against the divine law for Sem and Japeth to use the service of Canaan," i. e., "the black race[,] since their progenitor had been cursed by God for his sinful conduct."[615]

1846 Albert Barnes, a Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia, in 1846 wrote regarding the Curse of Ham in Genesis 9:25: "This passage, by

a singular perverseness of interpretation, and a singular perseverance in that perverseness notwithstanding the plainest rules of exegesis, is often employed to justify the reduction of the African to slavery….”[616]

1848 John G. Fee, anti-slavery minister from Kentucky: “Many seem to think the dark complexion and peculiar form of the Negroes are badges of Noah’s curse, and that their feeble intellects unfit them for freedom, that these are evidences that God designed the Negroes to be Slaves.”[617]

1848 The Curse of Ham is implied in the work of William Van Amringe, who, divided mankind into four species (Shemitic, Japhethic, Canaanitic, Ishmaelitic), of which the Canaanites constituted the black-skinned peoples, “whose only hope for an ameliorated condition appears to lie in the bondage incident to a ‘servant of servants.’”[618]

1850 Iveson L. Brookes, Baptist minister, plantation owner, and supporter of slavery: “[W]hen Ham the father of Canaan, through whom Ham’s descendants are subjected to the prophetic curse, had committed, a most atrocious offence of some kind, was it not wonderous mercy in God, instead of the decapitation of Ham to simply punish him in Canaan, the first son perhaps, born to him after the offence, by flattening his head, kinking his hair, and blackening his skin, and turning him loose, with his mind in chains, to be a servant of servants to his brethren ….”[619]

1850 George Howe, a Southern Presbyterian minister in Charleston, wrote an article rejecting the notion that black skin is a result of either the mark of Cain or the curse of Ham.[620]

1851 Samuel A. Cartwright, a pro-slavery physician from New Orleans: “The Negroes [were] descendants of Canaan, son of Ham,

whose children were doomed to be the servants of Japheth or the white race."[621]

1852 John Fletcher of Louisiana, a strong supporter of slavery, believed that black skin began with Cain. Ham's sin was that he married into the Cain race, engaging in racial mixing, and thus transmitting blackness to Ham's descendants, who were cursed with slavery. "[T]he curse of slavery, as to the posterity of Ham, was unalterable…. So ye Ethiopians, reduced to a condition of bondage, remember ye are the inheritors of the curse of Ham!"[622]

1852 From Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: "'It's undoubtedly the intention of Providence that the African race should be servants – kept in a low condition,'" said a grave-looking gentleman in black, a clergyman…. 'Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be,' the Scripture says."[623]

1856 The Baptist minister, Thornton Stringfellow wrote that the biblical text of Noah's curse shows "the *favor* which God would exercise to the posterity of Shem and Japheth, while they were holding the posterity of Ham in a state of *abject bondage*…. [I]t is quite possible that his favor may now be found with one class of men who are holding another class in bondage," by which he meant the blacks.[624] Similarly in a later work (1860), Stringfellow wrote that "soon after the flood, Ham's descendants were doomed by the Almighty to a state of slavery."[625]

1857 James A. Sloan, a Presbyterian minister from Mississippi, speaking of the curse of slavery: "Ham deserved death for his unfilial and impious conduct. But the Great Lawgiver saw fit, in his good pleasure, not to destroy Ham with immediate death, but to set a *mark of degradation* on him … that all coming generations might know and respect the laws of God…. [All] Ham's posterity are either *black* or

dark colored, and thus bear upon their countenance the mark of *inferiority* which God put upon the progenitor…. *Black, restrained, despised, bowed down* are the words used to express the condition and place of Ham's children. Bearing the mark of degradation on their skin…."[626]

1857 The Tennessee clergyman Samuel Davies Baldwin: "[B]ondage, degradation and infamy have been the actual lot assigned, by Providence, to the Hamitic world … from the days of Noah to the era of Washington," and again, "[I]f Canaan's curse is fulfilled in the race of Ham, and if personal and national bondage have been generally realized by the Hamitic race – then, the curse on Canaan was absolutely pronounced on him as the representative of that race, and the term servitude includes personal as well as national bondage."[627] "The Hamitic race as a race … was placed under a curse…. Its political condition was to be generally inferior to that of the races of Shem and Japheth. In addition, it was to exist in the lowest degree of servility to the other races."[628] Baldwin suggested that the creation of the different skin colors of humanity occurred with the separation of languages at the Tower of Babel.[629]

1858 Thomas Cobb, a judge from Georgia and a Civil War General: "In the opinion of many the curse of Ham is now being executed upon his descendants, in the slavement of the negro race. [I]t seems probable that the condition of servitude must have existed prior to the flood [….] We have seen that the earliest authentic histories and monuments exhibit the negro in a state of bondage. From that time to the present he has in greater or less numbers ever been a slave. Whether this condition is the curse on Canaan, the son of Ham, as many religiously believe, and plausibly argue, it is not our province to decide."[630]

1854–1858 William H. Clarke, an American missionary in Africa,

speculated that the black Africans generally, and particularly the Yoruba in Nigeria, descended from the Canaanites. "If we read correctly as to the cause of the colour, certainly not from the Shemitic; and with as much certainty not from the Japhetic. Nor are all the children of Ham included in this curse; they are only the descendants of Canaan…." Although Clarke does not further define "this curse," it appears that, despite his liberal views toward blacks, he meant a curse of blackness.[631]

1857, 1862 Alexander Crummell, a man born in this country to freed slaves, wrote of those "who piously [deem] it a wondrous instance of holy prescience that the Patriarch of the Ark, just fresh from his wine, in uttering his malediction against Canaan, was looking right down the track of time upon some fine specimens of 'Ebony' in the baracoons of the Gallinas, or some 'fat and sleek' negroes in the Slave shambles of Virginia!"[632] Some years later, he again refuted the "foolish notion that the curse of Canaan carried with it the sable dye which marks the Negro races of the world."[633]

1859 John Leadley Dagg, a Baptist clergyman and president of Baptist-affiliated Mercer University in Georgia: "The curse of Ham's transgression fell heavily on the Canaanites; but it was not confined to this branch of the family. The enslaved negroes in our midst are his descendants, and their condition agrees with this ancient prediction … and an explanation of the degradation which has fallen on his posterity…. [T]he sons of Ham are bound to submit patiently to the curse which has doomed them to bondage."[634]

1859 A student at the South Carolina Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind wrote in 1859 that "Noah's son Ham laughed at his naked father, 'God punished … Ham severely,' and therefore his descendents became 'black negroes.'"[635]

1860 The anonymous author of *African Servitude; When, Why, and by Whom Instituted* referred to blacks who "are of the posterity of Ham, upon whom God has put his indelible mark" and quoted "the renowned and learned Calmet": "'Tis a tradition among the Eastern writers, that Noah, having cursed Ham and Canaan, the effect of his curse was, that not only their posterity were made subject to their brethren and born, as we may say, in slavery, but that likewise all on a sudden the color of their skin became black (for these Eastern writers maintain that all the blacks descended from Ham and Canaan)…."[636]

1860 In his argument supporting slavery, Nathan Lord, president of Dartmouth College, offered several proofs that slavery is "a positive institution of Revealed Religion," one of which was that the curse of slavery fell on Ham "both on account of his personal obliquities, and as the representative of a race naturally deriving from him, through his forbidden intermarriage with the previously wicked and accursed race of Cain."[637] Although Lord did not mention Cain's color, we can reasonably assume that he considered it to be black.

1860 In a speech before the U. S. Senate on April 12, 1860 Jefferson Davis spoke of Ham, who had debased himself by intermarrying with a descendant of Cain, and "doomed his descendants to perpetual slavery"[638] Although Davis does not mention the skin color of Cain's descendants, "an inferior race of men," as is the case with Nathan Lord, we may assume that he considered it to have been black.

1861 In a pastoral letter written in August of 1861, the pro-slavery Catholic Bishop of Natchitoches, Louisiana, Augustus Martin, referred to the "Negroes" as descendants of Canaan who had been cursed with slavery.[639]

1861 Philip Schaff, theologian and professor of church history at the German Reformed Theological Seminary of Mercersburg,

Pennsylvania, referred to the view that the Curse of Ham was the cause for the enslavement of blacks.[640]

1861 On the eve of the Civil War, the Confederate vice-president Alexander H. Stephens proclaimed: "Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition …. The negro by nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system."[641]

1861 The "founding father" of the Southern Presbyterian church, Benjamin Morgan Palmer, a pro-slavery advocate known for his oratory, saw in Noah's curse a divine pronouncement for the destinies of the black African: "Upon Ham was pronounced the doom of perpetual servitude … that he shall be the servant of Japheth and the servant of Shem. Accordingly, history records not a single example of any member of this group lifting itself, by any process of self-development, above the savage condition. From first to last their mental and moral characteristics, together with the guidance of Providence, have marked them for servitude."[642]

1861 John H. Van Evrie, a pro-slavery New York physician and proponent of white supremacy: "Those who interpret the Book of Genesis, or who believe that the Book of Genesis teaches the origin of the human family from a single pair, will, of course believe that the Creator subsequently changed them [the blacks] into their present form."[643]

1862 Henry Cornelius Edgar (d. 1884), minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, refuted the common view that "all the family of Ham were struck black; and that that color is the Lord's

mark by which all the world may know who may be subjected to servitude."[644]

1863 John Bell Robinson, a Methodist minister: "If Ham and his son Canaan had been true to their father and grand-father, there would have been no slaves nor negroes in this world of ours."[645]

1863 Jacob L. Stone, a school teacher in San Francisco who called himself a "Hebrew Wood Chopper": "The supposed prophecy consigning the African race to bondage …. is founded upon a demonstrable mistake, – and a mistake so palpable, that it is a subject of great wonder how the prevalent belief in the existence of such a prophecy ever came to be general, and how it managed to survive to this day."[646]

1864 Increase Tarbox, a Massachusetts pastor, describing the Curse of Ham: "There has come down to us, by inheritance from our fathers, a set of ideas and opinions, which in the unquestioning period of childhood we were easily made to believe and which have been and are still firmly held by multitudes as undoubted truths…. [which] became matters of common talk, having as their groundwork 'everybody says so.' Passing thus from mouth to mouth, and having acquired such respectability as age can give, they stalk abroad with this halo of antiquity about them. There are thousands of men in our land, who, if you venture to disturb their faith in these old traditions, will start back instinctively as if you were trying to unsettle the foundations of everlasting truth."[647]

1867 The Nashville publisher Bruckner Payne, writing under the pseudonym "Ariel," argued that the "negro" was not human but a beast. As part of his argument he attempted to refute the assumption "held by the clergy, and many learned men" that Noah's curse "was denounced against Ham for the accidental seeing of his father Noah

naked – that this curse was to do so, and did change him, so that instead of being long, straight-haired, high forehead, high nose, thin lips and white, as he then was, and like his brothers Shem and Japheth, he was from that day forth, to be kinky headed, low forehead, thick lipped, and black skinned; and that his *name*, and this *curse* effected all this."[648]

1867 Robert Lewis Dabney, "Virginia's leading Presbyterian theologian," argued that the biblical text provided divine sanction for the enslavement of blacks.[649]

1868 In response to Ariel and others, "M. S." wrote *The Adamic Race: Reply to "Ariel," Drs. Young and Blackie, on the Negro*, in which he argued that "the position of Dr. Young, and a thousand other authorities, that the curse somehow fell on Ham, and made him to be the progenitor of the negro, is too futile and contemptible to be entertained for a moment."[650]

1868 In her novel *Waiting for the Verdict*, Rebecca Harding Davis crafted a dialogue which incorporated the belief in the Curse of Ham: "'Do you think that the time in this country will never come when the negro will have a chance to make the man of himself which God intended him to be?' 'God, sir, intended him to be a servant in the tents of his brethren.'" "A servant in the tents of my brethren," alludes to the biblical curse on Canaan: *Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren* (Genesis 9:25).[651]

1869 Benjamin Tucker Tanner, bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, wrote a work devoted to countering the claim that the origin of the black was in Noah's curse.[652]

1883 George Washington Williams, Baptist minister, publisher, and the "first colored member of the Ohio legislature, and late judge

advocate of the Grand Army of the Republic of Ohio, etc.," wrote the first major history of African Americans, *History of the Negro Race in America: From 1619 to 1880*. In it Williams referred to the Curse of Ham and the Curse of Cain as beliefs among some for the origin of black skin: "There are various opinions rife as to the cause of color and texture of hair in the Negro. The generally accepted theory years ago was, that the curse of Cain rested upon this race; while others saw in the dark skin of the Negro the curse of Noah pronounced against Canaan."[653]

1886 In his story "The Fall of Adam" (1886), the author Charles Chesnutt has Brother 'Lijah Gadson say regarding the color of blacks: "I be'n'flectin' dat subjic' over a long time, and axin' 'bout it; but nobody doan' seem to know nuffin' surtin' 'bout it. Some says it's de cuss o' Caanyun but I never coul'n' understan' bout dis here cuss o' Caanyun. I can['t] see how de Lawd could turn anybody black jes' by cussin' 'im; 'case 'fo I j'ined de church – dat was 'fo de wah – I use' ter cuss de overseah on ole marse's plantation awful bad – when he was'n' da – and all de darkies on the plantation use' ter cus 'im, an' it didn' make de leas' changes in 'is complexion."[654]

1888 In laying out his pre-Adamite theory, the American geologist Alexander Winchell argued on scriptural grounds against "the realization of Noah's curse in the black skin of the Negroes, or the slavery to which they have been subjected."[655]

1905 The educator Henry Parker Eastman: "Forced by the plain teaching of the Bible to abandon his original position the modern Christian hastily seeks shelter for his 'brother in black,' in the theory that it was Canaan whom Noah cursed and changed into a negro."[656]

1923 In a popular Bible commentary of the American Lutheran church, Paul Kretzmann wrote on the passage in Genesis 9:25 that

black Africans were the descendants of Canaan and therefore bore Noah's curse of slavery.[657]

1927 In a one-act play based on the biblical story, entitled "The First One," the African-American writer and folklorist Zora Neale Hurston had Noah curse Ham and his descendants with blackness and slavery.[658]

1929 *The Watchtower*, a publication of Jehovah's Witnesses, in 1929 declared that the curse which Noah pronounced upon Canaan was the origin of the black race.[659]

1933 The African-American historian Carter G. Woodson: "[T]o handicap a student by teaching him that his black face is a curse and that his struggle to change his condition is hopeless is the worst sort of lynching."[660] Although Woodson does not mention the biblical story, the word "curse" apparently alludes to it.

1936–38 In an interview given in the 1930s to a government WPA worker, a former slave, Gus (Jabbo) Rogers, paraphrased the biblical curse this way: "Noah told the one who laughed, 'Your children will be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the other two children, and they will be known by their hair and their skin being dark.' So, Miss, there we are, and that is the way God meant us to be."[661]

Another former slave, Lizzie Grant, told the WPA interviewer: "[Y]ou know son we have been servants to the rest of the world ever since old Noah's son laughed at his father's nakedness and God turned his flesh black and told him for that act his sex would always carry a curse, and that they would be servants of the people as long as this old world in its present form remained."[662]

1954 In a sermon given in 1954, the Baptist minister Carey Daniel said: "The Bible clearly implies that the Negroes' black skin is the result of Ham's immorality at the time of his father Noah's

drunkenness."[663]

1957, 1960 Robert Guste, the parish priest of New Orleans, published a booklet arguing for the integration of blacks and whites. One of the issues the priest addressed, and rebutted, was the belief that black skin originated with a curse on Cain or Ham."[664]

1964 James Baldwin, the African-American author: "I knew that, according to many Christians, I was a descendant of Ham, who had been cursed, and that I was therefore predestined to be a slave."[665]

1966 In a biblical commentary by L. Thomas Holdcroft, a Pentecostal writer, who taught at Western Bible College in British Columbia: "The descendants of Canaan became the black races who for long centuries furnished the world's supply of slaves."[666]

1971, 1974 The Afrocentrist writer, Yosef Ben-Jochannan wrote that the Canaanites turned black as a result of a curse of God,[667] and he blamed the "racist European Jews' VERSION of the *Babylonian Talmud*" for the view that Noah's curse brought about the "BLACK COLOR OF THE NEGRO … THE CANAANITES.[668]

1998 Salim Muwakkil, a former editor of the Nation of Islam newspaper *Muhammad Speaks* writes of "the biblical curse of Ham in which a son of Noah, and thus his 'Hamitic' descendants, [are] damned to both blackness and eternal servitude for observing his father's nakedness."[669]

Appendix III
The Curse of Cain: 17th-19th Centuries

This list contains references, in Europe and America, to the belief that black skin began with Cain, who had killed his brother Abel. Black skin is usually understood as the unspecified "mark" that God put on Cain "so that no one who found him would kill him" (Genesis 4:15). I exclude from this list Isaac de la Peyrère and other pre-Adamites who believed that Cain was born black or married a pre-Adamite black African.[670]

Europe

1620 In *The Glasse of Time*, the English poet Thomas Peyton described Cain's mark as black skin, and referred to the black African as "the cursed descendant of Cain and the devil":

> That Cains most feareful punishment and marke,'
> For raking up his brother in the darke:
> Was that his skin was all to blacknesse turn'd.
> Ah cursed Caine the scourge of all thy race,
> Now thou hast got a blacke and murdering face,
> For God above (in justice) hath ordaind,
> They offspring all should to this day be stained.
> ….
> [speaking of the Africans]
> Much like the Devil and cursed Cain himself,
> From top to toe, from head unto the foot,
> As if with grease they were besmeared and soot.[671]

1680 In addition to arguing against the Curse of Ham, the Anglican minister and missionary Morgan Godwyn mentioned the Curse of Cain. He noted that it is a belief held by some that Cain's mark consisted of black skin, although "they insist not much upon it," preferring instead pre-Adamite arguments, "tho many times 'tis by their less skillful Disputants prest to the Service."[672]

1703 The *Athenian Oracle* in 1703 provided various current explanations accounting for human color. "Some have believed that Cain's Mark was black…. Some say Lots Daughters, upon their flight from Sodom, an Idea of the Smoke and Flames they left behind them, might very probably in the act of Generation with their Father, fix a similitude of Colour upon Conception by the power of their imaginary faculty. Some, that the nearness or distance of the Sun, may have an Effect upon the skin." And then the author adds his own thought on the matter: People who had seen or heard of an albino, "would form an Idea … which in the Act of Generation would have the same Effect, the Imaginary power being stronger than the Generative … though," he admitted, "we must allow a great Cause in the nearness or distance of the Sun."[673]

1725 William Whiston, translator of Josephus into English and successor to Isaac Newton as professor of mathematics at Cambridge University: God "changed [Cain] to the remotest species and colour of a perfect black." This was the biblical "mark" that God put on Cain, which continued in Cain's descendants for seven generations and then in his descendant Lamech and his descendants for the next 77 generations.[674]

1728 Jean-Baptiste Labat, the French Dominican missionary and explorer, argued against Malfert's view that Cain was marked with black skin. Labat is later quoted by Petrus Camper, "De l'origine et de la couleur des négres."[675]

1733 Inspired by Whiston, Auguste Malfert a priest of the Brothers of Charity order, who served probably in Saint-Domingue, argued against the pre-Adamites in an article published in the French Jesuit journal *Mémoires de Trévoux* (later called *Journal de Trévoux*), and wrote that a changed skin color was the sign that God put on Cain, which accounts for the pigmentation of the Africans (and the native Americans) via Cain's descendant Lamech. Malfert expressed the same view in an unpublished work, *Dissertation sur l'origine des nègres et des américains* (1733).[676]

1738 The French Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Margat de Tilly (d. 1747) contributed an article, "Explication physique de la noirceur des Nègres," in the June, 1738 *Mémoires de Trévoux*, in which he disputed both the Cain and Ham/Canaan origin of blackness ("Mais pourquoi s'obstiner à attribuer la noirceur des Negres à un châtiment divin?").[677]

1745 In his *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, the London publisher Thomas Astley referred to opinions held in his day that the black skin color of Africans derived from the mark put on Cain or from the Curse of Ham.[678]

1764 C. R. Boxer published a Portuguese pamphlet from Lisbon (1764) criticizing black slavery in Brazil. The pamphlet reflects the beliefs of the Portuguese-speaking world at the time, according to which, "it was an article of faith that the black man was born to serve the white." One of those beliefs was that "the Negroes are descended from Cain, who was black, and who died cursed by God himself, as the Scripture relates."[679]

1764 In a chapter of his work *Le Commerce de l'Amérique par Marseille*, titled "De la couler des Negres," Chambon argued that neither the mark of Cain nor Noah's curse on Canaan was the origin

of black skin.[680]

1765 The French surgeon Claude-Nicolas Le Cat reviewed the three views for the origin of black skin common at the time: the mark of Cain, the Curse of Ham, and that Noah's three sons were of three different complexions (white, bronzed/basané, and black). He disagreed with the idea that black skin was the result of a sin.[681]

1770 Referring to "the theologians" who relied on the Curse of Cain, the Enlightenment philosopher Guillaume-Thomas Raynal wrote that "the blacks [*nègres*] are beings who are perhaps mistreated by nature, and not cursed by [God's] justice."[682]

1771 The Dutch scholar Abbé Cornelius de Pauw disagreed with the theologians of his generation who explained the color of Africans as well as their flattened (*écrasa*) noses as deriving from the mark of Cain. He also mentioned the opinion of others that Africans descended from Kush or Canaan or Ishmael.[683]

1773 Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia physician, member of the Continental Congress, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence: "The vulgar notion of ["Negroes"] being descended from Cain, who was supposed to have been marked with this [black] colour, is too absurd to need a refutation."[684]

1782 In a book on the *"Whole Art of Hair Dressing*," the author James Stewart, while discussing the different qualities and colors of hair, has this divergence: "With respect to the deep black, which tinges the complexion of the negroes … [s]ome have very absurdly supposed, that the negroes, being the descendants of Cain, have had this mark of infamy stampt upon them, as a punishment for the fratricide of their ancestor."[685]

1786 In rejecting the argument that based on their skin color blacks

are destined for slavery, Thomas Clarkson referred to the Curse of Ham and also to those claiming that the Africans are descendants of Cain.[686]

1787 The former slave Ottobah Cugoano argued against the possibility that a curse on either Cain or Ham could be the cause of the skin color of Africans.[687]

1788 The German botanist and physician Paul Erdmannn Isert discussed the origin of the blacks' skin color, on which "die philosophischen Naturforscher nicht wenig die Kopfe zerbrochen." Isert mentioned four views: that it is due to climate, with which opinion he agrees; that it is the mark of Cain in punishment for the murder of his brother; that it is the natural color of the descendants of Kush or Phut; and that blacks are the bastard descendants of Europeans and monkeys.[688]

1789 Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier in the *Dictionnaire de théologie dogmatique, liturgique, canonique et disciplinaire* (1789) wrote of the "vain conjecture" of "some writers" who imagine that blacks are the posterity of Cain, and that their skin color is the effect of the curse which God pronounced against Cain and is the "mark" mentioned in the Bible.[689]

1802 Former military officer and planter in the West Indies Louis-Narcisse Baudry des Lozières wrote of the blacks (*Nègre*) that they are the descendants of Cain.[690]

1811 The actress Mary Davies Wells, "of the Theatres-Royal, Covent-Garden, and Haymarket," wrote in her memoir: "One day, led more by curiosity than by the idea that I should learn any thing from one of the offspring of Cain, I went to hear an itinerant black preacher…."[691]

Before 1824 The German nun Anne Catherine Emmerich (d. 1824)

described her vision of Ham becoming black as a result of Noah's curse (above, pp. 139, 214). In another vision she saw Cain's murder of his brother and the mark God set on Cain, and then she added: "Cain's posterity gradually became colored. Cham's children also were browner than those of Sem. The nobler races were always of a lighter color. They who were distinguished by a particular mark engendered children of the same stamp; and as corruption increased, the mark also increased until at last it covered the whole body, and people became darker and darker."[692]

1848 The Protestant minister of the Église Réformée de France Auguste-Laurent Montandon, in his book of instructions for Sunday School, referred to the descendants of Ham and Canaan in Africa (*les nègres*) who are subject to Noah's curse, as of the race of Cain: "Cham aura en Canaan un mauvais fils; Canaan aura de mauvais fils, et toutes ces générations mauvaises éprouveront de plus en plus la colère de Dieu. C'es une race de Caïns."[693]

1855 "The Rev. Dr. [Meyer] Mensor of Dublin," in a paper read before the Philosophical Society, Trinity College Dublin, said: "Adam's color was of a fair hue, and the mark which God put on Cain, was, he changed the fair color of Cain into a dark one."[694]

1856 It was reported that "on the stage … a pure South African … played Cain in the drama of 'Le Paradis Perdu,' in the theatre L'Ambigu Comique, in Paris, in the winter of 1856."[695]

1874 Colin Kidd cites an anonymous ("C. M.") work, published in London, 1874, which claimed that Cain was the ancestor of blacks, and that the mark put on him by God blackened his skin and changed the texture of his hair.[696]

America

1733 The Quaker minister Elihu Coleman referred to, and rebutted, the belief of his time that black skin and tightly curled hair were the marks of Cain.[697]

1757 The Quaker John Woolman recorded this conversation in his journal for the year 1757: "Soon after, a Friend in company began to talk in support of the slavetrade, and said the Negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackness being the mark which God set upon him after he murdered Abel his brother; that it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the race of so wicked a man as Cain was. Then another spake in support of what had been said."[698]

1773 In the first published book by an African-American woman, the poet Phyllis Wheatley wrote in a poem entitled "On Being Brought from Africa to America": "Some view our sable race with scornful eye,/'Their color is a diabolic die.'/Remember Christians, Negroes black as Cain/May be refin'd, and join th' angelic train."[699]

1789 The African-American minister and missionary John Marrant delivered a sermon in 1789 in which he sarcastically mentioned the opinion of the time that blackness began with Cain: "What was it but [envy] that made Cain murder his brother, whence is it but from these that our modern Cains call us Africans the sons of Cain?"[700]

1792 Hugh Brackenridge, writer and judge, wrote in his novel *Modern Chivalry*: "Some have conjectured that a black complexion, frizzled hair, a flat nose, and bandy legs, were the mark set on Cain for the murder of his brother Abel…. Some suppose, that it was the curse pronounced upon Canaan, the son of Noah, for looking at his father's nakedness."[701]

ca. 1800 Charles Jones in 1812 began a work on the origins of different skin colors among humans with a story that led him to investigate this matter: "When I was about ten years of age, being then at school in Haddonfield, a village in New-Jersey, about six miles from Philadelphia, as I was playing with some of my school-fellows in the street near the market-house, one of them, in a disdainful manner, cursed a black boy, and called him *the seed of Cain*."[702]

1829 David Walker, an African American writing in 1829: "Some ignorant creatures hesitate not to tell us that we (the blacks) are the seed of Cain … and that God put a dark stain upon us, that we might be known as their slaves!!!"[703]

1830s Mormon foundational documents, written during the 1830s, report that it was Cain upon whom God set a mark of blackness. "The seed of Cain were black and had not place among [the seed of Adam]." Ham then married into the line of Cain, thus inheriting the skin color and then transmitting it to his son Canaan: "[A] blackness came upon the children of Canaan, that they were despised among all people."[704] And since Canaan was cursed with slavery, Brigham Young taught blacks would "continue to be the servant of servants until the curse is removed."[705]

1833 John Rankin, abolitionist and Presbyterian minister, referred to the common biblical argument for black slavery: "That color is very different from our own. This leads many to conclude that Heaven has expressly marked them out for servitude," which he refutes: "[Y]ou will find that the blackness of the African is not the horrible mark of Cain, nor the direful effects of Noah's curse, but the mark of a scorching sun."[706]

1834 David Lee Child, a Massachusetts abolitionist, delivered an oration in which he referred to the Curse of Cain when he said, "When

it was answered that the posterity of Cain were all drowned in the deluge, the slavites took ground this side of the flood. They said that the curse pronounced upon Canaan, was still clinging to the poor Ethiopians, his descendants."[707]

1837 Abolitionist Theodore Dwight Weld: "How often has it been set up in type, that the color of the negro is the *Cain-mark*, propagated downward."[708]

1841 The African-American abolitionist, former slave, and Presbyterian minister James W. C. Pennington refuted the idea current at his time that blackness began with Cain. With a mixture of disgust and anger he wrote: "We are not the seed of Cain as the stupid say. It is indeed a stupid saying, and I confess it would be stupid to attempt a reply, were it not for the real fact that it is trumpeted about by bar-room and porter-house orators, with as much gravity as a judge charges a jury who are to decide in a case of life and death; and received with as much complacency as if an oracle had spoken truth infallible. And this saying is circulated by its framers without once recurring to the fact – the school boy's textbook fact, that Cain lived before the deluge, that all his posterity were swallowed up!… How, then, can Cain have any posterity this side of the deluge? How could we have inherited his mark and curse? The supposition is false and absurd."[709]

1850 George Howe, a Southern Presbyterian minister in Charleston, wrote an article rejecting the notion that black skin is a result of either the mark of Cain or the curse of Ham.[710]

1852 In his *Studies on Slavery, in Easy Lessons*, John Fletcher of Louisiana, a "northerner who became one of the South's most faithful defenders of human bondage," wrote that black skin began with Cain, who was smitten with it as punishment for killing his brother. Ham's

sin was that he married into the Cain race, engaging in racial amalgamation, and thus transmitting blackness to Ham's descendants.[711]

1859 In Dion Boucicault's play *The Octoroon*, the character Zoe declares, "That – that is the ineffaceable curse of Cain. Of the blood that feeds my heart, one drop in eight is black …; the one black drop gives me despair, for I'm an unclean thing – forbidden by the laws – I'm an Octoroon."[712]

1860 The pro-slavery writer Samuel A. Cartwright: "Who knows but what Canaan's mother may have been a genuine Cushite, as black inside as out, and that Cush, which means blackness, was the mark put upon Cain?"[713] "For aught we know, Canaan's mother … might have been a Nephelim or one of those fallen earth-born descendants of Cain…. Canaan had the precise organization of body and disposition of mind discovered in the Ethiopian race of the present day. Whether he derived them on his maternal side from Cain, or whether they were directly impressed upon him…."[714]

1860 Writing in 1860, Nathan Lord, president of Dartmouth College, made the connection between Cain and Ham, although not mentioning Cain's color. In his argument supporting slavery, he offered several proofs that slavery is "a positive institution of Revealed Religion." One of these proofs was that the curse of slavery fell on Ham "both on account of his personal obliquities, and as the representative of a race naturally deriving from him, through his forbidden intermarriage with the previously wicked and accursed race of Cain."[715]

1860 Like Lord, Jefferson Davis referred to Ham's marriage to a descendant of Cain when he said in the U. S. Senate on April 12, 1860: "Cain … was driven from the face of Adam …. And when the low and vulgar son of Noah … who, sunk by debasing himself and his lineage by a connection with an inferior race of men … doomed his

descendants to perpetual slavery"[716]

1862 Henry Cornelius Edgar, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, referred to the belief of his time that the mark of Cain was a black skin.[717]

1874 William Wells Brown, former slave, abolitionist and novelist, argued against "[s]ome wrtiers [who] have endeavored to account for this difference of color, by connecting it with the curse pronounced upon Cain."[718]

1883 George Washington Williams, Baptist minister, historian, and politician: "There are various opinions rife as to the cause of color and texture of hair in the Negro. The generally accepted theory years ago was, that the curse of Cain rested upon this race; while others saw in the dark skin of the Negro the curse of Noah pronounced against Canaan.[719]

ca. 1889 Werner Sollors noticed the Curse of Cain implied in a poem ("The Voodoo Prophecy") by the Georgian novelist and poet Maurice Thompson: "You, seed of Abel, proud of your descent,/And arrogant, because your cheeks are fair,/Within my loins an inky curse is pent/To flood/Your blood/And stain your skin and crisp your golden hair."[720]

1894 In the poem "Africa" George Cossins wrote of the continent: "She to whom fell the dark disgrace,/Cain's evil brood to bear!"[721]

Excursus

Excursus I
Did Ham Have Sex with a Dog?

I noted above that a number of modern writers misread the rabbinic sex-in-the-ark story to say that Ham had sex with the dog. These misunderstandings were based on a reading of the story as found in *Genesis rabba* and the Babylonian Talmud, in which the question of who had sex with whom is not ambiguous: Ham, the dog, and the raven had sex with their respective partners.[722] A popular English translation of *Genesis rabba*, which does not include the raven in the story, translated the Hebrew as "Ham and the dog copulated in the Ark," meaning that Ham and the dog each copulated with their own partners. This translation, however, was misunderstood by some modern writers to say that Ham and the dog copulated with each other.[723]

A much earlier writer, however, not dependent on the English translation, also claims that Ham copulated with the dog. We saw that the anonymous *Libro del caballero Zifar* (ca. 1300) quoted the ark story as follows: "The Jews say that Ham was cursed because he lay with a dog (*cadiella*) while he was in the ark."[724] What was the source for this statement? In my earlier work I accepted the suggestion of D. S. Blondheim that this was a misunderstanding based on the resemblance in Spanish between *Cam* (i. e., Ham) and *can* 'dog.'[725] There may, however, been a more direct source.

In addition to the Babylonian Talmud and *Genesis rabba*, the story is also found in the Palestinian Talmud, where, as opposed to the other two sources, it is embedded within a larger exegetical unit, as follows:

R. Ḥiyya bar Ba said: "[And every animal, every creeping thing, and every

> bird, everything that moves on the earth], went out of the ark by families (Genesis 8:19) – Because they preserved their relations (*she-shimru yaḥaseihen*), they merited to be saved. Know that this is so, for we have learned (*de-teneinan*), 'Ham, the dog, and the raven corrupted their ways (*qilqelu maʿaseihen*). Ham went forth darkened/blackened (*mefuḥam*), the dog went forth with the characteristic of publicly copulating [or, of copulating in a well-known manner], and the raven went forth different from other creatures.[726]

"Preserved their relations" means that they did not engage in inter-species sex. For this reason the animals in the ark were saved. Proof for this interpretation is brought from the tannaitic (*teneinan*) source about Ham, the dog, and the raven who corrupted their ways (*qilqelu ma ʿaseihen*). While this expression in rabbinic texts can refer to different sorts of corrupt behavior, such as idolatry or adultery, it is understood in this context to refer to inter-species sex.[727] In other words, Ham, the dog, and the raven are said to have had sexual relations with each other.

But how does this provide proof that the other animals did not engage in inter-species sex and were therefore saved? After all, as noted by Joseph ben Elijah Ḥazan (d. 1698) although Ham, the dog, and the raven were punished, they too were saved from the flood.[728] There is clearly some disconnect between the statement that the animals in the ark did not engage in inter-species sex and the proof that Ham, the dog, and the raven engaged in inter-species sex and were punished, a disconnect that is clear from the contorted attempts of several commentators to explain the passage.[729]

It would appear that the story of Ham, the dog, and the raven originally referred to prohibited intra-species sex in the ark, as is explicitly stated (*shimshu*) in the Babylonian Talmud and *Genesis rabba*. It is only when the tradition is made to provide proof for a different, inter-species, sexual interpretation of Genesis 8:19, that the story of intra-species transgression (*shimshu*) was understood as inter-species transgression (*qilqelu maʿaseihen*).[730] Without variant

readings or other indications of an alternative version of the Palestinian Talmud text it is impossible to determine how the text as we have it (*qilqelu maʿaseihen*) came about. Was *shimshu* changed to *qilqelu maʿaseihen* to accord with the inter-species interpretation of Genesis 8:19 and with a tradition of antediluvian inter-species sex (sometimes termed *qilqelu maʿaseihen*), recorded elsewhere?[731] Or was *qilqelu maʿaseihen* simply an alternative reading for *shimshu*, without any implication of inter-species sex (as we have seen, *qilqelu* and *qilqelu maʿaseihen* can have that meaning[732]) but was later mistakenly understood to mean inter-species sex, and was then attached to the interpretation of Genesis 8:19, whether by R. Ḥiyya or by the editors of the Palestinian Talmud?

In sum, the story of Ham, the dog, and the raven in the ark originally concerned intra-species sex but was applied in the Palestinian Talmud to refer to inter-species sex. Could this have been the source, presumably via oral transmission, for the statement in the *Zifar*, "The Jews say that Ham was cursed because he lay with a dog (*cadiella*) while he was in the ark"? The Palestinian Talmud was not as well-known as the Babylonian Talmud, but it was known in the West, including in Spain (Catalonia), at the time of the *Zifar*. Although, it was known only to a small group of rabbinic authorities, it is not inconceivable that some of its content, especially its aggadic content, became known outside rabbinic circles.[733]

Excursus II
A Passage in Ṭabarī's *History*

The fact that in the Muslim world biblical stories were generally not known directly through the Bible will help clarify a passage in Ṭabarī's *History*. At one point Ṭabarī (d. 923) provides a genealogy of Noah's sons and their offspring concluding with Canaan, whose descendants were "the Blacks, Nubians, Fezzan Zanj, Zaghawah, and all the peoples of the Sudan." He then continued:

> According to … Ibn Isḥāq, in the *ḥadīth*: The people of the Torah claim that this was only because of an invocation of Noah against his son Ham. This was because while Noah slept his genitals were exposed, and Ham saw them but did not cover them. Shem and Japheth, on the other hand…. When he awoke from his sleep he knew what Ham had done as well as what Shem and Japheth had done. He said, 'Cursed is Canaan b. Ham. Slaves will they be to his brothers!' Then he said 'May God my Lord bless Shem, and may Ham be a slave of his two brothers. May God requite Japheth and let him alight at the dwelling places of Shem, and may Ham be a slave to them.'" [….] Others than Ibn Isḥāq have said that "Noah prayed that prophets and apostles would be descended from Shem and that he prayed that kings would be among the descendants of Japheth…. He prayed that Ham's color would be changed and that his descendants would be slaves to the children of Shem and Japheth."[734]

Ṭabarī says (quoting Ibn Isḥāq, d. 768) that "this was only because of an invocation of Noah against his son Ham." To what does "this" refer? Since the immediately preceding sentences recorded the genealogy of Canaan's dark-skinned descendants, "this" presumably responds to an unstated question, "How did dark-skinned people descend from a presumably light-skinned Canaan?" in other words,

"How did blacks become black?" That is how Ṭabarī was understood by the jurist Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1627), who dealt with the question of how blacks became black. He cited various opinions, among which is the Ṭabarī passage.[735] If this interpretation of Ṭabarī is correct, we have another instance of the dual curse, which is then followed by a second tradition of a dual curse in the name of "others than Ibn Isḥāq."[736]

There are some strange features in this interpretation of Ibn Isḥāq's statement that explains how blacks became black. First, the explanation is based on a biblical text that says nothing of blackness. It merely recounts the story of the curse of slavery on Canaan. Second, it cites an interpretation of "the people of the Torah," as the source for the (presumed) dual curse tradition but I find no instance of a Jewish dual curse until the 14th and 15th centuries (the Yemenis Nathaniel ibn Yeshaʿya and Zechariah b. Solomon ha-Rofe), 600 years after Ibn Isḥāq, and then most probably influenced by Muslim tradition.[737] Third and finally, there is an internal contradiction in what the people of the Torah report Noah as saying. First they say that it is Canaan who is initially cursed with slavery, but then it is Ham: "'Cursed is Canaan b. Ham. Slaves will they be to his brothers!' Then he said 'May God my Lord bless Shem, and may Ham be a slave of his two brothers.'"

It seems to me that this contradiction provides the clue to understanding the passage. Ibn Isḥāq's explanation for blackness, I believe, assumes the common Muslim dual-curse interpretations of the biblical story. As we have seen, those interpretations considered Ham to be the recipient of the dual curse, and thus Ibn Isḥāq speaks of the "invocation of Noah against his son Ham" despite quoting the biblical verse that speaks of Canaan.[738] Just as Ibn Isḥāq's explanation of blackness is based on a biblical text that says nothing of blackness, merely recounting the curse of slavery, so too Dimashqī quoted the biblical text in explaining the cause of black skin: "The historians claim that the cause of the black complexion of the sons of Ham is

that he had sex with his wife in the ark…. Another version is that Ham found Noah asleep uncovered…. When Noah discovered what happened, he said: 'Cursed is Ham, blessed is Shem, and may God multiply Japheth.'"[739] Like Ṭabarī/Ibn Isḥāq, Dimashqī quoted the biblical text, which doesn't mention blackness, to explain blackness, which makes sense only if he was relying on the Muslim etiology of blackness. The fact that Dimashqī's quotation of the Bible has Ham rather than Canaan as the one cursed further strengthens my view that he, like Ibn Isḥāq, is not quoting the Bible but the Muslim tradition.[740] Both M. J. Kister and Yehuda Ratzaby have noted several instances of Muslim quotations of the Torah that are not in the Torah.[741]

The tradition recorded by Romanelli, quoted above, provides an even closer parallel to Ibn Isḥāq, for it mentions *Canaan* as the one cursed with slavery to support a curse of blackness on *Ham*: Ham, he says, was cursed with blackness and slavery, "fulfilling their forefather's curse – *Cursed be Canaan, the lowest of slaves shall he be to his brothers*."[742] It would appear, then, that Ṭabarī/Ibn Isḥāq, Dimashqī, and Romanelli are all referring to the Muslim tradition of a dual curse. Ibn Isḥāq's mention of the people of the Torah can only refer to the biblical verse itself, and not to an interpretation of it that explained black skin. The confusion between Canaan and Ham in Romanelli and Ibn Isḥāq may also be influenced by the Muslim genealogy that sees Canaan as the ancestor of blacks.[743]

Excursus III
Was Canaan Black?

In Chapter Five we examined a tradition of a genealogical link between Canaan and black Africans found in ancient Near Eastern myth and in various Muslim sources.[744] Do we find this genealogy elsewhere? Of course, once slave-cursed Canaan was linked with blacks in the Curse of Ham myth, such a connection between Canaan and blacks became inevitable, but the Near Eastern Canaanblack genealogy was prior to, and independent of, the Curse of Ham. Do we find a similar independent genealogy elsewhere? As it turns out, there are several sources that do claim Canaan or a Canaanite ancestry for black Africans. This excursus will investigate the basis for such claims. We will see that such assertions either derive from the belief in the Curse of Ham, or are otherwise groundless for a variety of reasons.[745]

West African Sources

Several West African traditions indicate a genealogical connection between black Africans and the ancient Canaanites. Muḥammad Bello (d. 1837), scholar and second sultan of Sokoto in Hausaland (northern Nigeria), wrote a history of the Yoruba in 1812. He included this account of Yoruba origins:

> The people of the lands of Yoruba are from the remnants of the people of the Banu Kanʿan who were the tribe of Nimrod. The reason for their dwelling in the west, based upon what has been narrated, is that Yuʿarab ibn Qahtan

> drove them out from Iraq towards the west. They then journeyed between the lands of Egypt and Abyssinia until they reached the lands presently known as Yoruba. In every land in which they passed, they left behind a group of their people in that land. It is said that the indigenous Blacks who reside in the mountains (of Nuba) in this region is [*sic*] from them. Likewise are the people of Yauru from them.[746]

The explorer Hugh Clapperton visited Bello in Sokoto and copied large parts of Bello's work, which he later published. The story of Yoruba origins corresponds to what Bello wrote except that Clapperton has the Canaanites originating not from Iraq but from Arabia.[747] Another traditional history has the Yoruba coming from Medina.[748] Still others put their origin in Mecca.[749] Another West African source, the *Kano Chronicle*, details the history of the Hausa people of Northern Nigeria, whose origins, it claims, lie in two migrations, one from Baghdad and one from Canaan.[750]

Older scholarship accepted the historicity of these migration stories.[751] The consensus of scholarship today, however, does not. Robin Law and others have concluded that the Yoruba stories are legendary. "The more general view nowadays … (at least among academic historians), is that these traditions of migration from the Middle East are to be explained by the expansion of the influence of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa in relatively recent times. The concern of African peoples to claim origins from the Islamic world reflects no more than a desire to relate themselves to what was seen as a prestigious world civilization."[752]Similarly, Murray Last wrote of the Hausa accounts in the *Kano Chronicle* that they "are almost wholly legendary, reflecting … sixteenth- or seventeenth-century anachronisms."[753] An indication of the Islamic influence is the adoption of various Muslim traditions and personalities in these stories of origins.[754] As Law has shown, these traditions and personalities were adapted even to fashion stories that legitimate opposition to Islam.[755]

The claim of origins in the East goes beyond the Yoruba and Hausa. Law mentions the kings of Ghana, who claimed descent from the Caliph ʿAli, the son-in-law and fourth successor of Muḥammad; the founder of the first royal dynasty in Songhay believed to be of Yemeni origin; the royal dynasty in Mali, which claimed descent from two companions of Muḥammad; and the royal dynasty in Borno, which claimed descent from Sayf ibn dhi Yhazan, who "although living before the time of Muhammad, can be thought of as a proto-Islamic hero, as a defender of Mecca against Christian imperialism."[756] The Saharan Kunta people trace their descent to ʿUqba ibn Nafiʿ, the commander of the Muslim conquest of the Maghreb in North Africa.[757] So too the Berbers, who claim a Canaanite or Yemenite ancestry.[758] "The genealogical claims made by virtually every significant Arabic- and Berber-speaking 'noble' group in the Sahel invoke an Arab Muslim origin."[759] And more. Murray Last writes to me: "In the 1960s my professor and I did a survey and a count of all the peoples in West Africa (for whom there were traditions) – of all the peoples that claimed a Middle-Eastern origin – and when we reached 43 we called it a day…. More such stories are coming up almost every year."[760]

The explanation given for these genealogies, that they reflect the inhabitants' "desire to relate themselves to what was seen as a prestigious world civilization," makes sense for the genealogies that are traced to Muslim or proto-Muslim heroes. But how can they explain the traditions that consider the ancient ancestor to have been Canaan, who is not considered to be the forefather of the Muslims/Arabs? The Arabs trace their genealogy to Shem, not to Canaan. The answer seems to lie in in the common Muslim tradition, examined above, which goes back to the 7th century, that Canaan was the ancestor of the Kushites and other dark-skinned African peoples.[761] It does not seem unreasonable to conclude that this tradition influenced some of the inhabitants of West Africa as Islam moved westward into the continent.

European and American Sources

In Chapter Nine we examined the claim of many American writers of the 19th-20th centuries that blacks descended from Canaan. It is clear that this claim was based on a belief in the Curse of Ham, which reflected and justified the situation of black slavery in America. Since it was Canaan who was cursed with slavery in the Bible, making him black or the ancestor of black Africans underscored the connection between blacks and servitude. While this explanation is most aptly applied to the American scene because of the role of black slavery in its history, it is not particular to America. When, for example, Auguste-Laurent Montandon (d. 1876), a Protestant theologian and minister of the Église Réformée de France, referred to black Africans as "les descendants de cham et canaan," his comment was based on a belief in the biblical support for black slavery, i. e. the Curse of Ham.[762] So too, the statement by the Portuguese Dominican Jerome of Oleaster (d. 1563) that the Ethiopians are "the least among Canaan's descendants" derives from a similar belief.[763] As we saw in Chapter Eleven, the same may also be said for the colonial descriptions of the New World natives as "darkskinned Canaanites," which were based on a belief in the Curse of Ham and on a comparison of the native peoples to the biblical Canaanites. There is no indication among these writers that they were aware of an independent genealogical tradition of a black Canaan.

Stacy Davis has suggested that the connection between blackness and Canaan can be found in the 13th-century *General estoria* produced under Alfonso X in Spain.[764] The *General estoria* transmits Genesis 9:25 as *Maledtio sea Canaan el moco, siervo sera delos siervos de sus hermanos*, with *moco* added to the biblical text.[765] Davis writes that in 13th-century Spain *moco* might mean "Moroccan, a Muslim, or any dark-skinned infidel." Luis M. Girón-Negrón, however, suggested to me that the correct reading in the *General*

estoria is *moço* (modern *mozo*) ‘young lad’ repeating the terminology of the previous verse in Genesis which terms Ham the youngest son of Noah. In fact, the *General estoria* as shown on the superb website Biblia Medieval (http://www.bibliamedieval.es) has *Maldito sea Canaan el moço. Sieruo sera…*’ It is obvious that the biblical text that served as the basis for the *General estoria* had the reading *Maledictus puer Chanaan*, which is clearly based on the LXX χανααν παῖς οἰκέτης, and, as David Whitford notes, is found in an Old Latin manuscript of the Bible, as well as in a variant Vulgate reading. The Greek παῖς, as the Latin *puer*, can mean ‘boy’ as well as ‘slave/servant.’[766] In short, the *General estoria* reading *el moço* has no significance for the belief in a dark-skinned Ham or Canaan.

Another false connection of dark skin with Canaan was made by Arthur Custance, author of a multi-volume attempt to bridge science and the Bible. He thought that the Akkadian term *ṣalmāt qaqqadi* (lit. ‘black heads’) referred to skin color and thus black-skinned people, whom he associated with the Canaanites.[767] The term, however, has been shown to mean ‘mankind,’ apparently deriving from hair color. The semantic development of the term is obvious in Soqoţri, a South Arabian language, where the term *ḥori*š ‘man’ is derived from *ḥor ri*š ‘black headed.’ ‘Black heads’ is found also in sources as disparate as ancient Jewish and Chinese literature. In rabbinic literature it means ‘men’ or ‘youth,’ referring to hair, not skin, color.[768] In Chinese texts, Sima Qian (ca. 145–90 BCE), the historian of China, recorded that during the period of the First Emperor of China, who founded the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE), “the common people were renamed ‘black-headed ones.’”[769]

Jewish Sources

Other writers believe that ancient Jewish sources considered Canaan

to have been the ancestor of blacks.[770] This widespread belief is based on two modern anthologies of rabbinic stories, *Legends of the Jews* (1925) by Louis Ginzberg and *Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis* (1963) co-authored by Raphael Patai and Robert Graves.[771] As I have shown elsewhere, these anthologies do not accurately transmit the original rabbinic texts, which do not associate Canaan with blacks.[772] To make this clear, I outline below in tabular form the relevant midrashic texts and the modern anthologies.

Genesis rabba[773]	**Graves-Patai, *Hebrew Myths***	**Ginzberg, *Legends***
Ham sinned and Canaan is cursed!		
R. Judah said….		
R. Nehemiah explained….		
R. Berekiah said….		
R. Huna said in R. Joseph's name: [Noah said to Ham:] You have prevented me from begetting a fourth son, therefore I curse your fourth son.	[Noah said to Ham:] "Now I cannot beget the fourth son whose children I would have ordered to serve you and your brothers! Therefore it must be Canaan, your first-born, whom they enslave.	[Noah] put the curse upon the last-born son of the son that had prevented him from begetting a younger son than the three he had.
R. Huna also said in R. Joseph's name: You [i.e., Ham] have prevented me	And since you have disabled me from doing ugly things in the blackness of	

from doing something in the dark, therefore that man [i.e., **you**][774]will be ugly and dark-skinned.

night, ***Canaan's children*** shall be born ugly and black!

Tanḥuma[775]	**Graves-Patai, *Hebrew Myths***	**Ginzberg, *Legends***
Ham's eyes turned red, since he looked at his father's nakedness; his lips became curved [i. e., everted], since he spoke with his mouth; the hair of his head and beard became singed [i.e., tightly curled], since he turned his face around; and since he did not cover [his father's] nakedness, he went naked and his phallus was extended. For all of God's punishments fit the sin measure for measure.	Moreover, because you twisted your head around to see my nakedness, ***your grandchildren's*** hair shall be twisted into kinks, and their eyes swell; and because you neglected my nakedness, they shall go naked, and male members shall be shamefully elongated." Men of this race are called Negroes;	The descendants of Ham ***through Canaan therefore*** have red eyes, because Ham looked upon the nakedness of his father; they have misshapen lips, because Ham spoke with this lips to his brothers about the unseemly condition of his father; and they go about naked, because Ham did not cover the nakedness of his father. Thus he was requited, for it is the way of God to mete out punishment measure for measure.[776]

The section in *Genesis rabba* is concerned with the question of why Canaan was cursed with slavery if it was Ham who sinned. Four answers are offered, those of Judah, Nehemiah, Berekiah, and Huna, to which is appended another tradition of Huna although it does not

answer the midrash's question, and does not deal with slavery. It is, rather, an etiology of dark skin. It is added because it is transmitted by the same person, a redactional linkage characteristic of talmudic and midrashic literature.[777]

In R. Huna's first statement, the one cursed with slavery is Canaan, following the biblical story. In his second statement, the etiology of blackness, the one who is cursed is Ham, not Canaan. Yet, as we can see from the chart that is exactly how Graves and Patai transmitted the midrash: ***"Canaan's children*** shall be born ugly and black!" Apparently these authors wished to provide a smooth transition from the immediately preceding etiology of slavery pronounced on Canaan, but in so doing they created a new midrash that does not exist in the original source.[778]

Canaan mistakenly entered the story also in Ginzberg's paraphrase of *Tanḥuma*. In this midrash, the lack of dark skin as a feature in the physiognomy of the one affected probably led Ginzberg to paraphrase the text as referring only to Canaan (***"through Canaan therefore"***). By adding these words Ginzberg clearly understood the passage as not referring to blacks, who are descended from Ham's son Kush and not from Canaan.[779] As the chart shows, however, the insertion of these words into the *Tanḥuma* text has no basis in the midrash itself, which speaks of Ham alone. Quoting from Ginzberg's foreword to the original German of the *Legends* (in manuscript), Johannes Sabel notes that Ginzberg's "desire to deliver a 'smooth presentation without any irregularities' overruled the objective of a comprehensive representation."[780]

The problems with these kinds of anthologies are neatly summed up by Werner Sollors, who refers to the relevant passage in Graves-Patai as "undated, composite, and highly problematic" and concludes, "This passage highlights the worrisome side of thematic approaches, as it abstracts and pastes together from many different sources a new version that, as such, never existed before."[781] Unfortunately, the Graves-Patai anthology has had an outsized influence on those, who,

unable to deal with the original sources, relied on it.[782]

A different claim for a black Canaan in Jewish sources was suggested by Winthrop Jordan. He saw evidence of it in the 13th-century kabbalistic *Zohar*.[783] The *Zohar* speaks of "Canaan who darkened the faces of mankind," as a metaphor for human mortality, as noted by medieval and modern commentators alike and as is correctly understood, in Daniel Matt's new translation and commentary to the *Zohar*.[784] "Darkening the face of mankind" is a common figure of speech for death, which appears elsewhere in the *Zohar* and in rabbinic midrash in general. So, for example, interpreting Genesis 1:2 "And darkness was upon the face of the deep," the Rabbis comment that "this refers to the Angel of Death who darkens the faces of mankind."[785]

Jordan, however, unfamiliar with the literature and relying on an English translation, understood the term as a reference to dark-skinned people. This mistaken reading of the *Zohar* was then repeated by others.[786] Unfortunately Jordan compounded his misreading of the passage by seeing in it a disparaging allusion to the black man's sexuality. In a strange reading of this medieval work, Jordan thought that the text's reference to the serpent in the Garden of Eden story was a metaphor for the human penis, and since the passage is speaking of blacks in Jordan's mind, it thus illustrates the stereotype of the oversexed Negro.[787] The *Zohar* passage says nothing about blacks and nothing about penises.

Iconographic Sources

Paul Kaplan found a black Canaanite in an illustrated Bohemian Bible manuscript dated 1391. The illustration accompanies the first chapter of Judges and shows a dark-skinned woman gesturing dramatically, while two lighter-skinned, armed men engage in conversation. The

men, Kaplan believes, are "certainly the Hebrew captains Simeon and Judah whom the text describes as engaged in the conquest of the Canaanites – and the dark woman must therefore be a member of that nation."[788]

Kaplan thinks that the inspiration for her skin color derives from Christian imagery equating blacks with the sinful gentiles, but he adds that "her blackness might also have been justified by her connection with Canaan and Ham."[789] Presumably Kaplan meant that her blackness might be an echo of the belief in the Curse of Ham. Regarding the symbolic interpretation of sinful gentiles, I question whether this Canaanite woman would be depicted as black. The scene in the Bohemian Bible apparently illustrates the story in Joshua 2, in which the two spies sent by Joshua to spy out the land meet with Rahab the prostitute. Although Rahab was a pagan, she cannot be considered as sinful or evil. On the contrary, she hid the spies and sided with the Israelites, and after the conquest, "she has lived in the midst of Israel to this day" (Joshua 6:25).[790] Especially in Christianity, where Rahab is emblematic of faith (Hebrews 11:31, cf. James 2:25) and is considered to be an ancestor of Jesus (Matthew 1:5), it would be unusual to depict her as evil. I think that it was neither symbolism nor the Curse of Ham that was responsible for depicting this Canaanite as black.

In Christian literature and iconography Arabs and Muslims are typically depicted as black skinned, with or without other African features.[791] Kaplan and Strickland agree that although symbolic convention at times may be responsible for this depiction, "the actual dark color of the skin of many members of Islamic society undoubtedly had a major impact on European representations."[792] In addition to Christian sources, Muslim literature also depicts Muslims and Arabs as dark skinned, and such depictions in these sources are obviously not meant as symbolic representations of evil.[793] So too some Jewish sources also depict Arabs as dark.[794] Just as Muslims are painted dark in Christian iconography, so too are biblical Ishmael and

Ishmaelites (identified with the Midianites; see Genesis 37:28–36; 39:1), who, following Islamic tradition, are genealogically related to the Arabs.[795] Besides the Christian portrayals, there are at least two Jewish sources that portray the Midianites/Ishmaelites as dark-skinned or as black Africans.[796]

John Tolan has shown for medieval Christian writers "how complete the assimilation of the image of Saracen as pagan became [so] that even the pagans of antiquity were referred to as 'Saracens' who worship Mahomet." He provides several examples, among which is an anonymous 13th-century work *Estoire du Saint Graal* that describes pagans of the first century CE as Saracens. "[F]or many western Europeans throughout the Middle Ages, Saracens were pagans, and pagans were Saracens."[797] It would not surprise if we find the same assimilation in art. Strickland refers to the Luttrell Psalter (ca. 1325–35) which shows three figures in the margin to Psalm 87:4, *Ecce alienigenæ, et tyrus, et populus æthiopum, hi fuerunt illic* (Behold the foreigners, and Tyre, and the people of the Ethiopians, these were there). Strickland identifies the first of these figures, who is dark-skinned, as a "Saracen … perhaps representing the man from Tyre."[798] If she is right, we see a conflation of the pagan Canaanite with the Muslim, thus confirming in pictures what Tolan has shown in words. I suggest that this explanation may also account for the Canaanite Rahab, who, being assimilated to the image of a Muslim, is depicted as dark skinned.

An Egyptian-Canaanite-Black African Connection

A different claim for a black Canaan is made by some American writers, mostly but not exclusively African-American. Wilson Moses identified several from the 19th and first half of the 20th century.[799]

We can add Joseph Theophile Foisset as early as 1831, and William Van Amringe (1848). As part of his division of mankind into four distinct species (Shemitic, Japhethic, Canaanitic, Ishmaelitic), Van Amringe considered "the Negroes of Central Africa, Hottentots, Cafirs, Australasian Negroes etc., and probably the Malays etc." to be descended from the Canaanite branch.[800] In our own times, several African-American authors have written of black Canaanites. Charles Copher wrote that "the Biblical Hamites were Negroes and included those listed in the Biblical Table of Nations, notably: Egyptians, African Cushites (Ethiopians), and Asiatic Cushites of South Asia, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, and Canaan."[801] Walter A. McCray, author of *The Black Presence in the Bible*, similarly considered the Canaanites, the Elamites, and the Hittites to have been black.[802] In an earlier generation, the African-American physician Alonzo Potter Burgess Holly (d. 1932) also "affirmed the Canaanite ancestry of the Negro."[803] The black religious leader and political activist Albert Cleage wrote in *The Black Messiah*, which, as the title implies, argues for a black Jesus, that the black people of Africa included the Canaanites.[804] Afrocentrist writer Joseph Ben-Levi also considered the Canaanites to have been black.[805] Another such was John L. Johnson, who several times referred to the black Canaanites. The caption on a map in his work *The Black Biblical Heritage* reads "Negro Canaan before the Jewish Conquest."[806] One can find this view on the internet as well.[807]

The belief of these authors that the Canaanites were black did not derive from an interpretation of the Curse of Ham. What then was its origin? Apparently the answer is related to a belief in the dark skin of the Egyptians. This can be seen clearly in the work of the late Cheikh Anta Diop, the Senegalese historian, who, as part of his overarching theory about a black Negroid Egypt, wrote that the "Phoenicians, in other words, the Canaanites, were originally Negroes."[808] A century before Diop, Edward Wilmot Blyden, the accomplished African writer, who was born in the West Indies and emigrated to Liberia,

expressed the same view. Blyden wrote of his reaction to seeing the pyramids in Egypt: "I felt that I had a peculiar 'heritage in the Great Pyramid' … built by that branch of the descendants of Noah, the enterprising sons of Ham, from whom I am descended."[809] Moses and, to some extent, Mia Bay have pointed to several 19th-century forerunners of Afrocentrism who associated ancient Egypt with blacks.[810] Some went beyond cultural and geographic ties and argued for an ethnic relationship of black Africans with the ancient Egyptians.[811]

There are many references in Greco-Roman, and in ancient Jewish, Christian, and Muslim writings to the dark skin of Egyptians, but how would that transfer to the Canaanites?[812] Apparently these authors relied on the shared ancestry of Ham, who, according to the Bible had four sons: Kush, Egypt, Put, and Canaan (Genesis 10:6). The descendants of Kush and Egypt, and Put according to most scholars, are located in Africa, and although the Canaanites are not (Genesis 10:15–19), the belief that the name Ham meant 'dark' or 'black' assuredly contributed to the conviction that Ham and thus his descendants, including the Canaanites, were dark skinned.[813] This reasoning of the shared ancestry of the Egyptians and Canaanites going back to Ham can be seen in Copher's statement quoted above: "[T]he Biblical Hamites were Negroes and included those listed in the Biblical Table of Nations, notably: Egyptians, African Cushites (Ethiopians), and Asiatic Cushites of South Asia, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, and Canaan." In a way, this thinking was a reaction to the anthropological Hamitic Hypothesis, mentioned earlier in the Introduction, which saw the Hamites as a white Caucasian people. Turning the Hypothesis on its head, the new theory accepted the achievements of the Hamites, but claimed that they, especially the Egyptians, were black.[814] To the extent, however, that the theory of Canaanite blackness is based on, or informed by, the meaning of the name Ham as 'dark' or 'black,' the theory is problematic, for the name does not have that meaning. As I have shown elsewhere, the name

Ham found in the Bible is based on a different root than the Semitic roots meaning 'dark' or 'black' (or 'hot').[815]

Another African-American connection with the Canaanites is found in the beliefs of the Moorish Science Temple of America, an African-American religious movement founded in 1913. One of its central tenets is that black Americans are descended from the Canaanites and Moabites, who are termed "Moors" or "Asiatics." The founder of the movement, Noble Drew Ali, taught that, "The inhabitants of Africa are the descendants of the ancient Canaanites from the land of Canaan. Old man Cush and his family are the first inhabitants of Africa who came from the land of Canaan."[816] Richard Turner has shown how this genealogy was one aspect of Ali's invented identity. Drawing on Judith Shklar's study showing how genealogies have been used by the politically disaffected as "typical forms of questioning and condemning the established order," Turner thus explained Ali's construction of the Canaanite/Moabite/Asiatic genealogy in the process of creating a new identity for African Americans.[817]

In this excursus I have sought to show that while a Canaan-black genealogical tradition independent of and prior to the Curse of Ham tradition existed in the Muslim East, and apparently, with the expansion of Islam, influenced some West African genealogies, there is no unequivocal evidence for knowledge of this genealogy elsewhere.[818] Claims of a genealogy connecting blacks or Kushites to Canaan found in Western sources, when not quoting Muslim authors, often derive from, and are not the cause of, a belief in the dual curse of blackness and slavery on Canaan. Other instances claiming a Canaanite ancestry for blacks or dark-skinned peoples are due to a conflation of Canaanites with Muslims/Arabs/Ishmaelites, a misunderstanding of the primary sources, reliance on inaccurate anthologies and misreadings of translations of the ancient sources, or an incorrect etymology of the name Ham.

Excursus IV
‘Kushite’ Meaning Egyptian or Arab in Jewish Sources

The term ‘Kushite’ in the Bible, usually referred to the black African from Kush, the area in Africa south of Egypt. In later Jewish sources the term was extended to refer also to various dark-skinned groups, including Egyptians and Arabs and even some Jews themselves.[819] Correcting what I wrote in my earlier work, the substitution of Kush(ite) for Egypt(ian) is very common in medieval Jewish literature, especially in poetry from the 5th or 6th century to the 11th.[820] A search of the database *Maʾagarim: The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* returned dozens of examples of such usage.[821] The Friedberg Genizah Project also returned a number of examples of Kushite for Egyptian in its database.[822] As for the Arabs, a *piyyuṭ* by Solomon ben Joseph Ha-Kohen refers to the Seljuks, who captured Jerusalem in 1071, as Kushites, and a dirge (*qinah*) by Joseph ibn Abitur describing the atrocities in Jerusalem, when the Banū Jarrāḥ overran Fatimid Palestine in 1024–25, refers to that Bedouin tribe as Kushites.[823] As I noted in *The Curse of Ham*, the extension of *kushi* as a color term included its use to describe also inanimate objects. A late and interesting example of this is the translation ים הכושי for the Black Sea by the son of the Vilna Gaon, Abraham ben Elijah (d. 1808).[824]

It is difficult to determine whether the substitution of Kush(ite) for Egypt (ian) in the *piyyuṭim* is due to a transferred sense of the term for dark-skinned people or whether it follows biblical usage where Kush appears as synonymous with, or in place of, Egypt (e. g., Isaiah 20:3–4, 43:3, 45:14; Ezekiel 30:4, 9; cf. Daniel 11:43; Nahum 3:9; Psalms

68:32). The biblical usage derives from the period of the 25th Kushite/Nubian dynasty (ca. 760–656 BCE), when Kushite pharaohs ruled Egypt. The dynasty is referred to a few times in the Bible, most notably in 2 Kings 19:9 (=Isaiah 37:9) where Taharqa, who reigned as one of the Kushite pharaohs of Egypt between 690 and 664 BCE, is called "King of Kush." Taharqa is called "King of Kush" (and "King of Egypt and Kush") also in Assyrian records.[825] Just as the *payṭan* Eleazar Qalir replaced "Egypt" in Deuteronomy 28:68 with "Egypt and Kush," based on the biblical pairing of the names, it is possible that the substitution of Kush(ite) for Egypt(ian) in poetic literature was similarly due to the biblical example.[826] In any case, the substitution of Kushite for Egyptian was also dictated by poetic considerations. So, to take one example (Friedberg Genizah Project C363363), in the line מכות עשר צבאות כושים נעשו בנשים, the poet is playing on the graphic and phonological similarity between כושים and בנשים.

It should be noted that some medieval references to Kushite turn out to be incorrect readings. Thus, MS Budapest, Kaufmann 117, a *qinah* for Tishʿa be-Av by Qalir, has *kushim*, but Goldschmidt rightly reads *koshlim*.[827] Cambridge, Or. TS G2.20, an anonymous geonic responsum containing a commentary to parts of BT Shabbat, published in B. Lewin, *Ginzei Qedem* 5 (1934), transcribes the talmudic כיסי בבלייתא (Shabbat 147a) as כושי בבליאתא, but the correct reading is כישי (*kyšy*) 'bunch, bundle,' as Michael Sokoloff has noted.[828]

Excursus V
A Curse of Ham in Origen?

An enigmatic passage by a church father may convey the false impression of a Curse of Ham as early as the third century. In one of his homilies on Genesis, Origen (d. ca. 253) explained the servile condition of the Egyptians under Pharaoh.

> But Pharao easily reduced the Egyptian people to bondage to himself, nor is it written that he did this by force. For the Egyptians are prone to a degenerate life and quickly sink to every slavery of the vices. Look at the origin of the race and you will discover that their father Cham, who had laughed at his father's nakedness, deserved a judgment of this kind, that his son Chanaan should be a servant to his brothers, in which case the condition of bondage would prove the wickedness of his conduct. Not without merit, therefore, does the *decolor* of the posterity imitate the ignobility of the race.[829]

Origen moves from slavery under Pharaoh to slavery of the vices, apparently seeing the latter as synonymous with or cause for the former. Be that as it may, Ham's sin recounted in Genesis 9 is said to be the reason for the Egyptian slavery.[830] Then Origen concludes: "Not without merit, therefore, does the *decolor* of the posterity imitate the ignobility of the race (*Non ergo immerito ignobilitatem generis decolor posteritas imitatur*).

The word *decolor* can have two meanings: 'discoloration' or, in a derived sense, 'degeneration,' and both senses appear in modern translations.[831] 'Degeneration' makes good sense in context as a summary of what Origen has said: Egyptian degeneracy is a reflection of the ignobility of the race as exhibited by the ancestor Ham. On the

other hand, it is possible that Origen meant 'discoloration' and was referring to the Egyptian dark skin color, a common perception of the time. If this is the correct translation of *decolor*, it no doubt reflects Origen's extensive exegetical treatment of blackness elsewhere in the Bible, in which dark-skinned biblical personalities are seen as allegories for people living in sin, i. e., the gentiles, or for the sinful soul.[832] For Origen, dark skin was metaphorically equated with sin and thus "imitate(s) the ignobility of the race." Thus he, as well as his older contemporary the church father Tertullian (d. 220), interpreted the dark skin of biblical Ethiopians and Egyptians, and their lands, as representing sin and spiritual darkness.[833]

In sum, even if we understand *decolor* as 'discolor,' and see Origen's exegesis as a disquieting adumbration of things to come, it is not a Curse of Ham. The "discoloration" of the Egyptians "imitates the ignobility of the race" following Origen's unstated exegesis of black skin as sin. There is no explicit statement in Origen that dark-skinned people are meant to be enslaved as a result of Noah's curse on Canaan. Still less that the Egyptians' skin color was a result of Ham's sin.[834]

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Endnotes

1

David Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton, 2003). Shortly after this book came out, another appeared, *Can a Cushite Change His Skin?* (New York, 2005), by Rodney Sadler, which systematically looks at all the Old Testament references to Kush/Kushite. The purpose of the book is, in part, similar to mine in that it attempts to discover ancient Israelite views of and attitudes toward the black African. While my work goes beyond the Old Testament, Sadler's is more comprehensive within the biblical material, for there are several biblical passages that he deals with which I omitted or just briefly noted. These are passages that do not clearly indicate a particular view or attitude toward blacks. Sadler attempts to tease out what views might lie behind the text but, for the most part, I find such attempts too speculative (including at times positing a reconstructed biblical text) without sufficient evidentiary support. Despite this, and some other problems with his work (see the reviews by John Spencer in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 69 [2007] 133–134, Wilma Ann Bailey in *Interpretation* 61 [2007] 336–337, and A. D. H. Mayes in *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 31.5 [June 2007] 56), a particularly valuable aspect of the book is Sadler's discussion of historical contexts for the various Kush references. The book was followed by an article, "Can a Cushite Change his Skin? Cushites, 'Racial Othering,' and the Hebrew Bible," in *Interpretation* 60 (2006) 386–403, which deals with Genesis 9, Numbers 12, and Jeremiah 13 and summarizes the argument of the book.

I am embarrassed to admit that until very recently I was unaware of another book, published before mine, which covered some of the material discussed in my work: Norbert Klatt, *Veflucht, Versklavt, Verkezert: Der verrusste Cham als Stammvater der Neger* (Göttingen, 1998). As far as I can tell, this book received just one review, which only described its contents (and that did not appear until 2012), by Stephanie Feder in *Bible und Kirche online-Rezensionen* 7/2012 (http://www.biblische-buecherschau.de/2012/Klatt_Afrika.pdf), but it deserves more

scholarly attention. I could not find the book in any university library in the United States, so the author was kind enough to send me a copy. Having now read the book, I find it especially valuable in its attempts at historicizing some of the literary references to Ham (e. g., the extended interpretation of the Curse of Ham story in Jubilees, which the author sees as a polemic against the Samaritans; the Pseudo-Eupolemus passage, discussed below, interpreted in light of the Seleucid-Ptolemaic conflict over Palestine; or the Jewish-Hellenistic and rabbinic interpretations of Moses' Kushite wife (Numbers 12:1–9) explained against the Hellenistic-Roman views of the Ethiopian). Like Sadler, Klatt also gives more attention to some biblical passages. For example, whereas I took Noah's curse in Genesis 9 as my starting point, discussing its historical and literary ramifications, Klatt expounds on its ancient Near Eastern context. In addition, Klatt includes some topics that I did not, such as a treatment of Ham as prototype of the Jew and the heretic in the church fathers. Lastly, as is to be expected, his work is valuable for its German bibliography. I have given this lengthy description of some of the contents of Klatt's book because the work is unknown by those in this country who have dealt with this area of study.

2

David Brion Davis, "The Culmination of Racial Polarities and Prejudice," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19 (1999) 764.

3

E. g., the manuscrips dealing with the origin of the blacks mentioned by Bruce Hall, *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600–1960* (Cambridge, U.K., 2011), p. 58n70.

4

C. G. Seligman, *Races of Africa*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1966), pp. 8, 62. See also pp. 100–101. The "Publisher's Note" to this edition states: "It is recognized that a central thesis of Professor Seligman's book is no longer acceptable to most anthropologists," but the publishers saw no need to amend the thesis or even, strangely, to identify it in their Note. For a history of the Hamitic Hypothesis, see See Edith Bruder, *The Black Jews of Africa* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 51–58, and St. Clair Drake, "The Responsibility of Men of Culture for Destroying the 'Hamitic Myth,'" *Presence Africaine* 24/25 (1959) 228–243, whose advice for publishers "to point out errors of fact or points of view that do not accord with recent findings about the Hamitic Myth" (242–243) was obviously not heeded by Seligman's publishers or editors of the 4th edition of his work. Most recently, Michael F. Robinson, *The Lost White Tribe: Explorers, Scientists, and the*

Theory that Changed a Continent (Oxford, 2016), has traced the development of the Hypothesis within a larger framework of the belief in white tribes of Africa. See also Benjamin C. Ray, *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship in Buganda* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 183–199, focusing on Seligman. For how West African historians adapted the Hypothesis, see the fascinating article by Philip S. Zachernuk, "Of Origins and Colonial Order: Southern Nigerian Historians and the 'Hamitic Hypothesis' C.1870–1970," *Journal of African History* 35 (1994) 427–455, and Robin Law, "The 'Hamitic Hypothesis' in Indigenous West African Historical Thought," *History in Africa* 36 (2009) 305–314.

5

W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now* (New York, 1939; repr. 1975), p. 221.

6

Sylvester Johnson, *The Myth of Ham in Nineteenth-Century American Christianity* (New York, 2004), pp. 3–4.

7

E. g., Stephen Haynes, *Noah's Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery* (Oxford, 2002), p. 7.

8

St. Clair Drake, "The Responsibility of Men of Culture." Drake, who apparently coined the term 'Hamitic Hypothesis,' decided on the basis of a study of the hypothesis's social function to refer to it, rather, as the 'Hamitic Myth,' as the title of his article indicates; see p. 229n2.

9

When I do use the term 'myth' in this work, it is not in the technical sense used by folklorists to distinguish it from 'legend' or 'folk tale,' as defined by William Bascom, "The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives," in *Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth* (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 5–29. With apologies to folklorists, I use all three terms interchangeably as they appear in nontechnical writings.

10

See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 17–20 for a detailed review of the biblical and ancient Near Eastern evidence for the name and location of Kush. See also Anton Schoors, *I am God Your Saviour: A Form-Critical Study of the Main Genres in Is. xl-lv* (Leiden, 1973), p. 73n1; James M. Scott, *Paul and the Nations* (Tübingen, 1995), pp. 110–111n358; and Jan Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity* (2003, London), pp. 136–140. Note that the famous line in Jeremiah 13:23, "Can

the Kushite change his skin?" indicates the dark-skinned African. The name Kush is first attested in Egyptian texts dating from the 20th century BCE. On the Egyptian texts, see Karola Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (Wiesbaden, 1972), pp. 165–169; in Old Nubian, see A. J. Arkell, "An Old Nubian Inscription from Kordofan," *American Journal of Archaeology* 55 (1951) 353–54; in Merotic, László Török in *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, ed. T. Eide, T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce, and L. Török (Bergen, Norway, 1994–2000), 2:669.

11

Strabo 17.1.3, Origen, *Selecta in Ezechielem* 30, PG 13.825 A. Also inscriptions found on the island of Philae near Aswan refer to the island as "the limits of Egypt," and the border between Egypt and "the land of the Ethiopians"; André Bernand and Étienne Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae* (Paris, 1969), 2:158, 159; *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, 2:709–713.

12

Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.131; Jerome is in C. T. R. Hayward, *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (Oxford, 1995), p. 40.

13

D. Cohen in *EI*2 5:521, s.v. Kūsh. See also S. Hillelson in *EI*2, s.v. Nūba. The Christian Hassan bar Bahlul (10th century), in his *Lexicon Syriacum*, ed. Rubens Duval (Paris, 1901), s.v. Kush, defines Kush as Abyssinia (*Ḥabbasha*). In Ibn al-Mujāwir's *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir* Kush is identified with southwest Arabia (Tihama); see *A Traveller in Thirteenth-Century Arabia: Ibn al-Mujāwir's Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. and trans. by G. Rex Smith (London, 2008), p. 109. Note that in the Bible Kush's descendants inhabit areas that have been identified as being located in southern and southwestern Arabia; see the discussion in Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 18–19.

14

For Ethiopian, see the many references below in Chapters Seven and Eight, and Appendices I and II. For Kushite, see for example, a letter written between 1069 and 1072 by Moshe b. Yekutiel referring to the black African military slaves in Egypt as Kushites, or a dirge (*qinah*) on the destruction of the Temple describing the black African slaves or freed slaves of the Muslims as Kushites. For the letter (והוא אינו יכול להראות את עצמו מפחד הכושים), see Mordecai Friedman (based on Goitein), *Ribui nashim be-yisraʾel* (Jerusalem, 1986), p. 282. On the black military slaves of Egypt, see Jere L. Bacharach, "African Military Slaves in the Medieval Middle East: The Cases of Iraq (869–955) and Egypt (868–1171),"

International Journal of Middle East Studies 13 (1981) 471–495. For the dirge (וכושים תחת משורריו וזרע אהרן הטהורים הקדושים/ היום כל משרתיו טמאים), see Haggai Ben-Shammai in *Knesset ʿEzra: sifrut we-ḥayim be-vet ha-knesset, asufat maʾamarim mugeshet le-ʿEzra Fleischer*, ed. S. Elizur, M. D. Herr, G. Shaked, A. Shinan (Jerusalem, 1994), p. 202. See Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 116: "By the medieval period … 'Kushite' was being rendered as a synonym for 'Black people."

15

For Ethiopian, See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 125–126; for Kushite, pp. 39, 113–126, 220–221n28, 236n81 and Excursus IV, below. Regarding dark-skinned Jews, the names ʾΑσουά [δα] (feminine) and אסוד (Aswad), both meaning 'black,' recorded on Jewish tombstones of the late 1st century BCE to early 1st century CE (William Horbury and David Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Cambridge, U.K., 1992, pp. 154–155, no. 83) are intriguing, although we cannot be sure that these names do not refer to Jewish black Africans. So too an ossuary from Jerusalem is possibly inscribed "[N]iger" (L.Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel*, Jerusalem, 1994, p. 199, no. 565).

16

See below at p. 490n5.

17

Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Urbana and Chicago, 1993), pp. 4, 66–76, 84–86, 91–92, 267; see also Thomas Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes: Color and Race before the Modern World," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001) 1–37, especially p. 6. Native Americans were also designated by other color terms such as *pardos* and *loros* (Forbes, p. 91). Forbes makes no distinction as to whether the terms are used as nouns or adjectives, a distinction that may make a difference. Today, for example, we may refer to a black Indian or a black Yemeni, but when we speak of 'a black,' in this country at least, we mean a black African.

18

Manilius, *Astronomica* 4.729–730 (cited by Frank Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience*, Cambridge, Mass, 1970, p. 11) and Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 14.5.10 (ed. Stephen Barney, et al., *The* Eymologies *of Isidore of Seville*, Cambridge, U.K., 2006, pp. 292–293), claimed that the name Mauritania derived from the Greek *mauros* 'black,' based on the

color of the country's inhabitants, but this etymology cannot be correct, as shown by Nevill Barbour, "The Significance of the Word *Maurus*, with Its Derivatives *Moro* and *Moor*, and of Other Terms Used by Medieval Writers in Latin to Describe the Inhabitants of Muslim Spain," in *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos: Coimbra-Lisboa 1968* (Leiden, 1971), p. 255–256.

19

See Barbour, "The Significance of the Word *Maurus*, pp. 253–266; Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "The 'Moors' of West Africa and the Beginnings of the Portuguese Slave Trade," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24 (1994) 449–469, esp. 457–459, and Josiah Blackmore, *Moorings: Portuguese Expansion and the Writing of Africa* (Minneapolis, 2009), p. 25. In Greco-Roman literature the term *Maurus* (and *Indus* as well) is sometimes used as the equivalent of Ethiopian, i. e., black African (Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, p. 11).

20

Edition, translation, and commentary by Michael W. Herren (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 132–135, quoted in John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 102.

21

Miriam DeCosta, "The Portrayal of Blacks in a Spanish Medieval Manuscript," *Negro History Bulletin* 37 (1974) 193–196. DeCosta worked from two manuscrips, one containing the illustrations and one the literary text. The identification of Moor is made in the literary manuscript. Of the authors quoted in this book, for example, Paoletti quoting Genebrard uses the term 'Moors/Mori' as identical to Ethiopian (below, p. 163n5).

22

As is found, e. g., in an English-Portuguese dictionary published in 1701, which identifies "black-moor" as Ethiopian, quoted in Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans*, p. 73. In her recent dissertation, Emily Weissbourd found that the definition of Moor depended on whether the term appeared in Spanish or English writing. "The Spanish word *moro* refers primarily to Muslims, or Moors, and is not necessarily associated with dark skin or visible difference. The English term 'Moor,' by contrast, can refer to Muslims but is most often used to describe blacks, and is often used interchangeably with the portmanteau 'blackamoor'"; Emily Weissbourd, *Transnational Genealogies: Jews, Blacks and Moors in Early Modern English and Spanish Literature, 1547—1642* (PhD. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2011), p. 140.

23

C. Loring Brace et al., "Clines and Clusters Versus 'Race:' A Test in Ancient Egypt and the Case of a Death on the Nile," *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* 36 (1993) 1–31, especially 18–19. When Frank Snowden defines 'Ethiopian' in Greco-Roman sources as equivalent to "Negro or black in twentieth-century usage" it is not clear to me that he had racial reductionism in mind rather than common perceptions, as S. O. Y. Keita claims in "*Black Athena*: 'Race,' Bernal and Snowden," *Arethusa* 26 (1993) 295–314.

24

Cf. Josiah Blackmore's (*Moorings*, p. xvi) use of the term 'Moor' in his study of early Portuguese writings on Africa. Sylvester Johnson has criticized my earlier use of 'black African,' claiming that the term was "developed by racist intellectuals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order to avoid attributing examples of cultural prowess or achievement to 'blacks'" (Johnson, *Myth of Ham*, p. 144n1). It seems that Johnson is referring to the Hamitic Hypothesis, mentioned above. But as far as I know, the term 'black African' was used by scholars of Greco-Roman studies based on the ancient Greek distinction of Africans south of Egypt, which they termed *Aithiopes*, from other Africans. From Greco-Roman studies the term was adopted and commonly used to distinguish Africans south of the Sahara from those to the north. I thus use the term even while recognizing that some 'black Africans,' in particular the Ethiopians, do not see themselves as black (see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 177).

25

See *EI*2, s.v. *ḥadīth* (J. Robson).

26

On the difficulties and methodologies of dating rabbinic texts, see the discussion and bibliography in Emmanouela Grypeou and Helen Spurling, *The Book of Genesis in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2013), p. 18. A good discussion of these difficulties, and methods used to overcome them in historical studies, is found in David Goodblatt, *Rabbinic Instruction in Sassanian Babylonia* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 4–6.

27

Translation follows the New Revised Standard Version. For "lowest of slaves" (the translation also of New Jewish Publication Society Version), others translate "a slave of slaves" (Revised Standard Version) or "a servant of servants" (American Standard Version) literally reflecting the Hebrew (*ʿeved ʿavadim*). For a discussion of the biblical passage, see David Goldenberg, "What Did Ham

Do to Noah?" in Mauro Perani (ed.), *"The Words ofa Wise Man's Mouth are Gracious: Divre Pi-Ḥakam Ḥen" (Qoh 10:12)* (Berlin, 2005), pp. 257–265, and Nicholas Odhiambo, "The Nature of Ham's Sin," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 170 (2013) 154–165, based on his dissertation, *Ham's Sin and Noah's Curse: A Critique of Current Views* (PhD. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 2007). For God as the implied agent of the curse, see Anne Marie Kitz, *Cursed Are You! The Phenomenology of Cursing in Cuneiform and Hebrew Texts* (Winona Lake, Ind., 2014), pp. 170–171.

28

Fidel Castro, *Cien horas con Fidel. conversaciones con Ignacio Ramonet*, 3rd ed. (Havana, 2006), pp. 75–76, partly quoted (from F. Betto, *Fidel and Religion*, Sydney, 1986, p. 108) by G. Wittenberg, "'…Let Canaan Be His Slave' (Gen 9:26): Is Ham Also Cursed?" *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 74 (1991) 46. Similar to Castro in misreading this biblical text is Joel Kovel, *White Racism: A Psychohistory* (New York, 1970), p. 63.

29

John G. Fee, *An Anti-Slavery Manual Being an Examination, in the Light of the Bible, and of Facts, into the Moral and Social Wrongs of American Slavery, with a Remedy for the Evil* (Maysville, Kentucky, 1848), p. 19. Similarly in his work *The Sinfulness of Slaveholding Shown by Appeals to Reason and Scripture* (New York, 1851), p. 16, Fee refers to the view that Ham was made black "by the curse of the Almighty."

30

Alexander Crummell, "The Negro Race Not Under a Curse: An Examination of Genesis IX. 25," in *The Future of Africa, Being Addresses, Sermons, etc., etc., Delivered in the Republic of Liberia* (New York, 1862), p. 327. An earlier version of the article was published in 1850. Crummell writes that "the opinion that the sufferings and the slavery of the Negro race are the consequence of the curse of Noah" is a "general, almost universal, opinion in the Christian world." This opinion, says Crummell, "is found in books written by learned men; and it is repeated in lectures, speeches, sermons, and common conversation. So strong and tenacious is the hold which it has taken upon the mind of Christendom, that it seems almost impossible to uproot it. Indeed, it is an almost foregone conclusion, that the Negro race is an accursed race, weighed down, even to the present, beneath the burden of an ancestral malediction" (pp. 327–328).

31

Thomas V. Peterson, *Ham and Japheth: The Mythic World of Whites in the*

Antebellum South (Metuchen, N.J. and London, 1978), p. 102. See also p. 47; William Sumner Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935), p. 206; and Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, pp. 8, 11–14. For those questioning the extent of the argument's use, see the literature cited in Harold Brackman, Letter to the Editor, *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997) 685–686 at n16. Most recently, in his latest study of slavery, David Brion Davis has noted that "a few historians have erroneously minimized the importance of the 'Curse of Ham' as a means for white Southerners to justify the slavery of African Americans (*Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*, Oxford, 2006, p. 187). On the use of the Curse of Ham argument in antebellum America, see Caroline L. Shanks, "The Biblical Antislavery Argument of the Decade, 1830–1840," *Journal of Negro History* 16 (1931) 137–138, reprinted in *Religion and Slavery* ed. Paul Finkelman (New York, 1989), pp. 621–622; Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought*, pp. 204–207; Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill, 1968), p. 201n48; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class* (Cambridge, U.K., 2005), pp. 521–527; Ron Bartour, "American Views on Biblical Slavery: 1835–1865, A Comparative Study," *Slavery and Abolition* 4 (1983) 41–55; Ralph Moellering, *Christian Conscience and Negro Emancipation* (Philadelphia, 1965), pp. 52, 63; Paul Finkelman, *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South* (Boston, 2003), pp. 26, 32; Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000* (Cambridge, U.K., 2006), p. 140.

32

Increase N. Tarbox, *The Curse; or, The Position in the World's History Occupied by the Race of Ham* (Boston, 1864), pp. 9–13.

33

Albert Barnes, *An Inquiry into the Scriptural Views of Slavery* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 207.

34

Edward W. Blyden, *A Vindication of the African Race: Being a Brief Examination of the Arguments in Favor of African Inferiority* (Monrovia, Liberia, 1857), p. 11. Blyden later referred to the Curse in an article he wrote in *The Methodist Quarterly Review*: "[A]re we to believe that [black Africans] have been doomed, by the terms of any curse, to be the 'servant of servants,' as some upholders of Negro slavery have taught?" ("The Negro in Ancient History," *The Methodist Quarterly Review* (January, 1869), p. 88; also published separately

(New York, 1869).

35

Alexander Crummell, “The Negro Race Not Under a Curse,” p. 353.

36

Quoted in William Lee Miller, *Arguing About Slavery* (New York, 1998), p. 139.

37

The Watchtower, 24 July 1929, p. 702; Carey Daniel, *God the Original Segregationist and Seven Other Segregation Sermons* (n.p., n.d.), p. 9. Similarly in a small booklet penned by the parish priest of New Orleans Robert Guste, *For Men of Good Will* (New Orleans [1957?]), pp. 36–37, quoted in John Howard Griffin, *Black Like Me* (New York, 1996), pp. 136–137; first published in 1960.

38

L. Thomas Holdcroft, *The Pentateuch* (Oakland, Calif., 1951, 4th printing 1966), p. 18. Holdcroft was a Pentecostal author of Christian theology who taught at Western Bible College in British Columbia.

39

Pierre Charles, “Les Noirs, fils de Cham le maudit,” *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 55 (1928) 723–724,732–733.

40

Raoul Allier, *Une énigme troublante: La race nègre et la malédiction de Cham*. Les Cahiers Missionnaires no. 16 (Paris, 1930), pp. 16–19, 32; cf. 26. Hannemann’s text is discussed below, p. 132. Pierre Charles, S.J. and Albert Perbal, O.M.I., who attempt to show that the Curse of Ham was originally foreign to Catholic thought but in time – mainly through Protestant influence – became an integral part of Catholic thinking, also assign a significant role to Hannemann. See Albert Perbal, “La Race nègre et la malédiction de Cham,” *Revue de l’Université d’Ottawa* 10 (1940) 159; Pierre Charles, “Les Noirs,” pp. 724, 733; ídem, “Races Maudites?,” in *L’Ame des peuples a évangéliser: Compte rendu de la sixième semaine de missiologie de Louvain (1928)* (Louvain, 1928), p. 14: “Luther … lança le premier l’idée que la couleur noire des Éthiopiens était le signe et la prevue de la malediction ancestrale.” Alphonse Quenum refers to Charles’s study as “avec une certaine bienveillance pour les milieux catholiques” and the author as “manifeste … une certaine insistence à vouloir inculper les protestants”; Alphonse Quenum, *Les Églises chrétiennes et la traite atlantique du XV*e *au XIX*e *siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 29, 31.

41

Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 18.

42

Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 37. For the influence of Jordan's work, see David Goldenberg, "The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?" in *Struggles in the Promised Land*, ed. Jack Salzman and Cornel West (New York/Oxford, 1997), p. 23 at n6 (http://sites.sas.upenn.edu/dmg2/publications). In addition to those who have accepted Jordan's claims mentioned by me and by Stacy Davis, *This Strange Story: Jewish and Christian Interpretation of the Curse of Canaan from Antiquity to 1865* (Lanham, Md., 2008), pp. 2–4, add also Eulalio R. Baltazar, *The Dark Center: A Process Theology of Blackness* (New York, 1973), p. 31; Olli Alho, *The Religion of the Slaves* (Helsinki, 1976), p. 62; David M. Friedman, *A Mind of Its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis* (New York, 2001), p. 111; and A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441–1555* (Cambridge, U.K., 1982), p. 190n18. Joseph Washington, *Anti-Blackness 1500–1800* (New York, 1984), pp. 1, 10–11, 15, also accepts Jordan's claims although without attribution. Sylvester Johnson, based on the work of Stephen Haynes, and before him Stacy Davis and David Whitford all argued that Christian exegesis, not rabbinic literature, was responsible for the development of the Curse of Ham in 19th-century America. See Davis, *This Strange Story*; David M. Whitford, *The Curse of Ham in the Early Modern Era* (Farnham, U.K., 2009); Johnson, *The Myth of Ham*, p. 29. See also Goldenberg, "The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?" p. 49n54. On the problems associated with Jordan's supposition, see also Benjamin Braude, "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997) 129–130. On the problems with Washington's views, see Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, pp. 135, 138–139.

43

See, e. g., Ephraim Isaac, "Genesis, Judaism and the 'Sons of Ham,'" in *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, ed. John R. Willis (London, 1985) 1:90n44; also published in *Sidic* 11.2 (1978) 16–27 and *Slavery and Abolition* 1 (1980) 3–17.

44

David Whitford, *Curse of Ham*, p. 26.

45

Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis*, trans. Robert Hill, *Fathers of the Church* (Washington, 1986–92), 82:191 (=28.11); my emphasis. The Greek is in PG 53.257 (=28.4): περὶ συνουσίαν ἠσχολεῖτο, καὶ τὸ ἀχαλίνωτον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας οὐ κατέστελλεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐκ προοιμίων ἐκείνου τῆς γνώμης αυτοῦ τὸ

μοχθηρν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν τὴν εἰς τὸν γεγεννηκότα μέλλει τὴν κατάραν δέχεσθαι ὁ Χαναὰν ὁ τούτου παῖς, διὰ τοῦτο ἤδη προλαβοῦσα ἡ θεία Γραφὴ ἐπεσημήνατο, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἡμῖν τὴν προσηγορίαν δήλην ἐποίησεν, ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος τὸ ἀκρατές.

46

καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐν τοσαύτῃ καταστάσει παιδοποιεῖν ἠνέσχετο, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ νῦν εἰς τὸν γεγεννηκότα ἐξύβρισε; Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis* 29.4, PG 53.266; FC 82:207 (=29.13). The Swiss theologian Johann Heinrich Heidegger (d. 1698) said the same thing, attributing it to Jewish conjecture as to how Noah knew which son had mocked him: Conjecturam Hebraei comminiscuntur ejusmodi. Nempe Noachum in ipsa adhuc arca Chami libidinosum animum arcam intempestiva Venere polluentis notasse. Hinc expergefactum statim culpam ludibrii hujus in eundem conjecisse. Heidegger then notes that Solomon Ephraim b. Aaron (d. 1619) in his work *Kli yeqar* reported the same: "This is the tradition of some of the [Jewish] masters": Hanc esse traditionem Magistrorum quorundam, R. Solomon Ephraim in כלי יקר scribit. (If Heidegger means to say that Solomon reported the tradition in the name of earlier rabbinic teachers, then Heidegger erred, for it is Solomon's own conjecture.) Also Jacob Culi (d. 1732) wrote that Noah knew that it was Ham who had committed the offence against him because of Ham's prior sinful behavior in the ark. Johann Heinrich Heidegger is in *De historia sacra patriarcharum exercitationes selectae* (Amsterdam 1667), p. 627. *Kli yeqar* is in *Or ha-ḥayim, Kli yaqar ʿal ha-Torah, Bereshit* (Petrokov, 1889), p. 22a on Genesis 9:24. Culi is in his work *Meʿam loʿez*, Hebrew translation, ed. Shmuel Yerushalmi (Jerusalem, 1994), 1:239, Eng. trans., Aryeh Kaplan, *The Torah Anthology: MeAm Lo'ez* (New York, 1988), 1:394 (I have not seen the original Ladino, which was published in 1733). Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 151, mistranslated Heidegger to say that "Cham acquired his libidinous behavior from the animals while on the ark." Rather, Heidegger said that Ham with a libidinous spirit (*animum*) committed intercourse (with his wife) while in the ark: "Nempe Noachum in ipsa adhuc arca Chami libidinosum animum arcam intempestiva Venere polluentis notasse. (Schorsch also mistakenly reversed Solomon's name.) Heidegger is quoted by Pierre Bayle, *Dictionaire historique et critique* (Amsterdam, 1740), 2:13, and by Philip Olearius in a dissertation *Chamus maledictus*, incorporated into *Thesaurus novus theologico-philologicus: sive sylloge dissertationum exegeticarum ad selectiora atque insigniora veteris et novi instrumenti loca / a theologis protestantibus* …, ed. Theodor Hase and

Conradus Ikenius (Leiden, 1732), 1:168–175, sec. 17 at p. 174. I am grateful to Karl Krueger, Rare Book Librarian at Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, for making this work available to me. I am not sure of the dates for Olearius. The *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie* lists a Georg Philipp Olearius, 1680–1741, but I am uncertain if this is the same Olearius.

Heidegger also quoted a midrashic text (*Tanḥuma*, *Noaḥ* 13) which I discussed in *Curse of Ham*, pp. 187–192 and is presented below in Excursus III, to offer a second explanation as to how Noah knew which son mocked him. When Ham looked at his father's nakedness, his physical features immediately changed (but skin color is not mentioned as one of the changes), so Noah knew who was the culprit. Incidentally, one of the changes ("his eyes became red") is glossed by David ben Abraham Maimuni (d. 1300) by the word *puzelot*, which Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 351n73, translates as "squinty." Schorsch apparently followed William Braude's translation of *Pesiqta rabbati* (New Haven, 1968), 1:261, but I see no justification for this translation of the word, which occurs only once in the rabbinic corpus; see my comments in *Curse of Ham*, p. 367n36. Jacob Culi, *Me'am lo'ez*, ad loc., explains the absence of a change of skin color in *Tanḥuma* by arguing that the curse only caused Ham's descendants to migrate to Africa, where it was the hot sun that turned their the skin color dark. More than a century earlier, Samuel Yaffe Ashkenazi (d. 1595) in his commentary to *Genesis rabba* had offered the same explanation regarding the sex-in-the-ark story (*Yefeh to'ar*, p. 226a, s.v. *ke'ur*), as did the Jerusalemite Abraham ben Samuel Gedalia (17th century) in his commentary to *Yalqut Shim'oni* called *Brit Avraham* (Livorno, 1650, 1:39a).

47

Don Cameron Allen, *The Legend of Noah* (Urbana, Ill., 1963), p. 77; originally published as vol. 33.3–4 (1949) in *the Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*.

48

Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 29.

49

Jack P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden, 1968), p. 118; Ambrose, *Ep*. 58.12 (PL 16.1181 A-B). Unfortunately, Gary Taylor, *Buying Whiteness: Race, Culture, and Identity from Columbus to Hip Hop* (New York, 2005), p.439n67, relied on Haynes for this mistaken understanding of Ambrose.

50

J. Armitage Robinson, *St. Irenaeus: The Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching* (London, 1920), p. 87; on the reading 'Cursed be Ham,' see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 340n1. Elsewhere (*Adversus haereses* 4.31.1, ed. and trans., Adelin Rousseau, SC 100:786–787) Irenaeus, quoting a "presbyter," says that Ham laughed at his father's shame and came under the curse. On Ham's laughter, not mentioned in the biblical narrative, see below, p. 286n1.

51
Whitford, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 101–102.
52
It is not clear to me what Whitford means when he says, "Postel "derive[ed] the association between Africa and blackness from Greek Ethiopia, which meant burnt or darkened and was translated in Hebrew as Chus or Cush. For Postel, the word Cush is derived from the Greek" (p. 119). Certainly, Postel does not derive Kush's blackness from the Greek 'Ethiopia' but from the association of blackness with Kush based on the talmudic story. As Postel wrote, "Therefore, as evidence of the disobedience and contempt of the Divinity, God willed his son Chus to be born with a dark color, from whom the Ethiopians descend [as] do the others out of his stock" (see below, pp. 55–59 for discussion of the passage). Apparently Whitford misread Postel who says, "Aethiopiae voce per Graecam furtivam que etymologiam Chussi, id est nigri, filii primogeniti Chamesis" (Postel, *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium*, Basel, 1561, p.17), i. e., the word Ethiopia through the hidden Greek etymology preserves the meaning of the first born son of Ham – Cush, that is black. Postel, however, does not derive "the word Cush … from the Greek." (Whitford's pagination of Postel differs as he used a later, 1636, edition.) The specific mention of Kush in references to the sex-in-the-ark story is found as early as Wahb ibn Munabbih (b. 654/5), quoted below, p. 46, and is also mentioned by Rashi (d. 1105), the predominant Jewish interpreter of the Talmud, in his commentary to the talmudic passage, which was almost certainly known to Postel. By the time of publication of Postel's text Rashi had already been printed alongside the talmudic text in several editions, including those of Daniel Bomberg, with whom Postel was friendly, as I note when discussing Postel. Incidentally, the ark story in the Talmud (both Babylonian and Palestinian) is not in Aramaic as Whitford maintains (p. 26n24) but in Hebrew, nor does the Talmud use the term "Aethiopia" or "Kush" as Whitford also maintains (p. 119n38) but, rather, "Ham." "Kush" is Rashi's interpretation of the story.
53
David Whitford, *Curse of Ham*, p. 120.
54
Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: Black People in Britain since 1504* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1984), pp. 142, 525nn66, 67, misread Postel (and Genebrard, who is dependant on Postel). Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery* (London, 1997), p. 73, writes that Best attributed blackness to the Curse

of Ham. So too Alden Vaughan misunderstood Best, and could therefore say that "Best's reading of Genesis 9:20–27 took great liberties with the text" and he could even gloss Best's "Chus" as "Canaan," to make it conform to the biblical text; see Alden T. Vaughan, "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," in Vaughan, *The Roots of American Racism* (New York, 1995), p. 164. Vaughan's article was originally published in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 97 (July, 1989) 311–354. Joseph Lécuyer (d. 1972) of the Catholic congregation of Spiritans similarly confused the two etiologies; see Joseph Lécuyer, "Le père Libermann et la malédiction de Cham," in *Libermann 1802–1852: Un pensée et une mystique missionnaires*, ed. Paul Coulon and Paule Brasseur (Paris, 1988), p. 604. Jacob (Francis) Libermann (d. 1852) was a Jewish convert and Superior General of the Spiritans. Lastly, in tracing the image of the black in German literature ("mostly negative"), Willfried Feuser quotes Heidegger to the effect that blackness came to Ham with the curse of slavery; that when Noah cursed Ham, immediately the latter's hair curled and skin blackened, "so that the black sons of Ham are forever damned with slavery." This is not, however, what Heidegger says. It is another instance of the conflation of rabbinic and biblical stories. Feuser is dependant for his quote on an earlier work by Victor Schoelcher but neither Feuser nor Schoelcher cite a page reference in Heidegger. Presumably they have in mind where Heidegger quoted the *Tanḥuma* text mentioned above (p21n20). Feuser is in "Das Bild des Afrikaners in der deutschen Literatur," *Akten des V. Intenationalen Germanisten-Kongresses, Cambridge, 1975*, ed. Leonard Forster and Hans-Gert Roloff (Bern, 1976), p. 307, and Schoelcher in *Esclavage et colonization* (Paris, 1948, 2007), p. 4, where, however, the text reads "the sons of Canaan" rather than "sons of Ham."

55

Below, pp. 129–130.

56

Akbar Muhammad, "The Image of Africans in Arabic Literature," in *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, ed. Willis, 1:67.

57

Muhammad, "Image of Africans," p. 68. The Ibn Qutayba reference is to Wahb ibn Munabbih quoted by Ibn Qutayba (discussed below, p. 73).

58

Mohammad's reference is to Yaʿqūbī's *Tārīkh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, *Ibn Wādhih qui dicitur al-Jaʿqubī Historiae* (Leiden, 1883), 1:216, where Yaqūbī speaks

only of the territorial inheritance of Noah's sons. Elsewhere in the *Tārīkh* Yaʿqūbī does refer to Noah's curse but it follows the biblical account exactly with a curse of slavery and no mention of blackness. See ed. Houtsma, 1:13; translation in N. Levtzion and J. F. P. Hopkins, *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 20.

59

Gernot Rotter, *Die Stellung des Negers in der islamisch-arabischen Gessellschaft bis zum XVI Jahrhundert* (PhD. diss., Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität, Bonn, 1967), p. 145n6.

60

Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, pp. 34 and 35.

61

Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (Cambridge, U.K., 2013), pp. 64–66, 70–71. Hamel relied on the inaccurate modern anthology of Graves and Patai, on which see Excursus III, below, pp. 267–271. Another error is committed when Hamel relies on a 19th-century English translation of a 17th-century Jewish anthology for what a 3rd-century talmudic rabbi is supposed to have said; see his reference to Yaakov ben Yitzchak Ashkenazi on p. 66. Incidentally, El Hamel misquotes me when he finds it "dubious" that I would deny that *ham* means 'black' in Hebrew, and to buttress his argument he cites a work by Reverend James Sloan from 1857! What I said was that *the name Ham* cannot be derived from a Semitic root meaning 'black,' and my philological evidence comes from considerably more recent studies (and discoveries) than a work from 1857. It is also not clear how Goldenberg "contradicts himself." El Hamel provides no information beyond the assertion.

62

Some further examples: Cain Hope Felder, "Racial Motifs in the Biblical Narrative," in *Voices from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1991), p. 175; Ole Bjørn Rekdal – see below, p. 144n61. Also confusing the two accounts is the Afrocentric writer Yosef Ben-Jochannan in *Africa: Mother of Western Civilization* (Baltimore, 1971, 1988), pp. 16, 70, 412, 593, who writes of God's curse of blackness on Ham (or Canaan) for looking at his father's nakedness while in the ark. See also Stephen Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, pp. 24, 67.

63

Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 36. And from Jordan to others: "Jordan reports that

early Jewish writings invoked Noah's curse to explain the black skin of the Africans;" see Lester E. Bush, "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," in *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church*, ed. Lester E. Bush, Jr. and Armand L. Mauss (Midvale, Utah, 1984), p. 59. The essay was originally published in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (1973) 11–68.

64

See also 1:30, 33, 35. On the curse as an etiology of Canaanite subjugation, see the literature in Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 284n28, and add Y. A. Zeligman (Seeligmann), "Yesodot etiologiim ba-historiografia ha-miqra'it," *Zion* 26 (1961) 156.

65

John R. Swanton, *Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 88 (Washington, 1929), pp. 74–75.

66

Hartley B. Alexander in *The Mythology of All Races*, vol. 11: *Latin America* (Boston, 1920), p. 271: "The Great Spirit Makanaima made a large mould, and out of this fresh, clean clay the white man stepped. After it got a little dirty the Indian was formed, and the Spirit being called away on business for a long period the mould became black and unclean, and out of it walked the Negro."

67

Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Oritz, ed., *American Indian Myths and Legends* (New York, 1984), pp. 46–47.

68

The Cherokee story is quoted in Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White Yet Both: Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature* (Oxford, 1997), p. 39, and see the literature cited there. The Seminole is recounted in Swanton, *Myths and Tales*, p. 75n. Cf. the Seminole tradition recorded by Rev. Leander Ker, *Slavery Consistent with Christianity* (Baltimore, 1840), p. 7; 3rd edtion, revised and enlarged Weston, Missouri., 1853, p. 11.

69

E. g., Aristotle, *Problemata* 10.66, 898b, *De generatione animalium* 5.3.782b; Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.189–190; Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 2.2.56–58; Galen, *De temperamentis* 2.5 and 6.

70

Literature on the environmental theory in Greco-Roman, Islamic, and Jewish sources will be found in David Goldenberg, "The Development of the Idea of

Race: Classical Paradigms and Medieval Elaborations," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 5 (1999) 562n3, and "Scythian-Barbarian: The Permutations of a Classical Topos in Jewish and Christian Texts of Late Antiquity," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 49 (1998) 92–94.

71

Robert Bartlett, "Medieval Concepts of Race and Ethnicity," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001) 46.

72

Ovid (d. 17 CE), *Metamorphoses* 2.235–236. The myth is mentioned as early as Theodectes (4th century BCE) apud Strabo 15.1.24.

73

See Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham*, p. 109.

74

Riggins R. Earl, *Dark Symbols, Obscure Signs: God, Self, and Community in the Slave Mind* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1993), pp. 49–50. Similar is the Yoruba creation story in which some of the created human beings ventured too far north and were turned white by the cold climate (R. E. Hood, "Creation Myths in Nigeria: A Theological Commentary," *The Journal of Religious Thought* 45 [1989] 75). An etiology of black and white people told by South Carolina blacks speaking a black-English dialect called Gullah is recounted in S. G. Stoney and G. M. Shelby, *Black Genesis: A Chronicle* (New York, 1930), pp. 161–171. See further Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977), pp. 84–85, quoting etiologies told by American slaves and ex-slaves.

75

Quoted in Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 41.

76

See Goldenberg, "The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?" p. 25, and idem, *Curse of Ham*, p. 110 for this and other such African origins stories. In addition, see Hilda Kuper, *The Uniform of Colour: A Study of White-Black Relationships in Swaziland* (Joahnnesburg, 1947), p. 33, and Hermann Baumann, *Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythus der afrikanischen Völker* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 331–332.

77

Melvin J. and Frances S. Herskovitz, *Dahomean Narrative: A Cross-Cultural Analysis* (Evanston, Ill., 1958), pp. 407–409. A story from Togoland, from the interior of the Gold Coast, explains the origins of black, white, and red people;

see A. W. Cardinall, *Tales Told in Togoland, to which is Added the Mythical & Traditional History of Dagomba, by E. F. Tamakloe* (Oxford, 1931; Westport, Conn., 1970), p. 25.

78

Eduard Pechuel-Loesche, *Volkskunde von Loango* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 268. I have discussed "maternal impression" in Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 122. For a recent treatment of this phenomenon, see Irven Resnick, *Marks of Distinction: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages* (Washington, 2012), pp. 296–300, and, with an emphasis on modern literature, see the chapter "Natus Aethiopus / Natus Albus" in Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, pp. 48–77.

79

Recorded circa 1927–28; *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore* (Durham, N. C., 1952), 1: 632–633.

80

Recorded by Julien Girard de Rialle in *Revue des Traditions Populaires* 2.1 (1887) 41, and from there to Oskar Dähnhardt, *Natursagen: Eine Sammlung naturdeutender Sagen, Märchen, Fabeln und Legenden* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1907; reprint 1983), 1:157. Paul Sébillot added to de Bialle's account a comparable story told by blacks in French Guiana. Similar stories were told by African-American slaves; see Levine, *Black Culture*, p. 84. De Bialle notes that although this story is told by blacks in Brazil, it originated among white Europeans.

81

See Goldenberg, "The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?" p. 27, and *Curse of Ham*, pp. 110–111.

82

Veronika Görög-Karady, "Noirs et Blancs: A propos de quelques mythes d'origine vili" in *Itinérances – en pays peul et ailleurs* (Paris, 1981), 2:82–83, 88–89.

83

Levine, *Black Culture*, p. 85.

84

As applied to the Greco-Roman world, the somatic norm explanation is set out by Frank Snowden in *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks* (Cambridge, Mass, 1983), pp. 75–79, and *Blacks in Antiquity*, pp. 171–179, and especially by Lloyd Thompson in *Romans and Blacks* (Norman, Oklahoma,

1989), passim; see index, "somatic norm image." See also Jean-Jacques Aubert, "Du noir en noir et blanc: éloge de la dispersion," *Museum Helveticum* 56 (1999) 159–182, especially 176. The term 'somatic norm' was first coined by Harry Hoetink, *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations*, translated from the Dutch by Eva M. Hooykaas (Oxford, 1967).

85

Kathryn Smits, *Die frühmittelhochdeutsche Wiener Genesis* (Berlin, 1972), pp. 134–135, lines 1292–1309; Joseph Diemer, *Genesis und Exodus nach der Millstätter Handschrift* (Vienna, 1862), p. 26; translation from Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, p. 93; see also p. 94 (the gloss on the Rothschild Canticles). The Millstätter manuscript is a later recension of the *Vienna Genesis*. The lineage through Cain is not so clear in the section translated by Friedman but it is in Oliver F. Emerson, "Legends of Cain, Especially in Old and Middle English," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 21 (1906) 884; see also Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain* (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 77, 128n185. The *Vienna Genesis*, in early Middle High German, is not to be confused with the better known Byzantine Greek, illuminated manuscript of the 6th century that also goes by the name "Vienna Genesis."

86

On Ethiopia and Scythia as the world's geographic extremes, see David Goldenberg, "Scythian-Barbarian," pp. 87–102, and "Geographia Rabbinica: The Toponym Barbaria," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 50 (1999) 53–73. On Africa-India confusion or conflation, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 211, Appendix II.

87

Herodotus 4.191. For a list of Greek sources mentioning "animal-human mixtures and monstrous humans," see Christopher Tuplin, "Greek Racism? Observations on the Character and Limits of Greek Ethnic Prejudice," in *Ancient Greeks West and East*, ed. Gocha Tsetskhladze (Leiden, 1999), p. 51n16.

88

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 4.13.95, 7.2.10–11, 16–17 for northern Europe; 5.8.44–46, 6.35.187–188, 6.35.195, 7.2.31 for Africa; and 7.2.22–25, 30 for India. The quotation is at 7.2.21.

89

Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi: Etymologianem sive originum, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911; reprint, 1985) 11.3.12–27 and 14.5.14. A new edition of Isidore is that of Stephen Barney, et al., *The* Eymologies *of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge,

U.K., 2006). Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies* (Cambridge, U.K., 1995), p. 72, suggests that the *Vienna Genesis* used Isidore, *Etymologies* 11.3.15–20, in which "every single aspect of this [= the *Vienna Genesis*'s] multiple description, from the dogheads on, can be paralleled." But not every aspect is paralleled in Isidore. The aspect of dark skin in the *Vienna Genesis* (those who "completely lost their beautiful coloring; they became black and disgusting") is not in Isidore.

90

Quoted by Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, p. 60, translated from PL 40.1304 (Sermo 37 of *Ad fratrem in eremo*).

91

The Voiage and Travaile of Syr John Maundeville… (reprint, London, 1932), pp. 17–18. A full catalogue of descriptions can be found in Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, pp. 9–21. On the question of authorship of Mandelville's *Travels* and the manuscript traditions, editions, and translations of the work, see Benjamin Braude, "Mandeville's Jews among Others" in *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land*, ed. B. F. Le Beau and M. Mor (Omaha, 1995), pp. 143–144 and note 8.

92

Jean Devisse in *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, ed. Landislas Bugner, trans. William G. Ryan (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 2.2:52.

93

Quoted in Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, pp. 73–75, and Michael Clarke, "The Lore of the Monstrous Races in the Developing Text of the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 63 (2012), p. 26. Augustine, *City of God* 16.8 deals with the monstrous races but there is no reference there, or elsewhere in the work, to Cain or Ham as the progenitor of monsters. On the *Irish Reference Bible* see the references in Francis X. Gumerlock, "The Overwhelming Presence of Nero in Early Apocalypse Commentaries" (online at http://francisgumerlock.com/wp-content/uploads/Gumerlock-The-Overwhelming-Presence-of-Nero-in-Early-Apocalypse-Commentaries.pdf), p. 21n49. On the origin of the different versions (Cain or Ham), see Clarke, pp. 15–50.

94

Sex Aetates Mundi 17.33–34, 70.25–28; Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, ed., *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* (Dublin, 1983), pp. 71, 78–79, 101 and 113, 119, 134. *Lebor Gabála Érenn* 53, 81 in Robert Macalister, ed. and trans., *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, Part I. Irish Texts Society 34 (Dublin, 1938), pp. 107, 137; see Macalister's note on p. 245 and Andy Orchard, *Pride and*

Prodigies, pp. 69–70. The Ham ancestry is found later in a work by the Spanish dramatist and poet, Pedro Calderón de la Barca (d. 1681). In his play *La Torre de Babilonia*, he has Noah say to Ham that his descendants will be monsters: y porque los que serán/lo que tú hayas sido crean,/monstrous de los hombres sean/los descendientes de Cam; *La Torre de Babilonia*, Edición crítica de Valentina Nider, Teatro del Siglo de Oro, Ediciones críticas 161 (Pamplona/Kassel, 2007), p. 165, lines 421–424. One manuscript of Mandeville's *Travels* also identifies Ham as the ancestor of the monstrous races, although this manuscript puts Ham in Asia; see Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, p. 103, who also notes the reference to demons as "the seed of Cain" in Felix's *Life of Saint Guthlac*, written around 730–740. The location of Asia in Mandeville's *Travels* is due to an association of Ham with the Great Khan based, according to Friedman, on the similarity of the names Khan and Cham. Cf. Charles Burnett and Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Attitudes towards the Mongols in Medieval Literature..." *Viator* 22 (1991) 161, who explain that a reference to Gog and Magog as descended from Cham in a manuscript of *Mirabilia mundi* may be due to a confusion of Cham with 'Chaam,' "the regular Latin transliteration of *qaghan*, the Mongolian title for 'emperor.'"

95

Beowulf, 111–114; Michael Clarke, "The Lore of the Monstrous Races," pp. 19–20n25; see also Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, p. 70, and Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, pp. 104–105. Clarke notes that the question of whether to read Cain or Ham is only scribal, for the context clearly points to Cain.

96

Sex Aetates Mundi 70.27, ed. DáibhíÓCróinín, pp. 101, 134; quoted by Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, p. 98–99, 101 and Seán ó Súilleabháin, *A Handbook of Irish Folklore* (Hatboro, Penn., 1963), p. 548. Cf. Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, Pt. 1, pp. 168–169: The wives of Noah and all his sons were all "women without evil color." Other biblically-derived creatures, mentioned in the Irish *Banshenchas*, are not depicted as black but are set in Africa (to Oliva, the wife of Ham, was born the "Fomoraig … with their under-races in the island of Africa"); quoted in Clarke, "The Lore of the Monstrous Races," p. 29. Similarly, the 9th-century Muslim polymath Dīnawarī reported that in the land of the blacks (*sūdān*), there exists "a nation of mankind whose eyes and mouths are on their breasts, [who], it is said … descended from Noah who incurred the wrath of God so that he changed their form"; Abū Ḥanīfa Aḥmad ibn Dāwūd al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Vladimir Guirgass (Leiden, 1888), p. 15, translated in

Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, p. 23. The Irish *Life of Brendan of Clonfert* also depicts the monstrous creatures as black ("demons in the shapes of dwarfs and leprechauns opposing them, whose faces were black as coal)" but does not give a biblical genealogy; quoted in Clarke, "The Lore of the Monstrous Races," p. 30. So too in medieval German literature, where in Wolfram's *Parzival* one of the monsters has a "blackamoor-like appearance"; see R. A. Wisbey, "Marvels of the East in the *Wiener Genesis* and in Wolfram's *Parzival*," in *Essays in German and Dutch Literature*, ed. W. D. Robson-Scott (London, 1973), p. 21. Robson-Scott adds that the "equivalent figure in the Welsh romance *Iarlles y Ffynnawn* (The Lady of the Fountain) is a giant black Cyclops."

97

Virginia G. Geddes, *"Various Children of Eve" (AT 758): Clutural Variants and Antifeminine Images* (Uppsala, 1986), p. 198. For the identification with Lilith, see p. 45. Geddes (pp. 44, 198) explains that this is a type of etiological folktale accounting for the genesis of supernatural creatures, and they are black because they exist in the underworld. Blacks were not the only perceived offspring of Lilith. The folktale has parallels in medieval Jewish literature in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* but without the element of dark skin; see Eli Yassif, *Sefer ha-zikhronot, huʾ divrei ha-yamim li-yraḥmeʾel* (Tel Aviv, 2001), p. 113, trans. M. Gaster, *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (London, 1899; repr. New York 1971), pp. 48–49. In Christian literature we find the Jews to be the descendants of Adam and Lilith (see Resnick, *Marks of Distinction*, p. 246), or identified with Lilith (Irven Resnick and Kenneth Kitchell Jr., "'The Sweepings of Lamia': Transformations of the Myths of Lilith and Lamia," *Religion, Gender, and Culture in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. Alexandra Cuffel and Brian Britt, New York, 2007, pp. 77–104). The 15th-century Spanish bishop Alonso de Espina considered the Jews to be the descendants of Lilith and Adam (quoted in David Nirenberg, "El concepto de raza en el studio del antijudaísmo ibérico medieval," *Edad media* 3 (2000) 57, and idem, "Was There Race before Modernity? The Example of 'Jewish' Blood in Late Medieval Spain," in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, eds. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge, U.K., 2009), p. 256.

98

Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford, 1999), p. 91 and 333n26; Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, pp. 93, 99, 101

99

I discuss this more extensively, with bibliography, in Chapter Twelve below. The

pervasiveness of this idea can be seen in its use by Mozart in *Die Zauberflöte*: "Deine Seele ist genau so Schwarz wie dein Gesicht." The 19th-century American pro-slavery writer John Fletcher drew out the connection between sin and blackness with great clarity in explaining why Cain turned black (as he thought): "But what was the mark of sin? What is it now? and what has it ever been? If one is accused of some vile offence, a little presumptive evidence will make us say, It is a very dark crime; it makes him look very black…. The downward humiliating course of sin has a direct tendency, by the Divine law, to even physically degrade, perhaps blacken and disbeautify, the animal man" (*Studies on Slavery, in Easy Lessons* (Natchez, Miss., 1852), p. 437; see also p. 251, and below, Appendix II, p. 227. Nicholas Gier notes an interesting parallel to the notion of a sinful black soul (without, however, providing a source): "The Jains of ancient India … thought that the evilest soul was literally black. As good Jains worked off their karmic debt, their soul color would turn from black to dark blue to dove-grey to flaming red to yellow and finally to white;" "The Color of Sin / The Color of Skin: Ancient Color Blindness and the Philosophical Origins of Modern Racism," *Journal of Religious Thought* 46 (1989) 45.

100

"Scharze Farbe … [ist] ein reales rassisches Merkmarl – Mohrenschwärze … da ihre Schwärze am deutlichsten als Symbol des Sündhaften und Bösen stehen kann …. Als Symbol des Bösen und Unterweltlich-Dämonischen galt die Schwarze schon in Antike, in christlicher Zeit wurde auch die ethnographische Schwärze in diese Symbolik einbezogen durch die Gleichsetzung von Aegyptiu=Aethiopus=Teufel"; Barbara Seitz, *Die Darstellung hässlicher Menschen in mittelhochdeutscher erzählender Literatur von der Wiener Genesis bis zum Ausgang des 13. Jahrhunderts* (PhD. diss., Eberhard-Karls Universität zu Tübingen, 1967), p. 74.

101
Debra Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, 2003), p. 50. Strickland also writes that "the physical change from the bright Lucifer to the dark Satan as a visual metaphor for the change from blessedness to evil in accounts of Lucifer's fall from grace constitutes an especially ubiquitous Christian application of physiognomical theory" (p. 68).
102
Augustine, *City of God* 16.8 (my emphasis), trans. Eva Mathews Sanford and William McAllen Green, ed. Loeb: Verum quisquis uspiam nascitur homo, id est animal rationale mortale, quamlibet nostris inusitatam sensibus gerat corporis formam seu colorem siue motum siue sonum siue qualibet ui, qualibet parte, qualibet qualitate naturam: ex illo uno protoplasto originem ducere nullus fidelium dubitauerit.
103
C. C. Mierow, ed. and trans., *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 AD by Otto, Bishop of Freising* (New York, 1928), 8.12, p. 470.
104
Chroniques des ducs de Normandie, ed., Carin Fahlin (Lund, 1951), p. 5. Compare the 12th-century *Chanson de Roland*, where the "cursed race" (*contredite gent*) of Ethiopians inhabiting the "cursed land" (*tere maldite*) of Ethiopia are described as "the black people [who] have "big noses and wide ears" (La neire gent … Granz unt les nes e lees les oreilles); *Chanson de Roland* 143–144, lines 1916 and 1932, ed. Gerald J. Brault, *The Song of Roland* (University Park, Penn., 1978), 2:118–119, and see William W. Comfort, "The Character Types in the Old French Chansons de Geste," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 14 (1906) 411.
105
Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, p. 54.
106
Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, pp. 148, 152.
107
British Library MS Add 62925 f.87v (accessed at http://www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/medieval/monsters/medievalmonsters.html).
108
Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, p. 42. James R. Aubrey shows that by 1604–05, in popular perception "blacks and monsters [were] similar manifestations of the Other," and that Othello's black character is

constructed by Shakespeare in such a way that "would have engaged such popular associations of blacks with monsters…." See James R. Aubrey, "Race and the Spectacle of the Monstrous in *Othello*," *Clio* 22 (1991–93) 222–223. He quotes several late 16th-century and early 17th-century documents that connect blacks and monsters.

109

Another possible allusion to the black African in the *Vienna Genesis* is the reference to "eyes that shone." See Goldenberg, "The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?," p. 43n28, idem, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 188–189, and above, p. 34, Mandeville's inclusion of "glowing gold eyes" as one of the monstrous race characteristics.

110

Emerson, "Legends of Cain," pp. 878–885, has shown how the monstrous descendants of Cain in the *Vienna Genesis* and *Beowulf* are related to the devil. Perhaps this has relevance to the dark-skinned descendants of Cain. Note how "Grendel is constantly referred to as a monster of darkness" (Emerson, p. 882), and compare the Swedish folktale, mentioned above, which tells that Adam and Lilith had "lots of children, whose skin was black."

111

The History of Abel and Cain 10, in William L. Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature* (Atlanta, 1990), pp. 145, 250 (text) and 160, 271 (translation); an older translation is that of Jacques Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament Found in the Armenian Mss. of the Library of St. Lazarus* (Venice, 1901), pp. 54–55, who discusses the apocryphal Adam-books in their various languages and versions (for the Armenian versions, see pp. 12–13). The dating of the Adam-book is based on Michael Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (Atlanta, 1992), pp. 98–100. Lipscomb (p. 33) dates the Adam-books in general to between the 8th and the 14th centuries.

112

Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 178–182. In this work, I wrote that this reading of *ʾtkmr* was based on a misunderstanding of the meaning of the word but I now see that it may be a deliberate interpretation of the word.

113

The Irish, 10th-century *Saltair na Rann* twice (lines 1959–1960, 2717–2718) refers to Cain as 'dark' (*cíar*) in the context of retelling the story of Cain's murder of his brother Abel. The Irish word, however, does not seem to indicate

dark skin. I am grateful to Westley Follett for his help in understanding this passage. For the text, see *The Saltair na rann, a collection of Early Middle Irish poems*, ed. Whitley Stokes (Oxford, 1883), pp. 28, 39; English translation of the first reference in David Greene and Fergus Kelly, *The Irish Adam and Eve Story from Saltair Na Rann* (Dublin, 1976), 1:91. On the date and bibliography, see Martin McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin, 1975), pp. 14–16, and J. E. Caerwyn Williams and Patrick K. Ford, *The Irish Literary Tradition* (Cardiff, Wales, 1992), p. 111n56. Williams and Ford note James Carney's view that the work is much earlier than the 10th century. See also James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical*, 2nd ed. (Dublin, 1968), pp. 736–737.

114

Mellinkoff, *Mark of Cain*, pp. 75–76, and eadem, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1993), 1:134, 2:fig.vi.50. The figure is also reproduced in Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, p. 92.

115

F. H. Marshall, ed. and trans., *Old Testament Legends: From a Greek Poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chumnos* (Cambridge, 1925), pp. 8–9. On Chumnos's poem, see Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, p. 88. On a "loss of power" possibly alluding to a state of slavery, see below, p. 154n26.

116

See Ernst Bökeln, *Adam und Qain in Lichte der vergleichenden Mythenforschung* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 112.

117

See Appendix III.

118

For Sierra Leone see W. Winwood Reade in *Savage Africa: Being the Narrative of a Tour in Equatorial, South-Western, and North-Western Africa* (London, 1864), p. 31; for America, Fanny D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Folklore Collected from the Oral Tradition of English Speaking Folk* (Boston, 1899), p. 80, no. 915. Levine, *Black Culture*, pp. 85–86 records several versions of this tale. The story was also told by Marcus Garvey; see Colin Kidd, *Forging of Races*, p. 35, and Mia Bay, *The White Image in the Black Mind* (Oxford, 2000), p. 123.

119

See David Adamo, *Africa and the Africans in the Old Testament* (Benin City, Nigeria, 2005), p. 48n99; Rudolph Windsor, *From Babylon to Timbuktu: A History of the Ancient Black Races Including the Black Hebrews* (New York, 1969), p. 25; Colin Kidd, *Forging of Races*, p. 265; Levine, *Black Culture*, pp. 84–85; and Bay, *The White Image*, pp. 211, 214, who finds an allusion to the Gehazi curse in the *Liberator*, a white abolitionist newspaper, as early as 1831. For Miriam, see Nathaniel Murrell and Lewin Williams, "The Black Biblical Hermeneutics of Rastafari," in *Chanting Down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Samuel Murrell et al. (Philadelphia, 1998), p. 332. The original Hebrew text of Numbers 12:10 and 2 Kings 5:27 does not say that Miriam and Gehazi turned white; the inclusion of the word 'white' is a later translators' addition. On this issue, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 27–28.

120

See *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiograph*, South Carolina Narratives, 6:206–207, quoted in Bay, *The White Image*, p. 124, and Earl, *Dark Symbols*, pp. 47–48. One Adam-based color etiology reported by Africans sees their own black skin as punishment for Adam and Eve's sin (Alexis-Marie Gochet, *La barbarie africaine et l'action civilisatrice des missions catholiques au Congo et dans l'Afrique équatoriale*, Liège, 1889, pp. 142–143). As implied by Jean Devisse, "L'improbable altérité: les Portugais et l'Afrique," in *Simpósio interdisciplinary de estudos portugueses, Actas II*, Lisbon, 1985, p. 14, this is clearly influenced by the European missionary accounts.

121

See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 98–99 for a full discussion. This meaning of "changed their appearances" is accepted also in Howard Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (Leiden, 1996), p. 384. Paul Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor, 1983), pp. 72–73, mentions miniatures in four 11th-century Octateuchs that "depict what appears to be a multiplication of races as part of the catastrophe…. consist[ing] of the introduction of *racial* as well as linguistic variation" (Kaplan's emphasis).

122

I am aware of two attempts to explain the dark skin in the story in symbolic, not realistic, terms: Simonne Bakchine Dumont, "Le myth chamitique dans les sources rabbiques du proche orient de l'ere chretienne au XIIIè siècle, *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 55 (1989) 43–71, and David H. Aaron, "Early Rabbinic Exegesis on Noah's Son Ham, and the So-Called 'Hamitic Myth,'"

Journal of the American Academy of Religion 63 (1995) 721–759. According to these authors the darkening of the skin connotes degradation of character, moral or ethical depravity and the like, but is not an indication of physiological, i. e., 'racial,' characteristics. It seems to me that this interpretation is forced.

123

See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 102–107 and 186–187 for a full account, including a discussion of the relationship of the punishment to the crime. The rabbinic sources are three: the Palestinian Talmud, *Taʿaniyot* 1.6, 64d; BT *Sanhedrin* 108b; *Genesis rabba* 36.7 (ed. J. Theodor and Ḥ. Albeck, 1912–36, repr. Jerusalem, 1965 with corrections, p. 341). The talmudic manuscripts (including the 12–13th century fragment from the "Italian genizah" published by Mauro Perani and Enrica Sagradini, *Talmudic and Midrashic Fragments from the "Italian Genizah": Reunification of the Manuscripts and Catalogue* (Florence, 2004), p. 36, T. XX) show no significant variants. Several moderns have misread the story to say that blackness began with Ham's son Kush, but that is not what the talmudic passage says; it is, rather, the interpretation of Rashi (d. 1105) in his commentary on the passage. Because of Rashi's outsized influence as the interpreter of the Talmud, his interpretation was presented as the reading of the passage by, e.g., A. Rothkoff (in both editions of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972 and 2006, s.v. Ham) and Joseph Jacobs (in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1901–06, s.v. Ham). In a footnote, the "Soncino" English translation of the Talmud also provides this interpretation as the correct understanding of the passage. While noting that Rashi's interpretation "is not an accurate and exact citation of the original text," Ephraim Isaac nonetheless considered it to be a "faithful interpretation" of the passage; see his "Genesis, Judaism and the 'Sons of Ham,'" p. 84. Those who then relied on these scholars include David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York, 1984), p. 87 (see also his *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, Ithaca, 1966, p. 451), and Peter Frost, "Attitudes toward Blacks in the Early Christian Era," *The Second Century* 8 (1991) 3, among others. Incidentally, Isaac makes a similar error again in his discussion of BT *Sukah* 53a on p. 81 of his article, where he cites Rashi's interpretation as the talmudic text. On the authenticity of Rashi's commentary to the part of the Talmud incorporating *Sanhedrin* 108b, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 296n81.

124

The works quoting the story include the medieval Ben Sira cycle of stories, *Pirqei de-rabbeni ha-qadosh*, *Ḥupat Eliyahu rabba, Leqaḥ ṭov*, *Yalquṭ Shimʿoni*,

Midrash ha-gadol, *Meʾor ha-afela*, *Midrash ha-ḥefeṣ*, and *Haggadot ha-talmud*. For the details, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 292n65. *Tanḥuma, Noaḥ* 12, mentioned there, is earlier than the 9th century but it does not include Ham in its quotation of the talmudic story. *Ṣeʾena u-Reʾena* is found on Genesis 8:16 and 9:22, ed. Hebrew Publishing Company (New York, 1913), pp. 39 and 43. The Hebrew translation of this work by Israel M. Hurwitz, *Zeʾenah u-Reʾenah: Book of Genesis* (New York, 1985), pp. 43, 63–64, provides variant Yiddish readings from manuscripts and editions. On the variant *narapn*, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 314n86. The text is on p. 55 of an abridged English translation by the Jewish convert to Christianity, Paul Isaac Hershon, *A Rabbinical Commentary on Genesis* (London, 1885). A critical English translation by Morris Faierstein is due to appear in 2017 (De Gruyter: Studia Judaica 96). The date of the editio princeps of *Ṣeʾena u-reʾena* is not certain, perhaps 1616 or 1620. Another Hebrew translation published by Hoṣaʾat Yerid ha-Sefarim (Jerusalem, 2005), 1:35, 39 translates the Yiddish for "blacks" as *ha-ṣoʿanim* and *ha-kushim ha-ṣoʿanim*, i.e., Gypsies. For dark skin considered to be a characteristic of Gypsies, see below, pp. 185–186.

125

Zeʾev Ben-Ḥayyim, *Tibat Marqe* (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 288–289, sec. 232a; Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 100–101. Elsewhere Marqe again refers to the Kushites who are cursed (*Tibat Marqe*, pp. 262–263, sec. 203a). On Marqe, see Abraham Tal in *A Companion to Samaritan Studies*, ed. Alan David Crown, Reinhard Pummer, Abraham Tal (Tübingen, 1993), p. 152, s.v. Marqe.

126

I am grateful to Abraham Tal for sending me this part of the new *Tibat Marqe*, which is scheduled for publication by De Gruyter in 2017.

127

See above, pp. 8–9.

128

As quoted by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām (d. 828 or 833) in his *Kitāb al-tījān fī mulūk Ḥimyar*, ed. Fritz Krenkow (Hyderabad, 1928), p. 24. My thanks to Barbara von Schlegell for her help with the translation of this passage. The *Tījān* is a composite work based on the collections of traditions by Wahb ibn Munabbih; see Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey, *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* (London, 1998), p. 335, s.v. Ibn Hishām. Wahb ibn Munabbih was, according tradition, a convert from *ahl al-kitāb*, the People of the Book, i. e., Judaism or Christianity, or specifically from Judaism, but the earliest sources

know nothing of this. He was probably born a Muslim; see literature in Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 288n51, and Roberto Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets in the Qurʾān and Muslim Literature*, trans. Michael Robertson (Richmond, U.K., 2002), pp. 138–141. "When Noah awoke" may indicate an early conflation of the sex-in-the-ark and biblical stories.

129

Qatāda is in al-Thaʿlabī (d.1036), in his *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiy*āʾ or *ʿArāʾis al-majālis* (ed. Cairo, 1954), p. 57; other editions: Beirut, n.d., p. 49; ed. Cairo, n.d. p. 40: "Ham copulated [*aṣāba*] with his wife in the ark, so Noah called upon his Lord, and he [Qatādah] said, then his semen was altered and [his descendants] became black." English translation by William Brinner, *ʿArāʾis al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ or "Lives of the Prophets" as Recounted by Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Thaʿlab*ī (Leiden, 2002), p. 97; German by Heribert Busse, *Islamische Erzählungen von Propheten und Gottesmännern: Qiṣaṣal-anbiyāʾ oder ʻAraʾis al-maǧālis von Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm at-Taʻlab*ī (Wiesbaden, 2006), p. 76. On Thaʿlabī, see also Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*, pp. 146–151. Qatāda is also quoted by Ibn Muṭarrif al-Ṭarafī (d. 1062, Spain) in his *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiy*āʾ, on which see Robert Tottoli, *The Stories of the Prophets by Ibn Muṭarrif al-Ṭarafī* (Berlin, 2003), sec. 69, p. 31 (Arabic), and see Tottoli's references on p. 37 (English section). Ibn Jurayj is quoted in an *isnad* in Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul waʾl mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari* (Leiden, 1964), 1:196, trans. Franz Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabar*ī, vol. 1 (Albany, 1989), p. 365.

130

"Noah asked God to disfigure the character of his sperm. He had a son who was black, Canaan b. Ham, the ancestor of the blacks"; ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiy*āʾ, cited in M. O. Klar, *Interpreting al-Thaʿlabī's Tales of the Prophets* (Milton Park, U.K., 2009), p. 152, from ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Gharīz (Beirut, n.d.), p. 74, and quoted in Brannon M. Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran* (London, 2002), p. 60. Ibn Kathīr's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiy*āʾ is taken from his *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*. The term "traditionist" describes those who collected the traditions (*ḥadīth*) attributed to Muḥammad.

131

Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Charles C. Torrey, *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain Known as the Futūḥ Miṣr of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam* (New Haven, 1922), p. 8. Al-Ḥakam's report may be part of a

lengthy *isnad* going back ultimately to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās (d. 686–8), a contemporary of the prophet of Islam.

132

Abu ʿAli Muḥammad Balʿamī: Hermann Zotenberg, *Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Moʿhammedben-Djarir-ben-Yezid Tabari traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-ʿAli Mohammed Belʿami* (Paris, 1867–1874), 1:575, note to p. 115 (cf. Balʿamī below, p. 69). This work is a Persian version of Ṭabarī's (d. 923) Arabic history, the *Taʾrīkh al-rasul wa-lmulūk*. Abu Yahya Zakarīyā ibn Muhammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād wa-ʾakhbār al-ʿibād* (Beirut, 1960), p. 22; ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Zakarija Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie* (Göttingen, 1848–49; repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1986), 2:14. Al- Qazwīnī explicitly rejects the story as the cause of blackness. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿajāʾib al-barr w-ʾl-baḥr*, ed. A. F. Mehren (St. Petersburg, 1866; repr. Leipzig, 1923), p. 266; trans., A. F. Mehren, *Manuel de la cosmographie* (Copenhagen, 1874), p. 385; excerpted in Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, p. 212. Muḥammad ibn Khāvandshāh Mīr Khvānd (Mirkhond), *The Rauzat-us-safa or, Garden of Purity* …, trans. E. Rehatsek, ed. F. F. Arbuthnot (London, 1891), 1.1:96–97, quotes the story in the name of Muḥammad bin Kaʿb ul-Fuzi. Nūr al-Dīn ibn Burhān al-Ḥalabī is in his biography of Muḥammad, the *Insān al-ʿuyūn* (known as *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiya*), quoted by Musa Kamara (d. 1945), *Zuhur al-Basatin*, trans. Constance Hilliard in *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, ed. Willis, 1:165 ("Ham crossed this partition [in the ark] and made love to his wife. Thus Noah invoked God against Ham that God should make his son the color black. God answered his prayer and his son became black and he is the father of the Sūdān"). My thanks to Prof. Hilliard for sending me a copy of the relevant page of the *Zuhur al-Basatin* manuscript.

133

Rachel Milstein, Karen Rührdanz, Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of* Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1999), plate xiv. The illustration is from a manuscript of *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā*ʾ by Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Mansur ibn Khalaf al-Nīshāpūrī (11th/12th century) housed in the New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, Persian 46, f. 19a.

134

Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament. Genèse. Text, ed. Jacques Marie Vosté and Ceslaus van den Eynde, CSCO 126, Scriptores Syri 67 (Louvain, 1950), pp. 128–129; translation: C. van den Eynde, CSCO 156,

Scriptores Syri 75 (Louvain, 1955), p. 139. J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne* (Beirut, [1965]-1968), on the map opposite p. 40 in vol. 1 shows Hedhatha (Ḥadītha) just south of where the Great Zab and Tigres rivers meet in Iraq.

135

Rashi is in BT *Sanhedrin* 108b, s.v. *laqa be-ʿoro*. In Chapter Eleven, I present a more detailed explanation of how and why the talmudic punishment on Ham became a punishment on Kush.

136

On the relationship between *isrāʾīliyyāt* and *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*ʾ I am following Georges Vajda and Bernard Lewis; see the discussion in Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm* (Leiden, 1996), p. 9. On biblical legends in Islamic literature, see Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*;Yehuda Ratzaby, "Miqraʾot, midrashot, we-agadot ba-sifrut ha-ʿaravit," *Bar Ilan Annual* 26–27 (1995) 301–319; Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis* (Albany, 1990), pp. 8–9; the detailed bibliographic survey by Haim Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and Extra-Biblical Legends in Islamic Folk-Literature* (Walldorf-Hesse, 1982), pp. 23–75; and, with a focus on al-Kisāʾī, Aviva Schussman, *Sipurei ha-neviʾim be-masoret ha-muslamit* (PhD., diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem), pp. 60–62. An excellent description of *isrāʾīliyyāt* and the literary genres in which it appears, is found in Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, pp. 11–15. On *isrāʾīliyyāt*, especially in which periods and to what extent it was accepted in the Muslim community, see Gordon Newby, "Tafsir Isra'iliyyat," in *Studies in Qurʾan and Tafsir* (*Journal of the American Academy of Religion Thematic Issue*, Supplements 47.4, 1979), ed. Alford Welch, pp. 685–697. On the term in Muslim literature: Roberto Tottoli, "Origin and Use of the Term Isrāʾīliyyāt in Muslim Literature," *Arabica* 46 (1999) 193–210.

137

See *EI*2, s.vv. *Isrāʾīliyyāt* (G. Vajda) and *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*ʾ (T. Nagel). See also Bukhārī, *Kitāb aljāmiʿ aḷ-ṣahīḥ*, ed. L. Krehl (Leiden, 1908), 4:193, quoted in Meir J. Kister, "Ḥaddithū ʿan banī isrāʾīla wa-lā ḥaraja. A Study of an Early Tradition," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972) 238, reprinted in idem, *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam* (London, 1980); trans., Aharon Amir in *Meḥqarim be-hithawut ha-islam*, ed. Michael Lecker (Jerusalem, 1998). Kister provides evidence of transmission of such extrabiblical traditions. See also the similar remarks by Ibn Saʿad (d. 845), *Kitāb tabaqāt al-kubr*ā (Beirut 1960), 7:110, 222

as quoted by Isaac Kister, "Heʿarah ʿal qadmutan shel mesorot shivḥei Yerushalyim," *Sugyot be-toledot Ereṣ Yisraʾel taḥat shilṭon ha-Islam*, ed. M. Sharon (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 70–71.

138

Recorded in Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*ʾ (Cairo, 1954), p. 57. Brinner (*ʿArāʾis al-majālis*, p. 97) similarly translates "O God bring him into distress," but Busse (p. 76) has "Mach ihn ungebärdig," i. e., 'wild.' On al-Kalbī, see W. M. Thackston, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i* (Boston, 1978), p. xxvii. On the other hand, an ark story found in modern Arabic folklore, which tells of the raven being turned black by Noah's curse, has no parallel in rabbinic sources. The Arabic source tells that the raven, sent out of the ark, settled on a carcass and Noah declared: "May God blacken your face." Philip J. Baldensperger, "Peasant Folklore of Palestine," *Palestine Exploration Fund* (1893) 213. On traditions of the raven turning black, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 100, 286–287n43.

139

Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 104–105. A change in seminal character accounting for blackness is mentioned also by the church father Origen (d. ca. 253) and Strabo (b. 64/63 BCE) but the cause of the change was due to environmental factors, not a curse or punishment; so too Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places* 14, Aristotle, *History of Animals* 3.22, 523a, and Democritus (H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin, 1951–52) 68 A141.

140

Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, p. 236n54, writes that a marginal note to Peter Riga's *Aurora*, a late 12th- century paraphrase of the Bible, mentions Ham turning black as a result of his transgression in the ark. Friedman bases his remark on an article by Francis Utley but I could not find the element of Ham's blackness in the *Aurora* gloss, nor in Utley's article, and neither could Ben Braude, "The Sons of Noah," p. 132n67.

141

Dicunt magistri tres coierunt in archa cum feminis suis. canis. corvus et cham. et omnis puniti fuerunt. Canis quia colligatur cum femina sua. quando coit. corvus spuit. spuendo coit cham quia propter hoc maledictus fuit; MS Bibliotheque Nationale Lat. 16558, ff. 69b and 181a (contra Whitford, p. 27n28, no correction of the reference is necessary, see Ḥ. Merḥavia, *Ha-talmud bire'i ha-naṣrut*, Jerusalem, 1970, p. 410 and Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 291–292n64). My thanks to Ann Matter for deciphering the Latin and its translation. The

Extractiones was "composed by a team of Jewish converts to Christianity and headed by Thibaut de Sézanne" (not Nicholas Donin, as Whitford, p. 27 implies); see Saadia R. Eisenberg, *Reading Medieval Religious Disputation: The 1240 "Debate" between Rabbi Yeḥiel of Paris and Friar Nicholas Donin* (PhD. diss., University of Michigan, 2008), p. 7. A succinct description of the manuscript, with references to literature dealing with it, can be found in Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, 1982), p. 65. For date and provenance see Merḥavia, pp. 291–292. The manuscript is now being edited as part of the research project on "The Latin Talmud and Its Influence on Christian- Jewish Polemics" (European Research Council Consolidator Grant, 2013) directed by Alexander Fidora.

142

Cam … erró en dos maneras; lo primero que yogo con su mujer en el arca, onde hubo un hijo a que dijeron Cus, cuyo hijo fue este rey Nembrot. Y maldijo entonces Cam en los bienes temporales; [Ms P: e fue maldicho estonce Cam en los bjenes] y otrosí dicen los judíos que fue maldicho el can porque yogo con la cadiella en el arca [Ms P: que fue maldito este Cam porque yogo con la cadilla] …. Y el otro yerro que hizo Cam fue cuando su padre se embeodó, y lo descubrió haciendo escarnio de él; *Libro del caballero Zifar*, ed. Joaquín González Muela (Madrid, 1982), pp. 79–80, based on MS Madrid. The readings from MS Paris are from the edition of Marilyn Olsen, *Libro del Cauallero Çifar* (Madison, 1984), p. 12. For a discussion of provenance, date, and authorship, none of which is certain, see Olsen's introduction. The English translation of this passage by Charles Nelson, *The Book of the Knight Zifar* (Lexington, Ky, 1983), p. 23, is problematic at several points; see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 294n75 and note also that Nelson translates *mujer* as 'mother.'

143

Luis Manuel Girón-Negrón, "La maldición del can: la polémica antijudía en el *Libro del Cavallero Zifar*," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 78 (2001) 274–295. If the *Zifar*'s source was indeed the *Extractiones*, it might explain the fact that Ham's punishment is not mentioned. Incidentally, Girón-Negrón read the *Extractiones* text (*cham quia propter hoc maledictus fuit*) as *cham quia* ***in pella*** *maledicte fuit* (Ham because he was cursed in his skin) unconsciously incorporating the reading from the Talmud.

144

See Excursus I for this interpretation of the talmudic text, and also a listing of those moderns who misunderstood the story. For the oral transmission, see

Girón-Negrón (p. 284), who shows that the author did not know Hebrew, so that if he relied on the rabbinic story it was presumably transmitted orally.

145

Quotes from Roger M. Walker, "The Genesis of 'El Libro del Cavallero Zifar,'" *The Modern Language Review* 62.1 (1967) 64. See also Girón-Negrón, "La maldición del can," p. 275.

146

Roger M. Walker, *Tradition and Technique in El libro del cavallero Zifar* (London, 1974). See also "The Genesis of 'El Libro del Cavallero Zifar,'" pp. 61–69; quotation on p. 66.

147

For the Arabic influences in Zifar, see Girón-Negrón, "La maldición del can," p. 275 with bibliography at 289n4. Add the dissertation of Neryamn Nieve, *Arabic Literary Influences in the Libro del Caballero Zifar* (PhD. diss., Temple University, 1999).

148

I will discuss the misreadings of Postel in Chapter Ten.

149

Credamus itaque necesse est secretae Hebraeorum traditioni, qua aiunt, ex albo parente Chamese (sicuti & Iapetus & Semus errant albi) procreatum fuisse cum tali scelere filium post diluvium primo ex ipso genitum, ut in sceleris parentum argumentum nigro colore miserandus puer natus sit. Scelus autem fuit eiusmodi. Quum crederet primo statim tempore ex illis 4 masculis filium genitum natum ve debere primogeniorum universi iure uti Naturae beneficio, & non divinae gratiae auxilio consequi, intra ipsam arca, ubi omnia summo timore tremebant, videndo Divina vindictam, & ubi (ut etiam tradunt). Noachus monuerat filios, ut interea ab uxorum contactu abstinerent, quoad ex arca transacta Divina vindicta exiissent … cum uxure congredi [that is, Ham]. Hinc ad inobedientiae & contemptus Divini indicium, Deus Chussum filium atro colore voluit nasci, unde stirpe caeteri descendunt Aethiopes; Guillaume de Postel, *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium* (Basel, 1561), pp. 38–39. Schorsch was not aware of this text in which Postel quotes the "tradition of the Hebrews," which accounts for his incorrect statement (*Jews and Blacks*, p. 151) that it wasn't until the late 17th century that we find "the most explicit invocation of Jewish sources relating to Cham."

150

…. ex Chuso filio Chamesis, alioqui albi ex coniuge alba procreato, & non loco,

sed scelere patris sic infecto, sunt nati Aethiopes; Postel, *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium*, p. 14.

151
Primogenitus eius Chus nigro colore ex albis, ut iam dixi, parentibus, summo certe aliqui Divinae vindictae signo sic ob parentis scelus tinctus; Postel, *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium*, p. 17. Peter Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 525n67, cites Postel's *De originibus* in addition to the *Cosmographicae* as the source for Postel's statement of the curse of blackness but I don't see this in *De originibus*.
152
Ina Baghdiantz McCabe speculates that Postel's Hebrew knowledge may have come from Jacques de Gouvea, head of the Collège Sainte Barbe in Paris, where Postel was a student. De Gouvea was a New Christian descended from a Jewish Portuguese family, which had arrived in Paris in 1500. "Conversion to Christianity did not erase knowledge of Hebrew in such a short time." The relationship between De Gouvea and his protégé Postel was close. Another converted Jew was Paul Paradis, who taught Hebrew at the Collège des Trois Langues (which eventually became the Collège de France) where Postel held the chair in Arabic. McCabe even speculates that Postel may himself have been a Portuguese Jew in hiding. See Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 18–28, 44. On Postel's knowledge of Hebrew, see also Marion L. Kuntz, "Voyages to the East and Their Meaning in the Thought of Guillaume Postel," *Voyager a` la Renaissance* (Paris, 1987), pp. 53–54; eadem, *Guillaume Postel, Prophet of the Restitution of All Things: His Life and Thought* (The Hague, 1981), pp. 8–9. Note also the reference to someone named פישטילו (Pistilo) by the author of a 16th-century anonymous Hebrew chronicle, who was imprisoned with this Pistilo and was impressed with his knowledge of Hebrew and "the Torah of Moses." Isaiah Sonne, *Mi-Paṿolo ha-Reviʿi ʿad Piyus ha-Ḥamishi* [*From Paul IV to Pius V*] (Jerusalem, 1954), p. 72, thinks that the reference may be to Onorato Fascitelli, but might not the author rather be referring to Postel?
153
Thevet's biography of Postel is translated by Edward Benson in *Portraits from the French Renaissance and the Wars of Religion*, a selection from Thevet's *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens* (Paris, 1584), edited with introduction and notes by Roger Schlesinger (Kirksville, Missouri, 2010), pp. 159–167. While in the East, Postel also sought out Karaite sources and "almost certainly knew" the Karaite Yefet ben Ali's commentary on Hosea (Kuntz, "Voyages to the East," p. 54).

154
Kuntz, "Voyages to the East," p. 55. Postel was friendly with Daniel Bomberg, spent time with him and with Elias Levitas, and "had frequent contacts with other Jewish scholars and printers at Bomberg's printing establishment" (Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel*, p. 26).
155
Raphael Rabbinovicz, *Maʾamar ʿal hadpasat ha-talmud*, ed. Abraham M. Habermann (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 36, 44 for the Bomberg editions, and pp. 20, 32, 47 for the other editions: ed. Barco, 1497/8 from the Soncino press; ed. Venice, 1549 by the Justinian press; and possibly a Spanish or Portuguese edition.
156
William J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510–1581)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 38; see also p. 45 on Postel's access to other Jewish sources.
157
Genesis rabba 36.5, ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 339. The talmudic tradition of castration is at BT *Sanhedrin* 70a. I have dealt with the rabbinic interpretations (castration, sodomy) of Ham's act in "What Did Ham Do to Noah?", pp. 265–274.
158
Shet Harofe ben Yefet of Aleppo (13th century), *Ḥemat ha-ḥemda*, ed. Baruch Feldstern (Jerusalem, 2008), p. 78; Levi b. Gershon (d. 1344), *Commentary to the Torah*, ed. J. L. Levy (Jerusalem, 1992), 1:95; the Yemenite works *Midrash ha-gadol* (14th century) of David b. Amram al-Adani, ed. Mordechai Margulies (Jerusalem, 1967), 1:190; Nathaniel ibn Yeshaʿya (14th-century), *Meʾor ha-afelah*, ed. Yosef Qapeḥ (Kafah) (Jerusalem, 1957), p. 72; and Zechariah b. Solomon ha-Rofe (15th-century), *Midrash ha-ḥefeṣ*, ed. Meir Ḥavaṣelet (Jerusalem, 1990), 1:110. On the authorship of *Midrash ha-gadol* to David b. Amram, see Yosef Tobi, *Ha-midrash ha-gadol: meqorotaw umivnehu* (PhD. diss., Hebrew University, 1993), pp. 3–4; on the dating, pp. 7–8 and see also Yehuda Ratzby, ed., *Teshuvot R. Yehudah ha-Nagid* (Jerusalem, 1989), p. 15. Peter Frost, "Attitudes toward Blacks in the Early Christian Era,*" The Second Century* 8 (1991)," p. 3, is in error in citing the Talmud as saying that Ham transgressed the prohibition in the ark because he was "persuaded that the first child born after the flood would inherit the world." This is neither in the Talmud nor in Neusner's translation used by Frost. Apparently Frost's source was

Geroge Best; see below, p. 60.

159

Doctores Hebrei ut scribit R. Levi in 9. cap. Genes. tradunt Cham execuisse testiculos patri ne deinceps liberos procrearet; Gilbert Genebrard, *Chronographiae libri quatuor* (Paris, 1580), p. 10; ed. Paris, 1585, p. 27; in ed. Lugdunum [Lyon], 1599, p. 27 but misnumbered as 19. On Genebrard's considerable use of Jewish sources, see Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto. Isaac Cardoso: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics* (Seattle, 1981; reprint of 1971 edition), pp. 285–286, 291–292.

160

Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 148, incorrectly paraphrased Genebrard's quotation of Levi to say that it included the element of inheritance competition. A later Christian, Philip Olearius, quotes Levi's comment that Ham castrated his father so that there should not be a fourth son to share in Noah's inheritance (ne quartum gigneret filium haereditatis participem). Olearius is in his *Chamus maledictus* (before 1732), sec. 8, on whom see above, p. 21n20.

161

Quia ipse Chameses fuit a patre tacite excomunicatus, & saltem in sua quarta generatione maledictus, & non solum fratrum suorum, sed & servorum illorum servus constitutus.… ut & non sibi acquisivisse videatur….; Postel, *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium*, p. 16.

162

The quotation is from Beatrice Reynolds's translation of Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Paris, 1566): *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History* (New York, 1945, p. 87, reproduced in Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton, *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion* (New York, 2007), p. 94.

163

Credendum itaque traditioni Hebraicae, quae ex albo parente Cham (sicut & Iaphet & Sem albi erant) natum affirmat Chus (aut saltem eius postero) atro colore in sceleris paterni argumentum. *Ibid*. [i. e., Postel – dmg] *pag. 38*; Gilbert Genebrard, *Chronographiae libri quatuor* (1585), p. 27, see above, p. 58n39, for pagination in later editions. This passage does not appear in the first edition (1580) of the work, which accounts for Schorsch's incorrect statement that "Genebrard invoked no specific Jewish references" and "nowhere did Genebrard discuss the curse of Cham in terms of Blackness [*sic*]" (*Jews and Blacks*, pp.

151, 158). Schorsch looked only at the first edition of Genebrard and not at subsequent editions.

164

Ut aliqui credant (quemadmodum Genebrardus refert) fidem habendam esse traditioni Hebraicae, quae ex albo parente Cham (sicut et Iaphet, et Sem albi errant) natum affirmat Chus (aut saltem eius posteros) atro colore in sceleris paterni argumentum ….; Antonio Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studionum* (Rome, 1593), 2:214.

165

David Whitford, *Curse of Ham*, p. 119.

166

George Best, *A True Discourse of the Three Voyages of Discoverie* (London, 1578), p. 31. Best is included in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589; reprint New York, 1969), 7:263–264. The passage is reproduced in Loomba and Burton, *Race in Early Modern England*, p. 109. The comment by Paul Edwards and James Walvin, *Black Personalities in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Baton Rouge, 1983), p.8, that the reason for God's prohibition of sex in the ark was to prevent any single person from inheriting the earth is not in Best but is the authors' interpretation of Best (for early-century explanations of this prohibition, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 102–103). Benjamin Braude writes that the Curse of Ham "entered English letters through George Best in 1578," and according to Ivan Hannaford, Best's account "was a huge success in England as well as in France and Germany." But the Vaughans write, in regard to the ark story, that "Best's specific interpretation seems not to have been adopted, in print at least." See Braude, "Michelangelo and the Curse of Ham: From a Typology of Jew-Hatred to a Genealogy of Racism," *Writing Race across the Atlantic World*, ed. Phillip Beidler and Gary Taylor (New York, 2005), p. 88; Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Washington, 1996), p. 183; Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia M. Vaughan, "Before Othello: Elizabethan Representations of Sub-Saharan Africans," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997) 27n25. Against Hannaford's opinion, and/or his theories in general, see Robin Blackburn, "The Old World Background to European Colonial Slavery," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997) 95–96n75, and David Goldenberg, "The Development of the Idea of Race: Classical Paradigms and Medieval Elaborations," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 5 (1999) 561–570.

167
Whitford offers these proofs that Best's source was Postel and not the Talmud: (1) the idea that Noah's sons were born white appears in the literature of the 16th century; (2) as Postel, Best too put the "curse of Ham on the wrong son of Ham – … on Chus or Cush instead of on Canaan"; and (3) both Best and Postel use the word "Chamesis" for Ham (Cham) or Ham's country Africa. However: (1) white sons are implied in the talmudic story; (2) Best did not put the curse on "the wrong son of Ham" because Best is not speaking of the biblical story, in which Canaan is cursed, but the rabbinic story of sex-in-the-ark, in which it is Kush (as interpreted by Rashi and others, see above, p. 48) who is cursed. As noted earlier, Whitford has confused the two stories; and (3) the term Chamesis, it is true, does not derive from the Talmud, but it may not have come from Postel either. Twelve years before Best's work, Jean Bodin referred to Cameses as the son of Noah in his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, published in 1566, and the word is found also not so very long after Best's work in John Pory's translation of Leo Africanus's *Della descrittione dell'Africa et delle cose notabili cheiui sono* as part of Gian Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi* (Venice, 1550), titled *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600), p. 1; ed. Robert Brown, *The History and Description of Africa*, London, 1896, 1:13 ("Chamesis"). Pory's translation was based on the Latin translation of Leo Africanus. Neither the original Italian nor the Latin translation, however, has the relevant line about Chamesis. The word, then, was not unique to Postel, and could have been known to Best from another source. See above, p. 59n42 for references to Bodin. On Postel's translations, see See Crofton Black, "Leo Africanus's 'Descrittione dell'Africa' and Its Sixteenth-Century Translations," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002) 262–272.
168
Jordan, *White over Black*, pp. 42–43, was apparently unaware of the passage in Postel, and consequently attributed Best's remark to the contemporaneous social criticism of the "burgeoning spirit of avariciousness" accompanying the "increasingly commercialized economy" in England of the time. Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 151, on the other hand, thinks that Best was possibly dependent on Rashi. As stated above (p. 55n29) Schorsch was unaware of the Postel passage, which accounts for his remark (see also Schorsch's list on p. 137).
169
Peter Heylyn, *Mikrokosmos: or A Little Description of the Great World* (Oxford, 1625), p. 778. Jordan relied on ed. 1627 of the *Microcosmos* but the same

reading is found in the 1625 edition. I return to Heylyn in Chapter Eight.

170

Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World*…. (London, 1626), Book 6, Chapter 14, p. 723, note f (emphasis in original). This is the fourth edition, "much enlarged with additions." As far as I could tell, this statement does not appear in earlier editions of the work, the first of which is 1613. That explains why Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 149, relying on the second edition (1614) wrote in error, "Not once did Purchas mention Blackness" [*sic*].

171

The quotation is from the anonymous English translation published in 1913, *Comte De Gabalis by the Abbé N. de Montfaucon de Villars. Rendered Out of French into English with a Commentary* (New York and London, [1913]), p. 133. The original French reads: Un des enfans de Noë, rebelle au conseil de son pere, ne pût resister aux attraits de sa femme, non plus qu'Adam aux charmes de son Eve, mais comme le peché d'Adam avoit noirci toutes les ames de ses descendans, le peu de complaisance que Cham eut pour les Sylphes, marqua toute sa noire posterité. De là vient (disent nos Cabalistes) le tein horrible des Ethiopiens, & de tous ces peuples hideux à qui il est commandé d'habiter sous la Zone Torride, en punition de l'ardeur profane de leur Pere. *Comte de Gabalis* (Amsterdam, 1715), p. 91; first published in Paris, 1670.

172

"William Postel, least ignorant of all those who have studied the Cabala in ordinary books, was aware that Vesta was Noah's wife, but he did not know that Egeria was Vesta's daughter, and not having read the secret books of the ancient Cabala, a copy of which the Prince de Mirande bought so dearly, he confused things …" (*Comte De Gabalis … Rendered Out of French into English*, p. 131).

173

Pierre Bayle, *Dictionaire historique et critique* (Rotterdam, 1697), tome premier, seconde partie, p. 830, s.v. "Cham" ("C'est une opinion assez répandue, que Cham ne se contint point, & que sa femme devint mere de Chanaan dans l'Arche meme"). The *Dictionaire* was repeatedly published after 1697; in Amsterdam, 1740, the text is on 2:130–131. The translation is from the English edition, *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr. Peter Bayle, the Second Edition, Revised, Corrected, and Enlarged by Mr. Des Maizeaux* (London, 1734), where the text is found at 2:431; in the London, 1710 edition, at 2:939–940. On Canaan being the result of Ham's indiscretion, see below, note 57.

174
"The count *de Gabalis* must divert us here with a Fragment of his Comedy. He supposes, that, after the Deluge, Noah yielded his Wife Vesta to the Salamander Oromasis, Prince of the Fiery Substances, and persuaded his three Sons to yield their Wives also to the Princes of the three other Elements. He adds, that Cham proved rebellious to Noah's Counsel, and could not resist his Wife's Charms; but his want of Complaisance marked all his Posterity black; the horrible Complexion of the People, who inhabit the Torrid Zone, is the Punishment of the prophane Lust of the Father"; *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr. Peter Bayle*, 2:432.
175
"Unsere Rabbinen lehren: dreyerley haben in dem Kasten (Noahs ihre Weibelein) berühret/und seynd dieselbe alle geschlagen (oder gestraffet) worden; Der Hund/der Rab/und der Cham. Der Hund wird (an sein Weiblein) angebunden; der Rab speyet (den Saamen) aus/und der Cham ist an seiner Haut gestraffet worden: dieweil der schwartze Cus darvon hergekommen ist"; Johann Andreas Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*…. (Königsberg, 1711), 1:448, first published in 1700. Braude, "The Sons of Noah," p. 140, points out that the English abridgement of the work by John Peter Stehelin, *The Traditions of the Jews* …. (London, 1742–1748?), 1:105–106, curiously renders "Shem" in place of "Cham."
176
[C]um Judaeis non paucis argutetur Canaan in arca a Chamo genitum, et ex ipsis operibus tenebrarum in arca peractis Aethiopes Chami posteros nigredinem contraxisse; Caspar Calvör, *Gloria Mosis hoc est: illustria aliquot facta sub viro Dei Mose patrata*…. (Goslar, 1696), no. 19, p. 260. I was alerted to Calvör by Gene Rice's article "The Curse that Never Was (Genesis 9:18–27)," *The Journal of Religious Thought* 29 (1972) 24n99.
177
So too does Don Cameron Allen, *The Legend of Noah*, p. 77, say that according to Chrysostom Canaan was born on the ark as a result of Ham's sex sin; so also Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, pp. 29 and 30, apparently based on Allen. But Chrysostom does not say this, at least not in his *Homilies on Genesis*. He says, rather, that Ham engaged in sex on the ark and that Canaan was the result. He doesn't say where Canaan was born, although his birth in the ark is possible given the biblical calculations of the time spent in the ark (Genesis 7:10–8:16). As for Bayle, when he says that Ham's wife "became the Mother of Chanaan in

the very Ark," he only means that she conceived Canaan in the ark, an idea found in Jewish sources, the earliest of which that I know of are a *Yelamedenu* midrash published in Solomon A. and Abraham J. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1989), 1:149, and *Tanḥuma*, *Noa*ḥ 15 (Warsaw, 1879), p. 17b. The *Tanḥuma-Yelamedenu* collections constitute a literary genre which began probably in late Byzantine (5th-7th centuries) Israel; see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 390. Henoch Zundel b. Joseph's (d. 1867) note in his commentary *ʿAnaf Yosef* to *Tanḥuma* that the text is not original but an addition to *Tanḥuma* was written before the discovery of the *Yelamedenu* midrash. (Buber's comment in his edition of *Tanḥuma*, p. 49n226 is based on *ʿAnaf Yosef*.) Later biblical commentaries who cite the midrash that Canaan was conceived in the ark: Samuel b. Nissim Masnut (13th century), *Midrash bereʾshit zuṭaʾ*, ed. Mordekhai Hakohen (Jerusalem, 1962), p. 43 on Gen 9:25 and p. 41 on 9:22; Hezekiah ben Manoaḥ (13th century), *Ḥizequni: Commentary to the Pentateuch*, ed. C. B. Chavel (Jerusalem, 1981) on Gen 9.18, p. 46; Jacob Sikily (14th century), *Yalquṭ talmud torah*, ed. Elazar Hurvitz, *The Nature and Sources of Yalkut Talmud Torah by Rabbi Jacob Sikily* [in Hebrew] (PhD. diss., Yeshiva University, 1965), 2:182; cf. Samuel Yaffe Ashkenazi (16th century), *Yefeh toʾar* (Jerusalem, 1989; a reprint of Ferrara, 1692, which is based on Venice, 1597), p. 226a, s.v. *she-qavaʿ*. As with the note in *ʿAnaf Yosef*, so too we must revise Mirkin's note at the end of his edition of *Genesis rabba* concerning an unknown midrash as the source for *Ḥizequni*. The tradition that Canaan was conceived in the ark is found recorded in later works as well, e. g., Meir Leibush ben Yehiel Michal (Malbim, d. 1879), *Ha-torah weha-miṣwah* (Jeruslaem, 1956) on Gen 9:18, 1:27b. That Canaan was the result of illicit sex is also found in the writings of Joseph F. Smith, president of the Mormon church at the beginning of the 20th century, but it wasn't Ham who impregnated his wife and it wasn't in the ark: "Ham's wife was illegitimately pregnant 'by a man of her own race' when she went aboard the Ark, and that 'Cainan [*sic*] was the result of the illicit intercourse.'" See Lester Bush, "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine," p. 101n27. *Genesis rabba* does not state that Canaan was conceived in the ark, contra Ilaria Ramelli, "Ancient Jewish and Christian Exegeses of the 'Curse of Ham,'" in *It's Better to Hear the Rebuke of the Wise than the Song of Fools (Qoh 7:5): Proceedings of the Midrash Section, Society of Biblical Literature, Volume 6*, ed. W. David Nelson and Rivka Ulmer (Piscataway N.J., 2015), p. 18. As I said, the earliest Jewish source I know of to make this claim is the *Yelamedenu* midrash.

Georg Gerster, "River of Sorrow, River of Hope," *National Geographic* 148 (August, 1975) 174. There is an allusion to the ark story in John Herbert Nelson, *The Negro Character in American Literature* (College Park, Md., 1926), p. 8, quoted by Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 442n26.

179

See Excursus I below, p. 253n2.

180

For evidence of Jewish settlement in areas inhabited by the Tuareg, see Edith Bruder, *The Black Jews of Africa*, pp. 97–113, 133–142; John Hunwick, *Jews of a Saharan Oasis* (Princeton, 2006), pp. 1–3, 33–34, 67; and Tudor Parfitt, *Black Jews in Africa and the Americas* (Cambridge, Mass. 2013), pp. 136–137, 199n88. On Jewish settlement in West Africa, but along the coast of Senegal, beginning in the 17th century, see Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta, *The Forgotten Diaspora: Jewish Communities in West Africa and the Making of the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, U.K., 2011).

181

Brahe is discussed later, p. 160.

182

Ibn Masʿūd's quotation is found in a work by the Egyptian scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), as recorded by Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1627); translation from John Hunwick and Fatīma Harrak, *Miʿrāj al-Ṣuʿūd: Aḥmad Bābā's Replies on Slavery* (Rabat, 2000), pp. 30–31 (trans.), 60 (text), reprinted in *The African Diaspora in the Mediterranean Lands of Islam*, ed. John Hunwick and Eve Trout Powell (Princeton, 2002), pp. 39–40; parenthetical insertion is mine. An earlier translation was made by Bernard Barbour and Michelle Jacobs, "The Miʿraj: A Legal Treatise on Slavery by Ahmad Baba," in *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, ed. Willis, 1:132 (trans.), 149 (text). See also John Hunwick, "Islamic Law and Politics over Race and Slavery in North and West Africa (16th-19th Century)," in *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*, ed. Shaun E. Marmon (Princeton, 1999), p. 48, and Mahmoud Zouber, *Ahmad Bābā de Tombouctou (1556–1627): sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1977), pp. 140–141, where the story is also quoted. For critical editions of Suyūṭī and Aḥmād Bābā see Saud H. al-Kathlan, "A Critical Edition of *Rafʿshaʾn al-Ḥubshān* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī" (PhD., St. Andrew's University, 1983), and Mohamed Zaouit, *"Miʿrāğ aṣ-ṣuʿūd* et les *ʿAğwibaʾ*…" (PhD., University of Paris I, 1996), respectively.

183

ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAsākir (d. 1175), *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. ʿUmar ibn

Gharāma al-ʿAmrawī and ʿAlī Shīrī (Beirut, 1995–2001), 62:278; M. O. Klar, *Interpreting*, p. 153 (variant: Ibn Abī Lahīʿaʾ). Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bukhārī al-Makkī (16th century), *Al-Ṭirāz almanqūš fī maḥāsin al-ḥub*ūš, trans. Max Weisweiler, *Buntes Prachtgewant über die guten Eigenschaften der Abessinier* (Hannover, 1924), p. 35, quoting the grandfather of Ibn Abī Labiba (d. ?), and al-Dhahabī (d. 1348 or 1352/3). On Ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī and the *Ṭirāz* see Muḥammad, "Image of Africans," pp. 60–62.

184

Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93), 1:636; R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes* (Leiden/Paris, 1927), 1:319.

185

Wahb is recorded by Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 1175): "Ham looked at Noah's genitals and Noah cursed Ham by saying, 'May God change your semen so that you sire only blacks [*sūdān*]'"; *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 62:270, quoted in Klar, *Interpreting*, p. 173, who notes that the words attributed to Wahb are found a second time in Ibn ʿAsākir quoting "an unascertained source" (p. 278). ʿAllāma Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* (Beirut, 1983), 6:303, as quoted in Emeri J. van Donzel and Andrea Barbara Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Eastern Christian and Islamic Sources*: (Leiden, 2009), p. 70.

186

Quoting Abū Isḥaq Nishābūrī (11th century). *Al-Rabghūzī, The Stories of the Prophets: Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ, an Eastern Turkish Version*, trans. H. E. Boeschoten, J. O'Kane, M. Vandamme (Leiden, 1995), 2:67. I've substituted the original "Zanj" for the translators "Negroes." On the author and his dates, 1:xvii.

187

H. A. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan* (Cambridge, U.K., 1922), 2:22. The manuscript was "written, or more probably copied, by el Sharīf el Ṭāhir ibn ʿAbdulla early in the sixteenth century" (p. 16). On Quran see below, p. 173.

188

Published in translation by Zotenberg, *Chronique*, 1:115. There seems to be some confusion in the text, which tells that Noah cursed both Ham and Japhet, since they both laughed at Noah, but only Ham was punished, and then Balʿamī concludes by returning to Ham and Japhet. Cf. Majlisī (above, note 4) who reports that in addition to Ham being punished with a change of skin color and producing only black children, Japhet was also punished and produced the Turks, Slavs, Gog and Magog, and the Chinese, but he doesn't say what was

Japhet's color. Georges Vajda (*EI*2, s.v. Ḥām) believes that the inclusion of Japhet in the curse is due to the fact that Balʿamī, an Iranian, "did not favour 'the Turks, the Slavs, Gog and Magog,' reputed to be descended from [Japhet]."

189

The Arabian Nights: Tales of 1001 Nights, translated by Malcolm C. Lyons with Ursula Lyons, introduced and annotated by Robert Irwin (London, 2010), 2:87. The earliest version, a 14th-century manuscript considered definitive, was published by Muhsin Mahdi, *Kitāb Alf laylah wa-laylah* (Leiden, 1984), and translated into English by Husain Haddawy, *The Arabian Nights* (New York, 1990). As Braude, "Cham et Noè," p. 123n57, pointed out, the story of Ham's curse is absent in this edition. The story is also found in the folk epic *The Adventures of Sayf ben Dhi Yazan: an Arab Folk Epic*, trans. Lena Jayyusi; introduction Harry Norris (Bloomington, Ind., 1996), p. 9; see M. C. Lyons, *The Arabian Epic: Heroic and Oral Storytelling* (Cambridge, U.K.), 3:586. For a history of the development of the Arabic text of the *Thousand and One Nights* and English translations, see Eva Sallis, *Sheherazade through the Looking Glass: The Metamorphosis of the* Thousand and One Nights (Richmond, U.K., 1999), pp. 18–64.

190

Below, p. 90, although Ṭabarī says that Noah prayed that kings would be among the descendants of Japheth.

191

See below, p. 93.

192

Ibn Khalaf al-Nīshāpūrī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*ʾ, ed. Ḥabīb Yaghmāʾī (Persian Texts Series, no.6; Teheran, 1961), p. 39: "They say that he [Noah] sent Ham to the regions of Hindustan because he was black. That was because one day, seeing his father's nakedness exposed, he laughed; the Exalted King blackened his face." I am indebted to Vera Moreen for the English translation. Abuʾl-Faraj ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzī, *Tanwīr al-ghabaš fī faḍl al-sūdān waʾl-ḥabaš*, trans. Muḥammad, "Image of Africans," p. 56. There are no significant differences at this point in another English translation, based on a different manuscript; see E. van Donzel, "Ibn al-Jawzi on Ethiopians in Baghdad," in *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Charles Issawi, Roger Savory, and A. L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1989), p. 114. For a bibliography on Ibn al-Jawzī's *Tanwīr*, see Hunwick and Harrak, *Miʿrāj al-Ṣuʿūd*, p. 31n54. Ibn al-Jawzi is also quoted by al-Bukhārī al-Makkī, *Al-Ṭirāz al-manqūš fī maḥāsin al-*

*ḥub*ūš, trans. Max Weisweiler, *Buntes Prachtgewant*, pp. 34–35, who held the tradition to be "unproven and incorrect." ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233), *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, ed. ʻUmar Tadmurī (Beirut, 1997), 1:62, cited in Klar, *Interpreting*, p. 153. Al-Dimashqī is in his *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed., Mehren, p. 266; trans., Mehren, *Manuel de la cosmographie*, p. 385; excerpted in Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, p. 212

193

Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Fakhr al-sūdān ʿala al-bidan* (The Boasts of the Blacks over the Whites), ed. G. van Vloten in *Tria opuscula auctore* (Leiden, 1903), pp. 81–82; re-edited by ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn in *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ* (Cairo, 1964), 1: 219–220; and by T. Khalidi in *The Islamic Quarterly* 25 (1981) with translation on pp. 23–24. Oskar Rescher translates the last line as "Veränderung und Strafe, Verunstaltung und (Bevorzugung bezw.) Benachteiligung" in *Orientalische Miszellen* (Istanbul, 1926), 2:180–181. The English translation used here is that of Bernard Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* (New York, 1974), 2:215–216, following Rescher's emendation of *asrar* to *aswad*. Another English translation was made by D. M. Hawke from Charles Pellat's French version of selected texts, *The Life and Works of Jāḥiẓ* (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 196–197. Isma'il al-Beily would seem to be reading into the text when he translates *maskhun* as 'curse' in the last sentence in our passage (*walaysa dhalika min qabli maskhin wa-lā ʿuqūbatin, wa-lā tashwīhin wa-lā taqṣīrin*), since *maskhun* means 'distortion', 'deformity', 'disfigurement'. See ʿUthmān Sayyid-Ahmad Ismaʾil al-Beily, "'As-Sudan' and 'Bilad as-Sudan' in Early and Medieval Arabic Writing," *Majallat Jāmiʿat al-Qāahirah bi-al-Kharṭūm* [*Bulletin of Cairo University in Khartoum*] 3 (1972) 39. On al-Jāḥiẓ, see Charles Pellat in *EI*2, s.v. Djāḥiẓ. On the environmental theory see above, p. 29.

194

G. B. H. Wightman and A. Y. al-Udhari, eds. and trans., *Birds through a Ceiling of Alabaster: Three Abbasid Poets* (Hamondsworth, 1975), p. 116.

195

See above, p. 47n12. I've replaced Hilliard's "Sudanese" with Sūdān because the modern connotations of the term Sudanese may mislead.

196

H. T. Norris, "Fables and Legends in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Times" in *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, ed. A. F. L. Beeston et al., Cambridge, U.K., 1983, p. 384. On

Kaʿb see Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*, pp. 89–95, and the literature cited in Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 8nn45–46. Dealing with a different story reported by Kaʿb and said to have derived from Judaism, D. J. Halperin and G. D. Newby argue that absent confirming evidence that such stories are or were found in Jewish lore, it is possible that they represent internal Islamic developments, which were "at some point repudiated, denounced as 'Judaism,' and put in the mouth of the famed Jewish scholar Kaʿb"; Halperin and Newby, "Two Castrated Bulls: A Study in the Haggadah of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 (1982) 633.

197

Al-Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*ʾ, ed. Isaac Eisenberg, *Vita prophetarum auctore Muḥammed ben ʿAbdallāh al-Kisaʾi* (Leiden, 1923), p. 101; translation is that of Thackston, *Tales of the Prophets*, p. 107, except for "Zanj" and "Barbar," where Thackston has "Negroes" and "Berbers" respectively." The unvocalized *brbr* may refer to the Berbers of North Africa or the Barbar of sub-Saharan East Africa. For my preference for the latter possibility, see Goldenberg, "Geographia Rabbinica" and "Scythian-Barbarian." Aviva Schussman has recently translated Kisāʾī's work into Hebrew: *Sipurei ha-neviʾim meʾet Muḥammad ben ʿAbd Allah al-Kisaʾi* (Tel Aviv, 2013). She renders the Arabic *brbr* in unvocalized Hebrew as *brbr*, Zanj as "Ethiopians," and for Thackston's "she gave birth to her brother's children, a black boy and girl" she has: "she gave birth to her brother a black male slave and a black female slave" (*yalda le-ʾaḥiha ʿebed we-shifḥa sheḥorim*; p. 162). While the Arabic text has *ghulāmā wa-jarīah*, which could be translated as 'a male slave and a female slave,' it could also be translated simply as 'a boy and girl,' as Thackston has done. It is clear that his translation is correct by comparing it with the phrase a few lines above in Kisāʾī's text: "she conceived a black boy and girl," where the Arabic (*dhakrā waʾunthā*) can only mean 'boy and girl' (although here too Schussman has "a male slave and a female slave," no doubt influenced by her later translation of *ghulāmā wa-jarīah*). See below, p. 90–91n14, on Braude's translation of Ibn Hishām. Suggestions for Kisāʾī's dates range from the 8th to the 11th century; see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, 278n80. On Kisāʾī, see further Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*, pp. 151–155. The first part of the passage (the blackening of Ham's children on account of Noah's curse of slavery) is found with some variation in Mīr Khvānd (Mirkhond), *The Rauzat-us-safa or, Garden of Purity* …, 1.1:86.

198

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allah b. Muslim ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-maʿārif*, ed.

Tharwat ʿUkāsha (Cairo, 1960), p. 26; ed. F. Wüstenfeld, *Ibn Coteibas Handbuch der Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1850), p. 14; translation is that of Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, p. 15 (with my bracketed insertions), who note a variant Qarān/Qurān, and that Qazān should probably be read Fazzān/Fezzān; see Hunwick and Powell, *African Diaspora*, p. 37. The passage is also excerpted in Joseph M. Cuoq, *Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique occidentale du vii*e *au xvi*e *siècle (bilād al-Sūdān)* (Paris, 1975), p. 41, who prefers Qarān (or Qarʿān). On the Barbar, see the previous note. The passage is excerpted also in Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* (Oxford, 1990), p. 124, and *Islam*, 2:210, who, like Cuoq, translates Qibṭ as Copt; Levtzion and Hopkins prefer to leave the word untranslated.

199

Edward Westermark, *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco: A Study of Native Proverbs* (London, 1930), p. 131, no. 476.

200

In Jewish tradition, the Egyptians, desendants of Ham (Genesis 10:6), were considered to be dark-skinned; see below, p168n1, for sources. Muslim traditions vary: Ham was the ancestor of the blacks (*al-sūdān*); or the Copts (Egyptians), the blacks (*al-sūdān*), and the *barbar*; or "all who are black (*aswad*) and curly-haired; or, via Kush, Ḥabasha (Abbysinians), the Hind and Sind; or, via Canaan, Nubians, Fezzan, Zanj, Zaghawa, and "all the blacks (*al-sūdān*)"; see Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, 1.211–223, trans. Brinner, pp. 11–21, and the Muslim sources quoted above in this chapter. On the identification and location of these peoples, see below p. 173n10. The reference to Wahb in Ṭabarī, p. 223 found in *EI*2, s.v. Kūsh, should be corrected to p. 211.

201
See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 141–156. The argument against my claim of a false etymology made by Nicholas Oyugi Odhiambo, "Ham's Sin and Noah's Curse: A Critique of Current Views," p. 122n32, is confused (my claim does not involve the "non-distinction between a ה and a ח," and Odhiambo misread Blau and Wevers). The 2nd-century BCE Eupolemus writes that "Chum, whom the Greeks called Asbolus, [is] the father of the Ethiopians and the brother of Mestraeim, the father of the Egyptians." As I discuss in the next chapter, scholars debate whether Eupolemus's "Chum" is to be identified as Cham/Ham or as Kush. If we understand Chum to be Ham, it may be argued that we have an early witness to understanding the etymology of Ham from 'black, dark,' since Chum is glossed as *asbolos*, which means 'soot' in Greek. The choice of the name Asbolos, however, may derive rather from the fact that Chum is "the father of the Ethiopians and the brother of Mestraeim, the father of the Egyptians."
202
Ḥammama, 'to become black, become charcoal'; *aḥamm*, 'black,' 'to blacken'; *ḥumamu*, 'charcoal,' See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 148, and add *jayšu ḥām* 'night' (lit. 'army of Ham'); Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:678. Although the name Ham was originally written with a different initial letter (*ḫ*) than the words for 'black' or 'hot,' which begin with ḥ, the name is spelled in Arabic texts, as it is in Hebrew and Syriac texts, with an initial ḥ just as are the words for 'black,' and 'hot,' although Arabic retained the phoneme *ḫ*, undoubtedly because the Ham stories were taken over in Islam from Jewish (or Syriac Christian) sources.
203
According to Gernot Rotter, the Arabic term appears quite often as a synonym for black Africans during the first three Islamic centuries (*Stellung des Negers*, p. 141). In Jewish texts the term appears at least as early as the 10th, and possibly the 7th century, the probable date for the Targum to Qohelet (Ecclesiastes), where it is found in an expansion to 2:7. For its use in Benjamin of Tudela, see below p. 114. In Genesis 10:6 the term *bnei ḥam* occurs in reference to *all* the sons of Ham (*The sons of Ham were Kush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan*), and in Psalms (78:51, 105:23, 27, 106:22) 'Ham' and 'the land of Ham' designate Egypt.
204
Similarly, another rabbinic etiology of black skin, in which Noah tells Ham, "You prevented me from doing that which is done in the dark [the sexual act], therefore may you be dark/black (*mefuḥam*)" (*Genesis rabba* 36.7, ed. Theodor-

Albeck, p. 341), contains no mention of slavery, and has no resonance in the later development of the Curse of Ham. I have dealt with this text in Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 105, 296n80, 316n101, and see my review of Abraham Melamed's problematic book, *The Image of the Black in Jewish Culture: A History of the Other* (London, 2003) in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* 93 (2003) 565.

205

See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 157–167. I mention there also three Muslim sources (Ṭabarī, Masʿūdī, and Dimashqī) claiming that Ham was the one cursed with slavery, but I was in error in including Dimashqī, for he is speaking of black skin, not slavery. To the Christian sources I list, add also Georgius Syncellus (d. after 810) (William Adler and Paul Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, Oxford, 2002, p. 71), and Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129) in CCCM 21:323–327 cited by Stacy Davis, *Strange Story*, p. 85. Davis (pp. 115, 124, 125, 136, 189n36, 190n50, 191n67) and Whitford, *Curse of Ham* (pp. 77–104, 132, 141–150, 160) list many others. Jan M. van der Linde, *Over Noach met zijn zonen: De Cham-ideologie en de leugens tegen Cham tot vandaag* (Leiden, 1993), p. 16, writes that according to the Christian Lactantius (d. ca. 325) it was Ham who was cursed with slavery but it is not clear to me if Lactantius meant Ham or Canaan. Lactantius: "When their father [Noah] recognized what they had done, he disinherited [*abdicavit*] his son [Ham] and banished him. He [Ham] fled, and settled in the part of the earth now called Arabia; it is called Canaan from his name, and its people Canaanites. These were the first people not to know God, because their leader and founder, after the curse upon him, did not follow his father in the worship of God…."; Anthony Bown and Peter Garnsy, *Lactantius: Divine Institutes* (Liverpool, 2003), 2.13.5–6, p. 158; SC 337, pp. 182–183, with slight modification to offer a more literal translation.

206

Su-Min Ri, *La Caverne des trésors: les deux recensions syriaques*, CSCO 486–487, Scriptores Syri 207–208 (Louvain, 1987), 21.16, pp. 62–63 (translation), 162–163 (text); an older translation is E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* (London, 1927), pp. 120–121. Ri takes *musraye* to be the adjective *musraya* 'abominable, odious' (R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2:2044, via the Greek μυσαρός). A new English translation by Alexander Toepel in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, ed. Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov (Grand Rapids, 2013), 1:555–556, based on a manuscript that merged the Western and Eastern versions

of the work, has: “They are the Cushites, Indians, and (other) abominable ones.” The dating of the work follows Ri (pp. xxii-xxiii). Alexander Toepel, *Die Adam- und Sethlegenden im syrischen* Buch der Schatzhöhle, CSCO 618, subsidia 119 (Louvain, 2006), pp. 4–7, and *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, p. 535, gives a late 6th or early 7th century date, and Clemens Leonhard thinks of a 5th- or 6th-century date of composition: “Observations on the Date of the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*,” in *The World of the Aramaeans*, ed. P. M. Michèle Daviau et al. (Sheffield, 2001), 1:255–93. Toepel, in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* discusses the dating of the work’s sources; see also Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 171–174. The most recent study of the work and its dating is a dissertation by Sergey Minov, *Syriac Christian Identity in Late Sasanian Mesopotamia:The Cave of Treasures in Context* (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2013), who dates the work between the mid-6th and beginning of the 7th century. John C. Reeves is working on a new translation and commentary of the *Cave of Treasures* but as far as I know it hasn’t yet appeared. I was not able to examine the study by Jakob Bamberger, *Die Literatur der Adambuecher und die haggadischen Elemente in der syrischen Schatzhoehle* (Aschaffenburg, 1901). It is cited by Gary Anderson but according to WorldCat (OCLC), an international library catalogue, the ony library that has a copy of this book is Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

207

Kitāb al-magāll, published with Italian translation by Antonio Battista and Bellarmino Bagatti, *La caverna dei tesori* (Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 29–30 of the Arabic text, 61 of the Italian, where *kūšīn* is translated ‘Abyssinians.’ In *Curse of Ham*, p. 173, I presented Margaret Dunlop Gibson’s translation in *Apocrypha Arabica* (London, 1901), “Let him [i. e., Ham] and Canaan be cursed, and let him be a slave to his brothers.” This translation was based on the Arabic manuscript she used (MS Sinai 508), which reads *wa-kanaʿān* ‘and Canaan’ but MS Vatican 165 used by Carl Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 107, does not have the conjunction ‘and’ before ‘Canaan,’ in which case the sentence would then be translated “Let Canaan be cursed.” The conjunction is clearly an addition as can be seen from the singular form of ‘slave’ (*ʿabd*), and was apparently inserted to include Ham in the curse since it was he who sinned. Battista and Bagatti, whose translation was also based on MS Sinai seem to have agreed, for they silently translated the text without the conjunction as “Sia maledetto Kanaan.” For the dating of the Arabic version of the *Cave* (around 750), see Gary Anderson, “Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden?

Reflections on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Garden of Eden,*" Harvard Theological Review* 82 (1989) 147n62; see also Su-Min Ri, *La Caverne des trésors*, p. xv.

208

Sylvain Grébaut, "Littérature Éthiopienne Pseudo-Clementine,*" Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 17 (1912) 22. Not earlier than 750, "most likely it came into being during the the thirteenth to fourteenth century CE" (Toepel, in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, p. 533).

209

Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed., Eugen Mittwoch, *Biographie Mohammeds bis zur Flucht*, vol. 1/I in *Muhammed ibn Saad, Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams* (*Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*), ed., Eduard Sachau (Leiden, 1905), p. 19; translation, S. Moinul Haq and H. K. Ghanzafar, *Ibn Saʿd's Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Kabir* (Karachi, 1967), 1:33.

210

Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, 1:18, 319, 323; trans., William M. Brinner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī* (Albany, 1987), 2:18, 105, 109.

211

Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawhar*, ed. A. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1865), 3:1–2, 240; rev. ed., Charles Pellat, *Les Praires d'or* (Beirut, 1971), 2:321, 418n1 (Masʿūdī also refers to Kush as the great-grandfather of Canaan). English translation, Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, p. 31; excerpted in Cuoq, *Recueil des sources arabes*, p. 59. Quoted by Ibn Khaldun; see *Corpus*, p. 332, and Cuoq, p. 339. On Masʿūdī, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, pp. 44 ff, 122 ff.

212

Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād wa-ʾakhbār al-ʿibād*, p. 22; ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, 2:14, cited by Ernst Dammann, *Beiträge aus arabischen Quellen zur Kenntnis des negerischen Afrika* (PhD. diss., Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, Bordesholm, 1929), pp. 9–10.

213

Al-Rabghūzī, Stories of the Prophets, 2:93. Note the spelling of Qainān with *qāf*.

214

Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿibar wa-dīwān al-mubtadaʾ wa-ʾl-khabar fī ayyām al-ʿarab wa-l-ʿajam wa-ʾl-barbar* (Cairo, 1867), 6:198; Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, p. 332.

215

Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Faḍl Allah al-ʿOmarī: Masālik el abṣār fi mamālik el amṣār* (Paris, 1927), Excursus I, p. 85; English translation in Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, p. 353 (and see p. 128n5); excerpted in Cuoq, *Recueil des sources arabes*, p. 381. See also H. A. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, 1:31, who cites another reference in Maqrīzī where he quotes Hamdānī (d. 945) who includes the Quraʾān, Nūba, Zanj, and Zaghawa among the descendants of Canaan.

216

Al-Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*ʾ, ed. Isaac Eisenberg, pp. 121–122; Thackston, *Tales of the Prophets*, p. 129; Schussman, *Sipurei ha-neviʾim*, p. 183.

217

Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, 1:254; Brinner, *History of al-Ṭabar*ī, 2:50.

218

Al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed., Mehren, p. 266; trans., Mehren, *Manuel de la cosmographie*, p. 385. See also the quote from Hamdānī in H. A. MacMichael, *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofán* (Cambridge, U.K., 1912), p. 112n7, but the article by Cameron referred to by Mac-Michael does not contain the quote.

219

The description of Nimrod is in al-Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*ʾ, ed. Isaac Eisenberg, p. 123 (trans., Thackston, *Tales of the Prophets*, p. 130); Schussman, *Sipurei ha-neviʾim*, p. 185. Nimrod as the son of Canaan is also in: Ibn Ḥawqal (10th century) in his *Kitāb ṣurat al-ar*ḍ, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden, 1938–39, p. 245; trans. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet, *Configuration de la terre (Kitab surat alard)*, Paris, 1964, p. 237; al-Bayḍāwī (13th century), *Commentarius in Coranum*, ed. H. O. Fleischer (Leipzig, 1846–48), 1:513; and al-Bukhārī al-Makkī (16th century), *Al-Ṭirāz al-manqūš fī maḥāsin al-ḥub*ūš, trans. Max Weisweiler, *Buntes Prachtgewant*, p. 34. For a later iteration of the Nimrod-Canaan relationship, see below, Excursus III, p. 263n11.

220

In Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, 1:212 (Brinner, *History of al-Ṭabar*ī, 2:11), and Ibn Qutayba, above at p. 73n17. See also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, *The History of the Conquest of Egypt*, p. 8 (Sūdān and Ḥabasha); Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Houtsma, *Ibn Wādhih qui dicitur al-Jaʿqubī Historiae*, 1:13, trans., Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, p. 20 (Nūba, Zanj, Ḥabasha); Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-badʾ waʾl-taʾrīkh*, ed. and trans., Clement Huart (Paris, 1903), 3:27–29 (Sūdān, Nūba); and the *Book of the Zanj*, ed. Enrico

Cerulli, *Somalia* 1 (Rome, 1957), p. 234, trans. p. 254 (Nūba, Ḥabasha, Zanj). On the *Book of the Zanj*, see below, p. 93n23. On Yaʿqūbī, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, pp. 117–120. For variants of Fezzān, see above on Ibn Qutayba, p. 73n17. See also below, p. 173n10, for the location of some of the names mentioned here.

221

See p. 79n7, above. He also mentions the Nūba, Zanj and Zaghāwa.

222

Akhbār al-zamān wa-man bādahu ʾl-ḥidthān wa-ʿajāib al-buldān wa-ʾl-ghāmir bi-ʾl-māʾ waʾlʿumrān, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣāwī (Beirut, 1966), p. 86; trans., B. Carra de Vaux, *L'Abrègè des merveilles* (Paris, 1898, 1984), pp. 99–101; ed. 1984, pp. 105–107. English translation partly in Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, pp. 34–35. On the dating and authorship of the work, see below p. 90n12.

223

This contradiction between the Bible and the Muslim sources, incidentally, was noted by the French Orientalist Barthélemy d'Herbelot (d. 1695) in his *Bibliothèque orientale* (see below, p. 134n29), p. 409, s.v. Habasch.

224

Text and translation in Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (Chico, Calif., 1983), 1:174–175; translation also by Robert Doran in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y., 1983), 2:881. See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 171–172 for discussion. Some think that the second Belus is a dittographic error, in which case the genealogy would be Belus > Canaan > Chum instead of Belus > Belus > Canaan > Chum; see Holladay's note 32 on p. 186. Scholars differ on the identity of Eupolemus, some thinking it refers to the Jewish-Hellenistic historian of that name, and some believing it refers to an unknown Samaritan whom they refer to as Pseudo-Eupolemus. In either case, the 2nd-century BCE dating would apply.

225

For partial parallels in Greek genealogies, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, ibid. Philipp K. Buttmann, *Mythologus; oder, Gesammelte Abhandlungen über die Sagen des Alterthums* (Berlin, 1828–29), 1:233, based on Hecataeus of Abdera, the historian and philosopher of the 4th century BCE (as quoted by Choiroboskos, the Greek grammarian of, probably, the end of the 6th century CE), has suggested an identification of Greek Agenor with Canaan. Harold Attridge and Robert Oden in their edition of Philo of Byblos, *The Phoenician History* / *Philo of Byblos* (Washington, 1981), p. 93, give the impression that

Carl Clemen, *Die phönikische religion nach Philo von Byblos* (p. 13) in Mitteilungen der Vorderasiarisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft 42.3 (Leipzig, 1939) considers *ʾgr* to be "the eponymous hero of Ugarit." In fact, however, Clemen cites Eissfeldt for the statement and, as Clemen says, Eissfeldt admitted that it was only a conjecture. Cf. Baal's messenger god *gpn wʾugr* (read as *gapnu waʾugaru*), CAT 1.3.iii.36 in Mark Smith and Wayne Pitard, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, *Volume II* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 196, 204, and see 730. Presumably based on an incorrect reading of the ancient genealogies, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (d. 1247), archbishop of Toledo, wrote that Belus descended from Cham rather than the reverse as in the full text of Pseudo-Eupolemus; see *Breviarium historie catholice (I-V)*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde, CCCM 72 A, 1.25, p. 50.

226

In "It is Permitted to Marry a Kushite," *AJS Review* 37 (2013) 29–49, I argued that a few Jewish texts deriving from, and influenced by, the Muslim environment also reflect this genealogical relationship. There are references to a genealogical relationship between blacks and Canaan in later Christian and Jewish texts authored in the West but they do not derive from the Muslim tradition we have examined. In Excursus III, I examine these sources and show that they are due to several other factors, including, often, a belief in the dual curse of blackness and slavery on Canaan. In other words, they did not contribute to the development of the Curse of Ham but derived from it.

227

Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 250. On the lack of direct knowledge of the Bible among Muslims, and the oral transmission of biblical stories indirectly through *isrāʾīliyyāt*, see above, p. 50n17, below, p. 103n58, Adang, pp. 1–22, Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 111–129, and most recently, Ronny Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 40–52, Sidney Griffith, "When Did the Bible Become an Arabic Scripture?" in *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1 (2013) 7–23, and *The Bible in Arabic* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 97–126. For literature on the question of Arabic translations of the Bible at this time, see Uriel Simonsohn, "The Biblical Narrative in the Annales of Saʿīd ibn Baṭriq and the Question of Medieval Byzantine-Orthodox Identity," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 22 (2011) 50n13; Yehuda Ratzaby, "Miqraʾot, midrashoth, we-agadot," pp. 301–319; and Vollandt, *Arabic Versions*. Irfan Shahīd, "Islam and *Oriens Christianus*: Makka 610–622," in *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam*, ed. E. Grypeou, M. Swanson, D. Thomas

(Leiden, 2006), p. 11n7, argues for an Ethiopic translation of the Bible in Mecca in the first quarter of the 7th century. On *taḥrīf*, see Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, pp. 19–35, and her entry in *EI*2, s.v. *taḥrīf*. All this is not to say that some early Muslim writers did not quote from, or refer to, the Bible (*al-tawrāt*). See, e. g., the quotations from Ibn Qutayba below (p. 103n58), Ibn Khaldūn (p. 91n17), and, Vollandt, *Arabic Versions*, pp. 90–108. For the question of the permissibility of reading the Bible in Islam, see Kister, "Ḥaddithū ʿan banī isrāʾīla."

228

Robert Collins, "Slavery in the Sudan in History," *Slavery and Abolition* 20.3 (1999) 69. The 4th dynasty royal annals record 7,000 Nubians captured; see Lanny Bell, *Interpreters and Egyptianized Nubians in Ancient Egyptian Foreign Policy: Aspects of the History of Egypt and Nubia* (PhD. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1976), pp. 71 and 186n1002 (6th dynasty). See also Donald Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh* (Baltimore, 2004), pp. 20, 22, 39–40. David Silverman, ed., *Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1997), p. 41, records a 4th-dynasty graffito mentioning 17,000 Nubians captured and brought to Egypt.

229

Ernest Zyhlarz, "The Countries of the Ethiopian Empire of Kash (Kush) and Egyptian Old Ethiopian in the New Kingdom," *Kush* 6 (1958) 36. See also Jean Vercoutter in *Image of the Black in Western Art*, ed. Bugner, 1:63.

230

Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts* (Hildesheim, 2007), p. 40*.

231

Bruce Trigger, *Nubia under the Pharaohs* (London, 1976), p. 113.

232

See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 131–135. In addition to the evidence adduced there, note that the 6th-century Cosmas Indicopleustes speaks of merchants who take slaves from the tribes of the Sasu and Barbaria at the extreme end of Ethiopia; *Topographie chretienne*, ed. Wanda Wolska-Conus, 2.64, SC 141:378–379; *The Christian Topography*, trans. and ed., J. W. McCrindle (New York, 1897), p. 67. For the black slaves depicted on several 6th-5th century BCE Athenian vases, see Wulf Raeck, *Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr*. (Bonn, 1981), pp. 179–182.

233

See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 132 and Y. Talib based on a contribution by F. Samir, "The African Diaspora in Asia," in *General History of Africa*, ed. M. El

Fasi and I. Hrbek (Berkeley, 1988), 3:731–732.

234

See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 132. Talib – Samir, "The African Diaspora in Asia," 3:712: "The *Zandj* … since pre-Islamic times had been brought as slaves to Arabia, Persia and Mesopotamia;" see also pp. 714–715. See also Timothy Power, *The Red Sea from Byzantium to the Caliphate AD 500–1000* (Cairo, 2012), p. 95 (mostly as private militias in the Hijaz).

235

André Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World* (Leiden, 1991), 1:31: "The Arab slave trade from East Africa was probably a fairly constant phenomenon, of increasing scale, between 100 and 1498 A.D." Referring to Herodotus's reports of the Garamantes, a Berber people who were the probable ancestors of the Tuareg of the western and central Saharan desert, hunting down the "Ethiopian" cave-dwellers, John Wright notes that the white Garamantes' hunt of the black Ethiopians, presumably to acquire slaves, had probably been going on "long before Herodotus wrote"; John Wright, *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade* (London, 2007), p. 13.

236

David J. Mattingly, *Tripolitana* (Ann Arbor, 1994), p. 156.

237

F. Løkkegaard in *EI*2, 1:966, s.v. *baqṭ*, and see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, 132. D. T. Niane gives a total of 442 annually: "Relationships and Exchanges among the Different Regions," in *General History of Africa*, ed. D. T. Niane (Berkeley, 1984), 4:619. On the nature of the pact, see Jay Spaulding, "Precolonial Islam in the Eastern Sudan," in *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and Randall Pouwels (Athens, Ohio, 2000), p. 117, who writes that this pact was not a tribute paid to the conquerors by the conquered. On the contrary, the Nubians were the victors in this case, and the delivery of the slaves was part of a larger two-way diplomatic trade agreement.

238

See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 131–132, William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery* (London, 2006), p. 32, and Power, *The Red Sea*, p. 135.

239

A. Sanda, *Oposcula Monophysitica Johannes Philoponi* (Beirut, 1930), pp. 29, 55 (Syriac text), and 66, 96 (Sanda's Latin translation). In the first quotation Philoponus actually has "Indian" and not "Ethiopian", reflecting the

Ethiopian/Indian interchange of antiquity (on which, see the literature cited in Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 211, Excursus II), which Sanda translates "Ethiopian."

240

See Goldenberg, "Scythian-Barbarian."

241

David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, p. 33.

242

For Greece and Rome, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 134, and note Starks's translation of an epigram in the Anthologia Latina *verna niger*, "a black man born to be a slave." John H. Starks, "Was Black Beautiful in Vandal Africa?" in *African Athena: New Agendas*, ed. D. Orrells, G. K. Bhambra, T. Roynon (Oxford, 2011), p. 246.

243

Translation from Bernard Lewis, "The Crows of the Arabs," in *"Race," Writing and Difference*, ed. Henry Louis Gates (Chicago, 1986), p. 113. Lewis's chapter originally appeared in *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985) 88–97.

244

Rotter, *Stellung des Negers*, pp. 25–26. In particular he refers to: several pre-Islamic Arabic poets known as the "crows of the Arabs," whose mothers were black slaves (on these poets, especially ʿAntara, see Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, pp. 24–25); the report of Ibn Saʿd (d. 845) that of nineteen slaves or freed slaves belonging to Muḥammad, six were black or part black; and a listing of freed slaves who participated in the Battle of Badr in 624, of whom one-third were blacks. On relations between Arabs and Africans in pre-Islamic Arabia, see also Helmi Sharawi, "The African in Arab Culture: Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion," in *Imagining the Arab Other: How Arabs and Non-Arabs View Each Other*, ed. Tahar Labib (London, 2008), pp. 97–100, and John Hunwick, "Medieval and Later Arab Views of Blacks," a paper given at the conference Collective Degradation: Slavery and the Construction of Race at the Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition, November 7–8, 2003, Yale University ("Arab Views of Black Africans and Slaves," http://www.yale.edu/glc/events/race/Hunwick.pdf), who writes, "The Arabs had black Africans living among them from before the days of Islam—mainly, it would appear as slaves" (p. 4).

245

Genesis rabba 86.3 (ed. Theodor-Albeck, p.1055). Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*,

pp. 118–122.

246

An enigmatic passage in the writings of the church father Origen (d. ca. 253) may convey the impression that he subscribed to a Curse of Ham, but that interpretation would be incorrect; see below, Excursus V.

247

La Caverne des trésors: version Géorgienne, ed. Ciala Kourcikidzé, trans. Jean-Pierre Mahé, CSCO 526–527, Scriptores Iberici 23–24 (Louvain, 1992–93), ch. 21, pp. 54–55 (text), 38–39 (translation). The Georgian is based on a no-longer extant Arabic redaction of the original Syriac (Mahé, pp. xxv-xxvi). The 8th-century dating ("perhaps") is given by Toepel, in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, p. 533; Kourcikidzé (p. vi) considers a dating of between the 9th-10th centuries. 2 *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*. Genèse, p. 139 (above, p. 48n14).

248

"The curse of Noah affected the posterity of Canaan who were killed by Joshua son of Nun. At the moment of the curse, Canaan's body became black (*aswad*) and the blackness spread out among them"; Abū l-Faraj ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Commentaire sur la Genèse*, ed. and trans., Joannes C. J. Sanders. CSCO 274–275, Scriptores Arabici 24–25 (Louvain, 1967), 1:56 (text), 2:52–53 (translation).

249

The comment appears in a catena of patristic explanations and exegeses to the Pentateuch: "Mar Ephrem the Syrian said: 'When Noah awoke and was told what Canaan did … Noah said, "Cursed be Canaan and may God make his face black (*sawwada allāhu wajhahu*)," and immediately the face of Canaan changed; so did the face of his father Ham, and their white faces became black and dark (*wa-ʿāda bayāḍ wajhuhumā sawādan wa-qatamatan*) and their color changed.'" See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 99–100 for the Ephrem quote and discussion of its authenticity. In addition, note that Ignatius Ortiz de Urbina lists the Ephrem citations in the catena under "opera dubia" (*Patrologia Syriaca*, Rome, 1965, p. 74). The corrections noted by Harold Sidney Davidson, *De Lagarde's Ausgabe der arabischen Übersetzung der Genesis (Cod. Leid. Arab. 230) nachgeprüft* (Leipzig, 1919), p. 17, do not alter the sense of the passage.

250

Martin Sprengling and William C. Graham, *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 40–41, to Genesis 9:22.

251
Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 137, indicates that Josiah ben Joseph Pinto of Damascus cited the Curse of Ham in his work *Kesef Mezuqaq* (1628) as an explanation for slavery and blackness. Schorsch does not provide a specific reference and, indeed, I could not find any such statement in *Kesef Mezuqaq*.
252
Nathaniel ibn Yeshaʿya, *Meʾor ha-Afelah*, ed. Qapeḥ, p. 72.
253
Zechariah b. Solomon ha-Rofe, *Midrash ha-Ḥefeṣ*, ed. Ḥavaṣelet, 1:111. On the blessing, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 114–115, and add Meletius the Monk, *De natura hominis*, who "sees the diversity of racial colors as a mark of the Creator's loving care"; see Jean Marie Courtès, "The Theme of 'Ethiopia' and 'Ethiopians' in Patristic Literature," in *Image of the Black in Western Art*, ed. Bugner, 2:11.
254
See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 56 (interpreting *kushi* in Numbers 21:1, Jeremiah 38:7, Amos 9:7, Psalms 7:1) and 114 (the blessing *meshaneh ha-briyot*), where the rabbinic sources are referenced. Two of those sources (*Sifre* to Numbers, 99 and *Tanḥuma*, *Ṣaw* 13) are cited incorrectly by Schorsch and should be corrected. Schorsch thought that these texts demonstrate a negative connotation to the term Kushite (*Jews and Blacks*, pp. 104–106, 113, 353n114, 391n15), thus providing evidence for an early, negative view of the Kushite. What Schorsch thought was *Sifre*, however, is actually Rashi (d. 1105). Similarly Schorsch didn't realize that the *Tanḥuma* text is not original to this work but was inserted from Rashi's Bible commentary (see the discussion in *Curse of Ham*, pp. 58–59). In sum, Schorsch's evidence for an early-century, negative Palestinian view of the Kushite is actually from eleventh-century France. Incidentally, note that Schorsch's reference to *Tanḥuma*, *Ṣaw* 13 as *"Midrash Tanḥuma* 13:96" is based on a misunderstanding. He mistakenly thought that the word *Ṣaw*, which appears as the running header on the page in *Tanḥuma* referring to the weekly Torah reading (Leviticus 6:1–8:36), indicates the numeric section of the work, and he thus read *Ṣaw* as the value 96. Schorsch should also be corrected when he refers to a 14th-century Yemenite work known as *Midrash ha-gadol* as another name for the iconic rabbinic collection *Midrash rabba*, apparently assuming that the two titles refer to the same work because they both can be translated as "Great Midrash." See Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 29 and in the Index, p. 540, s.v. *Midrash ha-gadol*. Incidentally, regarding the meaning

of *nishtaneh*, used by Zechariah, the same meaning is also found in a *piyyuṭ* by the liturgical poet Yannai (6th-7th century) on Genesis 9:18, רוחק או ... בחם/ ונארר ונשתנה מהם *(Piyyuṭei Yannai*, ed. Menaḥem Zulai, Berlin, 1938, p. 8; Laura S. Lieber, *Yannai on Genesis: An Invitation to Piyyut*, Cincinnati, 2010, pp. 356–357). On רוחק ('distanced' or 'separated') as descriptive of slavery, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 345n44, and note the anonymous 12th-century comment to *Leviticus rabba* 12.1 (ed. M. Margulies, Jerusalem, 1953–60, p. 253): "Noah caused the separation of Canaan from his sons in that he cursed (reading *qilelo* for *qilqelo*) him to slavery" (M. B. Lerner, *Perush qadum le-midrash wayiqraʾ rabba*, Jerusalem, 1995, p. 98).

255

Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*ʾ, ed. Eisenberg, p. 99; trans. Thackston, *Tales of the Prophets*, p. 105; Schussman, *Sipurei ha-neviʾim*, p. 159.

256

Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, 1:215; Brinner, *History of al-Ṭabar*ī, 2: 14. On another dualcurse tradition recorded by Ṭabarī, see below, Excursus II.

257

"The traditionists (*ahl al-athir*) say that Noah cursed Cham and asked God that his descendants become ugly and black and that they be subject to serve the descendants of Shem"; *Akhbār al-zamān*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, p. 86, trans. de Vaux, *L'Abrègè des merveilles*, ch. 6, pp. 99–100 in ed. 1898; p. 105 in ed. 1984; English translation in Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, p. 34. It is not certain who the author is. De Vaux (pp. xxviii-xxxv) discusses whether it is Masʿūdī (10th century) or Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf Shāh (died before 1209), and tends toward authorship by the former; Levtzion and Hopkins (pp. 33–34), the latter. On "traditionist," see above, p. 47n10.

258

Nimrod … had "black color, red eyes, deformed body, and horns on his forehead…. He was born thus because of the curse pronounced by Noah on his son Ham…. Noah cursed Ham and asked God to make his descendants black and deformed and slaves to the sons of Shem"; Carra de Vaux, *L'Abrègè des merveilles*, pp. 137–138 in ed. 1898; p. 129 in ed. 1984.

259

Reuven Firestone, "Early Islamic Exegesis on the So-Called 'Hamitic Myth,'" in *Adaptations and Innovations: Studies on the Interaction between Jewish and Islamic Thought and Literature from the Early Middle Ages to the Late Twentieth Century, Dedicated to Professor Joel L. Kraemer*, ed. Y. Tzvi

Langermann and Josef Stern (Leuven, 2007), pp. 51–66, at 58. Braude, "Cham et Noé," pp. 106–107, 114, believes that by the use of the "ambiguous" word *ghulām*, which can mean 'young man' or 'slave' ("So Ham's wife had a black boy/*ghulām* and he named him Kūsh," above, p. 46), Ibn Hishām may have implied a dual curse, but I find this questionable. See above, p. 73n16.

260

The Sea of Precious Virtues (*Baḥr al-favāʾid*), ed., trans., and annotated by Julie Scott Meisami (Salt Lake City, 1991), p. 101.

261

"Noah cursed Ham with slavery and his anger caused Ham to turn black. Noah's anger was then abated but he asked God that Ham and his descendants be black"; Karl Jahn, ed., *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels des Rašīd ad-Dīn* (Vienna, 1973), p. 33 (translation), tafel 9 (text).

262

"Genealogists who had no knowledge of the true nature of things imagined that the blacks [*sūdān*] are the children of Ham, the son of Noah, and that they were singled out to be black as the result of Noah's curse, which produced Ham's color and the slavery God inflicted upon his descendants. It is mentioned in the Torah that Noah cursed his son Ham. No reference is made there to blackness. The curse included no more than that Ham's descendants should be the slaves of his brothers' descendants"; Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, ed. Etienne Quatremère (Paris, 1858), 1:151; trans., Franz Rosenthal, *Ibn Khaldun: The Muqaddimah*, 2nd ed. (London, 1967), 1:169–170 (see also pp. 171–172), with the exception of "blacks" for Rosenthal's "Negroes," since, as explained earlier, the word can include other dark-skinned peoples besides "Negroes." The passage is excerpted in Cuoq, *Recueil des sources arabes*, p. 359, who leaves *sūdān* untranslated. On "genealogists" see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, 351n15. Ibn Khaldun is quoted later by Aḥmad Bābā; see John Ralph Willis, "Islamic Africa: Reflections on the Servile Estate," *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980) 195–196.

263

Pp. 71 and 47n12.

264

Gernot Rotter, *Stellung des Negers*, pp. 154–155.

265

Samuel Romanelli, *Travail in an Arab Land*, ed. and trans. Yedida K. Stillman and Norman A. Stillman (Tuscaloosa and London, 1989), pp. 69–70. The

original Hebrew, *Masaʾ be-ʿArav*, was published in 1792; the text is on p. 37 of the edition I consulted (Vienna, 1834). The Stillmans provide a brief biography and bibliography for Romanelli. John Hunwick writes that the idea that black Africans were permanently and ineluctably slaves was ingrained in North African thinking during the 16th-19th centuries; John Hunwick, "Islamic Law and Politics," pp. 43–68. Iris Idelson-Shein, *Difference of a Different Kind: Jewish Constructions of Race During the Long Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 2014), p. 87, writes that in context, Romanelli parodies the Curse of Ham as an explanation of blackness and slavery.

266

ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 62:278–279, referred to in Klar, *Interpreting*, p. 152. An earlier reference to Ibn ʿAsākir is mentioned above, p. 69n4. Note also the tradition in Ibn ʿAsākir (62:270) citing Wahb ibn Munabbih that for the sin of not covering their father, Ham was cursed with black skin, and Japhet was cursed by his descendants becoming slaves to Shem's descendants. I'm not clear on the identity of the ʿUthmān quoted by Ibn ʿAsākir. Is it the ʿUthmān who was a companion of Muḥammad and died in 656?

267

"Ham begat all those who are black (*aswad*) and curly-haired…. Noah prayed that the hair of Ham's descendants would not grow beyond their ears, and that wherever his descendants met the children of Shem, the latter would enslave them." The quotation is from Ṭabarī in his *Taʾrīkh*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, 1:223, trans., Brinner, *History of al-Ṭabar*ī, 2:21. ʿAṭāʾ is also quoted by Thaʿlabī (d. 1036) in his *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiy*āʾ (Cairo, 1954), p. 61, trans., Brinner, *ʿArāʾis al-majālis*, p. 104. Thaʿlabī is quoted in turn by Musa Kamara (d. 1945), *Zuhur al-basatin*, trans., Constance Hilliard in *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, ed. Willis, 1:165.

268

Ham was originally was "most beautiful in face and form, but God changed his color and that of his progeny because of the curse of Noah that he cursed Cham blackening his appearance and that of his progeny, and that they be made slaves to the sons of Shem and Japheth. This narrative is widely found in history books, as is recorded in the 'Book of the Gold Ingot' (*Sabā'ik adh-dhahab*). When the prophet of God (Noah) partitioned the earth among his sons, Africa [*ifriqiya*] belonged to Cham. He begot sons who are the blacks [*sūdan*],whose hair does not go below their ears, as we see them." Translation follows the Italian of Enrico Cerulli, *Somalia* 1 (1957), p. 254, except for "blacks," for which Cerulli

has “Negri”; see my comment above on Ibn Khaldun (p. 91n17). The Arabic text is on p. 234 in Cerulli. On the *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, 351n16. A description of the contents of the work is made by H. Neville Chittick, “The Book of the Zenj and the Miji Kenda,*” The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9 (1976) 68–73. The *Kitāb al-Zunūj* is a late 19th-century redaction of earlier manuscripts,

269

Abdul Hamid M. El Zein, *The Sacred Meadows: A Structural Analysis of Religious Symbolism in an East African Town* (Evanston, Ill., 1974), p. 201. The field work for this study, an ethnography of the Islamic religion of the Lamu, was conducted by El Zein in 1968–69.

270

El Zein, *The Sacred Meadows*, p. 27.

271

P. 70. Another tradition from a Muslim environment associates blackness and slavery in the context of a curse but it is apparently not a dual curse. The Dutch Orientalist C. Snouck Hurgronje traveled to Mecca in 1885 (he was one of the first Western scholars to make the trip), and reported that he heard various forms of the myth associating blackness with slavery. He quoted the following one told him by Abyssinian slavewomen of Mecca. “Very widespread is the naive tale that Adam and Eve were going about naked in Paradise when of all the girls present only the Abyssinian girls and some negresses laughed at them, and therefore they were turned into a slave race.” Although the dramatis personae in this story are not Noah and Ham, the story obviously reflects elements of the elaborated Noah story, namely, nakedness and laughter resulting in a curse of slavery (Hurgronje referred to it as a corrupt version of the Noah story). See C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, trans., J. H. Monahan (Leiden, 1931), p. 107n1; in the original German edition, *Mekka* (Haag, 1888–89), 2:133.

272

John Hanning Speke, *What Led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (London, 1864), p. 341. See also pp. xvii and 60, and Appendix I, p. 216 below. The Siddis comprise an ethnic group originally from East Africa now living in India and Pakistan.

273

Given the currency of the dual-curse tradition in Islamic literature, it is not surprising that contemporary Muslims would unconsciously read this tradition

back into the biblical story. So Salim Muwakkil, a former editor of the NOI newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*, writes of "the biblical curse of Ham in which a son of Noah, and thus his 'Hamitic' descendants, is damned to both blackness and eternal servitude for observing his father's nakedness." See Salim Muwakkil, "The Nation of Islam and Me," in *The Farrakhan Factor: African-American Writers on Leadership, Nationhood, and Minister Louis Farrakhan*, ed. Amy Alexander (New York, 1998), p. 202.

274

I say "perhaps" because the attestation is that of ʿAṭāʾ (d. 732/3) quoted by Ṭabarī (d. 923) and the curse of a skin color change is not explicit but implied: "Ham begat all those who are black (*aswad*) and curly-haired…. Noah prayed that the hair of Ham's descendants would not grow beyond their ears, and that wherever his descendants met the children of Shem, the latter would enslave them." Two other early attestations mentioned above are not certain, Firestone's suggestion that Ibn Qutaba (d. 889) implied a dual curse and Braude's reading of *ghulām* in Ibn Hishām (d. 828 or 833) as 'slave' (above, p. 90).

275

Peter Martin, *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren: Afrikaner in Geschichte und Bewusstsein der Deutschen* (Hamburg, 2001), p. 286.

276

Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 18. See also Stephen Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 34. Haynes also writes (p. 7): "It appears that race and slavery were first consciously combined in readings of Genesis 9 by Muslim exegetes during the ninth and tenth centuries, though these authors claim to draw on rabbinic literature." Haynes cites a forthcoming work by Ben Braude for this statement, which apparently has not yet appeared. In any event, the statement is problematic on three points: race and slavery were first combined as a dual curse in the 8th century; the combination is even earlier in the *Cave of Treasures* where the association is looser, and it is in a Christian text. In either case, neither the Muslim sources nor the Christian *Cave of Treasures* claim to draw on Jewish sources; see the discussion above, Chapters Five and Six.

277

The major study of the revolt is by Alexandre Popovic, *La révolte des esclaves en Iraq au III*^{e}*/IX*^{e} *siècle* (Paris, 1976); trans., Léon King: *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th Century* (Princeton, 1999). See also Y. Talib and F. Samir, "The African Diaspora in Asia," in *General History of Africa*, , ed. El Fasi and Hrbek, 3:726–729; Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of*

the Near East in the Middle Ages (Berkeley, 1976), p. 106; and H. M. al-Naboodah's comment in "The Commercial Activity of Bahrain and Oman in the Early Middle Ages," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 22 (1992) 87.

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S. A. Rizvi, "'Zenj': Its First Known Use in Arabic Literature," *Azania* 2 (1967) 200–201. But see the remarks of Marina Tolmacheva, "Toward a Definition of the Term *Zanj*," *Azania* 21 (1986) 105n5.

279

For Bahrain see André Wink, *Al-Hind*, 1:32, from Nassiri Khosrau, *Sefer Nameh*, ed. Yahya al-Khashshab (Cairo, 1945), p. 41; translation in Charles Schefer, *Sefer Nameh: Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau* (Paris, 1881), p. 138. For Sudan and Sahara see Yūsuf F. Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan: From the Seventh to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1967), pp. 44–58, and Power, *The Red Sea*, pp. 160–161. See also James H. Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997) 145n6.

280

Trans. Gaston Wiet, *Yaʿḳūbī: les pays* (Cairo, 1937), p. 190. Yaʿqūbî also refers to black slaves among the Berbers (p. 345).

281

Power, *The Red Sea*, pp. 160–161, quoting Maqrīzī.

282

See D. Lange in collaboration with B. W. Barkindo, "The Chad Region as a Crossroads," in *General History of Africa*, ed. El Fasi and Hrbek, 3:451–453.

283

J. Spencer Trimingham, "The Arab Geographers and the East African Coast," in H. Neville Chittick and Robert I. Rotberg, eds., *East Africa and the Orient: Cultural Synthesis in Pre-colonial Times* (New York, 1975), p. 118nn5–6 and p. 123; see also Talib and Samir, "The African Diaspora in Asia," p. 723.

284

Helmi Sharawi, "The African in Arab Culture," p. 105. Sharawi's context implies that the slaves were black Africans.

285

ʿAlī ibn Ḥāmid Kūfī, *The Chachnamah*, trans. Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg (repr., Delhi, 1979), pp. 69–70, cited in H. M. Elliot, *The History of India*, ed. John Dowson, 2nd ed. (Allahabad, [1963]), 1:429. The Persian text is in *Fathnamah-i Sind*, ed. N. A. Baloch (Islamabad, 1983–), p. 64. Cf. Minoo

Southgate, "The Negative Images of Blacks in Some Medieval Iranian Writings," *Iranian Studies* 17 (1984) 6, quoting ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* (Tehran, 1946–79), 1/6: 2603, col. 3: "In [A.D. 713] Musa ibn Nasir took 300,000 captives from Africa, of whom he sent one-fifth, i. e., 60,000, to the Caliph Walid ibn ʿAbd al-Malik."

286

Cited from al-Balādhurī by Nehemia Levtzion, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn and the Almoravids," in *Studies in West African Islamic History, The Cultivators of Islam*, ed. John R. Willis (London, 1979), 1:83; reprinted in Nehemia Levtzion, *Islam in West Africa: Religion, Society and Politics to 1800* (Aldershot, 1994). See also the reference there to the purchase of about 2,000 Sūdānī slaves by Ibn Tāshfin in the 11th-century. On the slave trade in West Africa, see A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York, 1973), pp. 82–83, and especially Claude Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery*, trans. Alide Dasnois (Chicago, 1991; original French 1986), pp. 45–67.

287

Power, *The Red Sea*, pp. 92, 95, 135–138, 141–142, 146 (quote on 138), 157–158. For later periods, pp. 171–173.

288

André Wink, *Al-Hind*, 1:30–31. See also Power, *The Red Sea*, p. 169. Further examples in Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, p. 51 and Nehemia Levtzion, "Slavery and Islamization in Africa: A Comparative Study," in *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, ed. Willis, 1:182–198, reprinted in Levtzion, *Islam in West Africa*.

289

Buzurg ibn Shahriyār, *Kitāb ājāyib al-Hind*, Arabic text with French translation by P. A. van der Lith and L. Marcel Devic (Leiden, 1883–86), chap. 32, pp. 51–60; English translation (from French) by Peter Quennell, *The Book of the Marvels of India* (New York, 1929), chap. 31, pp. 44–51; another English translation: G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Book of the Wonders of India* (London, 1981), chap. 32, pp. 31–32.

290

Talib and Samir, "The African Diaspora in Asia," 3:715n68; Power, *The Red Sea*. pp. 186, 187.

291

See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 319n23; Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, p. 121n6. In addition to the sources referenced there add the physician Marwazī (d. after

1120), *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir: Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, ed. and trans. V. Minorsky (London, 1942), p. 57 (English), p. *47 (Arabic); Benjamin of Tudela in Adler, ed., *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 127, and Robert L. Hess, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela," p. 17.

292

Yūsuf Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, p. 8.

293

Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, U.K., 1983, 2000), pp. 15–16; similarly Talib and Samir, "The African Diaspora in Asia," 3:719; S. Labib, "Islamic Expansion and Slave Trade in Medieval Africa," *Mouvements de populations dans l'Ocean Indien* (Paris, 1979), p. 33; Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery*, 349n21. See also John Hunwick, *West Africa, Islam, and the Arab World* (Princeton, 2006), p. 89: "[A]s Arab-ruled territory expanded to include northern Africa, the first major source of slaves was black Africa, which also remained a major source of slaves down to the dawn of the twentieth century." Wright, *Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, p. 23, explains that in addition to the Muslim practice of manumission, the constant replenishment of the slaves was caused by the short life span of the slave due to disease in the colder northern environment and poor living conditions.

294

Bernard Lewis, "The Crows of the Arabs," pp. 111–112; see also Lewis's, *Race and Slavery*, pp. 23 and 41. Similarly, Rotter, *Stellung des Negers*, p. 26. Although Islam prohibited the enslavement of Muslims, Lewis shows (p. 53) how the religious strictures against enslaving those converted to Islam, were not readily observed when it came to black Africans.

295

Wright, *Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, pp. 17–18. For estimates of the number of black slaves taken into or across the Sahara, see pp. 39, 45–46, 84–5, 95, 101, 107, 167, with earlier literature cited. On quantification, see also William G. Clarence-Smith, *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery* (London, 2006), pp. 11–16. In general, see the section "Un reservoir d'esclaves" in Drissa Diakité, "Le 'pays des noirs' dans le récit des auteurs arabes anciens," *Notre Libraire* 95 (1988) 23.

296

Wright, *Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, pp. 21–22.

297

Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Fakhr al-sūdān ʿala al-bidan*, trans. T. Khalidi in *The Islamic Quarterly* 25 (1981) 19.

298

Bernard Lewis, "The Crows of the Arabs," p. 112; idem, "The African Diaspora and the Civilization of Islam," in *The African Diaspora: Interpretive Essays*, ed. Martin Kilson and Robert Rotberg (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), pp. 42–44. Lewis made the same argument when discussing the early struggles in Islam between the Arabs, the half-Arabs, and the non-Arabs. Although race was not an issue, "the significance of an African origin as distinct from other possible non-Arab origins lay in its visibility." Similarly, "the son of an African mother … was usually recognizable at sight and therefore more exposed to abuse and discrimination" (Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, p. 40). Discussing black slavery in Morocco in modern times up to the beginning of the 20th century, John Wright wrote: "Slaves were defined and marked out within the host society not just by class (only a very few rose to the higher social ranks) but by their visible and cultural differences, by their *negritude*, in the modern sense. For the type of military slavery practised on a large scale in Morocco as far back as the seventeenth century had provided the 'foundation for a society divided first by skin colour and then by race'"; Wright, *Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, p. 163 quoting El Hamel, "'Race', Slavery and Islam in Maghribi Mediterranean Thought,*" The Journal of North African Studies* 7.3 (2002) 30. For the use of the term *ʿabd* meaning 'black African,' see Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, pp. 125–126n10. John Hunwick recalls this usage in Nigeria in 1995 and "a modern dictionary of Egyptian spoken Arabic also defines *ʿabd* first as 'slave', and secondly as 'negro'"; Hunwick, *West Africa, Islam, and the Arab World*, p. 88.

299

Thompson, *Romans and Blacks*, pp. 55–56, 79. Mark Bradley, *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, U.K., 2009), pp. 139–141, reiterates these points.

300

For the debate of whether black Africans constituted the majority of slaves in Arabia, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 133. T. Fahd, "Rapports de la Mekke préislamique avec l'Abyssinie: le cas des Ahābis,*" L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, ed. T. Fahd (Leiden, 1989), pp. 539–548, supports the view of H. Lammens (*EI*2, 3:7b-8a, s.v. *Ḥabash*, *Ḥabasha*) that they were the majority. Based on Lammens and Fahd, Irfan Shahīd accepted the theory that the *Aḥābīsh* in Arabia were black African slaves; in "Islam and *Oriens Christianus*: Makka 610–622 AD," pp. 13–16. However, "modern scholarship unanimously rejects Lammens's idea" that *Aḥābīsh* derives from

ḥabashī (Abbysinian, Ethiopian), "choosing instead to understand *Aḥābīsh* as the plural form of *uḥbūsh*, 'any company, or body of men,' according to Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:501" (Daniel Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam*, New Haven, 1981, p. 164n26, which see for bibliography). Mahmood Ibrahim has suggested that the term *Aḥābīsh* referred to four tribes who formalized an alliance near the mountain of Ḥubshiyy near Mecca (*Merchant Capital and Islam*, Austin, 1990, p. 44, based on Wadie Jwaideh, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-Buldān*, Leiden, 1959, p. 9n1). Irrespective of the meaning of *Aḥābīsh*, note that al-Jirārī wrote to Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1627): "It is known that he [i. e., Muḥammad] had a large number of Abyssinian (*ḥabasha*) slaves…. It is also known that the Companions owned many slaves (*khawal*)" (Hunwick and Harrak, *Miʿrāj al-Ṣuʿūd*, p. 16, Arabic text, pp. 45–46). It is clear from the context (p. 18) that the companions' slaves were also Abyssinian. The earlier edition and translation of this work by Barbour and Jacobs, "The Miʿraj," pp. 125 ff, does not contain al-Jirārī's question.

301
Above, pp. 84–85.
302
"Cursed be Ham and may he be a servant to his brothers…. He himself and his descendants, who are the Egyptians, the Sūdān, the Abyssinians, the Nūbians, and (it is said) the Barbari"; Louis Cheikho, ed., *Eutychii patriarchae Alexandrini: Annales* (Beirut, 1906), p. 14, lines 19–21. See also Michel Breydy, *Études sur Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq et ses sources*. CSCO 450, Subsida 69 (Louvain, 1983), p. 118, lines 14–17. On the possibility that the reading in the *Annales* is based on the *Cave of Treasures*, which was a source for the work, see F. Micheau, *EI*2 8:854a, s.v. *Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq*.
303
On the ramifications of this prohibition in the Muslim Noah stories, see Aviva Schussman, *Sipurei ha-neviʾim ba-masoret ha-muslemit: be-ʿiqar ʿal- pi Qiṣaṣ al-anbiʾaʾ le-Muḥamad ben ʿAbd Allah al-Kisaʾi* [*Stories of the Prophets in Muslim Tradition: Mainly on the Basis of "Kisas al-Anbiya" by Muhammad b. ʿAbdallah al-Kisaʾi*] (PhD. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 69–73. There is some confusion in Braude, "Cham et Noè," p. 106n20, who cities this source in Schussman for a different matter. Exceptional among Muslim authors in mentioning Noah's drunkenness is Ibn Qutayba's quotation of the biblical story (*fī al-tawrāt*) in *Kitāb almaʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, p. 25; ed. Wüstenfeld, *Ibn Coteibas Handbuch*, p. 13.
304
Uriel Simonsohn, "The Biblical Narrative in the Annales of Saʿīd ibn Baṭriq," pp. 37–55, and idem in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 3rd edition (Leiden, 2007–), s.v., Eutychius of Alexandria. See also Breydy, *Études*, p. 1. The point of Muslim influence would be the same if this section of Eutychius contains later modifications to the work. The one manuscript representing the original text (the "Alexandrian Recension") only begins with the story of Moses and Pharaoh's daughter, and so does not contain our story of Noah. It is the later "Antiochene Recension" that has the story (Simonsohn, based on the studies of Bredy).
305
E. g., Zurara was the one who "who established the link between black Africans and the cursed descendants of Ham"; A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Before Columbus: Portugal's African Prelude to the Middle Passage and Contribution to Discourse on Race and Slavery," *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View*, eds. Vera Hyatt and Rex Nettleford (Washington, 1995), p. 155.

Similalry Emmanuel Tonguino, *La malediction de canaan et le mythe chamitique dans la tradition juive* (PhD. diss., Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1991), p. 271, and Blackburn, *Making of New World Slavery*, p. 74. See also Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 146; Klatt, *Veflucht, Versklavt, Verkezert*, pp. 136–137; and Davis quoted above (p. 3). From L. Richard Bradley's quotation of Andrew Horne's (d. 1328) *Mirror of Justices* one might think that Horne, well before Zurara, referred to the Curse of Ham. Bradley quotes Horne as saying that "'serfage' in the case of a black man is a subjugation issuing from so high an antiquity that no free stock can be found within human memory. And this serfage, according to some, comes from the curse which Noah pronounced against Canaan, the son of his son Ham, and against his issue." If Horne actually said this, it would indeed point to the Curse of Ham. Horne, however, did not say this. The quotation by Bradley is correct except for one word – "black," which does not appear in Horne's text. In an interesting error Bradley wrote "in the case of a black man" instead of "in the case of a man." Horne does not speak of the Curse of Ham. See [Andrew Horne], *Mirror of Justices*, ed. W. J. Whittaker (London, 1895), p.77; the London, 1840, edition reads: "The villanage of man is a subjection … which slavery according to some…." (p. 115); L. Richard Bradley, "The Curse of Canaan and the American Negro," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 42 (1971) 101. Bradley was actually quoting from David Brion Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, p. 97, but Davis got it right. See also Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 19n45.

306

Wolf, "The 'Moors' of West Africa," p. 462.

307

[E]stes negros posto que seiam mouros como os outros, som porem seruos daquelles per antijgo costume o qual creo que seia por causa da maldiçom que despois do deluuyo lançou Noe sobre seu filho Caym, pella qual o maldisse que a sua geeraçõ fosse sogeita a todallas outras geeraçoões do mundo. da qual estes descendẽ segundo screue o Arcebispo dõ Rodrigo de tolledo E assy Josepho no liuro das antiguidades dos Judeus E ajnda Gualtero com outros autores que fallarõ das geeraçoões de Noe despois do saimẽto da arca; Gomes Eannes de Zurara, *Crónica dos feitos notáveis que se passaram na conquista da Guiné por mandado do Infante D. Henrique*, ed. Torquato de Sousa Soares (Lisbon, 1978–81), 1:77 (ch. 16), and see 2:103. The work, generally known under title: *Crónica dos feitos de Guiné* was first published in 1453. The English translation is based on that of Charles R. Beazley and Edgar Prestage, *The Chronicle of the*

Discovery and Conquest of Guinea in the Hakluyt first series, no. 95 (London, 1896), 1:54.

Zurara cites Roderic, Walter, and Josephus not as proof for the notion of a curse, as Schorsch and Braude think, but only to show that the blacks are descendants of Ham, as is well indicated by the paragraph division in the Beaszley and Prestage translation. See Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1.131, and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Breviarium historie catholice (I-V)*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde, 1.25, p. 51. For a discussion of the Zurara passage and the identities of Don Roderic and Walter, see Schorsch's discussion in *Blacks and Jews*, p. 147, and Braude, "The Sons of Noah," p. 128n55.

For the reading "Ham," Beazley-Prestage have "Cain," which they note refers to Ham. For the confusion between Cham and Cain in medieval literature, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 294n75, 355n46, and Whitford, *Curse of Ham*, p. 35n57. A striking example of this confusion may be found in the French translation of Leo Africanus's *Description of Africa*. The original refers to "Cus figliuolo di Cam" which in the French translation became "Cus filz de Caïn." See Leo Africanus, *Della descrittione dell'Africa et delle cose notabili cheiui sono* as part of Gian Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi* (1550), ed. Marica Milanesi (Turin, 1978), p. 25. French: *Description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde, escrite par Jean Leon African*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1896–98), 1:17. The Latin translation (1556) retains the original name (Chusi … qui patrem habuit Chamum fillium Noae, p. 14), as does the English translation (1600) by John Pory, based on the Latin, with the title *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, ("Chus the sonne of Cham."). For examples of the Cain-Cham confusion in medieval Irish literature and Beowulf, see Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, pp. 69–75, and J.A.A.A. Stoop, "Die vervloeking van Gam in Afrika," in *New Faces of Africa*, FS Ben (Barend Jacobus) Marais, ed. B. J. Marais, J. W. Hofmeyr, W. S. Vorster (Pretoria, 1984), p. 159,who mentions the Irish *Lebor Na Huidre* and also refers to Ranulf Higden's (d. 1364) *Polychronicon* 2.2.221, where Cain appears for Cham. Dominique Reyre, *Lo Hebreo en los autos sacramentales de Calderón* (Pamplona/Kassel, 1998), p. 220, points to a variant reading of Can for Cam in *La viña del señor* (ed. Ignacio Arellano et al., Pamplona/Kassel, 1996, p. 114), one of the sacramental plays of the Spanish dramatist and poet, Pedro Calderón de la Barca (d. 1681), whom I mentioned earlier, p. 35n31: "dar la maldición a Can/y la bendición a Sen." Reyre notes, "Asociación paronomástica con 'can', que representa al demonio; véase 'el Demonio [se parece], a un can rabioso'" in the Calderón play *El viático cordero* (ed. Juan Manuel Escudero,

Kassel, 2007, p. 97). As Escudero notes, *can rabioso* is based on Augustine's comparison of the devil to a tied dog, whose bark is worse than its bite. In *La viña del señor*, however, 'Can' is merely a variant spelling for Cam as 'Sen' is for Sem (= Shem) in those lines, as indicated by a reading 'Caam' in one manuscript (p. 252). The *m-n* confusion is the cause for Can-Cam as it is for Sen-Sem and for Cain-Cam.

308

Braude, "The Sons of Noah," p. 134; Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 34; Wolf, "The 'Moors' of West Africa," p. 465; Schorsch, *Blacks and Jews*, p. 148; Devisse in *Image of the Black*, 2.2:155 (new ed., 2010, p. 179).

309

Léon Bourdon, avec la collaboration de Robert Richard, *Chronique de Guinée* (Dakar, 1960), p. 90; Kenneth Wolf, "The 'Moors' of West Africa," p. 457–458, 465; see above, pp. 9–10 on the definition of Moor, and also Jean Devisse, "L'improbable altérité," p. 13.

310

Robin Blackburn, *Making of New World Slavery*, p. 105, writes that Zurara considered the ugliness of blacks to be "a sign of the curse of Noah." As we have seen, Zurara says that black slavery is due to the Curse, and elsewhere that some of the captured Moors were "white enough, fair to look upon…; others were less white like mulattoes; others again were as black as Ethiops, and so ugly both in features and in body…" (ed. Soares, 1:107–108; English trans., 1:81). Although Zurara may be here equating blackness with ugliness, he does not say that ugliness (or blackness) was a sign of the Curse.

311

Biblia de Alba, ed. Antonio Paz y Meliá (Madrid, 1899, 1918–21), f. 33r: "E Chanaan fue siervo de siervos. Algunos dizen que son los moros negros, que do quier que cativos son." On the work and its author, see Sonia Fellous, "Moïse Arragel, un traducteur juif au servise des chrétiens," *Transmission et passages en monde juif*, ed. Esther Benbassa (1997), pp. 119–136, and her *Histoire de la Bible de Moïse Arragel. Quand un rabbin interprète la Bible pour les chrétiens* (Paris, 2001). A short history of the *Biblia de Alba* is found in A. A. Sicroff, "The Arragel Bible: A Fifteenth Century Rabbi Translates and Glosses the Bible for His Christian Master," in *Américo Castro: The Impact of His Thought*, ed. Ronald Surtz et al. (Madison, 1988), pp. 180–181n1.

312

Nina Jablonski's remark that "[t]here is no extant illustration of the curse of Ham

that shows Ham as darkly pigmented" (*Living Color: The Biological and Social Meaning of Skin Color*, Berkeley, 2012, p. 139) thus needs correction. See also Ben Braude, "The Sons of Noah," p. 121 and "Cham et Noé," pp. 99, 116; Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 442n24; and Idelson-Shein, *Difference of a Different Kind*, p. 209n99. For iconographic representation of the biblical curse without a black Ham, see Sollors, p. 439n6. Another depiction of a black Ham (fig. 3) was produced about a hundred years after the Alba Bible. Moisè dal Castellazzo, a Jewish painter and craftsman of Venice, created a pictorial Pentateuch, of which watercolor copies of the 211 original woodcuts survives. Picture no. 10 depicts the scene of Noah's drunkenness, in which Ham is painted black. See Paul H. D. Kaplan, "Jewish Artists and Images of Black Africans in Renaissance Venice," in *Multicultural Europe and Cultural Exchange in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 68–90; image on p. 82. I am indebted to Kaplan for a copy of the picture, which is also reproduced in the new edition of *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., general editors; Karen C. C. Dalton, associate editor (Cambridge, Mass., 2010), 3.1:118, image no. 49. I have not seen the reproduction of the set of watercolors with commentary by Kurt and Ursula Schubert, *Bilder-Pentateuch von Moise dal Castellazzo: Venedig 1521* (Vienna, 1983–86). On Moisè dal Castellazzo and his pictorial Pentateuch, see Paul Kaplan, "Old Testament Heroes in Venetian High Renaissance Art," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell B. Merback (Leiden, 2008), pp. 302–303. Kaplan, *Rise of the Black Magus*, p. 262n77, writes that a 1350s painting on the walls of a castle at Karlštejn, as depicted in a 16th-century watercolor copy (the original paintings no longer exist), show Ham, although white, with features "that could be described as African," by which Kaplan means black African. The reproduction of the painting in Vlasta Dvořáková et al., *Gothic Mural Painting in Bohemia and Moravia 1300–1378* (London, 1964), fig. 63, however, doesn't appear that way to me.

313

On the iconography of the *Biblia* and its relationship to Jewish material, see C. O. Nordström, *The Duke of Alba's Castilian Bible: A Study of the Rabbinical Features of the Miniatures* (Uppsala, 1967), pp. 210 ff. Nordström does not comment on the illustration of Ham. Sonia Fellous, *Histoire de la Bible de Moïse Arragel*, pp. 164–165, 173, does but does not mention the aspects of Ham's skin color or hair. Some examples of the paintings found in the *Biblia de Alba* are

online at http://www.facsimile-editions.com/en/ab/. The manuscript, in the Palacio de Liria, Madrid, has recently been reproduced with accompanying studies: *La Biblia de Alba*, ed. Jeremy Schonfield et al. (Madrid, 1992). The illustration of Ham is found in vol. 1, f. 33r (reproduced on the cover of my book *Curse of Ham*). Discussion of the iconography (Sonia Fellous-Rozenblat) is in vol. 2, pp. 66 and 75.

314

Abraham ibn Ezra, *Commentary to the Torah*, ed. Asher Weiser (Vaizer) (Jerusalem, 1977), to Genesis 9:25. Also printed in traditional copies of the Rabbinic Bible (*Miqraʾot gedolot*). For the dating of Ibn Ezra's works, see Shlomo Sela and Gad Freudenthal, "Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scholarly Writings: A Chronological Listing," *Aleph* 6 (2006) 13–55.

315

Eike von Repgow, *Sachsenspiegel* 3.42.3, in the modern German edition of C. Schott et al. (Zurich, 1984), pp. 188–189. The English translation is by Maria Dobozy, *The Saxon Mirror: A Sachsenspiegel of the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1999), p. 125, except that I have substituted 'Ham' for her 'Shem' ("bondage commenced with Shem"), which is apparently based on the 14th-century Wolfenbüttel manuscript, which served as the basis for Dobozy's translation. My substitution is based on the edition of C. G. Homeyer (Berlin, 1835), 1:213–214: An minen sinnen ne kan ik is nicht upgenemen na der warheit, dat jeman des anderen sole sin; ok ne hebbe wie's nen orkünde. Doch seegen summe lüde, die der warheit ire varen, dat sik egenscap irhüve an kaine…. Ok seegen summe lüde it queme egenscap von kam noes sone. Noe segende tvene sine sone unde an'me dridden ne wuch he nene egenscap; kam besatte affricam mit sime geslechte, sem bleif in asia, japhet unse vordere besatte europam; süs ne bleif ir nen des anderen. Homeyer notes no variants for 'kam.'

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Ben Braude (citing the *OED*) writes that the division of the world into three or more continents is not found before the 17th century, and that Alcuin (d. 804) was "perhaps the first" to associate Shem, Ham, and Japheth with Asia, Africa, and Europe ("The Sons of Noah," pp. 109 and 112). James Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (Cambridge, U.K., 2002), p. 253n35, shows that both notions are much older, as does Russell E. Gmirkin, *Berossus and Genesis, Manetho and Exodus* (New York, 2006), p. 140–141n4. Correct therefore, also Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 19, who claims that the first to make that identification was Gregory the Great (d. 604). Stacy Davis

(*This Strange Story*, p. 175n145) writes that Alcuin's statement represents the first time *in Christian exegesis* that the sons are associated with the continents. Also James Romm points out the error in Braude's contention that Jubilees makes no connection between the sons of Noah and the continents. See Romm's article "Continents, Climates, and Cultures: Greek Theories of Global Structure," in *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. Kurt Raaflaub and Richard Talbert (Chichester, U.K., 2010), p. 233n33.

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Guido Kisch, *Sachenspiegel and Bible* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1941), p. 138; see also 160–161.

318

Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 20.

319

Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 151. Schorsch does not provide a reference for the statement, but I assume that he has in mind Kimḥi's commentary to Amos 9:7.

320

Mirkevet ha-Mishna (Sabionetta, 1551), p. 99b, at the beginning of *Parshat Niṣavim*. The same interpretation is given by Uri Langer, *Or ha-miqraʾ* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1952), pp. 179–180.

321

Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 20; see also the Index, p. 531, s.v. Abravanel.

322

'Canaanite slave,' (*ʿeved knaʿani*) is the term used from the early-centuries tannaitic period (e. g., Mishnah, Qiddushin 1.3) onward in Jewish literature for a non-Jewish slave, irrespective of origin. The biblical texts are Exodus 21:2 and Leviticus 25:44–46. A similar linguistic transference is found in the use of the term *knaʿani* (Canaanite) in the Jewish-Yemeni Arabic dialect. Goitein wrote of a caste of people in Yemen called *al-akhdam*, meaning 'servants,' who are at the lowest level of Yemeni social structure. The Jews of the Yemeni village al-Gades referred to them as *kano* (*kanoʿ*), a term derived from *knaʿan*, 'Canaan,' based on the enslaved status of the Canaanites. See Shelomo Dov Goitein, "Portrait of a Yemenite Weavers' Village," *Jewish Social Studies* 17 (1955), p. 10; Hebrew translation in idem, *Ha-Teimanim: hisṭoria, sidrei ḥevra*, *ḥayei ruaḥ* (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 224. For a description of Yemeni attitudes and practices toward the *akhdam*, see N. B. Gamlieli in *The Jews of Yemen: Studies and Researches*, eds. Y. Yeshaʿyahu and Y. Tobi (Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 178–179. For the Jewish

Yemeni dialect, see Shelomo Dov Goitein, *Ha-yesodot ha-ʿivriyim bi-lshon ha-dibur shel yehudei Teiman*, in *Leshonenu* 3 (1931) 365, reprinted in *Ha-Teimanim*, p. 278. Similarly, Jewish literature from the 10th century onward designated the Slavic lands and languages as *Knaʿani* 'Canaanite,' since slaves came from these areas (cf. the Greek and Latin sources that referred to the area as Sclavonia); see Max Weinreich, *History of the Yiddish Language*, trans. Shlomo Noble with the assistance of Joshua A. Fishman (Chicago, 1980), p. 80; the original Yiddish work was published in 1973. For prior literature, see Paul Wexner, *Explorations in Judeo-Slavic Linguistics* (Leiden, 1987), p. 5n17.

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Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 28. Another example where Schorsch has unfortunately misread the primary sources relates to the exegesis of the 16th-century Mordekhai ha-Kohen concerning Ham's sons. Ha-Kohen did not link "Mitsrayim and Phut and Kenaʿan … with a biblical verse or event showing [their] eventual denigrating punishment." He did not imply "that all the sons of Ham, each a nation/people, were cursed" (Schorsch, p. 145). The point of Ha-Kohen's exegesis was, rather, to show that God rewards the worthy in this world, such as the Egyptians, among whom the Israelites lived, and who were therefore blessed with a well-watered land compared to "the garden of the Lord" (Genesis 10:13). The Egyptians were not cursed; on the contrary, they were rewarded with a good land (Mordekhai ha-Kohen, *Siftei Kohen*, Warsaw, 1884, 2:3a; Schorsch's reference to p. 33a is of the Hamburg, 1690 edition. Incidentally, Schorsch's spelling "Mordeḥai" should be corrected).

324

Edith Sanders, "The Hamitic Hypothesis; Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective," *Journal of African History* 10 (1969) 521–532, at 522. The article has been reprinted, without footnotes, in *Problems in African History: The Precolonial Centuries*, ed. R. O. Collins et al. (New York, 1993), pp. 9–19.

325

M. N. Adler, ed., *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (London, 1907), pp. 62 (text), 68 (translation). On Tudela, see Robert L. Hess, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: A Twelfth Century Jewish Description of North East Africa," *Journal of African History* 6 (1965) 15–24, and Y. Levanon, *The Jewish Travellers in the Twelfth Century* (Lanham, Md., 1980). See further, Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 136–137.

326

For the meaning of *bnei ḥam* and *banū ḥām* as 'black African,' see above, p. 75.

327
Abraham ibn Ezra, *Commentary to the Torah*, ed. Weiser, 2:58.
328
Ibn Abitur's *qinah* (dirge) was published by Ḥayim (Jefim) Schirmann in *Qoveṣ ʿal Yad* 3 [13] (1939) 28. Schirmann's explanation of the historical events behind the *qinah* has been corrected by S. D. Goitein, who saw that it referred to the atrocities in Jerusalem when Bedouin, led by the tribe of Banū Jarrāḥ, overran Fatimid Palestine in 1024–25 (in the lines יחטבו עצים לכושים ישאבו מים/ ולהם should ולהם be read as ולחם?). For the corrected historical background, see Mark Cohen, "Persecution, Response, and Collective Memory: The Jews of Islam in the Classical Period," in *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society, and Identity*, ed. Daniel Frank (Leiden, 1995), p. 154n29; or idem, *Under Crescent and Cross* (Princeton, 1994), p. 261n105. In addition to Ibn Abitur, another example of *zeraʿ ḥam* meaning 'black African' is found in Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Matenot ʿaniyim* 10.17; ed. Yosef Qapeḥ (Kafah), 10.15.
329
Pp. 88–89. Nathaniel ibn Yeshaʿya, *Me ʾor ha-afelah*, ed. Qapeḥ, p. 72; Zechariah b. Solomon ha-Rofe, *Midrash ha-ḥefeṣ*, ed. Ḥavaṣelet, 1:110 with note 15.
330
Saunders, *A Social History*, p. 190n18.
331
José da Silva Horta, "Imagem do africano pelos portugueses ante dos contactos," in *O confronto do olhar: o encontro dos povos na época das navegações portuguesas, séculos XV e XVI*, eds. Luis de Albuquerque et al. (Lisbon, 1991), p. 66n12. On "Alfonso the Learned … as a major actor in a widely based transfer of learning and letters from Islam to the West," see Robert Burns, *"Stupor Mundi*: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned," in *Emperor of Culture*, ed. Robert Burns (Philadelphia, 1990), p. 13.
332
I used the editions of Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *Alfonso X el Sabio, General estoria. Primera parte* (Madrid, 2001), and Ramon Martinez-Lopez, *General estoria: version gallega del siglo xiv* (Oviedo, 1963).
333
Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 147.
334
Kaplan, *Ruler, Saint and Servant*, pp. 174, 185–186, 210n1; idem, *Rise of the*

Black Magus, p. 174; Braude, "The Sons of Noah," pp. 128n55 and 134.

335

Dorothee Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven, 1977), pp. 15, 16–17. *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dionisius A. Agius and Richard Hitchcock (Reading, Penn., 1994) includes several articles showing the commercial contacts (a result of crusader conquests) between the Muslim and Christian worlds during the medieval period that led to technological and cultural influence.

336

Anwar Chejne, "The Role of al-Andalus in the Movement of Ideas between Islam and the West," in *Islam and the Medieval West: Aspects of Intercultural Relations*, ed. Khalil I. Semaan (Albany, 1980), pp. 117–118.

337

W. Montgomery Watt, *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe* (Edinburgh, 1972), p. 5.

338

Chejne, "The Role of al-Andalus," pp. 111, 113.

339

Maria Menocal *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (Philadelphia, 1987), pp. 56–57; Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby*, Introduction, pp. 3–12; Watt, *The Influence of Islam*, pp. 2–5, 19–25, 26–27, 28–29, 30–43, 58–71; D. W. Tschanz, "The Arab Roots of European Medicine," in *Aramco World* 48.3 (May/June, 1997) 20–31; George Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West: with Special Reference to Scholasticism* (Edinburgh, 1990); George Saliba, "Arabic Science in Sixteenth-Century Europe: Guillaume Postel (1510–1581) and Arabic Astronomy," *Suhayl* 7 (2007) 115–164 (see also http://www.columbia.edu/~gas1/project/visions/case1/sci.1.html). Finally the various chapters in *The Legacy of Islam* ed. Joseph Schacht with C. E. Bosworth, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1974) are crucial, especially the chapter "Islam in the Mediterranean World" by Francesco Gabrieli. The quote is from Gabrieli, p. 79. A good online summary of the Islamic legacy is presented at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_contributions_to_Medieval_Europe. See also David Levering Lewis, *God's Crucible: Islam and the Making of Modern Europe, 570–1215* (New York, 2008), pp. 368–376.

340

Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, pp. 130–141.

341

George Makdisi, “Interaction between Islam and the West,” pp. 287–288.

342

Philip Kennedy, “Muslim Sources of Dante?” in *Arab Influence*, ed. Agius and Hitchcock, pp. 63, 79.

343

Sergio Tognetti, “The Trade in Black African Slaves in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge, U.K., 2005), pp. 215–216.

344

See William McKee Evans, “From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the ‘Sons of Ham,’” *American Historical Review* 85 (1980) 28, 32, 38–39; William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530–1880* (Bloomington, Ind., 1980), p. 2; Paul Kaplan, *Ruler, Saint and Servant*, pp. 158, 174, 210n1; Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven, 1992), p. 124; David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, pp. 63, 79; Russell-Wood, “Before Columbus,” p. 154 (“the Muslim legacy to Iberia”), and Robin Blackburn, “The Old World Background,” pp. 92–93. Aziz al-Azmeh has suggested that European views of the barbarian were, in many cases, strongly influenced, if not determined, by the Muslim world. Blacks were thus seen as ugly, mentally lethargic, sexually prodigious, unteachable, bestial, naked, and cannabilistic. The barbarians of the north (“Turks”) were similarly characterized as inversions of cultural and natural norms. See Aziz al-Azmeh, “Barbarians in Arab Eyes,” *Past and Present* 134 (1992) 3–18. The history of Muslim enslavement of blacks and the consequent negative images are documented in Gernot Rotter, *Stellung des Negers*; Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery*; and, for Iranian literature, Minoo Southgate, “The Negative Images of Blacks in Some Medieval Iranian Writings,” *Iranian Studies* 17 (1984) 3–36. I was unable to see the PhD dissertation of Annie Courteaux, *L’Africain, le Maure, l’Afrique, l’Islam dans la constitution d’une Ideologie Castillane au XIIIème siècle* (Univ. de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1982) cited by José Da Silva Horta, “A Representação do Africano na literatura de viagens, do Senegal à Serra Leoa (1453–1508),” *Mare liberum* 2 (1991) 211n8, in regard to the question of Muslim influences on Christian Europe’s representations of the black African.

345

James Sweet, “The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997) 143–166, quotations from pp. 145, 147, 149. Robin

Blackburn, "The Old World Background," pp. 92–93, writes, "Early modern European voyagers had the supposed link between the Curse of Ham and black skin pointed out to them by Muslim informants," but provides no reference. So also Braude, "The Sons of Noah," p. 134.

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Correct, therefore, Gerald Hobbs's remark that the Curse of Ham interpretation is not found in Christian exegesis (he means the Christian West) until the 16th century ("Exercicis pratiques: (1) l'histoire de l'ivresse de Noé (Gen 9, 20–27) …," in *Théorie et pratique de l'exégèse*, ed. I. Backus and F. Higman, Geneva, 1990, p. 120).

347

Guido Kisch, *Sachenspiegel and Bible*, pp. 138–139n41 and 160–161.

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E. g., at least nine times in his commentary on the first nine chapters of Genesis (2:8 twice, 3:1 twice, 3:7, 4:1, 4:7, 6:2, 9:1).

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Schorsch (*Jews and Blacks*, pp. 137, 157) claims that the author of *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil*, written in 1618 and attributed to Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, cites the Curse as an explanation of both slavery and blackness. It should be noted, however, that reference to the Curse in this work is not explicit. "Learned men" are quoted as saying that after the Flood, some men "must have had such color and hair, either as an inherited characteristic or as as a natural tendency, and would have communicated them to their children and grandchildren, who dwell along the African coast." There is no explicit reference to the Curse, and, in any case, the entire discussion focuses on the origin of dark skin; there is no mention of slavery. Furthermore, the author disputes this explanation for dark skin, preferring instead a climatic cause: After the Flood, the descendants of Ham and Canaan settled on the African coast, where the heat of the sun caused the physiological changes, "[f]or it is certain that anything, although it be white, becomes black if it is burned"; *Dialogues of the Great Things of Brazil* (*Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil*), translated and annotated by Frederick H. Hall, William F. Harrison, and Dorothy W. Welker (Albuquerque, 1987), pp. 90–94. The Portuguese text is in *Diálogos da grandezas do Brasil*, prefácico de Afrânio Peixoto, introdução de Capistrano de Abreu, notas de Rodolfo Garcia (São Paulo, 1977), pp. 78, 82–83. Schorsch (p. 137) also cites Georg Horn, *Arca Noae, sive historia imperiorum et regnorum*… (1666), as mentioning a curse of blackness. Although not referencing a page in Horn's

work, Schorsch must be referring to pp. 37–38. Horn, however, quoting *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, only speaks of Noah's children divided geographically by color. He says nothing there, or elsewhere as far as I could determine, about a curse of blackness.

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Translated and published by Marcel Bataillon from the Inquisition proceedings in the Madrid Historical Archives, in *Bartolomé de las Casas in History: Toward an Understanding of the Man and His Work*, ed. Juan Friede and Benjamin Keen (DeKalb, Ill., [1971]), p. 417. Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 158, has misunderstood de la Cruz. Schorsch thinks that as proof for the assertion that "the blacks are justly captives by just sentence of God for the sins of their fathers, and that in sign thereof God gave them that color," de la Cruz cited Genesis 49:14–15, "which connected the tribe [of Issachar] with the servile Canaanites by describing its eponymous progenitor as 'a strong ass,' that is, a beast of burden." This is not so. De la Cruz's reference to the biblical text was not as an explanation of the blacks' color (the verse says nothing about that) but to support a separate claim made by de la Cruz, that the blacks are not suitable for freedom because they would be unruly, bellicose, and troublesome if they were free (y que son del tribu de Aser [read: Issachar], de quien dijo el patriarcha Jacob assinos fortes etc., y que demás desto la condición de los negros no es conviniente para libertad porque son yndómitos y bellicosos y se ynquietarian a si mismos y a otros si fuesen libres). Cf. Benjamin Braude, "Ham and Noah: Sexuality, Servitudinism, and Ethnicity," an unpublished paper delivered at the Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Gilder Lehrman Center International Conference at Yale University on November 7–8, 2003 (accessed at http://www.yale.edu/glc/events/race/Braude.pdf), pp. 55–56.

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Echo su maldicion Noe a Canaan, diziendo Maldito sea Canaan, sea siervo de sus harmenos; que se entiende que el y sus decendientes sean siervos de los decendientes de sus dos tios, Sem y Iafet. Esto se cumplio a la letra quando los Cananeos … fueron totalmente destruydos por los Hebreos…. No fue pequeño el daño que se les siguio a los otros hijos de Can, por la ofensa que el hizo a Dios burlando de su padre; porque los hijos de Mizrain, Segundo hijo, y hermano de Canaan, nacieron negros, y feos como los Egipcios, y los Getulos, gente barbara, que viven en una region en lo interior de Lybia, que confina con el reyno de Tombutu. Son negros como carbon, y tienen la boca podrida…. P[h]ut, tercero hijo de Can, fue padre de los Alarabes beriscos de Mauritania, que por la mayor parte son negros, romos, y hozicudos, y notablemente disformes. Los que proceden de Cus, son muy negros. No se puede atribuyr este color tan negro a la propriedad y naturaleza de la tierra … sino que procede del origen y principio que estos negros traen de Can, a quien por justo juyzio de Dios, por el descomedimiento que tuuo con su padre, se troco el color roxo que tenia en negro como carbon, y por divino castigo comprehende a quantos del proceden; Diego de Yepes, *Discursos de varia historia: que tratan de las obras de Misericordia y otras materias morales*… (Toledo, 1592), Discurso 4.24–25, pp. 47b- 48a.

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Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe: A Dialogue Concerning the Mission of the Japanese Ambassadors to the Roman Curia (1590), edited and annotated with an introduction by Derek Massarella, trans. J. F. Moran; Hakluyt series 3, vol. 25 (London, 2012), p. 87. The Latin text is in Duarte de Sande, *De missione legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam curiam, rebusq; in Europa, ac toto itinere animaduersis dialogus*… (Macau, China, 1590; repr. Tokyo, 1935), pp. 41–42: [H]oc opus, hic labor est, reddere videlicet causam huius noni coloris in genus aliquod hominum introducti. Sunt ergo qui ad diuinam iustitiam, peccatorumque supplicium huius rei causam referant: affirmentque; cum primum post communem eluvionem Noenus ab vno filiorum nomine Cham minus reuerenter est habitus, eum iusta indignatione commotum male filio fuisse precatum, ex eaque; imprecatione in eum, eiusque; posteros maculam illa numquam omnino delenda …. Dici etiam merito potest, causam illius coloris, lineamentorum que esse occultam aliquam & caelistem vim tum ex solis ardore, tum ex occultis causis conflatam …. Imo haec videtur optima ratio. Valignano was born in the Kingdom of Naples, at the time ruled by Spain, and served in the

Portugese territories in East Asia. The *Missione legatorum* was originally written in Spanish (no longer extant) and translated into Latin by Valignano's associate and fellow Jesuit Duarte de Sande. It is unclear whether the Spanish was written by Valignano or de Sande but in the text quoted "one detects the voice of Valignano" (Massarella-Moran, p. 82n3). Rotem Kowner, *From White to Yellow: The Japanese in European Racial Thought, 1300–1735* (Montreal, 2014), p. 140, discusses the passage; on the role played by Sande (d. 1599) in authorship of the book, see p. 417n152.

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[N]i el sol, ni la calidad de la tierra, causan el color negro, sino que procede del origen y principio que estos negros traen de Can [i. e., Cam = Ham], a quien por justo juicio de Dios, por el descomedimiento que tuvo con su padre, se trocó el color rojo que tenia en negro, como carbón, y por divino castigo comprehende a cuantos de él proceden [Neither the sun nor the heat of the land cause the black color, but it proceeds from the origin and principle that these blacks (*negros*) come from Ham, who, by the righteous judgment of God, for the rudeness toward his father, was changed from red color to a black as coal]; Juan de Torquemada, *Los veinte y un libros rituales y monarquía indiana*, ed. Miguel León-Portilla, Jorge Gurría Lacroix, Elsa Cecilia Frost et al. (Mexico City, 1975–83), 4:363–364 (bk. 14, ch. 19); online at http://www.historicas.unam.mx/publicaciones/publicadigital/monarquia/index.html. The work was first published in Seville, 1615 (repr. Madrid, 1723). Torquemada also quoted "wise and learned men" (others besides Yepes?) who affirm that as a result of Noah's curse on Canaan, not only Canaan but his brothers Egypt, Kush, and Put, i.e., Ham's progeny, also became black (ibid.): [E]l parecer de hombres sabios y doctos, que lo afirman, decimos que de aquel descomedimiento que Can tuvo con su Padre Noé, cuando hizo alarde y manifestación de las partes verendas del viejo a sus hermanos Sem y Jafet, resultó la maldición que el santo patriarca echó a su nieto Canaan; y en pena de aquel descomedido y desvergonzado pecado les mudó Dios el color, y no sólo a los descendientes de Canaan, pero también a sus primos, hijos de esotros hermanos, es a saber, Mizrain Fut y Cus.

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[L]a tez negra en los etiópes no provino tan solamente de la maldición que Noé echo a su hijo Cam …, sino también de una calidad innata e intrínseca, con que le crió Dios, que fue sumo calor, para que los hijos que engendrase saliesen con ese tizne,y como marca de que descendían de un hombre que se había burlado de su padre, en pena de su atrevimiento…. Lo cual se puede entender en los etiópes

que traen su origen de Cam, que fue el primer siervo y esclavo que hubo en el mundo …, en quien estaba este calor intrínseco, para con él tiznar a sus hijos y descendientes…. Y de allí nacieron los negros … y aun pudiéramos decir también los esclavos, como tiznando Dios a los hijos por serlo de malos padres; Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, ed. Angel Valtierra (Bogota, 1956), 1.2, pp. 26–27; see also p. 64. This 1956 publication is a copy of the first edition (Seville, 1627). In the expanded edition of Madrid, 1647, the text is at 1.3.4, 9, pp. 17, 21; in ed. Enriqueta Vila Vilar (Madrid, 1987), p. 74. Translation is that of Nicole von Germeten, *Treatise on Slavery. Selections from De instauranda Aethiopum salute* (Indianapolis, 2008), pp. 20–21. Von Germeten continues her translation: "Others have a very different theory, one I agree with…. that Adam cursed his son Cain for the shamelessness he showed in treating Adam with so little reverence, that Cain lost his nobility and even his personal freedom and became a slave, along with all of his children. This was the first servitude in world history. Although Cain was of light-skinned lineage, he was born dark" (ibid.). But as far as I can see, in neither edition does Sandoval speak of Adam and Cain, but of Noah and Ham: … que por haber maldecido Noé a su hijo Cam por la desvergüenza que usó con él, tratándole con tan poca reverencia, perdió la nobleza y aun la libertad, costándole quedar por esclavo él y toda su generación, de los hermanos que fue, según los santos Augustini, Crisóstomo y Ambrosio, la primera servidumbre que se introdujo en el mundo (ed. 1627, p. 27). Vincent Franklin described the *Instauranda Aethiopum* "as a missionary 'handbook' for priests engaged in the ministry to the Negro slave in the seventeenth century" (Vincent P. Franklin, "Bibliographical Essay: Alonso de Sandoval and the Jesuit Conception of the Negro," *Journal of Negro History* 58 [1973] 349). On Sandoval and the *Instauranda*, see Margaret M. Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation in Colonial Cartagena de Indias* (Gainesville, Fla., 2004).

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Antonio de León Pinelo, *El Paraiso en el Nuevo Mundo*, ed. Raúl Porras Barrenechea (Lima, 1943); the work was completed around 1650 but wasn't published until 1943), 2:526: [L]os Etiopes tienen el color negro por la Maldicion que Noé echó a su hijo Can, como sienten varios autores: y que el primero en quien se verificó fue en su hijo Chus, por lo qual en la Escriptura se da el nombre de Chus a la Ethiopia. Juan de Solórzano Pereira (y Pereyra), *Política indiana*, por estudio preliminar por Miguel Angel Ochoa Brun (Madrid, 1972), 1:59 (bk. 1, ch. 5, sec. 35); originally pubished between 1629 and 1639:

Y de verdad es mucha la semejanza, que hay entre los de ambas Indias en talles, condiciones, ritos, y costumbres, y especialmente en el color de membrillo cocho, como lo consideran otros, dando las causas dél,y de los Negros, y su cabello crespo; pero haciéndolos á unos, y otros descendientes de Cham, hijo de Noé, y que por haver incurrido en la maldicion, que él les echó, quando descubrió su embriaguéz, padecen éste , y otros trabajos, y servidumbres, y se han quedado por la mayor parte de mediana estatura. See Giuliano Gliozzi, *Adam et le Nouveau Monde: la naissance de l'anthropologie comme idéologie coloniale; des généalogies bibliques aux théories raciales (1500–1700)*, Centro di studi del pensiero filosofico del Cinquecento e del Seicento in relazione ai problemi della scienza (Paris, 2000), pp. 124–125n26. (The original Italian was published in Florence, 1976). A good description of the first part of his work ("Nuovo Mondo e Vecchio Testament") is provided by Luis Adrián Mora Rodríguez, "La 'ideología colonial': teorías antropológicas al servicio del poder,*" Revista Comunicación* 16.1 (2007) 34–40. Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú* (Lima, 1630), ed. Lima, 1957, p. 12: [L]a opinión cierta, y verdadera es, que los Etiopes, y los Indios son negros, y colorados, porque decienden de los hijos de Cam. Núñez de la Vega in *Constituciones diocesanas del Obispado de Chiapas*, ed. María del Carmen León Cázares and Mario Humberto Ruz (Mexico, 1988), Preámbulo, Número 32, § XXVIII, pp. 274–275: Cham, de quien afirman grávisimos doctores, que por castigo de Dios se volvió negro, y fue con sus descendientes poblador y fundador de la Etiopía oriental y occidental.

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The manuscript is cited by Saunders, *A Social History*, p. 39, and Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 148, and see p. 414n144. The date range is given by Saunders on p. 190n24. Schorsch notes that the author of the manuscript also claims that Ham's son Kush was born black although he was born before Ham's crime. Cf. Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, ed. 1647, p. 18 (1.3.5).

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Moses Cohen Nirol (Narol), *Birkhat Ṭov* (Venice, 1711), p. 10b. Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, pp. 138, 145. Nirol's statement that Ham "was stricken in his skin with the blackness of a Kushite" may be a deliberate echo of Rashi's interpretation that it was Kush who became black, on which see above, p. 48.

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The other cases: [1] The English bishop and author of *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae*, Thomas Cooper (d. 1594), delivered a sermon on the

story of Noah's drunkenness, in which he said that, "this cursed race of Cham shall be scattered towards the South, in Affrica, etc."; Thomas Cooper, *The Blessing of Iapheth Prouing the Gathering in of the Gentiles, and Finall Conuersion of the Iewes. Expressed in Diuers Profitable Sermons* (London, 1615), p. 3. Although "scattered towards the South, in Affrica" is a reference to black Africa, and the "cursed race of Cham" an allusion to the curse of slavery on Canaan, blackness is not said to have been caused by the curse. [2] The same may be said concerning the Anglican cleric John Weemes (Weemse), whose words echo almost exactly those of Zurara, Arragel and Ibn Ezra. Weemes wrote in 1627: "This curse to be a servant was laid, first upon a disobedient sonne Cham, and wee see to this day, that the Moores, Chams posteritie, are sold like slaves yet"; John Weemse, *The Portraiture of the Image of God in Man* (London, 1627), p. 279, quoted in Vaughan, "The Origins Debate," p. 164. [3] The Dutch poet Jacob Steendam, who served with the Dutch West India Company in the Gold Coast, wrote a poem in 1646 to his mulatto son who was conceived in Africa: "Since two bloods course within your veins,/Both Ham's and Japhet's intermingling;/One race forever doomed to serve,/The other bearing freedom's likeness"; Quoted by Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 84, from the translation of Ellis L. Raesly, *Portrait of New Netherland* (New York, 1945). Clearly this is an allusion to the belief in a biblically based relationship between the African and slavery. It is not clear, however, that African blackness proceeded from the Curse in Steendam's view. [4] So too the Capuchin missionary Fray Epifanio de Moirans (d. 1689), who refers to those who claim that Noah's curse of slavery affected the blacks; see Jose Tomas Lopez Garcia, *Dos defensores de los esclavos negros en el siglo xvii* (Caracas, 1981), pp. 210, 213, cited by Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 149.

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[Robert Wilkinson], *Lot's Wife: A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse* (London, 1607), p. 42, quoted from Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism*, p. 6. Cf. António Vieira's metaphor of God's fire, quoted below, p. 181.

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George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610…*, 2nd ed. (London, 1621), p. 136; first ed., 1615; reprinted in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625), 2.6.3, p. 913, in the 1905 reprint, 6:213; now available in Loomba and Burton, *Race in Early Modern England*, p. 192.

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Robert Boyle, *Experiments and Considerations Touching Colours* (London, 1664), pp. 159–160.

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E. g., the Anglican cleric and missionary Morgan Godwyn argued for the inclusion of blacks in the church, and rebutted the common belief that blacks were made black by the curse on Ham and are subject to the curse of slavery; Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro's & Indians Advocate, Suing for their Admission into the Church, or, A Persuasive to the Instructing and Baptizing of the Negro's and Indians in Our Plantations*… (London, 1680), pp. 50–60. Another English writer who mentioned Noah's curse was the explorer Richard Jobson, who, in 1623, chronicled his travels up the Gambia River. While he referred to Noah's curse, he wasn't, however, concerned with either slavery or skin color. Rather, he gave the curse a different interpretation. Explaining why the black Africans he encountered do not have sex with their pregnant wives, he said that they "undoubtedly…originally sprung from the race of Canaan, the sonne of Ham, who discovered his father Noahs secrets, for which Noah awakening cursed Canaan…. [T]he curse…extended to his ensuing race, in laying hold upon the same place, where the original cause began, whereof these people are witnesse, who are furnisht with such members as are after a sort burthensome unto them, whereby their women being once conceived with child, so soone as it is perfectly discerned, accompanies the man no longer, because he shall not destroy what is conceived to the losse of that, and danger of the bearer…. "; Richard Jobson, *The Golden Trade: or, A discouery of the Riuer Gambra, and the Golden Trade of the Aethiopians* (London, 1623), p. 52; reprinted with introduction by Walter Rodney (London, 1968), pp. 65–66.

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Edward Ecclestone, *Noah's Flood, or The Destruction of the World. An Opera*. (London, 1679), pp. 39, 47, 48. Similarly, with the same pagination, in the 1690 edition titled *The Deluge, or The Destruction of the World. An Opera*. In the edition titled *Noah's Flood: or, the History of the General Deluge. An Opera. Being the Sequel to Mr. Dryden's Fall of Man* (London, 1714) only the curse of slavery appears (p. 63) but not Ham turning black. (The date 1697 given for the first edition in Don Cameron Allen, *The Legend of Noah*, p.153n57, is presumably a transpositional error.) Elliot Tokson finds evidence of a black-skin-as-curse idea in Elkanah Settle's *The Empress of Morocco* (1687): "First, let her Face with some deep Poys'nous Paint,/Discolour'd to a horrid black be stain'd./Then say 'twas as a mark of Vengeance given,/That she was blasted by

the Hand of Heaven; Elliot H. Tokson, *The Popular Image of the Black Man in English Drama, 1550–1688* (Boston, 1982), p. 43.

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Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie* (London, 1652), bk. 4, pt. 2, p. 100 (ed. 1657, p. 1016). Those noting the evolution of Heylyn's opinion include Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 143, and Jordan, *White over Black*, p.19, both of whom relied on ed. 1666 of the *Cosmographie* but the same reading is found in the first edition (1652) of the work.

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The Athenian Oracle: Being an Entire Collection of All The Valuable Questions and Answers in the Old Athenian Mercuries, ed. John Dunton (London, 1704 and 1706 edd.), 3:380–381; ed. 1728, 3:383; I have not seen the first edition (1703).

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John Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis* (London, 1653), p. 467.

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Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646), bk. 6, ch. 11, p. 278 in the 3rd ed. (London, 1658); in Loomba and Burton, *Race in Early Modern England*, p. 237; see also p. 245. The anonymous ("L. P.") author of *Two Essays, Sent in a Letter from Oxford, to a Nobleman in London* (1695), p. 27, argued that "neither the sun, nor any curse from Ham" could be responsible for the color of black Africans; reprinted in *A Third Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, on the Most Interesting and Entertaining Subjects*.... (London, 1751), 3:301. In recounting his travels to Africa, the English explorer Thomas Herbert discussed the origin of blacks. He referred to the Ethiopians as the "accursed Progeny of Cham" in an early edition of his work (1636), which became "being propagated from Cham, both in their Visages and Natures seem to inherit his malediction" in the later 1664 edition; Thomas Herbert, *Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Africa*… (London, 1636), p.16; ed. 1664, p. 17 (the work was first published in 1634, which edition I have not seen). Whether "natures" refers to the state of servitude or to assumed personality characteristics, "visages" would seem to indicate dark skin or to include dark skin among other physiological characteristics inherited from Ham's malediction. It is not clear to me how Herbert's view of the blacks' derivation from Ham would accord with his opinion that blacks were not fully men, that they were "midway between men and beasts" (Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 231). John Josselyn, who made two trips to New England and in 1674 wrote extensively about the New World's flora

and fauna, described also his "experimental knowledge" about the structure of the blacks' skin. Before doing so, he noted the belief of many of his contemporaries "that the blackness of the Negroes proceeded from the curse upon Cham's posterity." Josselyn was dealing with the physiology of skin color, not its origin; John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (London. 1674), p. 187; in the critical edition of Paul Lindholdt (Hanover, N.H., 1988), p. 129.

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Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 143; Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 152. The earlier discussion of the conflation of the stories is above at pp. 19–23.

369

Michael Duquet, "The Timeless African and the Versatile Indian in Seventeenth-Century Travelogues,*"* *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 14.1 (2003) 26, refers to the Curse of Ham when discussing the idea "of accursed Africans and of the whole African continent [which] was a common mantra in [17th-century] books describing voyages to that part of the world." Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, pp. 94 and 448n59, cites Antoine Phérotée de La Croix, *Relation universelle de l'afrique ancienne et modern* (Lyon, 1688), from Roger Mercier, *L'Afrique noire dans la littérature française: Les premièrs images (xvii*e *et xviii*e *siècle)* (Dakar, 1962), p. 36, as "endors[ing] the story of Ham's curse," but as far as I can tell, the *Relation universelle* is not mentioned there. In any case, all the *Relation universelle* says is "ce vaste païs des Blancs et des Noirs [i. e., Africa], qui fut, comme l'on dit, le fameux partage de Cham fils de Noé" (vol. 1, paragraph 1 of the Preface and p. 20).

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Et hoc ex divina dispositione factum credimus, non quidem in paenam paternae impietatis, et auitae maledictionis; quandoquidem ex supradictis apparet, ipsum Chus multo ante fuisse genitum, quam pater eius Cham in praemium suae impietatis, Noeticam maledictionem in filio Canaan accepisset; sed aliqua alia de causa, soli Deo cognita. Quod si propinquiores causas nigredinis Chus indagari velimus, dicere possumus; id contingere potuisse, vel ex vehementi quadam, et fixa matris imaginatione cuiusdam rei nigerrimae, in ipso conceptionis tempore occasionaliter excitata, ad similitudinem eius, quod in gregibus Iacob accidisse legimus, Genes. cap. 30. vers. 37; Augustino Tornielli, *Annales sacri ab orbe condito ad ipsum Christi passione reparatum* (Milan, 1610), 1:225, no. 27. On maternal impression see above, p. 30.

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Les Negres … qu'estans decendus de la lignee dudit Cham, Maudit de son Pere, ils ont este ainsi distinguez des autres hommes, pour memoire eternelle de malediction; Louis Moreau de Chambonneau, *Traité de l'origine des nègres du Sénégal, coste d'Afrique, de leur pays, religion, coutumes et moeurs*, published by Carson I. A. Ritchie, "Notes et documents: Deux textes sur le Sénégal (1673–1677)," *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 30 (1968) 309–310. Cf. the quotations from Abbé Prévost and Le Pers in Louis Sala-Molins, *Le Code Noir ou le calvaire de Canaan* (Paris, 2002), p. 23.

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Johann Nicolaus Pechlin, *De habitu et colore Aethiopum* (Cologne, 1677), pp. 94–96, especially: Fuerunt ergo, qui colorem hunc indicium esse irae et maledictionis divinae opinati sunt, et ab ipso Noacho …. Canaan fit servus servorum. Quod sane de Aethiopibus, tanquam longe diversa progenie, nemo facile ostenderit; haec enim gens in ultimos Africae recessus velut ocia relegata, sacris illis et internecinis Israelitarum bellis, quibus tot tamen nationes et ipsi Cananitae in servitutem sunt redacti, intacta, coelo suo et solo fruens, tranquile semper egit. In turn, Jean-Baptiste Labat (d. 1738) agreed with Pechlin's view (see Appendix I, p. 207 below).

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Causae vero hujus atri in Aethiopibus coloris sunt partim Theologicae, vel hyperphysicae, partim physicae. Et hae sunt duplices vel ab astris petitae, denique loci, vel a cutis pororumque et particularum dispositione: Hyperphysica causa creditur maledictio impio Noae filio Cham facta [….] Hac triplici maledictione color ille ater issum ejusque posteros loco paenae invasit extrinsecus. Et parentis faedissimis coloribus, inquit Lutherus a. l. depictus; Johann Ludwig Hannemann, *Curiosum scrutinium nigredinis posterorum Cham i. e. Aethiopum* (Cologne, 1677), §§ 13 and 14. Hannemann is cited by the African-American abolitionists and former slaves James W. C. Pennington and Henry Bibb: Pennington, *A Text Book of the Origin and History, etc. etc. of the Colored People* (Hartford, 1841), p. 92; Bibb, "To Our Old Masters," in *Voice of the Fugitive*, January-February, 1851, reprinted in *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, ed. C. Peter Ripley, Jeffrey S. Rossbach, et al. (Chapel Hill, 1985), 2:125. Bibb was quoting the Haitian writer Pompée Valentin Vastey (d. 1820). Ruth Hill, "Entering and Exiting Blackness," p. 47, misquotes Hannemann as saying that "Canaan's son Cain bore the mark of slavery." Strangely Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 161, says, "Seventeenth-century Dutch authors … raised the curse only in regard to slavery and not once in connection with Black [*sic*] skin, a

notion they dismissed."

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Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar, 1883–1987), 42:384; ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, et al., *Luther's Works*, vol. 2: *Lectures on Genesis, Chapters 6–14*, trans. George V. Schick (St. Louis, 1958–66), 2:173; trans. John Nicholas Lenker, *Commentary on Genesis, Vol. 2: Luther on Sin and the Flood: Commentary on Genesis* (Minneapolis, 1910), ch. 9, para. 170, online at Project Gutenberg, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/27978/27978-8.txt. Albert Perbal, "La race nègre," p. 159n6; Allier, *Une énigme troublante*, pp. 12–14; see also Gene Rice, "The Curse that Never Was," pp. 26–27n117. Luther said that either it was Ham who was cursed (paragraphs 172, 176), Ham being called by his son's name (Canaan) in the Bible, or ("some say") that it was Canaan who was cursed but the curse also affected Ham (172). Although Ham was cursed, the curse did not go into effect immediately, but began only with Ham's posterity (176).

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Ernst van den Boogaart, "Colour Prejudice and the Yardstick of Civility: The Initial Dutch Confrontation with Black Africans, 1590–1635," *Racism and Colonialism*, ed. D. van Arkel et al. (The Hague, 1982), pp. 46n42 and 53. Note also that the other 17th-century Dutch author I cited, Jacob Steendam (above, p. 126n10), similarly connects blackness and slavery but does not see the former deriving from Noah's curse. For later periods, according to Allison Blakely during the 18th century the validity of the Curse was debated in Holland although it was generally accepted in religious circles; see Allison Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World*, p. 208. Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815* (Cambridge, U.K., 1990), p. 11: "In general, Calvinist theologians accepted slavery as a legitimate human institution, justifying it on the so-called curse of Ham theory, which held that blacks were the offspring of Ham (and his son Canaan), the son of the biblical Noah, who had dishonored his father and thereby drew the curse of God that condemned his offspring to perpetual servitude." Similarly, David Nii Anum Kpobi, *Mission in Chains* (Zoetermeer, Netherlands, 1993), p. 99.

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Mutet Deus formam tuam, et nigrescat facies tua…. Volunt Arabes, etiam nunc poenae huius stigmata ferre Aethiopes, Chami posteros, colore fusco vel atro plurimum notatos; Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis* (Tiguri [Zurich], 1651), p. 25. For the text of Kisāʾī, see above, p. 90. On the European

intellectual discovery of the Orient, including the works of Hottinger, Herbelot, and Postel, see V. V. Barthold, *La Découverte de l'Asie: Histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie* (Paris, 1947), chapter 9.

377

Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale ou Dictionaire universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la conoissance des peuples de l'Orient*, ed. Antoine Galland (Paris, 1697), p. 425, s.v. Ham. Presumably Herbelot was referring to the passage in Ṭabarī referenced above at p. 90n11. See also Herbelot, p. 677, s.v. Nouh. On Herbelot see Henry Laurens, *Aux sources de l'orientalisme: La Bibliothèque orientale de Barthèlemi D'Herbelot* (Paris, 1978), esp. p. 56; and Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford, 2009), chapters 1 and 4. A short biography was published in Charles Perrault, *Les Hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle* (Paris, 1696–1700), now reproduced with "texte établi, avec introduction, notes, relevé de variants, bibliographie et index par D. J. Culpin" (Tübingen, 2003), pp. 425–428.

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Benjamin Braude may well be right that George Sandys's remark about the blacks' skin color deriving from Noah's curse (above, p. 127) was learned from the Muslim slavers who were with Sandys on his journey in Egypt, but that is conjecture. Braude, "Ham and Noah: Sexuality, Servitudinism, and Ethnicity," p. 53.

379

Augustin Calmet, *Dictionnaire historique, critique, chronologique, geographique et litteral de la Bible* (Paris, 1722), *Supplément* volume (1728), p. 138, s.v. Cham. *"Bibl. Orient*. p. 425" is a reference to Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*… (1697), p. 425, s.v. Ham. The translation of Calmet is taken from the first (1732) English edition, *An Historical, Critical, Geographical, Chronological, and Etymological Dictionary of the Holy Bible* (London, 1732), 1:647, s.v. Ham. The bracketed clarification is mine, not Calmet's. On other editions of the *Dictionary* in which the quote from Herbelot is missing, see Stephen Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 236n90. On the influence of Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, see David Allen Harvey, *The French Enlightenment and Its Others* (New York, 2012), pp. 18–19.

380

The text is discussed above, p. 115.

381

See Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York, 1982), pp. 187–190; Evans, "From the Land of Canaan," pp. 34–38;William D. Philips, *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Philadelphia, 2004), pp. 18, 149; and A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Iberian Expansion and the Issue of Black Slavery: Changing Portuguese Attitudes, 1440–1770," *American Historical Review* 83 (1978) 16–22. Most recently, archaeological discoveries in southern Portugal of violent, unceremonious burials in "urban discard deposits" from the 15th-17th centuries have yielded genetic evidence suggesting that the remains may belong to captured Africans; Rui Martiniano, et al., "Genetic Evidence of African Slavery at the Beginning of the Trans-Atlantic SlaveTrade," *Scientific Reports*, 8 August 2014, accessed at https://www.academia.edu/8274557/Genetic_Evidence_of_African_Slavery_at_the_Beginning_of_the_Trans-Atlantic_Slave_Trade.

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Ivana Elbl, "The Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade, 1450–1521," pp. 34–38, Journal *of African History* 38 (1997) 31–75.

383

David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, p. 56; Paul Kaplan, *Rise of the Black Magus*, pp. 13–14, 56, 105; Segio Tognetti, "The Trade in Black African Slaves," pp. 215–216; Nelson H. Minnich, "The Catholic Church and the Pastoral Care of Black Africans in Renaissance Italy," *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Earle and Lowe, pp. 282–283; Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médievale* (Brugge, 1955), 2:217, 353–354.

384

Sylvia Wynter, "The Eye of the Other: Images of the Black in Spanish Literature," in *Blacks in Hispanic Literature*, ed. M. DeCosta (Port Washington, N.Y., 1977), p. 10. See also Kaplan, *Rise of the Black Magus*, p. 15.

385

As quoted by William D. Phillips Jr., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 144–145.

386

Lisbon: David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, p. 61 with notes. Seville: Blackburn, *Making of New World Slavery*, p. 113; see also Saunders, *A Social History*, pp. 29 (Seville), 35 (Lisbon). Regarding Seville, cf. Alessandro Stella, *Histoires d'esclaves dans la peninsula Ibérique* (Paris, 2000), p. 76, and see also Stella and Bernard Vincent, "L'esclavage en Espagne à l'époque modern: acquis et nouvelles orientations," in *Captius i exclaus a l'antiguitat i al món modern* (Diáphora 7), ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal López

Nadal (Naples, 1991), p. 292. Regarding Lisbon, Jorge Fonseca writes that the figure of ten percent included only slaves, and that the percentage of blacks including freed slaves and their descendants would have been higher; "Black Africans in Portugal during Cleynaerts's Visit (1533–1538)," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Earle and Lowe, p. 119. See also Tamar Herzog, "Beyond Race: Exclusion in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America," in *Race and Blood in the Iberian World*, eds. Max S. Hering Torres, María Elena Martínez, David Nirenberg (Zurich/Berlin, 2012), p. 161, and Jeremy Lawrence, "Black Africans in Renaissance Spanish Literature," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Earle and Lowe, p. 70. For a later period, Stella, pp. 51–57, has shown that parish books from the cathedral at Cadiz indicate that between 1682 and 1729, the slaves and the freed constituted 15% of the population, rising to 20% or even 25% at the end of the 17th century, and that among these black Africans predominated. Finally, see Russell-Wood, "Iberian Expansion," pp. 19–22.

387

José Luis Cortés López, *La esclavitud negra en la España peninsular del siglo XVI* (Salamanca, 1989), p. 204.

388

1489–1500: Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca, 2009), p. 4n10, citing an unpublished dissertation by D. Bénesse, *Les esclaves dans la société ibérique aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (University of Paris X, 1970). 1500–1515: Cortés López, *La esclavitud negra*, p. 204.

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Cortés López, *La esclavitud negra*, p. 205. These figures include (a) those who are termed *loros* in the sources, that is, those whose color is between black and white, many, if not "almost all," of whom are considered to be biracial; and (b) a percentage of those whose ethnicity is not recorded, figured proportionally among all the different groups. See p. 198, and the discussion on defining the term *loro* by Alfonso Franco Silva, *Le esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la Edad Media* (Seville, 1979), pp. 138–139. See also Phillips, *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, p. 24, Cortés López, p. 20 and Silva, p. 150 for the large number of black slaves in Seville. Emily Weissbourd, *Transnational Genealogies*, p. 141.

390

Russell-Wood, "Before Columbus," pp. 148–149. He cautions that the comments

of Leo of Rozmital and Hieronymus Münzer should be taken with a grain of salt since neither traveler had had much exposure to blacks.

391

Paul Kaplan, *Ruler, Saint and Servant*, pp. 59, 159. For estimates of the number of slaves taken out of Africa to Portugal and Spain in the 15th century (some as high as 150,000), see Sweet, "Iberian Roots," p. 169. A short history of blacks in Spain is found in L. A. Durham Seminario, *The History of the Blacks, the Jews, and the Moors in Spain* (Madrid, 1975). For the amount of black Africans (not necessarily slaves) in Renaissance England, from the late 15th century to the early 17th, see the references in Anu Korhonen, "Washing the Ethiopian White: Conceptualising Black Skin in Renaissance England," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Earle and Lowe, p. 94n1. In the Netherlands it wasn't until the 17th century that blacks "became fairly commonplace as slaves, servants and seamen in Dutch port cities" (Allison Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World*, Bloomington, 1993, p. 103).

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Quoted in Weissbourd, *Transnational Genealogies*, p. 150, from Gustav Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (Madrid, 2008). Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 60, comments that "by 1589 Negroes had become so pre-eminently 'slaves' that Richard Hakluyt gratuitously referred to five Africans brought temporarily to England as 'black slaves.'"

393

Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 32.

394

Kaplan, *Ruler, Saint and Servant*, p. 174, and similarly on pp. 185–186.

395

I include in this calculation Matthew Prior, as explained in the Appendix.

396

The Life of Jesus Christ and Biblical Revelations: From the Visions of the Venerable Anne Catherine Emmerich as Recorded in the Journals of Clemens Brentano, ed. Carl Schmöger, trans. anon. (Rockford, Illinois, 1986), 1:40; originally published in English in 1914 under the title *The Lowly Life and Bitter Passion of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and His Blessed Mother, Together with the Mysteries of the Old Testament*. Schmöger worked from the journals of Clemens Brentano who had transcribed Emmerich's visions and mystical experiences during the last five years of her life. Since we don't have Emmerich's own writings, there is some debate as to what Emmerich said and

what may have been added by Brentano or Schmöger. See John O'Malley, "A Movie, a Mystic, and a Spiritual Tradition," *America: The National Catholic Weekly*, vol. 190, no. 20 (6/21/04) and Robert L. Webb, "The Passion and the Influence of Emmerich's The Dolorous Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ," in *Jesus and Mel Gibson's Passion of the Christ*, ed. Kathleen E. Corley and Robert L. Webb (London, 2004), pp. 160–161. Emmerich's opinion accords well with the perception of the black African expressed in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, the Jesuit journal "constitutionally connected to the Vatican," which "has played a role as a link between the pope and the Catholic world." The journal described the Africans this way: "A race, let us say, which placed in the lowest grade of the human species, in its black complexion that surpasses ebony, in its woolly and velvety mane, in its flattened and strangely obtuse face, in its eye that when not stupid is either ferocious or reveals a vulpine astuteness, in its slow, circumscribed, most inert intellectual faculties, in other words in all these particulars announces itself to be a descendant of that Ham, to whom the Patriarch Noah predicted that his sons would serve their brothers. Thus, in them the condition of slaves seems to have come to confirm what nature had predisposed; and the repugnance that the other races find in approaching them seems to condemn them to an eternal servitude"; *La Civiltà Cattolica* 2 (1853) 487–488, quoted by José David Lebovitch Dahl, "The Role of the Roman Catholic Church in the Formation of Modern Anti-Semitism," *Modern Judaism* 23.2 (2003) 187.

397

Andrew Curran, *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment* (Baltimore, 2011), p. 2.

398

One of the most popular of the nonbiblical explanations was polygenesis, that the various races of humanity did not all derive from one couple, Adam and Eve (monogenesis). It should not be supposed, however, that polygenesis necessarily implied a more enlightened view. Josiah Nott in a speech delivered in 1850 made it clear that his advocacy of this theory was made in order to fight the abolitionists. He wanted to convince the abolitionists that blacks did not descend from Adam and Eve and were not, therefore, part of the Christian world. Nott was an avowed white supremacist (see Forrest Wood, *The Arrogance of Faith: Christianity and Race in America from the Colonial Era to the Twentieth Century*, New York, 1990, p. 100; on Nott, see also Appendix II below, p. 225). An earlier polygenesist, the Englishman John Atkins (d. 1757), went further. He

thought that the black race, not quite part of the human world, could breed with monkeys, a view which later was accepted by Voltaire (see Leon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*, New York/London, 1974, p. 175; originally published in French in 1971). Indeed, monogenesis could indicate a more enlightened stance. Carl Degler showed that adherence to monogenesist theories by the anthropologist Franz Boas and by Theodor Waitz, who influenced Boas, was strongly conditioned by their ideologically liberal stance against slavery (Carl Degler, *In Search of Human Nature*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 70–74).

399

Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 311n81. Edward D. Seeber, *Anti-Slavery Opinion in France during the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore/Paris, 1937), p. 126; "Pious absurdities" is Seeber's quote from Delisle de Sales (1778).

400

Colin Kidd, *Forging of Races*, pp. 69, 39. Speaking of French colonial thinking, April Shelford writes of "the continuing importance of the biblical account in structuring thinking about human diversity, though in no predetermined way"; April G. Shelford, "Race and Scripture in the Eighteenth-Century French Caribbean," *Atlantic Studies* 10 (2013) 71. Note also that among those papers submitted to the Académie de Bordeaux, there were a few that saw "Providence" as the cause of blackness; Jeremy L. Caradonna, *The Enlightenment in Practice: Academic Prize Contests and Intellectual Culture in France, 1670–1794* (Ithaca, 2012), p. 152. Recently Michael Taylor has shown how proslavery arguments in England during the debate over slave emancipation between 1823 and 1833 relied on scriptural arguments, including the Curse of Ham, to support their position; "British Proslavery Arguments and the Bible, 1823–1833," *Slavery and Abolition* 36.4 (2015) 1–20.

401
Renato G. Mazzolini, "Skin Color and the Origin of Physical Anthropology (1640–1850)," in *Reproduction, Race, and Gender in Philosophy and the Early Life Sciences*, ed. Susanne Lettow (Albany, 2014), p. 141. A related explanation was suggested by Gary Taylor, *Buying Whiteness*, p. 438n59, for the 17th century: Denials of the Curse came from secular intellectuals, while clergymen and "pragmatic laymen" affirmed it.
402
T. O. Beidelman, "A Kagaru Version of the Sons of Noah: A Study in the Inculcation of the Idea of Racial Superiority," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 3.12 (1963) 478–479. Cf. George Tinker's examination of how Christian missionaries to the American natives internalized Indian inferiority and "implicitly blurred any distinction between the gospel of salvation and their own culture," thus producing "cultural genocide." Tinker deals with North America and he does not discuss the Curse of Ham but his thesis would apply equally to the situation elsewhere and the notion of a curse of dark skin and slavery. Just as in America, so too in Africa the "subliminal" cultural views that the missionaries imposed, often inadvertently, on the natives served to facilitate the political and economic goals of the colonizers. See George Tinker, *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* (Minneapolis, 1993), especially the first chapter; quote on p. 4.
403
C. B. Johnson, *I Nyereres Rike* (Oslo, 1966), p. 96, as translated from the Norwegian by Ole Bjørn Rekdal, "When Hypothesis Becomes Myth: The Iraqi Origin of the Iraqw," *Ethnology* 37.1 (Winter, 1998) 26.
404
Nzash U. Lumeya, *The Curse on Ham's Descendants: Its Missiological Impact on Zairian Mbala Mennonite Brethren* (PhD. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1988), p. 7. Lumeya records the following sad account (pp. 1–2, 6–7, 9): The Mbala people "are convinced that they are an accursed people, that God has punished them eternally…. Their existence on earth is confined to serving white people…. [They are convinced] that they are inferior to white men and women." Some Zairian Bible students in a Presbyterian school asked for white teachers, in order to "demonstrate the authenticity of their school in the sight of God." This was written in 1988.
405
Lumeya, *The Curse on Ham's Descendants*, p. 148.

406

Hagar Salamon, "Blackness in Transition: Decoding Racial Constructs through Stories of Ethiopian Jews," *Journal of Folklore Research* 40.1 (2003) 11.

407

I exclude unsubstantiated theories of Beta Israel origins in Yemenite emigration. The colophon of a 15th- or 16th-century manuscript reports that "in the days of the Zagwe kings [1137–1270] there came out of the country of Aden a man, a Jew called Joseph…. And he settled in the country of Elaz in the land of Amhara." Even if, contrary to current scholarly opinion, we assume the existence of the Beta Israel at this time, this Joseph, who later converted to Christianity, settled in Amhara well south of where the Beta Israel lived. See Steven Kaplan, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia* (New York, 1992), pp. 48–49.

408

For an account of one missionary, "who may have had the greatest impact of all missionaries" on the Beta Israel, see Shlava Weil, "Mikael Aragawi: Christian Missionary among the Beta Israel," in *Beta Israel: The Jews of Ethiopia and Beyond*, ed. Emanueal Trevisan Semi and Shalva Weil (Venice, 2011), pp. 146–158.

409

Harold Faust, "Why Black Men Are Black and Other Legends," *World Encounter* 3.5 (1966) 22. Rekdal, "When Hypothesis Becomes Myth," p. 25, commented that this story "is virtually identical to the story of Noah's curse. Even more impressive is the fact that it also contains the interpretations of the Babylonian Talmud; i. e., that the curse was the origin of the black skin." But this is not so. The story in the Babylonian Talmud is not one of a dual curse, nor does it claim that "the curse [i. e., Noah's curse] was the origin of the black skin." Like others mentioned at the beginning of this book, Rekdal has conflated the two accounts, the rabbinic and the biblical.

410

See Appendix II. Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 8 states that in America "by the 1670s the 'curse of Ham' was being employed as a sanction for black enslavement," but he provides no source for the statement. The earliest reference I could find is Sewall in 1700.

411

See above, p. 135, for Herbelot and Calmet. Thomas Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies, Which Have Remarkably Been Fulfilled*…. (London, 1754),

1:20. Philip Schaff, *Slavery and the Bible: A Tract for the Times* (Chambersburg, Penn., 1861), p. 4. James A. Sloan, *The Great Question Answered; or Is Slavery a Sin in Itself (Per Se?) Answered According to the Teaching of the Scriptures* (Memphis, Tenn., 1857), p. 83.

412

Thomas Peterson, *Ham and Japheth: The Mythic World of Whites in the Antebellum South* (Metuchen, N.J. and London, 1978), pp. 43–44.

413

David Whitford, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 160, 162. As Whitford notes (pp. 153–154), I and others (include also Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, pp. 82, 440n11, and Tudor Parfitt, *Black Jews in Africa and the Americas*, p. 28 without attribution), were misled by Peterson's error.

414

The *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testaments* began publication in 1707 (Paris) and ended in 1716. An indication of its popularity is that second and third editions as well as editions in two Latin translations followed. The introductions to the biblical books and the over 100 "dissertations" included in the work (plus some new ones) on different topics were published separately in 1720, and were followed by translations into Latin and several European languages including English.

415

Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, pp. 53n3, 303n5.

416

"History of the War in NORTH-AMERICA," *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies*, May 1758, p. 400.

417

Quoted above at p. 135.

418

Benjamin Braude, "How Did Ham Become a Black Slave? Reexamining the Noahides in the Abrahamic Tradition," presentation at the Middle East Studies Association, November 1997, quoted in Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 236n89; see also n. 90, and Braude, "Ham and Noah: Sexuality, Servitudinism, and Ethnicity," pp. 59–60. Speaking of the *Dictionnaire*, Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 38, 56, writes that Calmet's was "the most influential treatment of Ham and his curse to appear in the eighteenth century" and that Calmet was "instrumental in shaping Ham's image in the American mind.

419

See Appendix II, p. 230. Henry Cornelius Edgar (d. 1884), minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, in his *The Curse of Canaan Rightly Interpreted and Kindred Topics: Three Lectures Delivered in the Reformed Dutch Church, Easton, Pa., January and February, 1862* (New York, 1862), p. 22, quoted Calmet's *Dictionnaire* from the work by the English theologian Thomas Stackhouse (d. 1752), *A New History of the Holy Bible from the Beginning of the World, to the Establishment of Christianity*, book 2, chapter 1; in the 2nd ed. (London, 1742), at p. 144n.

420

Ralph Sandiford, *A Brief Examination of the Practices of the Times* (Philadelphia, 1729), pp. 4–5; excerpted in Louis Ruchames, *Racial Thought in America* (New York, 1969, 1970), pp. 100–101.

421

John Woolman, "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, Part II," (1774) in John Woolman, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Amelia M. Gummere (New York, 1922), p. 355.

422

S. S. N., "Anglo-Saxons, and Anglo-Africans," in *The Anglo-African Magazine* 1 (1859) 248, repr. New York, 1968, quoted by Wilson J. Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (Cambridge, U.K., 1998), p. 101. Emphasis in original.

423

Samuel Ringgold Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada and England* (London, 1855), pp. 270–271. Cf. Bay, *The White Image*, p. 247n12. Others who made this argument were the Baptist minister George Williams in his *History of the Negro Race in America: From 1619 to 1880* (1883), pp. 7–8, and, more recently Martin Luther King; see Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York, 1988), p. 230. On Willimas, see also below, Appendix II. For the story of Lot, see Genesis 19.

424

Bruckner Payne ["Ariel"], *The Negro: What is His Ethnological Status…* , 2nd ed. (Cincinnati, 1867), pp. 4–5; emphases in the original. Regarding a derivation from beasts, cf. the belief in North Carolina recorded between 1926–29: "Many preachers believe the Negro is the descendant of Cain and a gorilla out of the Land of Nod"; Wayland D. Hand, ed., *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from North Carolina*, vol. 6 of *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina*

Folklore (Durham, 1961), p. 97, no. 635. Regarding the date, see 1:xiii.

425

John Mitchell, "An Essay upon the Causes of the Different Colours of People in Different Climates," *Philosophical Transactions* 43 (1744) 146. Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 246, cautions that Mitchell's views should not be taken as representative of American thought, for although Mitchell was a Virginian, he "was more a European than an American, and he always identified himself with the European scientific community." Mitchell became famous for the large-scale and detailed map he drew of eastern North America, which was used for determining political boundaries at the time; see Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, *Dr. John Mitchell: The Man Who Made the Map of North America* (Chapel Hill, 1974), pp.175–213, with a portion of the map reproduced between pp. 204 and 205.

426

Charles W. Chesnutt, "The Fall of Adam," in *The Short Fiction of Charles Chesnutt*, ed. Sylvia Lyons Render (Washington, D.C., 1974), pp. 178–179. On the use of the Curse of Ham in Chesnutt's fiction, see John N. Swift and Gigen Mamoser, "'Out of the Realm of Superstition': Chesnutt's 'Dave's Neckliss' and the Curse of Ham," in *American Literary Realism* 42 (2009) 1–12.

427

The Appendix includes Samuel Davies Baldwin I but have excluded him from the calculations, since he thought that the creation of the different skin colors of humanity began with the punishment inflicted at the Tower of Babel; see below, Appendix II, p. 228. On the other hand, I include references to the Curse as the cause of black skin, since the biblical allusion implies a curse of slavery even if not stated.

428

The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, ed. George Rawick (Westport, Conn., 1972–73), Alabama Narratives, 6:335–336.

429

The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Supplement Series 2, ed. George Rawick (Westport, Conn., 1979), 4.4:1559.

430

James A. Sloan, *The Great Question Answered*, pp. 75, 78, 80; emphases in the original. Some pages earlier (p. 60), Sloan claimed that well before the curse Noah had named his son Ham ("black") because of "some peculiarity of color in the skin," which would seem to stand in contradiction to his later statement that

dark skin was the result of Noah's curse. Perhaps Sloan thought that Noah named his son "black" in foreknowledge of future events, similar to Gilbert Francklyn's argument that Kush was born black before Ham's curse because of "the fore knowledge of the deity of the crime, and consequent punishment, which Ham would commit, and be sentenced to" (Appendix I, p. 212). Emmerich is quoted above, p. 139.

431

Goldenberg, "Racism, Color Symbolism, and Color Prejudice" in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, pp. 88–108; below, pp. 189–192. On the Christian interpretation of biblical blacks, see also Robert E. Hood, *Begrimed and Black: Christian Traditions on Blacks and Blackness* (Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 73–90, and Gay Byron, *Symbolic Blackness and Ethnic Difference in Early Christian Literature* (London, 2002), pp. 122–129.

432

Winthrop Jordan, in his study *White over Black*, pp. 7–8, emphasized the role that negative meanings of blackness would have on the American slave system and its view of blacks. As Ernst van den Boogaart said in recapping Jordan's thesis, "[F]or a fair-skinned Englishman blackness could be nothing other than a curse" ("Colour Prejudice and the Yardstick of Civility," p. 38). Jordan's review of the negative meanings of blackness did not take into consideration Christian exegesis.

433

Johnson, *Myth of Ham*, p. 10; author's emphasis.

434

Separating out the question of the origin of black skin from the origin of black slavery in these authors is not without difficulty. Since black skin color is explicit or implicit in the Curse of Ham, an author's reference to the Curse in a discussion of skin color might mention or imply slavery as well. Or, in reverse, a discussion of the origin of black slavery might refer to skin color as part of the Curse. I have therefore based my calculations on the issue being addressed by the author: an explanation or justification for black slavery as opposed to a question of the origin of black skin. Given these qualifications, I find that of the 33 European writers referring to the Curse, in 14 cases the Curse is used to justify black slavery (42.4%), while of 80 in America, the figure is 65 (81.2%). If we restrict the American list to the 18th-19th centuries to provide a more precise comparison with the European list, the percentage is 67.1% (45 of 67 instances). Although these calculations presented difficulties, as mentioned, the

relative percentages between Europe and America, I believe, indicate a more pronounced focus on black slavery by the American writers.

435

With the same caveat given in the previous note, I find that in America, of 23 cases that mention Cain's mark of blackness, 13 connect his blackness to slavery, i.e., 56.5% (assuming that Lord and Davis considered Cain's mark to have been black skin). In contrast, in Europe only 3 of 26 (11.5%) mention Cain's blackness in association with the servitude of blacks, or 4 of 26 (15.3%) if we include an 1855 reference to Afrikaner belief mentioned by William C. Holden, *History of the Colony of Natal* (London, 1855), p. 390, quoted by André Du Toit, "No Chosen People: The Myth of the Calvinist Origins of Afrikaner Nationalism and Racial Ideology," *American Historical Review* 88 (1983) 947n80. See also the reference to Tiryakian, below, p. 177n18. In addition, the Greek poem dated to about 1500 CE, which I mentioned above (p. 41), possibly associates Cain's blackness with slavery, for it describes God's curse of Cain as consisting of a change of color to black and a loss of power. The "loss of power" may be a reference to the state of slavery. In none of these cases is the nature of the association explained, either via genealogy or marriage; the association is merely asserted or assumed.

436

In one case Cainwas considered to be the ancestor of a master class but this seems to be based ona mistaken understanding of the English Bible. We find this suggestion in the 2nd edition of *The Athenian Oracle* (1704). A questioner to the *Oracle* asked the meaning of God's curse of Eve, *Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee* (Genesis 3:16). The answer: "It must be that same here that 'tis in Gen 4.7, where 'tis said of Abel to Cain, *His desire shall be to thee, and thou shalt Rule over him*; in both which places, in the Margent of some Bibles, that Phrase, *Desire being to'em*, is explain'd by being subject unto 'em, Abel to Cain, and Eve to her Husband" (*The Athenian Oracle*, 2nd ed., 1704, 2:122–123). It isn't explained how Abel or his descendants could be subject to anyone, since Abel had just been killed. Clearly, this interpretation has some logical difficulties. In fact, it is based on an incorrect understanding of the verse in early English translations of the Bible. According to the text, after Cain had killed his brother Abel, God told him that *sin is lurking at the door; its desire is for you, but you must master it*. The third person neuter pronoun (*it, its*) was rendered as 'him/his' in early English translations of the Bible (e. g., the King James Version of 1611 or the Geneva Bible of the 16th century) in

conformity with English usage of the time: *his desire is for you, but you must master him*. By the time of *The Athenian Oracle*, however, the neuter pronoun was no longer rendered as *his* or *him*, thus giving rise to the assumption that the pronoun referred to Abel, and made Cain a master of dead Abel instead of making Cain a master of sin.

437

Above, pp. 36–41.

438

As late as 1957 Arthur Gilbert claimed that the belief that Cain's mark was black skin was one of the "most commonly uttered charges of the 'religious' segregationists"; quoted in James O. Buswell, *Slavery, Segregation and Scripture* (Grand Rapids, 1964), p. 65 from the *Christian Friends Bulletin* 14.2 (April, 1957), pp. 3–4. Even without identifying Cain's mark as black skin, the biblical verse was still cited as proof that God desired the segregation of different human groups; see G. T. Gillespie, *A Christian View on Segregation* (Greemwood, Miss., 1954), pp. 8–9, originally delivered as an address to the Mississippi Synod of the Presbyterian Church. Rev. Gillespie was the former president of Bellhaven College (now, University) of Jackson, Mississippi, a Christian college. Gillespie also cited Genesis 9 as proof, since it showed that Noah's three sons inhabited different parts of the world (Shem-Asia, Japheth-Europe, Ham-Africa). The same views were expressed by a "Reverend R." quoted in Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew, *Christians in Racial Crisis* (Washington, 1959), pp. 51–52. According to George D. Kelsey, *Racism and the Christian Understanding of Man* (New York, 1965), p. 107, Gillespie's publication was "undoubtedly the most influential single tract of the present time, which elaborates the thesis that God and Jesus favor segregation."

439

Ham married into the line of Cain: Mormon documents, John Fletcher, Nathan Lord, and Jefferson Davis. In the case of Lord and Davis, Cain's skin color is not explicitly mentioned, but may reasonably be assumed. This theory is also mentioned by George Howe, as a belief held by some ("The Mark of Cain and the Curse of Ham," p. 417). Others (John Woolman, David Walker, David Lee Child) referred to the view that associated Cain's mark of blackness with slavery without specifiying how the association came about. Elihu Coleman argued aginst those who claimed a Cain lineage for Canaan. Samuel Cartwright thought that Canaan's mother may have been a descendant of Cain who had been cursed with black skin. Interestingly, the Middle Irish poem *Dúan in Chóicat Cest*

claims a similar genealogy, that the mother of Ham's wife was a descendant of Cain, but for a different reason. Cartwright wanted to join blackness with slavery while the Irish poem is an attempt to harmonize the two traditions of the ancestor of the monstrous races, either Cain or Ham. Note the reference in *Adam and His Descendants*, a medieval Irish apocryphon, to Cain as "the decrepit creature of bondage" (M. Herbert and M. McNamara, ed. *Irish Biblical Apocrypha*, Edinburgh, 1989, p. 17). See Appendix III, below, for the authors cited in this note. In addition, for the weird theories of Cartwright, see George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (New York, 1971), pp. 87–88. For the Irish material see Clarke, "The Lore of the Monstrous Races," p. 28, and the discussion above on the monstrous races, pp. 33–40.

440

Jacob L. Stone, *Slavery and the Bible, or Slavery as Seen in Its Punishment* (San Francisco, 1863), pp. 10–11.

441

James W. C. Pennington, *A Text Book of the Origin and History, etc. etc. of the Colored People* (Hartford, 1841), p. 14.

442

Quoted in Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 12.

443

Annals of Congress, 15th Congress, First Session (March 6, 1818), Senate, col. 238 ("Fugitive Slaves"), citing the *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, which has no such statement; David Lee Child (1834) – see Appendix II; John Jacobus Flournoy, *A Reply to a Pamphlet, Entitled "Bondage, a Moral Institution Sanctioned by the Scriptures and the Savior etc., etc*."… (Athens, Ga., 1838), pp. 6, 24; Thornton Stringfellow, *A Brief Examination of Scripture Testimony on the Institution of Slavery* … (Richmond, 1841), p. 6 (in ed. Washington, 1850, on p. 2), later incorporated in Thornton Stringfellow's *The Bible Argument: Or, Slavery in the Light of Divine Revelation*" in E. N. Elliott ed., *Cotton is King, and Pro-Slavery Arguments* (Augusta, Ga., 1860), p. 463, and reproduced in Paul Finkelman, *Defending Slavery*, p. 124; Josiah Priest, *Slavery as It Relates to the Negro, or African Race: Examined in the Light of Circumstances, History and the Holy Scriptures*…. (Albany, 1843), pp. viii, 49, 89, et passim; idem, *Bible Defence of Slavery*…. (Glasgow, Ky.,1852), p. 59, 106, et passim; [Iveson L. Brooks], *A Defence of Southern Slavery against the Attacks of Henry Clay and Alexander Campbell*…. (Hamburg, S.C., 1851), p. 6; Samuel Davies Baldwin,

Dominion: or the Unity and Trinity of the Human Race (Nashville, 1857), pp. 357–358, 368, 386; H. O. R., *The Governing Race: A Book for the Time, and for All Times* (Washington, D.C., 1860) p. 54; William Dallman, *Why Do I Believe the Bible is God's Word* (1937), p. 1, quoted by L. Richard Bradley, "The Curse of Canaan and the American Negro," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 42 (1971) 104. A short and enjoyable description of Flournoy's eccentricities is found in Claude Elliott's review of *John Jacobus Flournoy: Champion of the Common Man in the Ante-Bellum South* by E. Merton Coulter, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 47 (1943) 198–200.

444

"The Hebrew [biblical text], in regard to Canaan, is rewritten in the anatomy and physiology of the Negro. So far, therefore, from modern discoveries in science disproving the Scriptures, they prove its truth, by identifying, beyond a doubt, the posterity of Canaan with the Ethiopian race" ("Canaan Identified with the Ethiopian," *The Southern Quarterly Review* 2 [1842] 321). "In the Hebrew word 'Canaan,' the original name of the Ethiopian, the word slave by nature, or language to the same effect, is written by the inspired penman." And again: "The Negroes [were] descendants of Canaan, son of Ham, whose children were doomed to be the servants of Japheth or the white race" ("Report on the Diseases and Physical Peculiarities of the Negro Race" [Part I], *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* 7 [1851] 697, 698); "Report on the Diseases and Physical Peculiarities of the Negro Race" [reply to a reviewer] (ibid. 8 [1852?], 369–370); "Philosophy of the Negro Constitution," ibid. (1852) 204. Cartwright's arguments were repeated in his *Essays, being Inductions Drawn from the Baconian Philosophy Proving the Truth of the Bible and the Justice and Benevolence of the Decree Dooming Canaan to be Servant of Servants* .... (Vidalia, La., 1843), pp. 8–13. On Cartwright and his theories, see James Denny Guillory, "The Pro-Slavery Arguments of Dr. Samuel A. Cartwright," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 9.3 (1968), 216, 220, 224; "Slavery in the Light of Ethnology," in E. N. Elliott ed., *Cotton is King*, p.711; Fredrickson, *Black Image in the White Mind*, pp. 87–89; and Johnson, *Myth of Ham*, pp. 41–43.

445

Frederick Dalcho, *Practical Considerations Founded on the Scriptures, Relative to the Slave Population of South-Carolina* (1823), pp. 16–18. See below, Appendix II, pp. 220–221.

446

“Resolution on Integration” of the Arkansas Missionary Baptist Convention, November 19, 1957. The notice of the resolution published by the Arkansas Missionary Baptist Association noted, “Similar resolution passed at annual meeting of 485 churches of Baptist Missionary Association of Texas”; quoted in Campbell and Pettigrew, *Christians in Racial Crisis*, p. 39, who note that, “[t]here were many other resolutions of similar tone from comparable bodies” (p. 40).

447

Henry Parker Eastman, *The Negro; His Origin, History and Destiny* (Boston, 1905), p. 250.

448

From MS ENG HIST d.492 in the Bodleian Library; information sent by Richard Pennell, now at the University of Melbourne, to the online Ancient Near East Mailing List at the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago (31 Januay 1994). For the general belief in Morocco at this time that to be black meant to be a slave, see Hunwick, “Medieval and Later Arab Views of Blacks,” pp. 20–22 (http://www.yale.edu/glc/events/race/Hunwick.pdf), and Wright, *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, quoted above, p. 100n53. H. J. Fisher, “Of Slaves, and Souls of Men,*” Journal of African History* 28 (1987) 143, notes that in the 18th century the Moroccan government “attempted to classify all local blacks as slaves, and to recruit them into the army.” See also John Hunwick, “Islamic Law and Politics,” pp. 43–68, quoted above, p. 92n20.

449

Quoted above, p. 92n20.

450

Above, p. 156n33.

451
Above, p. 55.
452
Haud tamen inconveniens videtur, quod Postellus adducit, de caussa tantae nigredinis Africanorum, praesertim in Aethiopia habitantium, cum videlicet non faltem e Caeli, sed etiam Solis, peculiari vi, hanc incolis propriam esse, eo quod posteri sint Chami, qui per maledictionem, quoniam Patrem nudatum irriserat, cum tota sua progenie, hac nigredinis nota tam interius, quam exterius commaculatus sit, asserat; Brahe, *Astronomiae instauratae progymnasmata* (1574) in Tycho Brahe, *Opera omnia*, ed. I. L. E. Dreyer (Hauni, 1913–29), 3:230 (in ed. Frankfurt, 1648, p. 426). Earlier in the same work (2:314, ed. Frankfurt, p. 233) Brahe again mentioned the story of blackness deriving from Ham's disrespect toward his father but without referring to Postel: quod a chus chami primogenito prognati essent (ideoque nigri, tanquam notati ob chami irrisionem), "The firstborn son of that Ham was Kush (and as is noted became black because of the laughter of Ham)."
453
Praeter calamitatem servitutis. Nam Arabiae gentes, quae e Chus filiis e Cethura, a Moab et Ammon Loti filii partim extinctae, partim sub iugum missae sunt. Africae autem populi perpetuae Europaeorum et Asianorum seruituti obnoxii; Genebrard, *Chronographiae libri quatuor* (1585), p. 27; see above, p. 58n39, for pagination in later editions. This passage does not appear in the first edition (1580) of the work.
454
Ut aliqui credant (quemadmodum Genebrardus refert) fidem habendam esse traditioni Hebraicae, quae ex albo parente Cham (sicut et Iaphet, et Sem albi errant) natum affirmat Chus (aut saltem eius posteros) atro colore in sceleris paterni argumentum praeter calamitatem seruitutis. Nam Arabiae gentes, quae e Chus descenderant, ab Ismaele, Esau, Madian et ceteris Abrahe filiis, e Cethura, a Moab, et Ammon Loth filiis partim extinctae, partim sub iugum missae sunt. Africae autem populi perpetuae Europaeorum et Asianorum seruituti obnoxii; Antonio Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studionum* (Rome, 1593), 2:214. Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 158, thought that Possevino's statement about Kush being born of white parents "might have been a creative inference from such comments as those of Rashi (to BT *Sanhedrin* 108b)," but, as is clear, Possevino was quoting Genebrard, not creating his own interpretation from Rashi.

455
Tutti i mori che sono cosi negri nel volto sono della schiatta, e di scendenza di Cam la qual negrezza, e brutezza, l'hanno ricevuta in pena del peccato di Cam a quo Aethyopus. Genebrardo lo confirma, Certissimum est, originem nigredinis (id est Aethiopum) non a regione propria, ut hactenus existimatum est, ob solis ardores, sed a stirpe et a sanguine Chus provenire; Agostino Paoletti, *Discorsi predicabili di tutte le Domeniche e feste correnti* (Venetia, 1646), pp. 275–276.
456
See Allen, *Legend of Noah*, p. 119, and from there to J.A.A.A. Stoop, "Die vervloeking van Gam in Afrika," p. 162, and see above, p. 24n28.
457
Aethiopes omnes facie tam nigri oriundi sunt ex stirpe Cham, nigredine illa et turpitudine impressa manente in poenam peccati Cham, unde Aethiopes. Genebrardo hic attestatur, Certissimum est, originem nigredinis (id est Aethiopum) non a regione propria, ut hactenus existimatum est, ob solis ardores, sed a stirpe et a sanguine Cham provenire; Agostino Paoletti, *Discursus predicabiles in omnes dominicas et festa* … Ex Italico Latine redditi Opera et Studio R. Patris Gratiani a Sancto Elia (Antwerp, 1659), pp. 359–360.
458
[N]on tamen credibile est propter maledictionem Canaan, factam, Cham posteros omnes esse nigros, ut sentit Wilhelmus postellus I. de Concord: Orbis…. ; Johann Ludwig Hannemann, *Curiosum scrutinium nigredinis posterorum Cham*, §21.
459
Hannemann again misquoted Postel in the same section: "Wilhelm Postel writes in the *De concordia orbis*, that from the curse of Noah, with which he burdened his son Ham, the blackness was derived unto his grandson Cush" (Wilhelmus postellus I: de Concordia Orbis scribit, a diris Noachi, quibus ille filium suum Cham oneravit, in Nepotem Chusum nigredinem eam derivatam esse). "Curse" apparently indicates the biblical story. Incidentally, in both of these quotations of Postel, Hannemann is apparently in error in citing *De obis terrae Concordia*. From what I can tell Postel in this work doesn't say anything about Ham or Canaan. It is in his *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium* where Postel speaks of a curse of blackness on Ham; see above, p. 55, where the text is quoted.
460
The text of the *Comte de Gabalis* and the passage in Bayle are discussed in

detail above, pp. 63 and 64n54.

461

Pierre Charles, “Les Noirs,” pp. 723–724.

462

O. Bimwenyi-Kweshi quotes Charles and emphasizes the words “rabbinic legends.” O. Bimwenyi-Kweshi, *Discours théologique négro-africain* (Paris, 1981), pp. 123–124.

463

In our times this has led to a belief in rabbinic anti-black sentiment; see Goldenberg, “The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?”

464

Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 107–109, for Jewish (as also Greek, Roman, and other) views of Egyptians as dark skinned. To Thomson’s references, mentioned there, of Ethiopians being called Egyptians add the 6th-century Carthaginian poet Luxorius (Morris Rosenblum, *Luxorius: A Latin Poet among the Vandals*, New York, 1961, no. 7, pp. 114–115, and see Rosenblum’s note on pp. 181–182. Perhaps also no. 67, p. 150–151; see notes 4 and 7 on p. 231). Paul Kaplan, “Jewish Artists,” p. 86 claims that black images in the pictorial Pentateuch of Moisè dal Castellazzo are “signifier[s] of sinfulness” which “owes much to the rabbinic tradition.” Aside from the depiction of Ham there are two scenes with black images: the Egyptians in ‘Abraham and Sarah before Pharaoh’ and ‘Pharaoh’s Illness.’ But I wonder whether these depictions are symbolic of sinfulness or, rather, a reflection of (a) the midrashic take on the biblical story of Abraham and Sarah before Pharaoh, which depicts the Egyptians as dark skinned in contrast to Sarah’s light-skinned beauty (see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 85–86, 107–109), and/or (b) the common depiction of Egyptians as dark skinned.

465

Erik Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings*, trans. David Warburton (New York, 1990), p. 147, pl. 105; p. 148, pl. 107–109; and Erik Hornung with A. Brodbeck and E. Staehelin, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 7–8 (Basel, 1979–80), 2:134–136. See also Stuart Smith in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford/New York, 2001), 3:31 (‘people’) and 112 (‘race’). On the location (the Levant) and etymology (from Semitic *ʿlm*/*ǵlm* ‘young man’ and then generically ‘mankind, people’) of the ꜣ*m*, see Donald B. Redford, “Egypt and Western Asia in the Old Kingdom,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 23 (1986) 125–

143.

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Nina M. Davies with Alvan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* (Chicago, 1936), vol. 2, pl. 24, 42, 58, 60 with accompanying descriptions in vol. 3; F. J. Yurco, "Two Tomb-Wall Painted Reliefs of Ramesses III and Sety I and Ancient Nile Valley Population Diversity," in *Egypt in Africa*, ed. Theodore Celenko (Indianapolis, 1996), pp. 109–110, where earlier literature is cited. A. Malamat, "The Conception of Ham and His Sons in the Table of Nations (Gen 10:6–20)," in *Egypt, Israel, and Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Gary Knoppers and Antoine Hirsch (Leiden, 2004), p. 360, speaking of the illustrations in the tomb of Seti I. Note also the comment of A. Dillmann, *Genesis Critically and Exegetically Expounded*, trans. Wm. B. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1897), 1:319, that ancient Egyptian monuments represent the Egyptians, Kush, Punt, and the Phoenicians as reddish brown.

467

See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham* pp. 233–234n63, and add William Adler and Paul Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos* (Oxford, 2002), p. 65. For the Libyan identification, add also Torgny Säve-Söderberg, s.v. Kusch in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft neue Bearbeitung begonnen von Georg Wissowa* (Munich, 1980), and see Paul Ash, *David, Solomon and Egypt: A Reassessment* (Sheffield, 1999), p. 128n2 (the Libyans were from the Egyptian delta). Dimitri Meeks in *Mysterious Lands*, ed. David O'Connor and Stephen Quirke (London, 2003), pp. 53–80, argues that Punt is to be located in the western part of the Arabian Penninsula, from Arabia Petraea or the Negev in the north to Yemen in the south, i. e., the whole coastal area of the Penninsula. Alessandra Nibbi, *Ancient Egypt and Some Egyptian Neighbors* (Park Ridge, N.J., 1981), pp. 118–150, locates Punt in the western, central Sinai. The ancient sources that identify Put with Libya include Jubilees 9:1; Josephus, *Ant*. 1.132 (Libya was founded by Phoutes); Jerome (d. 420): "Up to the present day, Ethiopia is called Chus by the Hebrews, Egypt is called Mesraim, and the Libyans Phuth" (Hayward, *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 40).; see also LXX Ezekiel 30:5.

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According to J. L. Triaud (*EI*2, 9:752b, s.v. Sūdān), the term *bilād al-sūdān* 'land of the blacks' in pre-modern Arabic sources refers to the "Saharo-Sahelian sector of Africa." Ismaʾil al-Beily argues that the term *sūdān* in early Arabic writings referred to various peoples of dark skin, i. e., "the coloured people of the world";

ʿUthmān Sayyid-Ahmad Ismaʾil al-Beily, "'As-Sudan' and 'Bilad as-Sudan' in Early and Medieval Arabic Writing," *Majallat Jāmiʿat al-Qāahirah bi-al-Kharţum* [*Bulletin of Cairo University in Khartoum*] 3 (1972) 33–47, quote on p. 39; see also Y. Talib and F. Samir, "The African Diaspora in Asia," in *General History of Africa*, ed. M. El Fasi and I. Hrbek, 3:712. We may, perhaps, discount al-Beily's references to Jāḥiẓ (quoted above, p. 71), who includes the Chinese, the people of Marw (=Merv) in present-day Turkmenistan, and several others as *sūdān*, because of the nature of Jāḥiẓ's work *Fakhr al-sūdān ʿala al-bidan* (The Boasts of the Blacks over the Whites) as an polemic in defense of the blacks. Yet, Ṭabarī (above, p. 79) and others mention the Indians, the Egyptians, and the Fezzān of the northern Sahara among the *sūdān*. On Jāḥiẓ and the *Fakhr*, see Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, p. 32. Lewis writes that in addition to Jāḥiẓ, other Arabic authors include the inhabitants of Southeast Asia and China among the *sūdān* but neither he nor Talib indicates which authors. On the other hand, Rotter, *Stellung des Negers*, p. 20–21, writes that while the singular *aswad*, especially in the earlier period, can describe any dark-skinned person, the plural *sūdān*, when used as a substantive, "steht dabei fast ausschliesslich für die schwarzen Afrikaner." See Muhammad, "Image of Africans," p. 49, and the quote (p. 56) from Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200): "Hamites settled in the southern and western regions. The God caused (*fa-jaʿala*) most of them to be black complexioned (*adama*), and a few of them light-complexioned (*bayad*); they [the blacks] inhabit most of the earth." For Arabs as *sūdān*, see below, Excursus III, p. 275–276n50.

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Above, p. 46.

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Pirqei de-rabbenu ha-qadosh, 3.97, in *Shelosha sefarim niftaḥim*, ed. Samuel Schönblum (Lemberg, 1877), p. 32b; in *Ginze Yerushalayim: toratan shel geʾonim ....*, ed. Solomon Aaron Werheimer and Abraham Joseph Wertheimer (Jerusalem, 1981), 2:58, no. 231. For the dating see M. D. Herr, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, first ed. (1972), 16:1516, and *Sefer ha-meqorot I: ha-milon ha-hisṭori le-lashon ha-ʿivrit shel ha-Aqademiah le-Lashon ha-ʿIvrit*, ed. Hebrew Language Academy (Jerusalem, 1963), p. 38. *Pirqei de-rabbenu ha-qadosh* is one representative of a genre of midrashic works known as *Midrash shelosha we-arbaʿa*. The earliest dated appearances of the Kush interpretation is found in the works of Rashi (d. 1105) and Nathan b. Yeḥiel of Rome (d. ca. 1110), both of whom presumably drew on *Pirqei de-rabbenu ha-qadosh* or a similar version of

Midrash shelosha we-arbaʿa. Wertheimer, *Ginze Yerushalayim*, 2:8 shows that Rashi (and other *Rishonim*) drew on *Pirqei de-rabbenu ha-qadosh*. Further on these midrashic works, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 296–297n83. Rashi to BT *Sanhedrin* 108b, s.v. *laqah be-ʿoro*; Nathan b. Yeḥiel, *ʿArukh ha-Shalem*, ed. A. Kohut, 7:226a, s.v. *qashar*.

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See above, pp. 59–64 and 41n51.

472

Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 183–184.

473

Ḥabasha (= Abyssinia, Ethiopia, south of the Sahara), Zanj (sub-Saharan East Africa), Fezzān (Northern Sahara), Zaghāwa (Saharan-Sahelian area in Western Sudan), Nūba (=Nubia, Kūsh, beginning south of Egypt), Bujā (=Bejā, Sahara in East Africa below Egypt), Qibṭ/Copts (=Egyptians), Indians (Hind and Sind). *Brbr* may refer to the Berbers of North Africa or the Barbar of sub-Saharan East Africa; see above, p. 73n16. For these locations, see the relevant entries in *EI*2. For Qarān or Qazān, see Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, p. 376. "Yāqūt lists the *Fazzān* as North Africans living between today's Egypt and Libya and the *Zaghāwa* as living south of today's Morocco" (Firestone, "Early Islamic Exegesis," p. 61n42).

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For hair, in addition to the authors mentioned above in Chapter Six (Ibn ʿAsākir quoting ʿUthmān, Ṭabarī quoting ʿAṭāʾ, the *Kitāb al-Zunūj*), this description will be found, e. g., in Strabo 15.1.24, Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.80.189 (and see Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, pp. 6–7, 173–174), Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, and Dimashqī in Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, pp. 32, 213, Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf*, trans. B. Carra de Vaux, *Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision* (Paris, 1896), p. 40, Ibn Rusta (Rusteh) in Cuoq, *Recueil des sources arabes*, p. 57, Jāḥiẓ and the Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ quoted in Gernot Rotter, *Die Stellung des Negers*, p. 153. For Jewish sources, see the *Tanḥuma* midrash discussed in Excursus III, p. 269. For Christian literature: George Best in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, 5:180, the Brazilian folktale (above, p. 31), and the references to Ham's or Cain's physiological changes listed below in Appendices II and III. For descriptions of the lighter color on the palms of the hand and the soles of the feet as markers of the black African, see above in Chapters Two (the Cameroon and Brazilian folktales) and Six (Romanelli). Just as I explain the restriction of the dual curse to black Africans as due to the increase in black

slavery, so too does Helmi Sharawi explain a different linguistic change as due to the same reason: "Along with the slave trade in East Africa and the Indian Ocean, we notice the fading of the word Abyssinian clearing the way to a little bit wider 'Negro,' before reaching the most general words – 'Black' and 'Sudan' – to describe peoples and tribes with whom the Arabs increased their relation channels." As I understand Sharawi, he is saying that with the development of the East African slave trade, the term 'Negro' (I assume that by 'Negro' Sharawi is translating *zanj*, as he did on p. 101 in quoting al-Jaḥiẓ), was commonly the term used to describe the slaves; with the later increase of more varied Arab trade with more peoples and tribes of black Africa, the term *sūdān*, meaning black Africans in general, came into use. See Helmi Sharawi, "The African in Arab Culture: Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion," in *Imagining the Arab Other: How Arabs and Non-Arabs View Each Other*, ed. Tahar Labib (London, 2008), p. 104.

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The inclusion of other dark-skinned peoples in the Arabic, Ethiopic, and Georgian versions of the *Cave*, although they are post-Islamic, is due to their derivation from the Syriac original.

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Giuliano Gliozzi, *Adam et le Nouveau Monde*, pp. 101–102.

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Alfred A. Cave, "Canaanites in a Promised Land: The American Indian and the Providential Theory of Empire," *American Indian Quarterly* 12.4 (Autumn, 1988) 277. "Embracing the image of the Israelites rooting out the Canaanites, the [Jamestown] colony embarked upon an unremitting war against the independent Indian tribes" (Cave, p. 289). Cave (pp. 281–287) mentions works by George Peckham (1583), William Symonds (1609), Robert Gray (1609), and William Crashaw (1610), the last of whom rejected the analogy. John Martin Evans, *Milton's Imperial Epic: Paradise Lost and the Discourse of Colonialism* (Ithaca, 1996), pp. 21–24, adds: Robert Johnson (1609), Alexander Whitaker (1613), and Thomas Morton (1632), the title of whose work was *New English Canaan*, and Sylvester Johnson adds the 1799 sermon by the Massachusetts minister Abiel Abbot ("New Israel, New Canaan: The Bible, the People of God, and the American Holocaust," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 59.1–2 [2005] 33–34). See also Louis B. Wright, *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion 1558–1625* (New York, 1965), Chapter Four. Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*

(Oxford, 1986), pp. 43–46, traces the Canaanite typology in later American (18th-20th centuries) writing. In his preface to *Spanish Colonie* (1583), an anonymous ("M. M. S.") English translation of Bartholome de Las Casas's *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*, the author used the analogy in arguing, on the contrary, that the Indians were less deserving than the Canaanites of God's wrath; see Cave, "Canaanites in a Promised Land," p. 280. Cave also mentions an anonymous note found among Sir Walter Raleigh's papers that makes the same point.

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Gliozzi, *Adam et le Nouveau Monde*, pp. 111–112, 126n60, points to the French translation of Fransisco López de Gómara's (d. ca. 1566) work *Historia general de las Indias* (1552) as an early representation of this claim. Gómara justified the enslavement of the Indians by drawing an analogy between Ham and the Indians. Ham, he said, was punished with servitude for a far lesser sin than that (idolatry) of the Indians (Ca menos pecó Can contra su padre Noé que estos indios contra Dios, y fueron sus hijos y descendientes esclavos por maldición). Gómara did not make a genealogical connection between Ham and the Indians but his French translator, the Huguenot Martin Fumée, in 1569, turned Gómara's analogy into a claim that the Indians descended from Ham, and this claim was repeated by several other French writers, whether based on Fumée's mistranslation or not. Fransisco López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias y Conquista de México* (Zaragoza, 1552), part 2, ch. 217; in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. 22 (Madrid, 1946), p. 290b. Fumée's translation was published as *Histoire générale des Indes occidentales et Terres Neuves, qui iusques à present ont esté descouvertes, Traduite en François par M. Fumée Sieur de Marly le Chastel* (Paris, 1569). This translation was criticized by Guillaume le Breton in his own, later French translation of Gómara, *Voyages et conquestes du capitaine Ferdinand Courtois, és Indes Occidentales* (Paris, 1588): "[T]hose who say that Gómara states that the Indians have descended from Ham, based, I believe, on a passage from his *Historia general*, are they not making something up about him?" Quotation from Cristián A. Roa-de-la-Carrera, *Histories of Infamy: Francisco López de Gómara and the Ethics of Spanish Imperialism*, trans. Scott Sessions (Boulder, 2005), p. 4. See also Frank Lestringant, *Le huguenot et le sauvage* (3rd ed., Genève, 2004), p. 475. Gliozzi noted that following Fumée, another Huguenot, La Popelinière, in 1582 claimed that Gómara thought that the natives derived from the Canaanites, as did Urbain Chauveton in 1579.

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De illa uero parte quae Chasdiam debere dici supra notaui, nil adhuc potest referri: nisi quis, ex eo quod Mauros homines et nigerrimos habeat, instar Chamesie (in qua ex Chuso filio Chamesis, alioqui albi ex coniuge alba procreato, & non loco, sed scelere patris sic infecto, sunt nati Aethiopes); Postel, *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium*, p. 14 ("Chasdia" refers to the New World); Gliozzi, *Adam et le Nouveau Monde*, pp. 31–32, 111, 132. The French Huguenot missionary to Brazil Jean de Léry (d. 1611) also believed that the natives of the New World descended from Ham, and as proof referred to the Indians' character and way of life; Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* (1578), ch. 16, p. 292. Marc Lescarbot (d.1641), the author of *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (1609), included among the proofs that the Indians descended from Ham the shared depravity of the Canaanites and the Indians, including, he writes, cannibalism; Gliozzi, *Adam et le Nouveau Monde*, p. 113. See also Lee Eldridge Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians: European Concepts, 1492–1729* (Austin, 1967), p. 113, and Brian Brazeau, *Writing a New France, 1604–1632* (Farnham, U.K., 2009), p. 88. In W. L. Grant's English translation of Lescarbot's work, *The History of New France* (Toronto, 1907), the text is at 1:43–44. Gliozzi (p. 113) also mentions the French theologian Simon Goulart (d. 1628) and the jurist Claude Duret (d. 1611) who disagreed with the theory of Hamitic descendancy.

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Manuel da Nóbrega (d. 1570), the Portuguese Jesuit and first Provincial in colonial Brazil, held that the Curse of Ham affected the Indians, thus explaining their savagery. See Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Christianity in Latin America*, revised and expanded edition (Leiden, 2013), p. 157n74. Cf. Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians*, p. 38. Nóbrega is in Serafim Leite, *Monumenta Brasiliae*, vol. 2 of the series *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, vol. 89 (Rome, 1957), document 51,10–11, and online at http://www.ibiblio.org/ml/libri/n/NobregaM_ConversaoGentio_p.pdf, pp. 10–11. In a work written in 1589, the Spanish friar Suárez de Peralta claimed that the Indians descended from cursed Canaan: Suárez de Peralta, *Noticias históricas de Nueva España*, written in 1589 (although first published in 1878), pp. 15–16; repr. 1949, pp. 37–38. (Evans, *Milton's Imperial Epic*, p. 24, gives a date of 1580.) The English writer William Strachey (d. 1621) observed that the Indians' "Ignoraunce of the true worship of god …, the Inventions of Hethenisme, and adoration of falce godes, the Deuill," was due to their descendancy from Ham; William Strachey, *The Historie of*

Travell into Virginia Britania (1612), ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London, 1953), p. 54. See Cave, "Canaanites in a Promised Land," pp. 284–285, for Strachey and also for the genealogical argument put forward by Robert Johnson a few years earlier, in 1609. Evans, ibid., also refers to John White writing in 1630: "Some conceive the Inhabitants of New-England to be Chams posterity."

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The Curse of Ham argument legitimating slavery was deeply "embedded in the consciousness of the people" even until the first quarter of the twentieth century although "it was never formally adopted by any church body, and was keenly refuted by all responsible preachers"; J. A. Loubser, *The Apartheid Bible: A Critical Review of Racial Theology in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1987), pp. 7–8. So also Oskar Niederberger, *Kirche – Mission – Rasse: Die Missionsauffassung der niederländisch-reforierten Kirchen von Südafrika* (Schöneck-Beckenried, Switzerland, 1959), p. 74. Niederberger (p. 73), and from there to Mathias Georg Guenther, "From 'Brutal Savages' to 'Harmless People': Notes on the Changing Western Image of the Bushmen," *Paideuma* 26 (1980) 127, conveys the impression that the Curse of Ham notion came to South Africa via Hannemann's *Curiosum scrutinium nigredinis*, but I don't see any proof for that. Guenther noted how "the European settlers (especially the Dutch Calvinists) viewed their destiny in Africa as the Israelites of southern Africa locked in combat with the dark-skinned Canaanites." See also the quote from C. P. Bezuidenhout in Leonard Thompson, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* (New Haven, 1985), p. 268n55 (Bezuidenhout's work was unavailable to me), H. F. Stander, "The Church Fathers on (the Cursing of) Ham," *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 5 (1994) 113, and T. Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom* (Berkeley, 1975), p. 29. (My thanks for the Stander and Moodie references and for the Bosch article cited below to Julie Aaboe, a graduate student at the University of Cape Town in 2004.) Edward A. Tiryakian, "Apartheid and Religion," *Theology Today* 14 (1957) 392, writes, "The Negroes became associated in the Boer's mind with the sons of Ham who carried the curse of Cain on their heads," and follows that with a reference to blacks as Canaanites, quoting William E. G. Fisher, *The Transvaal and the Boers* (London, 1900), p. 50: "The Boer compared himself to the Israelite of old and native to a Canaanite whom it was doing God a service to destroy." See also the belief of a certain field-cornet Stephanus Ferreira, who "equated the Khoikhoi with the cursed generation of Ham," quoted in Russel Viljoen, *Jan Paerl, a Khoikhoi in Cape Colonial Society 1761–1851* (Leiden,

2006), p. 145. G. D. Scholtz wrote in 1958 that it wasn't only Ferreira who thought that way; "probably the vast majority of Afrikaners held the same view, and even today it has still not completely died out" ("Die Ontstaan en Wese van die Suid-Afrikaanse Rassepatroon," *Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleenthede. Journal of Racial Affairs* 9.4 [July, 1958] 147). For an opposing view, that it was not until late in the 19th century that the Afrikaners saw the indigenous people of South Africa as the descendants of Ham and subject to Noah's curse, see André du Toit, "No Chosen People, pp. 920–952, esp. 929–930; idem, "Captive to the Nationalist Paradigm: Prof. F. A. van Jaarsveld and the Historical Evidence for the Afrikaner's Ideas on His Calling and Mission," *South African Historical Journal* 16 (1984) 49–80, esp. 51, 62–63, 76. See also Martin Legassick, "The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography," in *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, ed. Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (London, 1980), p. 54. (My thanks to Hermann Giliomee for alerting me to this article.) For the position of the Dutch Reformed Church, see the document issued by the church in South Africa in 1974, at the height of Apartheid, which explicitly rejected the Curse as justification for subordination of blacks; *Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture* (Cape Town, 1976), pp. 19–20. The document is an "official translation of the report *Ras, volk en nasie en volkereverhoudinge in die lig van die Skrif*, approved and accepted by the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, October 1974"; the reference is on p. 18 of the Afrikaans version. Similarly, a letter of the Drakenstein Church Council of 1704 (1703?), on which see Du Toit, "Captive," pp. 56n21 and 62. Arguing against Du Toit's view is David J. Bosch, "The Roots and Fruits of Afrikaner Civil Religion," in *New Faces of Africa*, ed. J. W. Hofmeyr and W. S. Vorster (Pretoria, 1984), p. 18 (Bosch cites what is apparently an earlier version of Du Toit's work as an unpublished article written in 1981). Basil Davidson, *Africa in History* (London, 1968), p. 228, speaking of the early days (17th and 18th centuries) of Dutch settlement in South Africa: "[The Dutch] built their farming economy on the curious notion that all Africans, the Biblical 'sons of Ham,' were appointed by God to labour as their slaves." But this sentence is not found in the revised edition; see edd. 1991 and 1992, p. 266. See lastly George M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York, 1981), pp. 170–173. Incidentally, the same distinction between church policy and common belief is implicit in Pierre Charles's statement seventy-five years ago that, "Jusqu'au XVIII^{e} siècle, il n'y a pas, dans la tradition catholique, *la moindre trace* de cette prétendue malediction

des Noirs" (*Les Dossiers de l'action missionnaire: manuel de missiologie*, 2d ed., Louvain, 1938, p.74, author's emphasis); cf. Charles, "Les Noirs," p. 726. Although coming from a later period, an indication of the belief in Hamitic ancestry is seen in linguistic usage in contemporary South Africa, where the mixed-race coloreds are considered to be descended from Ham. The term 'colored' refers to a "mixed race" group of people descended largely from European settlers, indigenous Khoisan peoples, and East Africans; Mohamed Adhikari, "The Sons of Ham: Slavery and the Making of Coloured Identity," *South African Historical Journal* 27 (1992) 95. 'Gam' [= Cham] "is used for coloureds rather than black Africans as it specifically refers to their slave heritage…. [Black] Africans were never formally enslaved so the Curse would not generally be applied to them" (personal communication from Mohamed Adhikari, 2/10/2013).

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Solórzano Pereira (y Pereyra), *Politica indiana*, bk. 1, chap. 5, sect. 35 (1: 59), above, p. 124n7. Salinas y Córdova (d. 1653) says that the Indians descend from Ham (ibid.) and that Ham was cursed with slavery (Cam, quando descubrió a su abuelo, fue maldito de Dios, y sujeto a seruidumbre) but in this quotation Cam seems to refer to Canaan as seen from the reference to Noah as *su abuelo* and from Salinas's continuation "y assi acabó su justicia con los Cananeos…." In other words, it appears that although Salinas connects the Indians' skin color to their ancestor Ham ([L]a opinión cierta, y verdadera es, que los Etiopes, y los Indios son negros, y colorados, porque decienden de los hijos de Cam.…), he does not make a similar connection with slavery. See *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú*, p. 12. Cf. Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, "New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrololgy and Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600–1650," *American Historical Review* 104 (1999) 33–34, 58n83.

Although Salinas was educated at the *Jesuit* Colegio de San Martiín, he joined the Franciscan order (cf. Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 157). Pinelo's statement "Entraron los Españlos como Señores entre los Indios, por naturaleza Servios, como dice el Filosofo" (*Paraiso*, 2:5) is a reference to Aristotle and his theory of natural slavery. Francisco Núñez de la Vega (d. 1698) also believed that the natives descended from Ham although, as far as I can tell, he doesn't mention their servile carácter. See *Constituciones diocesanas del obispado de Chiapas*, Preámbulo, Número 31, § XXVII: Cham … dicen algunos doctores … que de sus descendientes pasaron … a la Florida, y fueron los primitivos pobladores de

las Indias. See also the editors' Introduction, p. 111.

483

José Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado: Historia natural, civil y geographica de este gran rio, y de sus caudalosas vertientes* (Madrid, 1741), pp. 57–59. The Jesuit Francisco Javier Clavijero (Clavigero) (d. 1787) also connected the natives' nudity to Noah's curse. In his history of Mexico, Clavijero wrote that the Indians of Cuba considered themselves to be descendants of Ham, and the Spaniards descendants of Noah's other sons. This, they said, was because of Ham's mocking his father's nakedness while the other brothers covered their father and therefore wear clothes; Francisco Xavier Clavigero, *Historia antigua de México*. Facsimilar de la edicíon de Ackermann 1826 (Mexico, 2003), 2:202–203. An English translation was made by Charles Cullen, *The History of Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1817), 3:94–95. The passage is quoted by Perbal, "La Race nègre," p. 158; see Pierre Charles, "Les Noirs," p. 724. Juan de Velasco (d. 1792) also connected the natives nudity to the curse on Ham; *Historia del reino de Quito en la America meridional* (Quito, 1977), 1:285–286 (bk. 4, sec. 5.2), and see also 1:268 (bk. 1, sec. 2.12); the work was first published in 1789.

484

Albert Perbal, "La Race nègre," p. 158; see Charles, "Les Noirs," p. 724.

485

Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú*, pp. 11–12; Antonio de León Pinelo, *El Paraiso en el Nuevo Mundo*, 2:526; Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del Mar Oceano* (Madrid, 1726), Decada 1, lib. 9, cap. 4, p. 234. Herrera's work was first published between 1601 and 1615. For my translations of *rudos* and *diversos* as "coarse" and "different," which differ from Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks*, p. 158 ("bestial" and "diverse"), see the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, 22nd edition (online), s.vv. For *rudo* the *Diccionario* gives *"sin pulimento, naturalmente basto, impetuoso*" (unpolished, naturally coarse, impetuous) inter alia. Schorsch's "bestial" can convey a different connotation. For *diverso* it gives: 1. *De distinta naturaleza, especie, número, forma, etc*. 2. *desemejante*, and only for the third definition *"Varios, muchos*." As Schorsch noted, the quotation is not found in Herrera. As far as I can tell, Herrera only reports that the Cubans believed that they go unclothed because they descend from cursed Ham, while the Spaniards are clothed because they descend from Noah's other son.

486

See above, p. 124n7. Gliozzi, *Adam et le Nouveau Monde*, p. 106: the story is a Spanish invention. Another who claimed that the natives saw themselves as descendants of Ham was Francisco Núñez de la Vega (d. 1698); see *Constituciones diocesanas del obispado de Chiapas*, Preámbulo, Número 32, § XXVIII, pp. 274–275. See also the editors' Introduction, p. 136.

487

[A]cerca de el color de estas Gentes, no tendria por cosa descaminada, creer que son descendientes de los Hijos, u Nietos de Cham, tercero Hijo de Noè (bk. 1, ch. 10); su color negro no procede de causas naturales, sino … estos indios y todos los que en otras regiones son de color bazo, serán descendientes de aquellos hijos de Can, u de alguno de sus descendientes (bk. 14, ch. 19); Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, ed. Miguel León-Portilla et al., 1:46, 4:365. ("Can" = "Cam," i. e., Ham; see the previous reference to Ham in the passage, and see 4:353: "Canaan, hijo de Can.") See also 4: 365, 366: aunque estos indios salen a otras partes, siempre permanecen en su color; pues decir que son de los comprehendidos en la maldición de Canaan. Torquemada is partially quoted in Gliozzi, *Adam et le Nouveau Monde*, pp. 106–107; see also D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, U.K., 1991), pp. 278–279. Ruth Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America* (Nashville, 2005), pp. 248–249, comments that Alonso Carrió de la Vandera's (d. 1783) references to the dark skin of the Incas parodies the Spanish belief in the Indian descent from Ham.

488

Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú*, p. 11: Fray Iuan de Torquemada … Iuan Lucena … Hieronymo Ossorio … dan un mismo origen a los Indios Orientalos, y Ocidentales, afirmando que decienden de Cam, hijo de Noe; y por esso tienen el color del rostro tostado, colorado, ó cenicento.

489

E.g., Solórzano, *Política indiana*, 1:59 (bk. 1, ch. 5, sec. 35), quoted above, p. 124n7. Pinelo, *Paraiso*, 2:526 cites Solórzano, Juan Lerio, Juan de Lucena, Jerónimo Osório, Pedro Bercio, Serafín de Feitas, and Herrera as all holding that *nuestros Indios* descend from Ham and, although he does not quote them as saying that the Indians skin color is due to Ham's sin, his reference to these writers is the context of a discussion concerning the Indians dark skin color. As we saw in the previous note, Juan de Lucena and Jerónimo Osório are indeed quoted by Salinas as saying that the Indian's skin color derives from Ham's sin. So too did Salinas quote Herrera as saying that the natives of Cuba shared this

belief (above, at pp. 179–180). In his anthropology of the natives of Peru and Bolivia, the Augustinian friar Antonio de la Calancha refuted the belief that the Indians descend from Ham based on their characteristics, including their brown (*tostado*) skin color: Si lo prueban con que estos Indios son de color tostado, no sè yo quien les dijo que los Cananeos tenian este color; i no deben de aver reparado, que los Indios de las sierras son mas blancos; que los de estos llanos, i los de las montañas, casi del color de quarterones, i en las cordilleras blancos; i asi no ay color comun, ni con el se prueba su intento; i quando le tuviesen, ay del color destos inumerables naciones en la India Oriental, en la Tartaria, i en lo mas del Setentrion, i son decendientes de Sem i de Iafet; Antonio de la Calancha, *Crónica moralizada de la orden de San Agustín en el Perú* (Barcelona, 1638), p. 37. See Cañuzares Esguerra, "New World, New Stars," p. 58n83. José Gumilla (d. 1750) also referred to the Indians' dark skin color (*los indios trigueños*) but he did not claim the Curse of Ham as the origin of their blackness. See Ruth Hill, "Entering and Exiting Blackness: A Color Controversy in Eighteenth-Century Spain," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 10 (2009) 48–51. The association of the Curse with the New World natives weakens, I think, David Davis's suggestion that Spain's prohibition in 1542 of the enslavement of the natives, as opposed to Africans, whose enslavement was permitted, "owes something to" the interpretation of the Curse as referring to black Africans (*Inhuman Bondage*, p. 73).

490

The sermon is found in Robert E. Conrad's appropriately titled *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (Princeton, 1983), p. 165, translated from *Obras completas do Padre António Vieira, Sermões* (Porto, 1907–09), 12:301–334. See also Robin Blackburn, *Making of New World Slavery*, p. 210. On Vieira's attitude toward the enslavement of blacks (it was not "necessarily wrong in itself"), see C. R. Boxer, *A Great Luso-Brazilian Figure: Padre António Vieira, S. J., 1608–1697* ([London], 1957), pp. 22–23.

491

Quoted from Saint-Michel's *Voyage des iles Camercanes* (1652) by Antoine Gisler, *L'esclavage aux Antilles françaises (XVIIe-XIXe Sie`cle): contribution au proble`me de l'esclavage* (Fribourg, 1965), p. 153. I assume that a "temporal curse" on the face is a reference to dark skin.

492

[I]e ne sçay ce qu'a fait cette mal heureuse nation, à laquelle Dieu a attaché comme une malediction particuliere & hereditaire, aussi bien que la noirceur &

laideur du corps, l'esclavage & la servitude; Jean-Baptiste du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l'Amérique* (Paris, 1654). English translation: Sue Peabody, "A Nation Born to Slavery: Missionaries and Racial Discourse in Seventeenth-Century French Antilles," *Journal of Social History* 38.1 (2004) 114. Some years later the anonymous author (Durret) of *Voyage de Marseille a` Lima* (Paris, 1720), pp. 167–168, wrote of a tradition of the "Indians" that clearly derives from the Noah story but it has only the bare elements of that story and contains neither a curse of slavery nor blackness.

493

[Auguste Malfert], "Mémoire sur l'origine des Nègres et des Amèricains" is in *Mémoires de Trévoux*, novembre 1733, p. 1938, cited by Russell Parsons Jameson, *Montesquieu et l'esclavage*, pp. 176–177. Malfert expressed the same view in an unpublished work, *Dissertation sur l'origine des nègres et des américains*. The unpublished "dissertation" is cited from the manuscript in Paris by William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans*, pp. 11 and 298n51. It is also mentioned by Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier in his *Dictionnaire Théologique* in 1789, as cited in Charles, "Les Noirs," p. 732 and Allier, *Une énigme troublante*, p. 20. Malfert was a priest of the Brothers of Charity order, who served probably in Saint-Domingue. On Malfert and this belief in French writing of the 1730s, see Mercier, *Afrique noire*, p. 71, and April G. Shelford, "Race and Scripture in the Eighteenth-Century French Caribbean," *Atlantic Studies* 10.1 (2013) 69–87, who also notes that Diderot referred anonymously to Malfert when castigating theologians. A. Owen Aldridge, "Feijoo and the Problem of Ethiopian Color," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 3 (1973) 266, in discussing Malfert's view that blackness began with Cain, mistakenly writes that biblical genealogy has Kush as the son of Cain.

494

This would not be the case for Grotius (d. 1645) who thought that the inhabitants of Yucatan descended from the Ethiopians, for this was based on his belief that the natives practiced circumcision as did the Ethiopians. It was not based on the skin color of the Yucatans. See Hugo Grotius, *De origine gentium americanarum dissertatio altera*… ([Paris], 1642), pp. 11–12, and idem, *De veritate religionis Christianae cum Notulis Joannis Clerici* (London, 1755), p. 54n4 (I was not able to consult ed. pr., 1627); English translation of the first work by Edmund Goldsmid: *On the Origin of the Native Races of America, A Dissertation by Hugo Grotius*…. (Edinburgh, 1884), pp. 15–16. The Spanish Dominican

chronicler and missionary in the New World Gregorio Garcia (d. 1627) was aware of Grotius's view through a citation in Johan de Laet, who opposed Grotius; Gregorio Garcia, *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevomundo*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1729; originally published, 1607), p. 245. On the acrimonious debate between Grotius and de Laet, see Herbert F. Wright, "Origin of American Aborigines: A Famous Controversy," *Catholic Historical Review* 3 (1917) 257–275.

495

Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford, 1999), pp. 86–104. He finds this mostly in England and Germany but not in Spain, Italy or, with one exception, France (p. 100).

496

Freedman, *Images*, pp. 91–93. Add also the 15th-century *Book of St. Albans*: "Cain, for his wickedness, was the first churl, and all his offspring were churls also by the curse of God" (*The Boke of Saint Albans by Dame Juliana Berners ... printed at Saint Albans by the Schoolmaster-printer in 1486 reproduced in facsimile with an Introduction by William Blades* (London, 1881), pp. 27–28). Freedman suggests reasons why Cain was thought to be the father of peasants. Peasants were thought to be physically deformed and one interpretation of the "mark of Cain" was a physical deformity, or Cain's sacrifice to God brought of agricultural products (Gen 4:3) connected him to the peasants' labors in the field.

497

Mirror of Justices, ed. W. J. Whittaker (London, 1895), p. 77. The assumed author is Andrew Horne (d. 1328). Cited by Freedman, *Images*, p. 99.

498

Freedman, *Images*, p. 97. Freedman notes that in Polish, Lithuanian, and a number of northern Slavic languages, the name "Cham" still carries that meaning. In Poland, dating from the 17th century and continuing to our day, the word *cham* is commonly used as an abusive term to refer to an uncultured boor: Jan Stanislawski, *The Great Polish-English Dictionary* (Warsaw, 1986), s.vv. *cham* and derivatives. The *Slownik Jezyka Polskiego* ("Dictionary of the Polish Language," Warsaw, 1978) states that originally the term was used by the "privileged classes, contemptuously about a person belonging to a lower class, chiefly about a peasant." I am indebted to Ronald Modras for these references. According to a Bulgarian folk tradition, all drunks and vagabonds descend from Ham (Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, p. 291).

499

Freedman, *Images*, p. 93.

500

Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 118–122. See also Dale Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 34–35 ("People of lower status were expected to be misshapen and ugly"); Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, pp. 84–85, 449n62; Michel Pastoureau, *Black: The History of a Color*, pp. 79–80, 258n107; and Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, 2004), pp. 176–177. My inclusion of *Leviticus rabba* 4.1 (p. 76) as a source showing the color difference between upper and lower classes should now be deleted in light of Shamma Friedman's research showing that the word *qiblʾai* (*raʿaya*) is the Greek κολόβιον, a type of sleeveless tunic or shirt, and does not mean 'black' or 'common.' See his article "Ha-Pitgam we-shivro: ʿiyun be-tarbut ha-mashal be-sifrut ha-talmudit," *Jewish Studies, an Internet Journal* 2 (2003) 25–82, esp. 31–62. (So too should Boyarin's interpretation of this passage be reconsidered for the same reason; see Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, Berkeley, 1997, pp. 99–101.) The connection between the dark-skinned laborer and the Curse of Ham was noticed by Sujata Iyengar who writes that, "in the Renaissance a hitherto overlooked, residual relationship between labor and skin color," was later transformed into the Curse of Ham. By "laborer" Iyengar means those who "spent extended periods outdoors"; Sujata Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2005), p. 11.

501
Ruth Mazo Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 56–68.
502
Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *De incertitudine & vanitate scientiarum & artum* (Paris, 1531), p. 174, quoted and translated in François de Vaux de Foletier, *Les Tsiganes dans l'ancienne France* (Paris, 1961), p. 41 from the 1582 edition, and in Whitford, *Curse of Ham*, p. 72.
503
See Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, 1:291. One source, even earlier than Agrippa, mentions Gypsies being cursed by God and of being descendants of "Chaym," but this is probably a reference to Cain. In an the account of his journey from Ireland to Palestine, written in 1322, the Franciscan Symon Semeonis referred to a group of nomads outside the city of Candia in Crete, whom scholarly opinion identifies as Gypsies. These people, said Symon, "assert themselves to be of the race of Chaym" and "rarely or never stop in one place for more than thirty days, but always, as if cursed by God, are nomad and outcast." As the editor of this text Mario Esposito wrote, "Chaym" is not Ham but Cain. This explains the description "as if cursed by God, are nomad and outcast," which is a reference to God's curse of Cain in Genesis 4:12, "you will be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth." See Mario Esposito, ed., *Itinearium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam* (Dublin, 1960), pp. 7–8, 44–45. Paola Toninato, *Romani Writing: Literacy, Literature and Identity Politics* (New York, 2014), p. 13, writes that the Gypsies were thought to be "the descendants of Cush … cursed by his father and condemned to wander the earth due to the original curse put upon their fratricidal ancestor," but she gives no source for the statement.
504
Toninato, *Romani Writing*, pp. 11–12, 182n14: The *Chronica novella usque ad annum 1435* describes Gypsies in northern Germany in 1417; the *Chronica Bononiensis* describes a group of Gypsies who had arrived in Bologna in 1422; the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris (1405–49)* mentions Gypsies near Paris in 1427; the 17th-century text is Henry Spelman, *Archeologus: in modum glossarii ad rem antiquam posteriorem: continentis latino-barbara peregrina, obsoleta, et novatae significationis vocabula* (London, 1626).
505
Iyengar, *Shades of Difference*, p. 182. See also Washington, *Anti-Blackness*, pp. 23–25, 30–33, and Wim Willems and Leo Lucassen, "The Church of

Knowledge: Representation of Gypsies in Encyclopaedias," in Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems, Annemarie Cottaar, *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups* (New York, 1998), p. 37.

506

Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, Book 6, Chapter 10, cf. Chapter 13 ("counterfeit Moors"); in the Oxford Scholarly Editions (Oxford, 1981), 1:514, 531.

507

Samuel Roberts, *The Gypsies: Their Origin, Continuance, and Destination* (London, 1836), p. 88; in the 5th enlarged edition (London, 1842) on p. 106.

508

Walter Simson, *A History of the Gipsies: with Specimens of the Gipsy Language*, ed., James Simson (London, 1865), p. 341. Simson also quotes from a work recording that the "Gipsies on the Scottish border" have a "tawny complexion" (p. 248), and the editor of the work, James Simson, notes that the English gypsies have a dark complexion (p. 93n).

509

David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities 1500–2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (London, 2004), pp. 84, 125–126 with notes, 139, 153, 155; Toninato, *Romani Writing*, pp. 96–99.

510

Toninato, *Romani Writing*, pp. 155–156. Mayall, *Gypsy Identities*, pp. 125, 205. Those who believed that the color was artificially derived include Thomas Browne, who thought that the Gypsies applied fats and oils to their bodies which, by exposure to the sun, then turned dark (*Pseudodoxia Epipemica* (1646), Book 6, Chapter 10; in the 3rd ed., London, 1658, on p. 276); Thomas Dekker (d. 1632), who thought that "they are painted so" (quoted in Iyengar, *Shades of Difference*, p. 182); and the highly influential work by Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellman, *Die Zigeuner*, published in 1783, who argued that the dark color is the effect of their manner of life, and not descent. The Gypsies, he wrote, "would long ago, have been divested of their swarthy complexions, if they had discontinued their filthy mode of living" (quoted in Toninato, *Romani Writing*, p. 182n12). Note also that William Penn in "A Letter … to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders" in 1683 observed about the natives of Pennsylvania that they are, "of Complexion Black, but by design, as the Gypsies in England"; *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630–1707*, ed. Albert Cook Myers (New York, 1912), p. 230.

511
The literature on this ‘chicken or egg’ debate is vast. For two reviews of the debate, see Barbara Solow and Stanley Engerman’s Introduction to their *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams* (Cambridge, U.K., 1987), and Vaughan “The Origins Debate,” pp. 140–146. See also the references in Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 2–3.
512
Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, p. 38.
513
Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, p. 51.
514
Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, p. 281.
515
Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 97.
516
Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, p. 38.
517
See Goldenberg, “Racism, Color Symbolism, and Color Prejudice,” pp. 88–108, for a full treatment of the subject. It was the church father Origen (d. ca. 253) who was the one most responsible for this interpretation of the black and blackness as metaphors for sin, for he applied this interpretation systematically throughout the Bible in a sustained exegetical enterprise, and it was this hermeneutical superstructure that influenced those who followed (see also Excursus V, below). Stephen Moore has recently pointed to the relationship between this exegesis and subsequent racism: “Origen’s allegorical musings on whiteness and blackness make the subsequent whitening of Christianity that much more comprehensible. Reading Origen on the Song of Songs, one begins to see how such a thing could have come about; Origen’s allegories, indeed, can themselves be seen as a catalyst in its emergence” (Stephen Moore, *God’s Beauty Parlor*, Stanford, 2001, p. 65).
518
Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk, “Black Servant, Black Demon: Color Ideology in the Ashburnham Pentateuch,*” Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001) 63.
519
The negative attitudes toward black Africans expressed in European literature are generally coterminous with the period of the slave trade. For England see

Vaughan and Vaughan, "Before Othello": "There are … some grounds for arguing that an overwhelming negative view of Africans prevailed in the late Elizabethan era …. The sheer accumulation of derogatory references in narratives, plays, poems, and other printed and visual material in the second half of the sixteenth century is surely telling." The Vaughans conclude that although negative images of Blacks existed elsewhere and earlier than Elizabethan England, nevertheless, "the difference between pre-Elizabethan images and those produced by English narrators, translators, and playwrights in the second half of the sixteenth century was not only quantitative; the message also differed in substance" (pp. 42 and 43). See also Peter Erickson, "Representations of Blacks and Blackness in the Renaissance," *Criticism* 35 (1993) 524–525; James R. Aubrey, "Race and the Spectacle of the Monstrous in *Othello*," *Clio* 22 (1991–93) 222–223; Anthony Gerard Barthelemy, *Black Face Maligned Race: The Representation of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (Baton Rouge, La, 1987), pp. 2–4, 72–84, 120–21; Peter Fryer, *Staying Power*, pp. 133–190; Edwards and Walvin, *Black Personalities*; James Walvin, *Black and White: The Negro and English Society 1555–1945* (London, 1973); Tokson, *Popular Image*, pp. ix, xi, 4, 53. The French view of blackness and blacks was similar to that of the English, although most of the evidence in French comes from a later period beginning in the mid-17th century. See Cohen, *French Encounter*, pp. 14–15, 221–222; Mercier, *Afrique noire*. In Portugal these attitudes arrived earlier with the slave trade. See A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Iberian Expansion," pp. 38–39; Saunders, *A Social History*, pp. 166–171.

520

Carolyn Prager, "'If I Be Devil': English Renaissance Response to the Proverbial and Ecumenical Ethiopian," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 17 (1987) 264. Prager notes the influence of Calvin (d. 1564) in this regard: "Derogatory meanings of blackness are intensified in England by a Calvinistic cosmology that envisions spiritual conflict between the forces of good and of evil, the latter conveniently rendered by the scriptural Ethiopian." Calvin compares the state of sin to the Ethiopian's color which symbolizes the stain of sin and is as permanent as an "incurable" disease. The Ethiopian cannot change his color and the hardened sinner cannot be saved. "The metaphoric connections that Calvin makes between sin, color, race, corruption, satanism, and slavery … are those commonly found in most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English theological and imaginative writing with African imagery" (pp. 261–265).

521

Jean Devisse in *Image of the Black*, 2.2:80. For a list of black and black African tormentors of Christ and various saints, see G. K. Hunter, "Othello and Color Prejudice," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1968) 142–144, reprinted in Hunter, *Dramatic Identities and Cultural Tradition* (Liverpool, 1978), pp. 35–37.

522

Bugner, *Image of the Black*, 1:14.

523

Malvern van Wyk Smith, *The First Ethiopians: The Image of Africa and Africans in the Early Mediterranean World* (Johannesburg, 2009), p. 408. See also Debra Strickland's remarks about bright Lucifer and dark Satan, above, p. 38n38.

524

See Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, ed. A. Führkötter and A. Carlevaris, CCCM, vol. 43 A (Turnhout, 1978), plates n° 27 and 33,where those who come to Christ are depicted as literally taking off their dark skin.

525

Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clément, *The Newly Born Woman*, trans. Betsy Wing (Minneapolis, 1986), p. 10, quoted in Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, p. 316.

526

Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (New York, 1992), pp. 48–49.

527

Toninato, *Romani Writing*, p. 13.

528

Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, p. 92; Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, pp. 36, 42–43; idem, *Problem of Slavery*, p. 50. See also Lewis, "African Diaspora," pp. 47–48. The major works on attitudes and views of the black in the Muslim world are Rotter, *Stellung des Negers*, and Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, and for Iranian literature, Southgate, "Negative Images of Blacks."

529

Kaʿb al-Aḥbār is quoted by al-Kisāʾī (8th-11th century), Ibn Masʿūd by Ibn Ḥakim (d. 1014/15).

530

Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, pp. 24, 35, 40; idem, "Crows of the Arabs," 94; reprinted in Gates, ed., *"Race," Writing and Difference*, p. 113. See also p. 95 (ed. Gates, p. 114). Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, p. 88 also relates a tradition

(spurious according to Lewis) that quotes the Prophet of Islam as saying, "Do not bring black into your pedigree." Other, slightly later, black Arabic poets reflect the same societal attitude; see Lewis, "Crows of the Arabs," p. 95 (ed. Gates, p. 114) and idem, *Race and Slavery*, p. 31.

531

Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, pp. 22–25.

532

Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, pp. 26, 37, 40–41.

533

Hunwick, *West Africa, Islam, and the Arab World*, p. 13; see also idem, "Black Africans in the Islamic World: An Understudied Dimension of the Black Diaspora", *Tarikh* 5, no. 4 (1978): 35.

534

Hunwick, *West Africa, Islam, and the Arab World*, p. 11 from Badawī's *Al-Shuʿarāʾ al-sūd wakhaṣāʾiṣuhum fi al-shiʿr al-ʿArab*ī (Cairo, 1973).

535

"On Strangers and Allies in Mecca,*" Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13 (1990) 150, reprinted in M. J. Kister, *Concepts and Ideas at the Dawn of Islam* (Aldershot, U.K., 1997).

536

A. Morabia in *EI*2, 5:705b-706a, s.v *lawn*.

537

Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, pp. 94–95 and 113n1. For Persian texts, see Southgate, " Negative Images of Blacks," pp. 10, 22. For examples from modern Morocco, see Westermarck, *Wit and Wisdom*, 2:13–20. An example of this color symbolism is provided by Ṭabarsī (d. 1153) who says that the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*), which is built into the Kaʿba, was originally white "but it became black because of the sins of the children of Adam"; M. Ayoub, *The Qurʾan and Its Interpreters* (Albany, 1984), 1:158 from Ṭabarsī's commentary on the Qurʾan, *Majmaʿ al-Bayan fi Tafsir al-Qurʾan* (Beirut, 1961), 1:460. A common view is that one's face is considered to be blackened by dishonor and whitened by honorable activities; see Alexander Borg, "Linguistic and Ethnographic Observations on the Color Categories of the Negev Bedouin," in *The Language of Color in the Mediterranean*, ed. Alexander Borg (Stockholm, 1999), pp. 140–141; Devin Stewart, "Color Terms in Egyptian Arabic," in the same volume, p. 117. It is reported that Kumiel ibn Ziyad in 702 CE said of someone "May the Lord blacken his face", which is explained by Simon Ockley,

The History of the Saracens (London, 6th ed., London, 1857), p. 495 as "to fill him with shame and confusion." Presumably the same interpretation may be given to the *ḥadīth* reported by Ṭabarī that an adulterous Jewish couple were brought before Muḥammad, who said that the punishment the Torah prescribes for such a sin is that the offenders be flogged and their faces blackened (cited in Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 229 from Tabarī's *Tafsīr*). The same *ḥadīth* is reported by al-Bukhārī: "we blacken their faces and disgrace them"; see Muhammad Muhsin Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahis al-Bukhari* (Lahore, Pakistan, 6th rev. ed., 1979), 9:476 (paragraph 633); see also 8:809. Bukhārī's text was published by L. Krehl, *Kitāb al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*. An Arabic proverb from 18th-century Egypt: "Debts cause both cheeks to become black." John Lewis Burckhardt comments: "Debts are a constant shame. [Black face] is the distinguishing color of wicked persons on the (Muslim) Day of Judgment. In common discourse in means "shame." The father says to his son … "do not blacken my face" – "do not let thy behaviour prove a cause of shame to me. Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs: or, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1830), p. 40, no. 127.

538

See Joel Quirk, *The Anti-Slavery Project: From the Slave Trade to Human Trafficking* (Philadelphia, 2011), Chapter 6, "Classical" Slavery and Descent-Based Discrimination, pp. 167–192, which see for bibliography.

539

Quirk, *The Anti-Slavery Project*, pp. 184–191, quote on 189.

540

http://www.antislavery.org/english/slavery_today/what_is_modern_slavery.aspx.

541

Quirk, *The Anti-Slavery Project*, Chapter 7, "Slaves to Debt," pp. 193–215. See also the *Wall Street Journal*, June 2, 2016 report, "India Has the Most People Living in Modern Slavery" by Corinne Abrams and Qasim Nauman, at http://blogs.wsj.com/indiarealtime/2016/06/02/india-has-the-most-people-living-in-modern-slavery citing the 2016 Global Slavery Index from the Walk Free Foundation.

542

Ashley Tellis, "Racism Is in Your Face, Not Under Your Skin," *The Hindu*, June 7, 2012, updated online, June 16, 2012 at http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/racism-is-in-your-face-not-under-your-skin/article3497933.ece.

543

Goldenberg, "Racism, Color Symbolism, and Color Prejudice."

544
Such as, for example, found in the Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in its Report for 1859. Quoted in David Christy, "Cotton is King: or Slavery in the Light of Political Economy," in E. N. Elliott ed., *Cotton is King*, p. 163; cf. 165 (Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 45).

545
[E]m castigo deste abominável atrevimento foi amaldiçoado do Pai toda a sua descendência, que no sentir de muitos e a mesma geração dos pretos que nos servem; é aprovando deus esta maldição, foi condenada à escravidão e cativeiro; Jorge Benci, *Economia crista˜ dos senhores no governo dos escravos*, ed. Serafim Leite, 2nd ed. (Porto, 1954), pp. 44–45; first published in 1705.

546
The Poetical Works of Matthew Prior: Now First Collected, with Explanatory Notes, and Memoirs of the Author .... (London, 1779), 2:81. For the dating, see http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/matthew-prior.

547
Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, p. 6.

548
Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique occidentale* (Paris, 1728), 2:263–264. On Labat's sources for this work, see Cohen, *The French Encounter*, p. 18. On Pechlin, see above, p. 132.

549
Mémoires de Trévoux, Juin 1738, pp. 1153–1205. Margat refers to Kush as a son of Canaan (!) when he argues that blackness did not originate with Noah's curse on Canaan, for not all of Canaan's descendants are black; only the Kushites are. April G. Shelford, "Race and Scripture in the Eighteenth-Century French Caribbean," *Atlantic Studies* 10.1 (2013) 69–87, discusses the views of Margat, Auguste Malfert, and Jean-Baptiste Labat; see Appendix III.

550
Thomas Wilson, *Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians*.... (London, 1740), p. xix.

551

"Die Ursache der Schwartze dieser Landes-eingebohrnen wird von verschiedenen Gelehrten demjenigen Fluche beigeleget, womit Noa seinen Sohn Cham nach1 B. Mose IX, 25. beleget hat, allermassen diese Schwartze für des Canaans Nachkommen gehalten warden." Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universalexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste* (Leipzig und Halle, 1732–54), 24:888, s.v. 'Nigritien.' Volume 24 was published in 1740.

552

Dissertation sur l'origine des ne`gres (Paris, 1741), p. 19. Most copies of this work provide neither the author nor the date of publication, but the OCLC catalogue, apparently on the basis of the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé in Paris, shows the author as D. E. M. Barrère. A summary of *Dissertation sur l'origine des Nègres* by "M. R. Médecin à Lyon" appeared in the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, January 1744, pp. 167–177. In the same year, Pierre Barrère, "Docteur en Medecine de l'Université de Perpignan, &c.," published *Dissertation sur la cause Physique de la couleur des Négres, de la qualité de leurs Cheveux, et de la dégénération de l'un et de l'autre* (Paris, 1741). A summary appeared in the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, Septembre, 1742, pp. 1647–1657. See Mercier, *L'Afrique noire*, p. 70.

553

Grant Parker, *The Agony of Asar: A Thesis on Slavery by the Former Slave* (Princeton, 2001), p. 99, a translation of Capitein's dissertation from the University of Leiden, *Dissertatio politico-theologica, qua disquiritur, Num libertati Christianae servitus adversetur, nec ne?* (Leiden, 1742). An English translation from the Dutch translation by Hieronymus de Wilhem (Leiden-Amsterdam, 1742) was made by David Nii Anum Kpobi, *Mission in Chains* (Zoetermeer, Netherlands, 1993); passage on p. 197, and see p. 105. Avitus is in PL 59.352 A. On the "centrality of the [Curse of Ham] to Capitein's ethnology and theology," see Parker, pp. 56–66, 171n112. Capitein had earlier expressed these views in a no longer extant work, *De vocatione ethnicorum* (Parker, p. 38). In explaining how Capitein, a black African, could accept the Curse of Ham, Kpobi writes that Capitein had "almost no insight into the practical aspects of the slavery that he was writing about. He himself had not experienced the real slavery of the plantations, and was therefore completely devoid of any feeling of solidarity with his fellow Africans who were transported to the plantations of America or the West Indies. He could not imagine how desperately they would want to be free" (pp. 113–114). According to Kpobi, although Capitein accepted

the Curse as an explanation for the origin of slavery, "he did not believe the curse to be eternal [but] a punishment which had run its course, and which needed to be redeemed" (117). I don't see how this would accord with Capitein's statement that "the descendants of Ham … would bear the mark of perpetual punishment."

554

James Paterson, *A Complete Commentary, with Etymological, Explanatory, Critical, and Classical Notes on Milton's "Paradise Lost*" (London, 1744), p. 483n101. Cf. pp. 130n585: "[Africa] was Peopled by the Posterity of Ham, who bear his Curse to this Day, for they have always been Slaves to other Nations." Quoted from Steven Jablonski, "Ham's Vicious Race: Slavery and John Milton,*"* *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 37 (1997) 177–178. Jablonski thinks that Milton himself believed in the Curse of Ham: "Although Milton was well aware of the unadorned biblical account of Noah's curse, he interprets it in *Paradise Lost* much as the apologists for black slavery did." Presumably this is based on understanding Milton's "vicious race" as black Africans.

555

Thomas Astley, *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*…. (London, 1745), 2:269–270.

556

Thomas Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, 1:30.

557

Boswell's Life of Johnson; together with Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides; and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1934), 1:401, entry for Saturday 25 June 1763.

558

Chambon, *Traité général du commerce de l'Amérique* …. (Avignon, 1764), 2:251–255.

559

[Claude-Nicolas] Le Cat, *Traité de la couleur de la peau humaine en général, de celle des nègres en particulier*… (Amsterdam, 1765), pp. 5–6. In the same year, the British Member of Parliament and colonial official in America Thomas Pownall wrote that Noah's three sons fathered the white, red, and black races; Thomas Pownall, *The Administration of the Colonies*, 2nd ed. (London, 1765), pp. 155–156.

560

"D'autres prétendent que Cham, ayant été maudit par son père, son teint s'altéra

et devint noir. Quoiqu'il en soit, il paroît assez probable que tous les savans, qui attachoient sans doute une idée sinistre à la couleur noire, ont prétendu qu'une malédiction ou réprobation bien méritée de la Providence divine a été l'origine de cette couleur désagréable"; Petrus Camper, "De l'origine et de la couleur des négres," *Oeuvres de Pierre Camper* (1803), 2:461–462. Camper's work was first presented in 1764 and published in Dutch in 1772; see Miriam C. Meijer, *Race and Aesthetics in the Anthropology of Petrus Camper (1722–1789)* (Amsterdam, 1999), p. 221, no. 56, and correct the volume number she gives for Camper.

561

Thomas Clarkson, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species Particularly the African; Translated from a Latin Dissertation*…. (London, 1786), p. 178; also published in Dublin the same year. A 2nd edition was published in London, 1788, and a 3rd in Philadelphia, 1786 and 1787. Clarkson was quoted with approval in "Observations on the Difference of Colour in the Human Species," in *The Massachusetts Magazine: or, Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment* 1.11 (Nov. 1789) 672.

562

The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns, ed. J. Kinsley (Oxford, 1968), 3:214.

563

Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery* (London, 1787), pp. 32–36; repr. with an introduction by Paul Edwards, London, 1969), pp. 29–32. Also in Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery; or, the Nature of Servitude*… (London, 1791). Both works are reprinted with an introduction by Vincent Carretta, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery and Other Writings* (New York, 1999), pp. 30 and 120. Excerpted also in *Black Atlantic Writers of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Adam Potkay and Sandra Burr (New York, 1995), pp. 141–142.

564

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier in *Oeuvres complètes de Bergier*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1855), 4:994, s.v. Nègres; quoted by Charles, "Races Maudites?," p. 14.

565

G[ilbert] Francklyn, *An Answer to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson's Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species: Particularly the African; in A Series of Letters, from a Gentleman in Jamaica, to His Friend in London: wherein Many of the Mistakes and Misrepresentations of Mr. Clarkson are Pointed Out* (London, 1789), p. 33.

566

Thomas Gisborne, *The Principles of Moral Philosophy Investigated, and Applied to the Constitution of Civil Society*, 2nd edition (London, 1790), p. 158, and subsequent (1795, 1798) editions, and repeated in Gisborne's *On Slavery and the Slave Trade* (London, 1792), p. 18. Cited by Don Herzog, *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders* (Princeton, 1998), p. 298, who also refers to John Courtenay, *Philosophical Reflections on the Late Revolution in France, and the Conduct of the Dissenters in England in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Priestley* (London, 1790), pp. 25–32. I am not sure to whom Courtenay refers when he quotes "the author of *Observations* &c. in answer to Mr. Clarkson's reprobated Essay," that Kush was born black before Noah's curse on Ham "from the foreknowledge of the Deity, of the crime, and consequent punishment." Neither James Stanfield's *Observations on a Voyage to the Coast of Africa, in a Series of Letters to Thomas Clarkson* (London, 1788) nor his *Observations on a Guinea voyage. In a series of letters addressed to the Rev. Thomas Clarkson* (London, 1788) contains the answer that Kush was born black before Noah's curse on Ham "from the foreknowledge of the Deity." I do find this answer in Gilbert Francklyn work, which, however, goes by the title *An Answer to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson's Essay* (see above, p. 212).

567

Johann Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784–91); quoted from *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, trans. T. Churchill, 2d edition (London, 1803), 1:260.

568

Jacques Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Études de la nature*, nouvelle edition (Paris, 1804), 1:458, 460. The English is from *Studies of Nature*, trans. Henry Hunter, 5th ed. (London, 1809), 1:334, 336. The French quoted by Charles, "Les Noirs," p. 735, is from the second edition, Paris, 1791, which was not available to me. Nor was the first, and I could not therefore check whether the quote is found there.

569

James Beattie, *Elements of Moral Science* (Edinburgh, 1793), 2:206.

570

"Welche wurden weiss geboren, wurden aber später Schwarz? – Die Söhne Noahs, welche nach dem Fluche des Vaters schwarz wurden." W. Lüdtke, "Georgische Adam-Bücher," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 38 (1919/20) 168.

571

Immanuel Kant, *Physical Geography* (1802), ed. Friedrich T. Rink, trans. Olef Reinhardt in Immanuel Kant, *Natural Science*, ed. Eric Watkins (Cambridge, U.K., 2012), p. 574. Note the editor's comment on p. 436 that the *Physical Geography* is "neither a document that Kant himself wrote nor a reliable indicator of what Kant said in his class. Instead it is a compilation of a variety of sources such as notes that Kant made for himself and updated only sporadically, student transcripts from different classes over several decades, and Rink's independent additions." The German is in *Kants gesammelte Schriften*, edited by the Prussian (later German) Academy of Sciences (Berlin, 1900-), 9:313.

572

Henry William Martin, *A Counter Appeal in Answer to "An Appeal" from William Wilberforce, Esq., M.P., Designed to Prove that the Emancipation of the Negroes in the West Indies, by a Legislative Enactment, Without the Consent of the Planters, Would Be a Flagrant Breach of National Honour, Hostile to the Principles of Religion, Justice, and Humanity, and Highly Injurious to the Planter and to the Slave* (London, 1823), pp. 5–6.

573

See above, p. 139.

574

Julien-Joseph Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain* (Paris, 1824), 2:83. Charles, "Les Noirs," p. 735, quotes this statement in the name of the French priest and political writer, Félicité Robert de Lamennais in the journal he founded *L'Avenir* (1831). I have not been able to see *L'Avenir* to determine what Charles had in mind. Virey similarly accepted the Curse in "Unité de l'espèce humaine," *Annales de philosophie chrétienne* 2.3 (1831) 104 ("the descendants of cursed Ham … can be recognized in the negro and hottentot races") and pp. 312n1, 316n2.

575

Henri Grégoire, *De la noblesse de la peau, ou, Du préjugé des blancs contre la couleur des africaines et celle de leurs descendans noirs et sang-mêlés* (Paris, 1826), p. 7. The English translation by Charlotte Nooth, *Essay on the Nobility of the Skin or The Prejudice of White Persons against the Colour of Africans and Their Progeny, Black and of Mixed-Blood* (Paris, 1826), p. 8, mistakenly renders "Chanaan" by "Cain," presumably reflecting the popularity of the Curse of Cain. She is also free with her translation of "ravalée au bas de l'échelle des êtres" as "degraded by their original position to a class of inferior beings created for the service of the whites." For these views Grégoire cites François Valentin de

Cullion, *Examen de l'Esclavage en général et partienlièrement de l'Esclavage des Nègres dans les Colonies* … (Paris, 1802).

576

Julien-Joseph Virey, "Des nègres," in *Annales de philosophie chrétienne* 2.3, no. 17 (November, 1831) 311–316; Joseph Theophile Foisset, "Nouvelles preuves que les nègres descendent de Cham" in *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 2.3, no. 18 (December, 1831) 430–435.

577

Alexander Keith, *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion Derived from the Literal Fulfilment of Prophecy; Particularly as Illustrated by the History of the Jews, and by the Discoveries of Recent Travellers* (Philadelphia, 1832?), p. 347.

578

John Cumming, *God in History: Or, Facts Illustrative of the Presence and Providence of God in the Affairs of Men* (New York, 1852), p. 57, in Crummell, *The Future of Africa*, p. 332; similarly in "The Finger of God" in *Cumming's Minor Works* (Philadelphia, 1856), p. 123, and in Cumming, *The Great Tribulation or The Things Coming on the Earth* (London, 1860), 283–284.

579

Ze'ev Wolf Einhorn, *Commentary* to *Genesis rabba* 36.7 (*Perush Maharzaw*), printed in traditional editions of *Midrash rabba*; ed. pr. Vilna, 1855.

580

John Hanning Speke, *What Led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (London, 1864), p. 340.

581

Quoted in Albert Perbal, "La Race nègre," p. 165. Cf. the petition presented to the pope by a group of bishops at the First Vatican Council in 1870, requesting him to release the black race from the "Curse of Ham." The petition was unsuccessful, for it was thought that only by conversion to Christianity could the Curse be removed. See Marc Ela, "L'Eglise, le monde noir et le concile," *Personnalité Africaine et Catholicisme*, p.79; Claude Wauthier, *The Literature and Thought of Modern Africa* (New York, 1967, originally published as *L'Afrique des Africains*, Paris, 1964); Leon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe* (English ed. 1974, originally published in 1971), p. 304 and n. 209; see also Perbal, p. 167. The petition is found in *Acta et decreta sacrorum conciliorum recentiorum: collectio lacensis* (Fribourg, 1890), 7:906, and is reproduced by Maria G. Caravaglios, *The American*

Catholic Church and the Negro Problem in the XVIII-XIX Centuries (Charleston, S.C., 1974), pp. 47–49, who notes that the petition received only 70 signatures of the approximately 700 bishops present at the opening ceremonies of the Council. A petition similar to the one presented to the Vatican was presented in South Africa in 1703 when the Church Council of Drakenstein asked permission of the Convocation of Amsterdam to convert the Khoi (formerly known as the Hottentots, now considered a derogatory term) "so that the children of Ham would no longer be the servants of [or?] bondsmen." The Convocation gave permission and expressed the hope that "one day God would lift the curse from the generation of Ham"; Martin Legassick, "The Frontier Tradition," p. 54. (My thanks to Hermann Giliomee for alerting me to this article.)

582

Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon oder Encyklopädie der katholischen Theologie und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften, 2. Aufl., in neuer Bearb., unter Mitwirkung vieler katholischen Gelehrten begonnen von Joseph Hergenröther fortges. von Franz Kaulen (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1884), 3:58, s.v. Cham; quoted in Perbal, "La Race nègre," p. 166, and Charles, "Les Noirs," p. 737.

583

Gaetano Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha, translated from the Original Italian Manuscript by The Hon. Mrs. J. Randolph Clay assisted by Mr. I. Walter Savage Landor* (London, 1891), 1:278; in the "Popular Edition" (London, 1898) on p. 190.

584

Samuel Sewall, *The Selling of Joseph: A Memorial* (Boston, 1700), p. 2; excerpted in Ruchames, *Racial Thought in America*, p. 49. Sewall's line is quoted in Judge John Saffin's proslavery reply to Sewall the following year (Ruchames, p. 56).

585

John Hepburn, *The American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule, or An Essay to Prove the Unlawfulness of Making Slaves of Men* (New York?, 1715), p. 30. For the Quaker identity, see J. William Frost, "Quaker Antislavery: From Dissidence to Sense of the Meeting" online at http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/friends/Frost/Quaker%20Antislavery.pdf.

586

John Mitchell, "An Essay upon the Causes of the Different Colours of People in Different Climates," *Philosophical Transactions* 43, no. 474 (1744) 146.

587

"History of the War in NORTH-AMERICA," *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies*, May 1758, p. 400.

588

John Woolman, "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, Part II," p. 355.

589

Quoted from Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 308. See also Milton Cantor, "The Image of the Negro in Colonial Literature," *The New England Quarterly* 36 (1963) 469.

590

Bernard Romans, *A Concise History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1773), p. 108.

591

Hugh Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry* (Philadelphia, 1792), 2:76; see Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 105.

592

[John Morgan Rhees], *Letters on Liberty and Slavery: In Answer to a Pamphlet Entitled, "Negro Slavery Defended by the Word of God,"* 2nd ed. (New York, 1798), pp. 7–8. According to Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 353, who supplied the name of the author of this anonymous pamphlet, the refuted pro-slavery pamphlet, authored by John Lawrence, has not been found. Martina Klüver, *Die Darstellung der Schwarzen und die Auseinandersetzung mit der Sklaverei in der Kurzprosa amerikanischer Zeitschriften des späten 18. Jahrhunderts* (PhD. diss., Universität Tübingen, 1995), p. 208, lists the work as first appearing a year earlier in *The American Universal Magazine* 1 (February 6 – March 20, 1797) and 2 (1 May, 1797); see also p. 99.

593

Alexander McLeod, *Negro Slavery Unjustifiable* (New York, 1802), p. 26.

594

David Barrow, *Involuntary, Unmerited, Perpetual ... Slavery, Examined* (Lexington, 1808), p. 28n. On Barrow's role in the anti-slavery movement, see Asa Earl Martin, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky, Prior to 1850* (Louisville, Ky, 1918), pp. 37–42.

595

Annals of Congress, 15th Congress, first session (March 6, 1818), col. 238 ("Fugitive Slaves"). On Newton, see above, p. 146.

596

Frederick Dalcho, *Practical Considerations Founded on the Scriptures, Relative to the Slave population of South-Carolina* (1823), pp. 16–18.

597

The African Observer, October, 1827, p. 205; February, 1828, p. 349.

598

Book of Moses 7.22 and 7.8. The *Book of Moses*, "revealed to Joseph Smith in December 1830 and published August 1832," was later (1851) incorporated into the *Pearl of Great Price*, part of the Mormon scriptural canon (Bush, "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine," n. 145). See also 1 Nephi 12:23 – After the Lamanites "had dwindled in unbelief they became a dark and loathsome, and a filthy people…." Similarly in 2 Nephi 5:21–23, 3 Nephi 2:14–16, Alma 3:6, Jacob 3:8–9. According to Lester Bush, "Joseph Smith may also have believed that Negroes were descended from Cain, though the evidence for this claim is not very convincing" ("Mormonism's Negro Doctrine," p. 60; see also 69–70, 81–82).

599

Bruce McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd edition (Salt Lake City, 1966), p. 109, s.v. Cain. See also: Newell Bringhurst, "The 'Descendants of Ham' in Zion: Discrimination against Blacks along the Shifting Mormon Frontier, 1830–1920," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 24 (1981) 311; idem, *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Place of Black People within Mormonism* (Westport, Conn., 1981), pp. 41–42; Naomi F. Woodbury, "A Legacy of Intolerance: Nineteenth Century Pro-Slavery Propaganda and the Mormon Church Today," (M.A. thesis, University of Nevada, 1966), pp. 2–18, 23–27, 36, 49–51, 54, 60; Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery and Mormon Doctrine," *Western Humanities Review* 21 (1967) 331–332, reprinted in *Religion and Slavery* ed. P. Finkelman, pp. 397–398. A summary of the Mormon view is provided by Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races*, pp. 230–237. See also: Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York, 2005), pp. 97–98, 288.

600

John Rankin, *Letters on American Slavery Addressed to Mr. Thomas Rankin, Merchant at Middlebrook, Augusta Co., Va*. (Boston, 1833), p. 8.

601
Simon Clough, *A Candid Appeal to the Citizens of the United States, Proving that the Doctrines Advanced and the Measures Pursued by the Abolitionists, Relative to the Subject of Emancipation, Are Inconsistent with the Teachings and Directions of the Bible: and that Those Clergymen Engaged in the Dissemination of These Principles, Should Be Immediately Dismissed by Their Respective Congregations, As False Teachers* (New-York, 1834), p. 21. Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840* (Athens, Georgia, 1987), Appendix One, pp. 363–366, has conveniently listed some 275 pro-slavery clergymen in America, although he mentions only Clough, Simeon Doggett, and Charles Farley as referring to the "widely held Hamitic curse on the Negro race" (p. 401n10).
602
David Lee Child, *Oration in Honor of Universal Emancipation in the British Empire: Delivered at South Reading, August First, 1834* (Boston, 1834), p. 10.
603
Charles Farley, *Slavery: A Discourse Delivered in the Unitarian Church, Richmond, Va. Sunday, August 30, 1835* (Richmond, 1835), p. 9.
604
Simeon Doggett, *Two Discourses on the Subject of Slavery* (Boston, 1835), p. 6.
605
Quoted in William Lee Miller, *Arguing About Slavery* (New York, 1998), p. 139.
606
George Washington Freeman, *The Rights and Duties of Slave-Holders: Two Discourses, Delivered on Sunday, November 27, 1836 in Christ Church, Raleigh, North-Carolina* (Charleston, 1837), p. 23.
607
John Jacobus Flournoy, *A Reply to a Pamphlet*, p. 16. For a biography of this strange eccentric, see E. Merton Coulter, *John Jacobus Flournoy: Champion of the Common Man in the Ante-Bellum South*. The Georgia Historical Society (Savannah, 1942).
608
Theodore Dwight Weld, *The Bible against Slavery: An Inquiry into the Patriarchal and Mosaic Systems on the Subject of Human Rights* (New York, 1837), p. 46.
609
H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But…: Racism is Southern Religion, 1790–1910*

(Durham, N.C., 1972), p. 131, citing Dunwody's *A Sermon upon the Subject of Slavery*, pp. 13–16.

610

Leander Ker, *Slavery Consistent with Christianity* (Baltimore, 1840), pp. 6–7, 10; 3rd edtion, revised and enlarged Weston, Mo., 1853, pp. 10, 14–15. The first edition was published in 1838 according to Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 88n32.

611

James W. C. Pennington, *A Text Book of the Origin and History, etc. etc. of the Colored People* (Hartford, 1841), p. 13; emphasis in original.

612

William Edmundson, *A Brief Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of the Religious Society of Friends against Slavery and the Slave Trade* (Philadelphia, 1843), p. 7.

613

Josiah Priest, *Slavery, as It Relates to the Negro*, pp. viii, 15, 27. Priest had earlier put forth this theory in his *American Antiquities, and Discoveries in the West*…. 3d. ed. rev. (Albany, 1833), pp. 14–21.

614

Josiah Nott, *Two Lectures on the Natural History of the Caucasian and Negro Races* (Mobile, 1844), p. 13. For a short history of the monogenesis-polygenesis debate, see Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780–1850* (Madison, 1964), pp. 40–48. For more detail, see John C. Greene, "Some Early Speculations on the Origin of Human Races," *American Anthropologist* 56.1 (1954) 31–41.

615

The first quote is from John England, *Letters of the Late Bishop England to the Hon. John Forsyth on the Subject of Domestic Slavery* …. (Baltimore, 1844), p. 24; the second is from Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 42 explaining England's text.

616

Albert Barnes, *An Inquiry into the Scriptural Views of Slavery* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 207.

617

John G. Fee, *An Anti-Slavery Manual Being an Examination, in the Light of the Bible, and of Facts, into the Moral and Social Wrongs of American Slavery, with a Remedy for the Evil* (Maysville, Ky., 1848), p. 19. Similarly in his work *The Sinfulness of Slaveholding Shown by Appeals to Reason and Scripture* (New York, 1851), p. 16, Fee refers to the view that Ham was made black "by the

curse of the Almighty."

618

William Frederick Van Amringe, *An Investigation of the Theories of the Natural History of Man*…. (New York, 1848), p. 396.

619

Iveson L. Brookes, *A Defence of the South against the Reproaches and Incroachments of the North*…. (Hamburg, S. C., 1850), p. 23. A year later Brookes published a pamphlet anonymously ("a southern clergyman"), in which he referred to "the Canaanitish or African race, as doomed, under the appointment of God, to perpetual servitude." See [Iveson L. Brookes], *A Defence of Southern Slavery against the Attacks of Henry Clay and Alexander Campbell* …. (Hamburg, S. C., 1851), p. 6.

620

[George Howe], "The Mark of Cain and the Curse of Ham," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 3 (1850) 415–426. I cannot find any indication of the author's name in the article, and I take it from Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, p. 523n33

621

Samuel A. Cartwright, "Report on the Diseases and Physical Peculiarities of the Negro Race" [Part I], p. 698, quoted in James Denny Guillory, "The Pro-Slavery Arguments of Dr. Samuel A. Cartwright," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 9.3 (1968) 216. See also above, pp. 155n30, 157n35. Cartwright believed that Canaan's mother was a descendant of Cain, who was cursed with a black skin, and thus transmitted the mark of blackness to her son; see Appendix III, p. 248.

622

John Fletcher, *Studies on Slavery*, pp. 248–255, 442–449. The quote is on p. 492. For Cain, see below, Appendix III.

623

Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Boston/Cleveland, 1852; reprint., Oxford, 1992), p. 129.

624

Thornton Stringfellow, *A Brief Examination of Scripture Testimony on the Institution of Slavery* (Washington, 1850), p. 3, originally published in 1841 in the Baptist weekly, the *Religious Herald*; italics in original. *A Brief Examination* was later incorporated into Stringfellow's *Scriptural and Statistical Views in Favor of Slavery*, 4th ed. with additions (Richmond, Virginia, 1856); passage on

pp. 8–9. See Justin Barrett Stowe, "Virginia's Steward: A Re-Examination of the Life and Work of Thornton Stringfellow, 1788–1869" (MA thesis, Liberty Baptist Theological Seminary and Graduate School, 2009), p. 47.

625

Thornton Stringfellow, *Slavery: Its Origin, Nature, and History, Considered in the Light of Bible Teachings, Moral Justice, and Political Wisdom* (Alexandria, Virgina, 1860), p. 11; in ed. New York, 1861, p. 19. Similar statements are found throughout the book. On Stringfellow, see Johnson, *The Myth of Ham*, pp. 43–44. An anonymous article, "The Black Race in North America: Why Was Their Introduction Permitted?" presents a dialogue between a black man, representing the race of Ham, and a white, representing the race of Japhet, in which the black says, "[W]e will serve you until the curse is removed from our race" (p. 205); see *The Southern Literary Messenger* 21 (Nov. 1855) 658, reprinted in *De Bow's Review* 20 (1856) 205. Peterson, *Ham and Japheth*, pp. 92–95, 106, believes that the author was George Tucker, a congressman and professor at the University of Virginia.

626

James A. Sloan, *The Great Question Answered*, pp. 75, 78, 80; emphases in the original. "Ham's name means 'Black'…. There must, then, have been some peculiarity of color in the skin of Ham, which caused his father to give him the name which he received."

627

Samuel Davies Baldwin, *Dominion; or, The Unity and Trinity of the Human Race: with the Divine Political Constitution of the World, and the Divine Rights of Shem, Ham, and Japheth* (Nashville, Tenn., 1857), pp. 57 and 108.

628

Baldwin, *Dominion* p. 70 and similarly throughout.

629

Baldwin, *Dominion* p. 440. So too William T. Hamilton, *The "Friend of Moses;" or, A Defence of the Pentateuch as the Production of Moses and an Inspired Document, against the Objections of Modern Skepticism* (New York, 1852), p. 500, and Charles Jones, for which see Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 538.

630

Thomas R. R. Cobb, *An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States of America*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia/Savannah, 1858), pp. xxxv–xxxvi, cxxxiv.

631

William H. Clarke, *Travels and Explorations in Yorubaland 1854–1858*, ed. J. A. Atanda (Ibadan, 1972), p. 288. For Clarke's liberal views, see Atanda's Introduction. On the work and publication date, see below, Excursus III, p. 262n8.

632

Alexander Crummell, Introduction to Edward W. Blyden, *A Vindication of the African Race: being a Brief Examination of the Arguments in Favor of African Inferiority* (Monrovia, Liberia, 1857), p. 7.

633

Alexander Crummell, "The Negro Race Not Under a Curse," p. 353. On the use of the term 'sable' as opposed to 'dark' or 'black' with its "ancient Christian associations with sin and evil," see the comment by Bruce Dain, *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), p. 2, concerning its use by Phyliss Wheatley. But see Ecclestone above, p. 128.

634

John Leadley Dagg, *The Elements of Moral Science* (New York, 1859), p. 344.

635

Hannah Joyner, *From Pity to Pride: Growing Up Deaf in the Old South* (Washington, 2004), p. 188n19.

636

Anonymous, *African Servitude; When, Why, and by Whom Instituted ... Read and Consider* (New York, 1860), pp. 10, 16. Anonymous seems to have taken "Eastern writers" from another section of Calmet's *Dictionary* (1:435, s.v. Cush) and substituted it for Calmet's original "The author of Tharik-Thabari"; see above, p. 135.

637

See below, Appendix III.

638

See Appendix III.

639

Maria G. Caravaglios, "A Roman Critique of the Pro-Slavery Views of Bishop Augustus Martin of Natchitoches, Louisiana," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 83 (1972) 71, 75–76; idem, *The American Catholic Church and the Negro Problem in the XVIII–XIX Centuries*, p. 188.

640

Philip Schaff, *Slavery and the Bible*, pp. 4–7; see Thomas Peterson, *Ham and*

Japheth, p. 43. For a discussion of Schaff's views see Sylvester Johnson, *The Myth of Ham*, pp. 37–41.

641

Alexander H. Stephens, "Cornerstone Address, March 21, 1861," in *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, etc*., ed. Frank Moore (New York, 1861), vol. 1, "Documents and Narratives" section, pp. 45–46.

642

The description of Palmer and the quote from Palmer's sermon "National Responsibility before God" is taken from Haynes's chapter on Palmer in *Noah's Curse*, pp. 125–145, esp. 125, 132.

643

John H. Van Evrie, *Negroes and Negro 'Slavery:' the First an Inferior Race; the Latter Its Normal Condition*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1861), pp. 55, cf. p. 140 ("Those ignorant and deplorably deluded parties who fancy that they are engaged in a work of humanity when seeking to undo the work of the Almighty Creator, by turning black into white and the negro into a Caucasian"). The earlier, 1853, edition does not have these passages.

644

Henry Cornelius Edgar, *The Curse of Canaan Rightly Interpreted and Kindred Topics: Three Lectures Delivered in the Reformed Dutch Church, Easton, Pa., January and February, 1862* (New York, 1862), p. 21.

645

John Bell Robinson, *Pictures of Slavery and Anti-Slavery*.... (Philadelphia, 1863), p. 22.

646

Jacob L. Stone, *Slavery and the Bible, or Slavery as Seen in Its Punishment* (San Francisco, 1863), pp. 10–11. The information on Stone is found in a San Francisco newspaper reprinted in *Slavery and the Bible*, p. 46. The designation "Hebrew Wood Chopper" is found on the titlepage of Stone's work *Reply to Bishop Colenso's Attack Upon the Pentateuch*, published in the same year.

647

Increase N. Tarbox, *The Curse; or, The Position in the World's History Occupied by the Race of Ham* (Boston, 1864), pp. 9–13.

648

Bruckner Payne ["Ariel"], *The Negro: What is His Ethnological Status*..., pp. 4–5; emphases in the original. Payne is quoted by Robert Anderson Young, *The*

Negro: A Reply to Ariel (Nashville, 1867), p. 15, who argued against the notion that "the curse of Canaan converted his father Ham instantly into 'a kinky-headed negro.'"

649

Robert Lewis Dabney, *A Defence of Virginia, (and through Her, of the South,) in Recent and Pending Contests against the Sectional Party* (New York, 1867), pp. 101–104. The description of Dabney comes from Peterson, *Ham and Japheth*, p. 21.

650

M. S., *The Adamic Race: Reply to "Ariel," Drs. Young and Blackie, on the Negro* (New York, 1868), p. 62.

651
Rebecca Harding Davis, *Waiting for the Verdict* (New York, 1868), p. 113. 'Cainan,' mentioned later in the work (p. 323), is not a reference to Cain but is, as noted by Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 454n103, just a confusion of Cain with Canaan.
652
Benjamin Tucker Tanner, *The Negro's Origins and Is the Negro Cursed?* (Philadelphia, 1869).
653
George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America: From 1619 to 1880* (New York, 1883), 1:19. The description of Williams is taken from the title page of the book. See below, Appendix III.
654
Quoted in Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 108.
655
Alexander Winchell, *Preadamites; or, A Demonstration of the Existence of Men before Adam*…. (Chicago, 1888), p. 226.
656
Henry Parker Eastman, *The Negro; His Origin, History and Destiny* (Boston, 1905), p. 250.
657
Paul E. Kretzman, *Popular Commentary of the Bible* (St. Louis, 1923) 1:23, cited in Joseph Koranda, "Aftermath of Misinterpretation: The Misunderstanding of Genesis and Its Contribution to White Racism" (B.D. thesis, Concordia Theological Seminary, 1969), p. 45. An internal investigation of the use of the Curse of Ham within the American Lutheran churches concluded that the church's interpretation of Noah's curse "has been a cause of, as well as a result of, racial prejudice." See Koranda, "Aftermath," pp. 1–2, 52, and 55. The editor of the church's organ *Concordia Theological Monthly* wrote in 1944 (p. 346) that "frequently in our publications the view that 'the Bible has put a curse upon the Negro race' has been expressed and defended" (quotation from Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, pp. 278–279n19). Similarly, J. Ernest Shufelt, "Noah's Curse and Blessing, Gen. 9:18–27," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 17 (1946) 737 and 742.
658
Zora Neale Hurston, in *Ebony and Topaz: A Collectanea*, ed. C. S. Johnson (1927, reprint Freeport, N.Y., 1971), pp. 53–57.

659
The Watchtower, 24 July 1929, p. 702.
660
Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (Washington, 1933), p. 3.
661
The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, ed. George Rawick (Westport, Conn., 1972–73), Alabama Narratives, 6:335–336; B. A. Botkin, ed., *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Chicago, 1945), p. 15. The quotation is cited by Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977), p. 84, and Mia Bay, *The White Image*, p. 121. For information on the WPA Slave Narrative Collection see http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snhome.html and Bay, p. 246n2.
662
The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Supplement Series 2, ed. George Rawick (Westport, Conn., 1979), 4.4:1559.
663
Carey Daniel, *God the Original Segregationist and Seven Other Segregation Sermons* (n.p., n.d.), p. 9. This version differs somewhat from the pamphlet version of the sermon published earlier in 1955: “It cannot be positively proven from the Scriptures that the Negroes were cursed to be black because of Nimrod’s rebellion or because of Ham’s sexual laxity at the time of his father Noah’s drunkenness. But there are some verses that seem to leave that implication. For example in Jeremiah 13:23….” See Carey Daniel, *God the Original Segregationist: The Enlargement of a Sermon Preached by the Author on Sunday, May 23, 1954 Just after the U. S. Supreme Court Announced Its Decision against Continued Segregation of White and Negro Children in Our Public Schools* (n.p., 1955), p 7.
664
Robert Guste, *For Men of Good Will* (New Orleans, [1957?]), pp. 36–37; quoted in John Howard Griffin, *Black Like Me* (New York, 1996), pp. 136–137; first published in 1960.
665
James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (New York, 1964), pp. 45–46.
666
L. T. Holdcroft, *The Pentateuch* (Oakland, Calif., 1951, 4th printing 1966), p. 18.

667
Yosef Ben-Jochannan, *Africa: Mother of Western Civilization* (Baltimore, 1971, 1988), pp. 96, 592, 598, 610; idem, *The Black Man's Religion*, vol. 3 (New York, 1974), p. 42.
668
The Black Man's Religion, 3:69. Ben-Jochannan's upper case emphasis. See also pp. 40–41 (*"racist* and *bigoted* ghettoized European rabbis and Talmudist fanatics"; his emphasis). In *Africa: Mother of Western Civilization*, pp. 16, 202, 598–599. Ben-Jochannan derived this information from the Graves-Patai work, *Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis*, which he quotes and repeatedly refers to in this work (pp. 188, 604) and in his other work, *Cultural Genocide in the Black and African Studies Curriculum* (New York, 1972), pp. 29, 30, 115, 126; but in *Black Man's Religion* his identification of the "negro" with the Canaanites does not explicitly depend upon Graves-Patai. See Excursus III, below, pp. 267–271, on the Graves-Patai book.
669
Salim Muwakkil, "The Nation of Islam and Me," in *The Farrakhan Factor: African-American Writers on Leadership, Nationhood, and Minister Louis Farrakhan*, ed. Amy Alexander (New York, 1998), p. 202.
670
See David Rice McKee, "Isaac De la Peyrère, A Precursor of Eighteenth-Century Critical Deists,*" Publications of the Modern Language Association* 59 (1944) 479–480, and Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*, rev. ed. (Chapel Hill, 1997), pp. 150–170.
671
Thomas Peyton, *The Glasse of Time in the First Age* (London, 1620; repr. New York, 1886), sections 94–95 and 98, pp. 140–141. Gary Taylor, *Buying Whiteness*, p. 228, working from the 1620 edition itself, has "Much like the black and curséd Cain himself."
672
Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro's & Indians Advocate, Suing for their Admission into the Church, or, A Persuasive to the Instructing and Baptizing of the Negro's and Indians in Our Plantations*… (London, 1680), pp. 14–15. For the Curse of Ham, see above, Appendix I.
673
The Athenian Oracle Being an Entire Collection of all the Valuable Questions and Answers in the Old Athenian Mercuries (London, 1703), pp. 29–30, quoted

in Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black*, pp. 242–243; correct the date of publication. On *The Athenian Oracle*, see above, p. 130.

674

William Whiston, *A Supplement to The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* (London, 1725), pp. 109–110, 126. Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races*, pp. 69–72, discusses Whiston's view. The statement by Roger Mercier, *L'Afrique noire*, p. 71, citing an article written in 1734 by René Joseph de Tournemine that Whiston was the first to propose Cain's blackness should be corrected.

675

Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale* (Paris, 1728), 2:257–262. See Carson Ritchie, "Notes et documents: Deux textes sur le Sénégal (1673–1677)," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique noire* 30 (1968) 309–310n4. Camper is in Appendix I, above, p. 211. Labat was responding to Malfert's article of 1733 (see below), which he had seen in a prepublication copy; see Shelford (p.70) in the next note.

676

Auguste Malfert, "Mémoire sur l'origine des Nègres et des Amèricains" is in *Mémoires de Trévoux*, novembre 1733, p. 1938, cited by Russell Parsons Jameson, *Montesquieu et l'esclavage*, pp. 176–177. The unpublished "dissertation" is cited from the manuscript in Paris by William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans*, pp. 11 and 298n51. It is also mentioned by Nicolas Bergier in his *Dictionnaire théologique* in 1789, as cited in Charles, "Les Noirs," p. 732 and Allier, *Une énigme troublante*, p. 20. On Malfert and this belief in French writing of the 1730s, see Mercier, *L'Afrique noire*, p. 71, and April G. Shelford, "Race and Scripture in the Eighteenth-Century French Caribbean," *Atlantic Studies* 10.1 (2013) 69–87, who also notes that Diderot referred anonymously to Malfert when castigating theologians. A. Owen Aldridge, "Feijoo and the Problem of Ethiopian Color," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 3 (1973) 266, in discussing Malfert's view that blackness began with Cain, mistakenly writes that the biblical genealogy has Kush as the son of Cain.

677

Mémoires de Trévoux, Juin 1738, pp. 1153–1205; see Appendix I.

678

Thomas Astley, *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 2:269–270; see Appendix I.

679
C. R. Boxer, "Negro Slavery in Brazil: A Portuguese Pamphlet (1764)," *Race* 5.3 (1964) 38–41; summarized in Boxer's *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415–1825* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 104–105, where Boxer mentions also Paulo da Silva Nunes who discussed whether the American Indians "descended from the Jews captured and deported by the Assyrians in the time of King Hosea, or whether they were descended from Cain and involved in the curse laid on him" (p. 96). See also Russell-Wood, "Iberian Expansion," p. 40; and Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, p. 236; see also 171. For 18th-century Portugal, Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, p. 333n27.
680
Chambon, *Traité général du commerce de l'Amérique*.... (Avignon, 1764), 2:251–255.
681
See Appendix I.
682
Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique du commerce et des établissements des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1770), 4:119. Quoted in Andrew Curran, *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment* (Baltimore, 2011), p. 192.
683
Cornelius De Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'histoire de l'espèce humaine. Avec une dissertation sur l'Amérique & les Américains* (London, 1771), p. 176.
684
Benjamin Rush, *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America, upon Slave-Keeping* (New York, 1773), pp. 5–6; excerpted in Ruchames, *Racial Thought in America*, p. 141.
685
James Stewart, *Plocacosmos, or, The Whole Art of Hair Dressing: Wherein is Contained, Ample Rules for the Young Artizan, More Particularly for Ladies Women, Valets, &c. &c. as Well as Directions for Persons to Dress Their Own Hair*…. (London, 1782), p. 177, quoted in Don Herzog, *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders* (Princeton, 1998), p. 298.
686
Thomas Clarkson, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species Particularly the African; Translated from a Latin Dissertation*… (London,

1786), pp. 178–185. See Appendix I for the quotation.

687

Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery* (London, 1787), pp. 32–36. See Appendix I for quotation.

688

Paul Erdmannn Isert, *Reise nach Guinea und den Caribäischen Inseln in Columbien* (Copenhagen, 1788), pp. 198–199. See Selena Axelrod Winsnes, *Letters on West Africa and the Slave Trade: Paul Erdmannn Isert's Journey to Guinea and the Caribbean Islands in Columbia (1788)* (Oxford, 1992), p. 120.

689

Oeuvres complètes de Bergier, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1855), 4:993, s.v. Nègres; quoted by Charles, "Les Noirs," p. 732; idem, "Races Maudites?, pp. 13–14; and Allier, *Une énigme troublante*, p. 20.

690

Louis-Narcisse Baudry des Lozières, *Les égarements du nigrophilisme* (1802), p. 165, quoted from Carminella Biondi, *Mon frère, tu es mon esclave! Teorie schiaviste e dibattiti antropologico-razziali nel Settecento francese* (Pisa, 1973), p. 36.

691

Mary Davies Wells, *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sumbel, Late Wells: Of the Theatres-Royal, Drury* …. (London, 1811), 3:88. Quoted in Don Herzog, *Poisoning the Minds*, p. 298. A biography of Wells, "a noted and infamous woman," is found in Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800* (Carbondale, Ill., 1993), 15:344–356.

692

The Life of Jesus Christ and Biblical Revelations, p. 30.

693

Auguste-Laurent Montandon, *Étude des récits de l'Ancien Testament en forme d'instructions pour les écoles du dimanche* (1848), part 1, p. 57, quoted in Raoul Allier, *Une énigme troublante*, pp. 24–25.

694

As reported in *The American Israelite*, 13 July 1855, p. 2. My thanks to Shlomit Yahalom for bringing this source to my attention and for providing me a transcription of it.

695

So reported George S. Blackie in a letter to Robert Anderson Young, which was then incorporated in Young's *The Negro: A Reply to Ariel* (Nashville, 1867), p. 45.

696

C. M., *Clearer Light: Or, The Teachings of the Bible Respecting the Creation ... and Other Questions of the Day* (London, 1874), pp. 38–44; Colin Kidd, *Forging of Races*, p. 34.

697

Elihu Coleman, *A Testimony against that Antichristian Practice of Making Slaves of Men*.... ([Boston], 1733), p. 16; excerpted in Ruchames, *Racial Thought in America*, p. 94.

698

John Woolman, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Amelia M. Gummere (1774; New York, 1922), p. 192. Also in John Woolman, *A Journal of the Life, Gospel, Labours, and Christian Experiences of that Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ* (Philadelphia, 1784), Chapter 4; in ed. Charles Eliot (New York, 1909), p. 213.

699

Phyllis Wheatley, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (London, 1773), p. 18.

700

John Marrant, *A Sermon Preached on the 24th Day of June 1789, Being the Festival of St. John the Baptist*.... (Boston, 1789), p. 9; quoted in Wilson Moses, *Afrotopia*, p. 49. The sermon is reproduced in *Black Atlantic Writers of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Adam Potkay and Sandra Burr (New York, 1995); quote on p. 109. Cf. the statement of Michael Barkun that "Joseph Smith appears to have first characterized blacks as 'sons of Cain' in 1842" (*Religion and the Racist Right*, rev. ed., Chapel Hill, 1997, p. 169).

701
Hugh Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry* (Philadelphia, 1792), 2:76; see Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 105.
702
[Charles Jones], *A Candid Examination into the Origin of the Difference of Colour in the Human Family*.… (Philadelphia, 1812), p. 3. I could find no information on the author, and neither apparently could Winthrop Jordan, from whom I have this source (Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 416). Interestingly, the author came to the same conclusion concerning the variety of skin color as did Pseudo-Philo about 1700 years earlier; see above, p. 43, and Jordan p. 538.
703
David Walker, *An Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (Boston, 1830), p. 68; parenthetical remark in original.
704
See above, Appendix II.
705
See above, Appendix II.
706
John Rankin, *Letters on American Slavery Addressed to Mr. Thomas Rankin, Merchant at Middlebrook, Augusta Co., Va*. (Boston, 1833), p. 8. The book was first published in Ohio, 1923, which edition I have not seen.
707
David Lee Child, *Oration in Honor of Universal Emancipation in the British Empire: Delivered at South Reading, August First, 1834* (Boston, 1834), p. 10.
708
Theodore Dwight Weld, *The Bible against Slavery: An Inquiry into the Patriarchal and Mosaic Systems on the Subject of Human Rights* (New York, 1837), p. 46.
709
James W. C. Pennington, *A Text Book of the Origin and History, etc. etc. of the Colored People* (Hartford, 1841), pp. 7–8.
710
See above, Appendix II.
711
John Fletcher, *Studies on Slavery, in Easy Lessons* (Natchez, Miss., 1852), pp. 248–255, 442–449. The quote is from H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, but*…, p. 131.

712
Dion Boucicault, *The Octoroon* (1859), Act II.
713
Samuel Cartwright, "Unity of the Human Race Disproved by the Hebrew Bible," *De Bow's Review* 29 (August, 1860) 130. I don't know how Cartwright would reconcile this view of blackness as the mark of Cain with his belief that it was a black man, and not a serpent, who seduced Eve in the Garden of Eden, in which case Cain would have inherited his blackness from his mother Eve, unless Carwright considered Eve's seducer to have been her son Cain. For his Garden of Eden theory, see James Denny Guillory, "The Pro-Slavery Arguments of Dr. Samuel A. Cartwright," p. 224. Lester Bush ("Mormonism's Negro Doctrine," p. 51n27) notes the influence of Charles B. Thompson's writings on Cartwright. Thompson was a follower of the Mormons but broke away after Joseph Smith's death and started his own group, the Congregation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion.
714
Samuel Cartwright, *Essays, being Inductions*, p. 38. On Cartwright and his theories, see pp. 155n30, 157n35, and p. 226.
715
Cited in Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 101, from Nathan Lord, *A Letter of Inquiry to Ministers of the Gospel of All Denominations, on Slavery* (Boston., 1854), pp. 7–8.
716
Quoted in Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 101, from *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches*, ed. Dunbar Rowland (Jackson, Miss. 1923) 4:231. Presumably Sollors meant Cain and not Canaan when he wrote that "Davis tellingly substituted an 'inferior race' for the generation of Canaan."
717
Henry Cornelius Edgar, *The Curse of Canaan Rightly Interpreted and Kindred Topics: Three Lectures Delivered in the Reformed Dutch Church, Easton, Pa., January and February, 1862* (New York, 1862), pp. 21–22.
718
William Wells Brown, *The Rising Son* (Boston, 1874), p. 46; see Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*.
719
See above, Appendix II, p. 234.

720
Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 103. The poem is found in Otis B. Wheeler, *The Literary Career of Maurice Thompson* (Baton Rouge, 1965), pp. 98–103.
721
Quoted in Philip Foner, *History of Black Americans* (Westport Conn., 1975), pp. 90–91, from *The Literary Digest*, March 5, 1894.
722
So properly understood by al-Kalbī (d. 763): "Noah commanded that no male should approach a female during the time in the ark. But the male dog mounted the female dog"; and by the 13th-century *Extractiones de Talmut*: "The teachers say that three copulated with their females in the ark: the dog, the raven, and Ham, and all were punished." See above, pp. 51 and 52, for these texts.
723
For those misunderstanding the story, see Goldenberg, "The Curse of Ham: A Case of rabbinic Racism?," pp. 49–50n54; idem, *The Curse of Ham*, p. 294n75, and add: Allier, *Une énigme troublante*, p. 18; Van der Linde, *Over Noach met zijn zonen*, p. 29; Lynn Holden, *Forms of Deformity* (Sheffield, 1991), pp. 49, 71; Colbert Nepaulsingh, "The Continental Fallacy of Race," *Race and Racism in Theory and Practice*, ed. Berel Lang (Lanham, Md., 2000), p. 147; Jean Philippe Omotunde, *La Traite négrière européenne: verite et mensonges* (Paris, 2004), p. 132; and, presumably based on Omotunde, René-Louis Parfait Étilé, *Afrique Antique: Mythes et Réalités* (Paris, 2005), p. 64. All these authors made the same mistake. David Whitford, *Curse of Ham*, p. 25n22, adds two more modern examples – David Carr and Valerie Flint. (The reference to Flint should be to article xiv, p. 47, n. 29 in Flint's collection of essays cited by Whitford.) Another recent author who gives the Ham-and-dog error some credence is Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 25. He thinks the rabbinic text in the Babylonian Talmud is ambiguous. The original Hebrew, however, is no more ambiguous than the corresponding rabbinic text that includes the raven and which Haynes, apparently, does not think ambiguous. As with all the other writers making this mistake, his statement is based on a translation of the rabbinic text. On Haynes's work, see the review by Christopher Owen in *Journal of Church and State* 44.4 (Autumn 2002) 836–837. The rabbinic story is misread in a different way in two recent publications, where we find a non-existent quote from the Talmud that "the raven, the dog and the Black (the *kushi*) are black because of their sins." Thus, Omotunde (p. 132), repeated by René-Louis Parfait Étilé, *Afrique Antique:*

Mythes et Réalités (Paris, 2005), p. 64, perhaps influenced by the incorrect interpretation of PT *Taʿan*. 1.6, 64d in August Wünsche, *Der jerusalemische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen: zum ersten Male in's Deutsche übertragen* (Zürich, 1880), p. 138.

724

Libro del caballero Zifar, pp. 79–80 (above p. 53).

725

Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 294n75.

726

PT *Taʿaniyot* 1.6, 64d א"ר חייה בר בא למשפחותיהם יצאו מן התיבה ע"י ששימרו יחסיהן זכו להנצל מן התיבה תדע לך שהוא כן דתנינן חם כלב ועורב קילקלו מעשיהן חם יצא מפוחם כלב יצא מפורצם בתשמישו עורב יצא משונה מן הבריות.

The Palestinian Talmud was redacted toward the end of the 4th century.

727

E. g., PT *Avoda zara* 5.4, 44d (idolatry); *Eliyahu zuṭa* 7 (idolatry), ed. Meir Ish-Shalom (Vienna, 1902, Jerusalem, 1969), p. 184; *Tosefta soṭah* 2.2 (adultery); *Midrash tannaʾim* 1.11 (idolatry and adultery), ed. David Z. Hoffmann (Berlin, 1908), pp. 6–7; *Pesiqta de-rav Kahana* 13.4 (prostitute), ed. B. Mandelbaum (New York, 1962), 1:227. *Sifre Deuteronomy* 2.2, ed. Louis Finkelstein (Breslau/Berlin, 1935–39; New York, 1969), p. 8, also has the term, with the referent (apparently idolatry) not specified. The verb *qlql* by itself means 'to ruin, corrupt,' and in an ethical sense 'to sin'; see Menahem Moreshet, *Leqsiqon ha-poʿal she-niṯhadesh bi-lshon ha-tannaim* (Ramat Gan, 1980), pp. 325–326.

728

Joseph ben Elijah Ḥazan, *ʿEin Yosef* (Izmir, 1680), pp. 12a. Similarly in "Meqorot we-ṣiyunim," published in *Masekhet taʿanit min talmud yerushalmi: Taʿanit*, ed. Yiṣḥaq Yisrael Tsishinsqi et al., (Jerusalem, 2005), p. 49.

729

See the commentaries of Reuven Haas, *Perot ha-ʾareş*, and Yehoshua Buch, *Or la-yesharim*, published in *Talmud yerushalmi* (Mevoʾot Yeriḥo: ha-Makhon ha-Yerushalmi (2004–), vol. 1/*Taʿaniyot*, pp. 25 and 72; Samuel Yaffe Ashkenazi (d. 1595), *Yefeh marʾeh*; Binyamin Zeʾev b. Shmuel, *ʿIr Binyamin sheni*; Yissachar Tamar, *ʿAlei tamar*; and the commentary *ʾOr simḥa*, all conveniently published in *Masekhet taʿanit min Talmud yerushalmi: Taʿanit*, pp. 49, 334–335, 591. See also Moses Margaliyot (Margolies, d. 1780), *Pnei Moshe*, ad loc., with the comments of Yissachar Tamar, *ʿAlei tamar*. Ashkenazi's interpretation was incorporated in David ben Naphtali Fränkel (d. 1762), *Qorban ha-ʿeidah*, ad loc.

730

Note that in BT the exegesis of Genesis 8:19 (*They went out of the ark by*

families) is unconnected to the tradition that "three had sexual relations in the ark." For various interpretations of the BT exegesis, see Menaḥem Kasher, *Torah shlemah* (Jerusalem, 1927-), 2:448, no. 73, ad loc.

731

BT *Sanhedrin* 108a, *Rosh ha-shanah* 12a, *Genesis rabba* 26.5 (p. 248) = *Leviticus rabba* 23.9 (p. 539; see Margulies's note in his edition *Midrash wayyikra rabba*, Jerusalem, 1953–60), *Genesis rabba* 28.8, *Tanḥuma*, ed. Buber (Vilna, 1885), Genesis 33 (p. 24), Noaḥ 18 (p. 45), and *Yalquṭ shimʿoni*, Genesis 47 (ed. D. Heiman, et al., pp. 163–164), cf. Genesis 50 (p. 173).

732

Note that Israel ibn Joseph al-Naqawa (d. 1391), *Menorat ha-maʾor*, ed. H. G. Enelow (New York, 1929), 6:465, in quoting the BT text has *qilqelu* in place of *shimshu*.

733

As Sussman has shown, until the end of the 13th century the text was cited directly by Jewish scholars; after that it was cited indirectly, through secondary sources. For this, and, in general, knowledge of the Palestinian Talmud in the West, see Y. Sussman, "Ktav-yad Leiden shel ha-yerushalmi: lefanaw u-leʾaḥaraw," *Bar Ilan Annual* 26–27 (1995), especially 204, 210–211, and Sacha Stern, "The Talmud Yerushalmi" in *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late-Roman Palestine*, ed. Martin Goodman and Philip Alexander (Oxford, 2011).

734

Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul waʾl mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, 1:212, 215; translation of Brinner, *History of al-Ṭabar*ī, 2:11–12, 14. I differ from Brinner only in translating the Arabic *ghayrun* as "others than" instead of "others besides." The word "besides" can convey an impression of inclusiveness, i. e. "others in addition to Ibn Isḥāq" but this is not what *ghayrun* means; "others than" is unambiguously exclusive. Gordon Newby in *The Making of the Last Prophet* (Columbia, S.C., 1989), p. 48, mistranslated Ṭabarī as "The people of the Torah claim that this was not so because of an invocation of Noah against his son Ham" instead of "this was so only (*lam ... illā*) because of an invocation…." On Ṭabarī, see Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism*, pp. 39 ff, 120 ff. On the problems involved in ascertaining what Ibn Isḥāq said from what is attributed to him by later authors, see the review of Newby's book by Lawrence I. Conrad, "Recovering Lost Texts: Some Methodological Issues," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113 (1993) 258–263. On "the materials used by Ibn Isḥāq," see W. Montgomery Watt's article by that name in *Historians of the*

Middle East, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London, 1962), pp. 23–34. On Ibn Isḥaq and his no longer extant work, which Ṭabarī quotes, see Newby, pp. 1–32.

735

Aḥmad Bābā is in Hunwick and Harrak, *Miʿrāj al-ṣuʿūd*, pp. 32 (trans.), 61–62 (text); another translation: Barbour and Jacobs, "The Miʿraj," pp. 132–133 (trans.), 150 (text). The *Miʿrāj al-ṣuʿūd* was written in 1615. This understanding of Aḥmad Bābā is despite the fact that the motivation behind his remarks was the question of the "unique enslaveability" of blacks, not the blackness of blacks; see John Hunwick, "Islamic Law and Politics," pp. 46–52. Firestone, "Early Islamic Exegesis," p. 61, understood Ṭabarī the same way.

736

Although both traditions reported by Ṭabarī contain the dual curse, they are sufficiently different to explain Ṭabarī's use of *ghayrun*.

737

Some have claimed that the ancient Rabbis of talmudic times expounded a Curse of Ham (dual or not). The rabbinic texts, however, do not say this. See below, Excursus III, pp. 267–275 for a full discussion with bibliography of this mistaken reading of the rabbinic texts.

738

It is possible that the quotation from Ibn Isḥāq, or part of it, is spurious, and may even be Ṭabarī's own addition or modification; see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions*, pp. 103–105.

739

Cited above, p. 71n11.

740

When Ibn Khaldūn (above p. 91n17) rejected the genealogists' tradition of a dual curse on Ham by quoting the biblical verse that mentions the curse of slavery on "Ham" rather than "Canaan" ("It is mentioned in the Torah that Noah cursed his son Ham. No reference is made there to blackness"), did he quote from aversion of the Bible itself (see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 157) or did he unconsciously substitute "Ham" in accordance with the Muslim dual-curse tradition?

741

M. J. Kister, "Ḥaddithū ʿan banī isrāʾīla," pp. 228–229. Yehuda Ratzaby, "Miqraʾot, midrashoth, we-agadot," pp. 317–318.

742

Cited above, p. 92.

743

Ben Braude, "Cham et Noé," pp. 103–104, discussed the Ṭabarī passage but came to a different conclusion: "Tabari, non sans ambiguïté suggère que l'explication de la couleur de peau derive, elle aussi du people de la Torah, *bien que dans quatre autres passages au moins (trois dans l'*Histoire *et un dans le* Commentaire*), il n'indique que des sources musulmanes*" (my emphasis).

744

pp. 78–82.

745

Two Western writers do mention a genealogy linking Canaan and blacks but they are merely quoting the Muslim sources, and are not recording an independent genealogical tradition. See Herbelot in his *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697), p. 425, s.v. Ham and p. 948, s.v. Dhohak (in another 1697 edition I do not find the statement under 'Dhohak' on p. 949), who is quoted by Augustin Calmet in the Supplement volume (1728) to his *Dictionnaire ... de la Bible*, p. 138, s.v. Cham; in the English edition, *An Historical ... Dictionary of the Holy Bible*, 1:435, s.v. Cush. When the church father Isidore of Seville (d. 636) writes that the "Africans and Phoenicians" descended from Canaan, he is undoubtedly speaking of North Africa. See Stephen Barney, et al., *The* Etymologies *of Isidore of Seville*, 9.2.12, p. 193. So too, in Josephus's (*Antiquities* 1.134) identification of biblical Havilah (Gen 10:7, 1 Chron 1:9), the son of Kush, as the ancestor of the Gaetulians, the reference is to the North African Berber people.

746

Muḥammad Bīlū ibn Uthmān Fūdī, *Infāq al-maysūr fī tārīkh bilād at-takrūr*, ed. Bahījah al-Shādhlī (Rabat, 1996), p. 71. The translation is that of Muhammad Shareef at http://www.ibnfodio.com/index.php/library/sultan-muhammad/69-infaql-maysuur, which I have preferred for Shareef's use of some manuscripts in addition to the published translations of Thomas Hodgkin, *Nigerian Perspectives* (2nd ed., London, 1975), and E. J. Arnett, *The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani, Being a Paraphrase and in Some Parts a Translation of the Infakul Maisuri* (Kano, 1922). The differences, however, between the translations of Hodgkin (p. 78), Arnett (p. 16) and Shareef in this passage are minimal. On the other hand, the Arabic of Chaldi's edition reads *ajlāf al-sūdān* 'boorish blacks' for Hodgkin's "indigenous Blacks" and Arnett's "Sudanese."

747

Dixon Denham, Hugh Clapperton, and Walter Oudney, *Narratives of Travels and*

Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the years 1822, 1823 and 1824 (Boston/Philadelphia, 1826, Appendix, p. 22; London, 1826, 2:402; London, 1828, 2: 454–455; repr. Cambridge, U.K., 2011, p. 165).

748

Iwe Itan Oyo-Ile ati Ọyọ Isisiyi abi Ago-d'Ọyọ (A History of Old and New Oyo), written by M. C. Adeyemi (Ibadan, 1914) in Toyin Falọla and Michel R. Doortmont, "Iwe Itan Ọyọ: A Traditional Yoruba History and Its Author," *Journal of African History* 30 (1989) 312.

749

An account written by Samuel Johnson (d. 1901), of Yoruba descent, *The History of the Yoruba from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*, ed. O. Johnson, completed in 1897 but published only in 1921 (in Lagos), pp. 3–6. On Johnson and his work, see *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch: Samuel Johnson and the Yoruba People*, ed. Toyin Falola (Madison, 1994), "Introduction," pp. 1–7.

750

H. R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs Being Mainly Translations of a Number of Arabic Manuscripts Relating to the Central and Western Sudan* (London, 1967), 3:132–133. The Arabic manuscript from which this English translation was made was written between 1883 and 1893 but "the first 'edition' of [the *Kano Chronicle*] was completed in the mid-seventeenth century and was compiled from materials which had been developed since the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries"; Murray Last, "Historical Metaphors in the Kano Chronicle," *History in Africa* 7 (1980) 161. See also H. R. Palmer, "The Kano Chronicle," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 38 (1908) 58. On the Kano Chronicle, see John O. Hunwick, "Not Yet the Kano Chronicle: King-Lists With and Without Narrative Elaboration from Nineteenth-Century Kano," *Sudanic Africa* 4 (1993) 95–130; idem, "A Historical Whodunit: The So-Called 'Kano Chronicle' and Its Place in the Historiography of Kano," *History in Africa* 21 (1994) 127–146.

751

E. g. W. K. R. Hallam, "The Bayajida Legend in Hausa Folklore," *Journal of African History* 7 (1966) 47–60, cited by Robin Law, "The 'Hamitic Hypothesis' in Indigenous West African Historical Thought," *History in Africa* 36 (2009) 303–304. So too M. D. W. Jeffreys, "Braima alias Abraham: A Study in Diffusion," *Folklore* 70 (1959) 323–333, esp. 331. More recently some have argued that although the migration theory may not reflect historical events, various West African rituals and traditions did derive ultimately from Middle Eastern sources. See John Fage, *History of West Africa*, 4th ed. (London, 2002), pp. 9–10, and Dierk Lange, "Hausa History in the Context of the Ancient Near Eastern World" in *Ancient Kingdoms of West Africa* (Dettelbach, Germany, 2004), pp. 215–305, cited by Law, loc. cit., and see also Lange's, "The Dying and Rising God in the New Year Festival of Ifẹ" ibid., pp. 343–375, and his "Origin of the Yoruba and 'The Lost Tribes of Israel,'" in *Anthropos* 106 (2011) 579–595. In *Paideuma* 53 (2007) 284–87, David Henige severely criticized Lange's thesis. Lange responded in *Paideuma* 54 (2008) 253–264, to which Henige replied again in *Paideuma* 54 (2008) 265–269, concluding that Lange's work "is too often a farrago of unconvincing comparisons of names and ritual activities.… Lange's frantic search for vague or non-existent combinations of letters and actions [is] based on choosing and viewing sources through a prism of his own design" (p. 267). Probably William Clarke, a 19th-century American missionary (Baptist) in Yorubaland, was influenced by the West African traditions when he devised an entirely speculative historical reconstruction of Yoruba emigration from Canaan. See William H. Clarke, *Travels and Explorations in Yorubaland 1854–1858* (Ibadan, 1972), pp. 287–292. The work was edited with an introduction by J. A. Atanda from Clarke's manuscript. On Clarke's Canaanite theory, see Atanda's comments, pp. xxii-xxiii.

752

Robin Law, "The 'Hamitic Hypothesis,'" p. 304. Similarly Falọla and Doortmont, "Iwe Itan Ọyọ," p. 306: The "appearance of references to the Middle East in Yoruba tradition can of course be attributed to the longstanding impact of Islam on the Yoruba worldview and Yoruba historiography." J. A. Atanda showed that Yoruba origins actually lie in the area of the Niger-Benue confluence; J. A. Atanda, "Samuel Johnson and the Origins of the Yoruba People," in *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch: Samuel Johnson and the Yoruba People*, ed. Toyin Falola (Madison, 1994) 95–104: 98. A good summary of the historiographical problems involved with African origins based on oral traditions

is summarized by Atanda from the work of K. O. Dike and J. F. Ade Ajayi. For archaeological evidence, see B. Abgaje-Williams, "Samuel Johnson, Yoruba Origins, and Archaeology," in *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch*, ed. Falola, pp. 105–114. According to the traditions, the migration occurred in the 7th century CE. But archaeological evidence shows that human incursion into Yorubaland dates to pre-history, and that art and architectural artifacts are indigenous. A similar explanation of "a desire to relate themselves to what was seen as a prestigious world civilization" is given to explain how Kintu, the legendary founder of Buganda (a kingdom within Uganda), came to be considered a descendant of Ham. After Mutesa (d. 1884), the king of Buganda, adopted Islam, he came to believe that Kintu was a descendant of Ham. "It seems clear that the Muslim traders introduced the figure of Ham as an interpretation of Kintu's identity…. In this way, Kintu became part of the wider historical tradition of the Islamic and Christian world…. [B]y identifying Kintu with Ham [Mutesa] enhanced his own status as the direct descendant of a figure recognized by the outside world as the ancient patriarch of black Africa"; Ray, *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*, p. 100.

753

Last, "Historical Metaphors," pp. 163, 164.

754

E. g., "'Lamurudu' of Johnson's story represents the Arabic (and also Old Testament) figure Namrud or Nimrud. Oduduwa's antagonist 'Braima' is equally certainly Ibrahim, or Abraham. The story of Lamurudu's son's relapse from Islam, Braima's denunciation of it and escape from martyrdom by fire, and Lamurudu's subsequent death in a Muslim insurrection is without any doubt whatever derived from Muslim sagas of the confrontation of Nimrud and Abraham," and Yaʿrub, a figure in Arab genealogies, is appropriated to explain the name Yoruba. See Robin Law, "How Truly Traditional Is Our Traditional History? The Case of Samuel Johnson and the Recording of Yoruba Oral Tradition," *History in Africa* 11 (1984) 195–221 at 199–200. Similarly in Law, "Early Yoruba Historiography," *History in Africa* 3 (1976) 69–89, and idem, "How Many Times Can History Repeat Itself? Some Problems in the Traditional History of Oyo," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 18 (1985) 33–51. For the Muslim sources, see Thackston, *Tales of the Prophets*, pp. 136–150, Brinner, *History of al-Ṭabar*ī, 2: 49–61, and Brinner, *ʿArāʾis al-majālis*, pp. 124–133, 468. See also J. D. Fage with William Tordoff, *A History of Africa*, pp. 61–63. We may add another indication of the Muslim source of the Yoruba story:

the relationship of Nimrod to the Canaanites. In Bello's account the Banu Kanʿan are said to be of the tribe of Nimrod, which mirrors Muslim tradition that Nimrod is a Canaanite (in the Bible Nimrod is a Kushite – he is the son of Kush – and not a Canaanite). For Muslim traditions that Nimrod is a son of Canaan, see, e. g., Brinner, *ʿArāʾis al-majālis*, pp. 124, 125, 161; idem, *History of al-Ṭabar*ī, 2:50n137. See 2:49 where in the name of "earlier sages" Ṭabarī has Nimrod as a son of Kush. The fact that in Muslim tradition Nimrod is said to be black may well have played a part in the adoption of Nimrod as the ancestor of the Yoruba. For the Muslim tradition of Nimrod's blackness, see above, p. 79n15 (al- Kisāʾī), p. 90 (*Akhbār al-zamān*), and Baiḍāwī, *Beidhawii Commentarius in Coranum: ex codd. Parisiensibus, Dresdensibus et Lipsiensibus: Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār altaʾwīl*, ed. H. O. Fleischer (Leipzig, 1846–48), 1:513.

755

"The claim to origin from Mecca probably arose from the desire of Yoruba in contact with Islam to define the relationship of their own civilization to that of the Muslim world, in a way which claimed for the former an antiquity and status comparable to that of the latter, and perhaps also accounted for the points of similarity between them, while at the same time stressing the separation between the two." Since in Muslim tradition Nimrud was in conflict with Islam, he would serve well in stories of origin as the ancestor of the non-Muslim Yoruba, who resisted conversion to Islam. So too in neighboring Borgu, the royal dynasties trace their descent from Kisra, who is Khosrau, the Persian king of the 7th century who rejected Mohammad's invitation to accept Islam. See Law, "How Truly Traditional, pp. 201–203; idem, "The 'Hamitic Hypothesis,'" pp. 302–305. See also idem, "How Many Times Can History Repeat Itself?," p. 40. For the Muslim traditions on Khosrau, see *EI*2 5:185, s.v. Kisrā (M. Morony).

756

Law, "The 'Hamitic Hypothesis,'" pp. 301–302. On the Fulani (Fulbe), see also Bruce Hall, *History of Race in Muslim West Africa*, p. 33.

757

Hall, *History of Race*, pp. 61–65.

758

H. T. Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature* (London, 1982), pp. 33–40. Hall, *History of Race*, pp. 38–39, 42, 47.

759

Hall, *History of Race*, p. 59.

760

Murray Last, personal communication, 13 Dec. 2013, quoted with permission.

761

Pp. 78–80.

762

Auguste-Laurent Montandon, *Étude des récits de l'Ancien Testament en forme d'instructions pour les écoles du dimanche* (1848), part 1, p. 57, quoted in Raoul Allier, *Une énigme troublante*, pp. 24–25. Perhaps too when Andrew Curran writes of "Canaan, the father of Cush," the error similarly derives from a belief in the Curse of Ham tradition; see his *Anatomy of Blackness*, p. 78.

763

Nam Aethiopes propter ingenii hebetudinem sunt minores inter omnes alios servos, qui a Chenaan orti sunt; Jerome of Oleaster, *Reverendi patris fratris Hieronymi ab Oleastro… Commentaria in Mosi Pentateuchum* (Antwerp, 1568, 1569), p. 29r, col. 2. The work was first published in Lisbon, 1556 as *Commentarii in Pentateuchum*. Cited by Stacy Davis, *This Strange Story*, pp. 118, 190n50.

764

Davis, *This Strange Story*, p. 196n117.

765

General estoria, pt. 1, bk. 12, ch. 29, ed. Sánchez-Prieto Borja, p. 65; ed. Solalinde, p. 36.

766

Whitford, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 6–9, 86. Whitford notes that the reading of the Vulgate variant became the basis for the 14th-century Wycliffite Bible "Cursid child Chanaan," Jacque Lefevre's 1534 translation "Mauldict soit Chanaan l'enfant," replacing his earlier (1530) "Mauldict soit Chanaan serviteur," and Huldreich Zwingli's 1545 Genesis commentary. The reading is also found in Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's (d. 1247) *Breviarium historie catholice (I-V)*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde, CCCM 72 A, 1.25, p. 50.

767

Arthur Custance, *Noah's Three Sons* (Grand Rapids, 1975) = volume 1 of Custance, *The Doorway Papers*, pp. 151–152. So too did Charles Copher believe that the "black-headed ones" referred to skin color; see his "The Black Presence in the Old Testament," in *Stony the Road We Trod*, ed. Cain H. Felder (Minneapolis, 1991), p. 154.

768

See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 206.

769
Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Qin Dynasty*, trans. Burton Watson (Hong Kong and New York, 1993), p. 44.
770
Sanders, "The Hamitic Hypothesis," pp. 521–523, reprinted without footnotes, in *Problems in African History*, ed. R. O. Collins et al., pp. 9–19; Muhammad, "Image of Africans," pp. 66–68; Willis, "Islamic Africa: Reflections on the Servile Estate," p. 195; St. Clair Drake, *Black Folk Here and There* (Los Angeles, 1990), 2:19–22;Washington, *Anti-Blackness*, pp. 6, 13; Lécuyer, "Le père Libermann," p. 604; Melamed, *Image of the Black*, pp. 22, 36, 64, 85, 86, 88, 89, 97, 99, 122, 138, 185, 210, 248nn47, 50, 51; Kaplan, "Jewish Artists," pp. 82, 83; Charles Copher (see notes 29 and 39, below); Peterson, *Ham and Japheth*, p. 44; and, on the basis of Peterson, W. D. McKissic and A. T. Evans, *Beyond Roots II* (Wenonah, N. J., 1994), p. 21. That Canaan's "blackness" throughout Washington's book indicates or includes black Africans can be seen from another of his publications where he speaks of "Canaan whose Africa-race posterity God … condemned to human bondage in perpetuity;" Joseph Washington, *Puritan Race Virtue, Vice, and Values 1620–1820* (New York, 1987), p. 25, and see also p. 349.
771
Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1925), 1:169. Ginzberg wrote the *Legends* in German, which was translated from his manuscript into English by Henrietta Szold. The German shows no relevant differences in the text under discussion. The manuscript is available online through the archives of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. I am grateful to Sarah Diamant of the Seminary for her help in accessing it. Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, *Hebrew Myths* (London, 1963; Garden City, N.Y., 1964), is on p. 121. St. Clair Drake came to a curious conclusion in his work *Black Folk*, for he opined that Ginzberg's paraphrase was meant "to avoid Afro-American criticism," while Graves and Patai, on the other hand, were not concerned with such criticism because neither one "had any sustained relations with black Americans" (2:22). How Drake knew this about Ginzberg and Graves-Patai, and why the former should have worried about Afro-American criticism in 1909 but not the latter in 1964, Drake does not say.
772
See Goldenberg, "The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?" and *Curse of Ham*, pp. 187–193. The discrepancy between what the Rabbis said and what

Graves and Patai said they said is dramatically seen in the work of Charles Copher, who, presumably based on Graves-Patai,wrote that "Canaan … will be [born] ugly and dark-skinned," but then Copher quoted the rabbinic text itself, which does not mention Canaan. See Charles Copher, "Three Thousand Years of Biblical Interpretation with Reference to Black Peoples," *Black Biblical Studies* (Chicago, 1993), p. 103–104. The article originally appeared as "Blacks and Jews in Historical Interaction: The Biblical/African Experience," in the *Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 13 (1986) 225–246 at 231–232, and was reprinted also in *African American Religious Studies: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, ed. Gayraud Wilmore (Durham, 1989), pp. 105–128 at 111–112.

773

Midrash Bereshit rabba 36.7, ed. Theodor-Albeck, 1:341. The English translation, with one exception noted below, is based on *Midrash Rabbah*, ed. H. Freedman and Maurice Simon (London, 1939), vol. 1: Genesis, trans. H. Freedman, p. 293.

774

With one exception, all textual witnesses to the passage in *Genesis rabba* as recorded by Theodor in the critical edition (as well as in MS Vatican 60 and the *Yalquṭ talmud torah* anthology to Genesis 9:25, ed. Hurvitz, 2:182) read ***that man***, a common rabbinic euphemism for "you." The exception is MS London, accepted by Theodor as the base text, which has ***his seed.*** The English translation, based on Theodor, has modified ***his seed*** to ***your seed*** recognizing the same euphemism. Despite the preponderance of the textual witnesses, Theodor preferred the reading ***his seed*** because ***that man*** would mean or include Ham in the color change, and Theodor apparently accepted Rashi's interpretation of the sex-in-the-ark story that it was Kush, Ham's seed, and not Ham himself who was the first to become black (see above, p. 48, for Rashi's interpretation). Theodor also noted that a commentary to *Genesis rabba* found in MS Oxford 147 had the same interpretation of the story, which follows R. Huna's statement. The reading ***"his seed***" in MS London itself (or its Vorlage) is probably to be explained the same way, i. e. the influence of Rashi's interpretation.

775

Midrash Tanḥuma, Noaḥ 13, my translation. English: Samuel A. Berman, *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu* (Hoboken, N. J., 1996), p. 67.

776

Muhammad, "Image of Africans," p. 67, referenced Ginzberg's translation but

presented his own version of it when he wrote that the lips of Canaan's descendants "are thick because [Canaan] smiled jokingly." When Muhammad attributes what he considers to be Jewish anti-black attitudes ("hatred for Africans *per se*") to a supposed Jewish "desire to establish a foundation for their cultural and political ascendancy in a world dominated by Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, and Persians" (p. 69), he anticipates Abraham Melamed's unsupported theory in his deeply problematic book, *Image of the Black in Jewish Culture: A History of the Other*, on which see my review in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 93 (2003) 557–579.

777

Joseph Heinemann explains the defining characteristic of the expositional midrashim such as *Genesis rabba*, as opposed to the homiletical midrashim such as *Leviticus rabba*: "The former collect expositions, interpretations and comments – as many as they can find – on each biblical verse or even on each word or phrase and arrange them consecutively according to the order of the biblical text, the result being that more often than not there is no connection at all between the individual items that follow one another…." (Joseph Heinemann, "Profile of a Midrash: The Art of Composition in Leviticus Rabba," *Journal of American Academy of Religion* 39 (1971) 142–143; this article is an English abridgement of Heinemann's Hebrew article that appeared in *Hasifrut* 2 (1971) 808–834. See also Joseph Heinemann, *Agadot we-toldotehen* (Jerusalem, 1974), p. 181. David Stern, "Midrash and the Language of Exegesis: A Study of Vayikra Rabbah, Chapter 1," in *Midrash and Literature*, ed. Geoffrey Hartman and Sanford Budick, New Haven, 1986, p. 106: "The exegetical anthology, like Bereshit (Genesis) Rabbah, presents a series of interpretive opinions on Scripture in the form of a running commentary, verse by verse, often phrase by phrase, without any other clearly discernible logic of organization." Although Stern notes that his definition is somewhat exaggerated, since we do sometimes find redactional organization in sections of these works, nevertheless, "there is no consistent or systematic or recurring plan to the exegetical anthology" (p. 123). Similarly, Richard Sarason, "Toward a New Agendum for the Study of Rabbinic Midrashic Literature," in *Studies in Aggadah, Targum and Jewish Liturgy in Memory of Joseph Heinemann*, ed. J. J. Petuchowski and E. Fleischer (Jerusalem, 1981), p. 64n 21.

778

Ephraim Isaac is confusing on this point. Although criticizing Graves and Patai for their inaccurate readings "first-born" and "ugly things in the blackness of

night" ("Genesis, Judaism and the 'Sons of Ham,'" pp. 84–85), he agrees with them that it is "Canaan's children" who will be born black (pp. 85, 89n25). And yet despite this agreement he emphasizes that "in Rabbinic literature, we do not have or find an implication that the descendants of the accursed Canaan are black or African people" (p. 77), and "[b]oth the Biblical story and the Rabbinic literary sources are unambiguous in the distinction they make between Canaan, the forefather of the Canaanites, and Cush, the forefather of black people" (86). Klatt pointed out other problems with Isaac's article, but he unfortunately, relied on Isaac's incorrect statement that in rabbinic literature Canaan was considered black; see Klatt, *Veflucht, Versklavt, Verkezert*, p. 118. It should also be noted that Klatt's comments on the expression *aboi de-paḥata* in *Genesis rabba* 36.2 (ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 336) require correction (*paḥata* means 'curse'); see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 283–284n20, and the article by Aaron Amit, "The Epithets בר פחין, בן פיחה and בר פחתי and Their Development in Talmudic Sources," *Tarbiẓ* 72 (2003) 489–504.

779

Peterson, *Ham and Japheth*, p. 44, quotes Ginzberg's paraphrase but replaces "through Canaan therefore" with ellipsis, thereby removing Ginzberg's explanatory gloss and thus having him say precisely what he took pains not to say.

780

Johannes Sabel, "Aggadah in 'Higher Unity': The German Manuscript of *The Legends of the Jews*," in *Louis Ginzberg's* Legends of the Jews: *Ancient Jewish Folk Literature Reconsidered*, ed. Galit Hasan-Rokem and Ithamar Gruenwald (Detroit, 2014), pp. 151–152. See also Braude's remarks on Ginzberg's (and Graves-Patai's as well) paraphrase in his "Cham et Noé," p. 98n9.

781

Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 443n27.

782

In addition to those works mentioned above in note 27, the influence of the Graves and Patai book is seen, as well, in the increasing reliance upon it by Afrocentric works such as those by Jean Phillipe Omotunde, *La traite négrière européenne*, 3:131, and Yosef Ben-Jochannan, the last of whom quotes the work and repeatedly refers to it in his *Cultural Genocide in the Black and African Studies Curriculum* (New York, 1972) on pp. 29, 30, 115, 126, and his *Africa: Mother of Western Civilization* on pp. 188, 202, 599. It is the Graves-Patai passage that motivates Ben-Jochannan to call the authors of the Talmud and

Midrash *"racist* and *bigoted* ghettoized European rabbis and Talmudist fanatics" in his *The Black Man's Religion*, vol. 3: *The Need for a Black Bible* (New York, 1974), pp. 40–41, his emphases. See also most recently Philippe Lavodrama who, in a section of *Regards africains* 47/48 (2002) 13 entitled "Premiers concepts du racisme antinoirs," writes that "the paths of anti-Black racism are thus drawn, deeply, without any ambiguity" to the Jews. Charles Copher, mentioned above (note 29) had a large influence in promoting the Graves-Patai error of a rabbinic black Canaan. As the former Dean of the Faculty and Professor of Old Testament at the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, the largest African-American theological center in the United States, as well as through his writings, Copher was influential for decades among black biblical scholars and clergy. An indication of Copher's influence is seen in the fact that at its annual convention in 2011 the Society of Biblical Literature held a special session on "Race in Rabbinic Literature: Reflections on Charles Copher's 'The Black Presence in the Old Testament'" (published as: *Re-Presenting Texts: Jewish and Black Biblical Interpretation*, ed. W. David Nelson and Rivka Ulmer, Piscataway N.J., 2013). Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 290n106 writes that, "Copher's writings have been particularly influential for a generation of African American scholars seeking to reassess and recapture the black presence in the Bible." On Copher's views see Michael Brown, *Blackening of the Bible: The Aims of African American Biblical Scholarship* (Harrisburg, Penn., 2004), p. 28.

783

Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 18. Some have incorrectly dated the *Zohar* to the 2nd century CE. So Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West*, p. 131, and Stephen Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 27, although elsewhere in his book (p. 88) Haynes considers it medieval. Another chronological error made by Haynes occurs when he sees an evolution in thought from the Rabbis to Josephus (p. 45). For the correct dating and authorship of the *Zohar* and its constituent parts, see Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3rd revised ed., Jerusalem, 1961), pp. 156–204 ("Fifth Lecture"); idem in *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971), 16:1206–1211, reprinted in Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (New York, 1974), pp. 213–243, esp. 232–233, and Arthur Green, "Introduction," in *The Zohar*, translation and commentary by Daniel C. Matt (Stanford, 2004), 1:liv-lvii. See also the bibliography in Elliot Wolfson, *The Book of the Pomegranate* (Atlanta, 1988), p. 4.

784

The Zohar, 1:431. For the commentators, see Goldenberg, "The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?" p. 43n25. The original text is in ed. R. Margaliot, *Zohar, Tiqqune ha-Zohar, Zohar ḥadash* (Jerusalem, 1940–53), 1:72b-73a. The metaphor is part of a complex exegesis in which Canaan is compared to the serpent of the Garden of Eden, who was responsible for introducing death into the world.

785

Tanḥuma, *Wa-yeshev* 4 and *Shemot* 17. For examples of use of the expression in the *Zohar*, see ed. Margaliot, 1:79b, 1:124a; see also 1:228a, 131a, and 2:149b.

786

Jordan relied on an English translation by M. Simon and P. P. Levertoff, *The Zohar* (London, 1934), which is often paraphrastic and sometimes incorrect; see Goldenberg, "The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?," pp. 27–28, and Green, "Introduction," p. xix. Those who accepted Jordan's reading of the Zohar include, among others, Charles Lyons, *To Wash an Aethiop White: British Ideas about Black African Educability, 1530–1960* (New York, 1975), p. 12; Joseph Washington, *Anti-Blackness*, p. 12; and Ivan Hannaford in his erudite but problematic book, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West*, pp. 135, 137; see my review of the work, "The Development of the Idea of Race: Classical Paradigms and Medieval Elaborations" in the *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 5 (1999) 561–570. Jordan's influence ranges beyond academe. His interpretation of the *Zohar* is quoted in works on black theology to show early Jewish antipathy to blacks, such as Gayraud Wilmore, "The Black Messiah: Revising the Color Symbolism of Western Christology," *Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 2 (1974) 8. Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, p. 87, offers (presumably) Jordan's reading as a possible interpretation of the *Zohar*. Sollors then became the source for an Internet claim that the *Zohar* (an "early" rabbinic text!) is speaking of skin color; see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Curse_of_Ham (at n. 6) and http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Curse_of_Ham#cite (at n. 3). Also based on Sollors is Stephen Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 27. Incidentally, in his discussion of the Curse of Ham, Sollors (p. 446n49) mentions John Fletcher's (d. 1785) reference to the *Zohar*. However, the *Zohar* passage that Fletcher quoted (from Sale's *Koran*) has nothing to do with the Curse of Ham, and the reference in Sollors's note should be deleted. Also correct Sollors's (p. 98) reference to Ephraim Isaac for the view that "rabbinic opinion has also included the view that … Canaan may actually have been Noah's fouth and youngest son." The Rabbis never believed that

Canaan was Noah's fourth and youngest son, which would contradict the biblical text. That is a view of modern scholarship, as Isaac said but whom Sollors misread (also Sollors, p. 444n34 should read "B. Lewis, 123–26n9"). On the other hand, Isaac mistakenly stated that according to the Rabbis it was Canaan who either castrated or sodomized Noah (it was Ham); see Isaac, "Genesis, Judaism and the 'Sons of Ham,'" p. 77, upon whom Sollors relied (p. 98).

787

Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black*, p. 36. Jordan is allusive in his expression but his meaning is clear. He speaks of Ham's sexual offences imagined by Jewish commentators, including castration, copulation, and, incorrectly, bestiality, and then he says: "The depth and diffuse pervasiveness of these explosive associations are dramatized in the mystic Zohar … where Ham, it is said, 'represents the … the stirring and rousing of the unclean spirit of the ancient serpent.'" St. Claire Drake, *Black Folk*, 2:22–23, makes a similar claim about rabbinic texts (not the *Zohar*) being responsible for the "stereotype, defining black people as unable to control their sexual impulses." Similarly, Joseph Washington, *Anti-Blackness*, p. 10. See also Yosef Ben-Jochannan, *Cultural Genocide*, p. 100. Klatt, *Veflucht, Versklavt, Verkezert*, pp. 122–123, understands the sex-in-the-ark midrash discussed above (pp. 43–44), as recorded in the Palestinian Talmud and *Genesis rabba*, as expressing the view that "die schwarze Hautfarbe ein Ausdruck der Geilheit sei." This is based on his understanding of the word מפורצם/מפורסם as 'horniness' (Geilheit) and since the midrash speaks of Ham and the dog, "Er wird als Ursache für die schwarze Hautfarbe Chams angegeben, die durch den Vergleich mit dem Hund zugleich als ein Kennzeichen der Geilheit gedeutet wird." However, even if the Hebrew word carries that connotation, which I doubt (see my interpretation in *Curse of Ham*, p. 103), the midrash does not compare Ham to the dog any more than it compares him to the raven. Should we say that the midrash sees black skin as indicative of insemination by spitting into the mouth of the female, as is said of the raven?

788

Kaplan, *Rise of the Black Magus*, p. 82.

789

Kaplan, *Rise of the Black Magus*, pp. 79–80, speaks of the "use of black figures to highlight the all-embracing character of Christian evangelism." The "most unusual and distant forms of humanity etc." (p. 82) perhaps is meant to echo the choice of an Ethiopian in the conversion story in Acts 8:26–40; see Goldenberg,

Curse of Ham, p. 25, for this understanding of the story. For the Christian exegetical identification of blacks with gentiles, see the references above, pp. 189–192 and 152n22.

790

Debra Strickland expresses surprise "to find isolated cases of transformation from white to black for figures whose reputations nevertheless remained entirely positive," and she cites the case of Balthassar, one of the magi who visited the newborn Jesus (Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, p. 249). Balthassar's dark color, however, assumedly reflects the story in Acts 8 and its early interpretations in which the Ethiopian was meant to represent the extent of the gentile world; see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 25, and Clarice Martin, "The Acts of the Apostles," *Searching the Scriptures*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (New York, 1994), 2:792: "The Ethiopian eunuch's ethnographic status qualifies him to symbolize the universal scope and outreach of the Christian gospel…. Further, because he was an 'Ethiopian, his conversion uniquely represents the fulfillment of the prophecy that Ethiopia would 'stretch out her hands to God' (Psalm 68:31)." Similarly, Clarice Martin, "A Chamberlain's Journey and the Challenge of Interpretation for Liberation," *Semeia* 47 (1989) 105–135, and Ben Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, 1998), p. 290.

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See Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, p. 226n14; Kaplan , *Ruler, Saint and Servant*, pp. 74, 174–181; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, pp. 168–170, 173, 179–180; and Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 308–309n49. Lynn T. Ramey, *Black Legacies: Race and the European Middle Ages* (Gainesville, Fl., 2014), p. 74, based on Philippe Sénac, *L'image de làutre: L'Occident medieval face à l'Islam* (Paris, 1983), writes, "[B]y the thirteenth century a figure representing an 'Ethiopian' or 'Saracen' was more likely to be black than white." In an illustration of the Luttrell Psalter, Saladin is depicted with dark skin (Strickland, pp. 178, 189). Friedman, p. 63, notes an illustration of Acts 2:4–5 that depicts "Arabians" of the text with black skin, Islamic dress, and dogs' heads. He also reproduces an illustration from an Armenian gospel book, in which the dog-headed figure is dark skinned in contrast to the other lighter-skinned figures in the painting (p. 66). Thomas Hahn refers to a German version of Mandeville that illustrates the land of the Moors with a dark-skinned woman in a Saracen headdress ("The Difference the Middle Ages Makes: Color and Race before the Modern World," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 [2001] 18).

The *Abreviamen de las Estorias*, a synchronological table of ancient rulers (14th century), f. 10v, paints the Saracen kings of Muslim states black (Jean Devisse and Michel Mollat in *Image of the Black*, 2.2.82–84; new edition, pp. 107–109). Perhaps indicative of Saracen dark skin is a line in the Provencal manuscript of *Altercatio Hadriani et Epicteti* quoted in Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, p. 103: "Whence come the Saracens (*Sarrazis*)? From Caym," i. e. Cam/Ham. The text was edited and annotated by Walter Suchier, *Das mittellateinische Gespräch Adrian und Epictitus nebst verwandten Texten (Joca Monachorum)* (Tübingen, 1955), who dates the manuscript to the 14th century, and notes that the original Latin has *servi* in place of Saracens (*Unde sunt servi? – De Cam*), as does the 8th-century parallel *Joca Monachorum* (pp. 33 – note the variant *Cain*, pp. 55, 60, 64, 110, 126).

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Kaplan, *Ruler, Saint and Servant*, p. 175. Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, p. 169. Both Kaplan and Strickland (pp. 175–176) think that realistic portrayals of dark skin as found in the Byzantine East are based on early contact with Islam, while later depictions in the West (late 13th and 14th centuries), derived primarily from reports of the Crusades. Svetlana Luchitskaya, "Muslims in Christian Imagery of the Thirteenth Century: The Visual Code of Otherness," *Al-Masāq* 12 (2000) 45–47, understands the dark skin of Muslims in William of Tyre's Crusade chronicle as symbolic of evil.

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An expression used by several Muslim writers to mean "the whole world" is *al-aḥmar waʾlaswad* 'the red and the black,' meaning 'non-Arabs and Arabs' respectively. For sources, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 298n92. (The earliest usage of the expression "the red and the black" to mean "everyone" is recorded on several South Arabian inscriptions, most of which were found in East Africa and which date from the second half of the first millennium BCE. See Abraham J. Drewes, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden, 1962, p. 98; R. Schneider, "Deux inscriptions sudarabiques du Tigre," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 30.5/6 [1973] 385–389. The inscriptions are most recently published in E. Bernand, A. J. Drewes, R. Schneider, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*, Paris, 1991, pp. 69–80.) Another Muslim example is the explanation of al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868/9), which he puts in the mouths of the Zanj (black Africans): "The Arabs belong with us and not with the whites, because their color is nearer to ours…. For the Prophet, God bless and save him, said, 'I was sent to the red and the black,' and everyone knows that the Arabs are

not red." Jāḥiẓ concludes: "Our blackness, O people of the Zanj, is not different from the blackness of the Banū Sulaym and other Arab tribes" (trans. Bernard Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, New York, 1974, 2:215–216). Wesley Muhammad (Williams) has documented numerous references in Islamic literature to the Arabs, or Arab tribes, as dark skinned. See the chapter "Beyond Bilāl: The Black Muslims in Arabia" in his *Black Arabia and the African Origin of Islam* (Atlanta, 2009), pp. 172–193, and Williams's online "work in progress," "'Anyone Who Says that the Prophet is Black Should be Killed': The De-Arabization of Islam and the Transfiguration of Muḥammad in Islamic Tradition" (http://drwesleywilliams.com/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/Muhammad_Article.170121832.pdf), and "Abyaḍ and the Black Arabs: Some Clarifications" (https://www.academia.edu/5259315/Abyad_and_the_Black_Arabs_Some_Clarifications). See also Dana W. Reynolds-Marniche, "Fear of Blackness: Recovering the Hidden Ethnogenesis of Early African and Afro-Asiatic Peoples Comprising the 'Moors' Of North Africa and Spain," in *West Africa Review* 23 (2013), especially Section 4, and her blogs at http://afroasiatics.blogspot.com/. Note finally that in an Armenian apocryphal text a servant of Abraham called Mamrē is described as a "black Arab." See Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Abraham* (Atlanta, 2012), p. 116.

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See Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 122–123.

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See Kaplan, *Ruler, Saint and Servant*, pp. 6–8, 71–72, 175, 182, and *Rise of the Black Magus*, pp. 8, 263n84,where he mentions several examples from the 11th to the 14th centuries. Friedman points to an illustration in a 12th-century manuscript of Gregory Nazianzus, in which Ishmael is colored black and is wearing an Arab headdress. Friedman explains that Ishmael stands in opposition to Isaac who is colored white and wears the Christian dalmatic, and that the two figures represent the theological and political conflicts between Islam and Christianity. As Friedman says, referring to the Christian exegetical tradition of interpreting black skin as sinfulness, "Color polarities were easily interchanged with moral polarities" (*Monstrous Races*, p. 64). Regarding the Christian Coptic tapestry from the 7th-8th centuries, mentioned by Kaplan, see E. Kitzinger, "The Story of Joseph on a Coptic Tapestry," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1 (1937–38) 266–268 (now published in Kitzinger, *Studies in Late Antique Byzantine and Medieval Western Art*, London, 2002, 1:1–5), who, like Kaplan, notes the similarity to the illustrations in the Byzantine Seraglio Octateuch which "also

imagined the Ishmaelites to look like Nubians or Ethiopians." Regarding the Asburnham Pentateuch, also mentioned by Kaplan, see now Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk, "Black Servant, Black Demon." On the relationship of the Midianites to the Ishmaelites, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 229n14, and E. J. Revell, "Midian and Ishmael in Genesis 37: Synonyms in the Joseph Story," *The World of the Aramaeans* (Sheffield, 2001), 1:70–91. For the Muslim tradition that sees Ishmael as the ancestor of both the northern tribes of Arabia and Muḥammad himself; see *EI*2, s.vv. Ismāʿīl (R. Paret) and Muḥammad 3 A (A. Noth). The relationship is captured in a text of Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) addressed to "the Arabs, sons of Ishmael, who serve the law of him who is called Muhammad" (quoted in John Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages*, Gainesville, Fla., 2008, p. 60). Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, p. 64, notes what may be the earliest Christian identification of Ishmaelites with Arabs in Rhabanus Maurus (d. 856), *Commentaria in Genesim* 2.18, PL 107 (2), 544 A, who interprets Genesis 16:11–12 speaking of Ishmael: "Significat autem semen ejus habitaturum in eremo, id est, Saracenos vagos incertisque sedibus…." If Friedman is correct, he is so only for the Christian West. In Eastern Syriac sources Arabs are commonly termed 'Ishmaelites' or 'Sons of Ishmael,' beginning with the *Khuzistan Chronicle*, about 200 years before Rhabanus; see Michael P. Penn, *When Christians First Met Muslims* (Oakland, Calif., 2015), pp. 50, 53 and Index s.vv. Perhaps the same tradition is behind the Spanish Jewish translation (1433) of Moses Arragel of "Moors" for Ishmaelites in Genesis 37:27–28, 39:1 and for Midianites in 37:36. See Michael McGaha, *Coat of Many Cultures: The Story of Joseph in Spanish Literature, 1200–1492* (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 15, 17.

796

One of the illustrations in the 14th-century Sarajevo Passover Haggada depicts the Ishmaelites in a biblical scene with negroid features and darker skin color (even if only slightly so) than that of Joseph and his brothers. See f. 12r (introductory paintings) in the reproduction of the Haggada (Sarajevo, 2010), the accompanying booklet by Jakob Fines, p. 17, and *The Sarajevo Haggadah* (New York, [1963]), with Introduction by Cecil Roth, p. 19. The shade of the Ishmaelites' skin color in this painting is similar to that of Ham depicted in the Alba Bible (see above, p. 111, fig. 4), which should be contrasted with the noticeably dark skin of a black African (servant? free convert?) seated with the family at the Seder table in another illustration of the Sarajevo Haggada (f. 31v). So also Thomas Hahn noted that the armorial of Konrad of Grünenberg (ca.

1480) shows Prester John and his disciples with distinctive African features (hair, nose, lips) but with skin color only slightly darker than the white figures (Thomas Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes," p. 32n38). The second Jewish source is literary. It is the passage quoted above (p. 85) from *Genesis rabba*, that when Joseph was sold to Potiphar by the Ishmaelites, Potiphar at first refused to believe that Joseph was a slave, for he knew that "usually the light skinned (*germani*) sells the dark skinned (*kushi*), but here the dark skinned (*kushi*) is selling the light skinned (*germani*)."

797

John Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), pp. 126–128.

798

Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, pp. 89 and 182. The reading of the manuscript is found in the Vulgata Clementina, which follows the LXX. The Nova Vulgata, like the Hebrew, has "Philistines" in place of "foreigners."

799

David Walker (d. 1830), Hollis Read (d. 1887), Samuel Ringgold Ward (ca. 1866), Drusilla Dunjee Housten (d. 1941), and, equivocally, Marcus Garvey (d. 1940); see Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Afrotopia*, pp. 90, 194, 224–225, 232. On Housten, see also the introductory remarks by John Bruno Hare online at http://www.sacred-texts.com/afr/we/index.htm. In addition, Moses (p. 95) mentions Robert Benjamin Lewis (d. 1858), W. L. Hunter (d. after 1901), and James Morris Webb (d. after 1910) in another context, but who also subscribed to the idea of black Canaanites. R[obert] B[enjamin] Lewis, *Light and Truth: Collected from the Bible and Ancient and Modern History, Containing the Universal History of the Colored and the Indian Race*… (Boston, 1844), p. 63, said nothing specifically of the Canaanites' color but did write of "Canaan, the fourth son of Ham (literally *black*)." W. L. Hunter, *Jesus Christ Had Negro Blood in His Veins* (Brooklyn, 1901), p. 9, sought to prove that Jesus was a "black man" on the basis of Matthew 1:3, where Jesus is said to descend from the marriage of Judah and Tamar, assuming a black Canaanite ancestry for Tamar. James Morris Webb, *The Black Man: The Father of Civilization Proven by Biblical History* (Seattle, 1910), p. 6, tackled directly the implied objection that a black Canaan would lend support to a Curse of Ham interpretation and its divine approval of black enslavement. Wrote Webb: "Canaan was never inconvenienced by the curse of Noah because he was the Father of seven prosperous nations, foremost among them were the Canaanites, Phoenicians and Sidonians."

800

Joseph Theophile Foisset, “Nouvelles preuves que les nègres descendent de Cham” in *Annales de philosophie chrétienne* 3 (1831) 430–435; William Frederick Van Amringe, *An Investigation of the Theories of the Natural History of Man*, p. 76.

801
Charles Copher, *Black Biblical Studies*, pp. 34–35 (in Copher, "Blacks and Jews in Historical Interaction," on p. 10). Copher qualifies the thesis by stating that it is based on "American definitions of Black when applied to peoples in an ethnic or racial sense," or that *"in the main"* biblical Hamites were people "who, today in the Western World, would be classified as Black and Negroid" (*Black Biblical Studies*, pp. 2, 36; Copher's emphasis). Cf. the remarks of the African-American abolitionist David Walker (d. 1830), "[T]he Egyptians were Africans or colored people, such as we are – some of them yellow and others dark – … about the same as you see the colored people of the United States at the present day"; David Walker, *An Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (Boston, 1829), p. 10.
802
Walter A. McCray, *The Black Presence in the Bible* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 27–28.
803
Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 195.
804
Albert Cleage, *The Black Messiah* (New York, 1968), pp. 39–40.
805
Joseph Ben-Levi, "The First and Second Intermediate Periods in Kemetic History," *Kemet and the African Worldview*, ed. Maulana Karenga and Jacob Carruthers (Los Angeles, 1986), p. 58.
806
John L. Johnson, *The Black Biblical Heritage* (Nashville, Tenn., 1991), pp. 11, 13, 19, 27, et passim. The map follows p. 275; cf. pp. 27 and 209. See also p. 219, where the reason given for the association of Canaan and blackness is the claim that Ham was black.
807
"Ham is said to be the father of all black and brown people. These people are related to the earliest inhabitants of the land of Israel. These black Palestinians were the ancient Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, and the original inhabitants of Greece and Sicily"; http://www.africaresource.com/rasta/sesostris-the-great-the-egyptian-hercules/black-canaanite-palestinians-true-history-in-video/.
808
Cheikh Anta Diop, *The African Origin of Civilization* (Chicago, 1974, ed. and trans. Mercer Cook from the French edition, 1967), pp. 107–108, 246–247. See also Diop's "Origin of the Ancient Egyptians," in *General History of Africa*, ed.

G. Mokhtar (London, 1981) 2:27–57; and his *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology*, trans. Yaa-Lengi Meema Ngemi (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1991), p. 92. On Diop's theories, see Stephen Howe, *Afrocentrism: Mythical Pasts and Imagined Homes* (London, 1998), pp. 163–192; Edwin Yamauchi, *Africa and the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 2004), pp. 208–213; and Gerald Early, "Adventures in the Colored Museum: Afrocentrism, Memory, and the Construction of Race," *American Anthropologist* 100 (1998) 707–709. On the racial identity of the Egyptians, note Ray's comment quoting St. Clair Drake: "To be sure as one African-American scholar has observed, the 'reconstruction and interpretation of Egyptian history has always been carried out from some socially conditioned perspective.' Such was the case for nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century racist Egyptologists. Such is also the case for the African and African-American scholars who wish to prove that Egyptian civilization was black from predynastic times" (Ray, *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*, p. 197; Drake, *Black Folk*, 1:143).

809

Edward Wilmot Blyden, *From West Africa to Palestine* (Freetown, Sierra Leone, 1873), p. 105.

810

Moses, *Afrotopia*; Mia Bay, *The White Image*, pp. 26–55. See also Ikechukwu Okafor-News-um's review essay of *Afrotopia*, "A Passage to Afrotopia," *Research in African Literatures* 32.4 (2001) 172–186, especially 177. See also Margaret Malamud, "Black Minerva: Antiquity in Antebellum African American History," *African Athena: New Agendas*, ed. D. Orrells, G. K. Bhambra, T. Roynon (Oxford, 2011), pp. 71–89. This view had some precedents. The Franciscan missionary and historian in Spanish colonial Mexico Juan de Torquemada (d. 1624) quoted "wise and learned men" who claimed that with Noah's curse, not only Canaan but his brothers Egypt, Kush, and Put, i.e., Ham's progeny, also became black; see above. p. 123n5.

811

Those proposing an ethnic relationship of black Africans with the ancient Egyptians include John Russwurm, an editor of *Freedom's Journal*, America's first African-American newspaper; the Boston abolitionist David Walker; ex-slave and abolitionist Frederick Douglass; minister and abolitionist Samuel Ringgold Ward; civil rights activist W. E. B. DuBois; novelist and poet Francis Ellen Watkins Harper; Robert Benjamin Lewis, of mixed African and Indian parentage; and the minister James Pennington. Apparently the first to propose

that ancient Egyptians were black was the Frenchman Comte de Volney in a work published in 1788, on which see David S. Wiesen, "Herodotus and the Modern Debate over Race and Slavery," *Ancient World* 3 (1980) 3–16, and Malamud, "Black Minerva," pp. 75–78. Other early white advocates of this position were Abbé Henri Gregoire and the American minister Hollis Read. See Moses, *Afrotopia*, pp. 24, 39, 56, 61–63, 160, 186, 232; Bay, *White Image*, pp. 26–30, 32–36, 44, 51. Edith Bruder, *The Black Jews of Africa*, pp. 74, 217n9, mentions also William Councill and Harvey Johnson as claiming "the 'Negroid' character of ancient Egypt," but she does not provide the pagination to their works, so I was not able to confirm the references. On Stanhope Smith's (Presbyterian minister and erstwhile president of the College of New Jersey,which became Princeton University, d. 1819) belief that the ancient Egyptians "had full black skin and full features" but were unrelated to African Americans, see Bruce Dain, *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), pp. 68, 76–79. Volney came to the identification of Egyptians as black based upon Herodotus's classification of the Colchians on the Black Sea as descendants of the Egyptians because of their "dark skin and woolly hair." Against this identification, see Frank Snowden, "The Physical Characteristics of Egyptians and Their Southern Neighbors: The Classical Evidence," in *Egypt in Africa*, ed. Theodore Celenko (Indianapolis, 1996), p. 107; idem, "Bernal's 'Blacks,' Herodotus and Other Classical Evidence," *Arethusa* 22 (Special Fall Issue, 1989) 83–95.

812

For the dark skin of Egyptians, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, Index: "Egyptians, dark skinned," and add Lucian, *Navigium* 2 (μελάγχρους) and Isaeus 5.7–8 and 40,who refers to one Mela ('Black') the Egyptian. Note also Adespota F 161 in Bruno Snell, *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen, [1971]): "the sun with its shining light will make your skin Egyptian." See also the reference to Cassiodorus quoted below in Excursus V, p. 288n5.

813

For the location of Put, see above, p. 169.

814

Similarly Philip S. Zachernuk, "Of Origins and Colonial Order: Southern Nigerian Historians and the 'Hamitic Hypothesis' C.1870–1970," *Journal of African History* 35 (1994) 427–455, shows how West African historians adapted the Hamitic Hypothesis using it to vindicate African achievements. So too Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's*

Nubian Empire (London, 2003), p. 14, citing "leaders of the Afrocentric movement, like Cheik Ante Diop."

815

Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 141–149.

816

Richard Brent Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience* (Bloomington, Ind., 1997), pp. 92–93. *The Holy Koran of the Moorish Science Temple of America* 47.1–2 at http://hermetic.com/moorish/7koran.html.

817

Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience*, pp. 95–96. Judith N. Shklar, "Subversive Genealogies," *Daedalus* 101 (1972) 129–154.

818

The references mentioned by Paul Kaplan, "Jewish Artists," p. 82n37, claiming to show that "Canaan or Chus or their offspring are occasionally depicted as black Africans," either deal with Kush, not Canaan, or refer to the Muslim genealogical tradition.

819

See above, p. 8, for sources. Regarding the *piyyuṭ* (liturgical poem), which refers to the "Kushites" drowned in the Red Sea, cf. Ezra Fleischer, *Tefila u-minhagei tefila Erets-Yisreʾeliyim bi-tqufat ha-geniza* (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 177–79, 349.

820

On *payṭanic* literature, see Ezra Fleischer, "Piyyut," in *The Literature of the Sages, Part 2: Midrash & Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature*, ed. Shmuel Safrai, Zeev Safrai, Joshua Schwartz, Peter J. Tomson (Assen, 2006), pp. 363–374.

821

See, for example (the numbers refer to the *Maʾagarim* results), s.v. כושי, שם יחוס: 33/550, 50/640, 63/850, 64/850, 105/1049, 106/1049, 108/1049, 111/1050, 112/1050, 113–114/1050; *Maʾagarim*, s.v כוש, שם פרטי: 10/550, 15/775, 68/1049 .

822

E. g., C363363 and C461599.

823

For the Seljuk *piyyuṭ*, see *Maʾagarim* 71/1075; for the Banū Jarr*āḥ qinah*, see above, p. 115n24.

824

See Iris Idelson-Shein, *Difference of a Different Kind*, p. 141.

825

See *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. James B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1950), pp. 292, 294, and Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, p. 217n10.

826

For Qalir, see Daniel Goldschmidt, *Seder ha-qinot le-Tish'ah be-Av* (*Jerusalem*, 1972), p. 67, line 24.

827

Goldschmidt, *Seder ha-qinot le-Tish'ah be-Av*, p. 39.

828

Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan, 1990), s.v. בישא.

829

Origen, *Homilies on Genesis* 16.1, GCS 29 (Origen 6) 136–137, SC 7:373–374. Translation is that of R. Heine, *Origen: Homilies on Genesis and Exodus* (Washington, 1982) in the Fathers of the Church series, 71:2 l5. Origen wrote in Greek but the text is preserved in the Latin translation of Rufinus (d. 411). Ham's laughing at, or mocking, his father, while not in the Bible, is found as part of the retelling of the biblical story as early as Philo (*De Virtutibus* 37.202; see also *De Sobrietate* 6ff, 31 ff, 44ff, etc.) and Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.141). This element of the story is then commonly found in the church fathers: Irenaeus quoting a "presbyter" (*Adversus haereses* 4.31.1, SC 100:786–787), Justin Martyr (*Dialogue with Trypho* 139.1), Hippolytus of Rome (*Blessings of Isaac and Jacob* 5, PO 27/1–2:16–17), Ambrose (*Letters* 27.12, CSEL 82/1:185, FC 26:147), Epiphanius (*Panarion* 63.3.9), and many others, where Ham's laughter is often compared with the Jews' mocking of Christ on the cross as part of a typological reading of Genesis 9, in which Noah is Christ. As seen throughout this study, Ham's laughter or mocking is also found in many of the Muslim accounts. As far as I could tell, this element is not found in rabbinic literature, with the exception of the late (8th-9th century) *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eliezer* (Warsaw, 1852), p. 55a; trans., Gerald Friedlander, *Pirḳê De Rabbi Eliezer* (London, 1916), p. 170, a work composed in an Islamic environment. Apparently David Luria (d. 1855), *Commentary*, ad loc., was not aware of any other such rabbinic text. The following discussion of Origen is based on my earlier study in Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 168–169, presented here with clarifications and elaborations.

830

Cf. the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* 21.27: "Now the seed of Canaan, as I have

already said, are the Egyptians, and behold, they are scattered over the whole earth, and have been made servants of servants" (above, p. 77n2).

831

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Leipzig, 1900- , s.v. *decolor*. Ronald Heine's English translation has "discoloration," while Louis Doutreleau's French translation in the Sources Chrétiennes series (7: 375) has "corruption." For *decolor* with the sense 'discoloration,' see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 110–111, and Thompson, *Romans and Blacks*, pp. 26–28, 130. Eric Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton, 2011), pp. 208–209n96, disagrees: "Use of the term *decolor* need signal no more than 'nonwhite,' not in itself a stigma…. Thompson … unconvincingly takes it as 'derogation of negritude.'" But then Gruen says (p. 209) that "the distinct color of the Ethiopians lent itself to jokes, parody, and dark humor – a matter quite different from ethnic bigotry or abhorrence of the nation," which, as I understand it, is exactly Thompsons's thesis in his book.

832

Origen's allegorical interpretation of dark skin as sin had a large influence on later patristic exegesis through the centuries. See above, p. 190n7, and see p. 37n36; Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 48–49; and idem, "Racism, Color Symbolism, and Color Prejudice." In addition to the church fathers mentioned in these studies, add the following: Caesarius of Arles (d. 542), Sermon 95.2, SC 447:268–269, FC 47:66, and Sermon 194.1, FC 66:35; the anonymous *Glosa Psalmorum ex traditione seniorum* (dated to 600 or the early 7th century) to Ps. 71:9, ed. Helmut Boese (Freiburg, 1992), p. 315, and see Martin McNamara, *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church* (Sheffield, 2000), pp. 306–307; Pseudo Dio Chrysostom quoted in Snowden, *Before Color Prejudice*, 104–105, and *Blacks in Antiquity*, pp. 198, 205–206 (Pseudo Dio Chrysostom is dated not later than the early 8th century following Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity*, Philadelphia, 1990, p. 170n1); Gregory of Nazianzus (4th century), "On Holy Baptism," Oratio 40.26, PG 36.396 A, and *Carmina moralia* 10.824 ff, PG 37.739, quoted by Jean Marie Courtès, "The Theme of 'Ethiopia,'" in *Image of the Black*, ed. Bugner, 2.1:27; Fulgentius of Ruspe (6th century) quoted by Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, p. 212, and *Before Color Prejudice*, p. 8; the *Vitae Patrum* (4th-5th cent.) quoted by Carmelina Naselli, "Diavoli bianchi e diavoli neri nei leggendari medievali," *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen: Sprache, Dichtung, Sitte* 15 (1942–43) 249; Hippolytus of Rome (d. ca. 235), GCS 1:359. A notable exception to this patristic adoption of

Origen's interpretation is Eusebius, as is shown by Aaron Johnson, "The Blackness of Ethiopians: Classical Ethnography and Eusebius's *Commentary on the Psalms*," *Harvard Theological Review* 99 (2006) 165–186.

833

For references to Ethiopians, see Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham*, pp. 168–169. For Origen on Egypt (ians), see idem, "Scythian-Barbarian," p. 99n30, and add: *Homilies on Exodus* 3.3, FC 71:252–259, esp. 255: Pharao is "the ruler of this darkness" and 259: "the Egypt of the vices"; *Homilies on Exodus* 4.9, FC 71:274, "the land of Egypt … the power of darkness" (cf. 4.8, FC 71:271); 5.4, FC 71:281, applying John 3:19 "they loved darkness rather than light" to the Egyptians; 5.5, FC 71:284, "If you flee Egypt, if you leave behind the darkness of ignorance.… For he who does not do 'the works of darkness' (Romans 13:12) destroys the Egyptian, he who lives not carnally but spiritually destroys the Egyptian, he who either casts out of his heart all sordid and impure thoughts or does not receive them at all destroys the Egyptian"; 7.2, FC 71: 304, "The Egyptian sickness is zealously to serve the luxury of the flesh, to attention to pleasures, to devote one's self to delights." The texts are found, respectively, in PG 12.310–317, 314, 316–317, 325, 323, 331,329, 343. For Tertullian on Egypt(ians), see Goldenberg, "Scythian-Barbarian," p. 99n29, and add: *De spectaculis* 3.8 (CCSL 1/1:231, SC 332:112–15), which has Amos 9:7 in mind when Tertullian says: "When He threatens destruction to Egypt and Ethiopia, assuredly he warns every sinful nation of judgement to come. Thus the single case stands for the general class; every sinful race is Egypt and Ethiopia (Sic omnis gens peccatrix Aegyptus et Aethiopia a specie ad genus) …." (trans. T. R. Glover in the Loeb edition). See further Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk, "Black Servant, Black Demon," p. 64. (Her reference, at p. 67n46, to Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* 28.241 concerns Ethiopians, not Egyptians.) On the blackness of Egyptians, see Thompson's references to Ethiopians who are called Egyptians (*Romans and Blacks*, pp. 96, 113, 202n90, 206–207nn37, 38, 213n114, and add the 6th-century Cathaginian poet Luxorius (Morris Rosenblum, *Luxorius: A Latin Poet among the Vandals*, New York, 1961, no. 7, pp. 114–115, and see Rosenblum's note on pp. 181–182. Perhaps also no. 67, p. 150–151; see notes 4 and 7 on p. 231.

The negative symbolism of Egypt is common in patristic exegesis. So, for example, in explaining *Envoys will come from Egypt* in Psalm 68:31/32, Jerome says, *Venient ligati ex Aegipto – id est vocatio gentium de tenebris gentilitatis* (that is, a calling of the gentiles from heathen darkness). Cf. the Hiberno-Latin

Gloss on the Pslams (dated to the early 8th century) to Ps 68:31/32 in Martin McNamara, *Glossa in Psalmos: The Hiberno-Latin Gloss on the Pslams of Codex Palatinus Latinus 68 (Psalms 39:11–151:7)* (Vatican City, 1986), p. 141. The Roman statesman and monk, Cassiodorus (d. ca. 583), in his commentary on Psalms several times equates Egypt(ians) with sin and, as Origen, vices. He interprets the reference to "the desirable things of Egypt" (Daniel 11:43) as the "vices known to be embraced under the name of Egypt" (CCSL 97.476 to Ps 52/51:9, ACW 52:5); explaining the words Egypt and Ethiopia in Ps 68:31/32. Cassiodorus cites Jerome and says: "Because of their deep blackness they are always interpreted as evil. This figure of speech is said to be a synechdoche, that is by the part for the whole; they signify this guilty world, which is permeated with a deep darkness of evil by the devil" (CCSL 97:601; another translation in ACW 52:137); on "the land of Egypt" in Ps 77:54, "the land of Egypt, that is, from the darkness of sins" (CCSL 98.726, ACW 52:269). For a discussion and larger context of this phenomenon in regard to Ethiopia and Egypt, see Klatt, *Veflucht, Versklavt, Verkezert*, pp. 76–81.

834

In addition to Origen, Haynes, *Noah's Curse*, p. 7, writes that Augustine, Ambrose, and Ephrem also adumbrate the Curse of Ham interpretation. Augustine, however, says nothing about skin color (Augustine's statement that slavery was not introduced "by nature" is clearly a reference to Aristotle's theory of natural slavery); Ambrose does not speak of a Curse of Ham but of the color symbolism of 'Ethiopian,' as does Origen; and the attribution to Ephrem is spurious, as I indicated above, and as Haynes notes ("may be pseudepigraphical"). Haynes's mistaken reference to Ambrose is apparently due to his reliance on Devisse in *Image of the Black*, ed. Bugner, 2.2:55, who quotes Ambrose as saying that Noah cursed Kush, not Canaan ("Ambrose adds … Ham laughed … his fault fell on his son Chus, and all this latter's posterity were condemned"). If Ambrose said this, it would indeed indicate a belief in the Curse of Ham, since Kush was considered to be the ancestor of the black Africans. Ambrose, however, does not say this in the text referenced by Devisse (*De Noe*, CSEL 32.1.485ff., esp. 490–92). Paul Kaplan, *Ruler, Saint and Servant*, p. 217n76, was also influenced by Devisse's comment, which has now been corrected in Kaplan's introduction to the new edition of *Image of the Black* (2010), 2.2:297n114. There is some confusion in Haynes's reference, for although Haynes cites Devisse, the pagination he provides actually corresponds to the chapter by Courtès, "The Theme of 'Ethiopia,'" in the same volume. On

that page Courtès also quotes Ambrose who, again, only speaks of the black color symbolism of ‘Ethiopian.’