

## African-Americans in Search of an Ancient Past

## African-Americans in Search of an Ancient Past



# YAACOV SHAVIT

## HISTORY IN BLACK

*This page intentionally left blank*

# HISTORY IN BLACK

African-Americans in Search  
of an Ancient Past

YAACOV SHAVIT

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group  
New York London



*First published in 2001 by*  
FRANK CASS PUBLISHERS

This edition published 2013 by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

Copyright © Y. Shavit 2001

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Shavit, Yaacov  
History in Black: African Americans in search of an  
ancient past  
1. Afrocentrism – Historiography  
I. Title  
909'.0496

ISBN 0-7146-5062-5 (cloth)  
ISBN 0-7146-8126-0 (paper)

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Shavit, Jacob.  
History in Black: African Americans in search of an ancient past / Yaacov Shavit.  
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references (p. ) and index.

ISBN 0-7146-5062-5 (cloth) – ISBN 0-7146-8126-0 (paper)

1. Afro-Americans–Historiography. 2. Afrocentrism. 3. Civilization–Egyptian  
influences. I. Title

ET84.65 .S5 2000  
973'.0496073'0072–dc21 00-058947

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or  
introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,  
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior  
written permission of the publishers of this book.*

Typeset by Regent Typesetting, London

# Contents

Preface	vii
Acknowledgements	xxi
Introduction: Calling on Our Forefathers – History as Redemption and Resurrection	I
1. The Foundations of Afrocentric Universal History	16
2. The Revival of Ancient Historical Traditions in Black America: The Four Revised ‘Ancient Models’	36
3. Making-up Stories of Egypt	54
4. The Egyptian Tyranny over Greece in the Bronze Age	70
5. The Glory that Was Egypt: The Heliocentric Theory	90
6. The Second Ancient Model: A History of Debt	109
7. Ancient Egypt and the Foundation of Western Philosophy and Science	127
8. The Quest for Ancient Egypt’s Black Identity	145
9. The Curse of Canaan and the Black Presence in the Bible	171
10. The ‘Noble Ethiopian’: Symbol and Reality	190
11. Egypt, Africa and the Nile Valley as an Afrocentric Dilemma	201
12. From India to Ethiopia (Kush): The Invention of the Fictitious Kushite Empire	217
13. Black Columbus and Black Natives in the New World	230
14. Conclusion	248
Appendix: Josephus’ Guilt and the Afrocentric Misuse of His Account	262

Notes	270
Bibliography	361
Index	405

# Preface

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul: by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

W. E. B. Du Bois, quoted in D. N. Hopkins, *Black Theology*, 63

In 1882 the French scholar Ernest Renan (1823–1892) declared that 'Forgetfulness, and I would say also historical error, is a vital factor in the creation of a nation . . .'<sup>1</sup> The black American people, or rather the African-American people, obstinately refuse to forget (or forgive). The reasons for this are familiar and well known. The question this book addresses is not the nature of the desire neither to forget nor to forgive, but rather the nature of the memory and the way in which it has created a history for itself. The question is: does the newly Afrocentric written history, which plays such a vital role in the creation of African-Americans' self-awareness and world-view, rest on historical error, on mythical history, or on what Plato calls in *The Republic* a 'noble lie'? This is a crucial question because Afrocentrism and radical Afrocentrism, as an historical account of the black people, are not only articles of faith, a gospel, a collective and personal revelation, but also a scientific (or pseudo-scientific) historical dogma, and a mass project of rewriting human history.

Moreover, 'Communities', according to Benedict Anderson, 'are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.'<sup>2</sup> Thus, if historical myths and legends, or an invented history, play such a major role in the founding of every national reconstruction, the question that should concern us here is what is the nature of the distinct 'style' in which black Americans imagine their past. The answer to this question is that radical Afrocentrism, the subject of this study, which plays a central role in shaping the modern historical world-view of a large section of the African-American (or Afro-American) community, is far



more than an effort to follow the line taken by many ethnic groups and nations in modern rewriting, inventing or developing collective identity and national history.<sup>3</sup> Rather, it is a large-scale historical project to rewrite the history of the whole of humankind from an Afrocentric point of view. The result is a new reconstruction of world history: it is a universal history.

By radical Afrocentrism (which Augustin F. C. Holl prefers to define as 'pan-Negrism'), I refer to the view that all black-skinned people belong to one 'race', and that this racial unity is the major basis for cultural commonality. However, while the term 'negro' was until recently accepted by both whites and blacks, attitudes and semantics have changed and hence the terms 'negro' and 'negroism' have become pejorative. Therefore, I will use the term 'Afrocentric universal history' to define the school of thought and its products which are the subject of this study.

By 'universal history' I refer to that type of history which, beginning with the dawn of civilization, attempts to encompass all the phenomena, processes and trends of human history across the planet and to reveal how they are interwoven and governed by the same rules.<sup>5</sup> The aim of the new Afrocentric universal history is to present a revised picture of the past, one in which blacks are the founders, initiators and leaders, the architects of all cultures, and the main agents of their transmission world-wide. Metaphorically, this new universal history can be best represented by a black Atlas, the larger-than-life mythological Greek hero who carries the world on his huge shoulders. In the Afrocentric world-view he is a black Atlas, and in his world blacks are dominant.

The name Africa appears in this book, in accordance with its use in Afrocentric historical writing, as a geographical, ethnologically and culturally uniform entity. Whenever a distinction is drawn between the Nile valley (Egypt and Nubia (Kush [or Cush])) and Africa – the reference is to equatorial (sub-Saharan) Africa not Africa north of the Sahara (the Maghreb) or East Africa.

It is important, of course, to emphasize that, in reality, Africa is not a homogeneous entity in any sense, and that it contained – and still contains – genetic variants, a multiplicity of languages and profound regional differences. No less important is the fact that it has, from these and other perspectives, undergone numerous shifts and changes. Within this multiplicity and diversity, equatorial Africa itself is not a homogeneous human entity. This book, however, does not deal with the real Africa, but with Africa as it is shaped by the historical (and ethnological) literature discussed in it.

Afrocentrism, as it is defined by Michael L. Blakey, from the department of sociology and anthropology at Howard University (Washington DC), is 'a consciously ethnocentric approach to understanding the cultures and social issues of the African diaspora'.<sup>6</sup> One of its outcomes, or products, is the creation of a new global history of mankind which aims, at least in part, to serve as a vital basis for the Afrocentrist's world-view.

The major premises of this Afrocentric new universal history of mankind are as follows:<sup>7</sup>

1. Africa is the birthplace of all mankind (hominid – its biological-genetic fountain-head), the primary source of all civilizations. The African was the first to domesticate plants and animals, control the use of fire, invent the wheel and establish institutions of higher learning.

2. The center of this Africa was, according to one version, the Nile valley, and according to other version, interior Africa.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the Nile valley (Nubia and Egypt) and sub-Saharan Africa were interrelated and they shared the same basic cultural traits.

3. Pharaonic Egypt, the 'child of Africa', or the 'mother of Africa', the cradle and crest of human civilization, was an integral part of Africa and its black culture; the Egyptians belonged to the black race. Egyptian culture was a 'black culture' in its own right. Egypt acquired its cultural practices from Africa and disseminated this African culture throughout Greece (Europe), Mesopotamia (Asia) and the two Americas. Egypt of the Bronze Age was the source of Greek mythology, and later on the fount of Greek philosophy and science. Thus, European culture is an African (Egyptian) derivative and European ideas are essentially a modified African concept.

4. The turning to ancient Egypt is far more than a search for a non-'white' record of ancient history. Egyptian literature is also considered to be the original and classical cultural heritage of the black race and the core of its eternal collective identity. Afrocentrism views ancient Egyptian literature as not only a historical source, but as a whole corpus of profane and sacred philosophical and theological literature as well, containing an intellectual and spiritual message. Thus, it is the aim and goal of certain black scholars to revive all forms of Egyptian civilization that are dead.<sup>9</sup> It is in Egyptian literature that radical African-American writers try to find a comprehensive 'non-white' philosophy, governmental system, ethical value system, aesthetics, etc;<sup>10</sup> a new canon of sacred texts which will serve as a code of black values. This is what 'Maulana' (master teacher in Swahili) Ron Karenga proposes calling 'Husia'. This, he insists, should not be regarded as a 'black Bible', but as the authentic black sacred book, free from the concepts deeply rooted in the alien Judeo-Christian religious tradition, as well as European (Greek) concepts, which are alien to the black spirit and mind. Based on this conception, Karenga (as well as other radical Afrocentrists) offers a guideline for the structure of a profane and sacred corpus, believing this new canon can replace the Holy Scriptures.<sup>11</sup> It is only through Egyptian (and African) philosophy that the modern black race can free its mind and soul from the bondage of the Western white worldview, concepts and values.<sup>12</sup>

5. The 'black race' was present on other continents in addition to Africa, either as an indigenous race or as immigrant or colonizer. Many ostensibly

'white' cultures are, racially speaking, really 'black cultures'. Black Egyptians colonized Greece, India and America. The black transatlantic communities were essentially modified extensions of continental African societies.

6. Both in primordial eras and in classical times the development of non-black peoples was contingent on 'black civilization'. The civilizations of classical Greece, the Hebrew/ancient Israel, Christianity and Islam all display distinctly 'African' features.

7. Africa is more than an anthropological-physiogenetic concept; it is also an ontological and historical construct. The terms 'race', 'genius' and 'culture' are conceptually congruous within a framework based on the following narrative: 'In the beginning was the black man . . .' who 'went forth and multiplied everywhere'. Needless to say, God in this world is also black.

8. Members of the 'black race' are distinguished by discrete ontological and epistemological traits. They possess a unique 'spirit' or 'soul', distinctive character traits, an extraordinary inner essence, a singular world-view and, of course, an exceptional cultural system.<sup>13</sup>

9. Africa is the real homeland of the African-Americans. However, their homeland-diaspora mode of existence is essentially different from that of other communities in America. First, their 'homeland' is not a specific African land or state but the entire continent; second, 'Africa' represents mainly transcendent spirit and values that are the offshoot of an inherent racial entity and collective personality, and therefore can be transplanted everywhere, including, of course, American society. Thus, an African-American can preserve his or her genuine 'African' traits even within the American society and culture.<sup>14</sup>

10. 'Race' and 'racial' distinctions are the principles which determine human history and constitute humankind's identity, sense of belonging, spirituality and consciousness. For them, 'race or heredity and descent are everything; they stamp the man'.<sup>15</sup> Culture and race are synonymous. Moreover, not only is the black race everywhere distinct by physiognomy, their unique spiritual traits elevate them above all other 'races' and make them the 'superior master race'.

The mixture of historic and messianic has seldom been absent from the accounts of universal history produced by ecclesiastical and secular historians from the Revelation of St John to Arnold Toynbee's *Study of History*; and there is no sign that the universal-history industry is flagging.<sup>16</sup>

I was reminded of this sardonic observation by Arnaldo Momigliano, the distinguished Jewish-Italian historian, when I first encountered Afrocentric historical writings (or mythography) in a Hyde Park, Chicago, bookstore during the winter of 1990. Momigliano, it turned out, was right. The infinite number of texts on universal history confirms his perceptive com-

ment. The new universal history written by black Africans in Africa and by African-Americans is the most recent product to be turned out by this 'factory'. 'Afrocentrism', Franklin G. Jennifer, the president of Howard University, rightly asserted, 'is a movement whose time has arrived; it will continue to spread among African-Americans of all ages'.<sup>17</sup> 'We are destined to hear a great deal more about Africa from Afro-Americans as time goes on', predicted C. Vann Woodward 30 years ago. 'This will find its way into historical writing, and some manifestations may seem rather bizarre'.<sup>18</sup> Some of the products are pioneering studies written by amateurs, and are downright amateurish, but others are written by professional scholars. During the past decade, the subject, initially regarded as no more than a curiosity, has acquired academic legitimacy, respectability, popularity and influence, and is now a fixture in colleges, universities and publishing houses. It is a field of study with an interesting history of its own, though that history is *terra incognita* to many, including the majority of its practitioners.

Momigliano referred to universal histories which intended to give 'if not meaning, at least some order to the story of mankind', and had their origins 'in what we can loosely call the mythical or philosophical imagination of the Greeks rather than in the empirical collection and critical interpretation of past events called *historia*'.<sup>19</sup> With this assertion in mind, I asked myself whether this new body of Afrocentric universal history is a product of mythical imagination or is it *historia*. Thus, my initial visit to the Hyde Park bookstore became the first step on a lengthy, and admittedly fascinating, journey through a body of literature produced from the end of the nineteenth century to the present day, which proposed an alternative universal history. I was already familiar with the literature which fostered the Indo-European myth, and with the counter-literature which promoted the pan-Semitic idea; with German and pan-German ideology; with Russian Slavophilism, pan-Slavism and Polish Messianic romanticism; as well as parallel streams in Judaism, Islam, Chinese and Indian civilizations.<sup>20</sup> I had no idea of the riches contained in African-American historical writings, yet I soon discovered that 'there is nothing new under the sun'.

My first impression was that this is one more link in a long chain of attempts (as in the case of biblical and Greek traditions) to fuse various historical traditions and harmonize them in order to create a single new tradition of universal history. At the same time, it is also a link in the long search for ethnic-racial and linguistic roots and national identity.<sup>21</sup> Just as it attributes an 'African' origin to historical figures such as Socrates, St Augustine, Spinoza or Beethoven, so modern Jews, for example, look for the Jewish origins of various figures such as Columbus, Cervantes and many others. Nor is the heated and sweeping debate stirred by African-American literature unique; all we need do is recall the argument which raged in the nineteenth century around the question of the 'racial' origin of



the European peoples or the differences and cultural links between the Indo-Europeans and the Semites, or the dispute early in this century about the 'Babel/Bible' theory.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, even if we judge African-American historical literature harshly, we should not treat it as a unique, isolated phenomenon.

This study, then, is devoted to the African-American Afrocentric attempt to create a new global imagined past, a history in black; not a unique attempt, but certainly rare in many of its characteristics, background and driving force. African-Americans are not an ethnic group or a nation struggling for independence. What radical African-Americans writers define as 'historical revolution' speaks, indeed, in the name of 'Africa' and 'African' identity, but is fostered in America and is an integral part of American history and life, not of African history and the African experience. As such, it is based on the concept of 'race', and its universal history is essentially a racial one and is based on a priori racial assumptions.

According to the Afrocentric view, in order to achieve their goals modern African-Americans must abandon the white Western heritage altogether. Only when a new and all-embracing genuine black-African and historical alternative to conventional history – an Afrocentric counter-history – constitutes an act of baptism for the Afrocentric perception of the world, bringing about the rebirth, indeed the resurrection, of the organic *homo Africanus* and reviving the genuine African personality and its unique *négritude* (a term coined by the Caribbean poet Aimé Césaire and the Senegalese author and statesman Leopold Sedar Senghor),<sup>23</sup> then will bondage end, absolutely and irrevocably; black people will advance from emancipation to auto-emancipation, then to an eschatology of national and existential total liberation.<sup>24</sup> The African-American needs spiritual emancipation, as well as the rehabilitation and rebuilding of a genuine and distinct African personality, a singular African epistemology and African human distinctiveness, an authentic African culture.

This entire topic is currently the subject of heated debate in various social, cultural and academic circles. New studies constantly appeared as I was writing, and I was pleasantly encouraged by finding ideas similar to my own being voiced in a number of publications. I have benefited greatly from these and other critical works. I will mention only a few of the most recent studies published up to the end of 1997: Molly Myerowitz Levine's 1996 article, which followed her 1992 article on the Bernal controversy, was very informative and helpful.<sup>25</sup> Mary Lefkowitz's book, *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History* (1996);<sup>26</sup> the volume edited by herself and Guy MacLean Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited* (1996), the special issue of *Talanta*, volumes 28–29, *Black Athena: Ten Years After* (1996–97), edited by W. M. J. Van Binsbergen, and the extensive debate that followed these two publications (in the press and on

the Internet), reached me while I was preparing the final draft of this study.<sup>27</sup> I was encouraged to find support for several of my ideas in some, and I benefited from a few others.<sup>28</sup> I found in the debate a disarray of concepts, a wide range of ideas and diverse knowledge. Some African-American readers reacted almost fiercely, describing it as only one example of the 'industry-within-an-industry of Afrophobic books' crawling out of the woodwork written by the defenders of European culture, as 'high-level race-baiting',<sup>29</sup> or as no more than 'unacademic politicized garbage'.<sup>30</sup> This reaction was to be expected. However, almost the only common ground shared by all participants in this debate is the premise that one can establish an accepted historical narrative, and that 'history' is not a subjective story but one, and only one, interpretation of the 'facts'; that we can – and should – tell how history 'really happened'.

Nevertheless, there is room for a study which aspires to provide a wide account of this phenomenon and to analyze its history, fact-gathering methods and major arguments. Indeed, many of my ideas have been put into writing by others, and I note this fact not in order to make any claims about the originality of my arguments (as a matter of fact, I have questioned the relevance of such a claim in this book), but rather to explain why I thought fit to repeat these ideas here, and to sum up the major points. It is, I believe, reasonable to assume that many readers have not read most of the relevant literature, either Afrocentric literature or its histories and critics. My hope is that this book, in addition to illuminating a particular intellectual-cultural phenomenon, will make a modest contribution to the study of culture itself. I believe the reader will find that both the scope of my study and my perspective differ greatly from everything previously written on this subject. The literature on the various fields related to these subjects is copious, and it is obviously impossible to relate to more than a fraction of these works. It is impossible to address this issue without examining the various arguments against the background both of the broad historical context and of scholarly (and pseudo-scholarly) literature, and at the same time the background of ancient and classical sources. Thus, my hope is that the picture I offer is broader and more inclusive.

I believe a personal comment is in order at this point. My own predilection for non-conventional historical wisdom led me to read this vast outpouring of historical writing not simply out of curiosity, but with good will and huge expectations. I was certain I would be convinced. After all, there is a great temptation to abandon a world-view based on racial prejudices and join a 'new school', so as not be seen as 'conformist' or 'orthodox', shackled by conventional wisdom and its gloomy heritage. Admittedly, many of the books I read were attractive, perhaps even seductive. In the end, however, I found them to be over-speculative, excessively radical and filled with inconsistencies, fallacies and internal contradictions. Their

writers tended to let their imagination run wild. Thus, on many points I found myself siding with 'conventional wisdom' and not with the 'new gospels' of Afrocentric universal history. I am fully aware of the racial biases built into large segments of 'conventional wisdom', but this cannot justify the marshaling of imaginary 'facts' and castle-in-the-air conclusions, nor can it induce an acceptance of the racial basis of the 'new historiography' itself.

But is there any hope for a constructive dialogue between 'myth' and 'history'? A learned colleague of mine, who was kind enough to read part of this manuscript, suggested that there is no point in enlarging on an argument with historical views that he regards as totally unfounded and which, to any scholar worthy of the name, are no more than vain and wild speculations. There may be something in what he said, but one can also put forward the opposite view, not necessarily based on the presumption that there is no such thing as one historical 'truth', but rather because in order to dismiss a certain opinion as invalid, one ought to try to refute it, even when it hardly seems worth the bother. This is because baseless historical views tend to acquire the status of historical truth, and while it is probably impossible to convince the believers themselves, or even to build a bridge of a few shared 'facts', the target audience ought to be those readers wandering confusedly among contradictory claims of historical methods and scholarship.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, it seems to me that the right way to deal with the African-American historical narrative of ancient history is to find the balance between entering an oft-convoluted polemic, and refraining from the unnecessary repetition of important studies, as well as critiques and arguments written on the subject herein discussed. My main effort will be to place Afrocentric writings within the American cultural scene and within a larger framework: the history of universal histories and the 'invention' of cultural and racial myths. I will try to challenge Afrocentric presumptions both from 'within' and from 'without'; in other words, not only to confront them with 'conventional scholarship', but to return to the primary sources and expose the ways they were used and abused, thus also exposing the innate contradictions within Afrocentric theory. Since Afrocentrists insist they are working according to scientific rules, the dispute is not only about the role of 'myths' in shaping collective identity, but about whether the 'facts' are 'myth' or 'historical fact'.

There is a 'Jewish angle' to this book. It does not arise from the complex relationship between Jews and African-Americans in the United States, from the analogy between anti-black and anti-Semitic literature, or from the fact that Jewish literature has, at times, contained disparaging images of black people; neither is it due to the impact of modern Jewish nationalism on black nationalism. Rather, this 'Jewish angle' is the result of the structural parallels between intellectual and cultural reaction and the responses

of Jews to modernity from the early nineteenth century onwards, and African-American patterns of reactions. These structural parallels are expressed in several spheres. First, Jews in the modern age also had two main options: to search for a way of co-existing with or integrating into the surrounding society, or to develop a national identity and an independent national existence. The option of co-existence or integration obliged them to formulate and implement different modes of acculturation combined with the preservation of their self-identity, and at the same time to prove that the Jews are a *Kulturvolk*, part of world culture (i.e. Western civilization), and not only a distinct religious group. The option of a political and cultural national revival was attended by an effort to create a complete national culture and an intensive effort to reconstruct the history of the Jews – their past – on a national basis.

Another parallel stems from the fact that the growing weakness of religious dimension and religious affiliation led to an ethnocentric definition of both Jews and Jewishness. The Jews were defined as a group which shares immanent traits expressed in a world-view, collective character and a singular life-style. The French-Jewish author Albert Memi, for example, draws a comparison between the terms *la négrité*, *le négritisme* and *la négritude* on the one hand, and *Judaïsme* (a congeries of values and religious and moral concepts that guides the collective life of the Jews), *Judaïcité* (the demographic sum total of the Jews), and *Judaïté* (the way in which the 'Jew' in a person is manifested, namely the entire body of unique human objective and subjective qualities of the Jewish person), on the other hand.<sup>32</sup> In other words, the structural similarity lies in the creation of an identity based not only on a system of values and a world-view, but also on the character traits of the collective. Modern Jewish intellectual effort, as is the case with Afrocentrism's intellectual effort, was invested in trying to identify and define the nature of its collectivity, according to a unique world-view and system of values, which are a result of a unique ethnic genius.

I feel I must add another personal note. I live and work outside the American social and cultural context (which, one may admit, is also surrounded by history as myth and myth as history). Yet, I believe this distance, this 'alienation', if you will, far from being a disadvantage, has enabled me to treat the new African-American historiography and historical writing, its background and its environment with some objectivity or, at the very least, with academic neutrality, which should not be confused with empathy.

Late in 1998 I learned about Stephen Howe's excellent study *Afrocentrism: Mythical Past and Imagined Homes* (1998). The aim of this study, as well as its structure and many of its sources, are often similar to my own, although the reader of both studies will unquestionably find significant differences



between the two.<sup>33</sup> One salient difference is that while Howe bases his keen criticism of what he views as erroneous or fabulous parts of Afrocentric historiography on the learned opinions of various scholars, whom he regards as experts in their fields, as well as being 'more careful and coherent in their arguments', I have chosen to return to the primary sources which underpin the Afrocentric reconstruction.

Howe's book came to me as a surprise, as I had no way of knowing that, at the very time I was engrossed in my own study, somewhere, someone else was engaged in a similar research project, which would be published before mine. One could, of course, have anticipated the appearance of such a book, since Afrocentrism has become a rich (and constantly growing) corpus as well as a hotly debated topic in academic circles and the public at large. I learned a great deal from Howe's book but, as my manuscript had already been completed by the time I was informed of it and obtained a copy, it was too late to relate to it, be helped by it, or to disagree with it. In any event, as I have already suggested, these two books complement one another, which is what I hope the reader of both will discover.

Soon after reading Howe's book, I also learned about Wilson Jeremiah Moses' study, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (1998). This is an in-depth analysis of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Afrocentrism in the context of American history and Western intellectual history of that period. Particularly important is his enlightening analysis of the internal dialectic between the romantic-utopian dimension and the millenarian dimension of Afrocentrism, oriented towards a modern future, and between the historiosophy of decline, on the one hand, and the historiosophy of progress, on other. Moses' study provided support for a view I had conceived of when I first began working on this book: that the dialectic between 'primitivism' and 'progressiveness', between 'separatism' and 'integrationism' will, in the final analysis, lead the majority of the black community to find different patterns of acculturation within America's multicultural society. Like Moses, I believe that the romantic dimension and the historical myths – including what Orlando Patterson called 'contributionism', and what St Clair Drake has called 'vindicationism' – the historical precedents, sources and basic arguments – are an expression, not necessarily of 'primitivistic' utopia relating to a 'natural, harmonious' black person, but rather a manifestation of modernity, the aspiration to become fully integrated into the modern world. Hence, the utopian and invented past of a 'black civilization' is intended to serve as a sort of anchor and essential foundation for the acculturation process of the black community, while simultaneously striving to maintain and nurture its singularity. Moses writes that a 'separate black population, with its own historical myths and values', will continue to exist in the United States, 'for the foreseeable future'. In any event, he is optimistic in his belief that this is a dialectical process, one which expresses synthesis and leads to a synthesis.

In his book, Moses suggests that a distinction should be drawn between Afrocentrism and African-American folk historiography, of which the Egyptocentric stream is a part, and one which is aggressive and militant in nature. In his view, it disengages mainstream Afrocentrism from pseudo-classical and mythological Egyptocentrism, while ignoring the fact that Egyptocentrism has become a major part of Afrocentric universal history. His description of the marginal status of Afrocentrism is correct when it relates to the dilettante and esoteric Egyptocentric literature on comparative mythology and religion of the nineteenth century, but this seems too forgiving an attitude to take as regards this literature during the last quarter of the twentieth century, for he himself describes its great popularity among the African-American community at large, as well as the harm it does. Although he writes 'The romantic nostalgia and fundamentalism of young Afrocentrists do not dominate black studies programs, nor should they', in my view he does not cite sufficient evidence of the marginal status he attributes to radical Afrocentrism, nor does he refer to its popularity among all strata of African-American culture, nor to the claim that supporters of radical Afrocentrism among African-American students are a minority in the campuses. On the one hand, he exhibited empathy and understanding for the growth of Egyptocentrism and Egyptomania among black men of letters, preachers, amateur historians, demagogues and the like from the mid-nineteenth century and after, a trend which he sees as part of the African-American search for an ancient glorious past. On the other hand, he is averse not only to the historical attacks of the Egyptocentric argument, to the sentimental, even cynical character of its use, but also to the practical benefit it can provide black society and culture in the United States. Hence, he understates its importance and influence, describing it as 'usually harmless and inoffensive, entertaining, and an often charming fantasy'. He believes it extremely unlikely that wild Afrocentrism will gain much of a following among those black scholars who, although marginalized in the larger society, constitute an establishment within the universities. James' book *Stolen Legacy*, for example, is described by Moses as 'paranoid' counter-reading to anti-black racism, and as a desire to prove that the blacks are an inseparable part of civilization, no more than a part of an esoteric group, particularly among urban males on the campuses of urban, working-class colleges. But he does not explain the great popularity of the book which, in recent years, has extended far beyond this group. The argument that a reading of pseudo-historical literature can help encourage literacy and a positive attitude towards 'high culture' and education is correct in itself, but literacy is often also a means of disseminating and internalizing misinformation.

Moses dismisses the racist dimension of the Afrocentrist theory by defining it as 'sentimental racism', while overlooking, in my view, the fact that his explanations of the circumstances surrounding the emergence of

racism in the nineteenth century are not relevant to the second half of the twentieth century, when this black racialism actually gained in momentum and became not only popular, but also took on a public, legitimate and militant nature. It seems to me that Moses is trying to distance mainstream African-American intellectual life from wild Afrocentrism (which Moses refers to as 'fantasy'), to point to the numerous errors which characterized its historical writings, and to detract from its values, while at the same time exhibiting empathy and understanding for its arguments and message.<sup>34</sup>

Even if we were to accept the unequivocal distinction between mainstream, rational Afrocentrism and wild Afrocentrism, as well as the mainstream's criticism (which does not rely on 'universal history of mankind') of wild Afrocentrism, the question as to which group has more influence on the public discourse in the African-American community is open to various assessments. If we assume that this is indeed a type of historical counter-culture, we ought to bear in mind that a counter-culture (often defined as popular, radical, or even arational) has no less of an impact than the mainstream culture. The vast amount of writing defined as 'wild' or 'popular' has a very wide readership; its influence, on the other hand, is open to diverse interpretations. The fact that 'serious' African-American scholars feel compelled to criticize the popular, or wild, works is in itself evidence of the latter's status and appeal. It is possible, then, to dismiss the popular writing as mythography, without real scientific value, but it is impossible to ignore its importance as a cultural phenomenon. Moreover, it is not always possible to draw a clear-cut distinction between a view defined as false or speculative, and one defined as wild.

To avoid any misunderstandings arising from preconception or errors in reading, I will once again define the scope of the present book: it does not deal with African-American studies (or Black Studies) at large, nor with the Afrocentric school (nor with its theory), but *only* with the manner in which *some* Afrocentric literature has been rewriting the history of the ancient world. Consequently, wherever the terms 'Afrocentrism' or 'Afrocentric' appear in the text, the reference is, generally speaking, to the profusion of literature – academic, pseudo-academic or popular – engaged in rewriting the history of the ancient world (up to the Hellenistic-Roman period).

Since the development of Afrocentric literature has been the subject of a detailed – and critical – study in the two aforementioned books (and a few others), I saw no need to further survey and analyze it. In any event, there are quite a few differences between the way I evaluate it and the manner in which Howe and Moses evaluate its influence and its functions. Basically, I see Afrocentric universal history as one link in a chain of universal histories of the same type: we may call them 'wild', 'speculative' or 'creative'. All of them have aspired to harmonize various historical traditions and reconstruct a new global history of humankind – aspiring also to find one key to the secrets of human history.

I also must relate to Henry Louis Gates, Jr's book, *Wonders of the African World*, published at the end of 1999. Gates is a harsh critic of radical Afrocentrism and its pseudo-historical theories, and therefore Afrocentrists regard him as an enemy. But this book (based on a television series), about the journey he took through Africa, seems to reveal his ambivalent attitude – and that of other African-American intellectuals – toward Africa as an historical and spiritual homeland, radical Afrocentrist theories, and the question of whether the African-American is *sui generis*. Gates' journey takes him almost solely to various places linked to the past glory of Africa (with the exception of Egypt) with the aim of discovering the link between both Africa's past heritage and its present and the African-American. Gates sometimes goes back to unfounded legends and theories (although, at times, with a critical, or skeptical, eye), which arose in reaction to slavery, oppression and humiliation, and repeats the view, as he puts it, that 'Africa is not only the cradle of the human community, it is the mother of Civilization', and that 'many of Africa's genuine contributions have been denied or appropriated by non-Africans' (p. 107).

In the final analysis, one has to take note of the fact that Gates does describe some of the wonders of Africa before the Christian era (Nubia), and particularly after it, to prove the indigenous nature of the cultural achievements, and to depict Africa as a continent with a great past, as well as an 'idealized, imagined community, which was forged in the New World', without pointing to a single value or cultural asset that he discovered in contemporary Africa, or in the Africa of the distant past, and brought back with him to the United States, other than the very fact of the existence of such a real and distant past and of an indigenous African culture. For example, the books written in Timbuktu (the contents of which he knows nothing about), he describes as the 'black African world's intellectual achievement' (p. 146). Gates has been severely criticized for his patronizing attitude towards Africa, but it is hard to avoid the impression that he has internalized at least some of the ideas of radical Afrocentrism.

Needless to say, the debate within the African-American community, like the debate between those observing it from without, has not ended. In the near future, another overview may be needed, and perhaps the future perspective will cast a different light on Afrocentrism and its outcome.



*This page intentionally left blank*

# Acknowledgements

Large sections of early drafts of this study were translated by Mr Ralph Mandel, and other portions by Ms Chaya Naor, and the manuscript was edited by Ms Dana Hargil. I wish to thank them for their cooperation during my years of study on this intriguing and complex subject. I was given valuable help by Professor David Shavit (De Kalb, IL), which enabled me, more than ever, to follow the stream of the different publications in this field which constantly appeared in the US and elsewhere. I was encouraged by my friend Professor Amos Perlmutter (American University, Washington, DC) to publish the study in English and I owe him, once more, a great debt. Professor Molly Myerowitz Levine (Howard University) read two early drafts and gave me the opportunity to lecture on this subject in several universities in Washington DC, allowing me to test my ideas and receive feedback on them. My deep thanks go to them both. I owe a great debt to Mr Eri Steimazki, whose generous and friendly support enabled me to undertake this project.

During the period of research and writing, I consulted friends and colleagues from Tel-Aviv University, who were kind enough to read either the entire manuscript or parts of it, and saved me from many errors, misunderstandings and even unforgivable mistakes: Professor Yekutiel Gershoni, Professor Israel Gershoni, Professor Irad Malkin, Professor Nadav Na'aman, Professor Itamar Singer, Professor Robert A. Rockway, Professor Mrgalit Finkelberg and Dr Deborah Sweeney. Needless to say, I remain responsible for the views expressed. I also wish to thank Ms Perlina Varon, Ms Sigalit Wolfram, Mr Daniel Kasin, Ms Liat Steir-Livni and Ms Savion Roth-Liron, who have assisted me during recent years.

An expanded version of chapter 11 was published, entitled 'Up the River or Down the River? An Afrocentric Dilemma', in H. Erlich and I. Gershoni (eds), *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths* (Boulder, CO, 2000).

This work was supported by a grant from the Israel Science Foundation.

Black people had a rich and glorious history and culture long before the white man emerged from the caves.

Statement of the Black Christian Nationalist Church, Inc., 1976.

The American Negro must remake his past in order to make his future . . . For him a group tradition must supply compensation for persecution, and pride of race the antidote for prejudice.

Arthur A. Schomburg, *The New Negro*, 1925.

The usual response to a racist attack has been for the victim to reply in kind against the race of his opponent — not to question the dogma of racism.

Thomas F. Gosset, *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, 1965, 410.

. . . but Africa preserved the treasures of knowledge, just as it had preserved and spread them in the days of the Egyptians, passing them on to the Greeks, who wreaked such great havoc with them.

Umberto Eco, *Foucault's Pendulum*, 1990, 183.

# Introduction: Calling on Our Forefathers – History as Redemption and Resurrection

By so much archaeology may claim to have explained away the miracle; it can show whence came the vehicles of Hellenic self-expression, and why the Hellenes employed the vehicles they did. But, like all archaeology, it does not explain the existence of the Hellenic spirit, or tell us whence the Greek derived the political, the social, or the religious ideas which lifted him above his fellow-men. And so in this microcosm, as in the universe, we come back to miracle. We trace back the circumstance and the house of life, but not life itself

D. G. Hogarth, 'Prehistoric Greece', in Hogarth (ed.), *Authority and Archaeology: Sacred and Profane*, 251.

The Black Studies movement is an uprising against the oppression which confronts Blacks living in a white-oriented world.

Episcopal Address to the 27th General Conference of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, quoted in Wilmore and Cone (eds), *Black Theology*, 285.

'Happy is the nation that has no history', was how Ralph Waldo Emerson praised America, the new-born nation which fortunately did not have to shoulder – as the older European nations did – the heavy burden of a lengthy, shackling history. However, that era of primordial America and its future-oriented creed has passed into history, and now America grown-up has acquired an unwieldy historical burden.<sup>1</sup> Multicultural America, where many different faiths and beliefs (including neo-pagan cults) have flourished,<sup>2</sup> is not only engaged in a debate about the nature of 'America' and its historical heritage; it is also undergoing a process of reviving and re-evaluating its collective past in different periods.<sup>3</sup> Its constituent ethnic groups ascribe far greater importance than ever before to the collective

American memory and to their own national ethnic cultural heritage and memory. Within this context, the African-descendant community has a most tragic past and historical memory. Moreover, in contrast to other new arrivals in the New World, they were forcefully and cruelly uprooted from their cultural heritage. As a result, this community is at the forefront of the struggle for the right to revive (or recreate) and revitalize its heritage, and is engaged in an intensive cultural and scholarly project that aims to discover an ancient past of its own, as an essential and active element in American culture.

But, one may ask, why not forget the misery and sorrows of the past, disconnect oneself from the heavy burden of history and depressing memories, and begin afresh with America? Why not bury the past, useless in the post-modern age, and recover from its dark and sad memories?<sup>4</sup> Why embark on this obsessive search for one's ancient past, for one's primeval origins and roots while struggling for modernity? What is this urge to understand, or come to know one's forefathers and recover, or invent, a pre-classical, or a classical age, a golden age, or even a lost paradise? Theoretically, a group can start anew without the need to look back; to select a certain historical moment at which the gates open wide to a new era. Consider the advantages of such a step, the ability to make choices without regard for past commitments, obligations or debts. Is it really essential to present one's credentials of a past in order to stride forward through the gates of the present and the future? Is not America a future-oriented nation, where the dark shadows of the past act as an obstacle to efforts to reach this future? Why not relinquish a past which is so heavy a burden?

This, however, is a step many black Americans, like people of other backgrounds, do not wish to take. To do so, or even to consider the possibility, would make light of the injustice and crimes perpetrated against black people in America, wrongs so grievous they can only be allayed by profound psychological compensation. It would mean forgetting that the African slaves did not share America's future-oriented perspective; that their past died but not because of their own volition. It would also mean overlooking the fact that not only African-Americans, but quite a few nations, have refused to forget national defeats and disasters, and have actually made them the focus of their historical memory and collective experience. The fact is that almost every nation, every collective group of human beings, is conscious of its own singularity and seeks to uncover its roots in the remote and formative past. Thus, when Franz Fanon in *Les Damnés de la terre* (1961) called upon Africans to demonstrate that a black-African culture exists, to seek out their roots, to defend their people's past and escape the white culture,<sup>5</sup> he merely echoed a long tradition and practice. To affirm its self-awareness, wrote German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, every old nation loved to consider itself the first born and regard its

own country as humanity's birthplace.<sup>6</sup> Jewish historian Elias Bickerman wrote in a similar vein: 'Every nation tries to trace its own origin in the remote antiquity so as not to appear to be imitators of other people.'<sup>7</sup>

Many nations used, and still are using, these strategies of cultural self-affirmation, but for disparate reasons and needs: they can offset a sense of collective inferiority by boosting national self-esteem; alternatively they can simply express a sense of collective superiority; they may be responding to a need to review and reconstruct their national self-image in light of a new awareness of the nation's position and status (namely, value) in history, to support territorial or political claims, or to serve as a paradigm of a new, revived 'Golden Age'.<sup>8</sup> Very often all of these motives and needs are present. Black Americans are confronted with a long history of being represented as racially inferior in the white Western culture.<sup>9</sup> Hence they react against it vigorously, fighting back with all the tactics used and abused by so many nations and groups before them. To fight back means to find their place under both the American and the African sun; to make room for the black-African past, not only in a black person's world, but in the white person's world as well. Afrocentric universal history is a compensatory and therapeutic history. Its healing effect is achieved by creating both positive and negative identities, i.e. by attributing negative traits to 'whites' and positive traits to 'blacks'.<sup>10</sup>

But a nation's 'antiquity' need not necessarily be construed to mean its history is of 'universal' significance, i.e. that it had an impact on the development of world history. A nation or a group may describe its uniqueness, antiquity and great cultural achievements without claiming to be the sole source of human progress and the core of humankind. Its aim may be no more than to glorify its own nation, to prove it was never dependent upon the achievements of other nations, to demonstrate it has all the required creative human faculties, that its culture is self-contained, without needing to borrow from the outside; it often claims it is the most progressive and most select of all cultures. For the radical Afrocentrists this recovery of the past is insufficient to serve their goals. They have gone beyond other nations or ethnic groups<sup>11</sup> with a long historical tradition in claiming that the black race was not only culturally advanced, or had contributed to world culture, but actually created it.

The quest for humankind's primordial origins and the beginnings of culture is a deeply rooted and obsessive intellectual – though not solely intellectual – endeavor. Many universal histories have been written from a 'racial' or national perspective, seeking to expose the one 'source', then trace its diffusion and transmission through historical time and geographical space, describing how its offshoots were transplanted to all parts of the world. From its beginnings, Western historical consciousness has been pre-occupied with tracing the 'origins' of civilizations along with the process of ethnic and cultural diffusion and with the identity of its carriers. Many

nations, especially those which played important roles at crucial historical junctures, further claimed that their culture influenced others, nurturing the latter with their enlightenment and wisdom; that they had been the first to achieve cultural breakthroughs and were the source of the accomplishments of others. The European idea of progress,<sup>12</sup> the European sense of superiority and of Eurocentrism is a powerful manifestation of this trend, and African-Americans are not the only ones in modern times to struggle to throw off its yoke.

The need of the African nations, which began at the end of the nineteenth century, and the need, in very different circumstances, of the black-American community, to rewrite its ancient history and restore a glorious past, be it fact or fiction, in this light may be regarded against this background, as quite natural and almost self-evident.<sup>13</sup> Many ethnic groups and nations, both within Europe and abroad, did the same during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, endeavoring to establish their forefathers in the ancient past, and to create a national culture, reacting to European assessment that they are merely 'ethnic nationalities', or 'history-less peoples', with no vitality, instead of 'historical nations' which were a 'vehicle of civilization'.<sup>14</sup> Many radical manifestations of this quest for restoration took the form of locating the 'nation' or 'people' in the distant past, and conferring on this past the status of humankind's origins or source. This was thought to enhance the respectability or even supremacy of a nation or collective group. However, the African-American case is different from that of the various European nations, or the civilizations of Islam, India, or China. In the specific American case, the African-American community was faced with a very profound and complex problem: how to acquire the aura of a black nation. Almost all the constituent groups of American civilization had an ancient past and written cultural heritage of their own, and could claim to have contributed to the general wealth of human culture. Only the black people found themselves without a recognized historical past, without ancient historical written records, and without Holy Scriptures of their own. 'The Negroes in Africa', wrote the eleventh-century Muslim historian Ibn Hazam, 'possess neither any kind of science nor books and histories'.<sup>15</sup> This widespread image of inferiority had to be changed; black people had to create a true complete history of their own. If this history had been hidden by the tyrannical 'white' historiography, there was an urgent need to rediscover it. If it never existed, there was an urgent need to invent it in order to gain 'humanity'.

There is yet another problem. The black-American community, like many other minorities before it, is constrained by a divided historical consciousness. It is caught between two worlds and two future-oriented horizons: the historical world created by the 'white person', and within it the world of the blacks, and the history of the 'black world' created anew by the modern black people. At the same time, it is constrained by the need

for racial solidarity based on an awareness of a glorious black past, so as to be on equal terms with other minority groups and to create a parallel culture; or, alternatively, it requires a glorious past in order to claim total independence.<sup>16</sup> This dual situation characterizes almost all self-conscious intelligentsia existing between two worlds or within two worlds. The cultural history of certain European nations was, and still is, fraught with tension between 'general Europeanism' or universal values, and the national-tribal traditions;<sup>17</sup> between Christian values and national myth, for example. Such tension also exists in Muslim societies, as well as in the Jewish community in America and in Jewish society in Israel, where it generates incessant internal strife. Different solutions are advanced in an attempt to eliminate the ambivalence. Some seek to sever the two worlds and magnify the world of the self, while portraying the 'other' as alien and different, 'extraneous'. Others look for acceptance, coexistence, symbiosis, and even harmonious integration.

The African-American had to begin from almost nothing; he became aware that 'the black is hardly given a passing notice in many of the histories taught in schools; he is credited with no heritage at all', as E. A. Johnson stated painfully in 1891.<sup>18</sup> Thus, black Americans, in restoring or forging the collective self-consciousness of a cultural group, had to first create a sense of historical awareness before they could even reach a state of ambivalence. In order to cope with the 'history of the outside', including their own image in 'outside' eyes, they first needed a sense of their own history. They needed a complete past, with peaks of 'golden ages' and a wealth of great cultural achievements which would assign them a place in the universe. An historical past is the core of the group's collective personality, supplying the foundation of its identity, symbols, values, future destiny, etc. Like other groups, African-Americans want to present a respectable entry ticket to the modern world; a ticket comprising not only what it has learned from others but what it has created by itself.

This pressing need led black Americans to begin by taking a new look at their share in American history. Rewriting the history of the blacks in America was a necessary process of consciousness and action, a measure crucial in creating a new understanding of the black person as an integral element in the history of the United States.<sup>19</sup> They turned to Africa, creating or inventing an African existential perspective, changing its image and describing the origin of its civilization – past, present and future.<sup>20</sup> Black people would no longer be seen merely as slaves but as soldiers, cowboys, inventors, poets and public figures – in short, citizens like any other.<sup>21</sup> This form of history was always that of a minority paving its way toward civil and political emancipation.

The next step was to rewrite the history of Africa from a black person's point of view and to intensify and expand the African-American's historical



horizons far beyond its American epoch.<sup>22</sup> Africa began to appear not only as the homeland continent, but as the locale of black people's classical past, their 'lost paradise'.<sup>23</sup> Africa began to symbolize the deep collective roots of black people and to become the embodiment of their 'collective personality'. In this revised portrait, Africa was transformed into a continent which, from the dawn of history, was the arena of tremendous cultural achievements. No longer was it a continent in which uncivilized black people lived a primitive rain-forest existence. The blacks who were forcibly brought to America were not uprooted from a backward continent; they were brutally kidnapped from a deeply rooted, authentic culture poised on the highest rungs of the ladder of social, technological and moral progress. Having restored themselves as the offspring of a continent as glorious as Europe, the Far East or the Near East, African-Americans could take great pride in the achievements of their forebears. They were their heirs, an unconditional, integrative historic personality in every respect. This, however, was not enough; the needs became greater. It was not enough to suggest cultural continuity between the culture of Africa and the culture of the black community in America.<sup>24</sup> Rather, one had to prove that the fragments of culture which blacks brought with them to the shores of the New World were the remnants of a high culture.

In order words, American Afrocentrism and radical Afrocentrism had a dual purpose: to prove cultural continuity between African-Americans and Africa, and to prove that Africa had a history and culture. At the same time, however, Afrocentrism faced the crucial task of transferring a 'folk spirit' and oral culture into a modern sub-culture.<sup>25</sup>

'History', for modern African-Americans became a 'faith', a promise of total redemption. Nor is there anything unusual about the fact that in the African-American society it was the intelligentsia – scholars, writers, artists, teachers, journalists and others – which took upon itself the mission of creating a new history. As a result, this group has produced a rich corpus of scientific and pseudo-scientific literature in the past two decades, focusing entirely on the reconstruction of human history from its earliest beginnings. Reconstruction of the history of Egypt, Greece, Africa and the ancient East became an important link and an essential stage in the writing of this new universal history, at the center of which stands the black person or the 'black race'. All these efforts were aimed at liberating the black person from an 'inferiority complex' and replacing it with a sense of superiority.

It is in the Afrocentric literature<sup>26</sup> of the late nineteenth century, a major branch of African-American writings, that we find the first attempts to reconstruct the history of Africa – and of Egypt in particular – and the incipient search for an 'African source' of Christianity, Hellenic culture and Judaism.

A white American, Hill Everett (1790–1847), an editor and a diplomat,

writing under the title of 'a citizen of the United States', drew the first universal history of the black race on a grand scale. It is evident that Everett borrowed from various sources and assembled a broad historical picture from them. In chapter VI of his book *America: or a General Survey of the Political Situation of the Several Powers of the Western Continent* (1827),<sup>27</sup> Everett discusses the past and the future of Egypt, describing it as the real *antiqua mater* of the ancient and modern civilizations of Europe. He wrote that the colonizers who civilized Greece came from Egypt, and that 'for centuries afterwards their descendants constantly returned to Egypt as the source and center of civilization . . . The great lawgiver of the Jews was prepared for his divine mission by a course of instruction in all the wisdom of the Egyptians . . . Egypt . . . was peopled at that time by a black race with woolly hair . . . It appears in fact, that the whole south of Asia and north of Africa were then possessed by a number of powerful, polished, and civilized communities of kindred origin, differing among themselves in some points of their outward conformation, but all black. Ethiopia [was] the fountain of the improvement of Egypt and western Asia [and] was inhabited by blacks . . . Palestine or Canaan, before its conquest by the Jews, is represented in Scripture, as well as other histories, as peopled by blacks . . . [thus] we must look to Egypt as the original fountain of our faith.' This civilization of black people, which stretched from the banks of the Ganges to the Euphrates and the Nile, replete with miracles of power and skill, had fallen before the rising greatness of their own accomplished and vigorous pupils.<sup>28</sup>

Everett concluded that black people were not naturally inferior to whites; that 'if any race has a right to claim a sort of pre-eminence over others . . . it is precisely this very one, which we take upon us, in the pride of temporary superiority, to stamp with the brand of essential degradation'. As to the future of the black people in the United States, he did not believe the blacks were destined to recover their moral and political superiority over the whites, or even to rival them in the arts of life . . . 'The most that can reasonably be expected of them is, that even when thrown by circumstances into the form of independent nations, they will show themselves capable of self government . . . ' Thus, the duty of the United States is to make the American blacks 'as happy as we can in their present condition, and then employ such means as may be most expedient for raising them by a slow and gradual process to a higher one'.<sup>29</sup>

The founding books of radical Afrocentrist theory were pseudo-scholarly books, pamphlets and sermons (by both black and white writers). The first among these were: Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren, *Historical Research into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Carthaginians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians* (1838); Hosea Easton, *A Treatise on the Intellectual Character of the Colored People in the United States* (1837); James William Charles Pennington, *A Text Book of the Origin and History &c.&c. of the Colored People* (1841); Edward Wilmot Blyden,<sup>30</sup> *The Negro in Ancient History*

(1869),<sup>31</sup> his *Africans' Service to the World* (1881), *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (1887; repr. 1967), *The African Problem and the Method for its Solution* (1890), and many others.<sup>32</sup>

These books initially expanded the horizon of the Afrocentrist idea and launched the quest for America's origins in the ancient Middle East and Africa.<sup>33</sup> In this vast body of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works one can find the seeds of almost every thought in the core of African-American historical faith in the second half of the twentieth century. All of these authors should be perceived as the forerunners of later scholars whose writings had to wait until the time was ripe and their ideas could be accepted, emerging from the fringe to the center of public discourse.

The most ambitious project to emancipate the study of Africa and Egypt from the dominating 'white' perspective, or the 'restoration project',<sup>34</sup> was carried out by Senegalese scholar Cheik Anta Diop (1923–86), described by Ivan Van Sertima as 'probably the world's greatest living historian'.<sup>35</sup> This project required a wholesale rewriting of the history of Africa, Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>36</sup> Diop's many studies, written in French and translated into English, became both classics and authoritative works.<sup>37</sup> He is the real founder of 'scientific', highly speculative, African-American studies.

Other African-American writers have followed in his footsteps since the 1960s. 'His work', wrote John Henrik Clarke in his introduction to the English translation of *Nations nègres et culture* (1954; *Civilization or Barbarism*, 1990), 'was a revelation to me, because I had not encountered, in print, an African scholar so forthright in challenging prevailing misconceptions about African history and in putting forth a new creative view, with documentation'.<sup>38</sup> What was so impressive and influential in Diop's studies was how he utilized different disciplines, ethnological, historical, physical, bio-anthropological, and linguistic data, partially inaccurate and speculative.<sup>39</sup> The interest taken in ancient history by all these black writers derived from more than mere intellectual curiosity or a simple scientific drive, although these motives also played a part. Indeed, this literature must be seen within the broad context of the tremendous interest nineteenth-century scholars exhibited in the dawn of the great civilizations, and in the origin and evolution of their cultures. The result was a plethora of literature which was speculative, pseudo-scientific and fantastic, but ideologically and politically motivated. Far beyond the indefatigable curiosity it aroused, ancient literature became both revelation and gospel. A rereading of ancient history is the foundation for collective pride, the rehabilitation of one's self-image and the creation of a new collective identity: the Afrocentrist identity.

It is important at this point to draw a distinction between African-American mainstream and African-American studies, which has gained the status of a legitimate academic discipline since 1966,<sup>40</sup> and Afrocentrism,

particularly its radical element. In any event, there is no doubt that the radical stream gained in popularity, particularly from the end of the 1960s, achieving legitimacy, becoming institutionalized to an unprecedented degree. Naturally this development arose from the broad context of the status of the African-American community in the United States. Disillusionment with the results of the struggle for equal rights aroused controversy and internal conflict within the African-American community, giving rise to radical, militant groups, as well as to an intelligentsia and middle class, which sought a 'collective personality rehabilitation' through therapeutic history. The combination of profound disappointment and growing self-confidence, within the framework of a society which had become more liberal and tolerant than any time in the past, was the soil in which African-American radicalism flourished, along with other trends of ethnic separatism and pride. What in the past had been the province of a small public now became a set of values shared by a considerable proportion of the black community.

The point-of-departure for Afrocentrism and radical Afrocentrism takes its earlier orientation from the contributions to African-American national self-awareness.<sup>41</sup> However, they rapidly expand the world of black Africa to encompass the history of the 'black race'.<sup>42</sup> This new world now includes peoples that did not reside in Africa, but are part of a universal black race. radical Afrocentrism is not satisfied with the achievements of Africa as such but seeks to prove that it was the source and inspiration for the whole of world culture.

It should be noted that radical (separatist) Afrocentrism, which calls for black-American segregation, feels no need to prove that the blacks influenced the whites; white history and black history are two completely separate spheres. The radical (separatist) Afrocentrist does not need a universal history based on writings of the 'white man' and therefore reflecting a Eurocentric point of view. He has no need for the history of Babylon, Greece or Rome, for the twelfth-century Renaissance or the Age of Discovery. Let us, says the Afrocentrist, write a universal history (and a view of the universe) of our own, in which Africa and the black people are axis, orbit and circumference; a history based solely on authentic African sources! It will be a different universal history, in which the culture heroes will be 'real' blacks, not Moses and Jesus, Socrates and Plato, Kant and Spinoza, Julius Caesar and Napoleon.<sup>43</sup> From this point of view, black Americans do not need the white cultures of Europe or America; they do not have to prove that it was the black race that gave birth to this civilization. They were separate from this civilization in the past and wish to remain separate in the future. Along with this 'neo-paganic' trend we should mention the Black Muslim movement in the the United States, including its radical manifestation in the 'Nation of Islam',<sup>44</sup> both of which are influenced by Islamic traditions as regards the reliability of the Old and

New Testament as historical narrative (and as revelation).<sup>45</sup> The non-separatist Afrocentrist trend, by contrast, which is the subject of this study, tries to prove that black culture was the source of influence to which Western civilization is indebted. Hence it will argue for the supremacy of the black race's civilization, but also for the existence of mutual historical relations between the two cultures. It is an argument which carries a great potential for dualism and for a new type of tension.

However, in order to write a universal history from a black point of view, rather than a history of Africa and the black people in Africa alone, it was essential to draw both on Herodotus and the Bible, on classical (white) sources and on Hebrew (white) sources. Any historical reconstruction must rely on written traditions as historical sources.<sup>46</sup> But the African-American nation does not have a 'Book' or books (or annals) of its own other than the Scriptures, nor does Africa have a counterpart to the Bible or to Homer and Herodotus.<sup>47</sup> There are no ancient African written traditions about African history, nor are there any written traditions or documents concerning the history of the world outside Africa. Indeed, African scholars and intellectuals were very much aware of this lack; this acknowledgement led Arthur A. Schomburg, a Puerto Rico-born bibliophile, to write in 1913 that the blacks in America need a chair of black history as much as the Jews, who, though not a practical nation, are a nation of most powerful intellects.

They live on the very groups of nations who destroyed them and this concentration of force, energy, power and vitality has made them a combination of forces to be relied on whenever the sinews of war are a perquisite to defense or offense. The Negro must strive to follow in the good example of the Jews . . . We need a collection or a list of books written by our men and women. Where are our historians to give us our side and our chair of Negro history to teach our people our own history . . . We need the historian and philosopher to give us, with trenchant pen, the story of our forefathers and let our soul and body, with phosphorescent light, brighten the chasm that separates us.<sup>48</sup>

'Why Negro history?' asks Carter G. Woodson, the creator of the black history movement,<sup>49</sup> and replies: 'The Hebrew keenly appreciated the worth of tradition, as is attested by the Bible itself. In spite of world-wide persecution, therefore, he is still a great factor in the universe.'<sup>50</sup> Since black culture was characterized by oral tradition, and because knowledge, attitudes, ideas and notions were transmitted orally, not through the written word,<sup>51</sup> the urgent task was to create a library of African-American literature, including an African-American version of the history of the blacks in America and a black version of universal history. This desire to create a past of their own, to enlarge as much as possible, the historical horizon of this past led to the belief that:

Black people, like all people, need to know they are not alone. They need to know that their ancestors were not just slaves laboring under the white man's sun, but their lineage can be traced to important kingdoms and significant civilizations. They need to know of black heroes and the noble deeds of black men. They need to know that black, too, is beautiful, and that under the African sky people are at proud ease with their blackness.<sup>52</sup>

The practical conclusion was a large-scale program of research and education which resembled in many details the program of Jewish scholars and men of letters beginning in the 1820s, which created Jewish studies, including modern Jewish historiography.<sup>53</sup> This program was implemented along two tracks: first, if universal history must be grounded in Western sources, the radical Afrocentric outlook would give them a different reading and would create a literature which reflects its point of view. It would scrutinize these sources for the hidden evidence they contain regarding the greatness of the blacks, evidence which white historiography has obfuscated and concealed, even destroyed, with considerable success. It will clearly show that Jesus and Moses were black, that Plato studied the wisdom of Egypt, that the deep core of Christianity lies in ancient African spiritualism, and so on. In other words, white literature itself contains much solid evidence that it is itself the offspring and disciple of black culture. Second, universal history must not be based on Western sources alone. A new body of historical testimonies must be recovered or discovered: books and documents which were lost or misread, such as ancient Egyptian literature, which was written by blacks, and folk-tales which are really the authentic manifestation of the genius, philosophy and national history of the African peoples. Thus, ancient Egyptian literature is part of a common black-African heritage. The result is the birth of a new world based in a new past. 'Black history', wrote Diop, 'must be remodeled from top to bottom.'<sup>54</sup> This Afrocentrist universal history is the subject of this book.

Much has been written about the history of the Afrocentrist idea and movement, about Afrocentricity as an ideology, folk history and a popular belief, and of the rise and development of African-American studies as an academic discipline, though often without seeing them in the broad context of modern intellectual history.<sup>55</sup> The intention of this book is to deal primarily with radical Afrocentrism and to focus on the universal history it has envisioned and created. This world picture is reconstructed with the aid of the historical traditions of the West, the ancient and classical world: Egypt, Greece, Mesopotamia, Israel and so forth. It is obvious to the African-American that universal history clearly cannot be written without drawing on Egyptian and Greek sources, on Herodotus and the Bible. Moreover, the notion of history, of historical truth, and the writing of universal history is essentially a product of European genius. Thus, radical

Afrocentrism is a unique case of an effort to reconcile different traditions and histories.

What message is delivered by this new picture of the past? What is the desirable relationship between the cultural-historical heritage of the black person, and the heritage he received from the 'white master-culture', the dominant culture in his historic environment? What is the possible and optimal interaction between the 'inside' and the 'outside'? Should this heritage enable the black person to function in the 'white world' as an equal among equals – recalling the model of German Jewry in the early nineteenth century, 'a human being outside and a black in one's home'? Is there a contradiction between 'human being' and 'black human being'? Is it possible to be a human being/black human being both at home and outside, in both intimate situations and public situations? Or does the new, personality-shaping 'Africanism', while building a higher wall between blacks and the white world, also offer a significant trade-off by enabling the black to maintain a completely autonomous existence on his own terms and in his own right? Or perhaps this heritage encourages activity geared to changing the surrounding world by erasing its white-Western character and turning it into a black world.

The new situation of dualism, of 'two souls', to use William Edward Burghardt Du Bois' phrase, was created and intensified by heightened self-confidence and a sense of self-worth, but it evolved into a radical defense of total separatism.<sup>56</sup> Paradoxically, this dualism was occasionally contradicted by a process of 'inverted acculturation', in other words, the adoption and appropriation of basic values and concepts, both positive and negative, from the 'enemy (white) society' in order to construct the revised definition of 'self' and to redefine the world outside. Radical Afrocentrism, a world-view which began to gather momentum from the beginning of the twentieth century, is in many aspects the American branch of European nationalism and of the idea of the existence of large homogeneous racial entities. Its underlying concept is that Africa is the homeland of all blacks of African extraction everywhere. They constitute 'one nation' with a shared indigenous cultural heritage and a common genius. Radical Afrocentrism restored and glorified Africa's historic past and black people's contribution to human culture. Its primary purpose, in the words of Du Bois, was to bring about 'the industrial and spiritual emancipation of the Negro people' by creating a spiritual Africa, and heavenly Africa.<sup>57</sup> But the actual return-to-Africa movement was quite marginal. For the American of African extraction, the continent was more the heavenly symbolic Africa than an actual place.<sup>58</sup> The 'heavenly Africa' was transplanted not to the actual physical landscape of the old homeland (though this was partially attempted), or a real one, but in the territory of the imagination and the experience of the mind of the black Americans in the United States.

'Africa' and all it embodied was to the black American what 'Greece' was to the 'white' European, 'Jerusalem' for the Jew, the 'Polish homeland' to the Poles, and so forth.

However, radical Afrocentrism was unable to resolve the basic dilemma. The dualism remained, and was perhaps even exacerbated. Beginning in the 1960s, the black man in the United States was imbued with a profound self-awareness and harbored great expectations which, in turn, produced deep disappointment and generated intellectual radicalism. Moreover, radical Afrocentrism, when utilized as a means of acculturation and integration into the 'white' American civilization, was perceived by radical Afrocentrists as an act of desertion, as self-abnegation and a betrayal of the 'self.' The undermining of the hegemony of Western values sharpened the demand that 'Africanism' be viewed as a complete alternative, with the 'African-American' as a subject of self-examination and the world defined in the light of his distinctive authentic terms. Afrology or Africology became an entire system of 'black' ethics, metaphysics, science and art. The history of the black people told from within, from the 'black' and African perspective – this is the meaning of Afrocentricity.<sup>59</sup> It is a new way to construct reality and one's place in it. It demands that the black American intellectual will focus 'on his people's revival, their life after the death of Eurocentric America',<sup>60</sup> and that the black collective will free, even purify it absolutely of everything considered to be part of the 'white' heritage, building its own full and self-contained world, discarding language, holistic value concepts, moral values, philosophy, metaphysics, art, customs, modes of description, etc.

Afrocentrism in its moderate (assimilationist or integrative) version is considered by its radical opponents to be a captive of the white world, in which the black person was inextricably immersed. This kind of ontological-organic 'Africanism' is not a new phenomenon; it is the realization of eternal selfhood. It looks to African culture and its values, to the African mentality, to the genius of African creativity and the singular human experience from which it derives. Africa or blackness is an entire sovereign historical, existential and metaphysical entity; self-contained, it requires no input from white history. Who is Moses, asks the learned preacher Dr Yosef A. A. Ben-Jochannan in his simplistic rhetoric, and replies: 'Some guy named Moses discovered them [the Egyptian codes of law] thousands of years later on Mount Sinai.' Moses, according to this view, 'came as nothing but a copy of the Egyptian priest teaching of the Egyptian mysteries system'.<sup>61</sup> The reconstruction of black history is intended to create an entire independent black universe. This world prevails wherever there are Africans, and descendants of Africans, i.e. in the two Americas. But sometimes the horizons of this world expand to encompass additional lands and peoples. What is deterministically imprinted in the black person in



America, naturally and intuitively becomes, under the aegis of historical research, organized, systematic and recognized.

It is of course readily demonstrable that 'Afrocentric epistemology' is not an original 'African' outlook, but an African-American version of a salient 'European' world-view. Afrocentrism is Europeanism with a black face.<sup>62</sup> Its origins lay in the Romantic reaction to the universalist underpinnings of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. That reaction developed in France itself in the aftermath of the Revolution, but was most pronounced in Germany and later in eastern Europe. Its hallmark was the idea that every nation or people has its own distinctive character, rules of behavior, creative genius and laws. Afrocentrism is the African-American articulation of the ramifications of European conservative and mystical Romanticism, 'Volkism' and racial theory which arose during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It borrowed all its categories of thinking from Western tradition – historical, racial and cultural concepts – and used these tools to redefine black identity; to define black phenomenology, psychology, and an integral world-view. However, if we claim that Afrocentrism, rather than being an original concept, is a phenomenon resulting from a process of adaptation in transplanted 'alien', or 'Western' concepts, do we thus reject its originality or even its validity? Indeed, it can be proved that radical Afrocentrism is merely a later version of the pan-Slavism, pan-Germanism or pan-Turanism movements, which sought a broad tribal-racial referential framework for their nations, with roots in the distant past. If so, are we again witnessing the adoption of a Western concept, aimed at according the black person a broad framework of affiliation? Is not the use of the term 'race' another salient case of adopting a Western idea for the purpose of self-definition?

Using such terms as 'pure African' or renewed African concepts cannot alter the fact that they are of Western origin or shaped by European influence. But if I am right, it is important to clarify the boundary between 'borrowed concepts' and 'authentic concepts', and to understand the different worlds these dissimilar – or similar – concepts actually construct. It is important, I believe, to clarify the resemblance of the concepts and their origins, but equally important to see whether they truly describe a distinctive conceptual insight and singular patterns of social behavior. These are key questions which bring us, again, to the convergence of radical Afrocentrism and the alternative universal history it produces.

Liberal universalism – which does not contradict pluralism – and intellectual fanaticism often spring from the same source, from the same need to accept a challenge posed by the hegemonic intellectual world. There is no knowing what will result from the eschatological rhetoric of black intellectuals, based on foundations that include the new historiography. Will it give rise to fanaticism and separatism stemming from a sense of particularity

and superiority, or will it engender – albeit unwittingly – a fruitful intellectual symbiosis?

Which way is the wind blowing – cultural separation, integration by assimilation, or integration as a sub-culture? Is Afrocentrism's bare-knuckled militancy against white European tradition intended as a general campaign against the philosophical heritage of Aristotle and Plato, proposing 'authentic African thought' as a replacement? Or is it a means to adopt and legitimize that philosophy? In multi-ethnic America, an ethnic-cultural minority can exist in a state of cultural dualism, namely, to be an integral part of its cultural environment, on the one hand, and to nurture its singular cultural heritage, on the other hand. The American black community is now undergoing a dual process of integration and shaping its own inalienable heritage. This dual need has given rise to frustration and militancy, as well as to an exhaustive intellectual and cultural endeavor. In my view, this imminent tension is expressed in the Afrocentric ideology, its historical literature and the ongoing debate which centers upon it.

The African-American poet, Countee Cullen, wrote

What is Africa to me  
Copper sun or scarlet sea,  
Jungle star or jungle track,  
A strong bronzed man, or regal black,  
Women from whose loins I sprang  
When the birds of Eden sang?  
*One three centuries removed*  
*From the scenes his father loved,*  
*Spicy grove, cinnamon tree,*  
*What is Africa to me?*<sup>63</sup>

(*Color Heritage* (New York, 1925), p. 36)

Another poet, Langston Hughes, responded by stating that he is an American black who had loved the surface of Africa and its rhythms, but he 'was not Africa', but 'Chicago, Kansas City and Broadway and Harlem' (*The Big Sea*, 1946), while the author Ralph Ellison responded to this rhetorical dilemma by stating that 'by raising the possibility of Africa as a homeland we give Africa an importance on the symbolic level that it does not have in the actual thinking of the people'.<sup>64</sup>

The crucial challenge to the modern African-American is 'what is America to him?' and whether 'Africa' – real or imagined – can, or should be part of 'America'.<sup>65</sup>

# I

## The Foundations of Afrocentric Universal History

Even people who emerged only yesterday from the darkness of African barbarism now regard themselves as culturally equal or superior to the old Western lords of the earth.

Christopher Dawson, 'Europe in Eclipse', in *The Dynamics of World History*, 1975, 407.

History should ignore the question of the first origin and leave it to either prehistory or metaphysics.

August Ludwig Schöller<sup>1</sup>

Thus from a mixture of all kinds began,  
That Het'rogeneous This, an Englishmen . . .

Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born Englishmen*

### THE QUEST FOR A UNIVERSAL HISTORY

If there existed an African Odysseus in ancient times, there was no Homer to tell us of his voyage. We have not a single book written by an African traveler who, like Egyptian or Greek travelers, left his continent and visited foreign lands, returning home to tell his story. This is not because such a work existed and was lost or, worse, was destroyed by white colonizers; it is because no such book was ever written (Diop states that 'the message of writing never disappeared from Black Africa',<sup>2</sup> but cannot provide any solid evidence for the use of script in equatorial Africa before the coming of Islam). Nor did the peoples of ancient Africa ever write a history of either local or 'universal' type. Africa had no Hecataeus, Herodotus or Pliny the Elder, just as it had no Ezekiel, Zechariah or St John. What enables the 'universal history' of the 'black race' to be written today is the world's ancient and classical heritage and modern scholarship; indeed, this new history is based on the foundations of classical and modern 'Western' universal history.

We may say that the new Afrocentric historical literature is the writing of the missing travel and history books, sailing forth on the winds of myth and folk-tales, histories, comparative philology and archaeology. In doing so Afrocentrists follow a long Western tradition and as such, constitute one more link in a very long chain of tireless speculative and scholarly efforts to write a universal history – while radically changing the nature of its framework and content – a chain which includes race morphology, comparative mythology and comparative philology. Their literature is yet another example of the deep and urgent need of communities and nations to review and reconstruct themselves ‘against the background of the totality of the cultural achievement of mankind’.<sup>3</sup>

‘All men’, wrote Diodorus Siculus (of Sicily, first century BC) in the introduction to his *Library of History* (*Bibliotheca Historica*), ‘should accord great gratitude to those writers who have composed universal histories’, because they provide a systematic treatment of world history, a trouble-free education in useful knowledge, and at the same time, attempt to record ‘the common affairs of the inhabited world as though they were those of a single state, have made of their treaties a single reckoning of past events and a common clearing-house of knowledge concerning them’ (Diod. 1.1–3).<sup>4</sup> All men indeed do share a common ancestry, despite being separated by time and space.

These aims were the primary motivations behind the Greek, Hellenistic and Roman world geographies and ethnographies: to provide a ‘good read’ together with the best account of *orbis terrarum*; by doing so they created the *imago mundi* of their time. The first writers of universal histories were eager to furnish their curious readers with a wealth of knowledge about known and as yet unknown regions and peoples. The early Ionian historians were the first to produce geographical guidebooks (*periegesis*) in which they described the lands and cultures beyond Asia Minor, their homeland.<sup>5</sup> In their universal histories the Greeks sought to record everything that was known about all human societies and to reveal the contacts between the various branches of the human species, as well as their similarities and differences.<sup>6</sup>

The Greek and Roman empires, with their cosmopolitan character and pervasive intellectual curiosity, were fertile ground for the writing of general ethnographic works (such as the *Aethiopika*, *Indika*, *Persika*, *Aegyptiaka*, *Babyloniaka*, etc.) and general histories (based on a common literary model) which we may call ‘secular’ or even ‘scientific’, which claimed to be encyclopedic. Knowledge about the world, such as that given by Pliny the Elder in his *Historia Naturalis*, served not only intellectual curiosity but also pragmatic needs: the Romans were rulers of the world and many of them traveled in it, thus, pragmatic knowledge was most useful and welcome.<sup>7</sup>

But universal history was far more than a product of intellectual curiosity. The major motivation behind the efforts to understand the history of the

world on a large scale was the wish to understand the order of things and discover the organizing principles of world affairs and human behavior. The first principle of universal history is the morphological–genealogical order, reflected in the division of humanity into ethnic groups and nations, marked by different customs (the *nomima*), social order and behavior and linguistic differentiation. Universal history (or anthropology) asks what is the source of this diversity; is it an absolute distinction, or is there a certain unity behind this diversity? Is there any common denominator between Greek and barbarian, Jew and gentile, Chinese and the people who dwell on the other side of the Great Wall?<sup>8</sup> The second principle consists of rules which guide, direct and govern human history. In the words of Momigliano, the historian tries to find ‘if not meaning, at least some order to the story of mankind’.<sup>9</sup> What, for example, is the underlying logic behind the rise and fall of empires and kingdoms? Do identical laws determine the fates of different societies? Does human history follow a fixed historical design and fixed historical rules? Does human history have a defined purpose?<sup>10</sup>

Biblical prophecies, and the eschatological literature of the Second Temple period and beyond<sup>11</sup> (as well as Christian eschatology), proclaimed the redemption of all humankind<sup>12</sup> and held to a belief in the unity of the human world. They refer to portentous historical events enacted by a supreme deity toward the fulfillment of a grand design, the unfolding and meaning of which is bound up in the destiny of the Jewish people.<sup>13</sup> In fact, universal history is the provenance of every teleological–eschatological concept of history. History, in this approach, is not just an ‘accidental’ concatenation of interconnected facts. History has a reason and a purpose, and if historical development had a fixed order and a comprehensible meaning, what were they? Did the laws of history apply to all societies and civilizations? Was a ‘sacred order’, or a universal order directed by diverse natural forces at work? Did history move in recurring cycles and a succession of ages, or did it progress toward a predetermined purpose? Did ‘history’ *per se* have no meaning, or was ‘history’ a code of destruction and redemption?

Does the Afrocentric theory accept the notion of the unity of mankind, and if so, what is the Afrocentrist meaning of this unity? Does it accept the notion that history has a goal, and if so, what is the place of the black race in this universal scheme? Does it believe in the equality of races or in racial hierarchy?

The answer to this question is that Afrocentric universal history is founded on racial premises concerning the genesis and evolution of the history of mankind and the meaning of this history.

1. There is a single black race characterized by common, uniform and constant physiognomic and physiogenetic traits; the geographical boundaries of this black race extend well beyond the African continent to all other four continents.

2. A race is more than a biological fact; it engenders distinctive shared ontological features and character traits, as well as a typical world-view (*Wesen*).
3. These basic traits never change and are the common source of the black civilization's cultural production. No geographical or cultural change which may occur over the centuries can affect this everlasting, intrinsic foundation.
4. Racial affiliation is equivalent to 'cultural association'.
5. The black race is the global source and disseminator of culture; thus, it situates people of the black race on almost every continent: the Aegean orbit, Mesopotamia, the Far East, the Americas, the southern lands of Europe. As a result it creates a completely new *mapa mundi* which is far more than a network of migration, diffusion and transmission lines, focusing on Africa. In this new map, Africa is not only the disseminator of culture and civilization; humanity is now painted black: the black race populates virtually every corner of the globe, bringing along with it its genius and achievements. This, needless to say, asserts the superiority of the black race.
6. The monogenetic origin of humanity was only the first stage of its development. Other races, primarily the Caucasian (white) race, appeared with their distinct beliefs, symbols, ideas, character. This monogenetic approach is based, of course, on biblical foundations, however, there are those (including African-Americans) who hold the view that this racial diversity is a result of polygenetic origin.

This is a universal history based on the principle of race; a history of blacks and a history in black. The purpose of this theory is to endow the black race with a universal history: not a history confined to the black continent or to the blacks in North or South America, but *the* history of a black race universally dispersed, with a central status in human history.

The inevitable point of departure for the Afrocentric world-view, then, was to decide between two different opinions concerning the origins and genesis of mankind: biblical and scientific monogenism on the one hand, and pseudo-scientific polygenism on the other.

#### AFROCENTRICITY AND MONOGENISM

'Polygenism and monogenism', writes George W. Stoking, Jr, 'can be regarded as specific expressions of enduring alternative attitudes toward the variety of mankind',<sup>14</sup> as well as towards the classification of human groups. The monogenetic theory is based on the presumption that human races diverged from one common ancestor. Different races developed from this one genetic source and the external and internal difference between them is

the result of historical development (or climatic conditions)<sup>15</sup>. On the other hand, polygenism believes that man was created in different races, differing from each other both externally and internally from the very beginning, and that this fact is responsible for the gap between the races, their distinct cultures (language, myth, ritual and objects).<sup>16</sup> These two theories triggered a relentless search for the primordial home (*Urheimat*), or homes of one or other of the different races.

Monogenists and polygenists can find themselves on the same side of the argument,<sup>17</sup> both were used to draw an evolutionary scheme on universal scale which could confirm the superiority of the white race and the inferiority of the black race.<sup>18</sup> This innate inferiority was regarded either as a result of the intellectual mental inferiority of the black race, or its very slow cultural evolution. According to this theory, each human race advanced beyond the ancestral ape and developed a different mentality;<sup>19</sup> hence, there are superior and inferior races. However, the same theory serves the idea that every race can ascend in due time to a higher stage of civilization, either as a result of borrowing from a superior culture, or due to its own progress.<sup>20</sup>

Radical Afrocentrists argue that it is the black race that has been the superior race from the dawn of human history. Thus, theoretically speaking, the Afrocentric world-view could easily accept the polygenetic theory and thus claim that the white race was, from its first appearance on earth, an inferior race, since it is a later degenerated offspring of the 'black race'. But Afrocentric writings usually accept the monogenetic theory to substantiate the superiority of the black race.<sup>21</sup> The adoption of monogenism and the rejection of polygenism stem from the fact that Afrocentrism has adopted the notion that there was one racial source of human races and human culture, that the geographical core was Africa and that the black race was the gene pool of humanity. According to this Afrocentric monogenetic theory, the fact that the black race was the 'gene pool' endows upon the black race a status of superiority as the sole source of all human races. Since it was the primordial race, it was the first to create human civilization and hence bestow its achievements on all other cultures.

From its monogenetic point of view, then, Afrocentric literature which deals with prehistoric times and the evolution of mankind accepts the 'African theory'; that is, that *Homo erectus* emerged approximately 1.5 million years ago in East Africa to become *Homo sapiens* (wise man), and then spread to all the other continents 100,000 years ago. The first *Homo sapiens* was black. As a result, all the other continents were populated from Africa by people of the black race who migrated from one place to another, settled in every continent and brought their culture along with them.<sup>22</sup> Much of Afrocentric literature related to pre-history is devoted to tracing the tracks of this grand migration to Asia, Europe, the two Americas and Australia.<sup>23</sup>

If, however, the accepted view is that the human race is black in origin, but was later divided into different races, what, then, is the explanation offered by the Afrocentrists for the physiogenetic differences between the races? Is it, in their view, a result of physiogenetic mutations or of environmental conditions? In Diop's view, for example, the racial differentiation took place in Europe between 40,000 and 20,000 years ago as a result of the cold climate: '... humanity was born in Africa and differentiated itself into several races in Europe'.<sup>24</sup> Blacks, he writes, 'survived everywhere in Europe until the Neolithic period',<sup>25</sup> while some of these sub-races migrated from Europe to other places.<sup>26</sup> The formation of the white race was a result of the depigmentation of blacks; other races are a product of cross-breeding; for example, all Semites, as well as the quasi-totality of Latin Americans, are mixed breeds of blacks and whites.

Diop and other Afrocentric writers thus adopt a radical deterministic version of the environmental theory and its influences on selection and evolution; according to this, evolution was shaped by a mechanism of mutation/selection/adaptation mainly to the climatic conditions to which the races had to adapt.<sup>27</sup>

I will not go into the genealogy of the origin of evolution of mankind here.<sup>28</sup> What is important to our discussion is the fact, that Afrocentrists hold the view that *Homo erectus* and *Homo sapiens* were black-skinned primates who spread throughout the world; wherever the climatic conditions were suitable, their skin color remained black or dark, hence the worldwide distribution of the black and dark-skinned people. Their migration continued during the whole prehistoric period and even afterwards. Thus, the black substratum of humanity is very extensive and durable and in certain parts of the world has lasted into historical times. In the cold (Europe, Central Asia) lands, they became white and the first whites appeared only around 20,000 years ago. Moreover, the different climates not only engendered physiological change, but changes in mentality and character traits as well, creating a different way of life and different culture.

According to one view, the origin of the true black, with his peculiar combination of large size and light bone structure, is mysterious; the black

appeared on the scene even later than the other three types (bushmen and pygmies, caucasoid and Hamites), and his present predominance was certainly achieved during the modern, food-producing period . . . not far to the north of the equatorial forest . . . Probably, therefore, he was in origin a man of the forest margins, who moved north during the pronounced wet phase which set in throughout this region about eight or nine thousand years ago.<sup>29</sup>

According to another view, the original color of the early hominid was 'probably a medium brown' and the black skin first evolved in those who remained under the African sun and adapted to it, because the dark skin provides protection against dangerous ultraviolet rays that can cause skin



cancer.<sup>30</sup> In Basil Davidson's view, the first black type appeared only around 5000 BC.<sup>31</sup> It is important to note that, as Stringer and McKie assert, the race called black, or Congoloid, 'appears to contain as much genetic variation as the rest of humanity put together'.

The man born in Africa was necessarily dark-skinned due to the considerable force of ultraviolet radiation to the equatorial belt. As he moved toward the more temperate climes, this man gradually lost his pigmentation by a process of selection and adaptation.<sup>32</sup>

There are, however, a few writers who prefer polygenism in order to emphasize the unbridgeable gap between the superior black race and the inferior white race.<sup>33</sup> A flagrant example of the use of racialist theory based on pseudo-scientific research is Canadian Michael Bradley's *The Iceman Inheritance: Prehistoric Sources of Western Man's Racism, Sexism and Aggression* (according to the back cover he is 'a descendant of a distant relative of a great Cherokee Indian chief'). This book deserves our attention because it contains an enthusiastic introduction by John Henrik Clarke, who, though expressing some reservations about it (the book 'is not a masterpiece of scholarship'), states that 'nevertheless it contains an important message [against racism] for our time'.<sup>34</sup> Another radical Afrocentrist, Leonard Jeffries, states that the book exposes the 'truth on the functions of the White consciousness . . .'. It seems that both find some merit in the book because it provides a pseudo-scientific explanation for the negative traits of the white race; first and foremost, in their view, is its unrestrained aggressiveness. The book caused quite a stir,<sup>35</sup> because the author argues that the negative traits of the European man (contrasted with the positive traits of the African man) stem from the former being molded by Ice Age Europe. Bradley argues that the European is a result of a combination of Neanderthal man and Eurasian migrants which produced the Caucasian group (it should be noted that Diop adopts the view that the Neanderthals became extinct without leaving any descendants). The primitive characteristics of the Neanderthals were reinforced by glacial adaptation until they reached an extreme form. The caucasoids, then, are an identifiable group because of the primitive and bestial physical characteristics they inherited through Neanderthal genetic input. In other words, Bradley partially adopts the polygenetic concept in combination with an extreme version of the environmental theory.

According to Bradley, the behavioral code of European man (caucasoid) is that of an inferiority complex from which the murderous aggression of the white race derives. The civilization and progress forged by the white man are violent and destructive.<sup>36</sup> Whilst African-American literature usually accepts the monogenetic theory, Bradley rejects it and adopts the polygenetic theory that '*Homo sapiens* consists of races that evolved from dissimilar hominid types'.<sup>37</sup> The white people are, in his view, 'demonic ice

people' whilst the blacks are the beautiful sun people, who have an overabundance of life-enhancing melanin.

Ironically, a view that traditionally supported the racial undermining of the black people is being used to support the notion of caucasoid inferiority. Bradley and his ilk make use of European racist anthropological categories of origin and genesis in order to exalt the 'black race' and disparage the 'white race'.

### ORIGINS AND ANTIQUITY

In order to establish one nation's distinctiveness, uniqueness and self-proclaimed central role in the world's history, universal histories often addressed the question of the source and origin (*scencetus mundi*) of human culture. Moreover, if the *origo* of a nation determined its essence (and the nature of its *nomima*), as Hellenistic and Roman ethnography claimed,<sup>38</sup> it was vital to trace its origin and its evolution from the earliest stage onward. Legends of origin and source were transposed into historical myths.<sup>39</sup>

*The Catalogue of Women*, an anonymous addition to Hesiod's *Theogony*, gives a 'compendious account of the whole story of the nation from the earliest times to the time of the Trojan War or the generation of it . . .'<sup>40</sup> Greek writers integrated the origins of the barbarian nations into the system of Greek prehistory.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, the 'Table of Nations' in *Genesis* 10 is a mythological scheme of the genesis and distribution of mankind. Both Hebrew and Greek traditions contain stories of wandering, migrations and settlement aimed at explaining the diffusion of languages, myths and tools.<sup>42</sup> The early Egyptians also took pride in their antiquity, and during the Hellenistic period grasped the importance ascribed to primacy and ethnographic descent.

In the ancient world, antiquity was virtually synonymous with prestige. A proof of antiquity was considered very significant.<sup>43</sup> The 'new' was perceived as questionable and not genuine, as compared with 'antiquity'. (This is the reason the Church fathers portrayed Christianity as a religion with deep roots, instead of a new and revolutionary faith.<sup>44</sup>) A claim to antiquity became an important tool in a vanquished nation's struggle to obtain pride, dignity and status.<sup>45</sup> In the modern world many new nations endowed themselves with ancient and ramified historical traditions in order to achieve legitimacy and esteem.<sup>46</sup> In the seventeenth century, 'Every nation and city from Novogrod to Naples felt the need for an early history that rivaled or surpassed the ancient histories of Greece and Rome, to which the humanists had given such prominence.'<sup>47</sup> Greater antiquity, if derived from honorable origins, was thought to possess greater authority, and to be the fountainhead from which all else flowed.

Afrocentrism's universal history, thus follows a long line in claiming glorious antiquity, when it obsessively venerates a primal source and

antiquity, believing that by doing so it endows everlasting prestige and pre-eminence.

### *The division of races*

'We do not accept the view that there is no such thing as "race".' This statement sounds like a white racist statement, but was actually penned by an African-American scholar, Legrand H. Clegg, II. Indeed, the concept of race and of a homogeneous black race is the cornerstone of the radical Afrocentrist world-view. Clegg declares further:

We are well aware that the new anthropological party line is that 'there is no such thing as 'race', and that it is now unscientific to delimit mankind on the basis of 'race'. We do not accept this point of view for the following reasons: First, three major subspecies of the human family, i.e. the Afrocid ('Negroid'), Caucasoid and Mongoloid are readily distinguished and can be scientifically defined without the absurd assumption that 'racial' purity is widespread in either category. Secondly, it appears that the abandonment of the study of 'race' by modern science is not so much an attempt to stress the unity of the human species as to focus away from the inevitable conclusions that such study has forced upon the academic community . . . as long as the Black race bears the universal badge of inferiority forced on it by scientists who have distorted or suppressed Black history, we shall not only include race as an integral part of our historical writings, but we shall prominently focus on it whenever and wherever the truth can be told until sincere men of science return the black race to its former position of respect and reverence on the earth.<sup>48</sup>

What is this if not an expression of overwhelming self-confidence, which no longer fears a racial label and is convinced that the black race enjoys unquestioned superiority? In this inverted racism it is the black race which is perceived as a supraindividual collective entity which has a superior genius or soul. Here, again, Afrocentrism is part of a long chain of intellectual history. The Greeks divided the inhabited world into three continents (Europe, Asia and Africa) and categorized people either as Greeks or barbarians. Biblical tradition divided humanity into families possessing a variety of languages. The Book of *Jubilees* (a Jewish apocalyptic work written during the second century BC) was the first effort to rearrange the world picture of *Genesis* by making it correspond to the Greek division into three continents, thus identifying the offspring of Ham with Africa, of Shem with Asia and of Japheth with Europe.<sup>49</sup> Prominent Christian writers followed this line and became engaged in a Sisyphean effort to reconcile the Scriptures' tripartite division with the division into continents and newly acquired ethnographic knowledge. Over the centuries, beginning

with the Renaissance when knowledge of the world grew by leaps and bounds, it became more and more difficult to reconcile the new knowledge with the division of humanity into Japhites, Hamites and Semites,<sup>50</sup> and these endless efforts produced a rich and vast collection of wild imagination and esoterica. This encounter between science and belief in Scriptural tradition proved stimulating for the former, but sterile for the latter. Don Cameron Allen says pithily of the tireless efforts of Renaissance sages: 'The new methods of science were at first brought to the defense of Scripture, but it was shortly discovered that the more the Bible was defended, the more it had to be defended.'<sup>51</sup>

To some it was clear that the Bible, 'if it stood alone, could account for the multiplicity of heathen nations and the confusion of languages, but for the diversity of idolatries there was no clear-cut rationale'.<sup>52</sup> This grand failure of the Renaissance and subsequent periods did not deter later classifications of races according to biblical tradition, with several necessary modifications,<sup>53</sup> and beginning in the seventeenth century, different methods of race classification were proposed according to various physical features. James Parsons' innovation in 1767 was to deviate from the long line of universal histories and to offer a new principle of classification: a philological principle which identified the descendants of Japheth with the speakers of the Indo-European family of languages.<sup>54</sup> It was Parsons who found similarities between the various languages which comprised this large group, thus paving the way for the advent of the family of Indo-European peoples, originally discussed in the writings of German philologists H. J. Kleproth, who preferred the term *Indogermanisch*, and Franz Bopp, who coined the term Indo-European.<sup>55</sup> In 1799 the Orientalist Sir William Jones published his essay *On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India*, which presaged the Aryan thesis, and offered a version of universal history in which Indian and Hindu diffusion were the 'origin'.<sup>56</sup>

European philology, influenced first by romanticism and later by modern anthropology and ethnography, tried to uncover the primeval origins of the Indo-European family and the routes along which it spread and splintered into dozens of languages, peoples and cultures. In the racial myth of the nineteenth century the Indo-European peoples were transformed from a family of languages into a race possessing noble physical and ontological traits; the master race which alone was fit to rule the world, while the black race was always relegated to the bottom of the scale, depicted as the most inferior of races, more prehuman than human.<sup>57</sup> The division of the world by languages, however, posed grave obstacles to the Afrocentric theory. Regardless of the always futile attempts made to find a common denominator between the many African languages, and between them and languages spoken in Asia and America, it is clear that the African languages and dialects bore no resemblance to Semitic, Indo-European or Hamitic languages. In fact, all African languages can be grouped into four phyla:

Khosian, Nilosaharan, Afroasiatic and Niger Congo. Each of them encompasses several main families. In all there are about one thousand African languages;<sup>58</sup> among them the largest linguistic group is that of Bantu. There is no connection between Egyptian or the languages spoken in Sudan, Eritrea or Ethiopia, and those used in the interior of the continent; nor do the latter form a family. They are completely different from one another and could not form the basis for a common culture (or even for simple communication).<sup>59</sup> Since comparative etymology is a very weak argument, it is no wonder that the proponents of the Afrocentric linguistic history were only able to turn to racial theories based on physiognomic classifications made by physical anthropologists: hair type, pigmentation, head shape, stature and bodily proportions, and certain facial traits.<sup>60</sup>

From the Afrocentric point of view, denying the existence of a uniform black race with shared traits is an expression of white racism. It dismisses as 'racist' such notions as the existence of a brown Mediterranean race (and hence pan-Mediterraneanism), which were fostered by Italian anthropologist Giuseppe Sergi in his *Mediterranean Race* (1901) and modified by Grafton Elliot Smith.<sup>61</sup> According to the Afrocentric view, even when the skin of black people became lighter (brown in different regions), they remain black nonetheless. The fact that the peoples of Africa<sup>62</sup> (and African-Americans) possess different physical features was not considered an obstacle, because the important fact was that all these diverse people differ from the Caucasian ('white') people. If there is no black race, argue the Afrocentrists, how can one explain the generalized image attached to blacks? Is not everyone who is dark-skinned and has African features considered to be black? Spout your theory to the white racists, they will tell you with understandable sarcasm. Go tell whites in the southern United States or in South Africa that this particular black who suffers from discrimination and persecution belongs to a different branch of blacks from his black neighbor. Slavery and discrimination have not yet recognized scientific stratification.<sup>63</sup> There is, of course, a sad truth in such statements.

One would, perhaps, expect black writers to repudiate the racial classification of mankind and its applications. Instead, racial categories became the cornerstone of the radical Afrocentric theory, which followed the path of European racial doctrines.<sup>64</sup> As a result, the myth of the Aryan race was replaced by the myth of the black race. The banner hoisted by the Aryan myth in the name of science, is the transformation of the Hamitic race into the black race, and the resemblance it draws between the different branches of black forms in Asia and Egypt even though no genetic and linguistic connections are to be found between them. Soon enough the physiognomy of this Asiatic race was said to create a common racial and cultural basis between them and the other dark-skinned people of Africa.<sup>65</sup>

The division of the black race into three subgroups, African (divided into seven ethnic groups), Oceanic and Southeast Asian,<sup>66</sup> is considered to be

a 'new racism'.<sup>67</sup> According to advocates of the Afrocentric theory, all black-skinned people have the same type of hair and lips. Papuans, Australian aborigines and Dravidians in southern India belong to the black race. The black family was thus given new sub-branches: black Nubians, black Egyptians, black Sumerians and so on. According to Diop, there are two variants of the black race: 1. straight-haired peoples, represented in Asia by the Dravidians and in Africa by the Nubians and the Tubbou or Tedda, all three with jet-black skins; and 2. the kinky-haired blacks of the equatorial regions.<sup>68</sup> All the so-called 'Hamites', according to the biblical categories, are black-skinned Africans with similar hair, facial features and physique. Although shades of difference are discernible among them, they are a single and singular family.

As part of their efforts to base this new classification and division on ancient sources, including the Bible, Afrocentric believers turn to these sources, finding for example, that the Bible (as well as Greek and Hellenistic sources) make references to the inhabitants of Babylon: (Nimrod son of Kush, Genesis 10:8), Cushan (apparently nomadic tribes in the Negev), *Cushim*<sup>69</sup> (who probably ruled Babylon in the later second millennium BC) and the inhabitants of Elam, calling them 'Ethiopians' because of their skin color. Afrocentrists leap to the conclusion that these peoples belonged to the African black (Kush) race. Those peoples associated by the Bible with the sons of Ham, as well as other peoples of whom the Scriptures knew nothing, but were neither Semites nor Indo-Europeans, or were mistakenly thought to be affiliated with those two races, become Hamites, meaning black-skinned. Thus, not only a black race appears on the stage of history, but a black empire and civilization extending far beyond the biblical *Hodu* [India]<sup>70</sup> to *Kush* [East Africa], and to the heart of Europe, the Andes and the Mississippi delta!<sup>71</sup>

Is this nothing but a new and wild variation on the theme of the 'pan' fictional theories, such as the pan-Germanism, pan-Nordic, pan-Slavism, pan-Semitism and pan-Turanism cultivated in the nineteenth century? Is not this merely another version of nineteenth-century racist works, which invoked the 'mystery of race' as the deciding factor in human history?<sup>72</sup> Indeed, the motivation of Afrocentrism was to erase the image of the downtrodden black race and to combat white racist theories; yet, instead of refuting those doctrines, it seems to have adopted their premises and principles. In other words, Afrocentrism embraced racial postulates in order to turn them upside down. Instead of engendering anti-black racism, such theories became a source of pride for the Afrocentrists, who turned them into doctrines lauding the positive attributes of the black race. Black racism became a message of superiority and redemption, and the victims of racial doctrines now argue that race is the organic and biological basis of human history. This road is taken by radical Afrocentrists, since it is essential to fix the racial boundaries, create a real or symbolic racial culture,

and for this reason, to create a new historical awareness based, as I have argued, on universal racial and cultural foundations as well.

#### RACE AND CULTURE

Fixing the geographical and physical boundaries of the black race was introduced to establish the nature of *homo Africanus*, whose essence is unvarying and who is activated by both distinctive biological and mental traits. This *homo Africanus* is a pure and authentic, perhaps even primordial, type of black African whose singular human essence has been immune to historical vicissitudes.<sup>73</sup> Radical Afrocentrism thus adopted the view of classical anthropology in which there exists a primeval and enduring source of basic human traits and of human culture, and the basic premise of European racism by positing deterministic relationships between race and culture. According to this view, race is the source which determines the essence of each human culture. Differences in the level of culture and in the essence of culture are attributed to differences in racial endowment. Not only physical characteristics are perceived as inherited, but cultural traits as well.

Based on this assumption, the Afrocentric universal history claims that the black people of tropical Africa and the black people of ancient Nubia and Egypt shared the same cultural substratum. This is, of course, the reason why it is so vital to prove that the ancient Egyptians were black, and the reason behind the denial of the racial heterogeneous character of the African continent.

The fact is that there is no correlation between color, race and culture.<sup>74</sup> Frequently, although not necessarily, members of one 'race' share particular historical circumstances which create a similar mental-cultural basis.<sup>75</sup> In many cases racial affiliation does not create cultural affiliation, and a civilization can often consist of different ethnic groups, or even races; Islam, for example, is a multiracial civilization. In Europe, too, the common religious-cultural background of the Slavs and Latins is no less significant than the racial divisions and the profound differences in religion and culture between them. The notion that racial origin is a compound of traits deeply internalized within a group which totally and deterministically shape its character completely contradicts all the processes of assimilation and acculturation in human history.<sup>76</sup> Equally pointless is the attempt to find a common racial origin for all the ostensibly 'black' cultures. There is no resemblance, for example, between the civilizations of India and China, and the African civilization. Even if one were to find a black population in India and some cultural objects imported from Africa, the two civilizations would still be divided by an abyss.

Thus, Afrocentrist universal historiography, which was supposed to extricate blacks from their state of inferiority and isolation, and to under-

score the ramified affinities with the world 'outside Africa', became a theory of racial *Völkerpsychologie*. It does not understand *culture* as a socio-cultural phenomenon, but as a product of a certain '*Rassengeist*' based on biological (and environmental) foundations.

### CULTURAL DIFFUSION

The diffusionist theory, in its most radical form (hyper diffusionism), is the Afrocentrists' point of departure, their *elixir vitae*.

From an Afrocentrist point of view, it was not enough to accept the identification between race and culture. Since it claimed that the cultural traits created by the black man also spread to non-black people, it had to adopt a radical (hyper) and grand-scale diffusionist theory,<sup>77</sup> since diffusion is the only means by which the fruits of the one source can spread. Since the goal of radical Afrocentrism lies not only in the genesis and evolution of culture in Africa, but in the grand scale of universal history, it must insist that African culture was diffused among both black and non-black people around the globe.

According to the diffusionist theory, diffusion of cultural traits (such as beliefs, symbols, myths, ideas, habits) from an 'external source' is the main impetus and agent of innovation, change and development. The reception process can be the result of a dramatic event such as conquest, migration, trade, etc. According to this view, backward peoples can climb the ladder of civilization only after they have received the necessary cultural traits from a more advanced culture outside. While radical isolationists believe in the separate and indigenous evolution of cultures, hyper-diffusionists claim that there is a common cultural source, and that older and more developed cultures (such as the black culture) influenced the younger ones. This theory can serve – and indeed served – imperialistic ideologies, arguing that since not all races have the same capacity for cultural development, 'primitive' or underdeveloped societies can progress only under external influences or intervention, providing rationalization for social-Darwinistic views that only through the intervention of a superior factor can societies be saved from degeneration. With regard to radical Afrocentrism, the paradox here lies in the fact that diffusionism undermines identification between race and culture. On the one hand it refutes the theory that societies can develop in isolation and, on the other, strengthens the fact that different races can affect each other, despite their different 'racial' traits.

Thus, Afrocentrism accepts the theories of pan-mythologies and pan-theologies; i.e. it accepts the theory that man's mythological systems and theological (or philosophical) beliefs originated during the Stone Age in one place (Africa) and then migrated and diffused. It is always the one source which nourishes the others. It accepts the monocentric diffusionist explanation and refutes the multicentric diffusionist exegesis. It does not



distinguish between transition, borrowing, acculturation and cultural interferences, nor does it acknowledge the fact that the receiver is not a passive actor, but often plays a very active role in the receiving process.<sup>78</sup>

No historian of culture will deny the role diffusion and transition have played in cultural history. Very often he must solve the riddle of the striking similarities between geographically remote cultures and the fact that other basic cultural traits or inventions were not transmitted between geographically neighboring cultures. The hyper-diffusion theory is the target for harsh criticism. In response to the monogenetic cultural diffusionist theories of Grafton Elliot Smith and W. J. Perry,<sup>79</sup> which claimed world cultures were offsprings of ancient Egyptian civilization,<sup>80</sup> Arnold J. Toynbee argued that the fact that the rifle attained its ubiquity through diffusion from a single center where it was invented 'is no proof that the bow and arrow attained its early ubiquity in the same way.' Thus, he continued, 'while giving diffusion its due, it is necessary to emphasize the part that has been played in human history by original creation . . .'. Toynbee further argued<sup>81</sup> that 'most essential inventions of civilized life have been invented over and over again, in distant times and countries'.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, diffusion and invention are always mixed, always inseparable.

Nevertheless, the ongoing obsessive quest for the one source of the main cultural innovations, based on real or alleged similarities, very often produced a confusion between parallels and genetic theories. In order to prove that literary parallels, for example, are a result of direct dependence, one should be able to prove, in the case of literature, a deep acquaintance with the alleged source and show that the texts in question are not products of independent innovations. Here, again, African-American universal history provided both paradox and irony. In order to counter Western-orientated diffusionism, which makes Africa a dependent subject of Western culture, Afrocentric writers adopted the hyper-diffusionist approach, describing Africa as the cradle and core of cultural diffusion.<sup>83</sup> The irony here, as in the case of racial arguments, is that Afrocentric writings are yet another example of inverted acculturation; i.e. they adopt the hyper-diffusion theory but turn it against its original inventors. If nineteenth-century European theories explain the development of ancient Egypt and Africa as a result of diffusion and migration from Asia (or Europe),<sup>84</sup> Smith, Perry, Diop and their many diffusionist followers turned this notion upside down; Africa now became the source of all progress and every change in Asia and Europe.

#### CULTURAL HEROES

Following the ancient tradition of inventing legendary heroes who lead migration and colonization, transmitting culture to faraway lands, Afrocentric universal history invented its own gallery of fabulous legends.

Migration and transmission are portrayed not as historical phenomena but as the deeds of specific heroes at specific times. These fabulous modern legends are the product of the premise that from the very beginning human history was a global chain of events, interconnected and able to be traced. By manipulating ancient texts through wild, imaginary interpretation, and by a deliberate misreading of these texts and their proper substance, these legends connect various facts and thus 'solve' historical mysteries. The authors have a burning passion to leave not a single historical 'fact' unexplained and to interweave with raw threads of the imagination events remote in time and place. This literature is also the modern universal history about the *Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected*.<sup>85</sup>

Such is the story of the Sumerian king Naram-Sin who set forth on an exploratory and colonizing expedition some time before 2000 BC. This king was known as the Plumed Serpent, and the ceremonial stone mace head excavated at Lake Tezoco, identical to stone mace heads belonging to Naram-sin, is incontrovertible proof that he arrived in Mexico.<sup>86</sup> Behind his story lies the fact that the Mayans credited the Plumed Serpent with having taught their ancestors their many arts and crafts, and having introduced their calendric and numerical systems. This legendary Serpent purported to be none other than the Sumerian king.

Another legend was inspired by the medieval Mameluke chronicle *masalik al-absar fir manalik al amsar*, written by Shihab al-Din Ibn al-Umari. According to one chronology, the Sultan of Mali, Abu Bakar II reigned from 1305–07; to another from 1310–11. He conferred his regency to his brother Musa in 1307, or 1311, according to which chronology is followed. He is said to have dispatched a fleet of ships in 1310 to cross the Atlantic Ocean and reach the far end of the west. Two hundred vessels set forth, carrying gold and a year's supply of food and water. 'Do not return until you reach the end of it, or [until] your provisions and water give out', the Sultan ordered. Long afterwards – exactly how much time had elapsed is not known – one ship returned home. Its fortunate captain told the Sultan how, after a lengthy journey, the fleet had reached the estuary of a magnificent river. All the ships had sailed up the river and disappeared, and he alone with the last in the flotilla, had turned back. Skeptical about this account, the Sultan ordered a vast new fleet of two thousand ships to be prepared, half of them to carry provisions. He himself joined the expedition, entrusting the kingdom to his brother Musa.<sup>87</sup>

The original story was probably invented to explain the Sultan's disappearance and his brother's accession to the throne. But its historical setting, the flourishing black Muslim kingdom of Mali, is real enough. Mali had close commercial ties with the Maghreb and with East Africa; its fame was known far and wide. Sultan Mansa Musa (1307–32), the powerful monarch of Mali, a devoted Muslim, is said to have been the moving force which produced the cultural efflorescence of the legendary town

Timbuktu.<sup>88</sup> The story demonstrates his awareness of the possible existence of a trans-Atlantic world, and the belief that an attempt to reach it was both worthwhile and feasible. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that so huge a maritime expedition made an Atlantic voyage, much less that the armada reached Mexico or South America. Naturally, this did not prevent medieval Muslim chroniclers from firing their readers' imagination and adding the Sultan of Mali to the long list of discoverers of America.<sup>89</sup> The huge fleet, or at least part of it, according to the story, cast anchor in the Bay of Yucatan. Testimony to this effect is found in Aztec ritual and legend associated with Quetzalcoatl, the plumed serpent of Toltec tradition. Quetzalcoatl was both the true figure of a hero and the representation of a white god who was to return from the east. The legend is said to have been reborn under the tremendous impact of the Sultan's appearance on the coast. But how did a black sultan come to be depicted as a white superman? We are told: 'Thus must Abubakari the Second have appeared to the natives in the American heartlands when his fleet drifted into that world in 1311; a white, bearded figure coming from the East, the land of the sun, in boats.'<sup>90</sup> The black Sultan of Mali stepped on to the Mexican shore with impeccable timing on a holy Friday.<sup>91</sup> Davidson writes that this may be a tall tale; nonetheless he regards it as evidence of the reasonable possibility that the Muslim Mali had outlets on the Atlantic seaboard. Other writers have refrained from voicing any such reservations. This tale, based on the chronicles of al-Umari became a tale which serves various needs. For example, the proponents of Black Islam cite it as proof of Islam's deep roots in America, and it became nothing less than an African folk story.<sup>92</sup>

Not only are all major historical events interlocked, but all the major historical phenomena of the ancient world are as well. Legendary traditions and artificial analogies alike are enlisted in the creation of a uniform world history, constructed of pure coincidences and the arbitrary conjunctions of events. Everywhere, hidden connections or links between totally separate events and manifestations are discovered. Language and myth are viewed as the hidden codes acting as guides in tracing the routes and agents of transmission and diffusion. The basic assumption was, of course, based on a comparative study of mythologies which concluded that the world's mythologies have one common source.<sup>93</sup> From this belief emerged the numerous comparative vocabularies which try to prove that similar words, symbols and motifs are interrelated, surfacing in a certain place and then spreading to other regions, rather than being independently created.

Another flourishing branch of speculative universal history is the universal history of languages, which seeks to explore the *Ursprache* based primarily on etymology. The list of bizarre books which claim to have discovered the first language and its means of transmission from one end of the globe to another, or to establish connections between different and remote languages, is very long.<sup>94</sup>

In the Afrocentric view, then, every cultural development outside 'Africa' was caused by the external involvement of members of the black race, who infused the others with their higher culture. The possibility that non-black cultures could evolve independently, at least insofar as that evolution is considered positive, is rejected. If there is one central source or racial affinity, historical events must be interrelated.

#### HIGGINS, MASSEY AND MACRITCHIE

We have already noted that beginning with the Age of Discovery many efforts were made to trace the roots of human cultures, of specific civilizations and nations. Before the Indo-European model became the dominant paradigm, older models prevailed, such as the Scytho-Celtic model and Phoenician Scytho-Celtism, which was very much favored in certain Irish circles.<sup>95</sup> Many works tried to trace the origins of Egyptian (and Greek) religion and mythologies to India; some suggested China as the source,<sup>96</sup> or vice versa: China was an Egyptian colony and its culture, in all its essentials, was of Egyptian origin.<sup>97</sup> Others were captivated by the Hindu diffusion theory.<sup>98</sup> The French orientalist, Louis Mathieu Langeles, bluntly maintained that the Five Books of Moses were mere derivations of the five Vedas.<sup>99</sup>

Here I would like to describe three of the many speculative and imaginary universal histories, the products of nineteenth-century fertile imagination, which acquired the status of pioneering studies, becoming classics in the African-American milieu. Radical Afrocentric authors consider these books to be pioneering truth-breaking works of real scholarship, unlike Western 'racial trash'.

The first example of this kind of esoteric-fringe scholarship, is Godfrey Higgins' book *Anacalypsis*:<sup>100</sup> *An Attempt to Draw aside the Veil of Saitic Isis or an Inquiry into the Origin of Languages, Nations and Religions* (vols I-II, 1833).<sup>101</sup> Drawing upon copious sources such as *Celtic Druids* (1827), Higgins' imaginative search for secret wisdom created a universal history in which the origins of languages and culture lay in India, a land of black people, a great black Asian nation. His aim was to 'produce a number of extraordinary facts, which would be quite sufficient to prove that a black race, in very early times, had more influence over the affairs of the world than has lately been suspected'.<sup>102</sup> Higgins accepted the view that India was the origin of human culture, but (following the ancient confusion of India with Ethiopia,<sup>103</sup> by William Jones and Samuel Shuckford), thought that the Indians were a black race. While black-American historiography is convinced that black influence derives from Africa and Egypt, he believed that black Indians settled in Africa and Egypt, bringing with them religion and culture. He believed the black Buddha of the Eastern nations to be the oldest philosophy or mythology, and that everything the Greeks might

have learnt from Egypt actually came from black India.<sup>104</sup> 'After very careful consideration I feel quite satisfied that the doctrine of Plato, of Philo, and of Moses, or the first chapter of Genesis, is fundamentally identical with the doctrine of the Trimurtu of India.'<sup>105</sup> It should be noted that Higgins' universal history contradicts the main assumption of radical Afro-centrist historiography: that the origins of the black race and thus of humankind lay in Africa, and from there spread throughout the world. However, since he accepted the idea of a universal black race, there is nothing to prevent his inclusion in the pantheon of the forerunners of black universal history.

The aim of Scottish historian David MacRitchie's<sup>106</sup> book *Ancient and Modern Britons* (vols I–II, 1884)<sup>107</sup> was to prove that the blacks of the ancient world came to Britain from Spain, Felix Arabia, Egypt, Ethiopia, West Africa, India, and even Denmark (brought by the Vikings who were blacks). The blacks of West Africa were those who probably brought the Ashantee blood ceremony to Scotland, the marriage dance, the morris dance and other traditions. When Christianity invaded the British Isles, it 'found there a religion similar to that of Persia and of Egypt, and there are many reasons for believing that its devotees were of the same section of humanity as the priesthood of those countries of the East'.<sup>108</sup> He added that certain Scottish clans are, or were, distinctly Moorish or Ethiopian in complexion, and probably Egyptian in origin.<sup>109</sup>

Gerald Massey (1828–1907) was an English poet and journalist who devoted his last years to the study of ancient Egypt. His two massive volumes, *A Book of the Beginnings: Containing an Attempt to Recover and Re-constitute the Lost Origins of the Myths and Mysteries, Types and Symbols, Religion and Language, with Egypt for the Mouthpiece and Africa as the Birthplace*, appeared in 1881,<sup>110</sup> were followed by *The Historical Jesus and the Mythical Christ or Natural Genesis and Typology of Equinoctial Christolatry* (1883) and *Ancient Egypt the Light of the World: A Work of Redemption and Restitution in Twelve Books* (1907).<sup>111</sup> These books are the products of the most bizarre nineteenth-century heliocentric theory,<sup>112</sup> which, according to Massey, 'were met in England with a truly orthodox conspiracy of silence'. Massey no doubt deserves the title of the forerunner of the African-American universal history. In his speculative account, Egypt, land of the black race, is the core and center of human history. He rejects the theory (held by Bunsen and other authors<sup>113</sup>) that Egyptian civilization had Asiatic-Semitic roots, which, in his view, is necessary to support the 'delusive theory of the Indo-European migration of races and languages'.<sup>114</sup> In his view the black race is the most ancient; Africa (not India) is its primordial home, and the Egyptians were an integral part of this black race and world: 'Egypt, and not India, is the common cradle of all we have in common, east, west, north, and south, all round the world . . . In Egypt alone, we shall find the roots of the vast tree, whose boughs and branches have extended to a

world-wide reach.<sup>115</sup> Not only does he find the expected, that the Egyptian origins of the ancient Hebrews and Jewish historical traditions and religion ('The Hebrew miracles are Egyptian myths'<sup>116</sup> and 'Hebrew writings, language, imagery, allegories, or divinities, are wholly of Egyptian origin, to be read by Egyptians, to be interpreted and valued as Egyptian of the Typhonian cult'<sup>117</sup>), but also the Chaldeans and Babylonians, were of black Egyptian descent and that the Kushites from Africa colonized Babylonia and fertilized it with Egyptian culture.<sup>118</sup> Thus, Africa was the 'birthplace of the non-articulate, and Egypt the mouthpiece of articulate man'.<sup>119</sup> The amount of evidence he offers to support this theory is too extensive to be included here. He uses classical sources, presents a comparative vocabulary of English and Egyptian, Hebrew and Egyptian, Akkado-Assyrian and Egyptian, and finds traces of Egyptian influences and presence in many corners of the world.

Afrocentrist universal history, then, grew and flourished on a very fertile ground, ploughed and sowed by a long tradition of Western esoteric and speculative writings.

# The Revival of Ancient Historical Traditions in Black America: The Four Revised 'Ancient Models'

And since Egypt is the country where mythology places the origin of the gods . . . we shall begin our history with the events connected with Egypt.

Diodorus Siculus, I.9.4 (trans. Oldfather)

. . . there was nothing Egyptian into which they (the Greeks) did not inquire, for anything heard or told of Egypt has a special charm for Greek listeners.

Heliodorus, *An Ethiopian Romance* (trans. M. Hadas: 57)

Mighty Sphinx in Egypt standing  
Facing Eastward toward us . . .  
Be to us a bond of union  
Held fast by Peace and Right.

W. A. Scott, (1915), in Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism*, 168

## WHY EGYPT? THE SEARCH FOR A BLACK GOLDEN AGE

Egypt became the core and center of the new Afrocentrist world-view.

Come back to Kemet, come back to the palace where you were born, kiss the ground at the great gate and mingle with the king-officials.<sup>1</sup>

This command was sent to Sinhue, a high official in the service of Princess Nefru, wife of King Sesostri I (Senwosret, 1971–26 BC) of the XII Dynasty,<sup>2</sup> who was finally allowed to return to his homeland, Egypt, after a

lengthy exile.<sup>3</sup> The quotation appears at the beginning of a collection of articles entitled *Kemet and the African World View*, published by the *Association for the Study of Classical African Civilization*.<sup>4</sup> The point is that, like the Egyptian Sinhue, who yearned to return to his beloved homeland, the black people in America also feel themselves exiles, cut off from their roots, longing to return to their ancestral land. However, unlike Sinhue's desire for a physical return to his homeland, many American blacks feel primarily a spiritual longing; they pine for a spiritual return to 'Africa', their lost paradise, their source of inspiration, the well-spring of their identity and self-respect and all the elements of the great, original civilization to which they belonged: a magnificent history, philosophy, science, technology, literature and more. This is the African-American return to Egypt, or *Kmt*<sup>5</sup> (*Kemet*; *qemt*) as Afrocentric literature prefers to call Egypt.<sup>6</sup> Egypt became

You are mighty  
Egypt  
the 360 degrees of the diaspora  
the cement of the nooks and crannies of the universe.<sup>7</sup>

Following the modern Western study of it (Egyptology), ancient Egypt was discovered by both African and African-American scholars.<sup>8</sup>

... the present-day obsession of some black intellectuals with ancient Egypt and Greece becomes quite intriguing. It poses an interesting problem by suggesting that philological or historical power is not transcultural but that it nevertheless treats well-known and perfectly spatialized old texts as a virgin domain awaiting a new mastery.<sup>9</sup>

Liberian scholar E. W. Blyden, who traveled to Egypt in 1866, testified how, when looking at the pyramids, a 'feeling came over me far different from those I felt when looking at the mighty works of European genius. I felt I had a peculiar heritage in the Great Pyramid built . . . by the enterprising sons of Ham, from which I was descended . . . The blood seemed to flow faster through my veins.' These, he felt, were his ancient ancestors 'who sent civilization to Greece – the teachers of the fathers of poetry, history and mathematics'.<sup>10</sup> Ancient Egypt was discovered by Afrocentric African-American writers to some extent at the end of the nineteenth century, but primarily after the First World War; it joined Ethiopia as the cornerstone in this new perception of history.<sup>11</sup> This rediscovery of Egypt – or, more radically, this invention of black-African Egypt – by proponents of the African-American historical world-view gained strength in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and reached its peak during the second half of the twentieth century. Along with Ethiopia, Ancient Egyptian history began to be perceived as an integral part of the history of the black



people (or black race), and as a result to be studied by the blacks in America as their own history, and in their view, free from the bondage of distorted Western historical perception.<sup>12</sup> 'All Negroes can legitimately trace their culture to ancient Egypt', wrote Diop, 'and build a modern culture on this foundation.'<sup>13</sup> Ancient Egypt had a glorious history spanning thousands of years. It was famed for being the land in which human culture first developed in all its ramified manifestations. Egypt, in short, was the cradle of civilization. No land was better suited to serve as the 'classical world' or the 'golden past' of the black race. Ancient Egyptian history was thus searched in the hope of finding within it the origins of a black-oriented philosophy, a foundation for group unity and identity, a source of resistance to alien domination, and a basis for independence and creativity.<sup>14</sup>

Egypt, wrote Diop, would play the same role that the Greco-Latin antiquity plays in Western culture.<sup>15</sup>

For us the return to Egypt in all fields is a necessary condition to reconcile African civilization with history, to be able to build a body of human sciences and to renew African culture . . . a look toward ancient Egypt is the best way of conceiving and building our cultural future.

Years earlier, in 1883, black-American historian George Washington Williams wrote:

Before Romulus founded Rome, before Homer sang, when Greece was in its infancy, and the world was quite young 'hoary Meroe' was the chief city of the Negroes along the Nile . . . Egypt borrowed her light from the venerable Negroes up the Nile. Greece went to school to the Egyptians, and Rome turned to Greece . . .<sup>16</sup>

Greece and Rome, asserted Frederick Douglas, received their civilization from Egypt, and through them Europe and America. 'But Egypt is in Africa', and the Egyptians 'just about as dark in complexion as many in this country who are considered genuine Negroes', which is why their history is denied.<sup>17</sup> Thus, it was the African and African-American mission to save Egyptian traditions and its 'true' spirit from 'Western tyranny'.

As a result, African-American interest in ancient Egypt has become overwhelming. For some it became a second homeland, a source of inspiration and consolation. In many ways Egypt was perceived as it had been in Hermetic literature: the 'holiest land, set in the center of the earth as the heart and the body, its inhabitants the most intelligent of all human-kind'.<sup>18</sup> This modern interest in ancient Egypt is almost a reflection of the Greek fascination, as described by Heliodorus' fictional Egyptian priest Calasiris in his *Ethiopia* (II.27.3–28.2.). The Greeks, Calasiris says, showed great interest in listening to his tales ' . . . there was nothing Egyptian into which they did not inquire, for anything heard or told of Egypt has a special charm for Greek listeners'.<sup>19</sup>

## THREE GATES TO EGYPT

Ancient Egypt is thus perceived as a 'virgin domain' which attracts African-American 'Kemetologists', who try to reconstruct its history,<sup>20</sup> treating ancient texts as if they had never been consulted before. This reconstruction is based on ancient and classical historical testimonies, which the Afrocentrist writers try to reconcile.

Metaphorically, we can describe this reconstruction as approaching ancient Egypt through three gates or directions: (1) the Egyptian gate; (2) the Greek gate; (3) the biblical gate. In other words, we can approach Ancient Egypt through the numerous testimonies which the Egyptians left about themselves; through Greek and Hellenistic-Roman traditions and histories; and through biblical texts, trying to demonstrate the deep affinities between the biblical narrative and Egyptian history. Each of these historical traditions has a very distinctive character,<sup>21</sup> and the main challenge facing African-American scholarship is not only to reread the testimonies, but to reconcile them in an endless effort to create a perfect narrative.

The famed antiquity of Egyptian records furnishes the Afrocentrists' great estimate of the value of Egyptian testimonies. Afrocentrists follow the view of native Hellenized Egyptians, as well as the view of the first century AD, Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, who (in his polemics against Hellenistic historians, *Contra Apionem* [*Against Apion*]), adopted the prevalent view that the Greeks had a short historical memory in contrast to ancient peoples such as the Egyptians, Phoenicians and Jews in order to defend the Jews against their disparagers.<sup>22</sup> For Afrocentrists, ancient inscriptions and papyri, as well as wall-paintings have become a crucial element in their knowledge of the world and in their scholarly pursuits. They regard all of these ancient sources a 'virgin domain' which can tell a new story only if one reads them from an African point of view. Moreover, they believe that they are in full accordance with Greek annals and the biblical narrative. This belief has the effect of fostering on a grand scale speculative reconstructions.

Can ancient Egyptian historical records be of any help in rewriting the history of Egypt and its role in the world according to the Afrocentric view? We must first distinguish between two dimensions of Egyptian historical awareness: between their historical world-view and the way they recorded historical events according to changing interests and points of view.<sup>23</sup> Ancient Egyptians were alien to history in the Greek or Hebrew sense. The Egyptian sense of history was theologically orientated and, as Alan B. Lloyd pointed out, Egyptian records 'would contain little to give individuality to the reigns or character of the different kings, and they would not form a satisfactory basis for the type of history which not only Herodotus but modern scholars would want to write'.<sup>24</sup> Ancient Egypt had no historiography in either the Greek sense or the biblical sense, nor did

the ancient Egyptians ever write any kind of historical writing which was concerned in any way with the history of other nations.<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, no other Near Eastern society 'was more meticulous in its record-keeping, as represented in the annals and king-list . . .' than ancient Egypt.<sup>26</sup> From early times, the ancient Egyptians reckoned dynasties and wrote chronologies, and from the Old Kingdom (IV–VIII Dynasties, c. 2575–2134 BC) onward we have a variety of administrative documents, 'annals' (*gnwt*), such as the Palermo stone, and royal commemorative inscriptions. Ever since the Old Kingdom period these historical sources contain king-lists, yearly annals, or records of events written on papyrus, temple walls, monumental stelas, etc. To this we must also add folk-memory, retained in popular tradition by popular literature. Egyptian records described national events, not universal history, and include diplomatic letters, royal decrees and monumental inscriptions from which we can reconstruct Egyptian relations with the Near East, Anatolia and Nubia. These provide valuable information about their histories,<sup>27</sup> but do not give us sufficient information for reconstructing the history of Egyptian relationships with the Aegean world, nor do they assist us in reconstructing the history of the Aegean region during the Bronze Age.

There are many references to Egypt's relations with the outer world in the official documents, but there are no texts we can refer to as political history, certainly not as cultural history. It is also important to distinguish between the reliability of what Egyptians relate about themselves and their history, and their accounts about the history (and culture) of neighboring nations and their relations with them. When it comes to the history of Greece, Egyptian accounts have little to say.

#### WHY GREECE? THE NEW CLASSICAL HERITAGE

On 1 April 1917, black scholar George Wells Parker, one of the first blacks to graduate from Harvard University, delivered a lecture in Omaha, Nebraska, on 'The African Origin of the Grecian Civilization', which was later published in the *Journal of Negro History*.<sup>28</sup> Its gist was that Greek civilization had originated in Egypt, which was inhabited during that seminal epoch by black-skinned Africans. Drawing on studies by European scholars, among them Italian anthropologist Sergi, the excavators of Crete and Troy, Sir Arthur Evans<sup>29</sup> and Heinrich Schliemann, Parker dropped his bombshell: the ancient Egyptians, he said, belonged to the dark-skinned race of Ham which inhabited Mesopotamia, Canaan, Egypt, northwest Africa, Greece, Italy, Sicily and even pre-barbarian Central Europe. In other words, the ancient Greeks, prior to the arrival of the Dorians and the Hellenes, were not part of the white race at all; they were a dark-skinned people of African and Mediterranean descent. Helen, the cause of the Trojan war, was no peaches-and-cream beauty; she was sultry and bronze-

skinned, like the Egyptian Queen Nefertiti. The Homeric heroes were olive-complexioned, with physiques like those of blacks; the great Grecian epics were the epics of an African people. Parker's conclusion, therefore, was that Greek classical culture had originated on African soil. This African background of Greek civilization was clearly visible, he argued, in Knossian wall-paintings in Crete and in pots and urns found at Mycenae, the major city in the Peloponnese. Both art and literature disclosed the true character of Greek civilization. If interest in classical studies was waning in America, Parker told his Omaha audience, the onus rested on black Americans to set in motion a new classical renaissance, for the inhabitants of the classical world were dark-skinned.<sup>30</sup> He concluded his address by saying:

I close with the hope of a time when earthly values will be measured with a justice now deemed divine. It is then that Africa and her sun-browned children will be saluted. On that day men will gladly listen with open minds when she tells how in the deep and dark pre-historic night she made a stairway of the stars so that she might climb and light her torch from the altar fires of heaven, and how she has held its blaze aloft in the hall of ages to brighten the wavering footsteps of earthly nations.

Thus, Parker envisioned a new classical revival in America:

In the press and periodicals of our country we read that the classics are doomed and about to pass out of our lives . . . but the classics never die . . . The heroes of Homer shall, like the Prince of Morocco, wear the livery of the burnished sun and be knit by binding tie to the blood of Africa's clime from whence civilization took its primal rise.<sup>31</sup>

We have already noted that Parker was not the first to put forth the idea of the black identity of Crete and ancient Greece and of Egyptian influence on Greece. 'The fables of Aesop, the cherished and enjoyable book of our youth', wrote Arthur A. Schomburg, several years earlier, in 1913, in his 'Plea for the Establishing of a Chair of Negro History in Our Schools and Colleges', 'was originally related as folklore by a Negro from Ethiopia to the Greeks, who in turn published them'.

All agree his person was uncommonly deformed, his head was long, nose flat, lips thick and pendant, a hump-back and complexion dark, from which he contracted his name Aesopus, being the same as Aethipos, large belly and bow-legs . . . it does not require any length or breadth of the imagination for us to locate Aesop socially. Were we to see such a slave amongst us, would we believe him to be a Negro? Yet we have lived so many years to read his book and think that it was the workmanship of Grecian lettered men.<sup>32</sup>

Parker, as well as Schomburg, exhorted their black brethren to consider Greek heritage as their own. To encourage them, a people whose world was unfathomably remote from the Greek ideal, and, to boost the self-

esteem and social status of the black community, they fostered the idea that a deep historical affinity existed between Egypt and Greece, founded in common ethnological-racial roots.

Indeed, the great degree of attention Afrocentrism pays to ancient and classical Greece is motivated by two factors: first, to reconstruct a history in which Greece's cultural heritage is ascribed to Egyptian influence; second, to reread Greek historical testimonies which may add to the Egyptian texts and fill the many gaps in them, primarily in relation to the first factor. The first is not a truly new Greek renaissance, the latest in the sequence of periodic Greek revivals which have emerged in Europe since the late Middle Ages. The Greek renaissance in late twentieth-century black America is utterly unlike the role played by Greek heritage in the culture of eighteenth and nineteenth-century England or Germany, or for that matter in contemporary America. Hellas or Greece, especially classical Greece, was a veritable cosmos for Western culture; a well-spring of ideals and values, even if some were contradictory. Historians of Greece were naturally interested in its origins, but its magnetism lay in its political culture and its legacy of philosophical, literary and artistic works, which fed European intellectual and artistic life,<sup>33</sup> while the Greeks' skin color or physiognomic features were simply irrelevant. That is not to say that the racial origins of the Greeks were of no importance; indeed, racial considerations were a major factor in nineteenth-century thinking about Greece, but Greece, and the Greeks, were more often perceived as consisting of different racial elements. The Aegean cradle was a recipient of inhabitants from all the primary breeds of the white race of mankind.<sup>34</sup> Despite the interest in the racial origins of the Greeks, the major focus in Western tradition was on the spiritual-cultural product of the Greek genius.

However, the current revival of Greece in Afrocentric circles is a bird of a very different feather. It has nothing to do with the Greek virtues, shows almost no real interest in the essence of Athenian democracy, and has never sparked heated debates between Platonists and Aristotelians. Of course, mainstream African-American scholarship dismisses the importance of the racial origins of classical tradition, but the radical Afrocentric imagination is fired by questions about the Greeks' racial-ethnic origins and the intellectual sources of their philosophy and literature: questions about antiquity, origins, primacy, cultural borrowings and cultural dependence. Why, then, invoke these Greek-Hellenic ghosts? To a degree, the answer is self-explanatory. Greece, in the conventional historical perception, is the *alma mater* of Western culture, the pinnacle of its intellectual achievements. Simple, albeit naïve, logic has done the rest. The reasoning goes something like this: if the Greeks were black-skinned, or if their culture was the direct continuation of ancient Egypt – a culture of blacks – then it follows as night does day that Western culture was a direct and legitimate descendant of that of non-whites. The white people, it turned out, had sat at the feet of the

non-white. Whites could no longer claim that their race, or the Indo-European race, possessed character traits and mental attributes far superior to those of the Semitic or Hamitic race. All notions of 'white' superiority would crumble into dust. This is why classical Greece has become part of the cultural and political climate of present-day America.

The irony here lies in the fact that ancient Egypt declined and disappeared, and its heritage, until the modern period at least, and according to the Afrocentrists themselves, had been transmitted to Greece. It is thus to Greek culture, the mediating agent between Egyptian culture and immortality, that we must return. It is Greek traditions which tell about Egypt's glory and about the tremendous debt the Greeks owe to the Egyptians. The living testimony of ancient Egyptian history can be recovered and reinforced if the Greeks themselves endorse its truth. The driving force behind this new classical American revival<sup>35</sup> was not primarily a real interest in Greek cultural values themselves, or in Greece as an ideal, model and inspiration. It was Greek histories which were rediscovered; Greek historical annals and literary testimonies serve mainly as a source of proof that Greek civilization (and hence Western civilization) was totally dependent on African-Egyptian achievements. Afrocentrists were primarily concerned with the racial identity of the Greeks and with the real or alleged influences Egypt had had on Greece since early times. Because the Greeks, from the time of Hesiod and Homer, realized their great debt to Egyptian (and Phoenician) culture, and had never tried to hide or obscure it, their testimonies should be regarded as both valuable and reliable. Afrocentric writers who turn to the classical sources in an endeavor to show their great esteem for the ancient Egyptian civilization regard the Egyptians as black people, and thus pay tribute to Greece's debt to Egypt.<sup>36</sup> According to this view the Greeks were aware the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures of the second millennium had arisen under Egyptian tutelage; they knew about Egyptian settlement activity in Greece, about Egypt's conquests and about cultural goods exported from Egypt to the Aegean and Greek civilization. Far from trying to conceal these cultural sources, they took pride in what they received from Egypt. For centuries thereafter Western historians too made no attempt to conceal this debt; only in the nineteenth century did Grecophiles or Philhellenes, under the sway of Western racism, reject the idea that the sublime culture they so admired was not original or, worse, was not of Indo-European (Aryan) origin. The mere thought that Greece had been influenced by second-rate Egyptians or, perish the thought, by Africans, made them break out in a mental rash. They resorted to every trick in the book to hide the truth and disseminate a perverted history with unmistakably racist overtones. The new Greek renaissance is, above all, a return to the source, based on what the Greeks said (or revealed) about themselves. For the African-American authors, reconstruction of the ancient world thus means liberation from the shackles of the racially

distorted picture of the past and redemption of the historical truth. It means discarding the Eurocentric point of view in favor of a fresh description of the ancient world's history and its cultures – a description in which Europe has neither primacy, exclusivity nor supremacy. Paradoxically, this reassessment of Greece signals a revolt against the intellectual tyranny of Europe and entails the creation of a new world order.

The Greek gate to Egyptian history is thus the testimonies of Greek, Hellenistic and Roman historians, and native-Egyptian historians, written during the Hellenistic and later period. The primary native-Hellenistic source for the history of Egypt was the Egyptian priest Manetho, who lived during the third century BC. Approximately two hundred years after Herodotus visited Egypt Manetho chronicled Egyptian history for the Hellenistic king Ptolemy II, drawing, according to tradition, on written documents found in Egypt's ancient temples.<sup>37</sup> The few surviving fragments of his history became the foundation for reconstructing the genealogy of the Egyptian kings. Hieroglyphics and myriad official texts and papyri have verified much of Manetho's account. It constitutes an official Egyptian historical tradition which permits the reconstruction of Egyptian history in periods during which Greek history was shrouded in complete darkness, broken only by the illumination of mythology.<sup>38</sup>

It should be remembered that some of the Greek *mythoi* (myths) are ancient, others are new and they changed constantly. Those relating to mythical founders and genealogies, or explanations of strange names, were the subject of feverish activity as a result of Greek colonization in the east. We must also bear in mind that we possess only a small number of the texts that existed, and that there is no way to reconstruct the processes of change and adaptation they underwent for various reasons, including the need for tendentious historical reconstruction.<sup>39</sup> But, we should also ask, did the Greeks themselves believe in traditions which present-day authors consider credible and reliable? As Paul Veyne puts the question: 'Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes?' (Did the Greeks believe their myths?) Did they really believe in the credibility of those myths and legends about heroes and deeds in the remote past? Veyne, however, is concerned with myth while we are concerned with historical traditions and folk-memories of historical events, trying to determine the historical (or real) elements in Greek myths and historical legends about the origin of the Greeks and their culture. For our purpose, a better question might be: did the fifth- and fourth-century Greek believe in the different historical traditions relating to the second millennium BC, among them the historical accounts of their cultural debt to Egypt? Did all the Greeks believe the historical traditions about their ancestors and about the origin of their cities? Was there a kind of Greek 'historical fundamentalism' which believed traditions about the ancient Greek past preserved historical truth? Did the Greeks possess the means to

inquire into the validity or reliability of different legends and stories concerning the mythological and historical periods of Greek history?

The Greek and Hellenistic historians themselves, from Herodotus and Thucydides (who explains that Hellas had been settled permanently for only a short time following a series of population exchanges [*History of the Peloponnesian War*, I:20–1]), to Diodorus Siculus and Pausanias, confess that the Greeks possess only fragmentary and unreliable information about the dawn of their history and the period immediately after.<sup>40</sup> Diodorus wrote ‘. . . furthermore, the variety and the multitude of the heroes, demigods, and men in general whose genealogies must be set down, make their recital a difficult thing to achieve; but the greatest and the most disconcerting obstacle of all consists in the fact that those who have recorded the deeds and myths of the earliest times are in disagreement among themselves’ (IV.1.1–2).<sup>41</sup> In Diodorus’ view, the Greek accounts of their own early history had no value at all.<sup>42</sup> They had no authoritative history either of Greece or the world around them. Not only their mythology but their historiography as well was known to include various and even contradictory versions. Thus, the Greeks have left us with diverse historical accounts and it remains to the modern historian to choose his favorite version. If this is so, should we rely on Greek accounts, written in the eighth or fifth century of the second millennium BC?

The fact is, however, that when Greek historians, beginning with Herodotus, wrote about the Archaic or Bronze Ages, they wrote hundreds of years after the events they describe. Although they tried to distinguish between fact and fiction, they possessed no written sources on which they could rely. Even the oral traditions they collected were relatively new. This raises another question: how can we rely on historical accounts of events which took place, for example in the year 900, or 1200, or 1500 BC but recorded around 600 or 400 BC; accounts which lack any sense of historical time? In our case, Greek historians, from Herodotus onward, had to rely on Egyptian tales received from their Egyptian sources – stories which were, at least to some extent, manipulated to serve the interests and goals of the storytellers.

The Afrocentric outlook rejects Grote’s maxim that ‘the legends [of the Greeks] were invented by Greeks, out of their inexhaustible fancy, to fill in the blank space of their unknown past’. Instead, it claims that while the traditions of the Homeric epic, the mythology etched in the folk-memory, may have undergone a process of change and adaptation over the centuries,<sup>43</sup> they contain a reliable core of historical truth, and therefore have become part of the collective mythological heritage (folk-tales). It also claims that ancient historical traditions, in addition to the more extensive fields of ancient historical and ethnographical descriptions, and accounts of historical events and ethnographical realities, are valid and accurate facts, not imaginary tales.



## WHY NOT MESOPOTAMIA OR WEST ASIA?

We must also ask ourselves why not Mesopotamia or West Asia instead of Greece? Why not use the Near Eastern gate to the history of ancient Egypt? Very few Afrocentrists will deny the cultural and political contacts between Mesopotamia and Egypt (neither can they deny the influence of Mesopotamia and Anatolia on Greece). Why does African-American scholarship present a one-sided course of cultural diffusion and cultural debt, in which Egypt is considered the source of influence and inspiration for Mesopotamia, but was never influenced by other cultures, nor borrowed anything from them? Why deny or downplay the great debt of both Egypt and Greece to the Near East and West Asia? Why is it important to deny, ignore or deliberately hide West Asiatic influences on Egypt, as well as Greece during certain phases of its history?<sup>44</sup> Why is it so important to claim that Greece borrowed almost exclusively from Egypt, but owes almost nothing to other Mediterranean, Near Eastern, or Anatolian cultures.<sup>45</sup> Afrocentric scholarship conceals the possibility that the Greeks, and the Egyptians, borrowed many cultural traits from the Hittite civilization and Near Eastern (Sumerian and Akkadian) cultures, because its aim is to deny any Indo-European and Semitic influences on Egypt, while stressing Egyptian influences on Greece, and ignoring the West Asiatic and Mesopotamian influences. The Near Eastern impact is disregarded primarily for ideological reasons, racial prejudices and a theory of Egyptian superiority. Although one can find references which link the Mesopotamian culture to the black race in parts of the Afrocentric literature,<sup>46</sup> the African-American authors would rather maintain this focus on the Egypt-Greece axis, ignoring the Greece-Mesopotamia axis. All this is aimed at creating a picture of one-way cultural dependence. The result is a marked obliviousness on the part of Afrocentric historical scholarship which argues against another historical tradition, the Western tradition, which blurred and erased unwanted historical accounts. This disregard is more obvious when referring to other ancient cultures, no less ancient than Greece, whose cultural achievements were as important as Egypt's, and whose presence and influence throughout the entire ancient Middle East were quite striking.

The same is true of India. Where is mention made of the real or alleged influences of India on both Egypt and Greece before the time of Alexander the Great? One can scarcely find any mention of the theory which stresses the Indian influences on both, though especially on Egypt in the accounts of Egyptian-Greek relations. Since Egypt took the place of India as the core and source of Western culture, it seemed better to leave India on the sidelines to avoid spoiling the one-dimensional picture of the new universal history.<sup>47</sup>

As a result, histories of Mesopotamia and India are used by African-

American scholars merely to support the monogenetic and diffusionist theories, i.e. to argue that at least some part of the indigenous inhabitants of Mesopotamia and India were blacks who originated in Africa, and that their culture developed due to the diffusion of African–Egyptian cultural traits to these lands.

#### SACRED BIBLICAL TRADITION

##### *The last portal to ancient Egypt is the biblical gate*

This is true particularly with regard to African–American biblical fundamentalists, or scripturalism. The recent revival of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) in Afrocentrist circles is not, for the most part, a renewal of the search to find spiritual inspiration in the Bible. The Bible is now considered primarily as a historical source, testimony of the presence of the black people in the ancient Near East and Egypt, and a verification of the new historical narrative. This literature attests to the importance its writers (and their audience) attribute to the Bible as an historical and ethnographic source of information on the ancient history of the black race. The dilemma, shared by both black and white believers alike, is whether we can reconcile Scriptural historical traditions with external evidence, i.e. extra-biblical historical sources? Do the biblical testimonies correspond or conflict? If there is a contradiction, which is the preferred version? Perhaps the two accounts can be correlated so that the external evidence corroborates the biblical evidence and vice versa. The new historical scholarship is in part the work of secular African–Americans and in part of believing Christians; both groups return to the Bible, not only to seek God's revelation or message, but to find historical and ethnographical facts concerning the history of Egypt as well.

Take, for example, a black American congregation singing the famous gospel song which calls on the Pharaoh of Egypt to 'Let my people go!' A vision is clearly conjured up in the minds of its members: Moses leading the tribes of Israel from bondage in Egypt across the desert wastes of Sinai to Canaan, the Promised Land of freedom. Indeed, the Exodus narrative has a metaphoric and paradigmatic (as well as emotional) status in the African–American's self-perception and in his sacred historical tradition; it also plays a central role in black theology. Black Americans 'virtually adopted the book of Exodus as a kind of Black religious manifesto',<sup>48</sup> and in the historical symbolic vision of salvation and liberation, the black slave in America is analogue of the Israelite who built cities from bricks and mortar for the tyrannic Pharaoh.<sup>49</sup> From an African–American point of view the story of Exodus is not the formative chapter in the creation of one nation – the nation of Israel – but a metaphor for freedom and redemption, and is directly related to the fate of the black people in America. It is a story in

which God reaches directly into history to free a nation from oppression and lead it to salvation; it is also a story of how a people must be united and unified in order to achieve its goals. 'Properly interpreted, the Bible is a history of God's relationship with the African Nation, Israel, and the Black Messiah, Jesus.'<sup>50</sup> In it the Israelites represent the black slaves and, later, the black community. Thus, the Bible should not be considered a tool in the hands of the white people, as black Muslim converts claim, but a book containing a message of liberation.<sup>51</sup>

Yet, when members of that same black American Christian congregation peruse present-day African-American historical literature, they learn that all the actors in this great drama – the Israelites, Moses, the Egyptian taskmasters and their leader, Pharaoh – were all black, not white (or a mixture of blacks and whites).<sup>52</sup> Enslavers and enslaved – *all* were dark-skinned. If this is true, how, then, is one to understand the true meaning of the historical paradigm of Exodus, this powerful, captivating symbol of the quest for freedom? Is this sacred historical tradition reconcilable with new historical (and racial) perceptions? Should the two historical testimonies be reconciled, and if not, which testimony is preferable?

Bishop Alfred G. Dunston, Jr offers what is, in my view, a confusing solution to the problem. In his alternative reconstruction of the story of Exodus, the Israelites in Egypt ruled the land together with the foreign Semitic Hyksos, and it was Joseph who helped the alien Hyksos king to impose a repressive foreign regime on the native Egyptians in their homeland. When the Hyksos were expelled at last from Egypt,<sup>53</sup> and the Egyptians regained their homeland and freedom, there arose 'a new king who knew not Joseph' and who treated the Israelites, and particularly the Hebrews,<sup>54</sup> as collaborators with the foreign conqueror. Since the Egyptians had good reason to fear the military prowess of the Hebrews and their possible future alliance with an enemy of Egypt, they expelled them. This historical event was thus part of the Egyptians' war of independence and it was the Egyptians who fought to regain their freedom from slavery, and not the people of Israel! Furthermore, Moses' claim to the Promised Land comes through his black in-laws, who remained separate and apart.<sup>55</sup>

However, this alternative African-American historical account, which accepts the historical nature of the biblical narratives but reinterprets them, raises many questions. How can one explain the fact that black Egyptians enslaved black Israelites? If both the Egyptians and the Israelite slaves were blacks, why were the black Israelites also expelled from Egypt, and why did they cooperate with the Hyksos against their Egyptian brothers? If Moses was an Egyptian by origin and by education, and thus a black-skinned man,<sup>56</sup> why was he forced to flee from Egypt? If most of those Israelites who left Egypt were dark-skinned people who returned to Canaan, the homeland of another dark-skinned people (the Canaanites), how shall we explain the biblical curse on Canaan that he shall be a 'slave of slaves to his

brothers', and the fact that Canaan was taken by force from the 'native black Canaanites'?<sup>57</sup>

African-American biblical scripturalism, or fundamentalism, seeking to prove the existence of racial elements in biblical tradition, is ensnared by its own sharp contradictions, contradictions which Cain Hope Felder tries to reconcile:

... the possibility of the existence of oppressive Black Pharaohs influences our perception of the liberation struggle as more than the whites *vs.* blacks issue. Indeed, there are many ways in which people are and have been oppressed by members of their own racial and national grouping . . . Recent challenges to and critiques of the Black Church by proponents of black theology may be a progressive and necessary development beyond its earlier uncritical romance with the Exodus saga.<sup>58</sup>

The story of Exodus does not end here. In the story of Exodus, as well as in many other chapters of the Bible, the image of Egypt means not only slavery and bondage, but idolatry and moral sin as well. The story of Exodus is a 'tale of two lands', in which Egypt is turned 'into an inverted image of Israel' and Egypt stands for a past that is rejected. In other words, 'The Egypt of the Bible symbolized what it rejects, discards, and abandons. Egypt is not just a historical context; it is inscribed in the fundamental semantic of monotheism . . . Egypt's role in the Exodus story is not historical but mythical: it helps to define the very identity of those who tell the story.'<sup>59</sup> If Egypt symbolizes a land of idolatry and bondage, how can a Christian African-American regard it as his native country, his spiritual homeland, or even as a black paradise lost? Indeed, the efforts to overcome this innate dilemma lead the African-American, intentionally or unintentionally, to take part in what Assmann defines as the 'Moses discourse'.<sup>60</sup>

There is yet another dilemma posed by sacred biblical tradition to the black American's new image of sacred history: the image of Jesus. The new historical version portrays Jesus of Nazareth as a black Israelite from Galilee; therefore it is only logical to assume that the Sanhedrin (the Jewish supreme political, religious and judicial court during the Roman period until its abolishment circa 425 AD) in Jerusalem was also black. If so, is it conceivable that the court which tried and condemned Jesus was a black court? Are black Jews in Jerusalem responsible for the savior's crucifixion? And what about Judas Iscariot – was he also black or was he white-skinned? Albert B. Cleage's solution to this dilemma is that Jesus ('Darkest loved Jesus') was a black Jewish revolutionary Zealot, who waged war against the white Roman's world order, while black scribes and black Pharisees collaborated with the white oppressor in order to preserve their political and social privileges.<sup>61</sup> To Cleage, the historical Jesus was a flesh-and-blood black man, like his judges on the Sanhedrin who were also black Jews. Here again, creative imagination is enlisted in order to forge the necessary

correlation between tradition and the new historical conceptions and perceptions which see two facets of the blacks versus Israel in both Jesus and in the Jewish Sanhedrin. Surely, the same fertile imagination can also resolve the internal problem which arises in other African-American historical literature, depicting the Mediterranean Romans themselves as belonging to a dark-skinned race. In other words, even the Roman imperialists against whom Jesus the Zealot fought were black, or at least dark-skinned – in any case, they were definitely not white.

Needless to say, all these speculations and apologetics are the direct result of a never-ending obsession with the historical truth of biblical narratives, based on an unshakable belief in the verity of the sacred historical traditions. The Hebrew Bible is a living legacy for many groups in American Christian society, but it has a unique place in the African-American community. For generations the Bible occupied a central place in the religions of black Christians, particularly in America. In Felder's words: '... biblical stories, themes, personalities and images have inspired, captivated, given meaning and served as a basis of hope for liberated and enhanced material life'.<sup>62</sup> The biblical stories provided the black Christian with a rich imagery of comfort and hope, and also functioned as a fantasy, providing a feeling of worth and self-esteem. However, the Bible might also be perceived as part of the spiritual tradition which contains a message of 'divine racism',<sup>63</sup> forced upon the blacks by their white enslavers. Needless to say, it is thus very important, first to 'cleanse' the Bible of its racism, or at least from its 'racial' motifs, and secondly to turn it into relevant history, to rescue it (and the African heritage) from white Christian-Jewish misinterpretation and abuse. One can argue that it 'matters little to the oppressed who authored Scripture' or how reliable the biblical historical narrative is; what really matters is Scripture as God's revelation, i.e. the Bible as a theological issue, as a comfort and message.<sup>64</sup> Yet the fact remains that for many, biblical history is revelation, a revelation proved by history;<sup>65</sup> therefore historical reconstruction is necessary. As a result, the Bible became the source for the history of the black people in antiquity in part of the new black-American historical consciousness. To serve this goal, the new African-American historiography tries to describe not only the presence of the black people in the world of the Bible, (thus gaining a 'share' in it), but also attempts to prove that the world of the Bible was that of black people. Moreover, it tries to prove that the Bible not only reflects the hegemony of the black people, but that it was created by it; the Bible is 'black' in soul and in essence. African-Americans now turn to the Bible for comfort from the new image of the powerful and respected Ethiopians and 'Ethiopianism', which has come to symbolize an all-encompassing African and energizing myth.<sup>66</sup>

This imaginary, even fabulous, perception of the biblical world is enlisted to save the paradigmatic status and symbolic value of the biblical stories.

Since the Judeo-Christian historical tradition is examined from a fundamentalist point of departure or, in other words, since the emphasis is on the historical validity of the traditions and the need to secure their validity, but by the same token to save the symbolic message, a new historical reconstruction is vital. As a result, African-American writing appropriated historical-critical methods,<sup>67</sup> and the product of this appropriation is the many studies of the black man in the biblical world.<sup>68</sup>

There is, of course, nothing new in rewriting the biblical narratives or reconciling them with external evidence. In fact, African-American historical literature follows a well-traveled road: the many efforts to reconcile Egyptian historical records and the biblical narrative. At the same time, however, there are radical Afrocentrists who regard this effort at reconciliation as yet another manifestation of prolonged black spiritual slavery. According to their view there is no need even to try to prove that the Egyptian sources are more reliable and 'raise serious questions about biblical perceptions and biblical studies as a whole'.<sup>69</sup> The real act of freedom and salvation is not to give priority to the Egyptian testimonies over the biblical ones, but to free Egyptian history from the need of biblical confirmation. It is not enough to replace the white interpretation of the Bible with a new African-Christian version of biblical history. What the African-American people really need is to free themselves from any obligations to biblical historical tradition. The black people should break the shackles chaining them to biblical tradition and forgo the entire story. Why do blacks need a story drawn from a 'white' Judeo-Christian cultural heritage? Do they not have their own authoritative historical narratives, carrying the same transfiguring message but originating in their authentic African-Egyptian heritage? According to this view, forgoing the story of Exodus would entail much more than a rereading of the narrative because even a new reading along the lines suggested above would still constitute a manifestation of 'slavery in freedom',<sup>70</sup> slavery of the black soul within an illusory framework of political and civic liberty, held in bondage to the white Judeo-Christian heritage and its symbols and concepts, driven by the desire to adapt the white Western heritage to the world of the modern black, who is once again obliged to be flexible and adaptable.

Can biblical tradition, then, serve as an historical gate to ancient Egypt? Can the Bible supply the evidence so desired by Afrocentric historical fundamentalism? What does the Bible say about the black members of the human race? Does it furnish evidence that the Egyptians and others were dark-skinned? What do the Scriptures say about Egypt's place in the Aegean region? The answer is that the Bible shows only indirect interest in the history of other nations, and even less in geography and ethnography. Biblical narratives tell us almost nothing about Greece, and the information they provide about Egypt's history is quite scanty. Even when the Bible has something 'realistic' to say about Egypt, its people, its nature, its political

life and culture, it supplies no chronology and no historical facts, a lacuna which had led to endless efforts to reconcile biblical narratives with Egyptian chronology. Biblical accounts of ancient Egyptian history were written hundreds of years after the time of the Exodus, and the knowledge about Egypt revealed in the Bible is meager even during the two Israelite kingdoms, a period in which relations with Egypt had become intense. Indeed, the reality of Egypt was well known to the authors of the Bible, and even more so to the authors of the prophetic literature (see, for example, *Isaiah* 19).<sup>71</sup> The Bible, however, cannot be regarded as a guide and sources of the history or ethnography of ancient Egypt. This is why ancient Egyptian sources and the Greek and Hellenistic-Roman histories (including those of Flavius Josephus) serve as the main portals to Egypt, particularly Egypt in its Afrocentric perspective and perception.<sup>72</sup>

#### THE AFRICAN GATE

There is yet another gate: East Africa and the tropical-equatorial region. But since there are very few records concerning Egyptian relations with black Africa, Afrocentric scholars must rely here on cultural traits such as totemism, cosmogony, divine kingship and the shaky ground of comparative etymology and comparative mythology.<sup>73</sup> In other words, they have no 'African' historical records, or even historical myths.

#### THE FOUR GREEK ANCIENT MODELS REVISITED

All the ancient testimonies discussed above are the basis of the four intertwined 'ancient models' which supposedly confirm the central role black ancient Egypt played in world history.

1. The first is the tradition that Greece was powerfully influenced by Egypt throughout the long Bronze Age (3000–1000 BC) right up to the arrival of the Dorians (1150–1000) and the decline of the Mycenaean culture.
2. The second is concerned with Egyptian influence on the intellectual history of Greece during the Classical Period (fifth and fourth centuries BC).
3. The third deals with Greek and Hellenistic geographical and ethnographic traditions regarding the *imago mundi* (image of the world), the character of the peoples in the Greek–Hellenistic–Roman *oikoumene*, the nature of this inhabited world and also the world which lay beyond it in the Far East, Africa and the Americas.
4. The fourth deals with Ethiopian or African influence on Egypt (and through it, on the entire world); in other words, it claims that Egyptian culture originated in Africa, and that African culture and Egyptian culture are one cultural unit.

The four models are interconnected and together create a grand-scale picture. However, in the African-American literature one can find preferences reflecting intellectual-cultural opposites in the black community. Christian oriented African-Americans prefer to stress their ties to the Old and New Testaments rather than the Egyptian and African ties. The secular assign priority to the ties between Egypt and the Greek-Roman world and values, in order to prove the dependence of Western philosophy and science on the black race. Others try to prove that the black people are a central part both of Africa and Egypt, the Old and New Testaments, and Greece. The effort to combine these different orientations is what makes Afrocentric historical reconstruction a unique endeavor in writing a new universal history on a grand scale .

To accept the four great ancient models as historical truth (theoretically amenable to proof which draws on an array of disciplines), means accepting the whole fabric of Greek historical traditions at face value. Yesterday's myth becomes today's history. The Greeks turned history into myth by transforming events from their distant past into legends or dramatic works, or by inventing legends and myths in order to create and articulate history whenever it was needed.<sup>74</sup> Historical revisionism recreates myth as history. The revival of Greek historical and ethnographic traditions in some aspects of modern African-American historical scholarship is just such a modern transfiguration of 'myth'.



## Making-up Stories of Egypt

. . . but concerning Egypt I will speak at length, because nowhere are there so many marvellous (*thomasia*) things, nor in the whole world beside are there to see so many works of unspeakable greatness . . .

Herodotus, *The Histories*, Book II, 35:1<sup>1</sup>

Among the Egyptians themselves, those who dwell in the cultivated country are the most careful of all men to preserve the memory of the past . . .

*Ibid.*, 77:1<sup>2</sup>

Phaedrus: Socrates, you easily make-up stories of Egypt or any country you please.

Plato, *Phaedrus*, 275b<sup>3</sup>

### TO MAKE UP A STORY OF EGYPT

Even though classical historians 'obtained their information second-hand, and living so long after the events, could only give us a very fragmentary and distorted history of Egypt',<sup>4</sup> African-American scholarship firmly believes in the historical validity of what Greek tradition tells about Egypt. Although 'the classics in general as historical sources came to be hedged about with so many doubts and reservations that few historians dared to make serious use of them',<sup>5</sup> 'the traditions preserved in Homeric legends and later works based upon them were founded upon events which had considerable foundation in fact'.<sup>6</sup>

Can a history of Egypt's relations with the Bronze Age Mediterranean and Greece, or of its influence on it, really be composed based on Greek historical testimonies? Can Greek mythology and historical tradition serve as a source of information about the alleged Egyptian presence in and influence on Greece during the Bronze Age (before and after 1200 BC), on the one hand, and about the history and culture of ancient Egypt on the other? Can we rely on the Greeks merely because they developed great

interest in their origins and related this interest to Egypt? Could the Greeks, during the tenth or eighth centuries BC, really remember anything about their early relationship with the Egyptians? Can the historian rely on these accounts, or was their awareness of Egypt rather remote until the eighth and seventh centuries?<sup>7</sup> Did the Egyptians really possess accounts of early Greek history?

Needless to say, accounts written by fifth-century BC Greeks about Egypt (or Greece) during the eighteenth, twelfth or eleventh centuries BC were based on oral tradition and folk-memory, not on any written documents. Mythology and legend may have contained some core elements of historical fact, but they were far from being 'history' since myths and legends show no interest in chronology, and are timeless.<sup>8</sup> One should therefore be careful not to treat in the same way historical information from the fifth century BC regarding events in the eighth century BC in the same manner one treats information from the fifth century AD regarding events almost one thousand years earlier, before the hiatus of the 'Dark Age'.

'What are the subjects which they [the Spartans] gladly hear from you?' asks Socrates. Hippias replies: 'They [the Spartans] listen with the greatest pleasure to the genealogies of their heroes and men, to the settlement of tribes, and how cities were founded of old and, in a word, to everything concerning archaeology' (Plato, *Hipp Major*, 285d). *Archaeologia* includes the genealogies of heroes and of ordinary men, as well as accounts of the foundation of cities.<sup>9</sup> By claiming their cities were established by divine-born dynasties, the heroes or groups who came from afar to found cities, the citizens claim possession of places or political privilege. Thus, their myths focused on telling how a man, a custom or a city came into being. The Greeks also wanted to know the source of their borrowed cultural innovations, and turned 'the mythological figures and fabulous happenings of their sages into historical persons and events'.<sup>10</sup> What is interesting to note is that in all their myths of origin and their legends of heroic adventures and foundation myths the Greeks almost ignored the Anatolian, proto-Indo-European and Indo-European origins of the proto-Greeks and Greeks.<sup>11</sup> The Greeks, it seems, preferred to trace their roots to the Golden Age civilizations of the Orient.

Since the Greeks of the Archaic Age were aware their forefathers had migrated to Greece from the north 'not long before', that other peoples had dwelt in Greece before them, and that 'by the ninth century BC all significant trace of the former Mycenaean civilization has disappeared from the Greek world, apart from its physical vestiges',<sup>12</sup> they attempted to reconstruct this unknown past. However, were unable to forge a complete and uniform tradition out of the many and different traditions and origin legends regarding their wanderings and settlement on the Greek mainland.<sup>13</sup> Their self-image was that of newcomers, and was therefore 'expressed in a story of departure and arrival, of migration and settlement,

of foundation and (often) the displacement of others'.<sup>14</sup> The historical knowledge they were able to pass to the classical Greeks was almost nil. 'The plain fact is that the classical Greeks of the period knew little about their history before 650 BC (or even 550 BC), and what they thought they knew was a jumble of fact and fiction . . .'<sup>15</sup>

Later, early Greek ethnographic writings on Eastern nations, revealed an avid curiosity and eagerness to learn about the nature of other nations, to expand their geographical and ethnographic horizons.<sup>16</sup> While early Greek tradition 'seems to focus more on the origins of particular states, tribes and people than on mankind in general',<sup>17</sup> later writers began to enquire into the history of mankind following the expansion of their geographical (and political) horizons, and inevitably this interest in *Archaeologia*<sup>18</sup> included a curiosity about the presumed relations of the outside world with Greece. Since they were reluctant to exclude the ancient Egyptians from their historical horizon,<sup>19</sup> they began to acquire knowledge about Egypt.<sup>20</sup>

The Greeks reproduced native accounts when they had no better information of their own, and left the responsibility to their informants. Since Greek interest was to reconstruct the prehistory of mankind, they were willing to appropriate the most renowned Egyptian gods and heroes for themselves. Yet did the Greeks actually believe that Egyptians, one of the ancient peoples of the world, would be able to fill the gap in their historical memory, or did they invent and fabricate Egyptian stories about their own remote past and the genesis of their culture?

#### THE LEGEND OF CADMUS

A famous example of both *ktisis* (stories about the foundation of cities) and the transmission of culture is the tradition concerning the origins of Boeotia<sup>21</sup> and its main city, Thebes. The traditions of the city's foundation were recorded by Hecataeus, Pausanias and Ephorus,<sup>22</sup> and contain inconsistent descriptions of Cadmus' arrival.<sup>23</sup> However, they all describe the arrival of a foreign hero to central Greece and his subsequent deeds.<sup>24</sup> Buck writes: 'The story of Cadmus and the Cadmeans, in the standard version as we now have it, of colony-founding immigrants from overseas, may well have originated in Asia Minor in the seventh century BC.'<sup>25</sup> The main purpose of the story might have been to provide a 'mythical precedent [to] the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet',<sup>26</sup> and, perhaps, to legitimize and justify the cultural borrowing.<sup>27</sup> The incorporation of many new elements into Greek culture was so absolutely basic to the later Greeks' way of life that, 'as their legends show, they could not imagine the past without them'.<sup>28</sup>

While Buck argues that in the case of Cadmus 'Myth, fantasy and mythical motives have largely swamped whatever historical events the traditions claim to relate',<sup>29</sup> Martin Bernal regards it as a tradition which preserved the

memory of a genuine historical event; he antedates Cadmus' arrival in Greece,<sup>30</sup> thus moving back the period in which the Greeks adopted the 'Phoenician alphabet' (*Phoinikeia grammata*). His main motive is to claim that the spread of written language occurred in the wake of Phoenician emigration and settlement in the center of Greece.<sup>31</sup> If he is correct, one may wonder why Boeotia? After all, the adaption and modifications of the Semitic alphabet took place probably in Cyprus.<sup>32</sup>

Historical legend is not inherently divorced from historical reality. It embeds itself within an historical context (in this case, Greek-Phoenician relations and the adaptation of new letters) and uses it in order to explain a cultural-historical phenomenon. The Phoenician script was adopted in Greece not as the result of a particular hero's initiative, but in the course of a lengthy process of cultural interchange with the Phoenicians;<sup>33</sup> Greek historical imagination ascribed this innovation, as it did other innovations, to a hero. There is no reason to believe Cadmus was any more real than Prometheus. It is often impossible to winnow out the grains of truth in Greek historical tales. The sheer logic of Finley's pronouncement seems to me unassailable: 'It is a false method to examine continuity and technique by the common device of dredging up a word, a phrase, an object and parading it as proof of some great discovery.'<sup>34</sup>

#### EGYPT IN THE HOMERIC EPIC

If there existed throughout the second millennium a profound intercourse between ancient Egypt and Minoan and Mycenaean Aegean, one would expect to find some traces of it in Greek myth, or in Hesiod and the Homeric epic. However, neither of the two provides us with information about Egypt or Egyptian relations with the Aegean region before the Mycenaean period, nor are there traces of Egyptian literary influences on the Homeric epic. All we can find are a few scanty hints and gloomy memories of contacts which existed between Mycenae and Egypt during its prosperous period (c.1600 to 1200 BC), a period which is the core of the Homeric poems, especially that of the *Iliad* era.<sup>35</sup>

The Homeric epic is the *locus classicus* of Greek historical tradition, probably shaped from residues of oral traditions,<sup>36</sup> which reconstructed a portrait of Bronze Age society (mid-second millennium BC). It is replete with anachronisms and reveals a vast abyss between the period Homer describes and the eighth or seventh century BC, the period in which he probably wrote.<sup>37</sup> The Homeric stories do not relate peaceful intercourse; they only recall 'Aegean Viking' raids on Egypt by the Achaeans.<sup>38</sup> They reveal that the Greeks of that period had only the vaguest knowledge about the ancient land located across the sea to the south.<sup>39</sup> Homer knew the Syrian-Phoenician coast far better than he did Egypt. His information about Egypt did not come from residues of past knowledge embedded in

the historical memory of the Archaic Age, but was rather the result of renewed contact between Greece and Egypt in the eighth and seventh centuries BC and thereafter. According to Homer a voyage from Crete to Egypt and the Aegyptus river (the Nile) took five days (*Od.* XIV, 245ff.). In book IV of the *Odyssey*, Homer's hero elaborates on his contacts with Egypt and describes the gifts he received from a nobleman of Thebes (the 'treasure city, Thebes of distant Egypt', IV, 93).<sup>40</sup> There is reference to Menelaus and his guest-friendships in Egypt (*Od.* IV, 124–30) and Odysseus, 'master of invention, relates at length how he went to sea 'in command of ships and gallant men bound to Egypt', as well as the outstanding hospitality he experienced in the land of the Nile (*Od.* XIV, 278–93). He was taken captive by the king of Egypt, who then took him under his wing: 'Seven years, then, my sojourn lasted there, | and I amassed a fortune, going about | the open-handed Egyptians' (*Od.* XIV, 232–93). In yet another tale, Odysseus tells how Zeus made him 'Go to Egypt with a company of rovers' (*Od.* XVII, 423–6).<sup>41</sup> The author undoubtedly had real tradition and folk-tales at his disposal, but he had no written traditions or genealogies to rely on such as existed in the ancient East. The Homeric epic was also well aware of Egypt's excellence in the medical arts (*Od.* IV. 194–201), but the fame of Egyptian medicine was widespread throughout the ancient Near East. Homer could have learned about it from many sources,<sup>42</sup> but the epic makes no mention of the legend of Danaus<sup>43</sup> (or of Cadmus), or any story about an Egyptian presence in the Greek islands or the mainland itself, containing only a few hints about the role Egypt played in the Aegean basin, or about any cultural debt.

There is no reason to claim that Homer chose to conceal the Greek debt to Egypt. All we can argue is that Herodotus wrote about issues that were not passed down by Homer, because he was interested in things that did not interest the author of the Homeric epic. We could argue that Herodotus' curiosity was due to the new horizons offered the Greeks following the Persian wars with the 'barbarian' world. Still, this does not explain why the Homeric epic contains so little about Egypt's relations with the Aegean. It reveals the fact that Greek knowledge in the fifth and fourth centuries was but newly acquired, and that Herodotus, much like his modern followers, had an idiosyncratic world-view.

Eighth- and seventh-century BC Greeks were thus familiar with Egypt, particularly with Lower Egypt (Strabo, *Geography*, I.2, 22–3),<sup>44</sup> and often paid extended visits and were impressed by its various wonders (*thomasia*). However, the Egyptians were considered to be *allothrooi* (III, 302), that is, those who speak a strange language (*allothros*),<sup>45</sup> i.e. strange people with non-Greek manners. Egypt was conceptualized as a world in reverse.<sup>46</sup> Greek knowledge of Egypt at that time was sketchy and few Greeks ventured farther south than the coastal region or the southern delta. Even when Greek ships and traders reached Egypt, their guidebooks (*periegesis*)

supplied them primarily with information about the Nile delta.<sup>47</sup> Most of what they knew about Upper Egypt was hearsay, mostly from Phoenician merchants and sailors. This early knowledge remained the basis of the Greeks' information until after the Persian Wars, when their intellectual interest in the Egyptian enigma was sharpened.

#### HECATAEUS AND HERODOTUS IN EGYPT

By the middle of the fifth century BC the horizon of Hellenic culture expanded rapidly,<sup>48</sup> as did the picture of the *he oikoumene ge* (inhabited earth), while Egypt itself became open after the Assyrian and Persian conquest.<sup>49</sup> Within this world the Greeks perceived themselves as newcomers, a new-born nation, a culturally dependent nation. At first they regarded the gods as cultural heroes and inventors; later on their rational thought led them to identify specific nations such as the Egyptians, the Phoenicians and the Babylonians as the inventors, rather than the gods.<sup>50</sup> Admiring ancient cultures, they were prepared to integrate barbarian culture into the system of Greek prehistory, and hence to accept the pan-Egyptian theory of Herodotus.<sup>51</sup>

The nature of Greek knowledge regarding Egypt underwent a transformation from the late eighth century to the mid-seventh BC when more intense links were formed between Greece and Egypt. Greek mercenaries appeared in the Egyptian army for the first time in the service of the XXVI Dynasty (672–664 BC), and they became a crucial military factor during the struggle with Babylon. During the reign of Psammetichus (Psmatek) II (664–610 BC), Greek trading stations – first at Naucratis – and settlements were established in Egypt. As a result, it is natural to assume that knowledge about Egypt increased,<sup>52</sup> and some items of culture did in fact pass directly – not merely through the Phoenicians – from Egypt to the Greek peninsula, and vice versa.<sup>53</sup> Egypt attracted them because it had a history which stretched back thousands of years, making Greek history seem brief by comparison, and the well-preserved historical records they themselves lacked. In *Timaeus*, Plato tells about the image of Egypt as an old civilization which preserved reliable records of antiquity, including Greek antiquity;<sup>54</sup> according to Manetho, Sosorthrus of the Third Dynasty (Old Kingdom) already 'devoted care to the writing of books' (*libris praeterea scribendis curam impendit*).<sup>55</sup> Thus, Greek visitors had very good reason to be impressed – if not convinced – by the Egyptian claim that their knowledge was partially based on their own records and partially on what they had learned from their researchers (Herodotus, II, 119).<sup>56</sup> Egypt was also renowned for its cultural achievements.

Egypt was not the only ancient Near Eastern society to keep records and annals, nor was it the only land with the splendor of a great and ancient civilization. The Greeks, however, were ready to recognize its superiority

in certain areas because it was never perceived by them as an enemy. According to Thucydides, Athenians came to assist Inaros, a Libyan king, to conquer Egypt, which was then ruled by the Assyrians, sending two hundred ships and making themselves the masters of the Nile and two-thirds of Memphis for a short period (*The History of the Peloponnesian War*, I. 104–5), they never regarded Egypt as an enemy. Having fought a war with the Persian Empire on which their very survival hinged, they could not bring themselves to concede Persian supremacy in any sphere. Racial (Indo-Aryan) affinities could not blur both the political and cultural hostility between them. Egypt itself had succumbed to the Persians, but maintained its national and cultural identity; it was easier for the Greeks to identify with a people of that stripe and more convenient to acknowledge their superiority in certain fields. No risk was involved in claiming that central elements of Greek culture had been borrowed from Egypt, because such claims were not aimed at advancing imperialistic political ambitions. 'The Egyptians explain the Greeks and the Greeks explain the Egyptians; explaining the Egyptians explains why the Persians were moderately unsuccessful at taking them over, as they were later to be unsuccessful at taking over the Greeks.'<sup>57</sup> The Ionian authors (*logographoi*), beginning with Hecataeus of Miletus ('a much traveled man')<sup>58</sup> and Hellanicus of Lesbos (the author of *Genealogia* (*Periods*), and *Aegyptiaca*, around 500 BC),<sup>59</sup> were perhaps the first to visit Egypt and write about it. Hecataeus' fragments of the *Genealogies* contained an account of the Egyptian past which shows how he liked to connect Greek mythological characters with that country.<sup>60</sup> His Hellenocentric view is shown by his efforts to find the Greek roots of Egyptian civilization (in contrast to Herodotus whose Hellenocentrism is found in his efforts to trace the Egyptian roots of Greek civilization).<sup>61</sup> These Greek visitors of the fifth century and later could now use Greek-speaking Egyptian or Greek informants such as mercenaries, merchants or sailors to gain more information about the land and its people. Unfortunately, most of the works written about Egypt have been lost, and only fragments remain of the others.<sup>62</sup> At least some of these Greek informers invented tradition in order to establish old affinities between the Greek world and their host country. Naturally, every new traveler fed on the information, conventions, anecdotes and stereotypes he absorbed from his predecessors. Some Greek visitors who recorded their impressions of Egyptian wonders set out to scrutinize and refute the accumulating information, intending to furnish their readers with a more reliable account.

Egyptian priests furnished Greek authors with those accounts purporting to describe events in the third or second millennium.<sup>63</sup> In other words, they were told *post eventum* prophecy legends and predated them to the misty dawn of history. We may assume that, beginning with the seventh century, Egyptian priests or scribes who became familiar with Greek mythology

through their contacts with Greek settlers or traders, developed a sense of cultural superiority. Responding to Greek historical curiosity, they invented stories which made use of what they had heard. It appears Greek visitors did not believe in everything they heard, but wrote it down anyway in order to confer depth, an aura of legend and a touch of antiquity on their universal history. This is why Herodotus, Diodorus and other authors usually begin many of their stories with a cautious statement: 'the Egyptians say that . . . [*Aigyptioi phasi*]' (Diodorus, I:28.1), warning their readers that 'Anyone may believe these Egyptian tales, if he is sufficiently credulous; as for myself, I keep to the general plan of this book, which is to record the tradition of the various nations just as I heard.'<sup>64</sup> It seems the Greek audience enjoyed reading about unusual and marvelous deeds from the remote past. Herodotus himself branded many tales as being entirely fictional and even silly, and that their authors were 'wholly ignorant of the character and customs of the Egyptians . . . ' (II:45.3).<sup>65</sup>

Following his predecessors, Herodotus embarked for Egypt equipped with information, both oral and written, acquired from Homer, Hecataeus and other sources, with the clear aim of refuting widely disseminated stories, while describing and recording 'what to me seems probable; for the tales told by the Greeks are both various and absurd'. He came to Egypt in 439/8 BC as an explorer and his work appeared in 430–425 BC.<sup>66</sup> The Greek victory over the Persians had imbued them with a belief that their culture was nobler than others. Herodotus wanted to educate his fellow Greeks to respect other cultures, to be receptive and to shun insularity. When he set sail for Egypt from Halikarnassos around the middle of the fifth century, he launched an historical tradition which still persists, 2,500 years later. In his 'journey around the known world' Egypt was naturally a principal destination because the Egyptians of Lower Egypt were perceived as the most learned people. That journey turned 'Herodotus the *logios* [into] Herodotus the Father of History'.<sup>67</sup>

But what should a Greek historian and ethnographer have expected to learn from the Egyptians about Greek history? He was not really interested in ancient or modern Egyptian political history. His main interest was in ethnography and the history of religion and culture. If he showed any interest in history, it was in mythological stories or legends. He never bothered to question the Egyptian priest about the long-forgotten Minoan civilization in Crete, in spite of wishing to acquire knowledge about the Trojan War (II:113.1), even though he was seeking proof of Homer's reliability in the lengthy memory and written records of Egypt. If fact, the Egyptian priests, already aware of Greek culture, would have been told the story by Greeks living in Egypt or by visitors. Thus, Herodotus' wish to hear a reliable historical account of the events leading up to the Trojan War from the Egyptians was met with the Greek version of the epic, interwoven with contemporary Egyptian history.



The reliability of Herodotus' description of Egypt is not our main concern.<sup>68</sup> There is a vast literature concerning his reliability, whether he himself believed his Egyptian sources, and what he invented in his role as a 'fable-teller' (Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 756b4–8),<sup>69</sup> he himself distinguished between the outcome of his own sight and judgment and what was told to him by the priests (II:99.1–2); needless to say, all his historical information was based on this information. However, some sources were indeed open to him. I have already mentioned the fact that the Greek presence in trade stations in Egypt (from 570 BC), such as Naucratis, increased Greek knowledge, but at the same time furnished the Egyptians with knowledge about Greece. This is why it is often difficult to separate the different elements. Moreover, Herodotus was unable to cite evidence from any Greek or Egyptian document which refers to Greek dependence on Egypt, or to events which occurred hundreds of years earlier. One can argue that the ties between Egypt and Greece during the Saitic dynasty (663–525), ties which perhaps not all of Egyptian society supported, were the driving force behind the invention of the tradition regarding ancient Egyptian–Greek relations. Luce even speculates that Pharaoh Psammetichus I had 'established a school for interpreters', whose pupils included Solon and, many years later, Herodotus.<sup>70</sup> This, however, is entirely speculative. Even if we accept this view, the conclusion, again, could be that these interpreters were capable of telling their Greek listeners what they thought they wanted to hear.<sup>71</sup> Thus, we may agree with Conzelmann that until the time of Herodotus, particularly until the Hellenistic age '... the appreciation of Egyptian wisdom by the Greeks does not indicate any direct use of Egyptian literature'.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, Herodotus was the great inventor of this tradition, yet at the same time a truly inquisitive scholar who gave thought to ethnological and cultural parallels, seeking meaning in them. Whatever Herodotus' motives or his sources, he provided the Greeks with their most comprehensive and detailed picture of Egypt, a description which remained influential for generations. While one may doubt the chronological information he provides about generations long past, eye-witness testimony about ethnographic facts cannot be ignored. This is the main argument of the new Afrocentric historiography, relying on the ethnographic–physiognomic descriptions of Herodotus' *Histories*.

Clearly, if he had so wished, Herodotus could have supplied far more information about genuine Egyptian history, but apparently he found this to be of limited interest. His major emphasis was on the polarized character of the two cultures, thus learning new things about the Greeks. He does relate imaginary episodes and stories about Greeks in Egypt (such as Solon's journey to Egypt, which is also disparaged in *Timaeus* (21–6)<sup>73</sup> and in a work attributed to Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* (VII)).<sup>74</sup> However, the answer to the main question whether Herodotus could have drawn infor-

mation on the history of Greece from Egyptian records, is negative. There exist to this day no Egyptian historical writings from which one could learn about the history of the world outside Egypt. The fact remains that the Greeks were willing to accept the idea that cultural development is often a result of cultural contact and interference and not a result of independent development of the collective national genius. In that assumption they were the real tutors of the African-American new historical perception. On the other hand, the reason Herodotus ignored the role of the Hittites in Asia Minor and the Aegean<sup>75</sup> is that he knew nothing about them, while he ignored ancient Mesopotamian cultures because the memory of the bitter rivalry between the Greeks and the Persian Empire was too fresh (Persia was identified with Mesopotamia). Thus, if we accept the view that part of modern Western historiography was characterized by Egyptophobia, and as a result refuted the testimonies of Greek and native Hellenized historians by creating the 'ancient model', the truth is that these historians also had hidden agendas and accepted – or invented – fabulous stories which were aimed at serving their ideology or interests. In other words, the 'ancient model', as much as the 'Aryan model' was a fabrication or reconstruction and not history as it really was.<sup>76</sup> By the same token, Bernal and the African-American scholars have their own hidden agenda. The fact that during and after the Hellenistic–Roman period different writers, for different reasons, were ready to follow the path of the 'ancient model', and perhaps even develop it further, does not in itself suggest that the stories do not have some truth in them. Rather it raises the question as to what kind of intellectual and cultural needs they were trying to fulfill by these stories and within what kind of intellectual climate.

This is the case as regards another important source of Egyptian history: Hecataeus of Abdera (c.300 BC) the author of the *Aegyptiaca*, whose sources are based on Egyptian priestly records. Writing in the tradition of romantic and utopian ethnography and historiography, his main purpose was to synchronize Egyptian myths and traditions with Greek myths and traditions and to serve Ptolemaic 'patriotic propaganda' by glorifying Egypt's role in history.<sup>77</sup> The result was a pan-Egyptian theory in which he described the various lands and peoples known in his time and accorded Egypt the status of the world's premier civilization, its influence extending to all surrounding domains:

A great number of colonies were spread from Egypt over all the inhabited world. To Babylon, for example, colonists were led by Belus, who . . . established himself on the Euphrates and appointed priests called Chaldeans by the Babylonians . . . And they also make observation of the stars, following the example of the Egyptian priests, physicists and astrologers. Those who set forth with Danaus, likewise from Egypt, settled what is practically the oldest city of Greece, Argos; and the nation of the Colchi, were also founded by

certain emigrants from their country; and that is the reason why it is a long-established custom among these two peoples to circumcise their children, the custom having been brought over from Egypt . . . ; moreover, certain rulers of Athens were originally Egyptians. In general, the ancestors of the Egyptians sent forth numerous colonies to many parts of the inhabited world by reason of the pre-eminence of their former kings and their great population. (Dio. I:28.1–29.5)<sup>78</sup>

It is doubtful whether Hecataeus of Abdera was better informed than those who preceded him, but he was the founder of a fabulous tradition which became one of the founders of the 'second ancient model'.

The first ancient model is thus based on a web of unreliable and contradictory historical traditions in which the Greeks themselves placed little faith. The modern revival of dubious traditions is therefore an uncritical acceptance of doubtful traditions whose original authors and readers were well aware of their true historical value and purpose. But even if we reject the reliability of the ancient sources, there is still other evidence – lingual and archaeological – at hand which may bear a more favorable picture.

#### THE DAWN OF GREEK HISTORY IN EGYPTIAN RECORDS<sup>79</sup>

The Greeks of Herodotus' time drew almost all their knowledge of the Mycenaean world and its relations with the 'outside world' from the Homeric epic, a fact which reveals their lack of other sources of information.<sup>80</sup> Could the urge for Egyptian records of remote Greek history bear fruit? Did the Egyptians really keep records about Greek history and Greek–Egyptian relations? Let us examine what Egyptian records can reveal about the ancient history of the Aegean region and mainland Greece.

Crete, as well as Mycenae, was part of the Egyptian world for a long period.<sup>81</sup> Thus, the Egyptians could have acquired and preserved their knowledge about Crete and mainland Greece based on these long-lived contacts with Crete and the Aegean world, and could have passed on this information to the Greeks. There is a good deal of evidence regarding Cretan trade with Egyptian cities, particularly in the delta. Egyptian knowledge was enough to allow them to distinguish between the different groups living in (or immigrating to) the Aegean region – Cretans (*Keftiu*), from the Great Palace period perhaps, the people of Cyprus, etc.<sup>82</sup> Various forms of reciprocal relations existed between Egypt and the Aegean world during the Middle Kingdom (c.2040–1640 BC) through merchants,<sup>83</sup> soldiers, diplomats, craftsmen and physicians. Egyptian sea trade with Crete assumed considerable importance.<sup>84</sup> The famous wall-painting of the 'Captain of the Blacks' from Knossos shows a Minoan officer with two spears leading a company of black soldiers, perhaps mercenaries from Nubia – the soldiers are clearly distinguished from the inhabitants of the island.<sup>85</sup>

The tomb of Rekhmire dating from the time of King Thutmose III – to Amenhotep II (1479–1425 BC and 1427–1401 BC) in the XVIII Dynasty (New Kingdom) contains a wall-painting showing ‘the chiefs of the land of *Keftiu* and of the islands in the midst of the sea’. They are fair-skinned men wearing costumes strongly contrasting with those of the Syrians. Their dress consists of a short, gaily colored kilt with a patterned border ending in a point in front. Their feet are encased in high shoes, also brightly decorated. They are bearded and their glossy hair falls in long locks about their shoulders. They are similarly portrayed in many other wall-paintings; there is no evidence, however, that their appearance may suggest Minoans paying tribute following an Egyptian military campaign in Crete.<sup>86</sup>

However, very few Egyptian documents provide little more than descriptions of diplomatic contacts or military skirmishes. *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* (*The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*), most likely composed in the late Middle Kingdom refers to Egyptian ‘nobles [who] are embalmed with their oil as far as the land of *Keftiu* (*Kaphtor*). They come no more.’<sup>87</sup> This lamentation may be interpreted as a proof that Egyptian princes and priests visited Crete (but could now no longer return to Egypt to be buried in their tombs). More likely, however, it refers to Egyptian trade with conifer products such as oil, used for mummification and does not necessarily imply that Egyptian priests were stationed in Crete.<sup>88</sup> In the aftermath of the war between the Egyptians and the ‘Sea people’, commerce flourished once more, subject to fluctuations caused by events in Egypt or in the Aegean region. Another piece of evidence is the hymn of triumph composed by the priests at Karnak to celebrate the great victories of King Thutmose III: ‘I came to let you tread on western lands, | *Keftiu* and *Isy*’<sup>89</sup> are in awe [of you] . . .’<sup>90</sup> This hymn can be regarded as a product of literary convention rather than a reference to an actual Egyptian conquest of Crete. Nevertheless, it seems that Egyptian hegemony in the Eastern Mediterranean was enough to compel the Minoans to pay tribute, or at least to bring gifts. The ‘Aegean list’ from the time of Amenhotep III (1391–1353 BC) contains information about Egyptian knowledge of Greece and of close Egypto-Aegean relations (the ‘Isles in the Midst of the Sea’, primarily Mycenaean) during the fourteenth century BC, but not of an alleged Egyptian dominance in this region.<sup>91</sup> Cretan merchants were not an unusual sight in the markets of Egypt, or vice versa, but close commercial relations are not the same as political or cultural colonization. Considerable quantities of Mycenaean pottery were found at Amarna, and Egyptian items in Mycenae, which belonged either to the XVIIIth or to the XIXth dynasties, testify to brisk trade with Egypt in the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries BC.<sup>92</sup> There may have been an interchange of ideas between them,<sup>93</sup> but none of this proves that direct Egyptain–Mycenaean relations existed.<sup>94</sup> The main question remains whether these were direct and continuous trade relations, or whether they were indirect and sporadic; more importantly, what was

the influence and impact of these exchanges of different kinds of goods on both civilizations.<sup>95</sup>

Egyptian records contain testimonies to continuity of contacts with the Aegean world extending over hundreds of years, but are silent about the history of Crete or Mycenae. The only available historical information is concerned with skirmishes between the Egyptians and the seafaring peoples who threatened their kingdom during the twelfth century BC. During the twelfth century the sea-peoples posed a serious threat to Egypt, and a famous series of reliefs made during the reign of Ramses III describes his highly successful campaign against them. Archaeological finds indicate that Greeks of the twelfth century BC could have known more about the land of Egypt. Several traditions about Crete, its glory and misfortunes, were told to Greek visitors by the Egyptian priests, who claimed they preserved knowledge about religious links between Neith of Sais and Athena of Athens.<sup>96</sup> Even if this is not a new invention of *post eventum* prophecy tradition, the fact still remains that Egyptian sources in our possession indicate that the history of mainland Greece lay outside the Egyptians' horizon and sphere of interest.

In other words, there is no evidence to prove that Greek real knowledge of Egypt during the eighth or seventh centuries BC was more than vague memories preserved from Cretan or Mycenaean civilizations, rather than newly acquired knowledge or newly invented memories.<sup>97</sup> In comparison with what can be learned from Egyptian records about the history of Nubia or Palestine, for example, little light is shed on the Aegean region. Even a casual comparison between Egyptian documents describing the close relations with Asia (or with Nubia), and documents on Egypt's relations with the Aegean region over the course of centuries, reveal the paucity of the latter. The conclusion is that if there was a large-scale Egyptian involvement in the Aegean region beginning in the third millennium, then nearly 2500 years of active presence has left no imprint on Egypt's historical consciousness, and but a few traces in Egyptian historical writings.

#### EGYPT — SOURCE OF RITUAL AND MYTHOLOGY

And what about religious and cultural history? Can vague memories preserved by myth and legend be proved accurate in this field? Can parallels and similarities in cults and mythological motifs or names serve as better proof than literary allusion? Can Herodotus serve as a reliable source concerning Greece's alleged great debt to Egyptian religion, theology and religious practice deriving from the very early period of Egyptian-Greek contacts?<sup>98</sup>

When Herodotus began to discuss Egyptian influence on Greece in the religious and cultural spheres, he was perhaps convinced not only by the tales of the Egyptian priests but also by the many analogies he found

between Egyptian and Greek religion and mythology. The early Greeks, he noted, borrowed from the Egyptians most of their gods and religious rituals, as well as the annual calendar.<sup>99</sup> 'I will never admit', he declares, 'that the similar ceremonies performed in Greece and Egypt are the result of mere coincidence – had that been so, our rites would have been more Greek in character and less recent in origin . . . The names of nearly all the gods came to Greece from Egypt' (II:50.1). Although the exact period of Egyptian cultural influence on Greece is not clearly determined by Herodotus, his description appears to correlate to the period before, rather than after, the Trojan War, as the items of mythology and religion supposedly transmitted from Egypt to Greece belong to the Homeric world. In other words, Herodotus has no hesitation or inhibition when referring to cultural influences in the distant, legendary past. But if Solon found little of merit in Egypt (II:177.1–2) the Greeks who preceded him were very diligent pupils, according to Herodotus. In fact, he says, most elements of Greek religion and ritual had an Egyptian source. Greek culture was a recent phenomenon, whereas Egyptian culture was of ancient lineage, and Herodotus had no doubts that the junior had borrowed from the senior. He goes on at some length about the Greek debt to Egypt, though nowhere does he say when it was incurred. Was it shortly before the writing of the Homeric epic or hundreds of years earlier? The description is highly general and schematic.

Thus, according to Herodotus, a large part of Greek religion is the product of transmission and assimilation of motifs and ritual patterns from various sources beside the Egyptian. The Greeks took the calendar, the names of gods, modes of ritual, designs of their temples and more from the Egyptians, whereas the Egyptians took nothing from them. Yet, despite the long list of mythological and religious acquisitions from Egypt, Herodotus makes no mention of any Egyptian settlement in Greece, nor any reference to Egyptian rule in Crete or in Greece proper, as Hecataeus had later claimed. He offers no explanation of how these ideas and practices were transmitted from Egypt to Greece and were assimilated there; moreover, he does not refer to any continuity between Minoan and Mycenaean cults and Greek cults, nor to any oriental influences on Greek mythology. The argument that Herodotus felt no need to relate everything he knew about Egyptian activity in Greece does not hold water either. The fact is that he was eager to tell everything he knew, for example, going on at length about Sestoris' armed campaign to Colchis. Had he known more, he would not have kept it to himself. Herodotus believed Egyptian cultural influences reached a Greece which had already attained a certain level of culture, the result of far-flung and tightly knit trade relations. However, this was due primarily to slaves, prisoners and immigrants from Crete, and later from Greece, who lived in Egypt – not to Egyptian conquerors and settlers in Crete, the Peloponnese or Boeotia.

We should note that Herodotus contributed little to the idea of large-scale Semitic–Western influences on Greece. Naturally he was familiar with the Cadmus story and he confirms that the Greeks took their alphabet from the Phoenicians, but no more than that (V:58.1–2). The decisive question, then is this: did Herodotus preserve fragments from traditions that are of historical value? Did he actually uncover the ancient Egyptian origin of several elements in Greek religion and mythology and, if so, did this influence begin before 800 BC or only afterwards? Is this not a translation of Egyptian cultural aspects into a language understood by the Greeks, rather than evidence of a genuinely close resemblance? Does not the fact that he found no resemblance in the political–civil sphere, but did discern similarities in religion and myth, show that the Greeks saw no need to ascribe originality to their religion, but rather maintained a syncretic approach toward faith and ritual?

As for Plato, it is not altogether clear whether he really believed Egyptian legends to be a genuine historical tradition preserved from the Bronze Age. More likely he invented it as a literary device; as Phaedrus says skeptically that it is easy to compose a story from Egypt or any other country (*Phaedrus*, 275b). Plato used his knowledge of Egypt to idealize what he regarded as its archaizing spirit and the continuity of old art forms (656d–657a, cf., also 798e–799b) which are controlled by the state.<sup>100</sup> At the same time, however, he writes that ‘There are other features in their laws that you would find pretty poor’ (*The Laws*, 675g).<sup>101</sup> Here, too, Plato stresses the fundamental differences – the gap – that existed between Egyptian culture and *Geist*, and Greek culture and *Geist*.

Not all Greeks of the classical period shared the opinion that Egypt was the hub of the world and a well-spring of inspiration. Greek dramatists devoted little attention to the Egyptians; in surviving plays ‘foreign barbarians’ are not represented as being Egyptians. Use made of Egypt and Egyptian characters in Greek tragedy and comedy can be seen either as evidence that the playwrights were very respectful of the Egyptians, or of what Edith Hall defines as ‘Egyptian xenophobia’.<sup>102</sup> Theatergoers, like readers of historical works, were attracted by the foreign and the bizarre. Anecdotes and fantastic tales which evoke wonder or even fear have always played an important part in universal histories. The supposed generic cunning of Egyptians was a common theme in comedy and oratory. Danaus, in Aeschylus’ *Suppliants*, is the personification of an Egyptian; he prophesied that Egypt would be Io’s land of peace in *Prometheus Bound*, but had no real interest in ancient Egyptian culture. On the contrary, he believed that the Greeks were a much older people, and that the men of Argos had established their culture and civilization along the Nile. Egypt became a favored setting in Greek comedy, evidence, perhaps, that it was a fashionable topic of conversation in late fifth-century BC Athens (see Aristophanes’ *The Peace* and *The Birds*). Dramatists frequently juxtaposed

the primitive aspects of Egyptian rituals – animal worship, for example – with the more civilized Greek religion. Still, there was no taboo on the claim that foreign rituals had penetrated Greek religion (Greek drama numbers 57 gods of foreign origin identical to Greek gods; as a result, Egypt, in particular, was regarded in ethnography as the source of many gods).<sup>103</sup> It was, in fact, the philosophers who conferred on Egypt the status of the fount of all wisdom, and ‘. . . perhaps it was the historian’s Egyptian *logos* which was most often echoed in passing allusions by the tragedians’.<sup>104</sup> Emphatically, however, none of this affected the Greek belief that a wide abyss separated their culture and way of life from that of the Egyptians. The Greeks were ready to admit that the Egyptians had anticipated them in every formal expression of life and at the same time, however, perceived Egypt (or their image of Egypt) as a unique culture, totally different from their own. Indeed, what is striking in the writings of Herodotus and other classical authors is not only their view of Greek dependency on Egypt, but rather their confirmation of the fundamental differences between Greek and Egyptian culture. The Greeks, Herodotus remarks, ‘knew nothing whatever about the Egyptians’ endemic character and customs’, and affirms Egypt’s singularity. Herodotus, then, was fully aware of the deep gap which separates Egypt from Greece; Norma Thompson recently pointed out that he ‘does not emphasize the continuity between Greek and Egyptian beliefs, but their discontinuities, and this detracts from the significance of the origin of names’.<sup>105</sup> The Egyptians, in his view, were and remain barbarians (II.50). This attitude became a major element in Greek attitudes toward the native Egyptian in Ptolemaic Egypt, even toward those who tried to behave like Greeks (*hellenizen*).<sup>106</sup> Thus, despite all they may have heard about the Egyptian wisdom and wonders, Greeks visiting Egypt probably felt like outsiders. In the last analysis, the Greeks considered the Egyptians to be a peculiar people and could neither speak nor understand their language. Egyptians, as we know, did not visit Greece during this period, but if they had, an innate sense of superiority deriving from their self-confidence instilled by an age-old civilization would almost certainly have led them to pronounce Greece to be a barbaric land.



# The Egyptian Tyranny over Greece in the Bronze Age

A good historian should not simply abandon the antiquities because of the fables, but should cleanse the fables for the sake of the antiquities.

Suffridus Petri, *Apologia . . . pro antiquitate et origine Frisionum*, 1603<sup>1</sup>

## THE BERNAL CONTROVERSY: A THUMBNAIL APPRAISAL

The main point in the new Afrocentric historical reconstruction is not whether there existed diplomatic or trade relations between Egypt and the Aegean and Greece. The main point is what it views as Greece's intensive dependence on Egyptian culture in its own development. The claim is that Egyptian civilization not only left its imprint on Greek culture, beginning in the early Bronze Age, but was responsible for its genesis and evolution. This theory is based on alleged or real evidence from the complex realms of comparative etymology, comparative mythology and similarities in material culture. Their fusion created (or recreated) the theory that there existed not only limited – direct or indirect – cultural transmission between Egypt and Greece but virtually total dependence of the latter on the former; that everything produced or innovated in the Aegean orbit had its source in the Orient, particularly in Egypt.

In recent years a new, vast literature has emerged and opened anew the nature of the Bronze Age. It is both astonishing and intriguing to see how the Bronze Age period in the East Mediterranean basin has become a focus of academic and public debate in American society. We can understand the historical implications as regards the reconstruction of Near Eastern and Aegean history, but one must distinguish between scholarly debate and its actual value and cultural implications. Assuming the new reconstruction has some validity, we must still ask whether the general conclusions drawn by the Afrocentric school serve their purpose. Indeed, this question is the core of the following discussion.

As is often the case, the controversy is very illuminating from both an

empirical and a methodological historical point of view, but many of its participants were swept up into it without, I believe, being aware of its very limited relevancy to the actual fundamental questions involved. In other words, even if Bernal and the more radical Afrocentrist authors are correct in their view that the shaping of the Greek world during the long Bronze Age depended heavily on Egyptian influence, there is nothing to suggest that the advent or the essence of the entire Greek cultural system was in any way dependent and not unique phenomena. I will also argue that if they are correct, i.e. if the genesis and evolution of ancient Greece was indeed culturally dependent, then this is an illuminating case which shows that cultural dependency *does not* inexorably create imitation; it is, on the contrary, often a driving force behind the creation of cultural uniqueness and distinctiveness. Cultural dependence is thus a positive force and not, as the Afrocentric school presumes, a negative one! Moreover, the genesis of Greek culture remains a 'wonder' even if we accept the claim that many of its formative cultural traits were borrowed from 'outside' – Anatolia, the Near East or Egypt.

The current fierce scholarly debate over the nature of the Bronze Age in the East Mediterranean basin and the extent of Greece's dependence upon Egypt has focused on Martin Bernal's two-volume (thus far) monumental treatise *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (1987, 1991). Since the late 1980s, these two volumes have met with much skepticism and criticism, and have been the subject of hundreds of scholarly and semi-scholarly articles.<sup>2</sup> Bernal has found himself at the center of a lively, sometimes stormy debate, which has become an intense, ongoing, often bitter, dialogue between Bernal and his supporters, on one side, and his critics on the other. This dialogue has evolved into an important academic, intellectual and public discourse.

I have neither the intention nor the ability to discuss here all the subjects Bernal has treated. I am much indebted to the many scholars who have contributed their knowledge and insights to the library concerning this controversy, including the many whose works are not referred to in my notes.

Bernal's theory and the controversy raging about it can be described and analyzed outside the context of Afrocentric universal history as a debate between the members of the 'classical guild' and an 'outsider' challenging their integrity and the reliability of the historical picture they depict. Yet there is no question that the debate is inextricably linked to – if not always to the benefit of – the Afrocentrist world-view, and the dispute it has aroused.

How did African-American scholars accept this new and unexpected support from a respectable 'white' scholar? With both admiration and suspicion.<sup>3</sup> From the Afrocentric point of view, Bernal's scholarly enterprise is often welcomed as a pioneering study which, in the words of V. Y.

Mudimbe, 'will profoundly mark the next century's perception of the origins of Greek civilization and the role of ancient Egypt',<sup>4</sup> rescuing African history. At the same time, however, some African-American writers criticize him for playing down the fact that ancient Greek sources (excluding Herodotus) were racist because they failed to mention the black nature of Egypt, and for not sufficiently stressing the 'fact' that Egypt was an African black civilization.<sup>5</sup> 'If we accept the centrality of Bernal's argument', writes Manula Karenga, 'we still accept Greece as the model of which Egypt is just a part. That won't correct the massive falsification of human history. What I'm interested in is multi-cultural history, not a Greek-centered history.'<sup>6</sup> As A. Hilliard, III, writes 'Bernal's work is more important for its documentation of the politics of scholarship than for any new insight about African contribution to world civilization, since Africa's connection to Greece, while important to Greece, was only a small part of a longer sweeping event.'<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere the two volumes have even been described as an 'Anglo-Judeocentric work' and Bernal even as an 'Aryanist'.<sup>8</sup>

The irony is that Bernal, who accused modern Western historiography of being biased and racist, is in fact charged with being Western-oriented, and himself a racist. Manu Ampim regards him as an 'outside scholar', who penetrated the Afrocentric movement, within which he attained a central and respectable place. Indeed, he argues, that while Bernal discusses the central role of Egypt in civilizing Greece, for which he deserves respect, he still remains within the mainstream of Egyptologists who argue that the ancient Egyptian population was a mixed race, and thus is unable to accept the 'well-established' fact that the racial identity of Egypt was black.<sup>9</sup> Bernal himself thinks that the sculpted head of the first alleged Pharaoh, King Menes, reveals 'his black characteristics of thick lips and a broad nose'. He states that he does not share Diop's view that the ancient Egyptians were essentially African; rather, he believes in the mixed nature of the Egyptian population. And as for G. M. James' theory of a 'stolen legacy', he does not accept the view that the great Greek philosophers 'stole' their philosophy from the Egyptian priests. Nevertheless, Bernal admires James for his achievement – attained under extraordinarily difficult circumstances – particularly his general concept that Hellenistic science and civilization relied on those of Egypt and Mesopotamia, developing from them 'in very much the same way as Arabic-speaking Moslems took from Greek civilization to build their own cultural forms'.<sup>10</sup> Radical Afrocentrists consider all of the above as going only halfway in the right direction.<sup>11</sup>

## WHOSE CREATION WAS GREECE?

'Greece was always in the process of becoming.' There is no single origin of Greek religion, because Greek culture was a composite of Indo-European, Anatolian<sup>12</sup> and 'oriental' elements, writes Burkert.<sup>13</sup> In Puhvel's words: 'Diffusion is the keyword in the Ancient Near East.'<sup>14</sup> Few scholars, if any, would deny at least a certain degree of Egyptian influence on the genesis and development of early Greek culture, or that Egyptian and Egyptianizing elements came, one way or another to Greece. Egyptian influence on Greece was acknowledged and considered as coming either directly from Egypt or through Crete and Phoenicia.<sup>15</sup> According to this view, Phoenician traders and Cretan colonists, immigrants or refugees brought along with them Egyptian influences. Cretan, or Greek seamen, traders and craftsmen, who arrived at Egypt or, vice versa, Egyptian traders, craftsmen, or physicians who arrived at Crete and Greece, brought with them knowledge and ideas. Egyptian physicians, for example, who were sent from Egypt to different lands, brought with them not only curative techniques, but a cosmological lore. Since Egyptian medical lore was strongly suffused with magic and notions about the nature of the world and human life, one can assume that the Egyptian physicians and their attendants were important cultural agents, transmitting ideas and opinions, and disseminating them.<sup>16</sup>

In 1898 Robert Brown wrote that the ancient Archaic Greeks were 'semi-barbarian with an immense capacity for borrowing', and borrowed copiously from their neighbors in the East, that is, from the Semites of the Levant.<sup>17</sup> In 1930 A. R. Burn stated that '... it was to Egypt above all that the Early and Middle Minoan civilization was indebted'.<sup>18</sup> Modern scholars primarily emphasize Near Eastern and Anatolian influences and argue, citing Burkert's words, that 'Greek religion certainly bears the stamp of its prehistory, but of a prehistory which is an infinitely involved network of interrelations'.<sup>19</sup> This orientation towards the Levant gained new momentum during the 1930s when several scholars, powerfully influenced by the discovery of the ancient Canaanite epic (and state archives) at Ras Shamra, or Ugarit, in northern Syria, questioned the theory of the Indo-European origins of Greek culture. Cyrus Gordon and Michael C. Astour were two of the prominent scholars who emphasized the influence of Canaanite and west-Semitic culture on the Aegean basin and mainland Greece.<sup>20</sup> They claimed to have found many parallels between Greek and Canaanite literature,<sup>21</sup> and as a result Indo-European tyranny was pitted against west-Semitic tyranny.<sup>22</sup>

Actual trade and the presumed cultural relations between Egypt and the Aegean world are not enough for Bernal's purposes. His hyper-diffusionist theory, or rather ideology, demands a well-organized takeover resembling the Indo-European takeover, in the Aryan model of Greek history and

almost total dependence of the genesis of Greek elements on Egypt. Bernal, his predecessors and his supporters would like us to replace those two tyrannies with one that is perhaps even more rigorous: the tyranny of Egypt over Greece. Indeed, in his two proof-laden volumes, Bernal tries to prove that the Greek *Interpretatio Graeca* is an accurate historical account. We must let the ancient testimonies speak in their own language – and trust them, he says! Bernal repeatedly pleads for the so-called ‘revised ancient model’ which proves that Greece was the offspring of Egypt. Bernal (as Diop before him) goes to great lengths to demonstrate the validity of the ancient traditions concerning the Bronze Age, and Egyptian far-reaching influence on the new Greek culture in the third to the first millennium BC.

It is Bernal’s contention that the primitive Indo-European invaders, while making their way from Asia to the Greek mainland during the second millennium, came under the influence of the highly advanced Egyptian (and Oriental) cultures. This interplay between Egypt, the Aegean, and the Greek mainland, beginning in approximately 3000 BC, survived the catastrophe of c.1220 BC, and persisted, in his view, almost until the end of the Bronze Age. Thus, the tremendous natural disasters which devastated the ancient Near East during the Bronze Age, had no effect on this continuity. Bernal goes on to say that the Thera eruption (c.1500 BC) did shatter Egyptian hegemony throughout the Aegean and ultimately led to the destruction of the Mycenaean culture.<sup>23</sup> The vacuum was filled when Greece was invaded by new Indo-European invasions of the islands which lasted from about 1750 BC to 1550 BC. At approximately the same time, other peoples from the European interior invaded the Syrian region, posing a mortal threat to Egypt. The demographic, cultural and political gap created in the eastern Mediterranean was filled primarily by Mesopotamians, who left their cultural imprint on the Greek world. Egyptian art was still held in high esteem but was no longer alone in the cultural arena. Beginning in the middle of the second millennium BC, the history of the Egypto-Greek region began to undergo a significant transformation, although Greece retained a deeply ingrained Egyptian cultural residue.<sup>24</sup> According to this view, the Aegean islands and mainland Greece were indirectly influenced by Egyptian culture during this long period, either through the Aegean cultures, or directly, as a result of a strong Egyptian colonization on the Greek mainland. Greek literature, chronicles and other sources all conclusively attest to continued Egyptian influence, and to the fact that this phase of Egyptian culture formed the basis for Greek culture throughout the Archaic Age. Greek mythology and historical traditions recount historical truth and invoke the ancient model of Greek history, while different strata of Greek culture are cited as evidence that mythological literature reflects ‘real’ historical facts from the distant past. In short, there was an intense Egyptian influence on Minoan and Mycenaean culture which continued even after the destruction of those

two civilizations and the appearance of the Dorian Hellenes in Greece. These ancient cultural traditions were transmitted to the new population, which absorbed them, while continuing to adopt Egyptian (and Near Eastern) influences during the Archaic and later ages as well.

What Bernal proposes is nothing less than the domination of one cultural influence which endured for 2500 years! To strengthen this argument, Bernal goes beyond the concepts of cultural interference and cultural symbiosis deemed insufficient because they imply mere 'spontaneous processes'. He is convinced that state organized agencies were involved in determining the processes of influence and borrowing, of the export and import of cultural goods. The kingdom of Egypt and the city states of the 'East' were active missionaries of acculturation.<sup>25</sup> It is clear why Bernal and his supporters must go back to the early myths of takeover and colonization. First, because they have a strong interest in antedating the appearance of the Canaanite alphabet in the Aegean region in the fourteenth century BC (instead of the commonly accepted eleventh to eighth centuries). Not only would this move the Phoenician presence in Greece backwards in time, but would also prove that fourteenth-century Greeks already had a written language and were therefore able to produce written accounts of their ancient historical traditions. Bernal hopes to demonstrate the historical credibility of ancient traditions introduced to the Homeric epic and which were known to Greek logographers and mythographers. Yet, even if we accept his view that Phoenician letters were adopted by the Greeks as early as 1400 BC this does not mean that the oral historical traditions were written down and disseminated.<sup>26</sup>

Can we accept this radical reconstruction – a virtually unbroken continuity in Greek history and culture which spanned more than two and a half millennia? Can we also presume that Egyptian influences survived catastrophes, radical political and social changes and population shifts, and that their impact was preserved in many ways, including literary and oral traditions which survived from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age? In order to answer these questions and to evaluate Bernal's impressive, but often disturbing, evidence, we must be aware of several significant methodological problems. A comparison must be drawn between Egyptian culture at a given time and the concurrent state of Aegean culture. We must also clarify whether the supposed influences on Mycenaean culture were new, or were preserved from an Egyptian culture of the near or distant past. In addition, we must recall that during the period under discussion, Egyptian culture was not static, nor was it a homogeneous culture. Any comparison between the two cultures requires that we ask what the Aegean took from the Egyptians and what, how and why it borrowed from other sources. Why, for example, are the alleged Egyptian influences on mainland Greece different from those on Crete? Only then can we determine the scale and particular areas of Egyptian influence. We must also examine the alleged

Egyptian influences within the general context of the Near East. Let us accept, for the sake of the case, the impressive argument, supported by a flood of evidence, that between approximately 3000 BC and 1200 BC Egypt exercised a vast cultural influence over the Aegean and Greece, whether through conquest and colonization or through commercial relations and intensive cultural contacts, and that this Egyptian influence was greater in scope than that of the Oriental or Anatolian influences. It still remains to be proven that these cultural strata survived throughout in the first millennium and played a decisive role in shaping the Greek (Hellas) culture of that era. More specifically, it must be shown that Egyptian cultural strata, for example, in 2000–1500 BC, could have survived the destruction of the Mycenaean civilization (1110 BC) in any case, 'such contacts (as existed between Egypt and Mycenaean Greece) are not equivalent to suzerainty, nor do they imply the substantial cultural impact of Egypt upon the Aegean required by Bernal's theory'.<sup>27</sup> Nor do they imply that these strata survived the Dorian invasion (1150–1100) and still remain active and vital during the period between 800 and 700 BC almost half a millennium later, when direct Egyptian influence had vanished.

Assuming we accept the suggestion that Egypt left more than a few marks on Mycenaean religion and culture, and through them on later Greek cultural strata,<sup>28</sup> is it possible that substantial Egyptian strata were preserved in the Mycenaean heritage which continued to exist after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization, even though the Mycenaean religion and the Greek religion were very different belief systems?<sup>29</sup> Or was the Egyptian impact on Greece during and after the Archaic Age and after a result of direct contacts between Egypt and mainland Greece? Another question we should pose is this: if indeed Egyptian influence was so dominant in shaping early Greek culture, why did it shape only certain parts of Greek culture and not the entire Greek cultural system? How and why did the Greeks accept certain traits from the Egyptians, while refusing or rejecting others? Can we discover the nature of the dynamics and mechanisms of this cultural selection?

At this point there is no need to trace the complex arguments and counter-arguments concerning real or imaginary contacts between the Orient in general and ancient Egypt in particular, on one hand, and the Aegean on the other. Nor is it necessary to review the arguments and counter-arguments concerning every religious or cultural trait allegedly transmitted from Egypt to Crete or Greece. The scope of this scholarly debate is very broad and involves myriad historical problems. For those readers unfamiliar with the debate, I shall only point out that it revolves around two intersecting axes, each of which can also be considered separately. The first concerns the credibility of Bernal's historical reconstruction and of his scientific methods; the second, his interpretation of the intellectual atmosphere during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and

the historiography it produced, a historiography he is determined to uproot. The two volumes published so far are vast in scope and abound with information and scholarly knowledge, leaving virtually no historical stone unturned.

#### THE CASE OF CRETE

Crete is considered by Bernal to be an old and contiguous sphere of Egyptian influence. According to mainstream scholarship, the main ingredients of Cretan culture came from an Indo-European substratum and Near Eastern influences, but this does not rule out the possibility that neighboring Egypt also affected the evolution of Cretan culture, transmitting ideas via human agents such as artists, craftsmen, diplomats, sailors, traders, etc. Bernal believes that Egyptian influence was so deeply ingrained that it did not disappear despite the calamities and demographic transformations experienced by Crete beginning in the middle of the second millennium. Accordingly, certain Egyptian ideas and practices were preserved throughout the Mycenaean and later period<sup>30</sup> as a result of an Egyptian presence in Greece, or as a result of a Mycenaean presence in the Orient.<sup>31</sup> According to Bernal himself, Crete was a melting pot; 'many different East Mediterranean cultures met in Crete'.<sup>32</sup> He also argues that though Crete was under heavy Egyptian influence, Minoan culture was a distinctive cultural and religious entity, strikingly different from Egypt, and that 'like most other peoples, the Cretans had considerable cultural originality, due to their creative faculties'.<sup>33</sup> Crete was the site of a multi-layered culture which received and absorbed different influences and borrowed gods from different sources,<sup>34</sup> shaping these exogenous traits with its own indigenous traits, creating a distinct civilization of her own.<sup>35</sup>

If Egyptian influence was so decisive one would expect to find great similarities in cultural style; the fact is, however, that Knossos offers no pyramids, no mummies, no sphinxes or obelisks, no walls filled with hieroglyphs. Comparison of artistic styles or architectural principles likewise revealed little evidence of close ties between Crete and Egypt.<sup>36</sup> 'Crete was quite clearly a distinct culture of her own, and having absorbed the best of what the Aegean had to offer, she had adapted it and modified it to fit into the pattern of her own culture.'<sup>37</sup> The contacts throughout the Pharaonic period brought undoubted benefits to Egypt and Crete, but 'they do not appear to have had a profound effect on the civilizations as a whole. There are clear limits to Aegeanizing or Egyptianizing effects.'<sup>38</sup>

#### *Egypt and Mycenae*

Bernal notes that 'In religion, at least, we find a significant continuity between the Mycenaean age and the Classical age.'<sup>39</sup> This view is shared by



E. Vermeule, who writes that there was 'no break between the Mycenaean and Homeric worlds, only change . . . the originals of many myths retold by Homer were Mycenaean . . .'.<sup>40</sup> But if religious continuity exists between the early and middle Bronze Age, the Archaic, Geometric and Classical eras, and the transmission of the west-Semitic alphabet prior to 1400 BC was the vehicle of cultural continuity throughout the Dark Age,<sup>41</sup> one may again wonder why the Oriental impact on the Hesiodic<sup>42</sup> and the Homeric world<sup>43</sup> is so much stronger than that of Egypt, which hardly exists.<sup>44</sup> In fact, there is almost nothing that resembles ancient Egypt in Mycenaean society as it is described in the Homeric epic. There is no reason to reject all Egyptian influence on the Aegean out of hand; on the contrary, such influence existed at various levels and certain elements of Egyptian material culture did exist in both the Mycenaean civilization and Greece of the Dark Age. Moreover, certain elements of Egyptian mythology which had been absorbed into Minoan culture were subsequently transmitted to the Mycenaean and Hellenic culture, or even were transmitted directly from Egypt to the mainland.<sup>45</sup> According to Dickinson, all indications lead to the conclusion that 'Aegean religion underwent great changes during the Dark Age'. Thus, 'the religion of the Greeks may have preserved Bronze Age elements in a largely transformed context. On the evidence available, the Dark Age, and not an earlier period, saw the true birth of the Greeks.'<sup>46</sup>

The question is not whether cultural goods passed from Egypt to Crete, Argolis, Attica, Boeotia and so forth, but whether this cultural transmission created a cultural dependence on Egypt and whether, as a result, all the strata of civilization in Greece – those which ensured its place in history – were the product of that dependence. To discover traces of Egyptian influence on Bronze Age Greek culture during the Archaic Period is not tantamount to discovering that Greek culture was a mere child of Egyptian culture. If the intense preoccupation of nineteenth-century historiography with Greece gave birth to *Hellenomania*, the response to it may be defined as *Egyptomania*; a new tyranny: the tyranny of Egypt over Greece.

#### MYTHOLOGY AND CULTURE

It is only logical to assume that a new population came from afar to settle in a new locale and, possessing an 'inferior' or 'deficient' culture – that is, lacking certain elements which constitute what we define as 'culture' or 'civilization', would adopt essential features from the people it supplanted. It is a common practice to borrow from an older language and its residues in order to build up the repertoire of a new language, though its syntax and morphology may be completely different. Examples abound in both ancient and modern history. When cultures cannot find words and terms in

their own repertoire, they borrow from the *lingua franca* of the region and period. This is true of people's names, place names, technological jargon, magic, medicine, ceremonies and even divinities. As J. P. Mallory notes, 'the one constancy of language is that it is always changing . . . a substantial portion of the Greek vocabulary cannot be explained as the Greek outcome of inherited Indo-European words . . . The linguistic evidence taken as a whole does indicate that the Greeks did borrow a considerable number of elements from a non-Greek language. The vocabulary suggested that these borrowings were not wholly random, but tend to focus on words that a population intrusive into a new land might be expected to adopt from previous inhabitants.'<sup>47</sup>

Indeed, one could argue that, given the superior level of Egyptian culture, the Greeks could have borrowed from the latter only the simpler elements, at least until the Classical Age. This would rule out, for example, Egyptian script, or Egyptian scientific and theological literature, which the early Greeks would have found too advanced and too abstruse. There is reason to believe that traces of Egyptian culture are found in Greek shared names and symbols, and in mythological characters which had common characteristics, though with obscure origins.<sup>48</sup> S. Morenz formulates this view, stating ' . . . one has to reckon with a reciprocal relationship between Egyptian and Greek religion already prior to the beginning of the Hellenistic age . . . If we consider the important phenomenon of the *interpretaio Graeca* of Egyptian deities, we shall see that we are not always dealing with a mere mechanical transposition.'<sup>49</sup> But if this is so, the question is still not whether Egyptian residues and strata from the second millennium remain in first-millennium Greece; rather it is what transformations these residues underwent from stratum to stratum and from one period to the next, what elements were added, and how the new cultural system was formed.

As regards the donor (Egyptian religion), we should remember that contrary to their popular image, Egyptian religious texts were not homogeneous and there was no such unity in its pantheon of gods as existed in the Bible.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, 'the Egyptians had several cosmogonies, some of which conflicted with others',<sup>51</sup> and which were never organized into one system. Thus, since Egyptian religion consisted of a vast range of beliefs and practices, difficult to comprehend as a whole,<sup>52</sup> it is crucial to determine which of these theologies or cosmogonies were available to the Greeks in Egypt, or which of them had an impact on the Greeks in Greece itself; moreover, why were the Greeks ready to absorb this cosmogony, but not the other? One must also wonder why the Greeks were ready to absorb Egyptian religious ideas, but almost none of the Egyptian religious practices. Herodotus, the main source of the argument that Egyptian culture exercised a major influence on the shaping of Greek mythology, says that the Greeks seem to have forgotten, or were never aware of, the primeval

form of their pantheon of gods.<sup>53</sup> The assimilation of alien gods, heroes, names, literary motifs, etc.,<sup>54</sup> or their transfer from one place to another, was a frequent event in ancient cultures, and cosmological ideas were absorbed because they could be adapted to nascent religious thought.<sup>55</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that the Greeks were willing recipients of Egyptian (and Near Eastern<sup>56</sup>) cosmological views, which they later reshaped and systematized.<sup>57</sup> 'We can not', writes Morenz, 'overlook the events leading up to the Hellenistic age. The three centuries from the appearance of Greek mercenaries in Egypt (under Psammetichus) to Alexander's military and political feats laid the foundation for the extensive cultural contacts that were to follow.'<sup>58</sup> Since it is impossible to determine a satisfactory etymon for every proper name in Greek mythology, ought we to explain the Greek from the Egyptian (or Semitic) whenever a case occurs which tempts us to do so? Symbols, motifs, names and literary plot narratives are often transposed among different cultures, even if the cultures are openly hostile to one another. It is not a shared racial common basis that provided the ground for cultural exchange but a geographical relationship and the needs of the recipient culture. This is certainly the case with a culture possessing a syncretic character in which 'gods' move about easily from place to place, undergoing a process of transformation and assimilation. We see this process in Egypt with gods of Asiatic origin, and there is no reason to believe anything different occurred with gods of Egyptian origin in Greece.

Let us assume, again for the sake of argument, for example, that the name and character of the Greek hero Heracles (whose presence in Greece was at least Mycenaean and in part much older) was indeed borrowed from an Egyptian name,<sup>59</sup> and that the Egyptian name and the Greek name and character have a common lingual root. What is significant, from the perspective of cultural history is that there is no resemblance whatsoever between the character of Heracles as he appears in Greek mythology and literature, and his Egyptian precursor. Heracles<sup>60</sup> is depicted in Greek mythographic literature (and in the literature from which it evolved) as a character involved in human life; faced with his tragic madness, he enacts countless acts of bravery on behalf of those weaker than himself. He became a popular hero who appeared in local mythologies, literature and the fine arts.<sup>61</sup> It was the Greeks, however, who invented the character of Heracles and wrote the many stories or myths about him; thus the fact that his name was inspired by an Egyptian god has no cultural importance whatsoever. There was no place in the Egyptian religion and culture for personalities who were both heroes and gods. Yet even if 'Heracles' was borrowed from Egypt, where are the Egyptian counterparts of Apollo,<sup>62</sup> Sisyphus, Prometheus and an entire array of mythological godly and human (with emphasis on the term 'human') figures? They were the product of Greek imagination, expressing the spirit of Greece no less, and perhaps

more, than the mythological characters originating in earlier cultural layers.<sup>63</sup> The Greeks were indeed creative transformers of mythological motifs, but the main point is that their mythological system expressed a distinctive world-view.<sup>64</sup>

Moreover, the Egyptians had no hero cult, while the Greek hero cult grew under the influence of epic poetry, absent in Egypt.<sup>65</sup> Egypt had no polis, no theater, no constitution, no Olympic Games. The Greeks and Egyptians held remarkably different attitudes toward life and death.<sup>66</sup> Greek conception of the underworld and afterlife was different.<sup>67</sup> And if Egypt had a crucial and formative influence on the shape and character of Greek society, one would expect it to be manifest in other important aspects such as the form of monarchy, the structure of the temple, of the priesthood, etc; yet there is no trace of these in Greek culture. Personified Egyptian gods or heroes were unknown in Greece, and Herodotus claims that Egyptians ridiculed Greek anthropomorphism. The Greeks did not circumcise their males, built no pyramids, and did not embalm their dead.

Van Binsbergen writes that Bernal is 'aware of the tensions between diffusion and transformative localization', asserting that 'it is equally clear that their selection and treatment was characteristically Greek . . .'.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, Bernal himself agrees that while there is no doubt concerning the great Oriental and Egyptian impact on Greece, ' . . . at no point do I argue that Greece is *like* Egypt or the Levant. That does not mean that one should go to the other extreme and say that Greece *is* Egypt or *is* Phoenicia.'<sup>69</sup> Time and again he states that he 'always maintained that Greek civilization was very distinctive'. While stressing a diffusionist theory, he accepts the argument that the real historical question is not how many elements Greece received from her benevolent donors in Egypt and Phoenicia, or who were the direct and the indirect agents of this diffusion, but how different from them Greece was, and how and why it happened. However, nowhere does he explain the principles of choice, selection, assimilation and change.

Van Binsbergen goes even further than Bernal in claiming that large parts of the 'production systems, the language, the gods and shrines, the myths, the magic and astrology, the alphabet, the mathematics, the nautical and trading skills, of the ancient Greeks were scarcely their own invention but had clearly indefinable antecedents among their longer established cultural neighbors'.<sup>70</sup> Thus, both define the genius of the Greeks mainly as capable of selecting and absorbing, in a Greek way, the many cultural innovations of other, more advanced, creative, cultures. Even if we accept Van Binsbergen's interpretation of Bernal, it is quite clear that Bernal is particularly interested in stressing the diffusion of cultural traits into Greece, rather than describing the transformative process, or the genuine innovations of the Greeks.

But Greek genius has its own creative and innovative powers, and it is

clear that Greek culture (and society) did not absorb everything, even less did it become a mirror image – a copy – of the transmitting culture. Obviously one can argue that the Greeks during the Archaic Age were not a society sufficiently developed and consolidated to borrow and absorb elements applicable to a society with an ongoing tradition and central administration. The lack of symmetry between the two societies created a situation – real or hypothetical – in which the ability to borrow and absorb was limited to isolated elements. Thus, one may agree with M. Grant's assertion: 'To take a literary or artistic product over and adjust, adapt and transmute it into something that has a novel and brilliant existence of its own is likewise originality of the highest kind, and this is what the early Greeks succeeded in doing.'<sup>71</sup> One could also concur with Kirk's assertion that a few similarities can be found between Egyptian, Greek and Asiatic myths, but in essence they are different; thus 'Egyptian influence on Greek mythological thought seems . . . to be negligible'.<sup>72</sup> Borrowed elements are accommodated through renegotiation within the host culture and are not accepted mechanically. Jonathan Hall writes correctly: 'It is only by concentrating on an item in its context that its meaning becomes most relevant . . . a myth cannot be transmitted like an inanimate luxury item; it invariably assumes fresh meaning in its new context.'<sup>73</sup> Creative transformation and adaptation was, indeed, an important factor in the evolution of Greek civilization and it was not a result of indigenous development; however, the uniqueness and distinctiveness of it was the result of its unique history and character. Egyptians, as well as Greeks, clearly recognized this fact. Herodotus, for example, asserts that the *nomina* (customs) of the Egyptians were utterly different from those of the Greeks (II.79). If the Egyptian world was really the progenitor of Greece, the descendants bore little resemblance to their ancestors. The Greeks of Herodotus' era knew nothing about Egyptian customs and their culture was radically different. Surely, had his contemporaries had even a slight acquaintance with Egyptian culture, he would not have had to inform them of the Egyptians' unique customs or to point out that Egypt was a very singular nation. Greek culture was undoubtedly a distinctive cultural entity, different from the culture of its main donor – Egyptian culture – which has been perceived by the Greeks since Herodotus' time as a 'world in reverse'.<sup>74</sup> This *topos* of a different world refers not only to distinct Egyptian customs but also to the difference between Egyptian and Greek value systems. While Orlando Patterson accepts the view that 'there were strong non-Greek influences on pre-Socratic philosophy', he also asserts that the 'idea of freedom emerged in Greece and was alien to non-Western societies, including Egypt'.<sup>75</sup> Thus, he recognizes that one of the most important and influential contributions of Greece to humanity, including the black people – the idea of personal freedom – was not part of the Egyptian set of values and is a unique Greek innovation and development.

The fact remains that a set of loan-words, fragments of ideas, techniques or equipment can travel far and fast, and tend to be transmitted, whereas in most cases, a complete system of ideas cannot,<sup>76</sup> unless we are dealing with a drastic revolutionary process. The transmission of basic techniques or scientific knowledge differs from transmission in the areas of religion and mythology, where an isolated motif can often be transmitted but be given a different meaning within the new cultural-intellectual complex.<sup>77</sup> No culture can survive in total isolation, and complex societies tend to borrow even more than those less advanced. The process of borrowing should not be identified with dependence. In the Mediterranean basin and in the Near East mythical ideas and motifs crossed the border from one culture to another very easily. Dickinson writes that influences from a superior culture should not be presented 'as the natural outcome of contact, affecting the recipient culture like a disease, but require explanation by an analysis of that culture's development, which could show why foreign features might be adopted or adapted at that particular stage'.<sup>78</sup> But culture is a multi-dimensional, complex and dynamic system, not a set of isolated traits. The process by which this system is developed and crystallized to create a distinct cultural entity is also complex. According to Milton Singer:

Every human culture is a composite historical growth out of elements most of which have been borrowed from another culture . . . In spite of the foreign origins of the bulk of their cultural inventories, however, most cultures succeed in working and organizing these elements into a distinctive overall pattern or style.

However,

. . . Once it is crystallized, a total pattern or style gives a culture its distinctive character . . . a culture is represented by a great sphere in its totality, and not by one – or several – points on a line.<sup>79</sup>

One can, then, assume that the process of cultural absorption by the Greeks was attended by a process of selection and rejection. Like any other culture, the Greeks had a dynamic mechanism of absorption and rejection, making Greek culture whatever they rejected and developed themselves, as well as the items they adopted. Cultures converse with each other in different channels of communication, on different levels, for different purposes and with different results. Evidently a selective process of borrowing was involved in creating Greek civilization, a process which reflects a complex and dynamic acculturation. We do not know the nature of the selective criteria or their mechanics, but they operated.

The obsession with the problem of origins and borrowing narrows the debate to a one-dimensional and over-simplified discussion. Different cultures react differently to cultural contacts and are free to choose and borrow, accept and reject. Bernal and African-American scholarship focus

on the question of origins and on the phenomena of cultural diffusion and transmission, while completely ignoring the phenomena of acculturation, differentiation and configuration. In other words, they avoid any discussion of the ways in which transmitted cultural traits are incorporated into a new cultural system and assimilated by it, creating a new distinctive culture.<sup>80</sup> While stressing the question of origin they actually perpetuate a historical tradition, which, in principle, Bernal should oppose in view of his universalist point of departure.<sup>81</sup>

It is impossible, I believe, not to refer in this chapter to Martin L. West's book, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, published in 1997 (soft-cover edition in 1999). The book is a *tour de force*, which presents the lengthy tradition regarding the influence of West Asian (Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Syria) cultures on Aegean-Greek culture. West barely mentions Bernal and the heliocentric theory, referring only to it in passing, and dismisses the theory as exaggerated, if not completely groundless:

... in general my view is that the influence of Egypt on Greek poetry and myth was vanishingly small in comparison with that of western Asia. This may to some extent reflect my own ignorance. But it may be felt that Egypt has had more than its due from others in recent years. (p. vii)

In fact, his book constitutes a total and impressive refutation of the scope of Bernal's theory. West does not deny the protracted connection between Egypt and the Aegean cultures, but he asserts that for the Egyptians 'Crete had been the dim northern horizon' (p. 5). The Egyptian link with Crete existed during the fifteenth century and was renewed after 660 BC, West does not negate certain Egyptian influences, but believes they were limited in scope. The massive influence of the Orient was, in his view, West Asiatic, and unlike Burkert, he believes the orientalizing process took place earlier and continued over a very long period, changing in frequency and intensity, from the Neolithic period until the end of the Bronze Age and far beyond.

West is not content merely to provide a broad, detailed description of the repertoire of cultural transmissions from West Asia to Greece, but also attempts to identify its agents of transmission, the manner in which they operated and the routes of transmission, particularly in relation to the transmission of cosmogonies, myths, literary motifs and conventions, and also in art, science and the like (see his summary of cultural traits that passed from Western Asia to Greece from the early Mycenaean period to the sixth century on p. 60). According to West, the fingerprints and clear traces of the influence are evident particularly in those places where it is possible to identify the transmitting group and the receiving group, as in literature, for example, by means of wandering minstrels and bilingual immigrants

(p. 629). This can explain, in his view, how the written literature of West Asiatic culture passed by way of mouth into the oral cultures of Greece, or how artistic motifs were transmitted via wandering craftsman and imitation. These are not accidental encounters resulting from trade relations, but rather intensive relations of a multicultural encounter over a long period.

The array of evidence that West cites, the historical documentation and the comparative dimension in his book are impressive and far more persuasive than those Bernal proposes in his book. However, there seems to be a common denominator between these two reconstructions: they both express a diffusionist approach. They both depict Greek culture as a young culture in the making and hence open to massive reception of outside influences, which are the main cause of the development and crystallization of the new cultural system – from the lexicographic level up to the religious and political level. The fact that it was a young and incomplete culture, open to influence and located in an area international in character, created the conditions and possibilities for influences on the one hand, and for their reception on the other. Unlike Bernal, West has no need of a theory that posits occupation or colonization by groups of settlers or occupiers from West Asia in Greece in order to find support for the existence of a massive cultural influence. He fixes the time of the major West Asiatic influence – on Hesiod and on Homeric poetry – in the post-Mycenaean period, the eight or seventh century, although he does not exclude the possibility of earlier residues (p. 34). The major, salient differences between West and Bernal lie in their identification of the sources of influence.

The migration of myth and motifs over a course of centuries through many channels is a product of a complex network of communication. However, the similarity of motifs, or even of conventions, in various creative works does not necessarily attest to the borrowing by B from one common source A. Does the fact that the motif of the shepherd king appears in the cultures of Western Asian, Egypt and Greece (and the Bible), including a similar artistic depiction of a shepherd carrying a kid or a lamb on his shoulder, necessarily prove that they were all borrowed from one primary source? Can one not assume in the lives of the shepherded everywhere, the shepherd's care for his flock, bearing the newborn lamb or kid on his shoulders, gives rise to a similar motif and a similar literary-artistic image? The story of the flood in the cultures of the ancient East may have had a single source, a shared archaic memory, or a primary work of literature, but it is also possible that it was born independently in different places. In any event, the plot of the flood story and the message it conveys vary greatly from culture to culture, and this is true in many other cases as well.

Moreover, even if we assume that in Homeric literature there is, in fact, a deeply rooted residue of idiomatic motifs and expressions that originate in the Mesopotamian or the Ugaritic myth, there is no doubt that Homeric



literature is a unique creation, unparalleled in any prior work in Eastern literature, either in its structure, its content or its poetics. In other words, one can assume that motifs and images borrowed from West Asiatic literature were interjected into the creative, unique content and structure, but this in no way detracts from the originality of the work, rather it underscores it. It is important to stress this fact, since by focusing on the borrowed layers and residue, we may be led to think of them as the driving force of the work or its major component and thus lose sight of its originality and uniqueness.

It is worth noting that West does not attempt to answer the question as to why Greek tradition preferred not to point to her sources of borrowing in Anatolia (with the exception of the legend of Pelops, son of Tantalus), while noting only a few legends to mark the sources of her influence in Mesopotamia and Syria-Phoenicia. Why was so limited a place assigned in the ancient model to the influence of West Asia, while a much more honorable place was given to Egyptian influence? If West's proposed reconstruction is correct, there is much cause for wonder. A reasonable explanation may be that if indeed there were Mesopotamian influences, they came via different mediators with whom the Greeks had indirect contacts. It is also definitely possible that the Greeks did not even know what the primary sources were, and therefore the legendary traditions they composed relate to the direct source, rather than to the primary source. The Greek colonies in Egypt created a direct link between the Greeks and the Egyptians, and as I have noted, their inhabitants had an interest in nurturing a tradition of age-old ties between Egypt and Greece. Against the background of the enormous mass of Near Eastern influences and Greco-oriental contacts, one might have expected to find a much larger number of myths and legends on heroes with oriental origins.

In any event, the Greek historical tradition's neglect of the sources of Greek culture in Asia and its emphasis on the Phoenician-Egyptian orientation created the ancient model, a product of a later period, which developed primarily during the archaic and the classical periods and, over time, underwent various changes and modifications and laid the foundation, among other things, for the long-enduring heliocentric theory and its revival in the context of the post-colonial world and contemporary American society. Just as the Greeks in the generations following Hesiod and Homer preferred to link themselves with Phoenicia and Egypt – perhaps against the backdrop of the intensive ties with these countries during that time – the disciples of the pan-Egyptian (and the heliocentric) theory, for clearly ideological reasons, prefer to emphasize Greek's link with Egypt.

## EGYPT, CANAAN AND ISRAEL

There is yet another intriguing point to consider. How can we explain the fact that the degree and impact of Egyptian influence found by Bernal and African-American scholarship in Greece is far more intense and ingrained than that which is found in the neighboring countries and cultures of Palestine and Phoenicia, countries which the Egyptians could reach by land, not by sea, and which were ruled by Egypt for hundreds of years?<sup>82</sup> How can we explain the different nature of Egyptian influences abroad? Do they reveal the richness of Egyptian culture as a donor or the different nature of the recipient cultures? And how can we explain the fact that it was the Greeks of the Aegean region who adopted Egyptian vocabulary, Egyptian deities and Egyptian myths, while the neighboring cultures, which existed almost at the doors of Egypt, did not experience this massive Egyptian influence?<sup>83</sup> Is it because these countries were primarily influenced by the culture of Mesopotamia, or did they possess the inner strength (the mysterious *Geist*) to develop a distinct culture?

The fact is that Canaanite culture adopted certain Egyptian traits during the periods of Egyptian rule in Syria and Palestine, mainly in material civilization and in patterns of government, but took almost nothing in the spiritual realm.<sup>84</sup> Canaanite culture did not absorb Egyptian names such as Athena or Heracles; moreover, Canaanite society was able to resist or reject Egyptian influence, had no need to borrow from it, or preferred to borrow from other (Mesopotamian) cultures. As regards the people of Israel, there are indeed more than a few traces of Egyptian influence in the culture of Israel.<sup>85</sup> The new-born Israelite culture borrowed different cultural traits from Egypt, primarily during the First Temple period, but far less than could be expected, considering its long contacts with Egypt. A certain Egyptian influence is discernible in Hebrew vocabulary,<sup>86</sup> literary imagery and motifs, political ideas, administration, and even some religious cults (the doctrine of the creation of man in God's image, the idea of a final judgment of the deceased; the Golden Calf, the Bronze Serpent). Different cultural traits have found their way from Egypt to Judea.<sup>87</sup> Israelites found their way to Egypt as refugees or mercenaries; there was a Jewish Diaspora in Egypt; and Egyptian armies marched through the land of Canaan more than once before the end of the First Temple period. But there are only a few traces of Egyptian influence in the spheres of mythology, science or theology.<sup>88</sup> Morenz suggests that the Israelites learned the doctrine of 'creation', the literary form of court chronicles, the royal ritual, amongst other things, from Egypt.<sup>89</sup> However, the people of Israel borrowed far more from the neighboring Canaanites and Arameans, or from the Mesopotamian and Hittite cultures (including their cosmologies). On the other hand, some Egyptian influences, such as that of Egyptian wisdom literature or Egyptian poetry, are not to be found in Greece, while they

were influential in shaping biblical literature; nonetheless, much of the supposedly Egyptian influence on Greece does not exist in Palestine.<sup>90</sup>

How can we explain why the same culture – Egyptian culture – was capable of shaping the cultures of ancient Israel and ancient Greece in such disparate fashions?

#### THE AFROCENTRIC DILEMMA

Bernal's theory could have been considered a radical revision or counter-history, born in reaction and as a response in kind to the nineteenth-century racial version. Indeed, the argument which focuses on Bernal's modification of the ancient model takes on political importance because it was adopted by the Afrocentrists as an article of faith. As a result, however, a grave dilemma emerged, one with two faces.

On one level it suggests a model in which a culture in its early stages of development and crystallization is open to many influences from a higher neighboring culture; it is only this receptiveness which enables it to move up the ladder of cultural progress. If this is a correct paradigm, it should also be valid for the peoples of Africa during the colonial period, an era during which they absorbed (whether voluntarily or not) more than a few essential elements of Western civilization, elements they lacked and without which they might not have been able to develop as modern societies.

Bernal's and the Afrocentrist insistence on Egyptian prominence in the cultural influence on Greece are not the result of the desire to portray the character of the eastern Mediterranean as international, or the fact that cultural development is involved with cultural interchanges. Bernal is not concerned with cultural interferences, or influence on different strata of culture. He refers to almost total dependence and to colonizing groups strong enough to make a deep impression on the local population and to modify their culture for generations to come. He is, in fact, talking about Egyptian political and cultural colonialism, even imperialism – a phenomenon which, in its ancient context, he does not condemn on any moral ground. If, for the sake of argument, we accept the view that stresses Greek dependency on Egypt, then this dependency resulted from the historical fact that at the time, Greek culture was inferior and Egyptian culture superior, since an inferior culture is always dependent on a superior one and benefits from this dependency. The same logic urges us to accept the fact that when Greek culture (or Western culture) became superior, and the African culture, as a result of changing historical conditions, became inferior, these inferior cultures became dependent on the superior one. The Greeks, according to their tradition, were ready to acknowledge this fact, while the radical Afrocentrists fiercely reject it out of hand. Yet, why should the Afrocentric school not adopt this view and accept European influence on Africa in a positive manner?

The irony is that Afrocentric universal histories regard Egypt's campaigns of war, conquest and colonization as events which demonstrate Egyptian superiority. This reconstruction provides a retroactive legitimization of European colonialism and imperialism, both politically and culturally. Why should England and France be denounced for doing, thousands of years later, what the imperialist Egyptians did during the second and first millennia BC? Nowhere do Bernal or African-American authors denounce Egypt's sense of superiority over its neighbors, an attitude which, if adduced in a different (European) context, would certainly be condemned by them. On the second level, Bernal and the Afrocentrists must choose between a racial and a universalist approach. According to the universalist approach, diffusion and transmission of cultural traits are based not only on common human strata, but also on a dialogue and exchange between different cultures. If this is the case, however, it weakens their assertion that there exist innate differences which separate different cultures of different races.<sup>91</sup>

It seems Afrocentrists prefer to foster the paradigm of hyper-diffusion and transmission the other way round based on racial premises. For them, diffusion is not the basis for a universalist approach, but solid proof of primordality, superiority, uniqueness and independence. In order to explain the immense gap between Egyptian and Greek cultures, Afrocentric writers attempt to prove there existed great similarity between the two ancient cultures or, at least, to portray the more esteemed elements in Greek culture as having an Egyptian-African source, although there was, in their view, a substantive difference between the collective Egyptian-African personality and the collective Greek (Western) personality.<sup>92</sup> Others, like Diop, argue that the universalist approach is essentially African in origin and essence. 'Without any doubt, these universalist ideas derived from the southern world and in particular from Egypt.'<sup>93</sup> Philosophy (and science) brought new and revolutionary ideas from Egypt to Greece, which could not have emerged from the world of the Greeks.

Since many Afrocentrists continue to regard Greek heritage as an essential part of their own intellectual tradition they are trapped by this dilemma, while other Afrocentrists try to overcome it by separating the black people from Greek intellectual heritage and Western values, striving to create a distinct black human universe.

# The Glory that Was Egypt: The Heliocentric Theory

Concerning the historians . . . many have composed works on both Egypt and Ethiopia, of whom some have given credence to false reports and others have invented many tales out of their own minds . . .

Diodorus Siculus, III:11.1<sup>1</sup>

. . . Look on my works, ye mighty and despair  
Nothing beside remains. Round and decay  
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,  
The lone and level sands stretch far away.

P. B. Shelley, 'Ozymandis of Egypt'

In the temple of Säis, a man  
once lifted the veil of the goddess  
and found – O greatest of Wonders –  
and found concealed there –  
himself.

Novalis, 'Die Lehrlinge zu Säis' ('The Novices of Säis')

## THE ALLEGED CONSPIRACY AGAINST ANCIENT EGYPT

The Greek dependency theory posits a relationship of dependence between an inferior civilization (Greece) and one that was far more advanced and superior (Egypt). In the Afrocentric view, Egypt's vast achievements have influenced almost the entire human race ever since the third millennium BC. However, generations of European scholars sought to deny or conceal this fact, thus diminishing the great achievements of Egypt. Diop speaks about the 'ill-intentioned Egyptologists' who have committed a 'well-known crime against science',<sup>2</sup> while Bernal is convinced that ancient Egypt was subject to European Egyptophobia, and that her glory and

contribution to mankind were raped by the racist or racist writers of Europe. This accusation is repeated over and over again in Afrocentric Egyptocentric literature, and has become not only an historical maxim but an article of faith. Today, Diop, and his African-American disciples believe they have forced the West to recognize and acknowledge the glory that was Egypt, and that as a result of their efforts, the Western world has become aware of its debt to ancient Egypt, though it still lacks the intellectual and moral courage to acknowledge this great debt.<sup>3</sup>

According to the Afrocentrists, the time has come for 'classical Egypt' to replace 'heavenly Greece' and take its rightful place in the center of human history.

The theory regarding a racist conspiracy against ancient Egypt is based on a selective reading of European literature on the subject. Indeed, during the nineteenth century Egypt lost the central place it had been given in previous generations, though there were still many unswayed by the Indo-European (Aryan) theory or the 'Oriental' (Far East) Renaissance, and who continued to regard Egypt as the cradle of civilization. Although the quest for the Indo-Iranian (Aryan) roots of European civilization pushed Egypt to the sidelines, mainly as a result of German (but not only German) racial theories,<sup>4</sup> by the end of the century new discoveries in Egypt revived Europe's fascination with the land of the Nile. It was European scholarship and European literature which revealed and acknowledged the 'wonder that was Egypt'.

But the opposition to the very argument that Greek culture was influenced by the culture of ancient Egypt (or the Near East) did not necessarily arise from anti-Egyptian (and anti-Hamitic) racism. More often it grew from the romantic-organic concept about the genesis of national culture and its distinct spirit (*Geist*).<sup>5</sup> When Bernal states that anti-Egyptian texts were given great weight and status in nineteenth-century literature, the esteem assigned to Egypt is itself overshadowed by the attitude towards its supposed influence on Greece, ignoring the fact that one can greatly appreciate Egypt's achievements and contribution without accepting the theory of its influence upon Greece.

#### THE DOUBLE IMAGE THAT WAS EGYPT

##### *The land of magic and marvels versus the land of wisdom and learning*

The Afrocentric heliocentric perspective is, again, but a link in the long chain of the traditional glory that was ancient Egypt. There is almost nothing new under the Afrocentric heliocentric sun.

'O Egypt, Egypt, only stories of your religion will remain . . .' This is the prophecy of doom spoken by Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius (*Asclepius*, III.25),<sup>6</sup> a prophecy which came true. Much of Egypt's rich cultural,

intellectual and spiritual literature has been lost. We will never be able to reconstruct its complexity and dynamics in its entirety, nor will we be able to trace its presence within the syncretic Hellenistic-Roman world. During the Hellenistic-Roman world, Egypt was the meeting-place and melting-pot of different traditions, the fertile intellectual and spiritual ground of tremendous creativity in many fields. It therefore seems impossible to distinguish clearly between the 'native', or 'original' Egyptian intellectual layers, the Greek (or Oriental, perhaps even Indian) layers which came to Egypt via various agents, and the genuine intellectual innovations of various philosophers and schools of thought, all of which were part of the intellectual life of Hellenistic-Roman Egypt and its heritage. It is impossible to reconstruct what exactly the intellectuals and scholars, who gathered in Alexandria from all the parts of the Hellenistic-Roman world, drew from the extremely rich body of Egyptian literature. The fact remains that Egypt, especially Alexandria, was the cradle and scene of prolific intellectual life, from scientific inquiry to Hermetic and gnostic thought; all this could not have been inspired but for a rich intellectual heritage, kept alive at least in part, for centuries.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, what was left of Egypt was more than enough to stimulate deep and everlasting curiosity, fascination and inspiration, not to mention furious debate.

As early as ancient times Egypt projected a double image: a source and a center of great learning on one hand, and a land of mystery, occult and magic on the other. 'Egypt was always the land of marvel and has remained so to the present day', wrote the German philosopher Hegel,<sup>8</sup> paraphrasing Clement of Alexandria (Titus Flavius Clement, third century AD) who wrote that 'it is said that mystery was originated in Egypt' (*Stromata* I.153).<sup>9</sup> The earliest foundation of this image is found in *Exodus* 7:8-12, where Moses and Aaron are challenged by Pharaoh to compete with his professional magicians. This story gave rise to Moses' reputation among pagans in antiquity as a magician.<sup>10</sup>

This image of Egypt was based on solid facts. The Egyptians themselves regarded their magic spells and secret books (as well as other sacred books) as their most precious treasures; conversely, their loss was considered a great disaster:

Lo, the private chamber, its books are stolen,  
The secrets in it are laid bare.  
Lo, magic spells are divulged . . .  
Lo, offices are opened,  
Their records stolen . . .  
Lo, [scribes] are slain,  
Their writing stolen . . .  
Their books are destroyed . . .

(*The Admonitions of Ipuwer*, The Middle Kingdom, c.2040-1640 BC)<sup>11</sup>

*Land of magic*

Magic and the practice of magic (*hekau*) played an important part in the fabric of ancient Egypt's religious, cosmological, and medical thought,<sup>12</sup> and constantly recurs throughout Egypt's long history.<sup>13</sup> In his prophecy regarding 'The burden of Egypt', for example, the prophet Isaiah refers to both images – a land of wisdom and a land of magic and mystery (*Isaiah* 19:1–12).<sup>14</sup> In the same vein, Egypt was also perceived by the Jewish Sages as a land of sorcery and magic ('Ten measures of witchcraft were given to the world, nine taken by Egypt and one by the rest of the world', *Kidushin*, 49). The Sages, like the fathers of the Christian Church, referred to Egyptian priests as experts in the occult sciences. Talmudic exegeses considered the wisdom of Egypt to be mainly astrological knowledge.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the Bible exhibited a more positive attitude toward Egypt in *I Kings* (4:29–30) where it is said that God gave King Solomon:

... wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart ...  
and Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East  
country, and all the wisdom of Egypt.<sup>16</sup>

However, by 'wisdom' the author meant 'wisdom literature', or the 'wisdom of telling fables', not learning and science.<sup>17</sup> In fact, the Bible says nothing about Egyptian sciences such as medicine, geometry or astronomy.<sup>18</sup> Both the Bible and the Sages, then, thought little of the 'wisdom of Egypt' and barely mention the spectacular accomplishments of Egyptian culture. On the other hand, Jewish-Hellenistic writers embraced the image of Egypt as both a land of pagan rites and a land of great achievements.

The Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria wrote about the great wonders of Egypt (*De Providentia*, 2.65),<sup>19</sup> its cultivated land (*De Vita Mosis*, I.5)<sup>20</sup> and its learning in arithmetic, geometry, the lore of metre, rhythm and harmony (*ibid.*, I.23).<sup>21</sup> He distinguishes between Egyptian 'wisdom' and Egyptian religion, rites and cults, of which he is contemptuous (*De Decalogo*, 79–80).<sup>22</sup> The Greeks and the Romans regarded Egypt as the source of knowledge and art, but also as the fountainhead of magic. The Greek *Alexander Romance* includes details about the amazing magical powers of the last native-born ruler of Egypt,<sup>23</sup> and the average Roman's view was influenced by Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*. Cicero, for example, wrote of the 'wonder of the magicians, and the similar extravagances of the Egyptians' (*De Natura Deorum* [*On the Nature of the Gods*], I:42).<sup>24</sup> In the same vein, in what Copenhaver defines as 'the most celebrated example of this aspect of Roman racism', the Roman poet Juvenal wrote in contempt in the fifteenth *Satire*

... Who does not know what monsters lunatic Egypt  
Chooses to cherish? One part goes in for crocodile worship;



One bows down to the ibis that feeds upon serpents; elsewhere  
A golden effigy shines, of a long-tailed holy monkey!<sup>25</sup>

However, not every one condemned or mocked Egyptian animal worship. Diodorus Siculus (i.e. his source, Hecataeus), not only gave rational explanations for this worship and homage of sacred animals, but also praised it (Diodorus, II.83–9).<sup>26</sup> The irony is that while the pagan philosopher, Celsus, in his polemic against Christianity, argued that the miracles attributed to Jesus resemble the witchcraft said to have been practiced by the Egyptians (*Contra Celsum*, I.67), the Christians, much like the Jews, considered Egypt to be the land of idolatry and magic. '[T]he Egyptians are allowed full freedom in their empty superstition, to make gods of birds and beasts . . . ' wrote Tertullian, 'the zealous African' (c.150–222 AD) in his *Apologeticus* (XXIC.7),<sup>27</sup> while Minucius Felix, an early Christian writer, asked:

Do you join the Egyptians in adoring and feeding the bull Apis? And approve rites instituted in honor of serpents and crocodiles and all the other beasts and birds and fishes, gods whose slaughter is made punishable by death? . . .  
(*Octavius*, XXVII.8)<sup>28</sup>

According to St Augustine, when Hermes Trismegistus grieved and lamented the destruction of Egypt, he meant that the destruction of Egypt was caused by their worship of a multitude of man-made gods and invented divinities (*City of God*, VIII.24).<sup>29</sup> During the Middle Ages the image of Egypt as a land of marvels prevailed in the narratives of pilgrims and travelers, and the land was described as a country full of *curiositates* and *mirabiliae*. In *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (compiled c.1356), for example, Egypt is where the priests of the temple of Heliopolis have a book in which the birth date of the Phoenix is recorded, and where the earth bears fruit in several places eight times a year.<sup>30</sup> During the Renaissance and later periods, Egypt was perceived mainly as the land of mysteries, an image based on the misguided notion that hieroglyphs were allegorical signs and constituted a sacred writing of ideas.<sup>31</sup>

The discovery in 1419 of the *Hieroglyphica Hellenic Egyptam* by Horapolo, a fifth century AD treatise on the interpretation of hieroglyphic signs, printed in 1505) was responsible for the idea that hieroglyphics represented hidden secrets about the universe.<sup>32</sup> Astrology and alchemy were associated with the temples,<sup>33</sup> and Greek Orphic cults were borrowed from the Egyptian religion, especially the beliefs regarding the nether world and cosmogony.<sup>34</sup>

Egyptian culture's negative image in the modern era is due largely to those biblical 'abominations'<sup>35</sup> and the Egyptians' popular culture: superstitions, cults, and so forth.<sup>36</sup> Consider the barbarous, cruel, lustful and murderous Egyptian priests in so many novels and films. The Egyptian-

Hellenistic mystical cults were linked to the 'Eastern flood' which had swept Rome and eroded it from within. Moreover, the impact of Egyptian cults and mysticism on the Hellenistic world and later civilizations was always sharply differentiated from 'Egyptian science' and other intellectual achievements of ancient Egypt. The French scholar Ernest Renan is a good example of this approach. In his *The History of the People of Israel* (published posthumously in 1888) he condemned the Egyptians for exercising a bad influence on the 'pure' nomadic Israelites. Egyptian religion altered Judaism 'in many respects for the worse'. Among the evils said to have originated with the Egyptians were the golden calf, the brazen serpent and the false prophets. In fact, 'with the exception of the ark, Egypt introduced nothing but disturbing elements'. But even Renan was forced to concede that the Israelites had also adopted several good customs from Egypt, such as circumcision.

Mary Lefkowitz has correctly claimed that the image of Egyptian cults and religion as a 'mystery system' is 'relatively modern fiction'<sup>37</sup> which was popularized by admirers of Hermetism, Freemasons, Pyramidologists, various believers in esoterica, such as the French priest and professor of Greek at the Collège de France, Abbé Jean Terasson (1670–1750),<sup>38</sup> and many other writers.<sup>39</sup> According to her, Ancient Egypt had no mystery system nor mystery cults in the Greco-Roman sense.<sup>40</sup> However, Lefkowitz herself asserts that these cults were not entirely a modern invention, but were fostered by Hellenized Egyptians trying to recover and understand their native traditions; some of them, such as Asclepiades, were well-versed in Egyptian sacred texts and in the early traditions of Egypt.<sup>41</sup> Learned Egyptians undoubtedly transferred this knowledge of Egyptian magic texts to the Christian writers and to popular Christian beliefs at a later time. The fact is that the secret nature of the Egyptian cults and esoteric literature was an Egyptian invention.<sup>42</sup> Although Egyptian festivals had a public character, important parts of the ritual took place inside the temple far from public view, and the populace was routinely excluded from certain divine services.<sup>43</sup> In some cases, sacred texts were kept secret as well: 'Hide it. Hide it, do not let anyone read it!' warned the *Book of Breathing*.<sup>44</sup> Magical functions were performed primarily by the priesthood; 'Full-time secular magicians probably did not exist in Egypt before the early first millennium AD and some would dispute their existence even at this period.'<sup>45</sup> 'Secrecy was also a virtue in itself because of the mystique it gave to the magician.'<sup>46</sup> Not only magic, but different fields of knowledge were also restricted or kept from the general public.<sup>47</sup> Modern scholars, writes Burkert, 'agree that there were initiation rites for the priests at various levels in Egypt, and there were secret rites in which only the higher priests were allowed to participate, but there were no *mysteria* of the Greek style, open to the public upon application'.<sup>48</sup>

Thus, there is some historical truth and long tradition behind the veil of

Egyptian secrecy and mystery, just as there is in the popular description of the Egyptian priesthood. If by mystery we refer not only to magic or mystery cults but also to a body of cosmogonies and theologies<sup>49</sup> which were the possession of limited circles, primarily the priesthood, then this image of Egypt – especially to a Greek – as a culture based on secret knowledge has a reliable source. Thus, even if James' theory about the Egyptian mystery system is farfetched and based on a later particularly Masonic invention, this perception was still based on the secret and hierarchal nature of at least part of Egyptian knowledge. Moreover, since the Egyptian libraries contained far more than was preserved, there is still the possibility, even if the similarities he draws between certain Egyptian and Greek texts are over-simplified and misleading, that certain ideas, from other texts (or folklore), found their way to both the Greek and the wider Hellenistic world of the intellect.

### *Land of wisdom*

The main interest, however, of mainstream African-American Afrocentric and Egyptocentric literature on ancient Egypt is not to praise ancient Egypt as the land of magic and occult, but as the source of 'rational wisdom'.

Egypt was also a civilization with numerous achievements; the *fons et origo* of almost all knowledge. It was Hecataeus of Abdera, as far as we know, who began the long tradition of pan-Egyptianism which exalts Egypt as the cradle of civilization and a paragon in every field of human endeavor.<sup>50</sup> According to the pan-Egyptianists, Egypt was the mother of humankind and the birthplace of almost every aspect of human culture: religion, agriculture, science, art, language and law (Diodorus, I.96–8).<sup>51</sup> This utopian image of Egypt as the source of all learning and human invention (I.9.6)<sup>52</sup> was widespread during the Hellenistic period. This idealized image included not only learning but also mankind's most important inventions, mythology, written languages, geometrical principles, philosophy and scientific astrology (I.9.6). Diodorus Siculus wrote that it was the Egyptian priests, rather than himself, 'who claim' that the origins of stories they tell are true;<sup>53</sup> if this is so, one may wonder why he devoted so much space to these myths. He never questioned the fact that learned Greeks of the highest repute were eager to visit Egypt, to study its laws and customs.

Egyptians and Chaldeans enjoyed a very high reputation for learning and wisdom (the so-called 'wisdom of the East') in the Greco-Roman world, and as a result, the question of their mutual influence and the ascendancy of one over the other was hotly argued.<sup>54</sup> Egypt's 'wisdom' or 'instruction' texts also rose in stature and attracted admiration.<sup>55</sup> Jewish and Christian writers argued that it was the Jewish sages who instructed the Egyptian priests in all areas of knowledge. However, they did agree, in the words of

St Augustine, that there was 'in Egypt, for example, a considerable amount of learning which might be called the wisdom of the men concerned. Otherwise it would not be said in the Holy Scriptures that Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians"' (*The City of God*, XVII.37).<sup>56</sup> But St Augustine rejected the 'empty pride' of Egypt's ancient wisdom (*ibid.*, XVIII.39).<sup>57</sup> His polemic is firm testimony of the fact that the antiquity of Egyptian wisdom was a widespread view in his time.<sup>58</sup>

On the one hand we cannot overlook the theory that it was the religious revolution of Akhenaton which inspired the early monotheism of Moses and the Israelites. There were those who went far beyond this possibility with their speculations, such as Gerald Massey. Influenced by the theories of Kuhn and Müller, the 'masters of mythology' in the second half of the nineteenth century, and one of the forerunners of the new universal history, argued in a *tour de force* of modern speculation and imagination that he had found Egyptian literature to be the source and origin of every mythological motif or idea. Along the lines of pan-Egyptian literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Massey set about in the second volume of his *Book of the Beginnings* to accumulate evidence that the ancient Hebrews were of Egyptian origin as were their language, beliefs and cults. 'The Hebrews took them from the Egyptians, with other stolen goods . . .'<sup>59</sup> 'The original matter and meaning of the Exodus is found in a fragment of the Egyptian ritual or gospel, in which the solar allegory of the lower world of darkness and the ascent into the world of light is so ancient that it becomes eschatological.'<sup>60</sup> Moses and Joshua are but the 'two lion-gods of Egypt'. In other words:

There is no new creation to be found in the most ancient Hebrew writings, language, imagery, allegories, or divinities. They are wholly of Egyptian origin, to be read by Egyptians, to be interpreted and valued as Egyptian of the Typhonian cult . . . By the aid of Egyptian mythology we shall reduce the most magnified figures of the Jewish writings to their natural dimensions, and when the cloud had been dispersed by a gust of freer breath and fuller life, Egypt will become visible again . . .<sup>61</sup>

Even ' . . . Jesus as judge of the Dead, with the sheep on the right, and the goat on the left, is Egyptian from first to last, in every phase from the beginning to the end'.<sup>62</sup> No wonder that Massey is quoted as an authority in an atheist publication which sought to prove that Judaism and Christianity were inspired by more ancient religions and must be understood in a historical-evolutionist context. Indeed, the fact that Massey's view that 'there was no revelation or divine origin' cannot be accepted by believing African-American Christians does not prevent many of them from welcoming a view which alleged an Egyptian origin for both Judaism and Christianity.

# MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE EGYPTOPHILIA: DEISM VERSUS HEBRAISM

The widespread notion that Egypt was the cradle of science was accepted by Muslim scholars long before it was rediscovered by the 'West'. In his *Book of the Categories of Nations* (*Kitab Tabaqat'al-Umam*, 1068) Sā'id al-Andalusī, a Muslim scholar from Andalusia, counted Egypt among the seven nations which, in his view, contributed to science, explaining that:

The ancient Egyptians who lived before the Flood cultivated various branches of science and searched into the most complex of problems . . . After the Flood, there lived in Egypt scientists who were knowledgeable in all aspects of science and philosophy, including mathematics, the physical sciences, and theology.<sup>63</sup>

During the fourteenth century, in his *Muqaddimah*, the great Muslim historian Ibn Khaldūn- described Egypt as the 'house of wisdom', claiming that:

. . . because the civilization greatly developed and its sedentary culture had been established for thousands of years, Egyptian science was preserved while of the science of others, nothing has come to our attention.<sup>64</sup>

The image of Egypt as the 'mother of all wisdom', (including mysticism), was revived in Europe during the mid-fifteenth century, an era not only of learning and scholarship, but of great speculation and forgeries. Egypt's secrets had a powerful fascination for men of the Renaissance,<sup>65</sup> encouraged by Plato's accounts of Egyptian philosophy, the rediscovery of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and the controversy over its authenticity, Manethon's history and the newly found collections of hieroglyphics.<sup>66</sup> Annius of Viterbo, for example, emphasizes Egypt's role as the source of civilization, thus, according to A. Grafton, displacing Greek culture 'from its central place in human history and connecting the modern West directly to the biblical Near East'. P. E. Jablonsky, in his *Pantheon Aegyptiorum* (1750-52), believed (as do Bernal and Afrocentric writers) that the Egyptians, not Copernicus, had devised the heliocentric system'.<sup>67</sup> The treatise of Harapolo and the *Corpus Hermeticum* created an Egyptomania which swept Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Egypt was considered the source of wisdom (*prisca theologia*); a premise which proposed a new span of historical time – which either had to be reconciled with the biblical span of time or regarded as far more ancient and reliable. In Giordano Bruno's view, the source of the myths shared by the Greeks and the Hebrews was Egyptian. He called the Jews the 'excrement of Egypt' and maintained that Moses learned all the sciences of the Egyptians at Pharaoh's court.<sup>68</sup>

The prime mover in the 'Egyptian renaissance' was a German Jesuit monk with an insatiable appetite for knowledge, a professor of mathematics

in the University of Rome, Athanasius Kircher (1601/2–80), ‘the last Renaissance Egyptologist’.<sup>69</sup> He was the last of the polymaths, or, in Grafton’s words, the ‘maddest of polymaths and the most learned of madmen’, who built ‘whole edifices on foundations of sand’.<sup>70</sup> In his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Vols I–III, Rome, 1652–54), *Obelisc Aegyptiaci Interpretation Hieroglyphica* (1666), and *Sphinks Mystagoga* (Amsterdam, 1676),<sup>71</sup> his point of departure was, first, that ‘Egypt was the post-diluvian cradle of all arts and sciences’; and second, that ‘The wisdom of the Egyptians was nothing other than this: to represent the science of Divinity and Nature under various fables and allegorical tales of animals and the natural things’ (Vol. II, 40).<sup>72</sup> His ‘translations’ of the hieroglyphics, published in four volumes, were hopelessly inaccurate. But, in J. R. Harris’ words, ‘However misguided his approach, the learned Jesuit had an enormous influence on Egyptian studies and was in no small degree responsible for the more academic attitude of the succeeding century . . .’.<sup>73</sup>

This fascination with Egypt grew following the discoveries of Egyptian monuments in Italy, but was intensified when scholar and monk Marsilio Ficino translated the writings of Hermes Trismegestus, whom he considered a contemporary of Moses.<sup>74</sup> The interest of Renaissance scholars in ancient Egyptian writings was in keeping with the complex spirit of the time. In addition to scholasticism and Greek humanism it involved esoteric knowledge such as Neoplatonism, cabalism, gnosticism and the ‘Hermetic’ tradition, which the scholars endeavored to transform into a ‘rational system of the arational’.<sup>75</sup> The anti-Christian tendencies of magical Neoplatonism found support in cabalistic learning and in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, where ‘magic, astrology, alchemy, mystical and number symbolism mix easily with natural philosophy’.<sup>76</sup> For Marsilio Ficino the *Corpus Hermeticum* was the origin of ancient theology (*prisca theologia*), a text which reveals the hidden mysteries (*arcana mysteria*),<sup>77</sup> while Giovanni Pico della Mirandola observed in the twelfth book of his *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* that the Greek philosophers were rationalists: ‘In no way have they drawn from the Egyptians; they have only taken things regarding cults and astronomy from the Egyptians . . . And the proof of this is that they always cite the Chaldeans and Egyptians when talking about astronomy and the mysteries . . . but in philosophical discussions we never see them mentioned beside Plato or Aristotle.’<sup>78</sup>

This heliophilous view of Egypt as the origin of human civilization continued to prevail during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in scholarly circles. It resulted in what Frank E. Manuel called a ‘bruteworship’ of the ancient Egyptians.<sup>79</sup> It took a new course in the writings of the English Deists and the Enlightenment philosophers. While the Christian Hebraists tried to prove that the religion and wisdom of the ancient peoples was derived from the Hebrews, the Deists held the view that Egypt was the source of religion, primarily to prove that Egyptian

religion was a natural and pure form of primitive religion. They intended to trace the development of the heathen religions from the natural one, and to demonstrate that Egypt's natural religion was the source of Hebrew religion and wisdom.<sup>80</sup> Manetho again became the source of this anti-monotheistic way of thought, which rejected the idea of revealed religion and formulated the concept of natural religion. The Jewish and Christian faiths were perceived as a human inception, dependent upon their Egyptian heritage, rather than the result of divine revelation.

In his book *Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites Used by the Ancient Hebrews* (London, 1628), Thomas Godwyn tried to describe which rites had been borrowed by the Israelites from the Egyptians, and which were original Hebrew rites. English Hebraist, John Spencer (1630–93),<sup>81</sup> whose books became, in Assmann's words, 'one of the most important reference books to Egyptophiles of the eighteenth century',<sup>82</sup> claimed that many of the Jewish ritual laws were similar to those of the Egyptians and indeed originated in the Egyptian religion. This interpretation was based on Maimonides' interpretation of the origins and function of the rites in his *Guide for the Perplexed* (III.32) an interpretation which, according to Assmann, put forward for the first time, the principle of 'normative inversion', intended to turn Egyptian customs upside down, because the Jews had to be de-Egyptianized.<sup>83</sup> 'Normative inversion' was necessary because the Jews were culturally Egyptians! It is important to note that Spencer's attitude toward Egypt was a negative one characterized by extreme Egyptophobia (he called Egyptian religion '*faeces superstitiones Aegyptiacae*', etc.). The same view was expressed by Charles Blount (in *Concerning the Origin of the Jews* (1691)); by John Toland,<sup>84</sup> who rejected the Hellenistic-Jewish tradition concerning the Jewish origin of Egyptian wisdom; by Tindal, Lord Shaftesbury, W. Warburton<sup>85</sup> and others.<sup>86</sup> Toland perceived Moses, one of the group of ancient legislators, as a deist and iconoclast. However, Abraham spent only two years in Egypt, which is why he was unable to teach his people, the most ignorant people in the ancient East, the wisdom of Egypt!

On the other hand, Ralph Cudworth,<sup>87</sup> held a positive view of Egypt as the source of primitive monotheism and the source of learning,<sup>88</sup> and Thomas Blackwell,<sup>89</sup> wrote in excited admiration about Egypt, 'the mighty Kingdom', with a 'reputation for wisdom and knowledge'. He emphasized Egypt's contribution to the development of theological thought, stating 'to allegorize is an Egyptian invention'.<sup>90</sup> In his *Letters Concerning Mythology* (1748), Blackwell wrote that Homer derived his theology from Egypt, while Thomas Shaw wrote that the ancient Egyptians were the tutors of the Greeks:

Besides the great variety of arts and science that were known to the Egyptians, we read of no other nation in history that could boast of the like

number of natural or artificial curiosities. It was the fame and reputation, which Egypt had acquired, of being the scroll and repository of these several branches of knowledge and ingenuity, that engaged Orpheus, Pythagoras, and other persons of the first rank in this antiquity, to leave their own country to be acquainted . . . Greece was further obliged to Egypt, not only for physics and medicines, but for a great many laws, maxims and constitutions of polity, which had been introduced among them by Plato, Solon, and Lycurgus.<sup>91</sup>

Isaac Newton placed Egyptian records on an equal footing with the Bible, and occasionally exceeding the authority of it. In his view Noah carried the 'original true religion' to Egypt, 'where it was increasingly corrupted by an unsavoury mixture of human credulity and superstition, such as the worship of the stars. During their Egyptian captivity, later generations of Jews rediscovered and restored for a time the basic elements of the *prisca theologia*, but they, too, fell away despite the pleading of their prophets'.<sup>92</sup> The French scholar J. C. Basnage<sup>93</sup> wrote that while the Jews lived a simple life and had no inclination toward art and science, the Egyptians were talented in science and art (I.1), and Charles François Dupuis, in his *Origins of All Cults* (1795), argued that all cults had originated in Egypt. It should be noted that the Deists were not concerned with the rational dimension of Egypt's intellectual heritage, but were primarily interested in proving that the Jews had borrowed their cults and religion from Egypt; hence they were justified in rejecting the Bible story and the idea of revelation. Egypt never lost its image as the origin of mysticism and 'true inner knowledge' in European esoteric literature. During that period the Euhemerist explanation (named after the Greek mythographer Euhemerus, c.300 BC, who founded the mytho-historical tradition) of Egyptian (and Greek) mythologies was commonly accepted.<sup>94</sup>

It is not my aim here to describe the nature and function of the 'Moses discourse' in the eighteenth century, so brilliantly analyzed by Assmann. What matters is that Egypt continued to be perceived by European scholars as a country of marvels, mysteries and magic; at the same time its positive, even rationalist image as the source of learning was also preserved and nurtured. European fascination with Egypt until the nineteenth century left a dual perception of Egypt as both a homeland of great learning and knowledge, the mother place of 'natural religion', and as a land of mysteries and magic a heritage of positive and negative 'Egyptomania'.

Most Christian writers were not especially interested in evaluating Egypt's direct influence on Greece, but rather in surveying the existing ties between the Egyptian religion, the Bible, the New Testament and Christian doctrines. The revival of classical antiquity in eighteenth-century Europe was a counter-history, directed against the high repute of the ancient Eastern civilizations. European Egyptomania never described the



ancient Egyptians as blacks or Africans not only because they showed no interest at all in racial or ethnic definitions, but because for them, ancient Egypt was a *sui generis* marvelous civilization.

#### EGYPTOPHILIA IN MODERN TIMES<sup>95</sup>

Even a cursory glance at nineteenth-century Western literature – scholarly volumes, travel books and novels – shows that Egypt maintained its traditional image as a source of learning, and not only of cult and mysticism, even during the Egyptophobia of the nineteenth century.<sup>96</sup> I shall give only a few examples of the favorable views of ancient Egypt, even Egyptomania, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In one of the most famous historical novels of all time, Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834), Abraces, an Egyptian, is one of the protagonists. The novel says 'his skin, dark and bronzed, betrayed his Eastern origin', and he is later described as a man with 'dark features'. In the course of the novel, the Egyptian is given several opportunities to praise Egypt and to disparage Greece and Rome:

How I could loathe you, if I did not hate – yes, hate! Greek or Roman, it is from us, from the dark lore of Egypt, that ye have stolen the Fire that gives you souls. Your knowledge – your poesy – your laws – your arts – your barbarous mastery of war . . . – ye have filched, as a slave filches the fragments of the feast, from us! . . . The pyramids look down no more on the race of Rameses – the eagle cowers over the serpent of the Nile.

And again:

From Egypt came all the knowledge of the world; from Egypt came the lore of Athens and the profound policy of Crete; from Egypt came those early and mysterious tribes which (long before the hordes of Romulus swept over the plains of Italy, and in the eternal cycle of events drove back civilization into barbarism and darkness) possessed all the arts of wisdom and the graces of intellectual life . . . For modern nations owe their greatness to Egypt – Egypt her greatness to her priests.<sup>97</sup>

The most imposing literary example of a modern perception of ancient Egypt is Thomas Mann's novel *Joseph und seine Brüder* (*Joseph and His Brothers*), a unique work (though only one of a great number of nineteenth-century historical novels set in ancient Egypt). Mann's novel reflects almost every aspect of nineteenth- and twentieth-century knowledge of, and attitudes to, ancient Egypt. It also displays a very ambivalent or dual approach to Egypt: as far as religion is concerned, Egypt was considered a backward nation, but in every aspect of culture, it had reached the height of civilization.

Many American travelers to the East during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were highly impressed by ancient Egypt. Arriving in Egypt in 1867, Mark Twain hastened, like millions of other Americans, to climb the pyramids.<sup>98</sup> He was not captivated by the charms of the Orient, but he did not perceive ancient Egypt as part of the Orient:

We were glad to have seen the land which was the mother of civilization – which taught Greece her letters, and through Greece, Rome, and through Rome the world; the land which could have humanized and civilized the hapless children of Israel, but allowed them to depart out of her borders little better than savages. We were glad to have seen that land which had an enlightened religion with future eternal rewards and punishment in it, while even Israel's religion contained no promise of a hereafter. We were glad to have seen that land which had glass three thousand years ago, well-nigh all of medicine and surgery which science has *discovered* lately; which had all those curious surgical instruments which science has *invented* recently; which had in high excellence a thousand luxuries and necessities of an advanced civilization which we have gradually contrived and accumulated in modern times and claimed as things that were new under the sun; that had paper untold centuries before we dreamt of it – and waterfalls before our women thought of them; that had a perfect system of common schools so long before we boasted of our achievements in that direction that it seems forever and forever ago; that so embalmed the dead that flesh was made almost immortal – which we cannot do; that built temples which mock at destroying time and smile grimly upon our lauded little prodigies of architecture; that old land that knew all which we know now, perchance, and more; that walked in the broad highway of civilization in the gray dawn of creation, ages and ages before we were born; that left the impress of exalted, cultivated Mind upon the eternal front of the sphinx to confound all scoffers who, when all her other proofs had passed away, might seek to persuade the world that imperial Egypt, in the days of her high renown, had groped in darkness.<sup>99</sup>

Mark Twain is only one in a very long line of admirers who sang the praises of ancient Egypt.<sup>100</sup> The Greek-Hellenistic and Renaissance image of 'rational' Egypt is seamlessly woven into such texts; popular literature of this sort was at least as influential as scientific and scholarly works in forging Egypt's image among the public.<sup>101</sup> Thus, it is hard to accept Pemble's sweeping generalization that for the Victorians and Edwardians the

. . . remains of ancient societies, including Egypt, were essentially museum specimens; the fascinating but unedifying product of alien and inferior civilizations. One Victorian commentator said (in 1850) on the Pyramids: Modern science and mechanical skill can see in them nothing that time and money could not accomplish, were the end deemed worthy of the cost and the labour.<sup>102</sup>

There is nothing anti-Egyptian in the writings of most of the prominent nineteenth-century philosophers; their description of ancient Egypt was based on historical or morphological universal schemes, in which Egypt was perceived, in Herder's words in his *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (1774), as the place where the human race was educated; where the boy from the lands of the East went in order to develop there into a youth.<sup>103</sup> In Hegel's view, the intelligence of the Egyptians manifested itself in the practical sphere of mechanics, but he also recognized its 'production of art and science'.<sup>104</sup> He wrote that 'Egyptians are vigorous boys, eager for self-comprehension, who require nothing but clear understanding of themselves, in an ideal form, in order to become Young Men . . . Only in the Greek spirit does humanity exhibit itself in its clear and developed condition.'<sup>105</sup> This interpretation may be based on an erroneous conception, but not on Egyptophobia.<sup>106</sup> Hegel also wrote that while black people cannot create abstractions, the ancient Egyptians were capable of abstracting under the influence of the substantial and unchangeable ruling power of the Nile.<sup>107</sup> Popular writers such as John William Draper, in his book *History of Intellectual Development* (1861), admitted that many of the pre-Homeric legends came from Egypt: the accusation of the dead, the trial before the judges of hell, etc.<sup>108</sup> However, Egyptian doctrine, which might have existed for thousands of years, was protected from controversy or even examination, by its very antiquity 'and hence sunk with the passing of time into an ineffectual and lifeless state; but the same doctrine brought into a young community full of activity would quickly be made productive and yield results'.<sup>109</sup> Another popular writer, Henry Thomas Buckle, in his Introduction to the *History of Civilization in England* (1857-61), scoffs at the claim that the ancient Egyptians practiced science, asserting that of 'science properly so called the Egyptians had none'. Buckle notes that various contemporary works refused to acknowledge that the Egyptians did not develop science, the reason being that the natural surroundings in Egypt produced a theocracy, which inevitably conflicts with the free scientific spirit. 'It is a shame', he concludes, 'that such nonsense should be written in the nineteenth century . . .'.<sup>110</sup> Does this statement not show that the positive image of Egypt never faded during the nineteenth century, and therefore Buckle had to scoff at the prevailing opinion? When Buckle writes that Egyptian civilization, which is 'grossly exaggerated', stands in striking contrast to the barbarism of the other nations of Africa,<sup>111</sup> and refers to the 'enormous and unprincipled waste of human life in Ancient Egypt', he may have revealed his biased Eurocentric outlook, though not any sort of anti-Egyptianism.

As for modern historians (Egyptologists as well as Orientalists), more than a few admired the dignity, the grandeur and antiquity of Egyptian achievements. Baron Christian Karl J. von Bunsen, wrote that 'The Hellenic mind early turned with respect and veneration towards a land replete with

wonders of a world that had intellectually perished.' Cultures, he explains, usually borrow 'germs of culture' and cultivate them in their own garden according to their merit'.<sup>112</sup> However, von Bunsen believed that the cradle of Egypt's mythology and language lies in Asia.<sup>113</sup> G. G. Wilkinson, wrote about 'the splendor that was Egypt' in his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1837). The prominent French orientalist Gaston Maspero, whose books were translated into many languages including Hebrew,<sup>114</sup> wrote that the Egyptians made lengthy voyages, and transported troops into enemy territory from the mouth of the Nile to the southern coast of Syria.<sup>115</sup>

Grafton Elliot Smith, who greatly contributed to heliocentric theory, maintained in *The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence Upon the Civilization of Europe* (1911), and other studies, that most of the cultural diffusion from Egypt to Greece was effected through Cretan and Phoenician channels,<sup>116</sup> and that Europe owed everything to Egypt.<sup>117</sup> 'Europe has received the impress of Egyptian civilization, in its customs, its art and crafts, its medical and surgical knowledge and even in its beliefs and its literature'.<sup>118</sup> Smith held a radical heliocentric and hyper-diffusionist view; yet, moderate Egyptologists (and historians) all agree, in James Henry Breasted's words (1912), that 'In all the categories of human life: language, arts, government, society, thought, religion – what you please – we may trace a development in Egypt essentially undisturbed by outside forces, for a period far surpassing in length any such development elsewhere . . .'.<sup>119</sup> Others were also ready to accept the theory that this unique culture had a formative influence on the young Greek culture. S. K. R. Glanville wrote that 'The early Greeks were copyists. They learned their first lessons in Egypt.'<sup>120</sup> This image of Egypt appears in many popular accounts:

The value of Egypt's bequest to humanity, and to Western civilization in general, is well-nigh inestimable. She gave us the smith's trade, architecture, the stele, the art of stone masonry, some aspects of the religious concepts of the West, monasticism, the principles of governmental organization . . . the civil service, chronology and geometry, glass making, fine clothing and jewelry, furniture and houses, a postal service, and medicine. All these things were passed on to us by Egypt of the golden age when we still lived in forests and steppes.<sup>121</sup>

'In their enthusiasm for the marvel of the Greek achievement', wrote R. W. Stoley, 'many writers have been apt to forget the debt Greece owed to Egypt – a debt the Greeks themselves acknowledged in no uncertain terms.'<sup>122</sup>

Western culture and Western historiography, then, did not dismiss Egyptian culture, although it did not grant it the sweeping and radical esteem found in Afrocentric literature. Philo-Egyptian literature is not an esoteric or marginal current about ancient Egypt in nineteenth-century

literature, nor was it suppressed by devotion to the 'Oriental Renaissance' of the 'Far East' and the 'wisdom of India'.<sup>123</sup> After the mid-nineteenth century,<sup>124</sup> modern scholarship acknowledged the accomplishments of Egyptian science, notably in medicine, astronomy and geometry.<sup>125</sup> Only then could the history of Egypt and its connections with Europe be carried back to the Mycenaean and Minoan histories.<sup>126</sup>

Nineteenth-century Egyptianism was weaker than Indomania, and the revival of classical antiquity, but not as an isolated consequence of European Orientalism or racism. Moreover, much of this Oriental Renaissance literature, including texts which propounded the Indo-European myth, were considered equally exotic in the scientific world.<sup>127</sup>

And there is yet another irony in the claim that the perception of Egypt betrays racial prejudices. Breasted's words, for example, that '... the Egyptian did not possess the terminology for the expression of a system of abstract thought, neither did he develop the capacity to create the necessary terminology, as did the Greek. He thought in concrete pictures',<sup>128</sup> are considered an expression of 'racism'. But here Bernal and the Afrocentrists accept the Western dogma that abstract thought is preferable to figurative thought; hence anyone who claims the Egyptians lacked the mental equipment to think abstractly is immediately suspected of being motivated by anti-Egyptian racism.

#### MODERN EGYPTIAN OUTLOOK

The image of Pharaonic Egypt in the Qur'an is a somber one. Both medieval Islamic Egyptian regional sentiment and the literature of *Fad'ail misr* (*The Merits of Egypt*), express admiration of ancient Egypt and are replete with stories about the *mirabilia* of the land (and of the river Nile).<sup>129</sup> This literature described Egypt, among other things, as the land of science and wisdom (referring mainly to the Hermetic literature). In the Middle Ages, however, 'All the efforts on the part of Egyptian writers to balance this bleak image of Egypt's pagan past within the *Heiligeschichte* of Islam were bound to have limited effects.'<sup>130</sup> On the other hand, a deep discontinuity exists between ancient Egypt and Islamic Egypt:

Unlike Iran, Egypt had lost its ancient polity and culture long before the Muslim conquest, and its Christianisation had broken any lingering sense of identification with the past. At the same time ... a genre of writing on the excellence of Egypt ... did indeed emerge in Muslim Egypt, and it displays a considerable pride in the ancient monuments of the country; but it conveys no sense whatever of identification with the people and culture which created them.<sup>131</sup>

As a result, Muslim fundamentalist iconoclastic fury in Egypt until the fifteenth century failed to destroy the ancient monuments.

Egyptian intellectuals and scholars of the late nineteenth century regarded Egyptology (*misralyigya*) not as an alien Western science trying to paganize Egypt or to deprive it of its Islamic identity, but as a science which enhanced their pride in the territorial national achievements of their ancient forebears. 'In most books written about Egypt', wrote the nationalist Muslim-Egyptian intellectual M. Abdel-Kader Hatem, 'regardless of the nationality of the author, the reader perceived a warmth and affection for the object of study.'<sup>132</sup> The glorious image of Pharaonic Egypt played a major role in the emergence and crystallization of Egyptianism, which sought links and continuity between ancient and modern Egypt in every sphere. Nationalist authors echoed what they found in Western Egyptology and went on to write in the same vein tapped by Afrocentrists half a century later – though the latter apparently had no inkling of the former's existence. Many essays written during the 1920s described ancient Egypt as the cradle of civilization and a well-spring of achievements in every field. Pilgrimages to Upper Egypt began in the 1920s. Poetry, stories and works of popular science celebrated these accomplishments, and much was written on *homo Aegypticus*, the Egyptian mentality, the Egyptian genius, and the like.<sup>133</sup> It was almost a Pharaonic mania.<sup>134</sup> The Egyptian 'Tut-Craze' became a popular term for the enthusiasm which gripped scholars and the general public after the discovery of King Tutankhamen's tomb in 1922 with its fabulous contents. Yesterday's 'pyramidiots' had become the 'papyridiots' of the roaring 1920s. The Pharaonic school suggested a leap of a thousand years beyond Islam in order to find – as in the European Greek renaissance – a precedent and model for national territorial secular Arabism. Patriotic Egyptians used European Egyptology in order to portray an image of a magnificent unique civilization.<sup>135</sup>

#### THE 'RIDDLES' OF THE GREEK AND EGYPTIAN MIRACLE

Thus, the Afrocentric perception of ancient Egypt is modeled on a very long dual European tradition; a tradition which never attempted to conceal the great achievements of Egypt, but rather emphasized its uniqueness with great admiration. On the other hand, it was neither racism nor arrogance toward the non-European which prevented nineteenth-century scholars from affirming Egypt's influence on Greece. Nineteenth-century views were governed by the concept of the 'Greek wonder' or 'Greek miracle'. 'Until very recent times', wrote Bertrand Russell, 'men were content to gape and talk mystically about the Greek genius instead of in scientific terms . . .'.<sup>136</sup> 'The racial explanation was not the only one offered in the nineteenth century; yet it became very dominant.'<sup>137</sup> Nineteenth-century literature also contains sharp distinctions, both positive and negative, between the Indian and Greek civilizations. Despite their 'common Indo-

European origin', the intrinsic differences between them were starkly portrayed. Although many scholars reconstructed the common elements of the two civilizations in linguistics and mythology, these two branches of the Indo-European race were described as two radically different cultures.

In any case, the dominant view which held sway in the nineteenth century among the worshipers of the Greek ideal was that Greece was *sui generis* the product of a unique genius. The same is true as regards Egyptian history. Even when acknowledging its debt to Mesopotamia, West Asia and Nubia, Egypt was perceived as a *sui generis* phenomenon. The genesis and evolution of Egyptian culture was a wonder and a miracle much the same as that of Greece. The view that ancient Egypt was a distinct and unique civilization was the prevailing view shared by both ancient and modern writers. On other hand the Afrocentric school cannot accept this view of Egypt as a wonder, independent of African influences, free to develop her own civilization 'without interference from outside'. Afrocentric writers cannot accept the distinction between Egypt and the peoples of black Africa.

# The Second Ancient Model: A History of Debt

Vilest offspring of the son of Cadmus . . . Do you think you can deceive Alexander by telling these clever fabrications of mythology?

Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance*, 83<sup>1</sup>

. . . for in the Greek world everything will be found to be modern, and dating, so to speak, from yesterday or the day before.

Josephus, *Against Apion I* (trans. Thackeray, 165)

For, seeing that the Egyptians were addicted to a variety of different customs and disparaged one another's practices and were consequently at enmity with one another, Abraham conferred with each party and exposing the arguments which they adduced in favor of their particular views demonstrated that they were idle and contained nothing true . . . He introduced them to arithmetic and transmitted to them the laws of astronomy. For before the coming of Abraham the Egyptians were ignorant of these sciences, which thus traveled from the Chaldeans into Egypt, whence they passed to the Greeks.

Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities I*, 2: 166–8 (trans. Thackeray, 83)

A Youth there was who, burning with a thirst  
For knowledge, to Egyptian Sais came  
In hopes the wisdom of the Priests to learn . . . <sup>2</sup>

Friedrich Schiller, 'The Veiled Image at Sais' (*Das verschleierte Bild zu Säis*) in *The Works of F. Schiller* (ed. N. H. Dole, 226)

## PILGRIMAGE TO EGYPT

The second ancient model deals not with primordial culture but with classical culture, with the great achievements of ancient Egypt; it is based not on mythological legends but on historical accounts. If the first model is



based on legendary traditions about the Bronze Age, the second is based on traditions from the second half of the first millennium BC. It is based on the *topos* that Greek sages, lawgivers and artists derived their knowledge and inspiration from Egypt, the ancient culture they admired.<sup>3</sup> African-American writing is a direct descendant of these Hellenistic patterns of thought, but it is also an offspring of Christian, Renaissance and the post-Renaissance tradition.

This pan-Egyptian model, the second ancient model, portrays Egypt not only as the source of early pre-archaic Greek culture, but as the source of all of Greece's achievements in philosophy and science during the classical age. It was based on biographies of legendary or historical Greek personalities, both because biography played a prominent part in all the universal histories, and because the Greeks considered 'culture' to be the handiwork of extraordinarily gifted and inspired individuals and they looked to the distant past for mythological figures through whom they could personify the history of culture. Later this model was based on superficial similarities of concepts and ideas thought to exist between Greek philosophy and Egyptian theology. There developed a need to endow every intellectual influence, be it genuine or not, with a concrete provenance. In other words, if a conceptual motif with an apparently Egyptian source cropped up in Plato's writings, this was to be accounted for by referring to Plato's sojourn in Egypt.

Again, the Afrocentrists' new universal history follows here a long intellectual tradition. The main question we must ask is: should latter Greek and Hellenistic literature be considered more trustworthy than the earlier literature.<sup>4</sup>

Native Hellenized Egyptians, Hellenistic Jews and Greek writers, for different reasons, all accepted the idea that Egypt was the cradle of human culture ('... the Egyptians ... are excellent in all ancient doctrine'). It was in Egypt that the gods, or human inventors, gave the gifts of their inventions to mankind. Egyptian sages taught these great inventions first to the Egyptians and then the Greeks, or, as in the Jewish-Hellenistic authors, Jewish sages taught the Egyptian. What were the historical grounds for this concept? Is the description of Egypt as a land of learning a baseless fabrication? Whence came the picture of Greek and Hellenistic pilgrim-scholars who came to Egypt to drink from its wells of wisdom?

This theory was part of the creative historiography of the Hellenistic period, from the late third century BC onward.<sup>6</sup> Historians such as Philo Herennius of Byblus,<sup>7</sup> Berosus, a Babylonian priest of Bel,<sup>8</sup> the Egyptian Manetho, author of the *Aegyptiaca*, whom we have already met,<sup>9</sup> Megasthenes of Babylon, ambassador for the Seleucis Nicator in the late fourth and early third century,<sup>10</sup> and others.<sup>11</sup> All of them wrote national and universal histories, tracing the beginnings of Egyptian history to prove their ancestors were men of great learning. Hellenistic Jews also wrote

national and universal histories, among them Demetrius, Enpolemus and Artapanus, and primarily Josephus.<sup>12</sup> When Jewish writers assert that Jewish sages were the mentors of the Greeks, it was always in Egypt, and not in Mesopotamia, that this intellectual encounter took place. It was in Egypt, not in some other locale within the Hellenistic civilization, that a golden age of philosophy and science took place. Was it an historical coincidence or the result of a fruitful meeting between the Egyptian and Greek cultures?

All these attempts to produce national histories as part of general history, and, concomitantly, to adapt Greek chronology to Egyptian (or Hebrew) chronology, and vice versa, were marked by a recurring central motif: the origin of wisdom and learning, and praise of one's own country as the major source of learning. This motif has flourished for two thousand years and its longevity attests to a striking similarity of needs in different cultural situations as well as to an identical structure of solutions. All the authors mentioned above, and many others besides, sought to prove three main theses: first, that the source of the universal (cosmopolitical) Hellenistic culture lay in their own culture; second, that their culture, and in particular their people, was the first and most ancient; and third, that Greek and Hellenistic culture had borrowed, even 'stolen', and then assimilated a variety of elements from their culture.

Egyptian priests and scribes who worked within the House of Life (*per-ankh*), that is, within the temple scriptorium, as well as educated people outside it (in writing academics, attached to the palace), who were the intellectual or learned élite of the land,<sup>13</sup> produced a wide range of literature including geographies, magical texts, historical accounts, wisdom literature, hymns, medical texts, astronomy texts, etc.<sup>14</sup> All of these texts were recopied on valuable papyri, used for teaching, and kept in the 'House of Book' (the temple's libraries),<sup>15</sup> as well as in palace libraries. Several great temples were famous for their great libraries. A veritable army of scribes was kept busy copying the books. The range of books in the libraries was wider than that used in the temple proper and the Egyptian scribes took great pride in their work.<sup>16</sup> In several Egyptian stories, lector priests or scribes traveled to consult the ancient records of magic books at Hermopolis.<sup>17</sup> For hundreds of years these institutions preserved Egyptian intellectual and literary traditions, parts of which (such as wisdom literature) were well known outside Egypt. Lloyd asserts that:

There is, however, some evidence that in one or all major shrines of Thebes, Memphis and Heliopolis, he (Herodotus) had encountered an important group known as the Priests of the House of Life, the repository of Egyptian learning. These institutions appear first in the Old Kingdom but the majority of references occur from the New Kingdom onwards.<sup>18</sup>

Thus Chaeremon's (the Stoic philosopher, first century AD) depiction of the learned priests completing their religious services and spending the rest

of the day on arithmetical and geometrical speculations, searching for new discoveries and always engaged in the pursuit of learning,<sup>19</sup> was not entirely imaginary and portrays a long tradition. Moreover, there existed a group of learned Egyptians during the Hellenistic-Roman period who were versed in the ancient literature of Egypt; during the post-Pharaonic period large temples continued to be built in the traditional style, where priests and scribes continued the traditional learning. The tradition of forbidding entrance to strangers to the House of Life is confirmed, for example, by a papyrus from the Ptolemaic period.<sup>20</sup> The individual Egyptian scholars and 'scientists' remain anonymous, part of a collective élite; their names would not endure for eternity.<sup>21</sup> Neither were their names mentioned in Hellenistic writings; Ptolemy and Aristarchos, even though they acknowledged the wisdom of Egypt, never attributed the source of their scientific knowledge to Egyptian scientific tradition.<sup>22</sup>

These Egyptian temple libraries and colleges were not, of course, academies or universities in the modern sense, but they did contain collections of papyri on many subjects, and the priests and other educated Egyptians knew the content of these scrolls and were able to interpret or translate them for those foreign visitors curious and eager to learn. It is no wonder then, that a traveler to Egypt from a Greek city was deeply impressed by this old, rich and diverse tradition of collective learning, with its scribes, temples and libraries; no wonder Egyptian wisdom, and not only magic, was perceived as secret or beyond the reach of the common Egyptian, as well as of foreigners. Even before the Hellenistic era, a period when at least some Egyptian texts began to be translated or adapted into Greek, a Greek visitor was able to acquire knowledge from a learned Egyptian priest or scribe through mediators who knew both languages. At the same time, this visitor might get the impression that much of Egyptian learning was considered to be secret knowledge by its owners, because 'knowledge is power',<sup>23</sup> and therefore should remain in the possession of a very small group.<sup>24</sup>

But how did the Greeks acquire any knowledge of Egyptian learning? It seems the Egyptians were more likely to know Greek than the Greeks to know Egyptian, and were also 'quite likely to retell or develop traditions *ad maiorem Aegyptiorum gloriam*'.<sup>25</sup> There were those who explained ancient theological and cosmological literature to their Greek visitors, stressing its antiquity and depth, and adapting it to the Greek way of thinking and language. We can also suppose the native-born Greeks in Egypt would quite likely praise their new homeland in order to justify their life in Egypt. As a result, the literature of the Greek and Hellenistic world contains two types of complementary evidence regarding the debt that Greek and Hellenistic science and philosophy owed Egyptian (and Oriental) wisdom:<sup>26</sup>

1. Greek authors' accounts of their (or others') visits and studies in Egypt, and later accounts repeating the same traditions;<sup>27</sup> and

2. the testimony of 'natives', i.e. local residents – Hellenized Egyptians, as well as Hellenized Phoenicians, Hellenized Jews, etc.

It is, however, reasonable to suppose that during the Hellenistic-Roman period, when knowledge of the Greek language mattered to the Egyptians, ancient writing had been translated or, at least, their ideas were transmitted to the educated (and part of them to the uneducated) Greek élite.

It is also important to recall that Egypt's religion was, as David Potter clearly demonstrates, during the Hellenistic-Roman period, 'very much the product of oral transmission', and that 'the records that were inscribed on stone had long since ceased to play any significant role in determining the observances of its people'. Thus, Greek and Roman visitors 'did not receive anything like reading of these texts, but rather a story that had been created to make the kings whose deeds were recorded there seem more magnificent'.<sup>28</sup>

In this context, Greek traditions were not designed to cloud 'what is foreign and disquieting'.<sup>29</sup> On the contrary, they even attributed original creativity to foreign sources. The primary purpose of the intellectual biographies and histories composed in the Hellenistic-Roman era by 'natives' from the East was neither to urge a break with Hellenistic civilization nor to preach the sufficiency of what was considered ancient, original and authentic, meaning the Egyptian or Oriental heritage. Rather, their intention was to prepare the ground for the East's integration into the new cosmopolitan civilization, which, they argued, had been borrowed, stolen or copied from a native Oriental cultural heritage. The underlying rationale was to demonstrate the Eastern roots of the dominant Hellenistic civilization. Thus the subject peoples, particularly the educated among them, could claim part ownership in their rulers' culture. At this time, native Egyptian claims could be considered a fiction 'brought up by a culture that had lost its dependence in order to impress its upstart conquerors'.<sup>30</sup>

#### HELLENISTIC TRADITIONS AND THE ORIGIN OF LEARNING

The list of testimonies which constitutes the second ancient model is quite long and was common to the Greeks, native Hellenized Egyptians, Hellenized Jews and others.<sup>31</sup> There was hardly a Greek or Hellenistic scholar who was not recorded by his biographer as studying in Egyptian temples and who did not, according to his biography, copy something Egyptian. Pre-dating the recurring motif of visits and extended stays by intellectuals in Egypt was an expression of the popular motif of the 'legendary birth': key figures in the history of early Greece were said to have been born in Egypt.<sup>32</sup>

All these authors regarded Egypt, not Mesopotamia, as the intellectual mentor of Greeks.

Hecataeus of Abdera gives a long list of Greeks, mythological as well as historical figures, who came to Egypt to study (Diodorus, II:96.1–3).<sup>33</sup> This passage, if not the author's invention, shows that his Egyptian interlocutors were aware of the Greeks' passionate desire to discover the 'fountainhead of original wisdom' in Egypt. It seems, then, that they rattled off the names of major figures in the Greek cultural pantheon, whose reputations must have reached Egypt even before the first century BC. Diodorus reiterates Herodotus' claim (II:177.1) that Solon was impressed by the ordinance that required every Egyptian to give the governors a written account of his sources of income, and wrote 'It is even said that Solon, after visiting Egypt, introduced this law to his people' (II:177.2).<sup>34</sup> Isokrates (436–338 BC) wrote that Pythagoras visited Egypt and 'became a student of the religion of the people, and was the first to bring the Greeks all philosophy' (*Busiris*, 21–3). According to Plutarch (*Life of Solon*, 26.1), Solon studied with very learned Egyptian priests from Heliopolis and Sais. Other legendary traditions cite Egypt as the birthplace of Aesop. The tradition was summed up by Posidonius of Apameia, a Stoic philosopher (c.135–50/51 BC) who wrote a renowned history of the world in 52 volumes.<sup>35</sup>

In Heliodorus' *Ethiopian Romance*, written in the second or third century AD (the fictitious date of the story is the fifth century BC), Cenmon asks Calasiris in great wonder: 'But you have several times called Homer an Egyptian, a thing I find strange, and beg you not to pass over the matter without a plain explanation.' To this Calasiris replies:

Different authors have ascribed different countries to Homer, and indeed the sage is at home everywhere; but it is certain that Homer was an Egyptian and that his city was Thebes of the Hundred Gates, as he himself declares. His father, men think, was a priest of Hermes, but in fact was Hermes himself . . .

Cenmon agrees and adds: 'I find evidence in the man's poetry, its sweetness shows an Egyptian temperament.' Thus,

In a word, there was nothing Egyptian into which they did not inquire, for anything heard or told of Egypt has a special charm for Greek listeners.<sup>36</sup>

Strabo, the Greek geographer who visited Heliopolis between 19 and 25 AD, was shown the lodgings of Plato and his companion Eudoxus in Heliopolis and was told that both spent 13 years with the priests, and

Since these priests excelled in their knowledge of the heavenly bodies, albeit secretive and slow to impart it, Plato and Eudoxus prevailed upon them in time by courting their favor to let them learn some of the principles of their doctrines; but the barbarians concealed most things. However, these men did teach them the fraction of the day . . . (XVII:1,29)<sup>37</sup>

In the Ryland Papyri II, no. 63 (third century AD), Plato appears in

conversation with Peteesis the 'prophet' (that is, a priest of high rank) about the doctrine of astrology.<sup>38</sup> Plato himself says that he copied the idea that mathematics plays an important role in education from the Egyptian practices (*Resp.* VII:819bc). In Marrou's opinion, we should not dismiss this acknowledgement since Plato could easily have been acquainted with these practices, 'if not directly, at least through his pupil Eudoxus of Candius, a mathematician who had studied in Egypt, according to Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* (VIII:87)'.<sup>39</sup> In the same spirit, the author of the *Expositio totius mundi* wrote: 'It is impossible, in whatever matter you may wish, to find such a wise man as the Egyptian; and so of all philosophers and men versed in the wisdom of letters, the best have been those who have always dwelt in this country.'<sup>40</sup> The Platonist philosopher Imbalichus of Apamea (c.250–325 AD), author of the *Life of Pythagoras*, relates that Pythagoras and Plato read through the stelae of Hermes with the help of native priests (*De Mysteris*, I:1.3) during their visit to Egypt.<sup>41</sup> According to Imbalichus' account, Pythagoras, who lived in Egypt for 22 years, was admitted to the innermost sanctuaries of the temples, studied astronomy and geometry, and was initiated into the mysteries of the gods.<sup>42</sup> The Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (fourth century AD) summarized the widespread tradition of Egypt as the source both of religion and of wisdom:

If one wishes to investigate with attentive mind the many publications on the knowledge of the divine and the origin of divination, he will find that learning of this kind has spread abroad from Egypt through the whole world. There, for the first time, long before other men, they discovered the cradles, so to speak, of various religions . . . From here Anaxagoras foretold the Stones . . . Solon too, aided by the opinions of the Egyptian priests, passed laws in accordance with the measure of justice . . . On this source Plato drew and, after visiting Egypt, traversed higher regions of thought . . . gloriously serving in the field of wisdom.<sup>43</sup>

This tradition persisted until the end of the Roman period, before the transition to Christianity. Proclus (410–85 AD), a Neoplatonist, drawing on earlier writers in his *Theologia Platonica*, maintained that Thales had learned from the Egyptians, but that his major contribution to science was converting practical knowledge into theory:

It was Thales who, after a visit to Egypt, first brought this study [of geometry] to Greece. Not only did he make numerous discoveries himself, but he laid the foundation for many other discoveries . . . After these Pythagoras changed the study of geometry, giving it the form of a liberal discipline, seeking its first principles in ultimate ideas and investigating its theorems abstractly and in a purely intellectual way.

However, he continues:

... these discoveries, therefore, created the gulf that separates the approach of the Greeks from that of the Egyptians.<sup>44</sup>

At the very least, these legendary biographical tales reflect a searching curiosity and a strong interest in the achievements of Egyptian culture, acknowledging its excellence and achievements. They tell about Greek sages who came to study astronomy and medicine, physics and mathematics under Egyptian priests, presaging the medieval tradition of students traveling far and wide to attend prestigious universities.

Some contemporary Hellenistic writers designated Greece, rather than Egypt, as the source of many sciences. Philo, the great Jewish-Hellenistic philosopher, rejected the Egyptians' claim of primordial wisdom out of hand. Moses, he maintained, was a pupil of both Egyptian and Greek teachers; he was taught astronomy by the Babylonians, poetry and other skills by the Egyptians and classical subjects by the Greeks. From his Egyptian tutors he learned mainly astrology, since the Egyptians 'give special attention to astrology' (*De Vita Mosis*, I:24).<sup>45</sup> On the whole, Hellenistic Jews in Alexandria were primarily interested in describing Jewish sages as the teachers of both Egyptians and Greeks.<sup>46</sup> Josephus Flavius depicted Moses as the source of the Athenian constitution and the inspiration for the Greek philosophers who scorned idol-worship and were drawn to monotheism (II:16.168). Aristobulus (second century BC), a priest from Jerusalem who settled in Egypt, wrote in his *Commentary on the Law of Moses*: '... the Greeks begin from the philosophy of the Hebrews ... It is evident that Plato imitated our legislation and that he had investigated thoroughly each of the elements in it ...'.<sup>47</sup> In his *Iudaica*, the Jewish-Hellenistic author Artapanus wrote that Abraham taught the Egyptians astrology, Joseph taught them to divide the land, thus discovering the measurements, and Moses, a brilliant military commander, was the benefactor of Egypt *par excellence*, for he invented the ship, the lever and various weapons, as well as philosophy.<sup>48</sup> Hellenistic Jewish literature also related that Plato and Pythagoras studied from Moses (Masaeus), and Orpheus from the Book of Deuteronomy.

Indeed, legendary history of intellectual debt is best produced by exercising the creative imagination in order to join together conflicting traditions and contradictory chronicles.

#### THE REASONS BEHIND THE GREEK ADMISSION OF THEIR DEBT

It is clear why such people during the Hellenistic era such as the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, some Hellenistic Jews and the Persians insisted they had been the first to produce philosophical literature and science, and that the Greeks had borrowed everything from them.

1. They wished to overcome the cultural inferiority ascribed to subject peoples by assigning a place of honor, namely a place at the dawn of history, to the native culture. This would bring it within the orbit of the new ruling cosmopolitan universal culture. The native culture would then be perceived as an integral part of the general culture, instead of a separate entity or an old culture doomed to extinction. In the words of Moses Hadas:

... late and dubious authorities speak of Plato's journey to the East, where he might have sat at the feet of native sages. But these stories derive from newly Hellenized people who were eager to claim cultural priority over the Greeks and one after another insisted that Plato himself had adopted their traditions. Actually there is no credible evidence that Plato made these journeys; what is more important, there is nothing in Plato's teaching which cannot be derived, by perceptive stages, from antecedent Greek doctrine.<sup>49</sup>

2. They wanted to exalt the achievements of the native culture from earliest times and to emphasize its contribution to universal culture (as well as the reliability of their historical accounts). Thus, as educated local inhabitants, they were the equals of the Greeks, who came from the center of learning. They could thereby rationalize their intermixing with, and ultimately their assimilation, into the ruling culture.
3. If they could demonstrate that the native culture had adopted Greek ideas, and that these ideas had an Egyptian source, then they were merely 'returning stolen goods to their rightful owners' instead of engaging in imitative assimilation. In other words, native Egyptians used a strategy of appropriation, attributing the authorship of Greek and Greek-Hellenistic ideas to Egyptian, or Phoenician, writers.
4. These historical writings were patriotic and historical in character and were encouraged by prestige-seeking Hellenistic monarchs. At the same time they were part of a dual 'battle of the books' between the Hellenistic cultures of the East, which claimed greater antiquity and a greater contribution to civilization, and the native population and ethnic minorities, the Jews in particular.<sup>50</sup> This historical literature helped to create the mood of the time, with its tension between nationalist and eschatological conceptions of a 'golden age' type of national-cultural revival, and a cosmopolitan approach.
5. They wanted to solidify their claim to being the indigenous population in their native land, unlike the newcomer immigrants. Beyond this lay the belief, common to both Egyptians and Greeks, that 'ancient' was tantamount to 'truthful', and that the destiny of a people was intimately bound up with its origins.
6. They were driven by 'the Greek taste for a single source from which all things come and the predilection for simple schematized linear sequences'.<sup>51</sup> As a result of this, and of the fact that Hellenistic



civilization had lost its own faith principles, it came 'to admire its own forgeries as manifestations of a foreign civilization'.<sup>52</sup>

But why were the Greek authors ready to speak *ad maiorem Aegyptiorum gloriam*?

The Greeks admired the 'new', born of inspiration, genius and achievement. They were aware of the fundamental distinction between origin and source on the one hand, and achievements and power on the other. Thus they commended themselves, not for being inventors, but for being good pupils. Pseudo-Plato stated that the Greeks 'never failed to adapt and alter what they borrowed to suit their own requirements and genius' (*Epinomis* 987d). 'Whatsoever the Greeks take from any Barbarians, they finally carry it to a higher perfection', was Cicero's praise of Greek genius.<sup>53</sup> The Hellenes, wrote the Roman emperor Julian (Julianus Apostata, AD 331–63), brought to completion the fragmentary ideas conceived by other peoples:

For the theory of the heavenly bodies was perfected among the Hellenes, after the first observations had been made among the barbarians in Babylon. And the study of geometry took its rise in the measurement of the land in Egypt, and from this grew to its present importance. Arithmetic began with the Phoenician merchants, and among the Hellenes in course of time acquired the aspect of a regular science. These three the Hellenes combined with music into one science, for they connected astronomy with geometry and adapted arithmetic to both, and perceived the principle of harmony in it. (Con. Gal. I, 176B)<sup>54</sup>

Although the Greeks generally looked on the outside world as a barbaric place, they frequently described other cultures as 'pure', 'righteous', 'pious' and so forth. This does not mean that the Greeks were without a sense of their superiority, or downplayed their own character which they considered more refined than that of Asians, but they were also capable of respecting, albeit not always justifiably, various other peoples whom they tended to idealize. The Greeks' pursuit of history led them on a quest for the 'first source', the origin of culture and of social-political order. How had customs evolved and cities come into being, they wondered. Hence their receptivity to genesis myths. 'In the tales of which we are just now speaking', Plato wrote, that 'owing to our ignorance of the truth about antiquity, we liken the false to the true as far as we may' (*Re.* 382d). Indeed, the Greeks always sought an ancient human source of all wisdom, and as this was unavailable in their own tradition, they turned to Egypt.<sup>55</sup> The Greeks, then, did not hesitate to place the source of their religion, ritual and mythology in Egypt, or to acknowledge the fact that many of the great inventions were made by 'barbarian' nations. Only in the civil-political sphere did the Greeks reject any debt or dependence, considering their

government the product of the national genius which characterized them and reflected their originality and moral superiority: the system of political government (*politeia*) from which the social ethic is derived.<sup>56</sup>

The simplest answer to the question of admission is that it was pointless to deny what was a well-known historical fact.<sup>57</sup> Another answer is that as a new upcoming culture, the Greeks were ready to admit dependence on an ancient, mature culture. The younger civilization was ready to apply the argument of *ergo propter hoc*; i.e. that the younger had borrowed from the elder, thus drawing superficial similarities in practice and in ideas between Egypt and Greece.<sup>58</sup> The Greeks 'were generous enough to say that they took their science from the Babylonians and the Egyptians . . .', but why give such credit to Egypt? Wilson's explanation is that the Greeks were impressed by the ancient glory of Egypt, and her past provoked a sense of dignity and ancient accomplishment which may have had a real formative effect upon the present. The influence of Egypt did not shape the Hebrews or the Greeks. They were shaped by their own experience and their own inner dynamism. After having achieved this distinctive character, they were then sufficiently self confident to be receptive to impressions of the earlier cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and to modify their attitudes and behavior on the basis of those impressions.<sup>59</sup> Admiring Egyptian culture, the Greeks were thus willing to concede that a vicarious antiquity had been conferred on them via the Egyptians and as a result Hellenistic writers were more than ready to admire their own forgeries.<sup>60</sup>

Many scholars dismissed these biographical stories as fabricated legends,<sup>61</sup> invented by educated 'natives' who wrote in a cosmopolitan, Hellenistic spirit.<sup>62</sup> According to these scholars, though Plato did display a certain expertise in Egyptian history, and even cites Egypt as the model of an ideal culture, he most likely derived his information from earlier (unknown) authors, not through personal experience. Rather than ascribe to Plato the acquisition of secondhand knowledge, his biographers 'arranged' a period of on-site study in Egypt.

Mary Lefkowitz writes that many classical biographers 'sent' their Greek philosophers on imaginary visits to Egypt to learn Eastern wisdom, this being their way of explaining why Plato was distinctive, more original, and more productive, than any of his predecessors seem to have been.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, it was to account for the originality of his ideas regarding mathematics and religion that Herodotus (or his sources) supposed that Pythagoras had visited Egypt and the Near East before settling in southern Italy. But if this is indeed the case, why did these biographers fail to describe Plato's visits to other centers of Eastern wisdom, or search for another, similar explanation for Plato's originality and productivity? No one, of course, can dispute Plato's originality, yet there is no reason to believe he was not influenced at all by Egyptian sources. If Lefkowitz agrees that the Greeks were influenced by Egyptian medicine, mathematics and

science, one may wonder why this cannot be true of a few metaphysical ideas. Nevertheless, the early stirrings of ideas do not constitute entire systems of thought and philosophy!

There is no reason to deny the possibility that Plato visited Egypt; the same is true of other educated Greeks before and after the third century BC. Alexandria was a great center of learning during the Hellenistic period as well as a fertile ground for religious syncretism, and a vast number of original or copied manuscripts was collected in its library, though the question remains whether Greek visitors to Egypt were really given an opportunity to copy records or books systematically before the Hellenistic age and even after. The stories about Greek sages traveling to Egypt could have originated in this atmosphere of learning. The main question revolves around the nature of this learning: was it of purely Greek origin, newly arrived from the Hellenistic north to a new land, where it flourished; or was it ancient Egyptian learning which the newcomers hastened to acquire?

Yet, even if the Greeks became familiar with only the externals of Egyptian civilization, never learning to read its texts sufficiently well, there were educated Egyptians who could serve as cultural mediators, revealing the contents of ancient Egyptian literature to the Greeks. This could result in notions that Greek ideas 'had been injected into the mainstream of Egyptian traditions',<sup>64</sup> or vice versa, that Egyptian ideas were injected into different intellectual trends of Greek Hellenistic writing.

This was particularly the case in the third century BC when Neoplatonist philosophy flourished. This was an age profoundly aware that it was undergoing a spiritual crisis involving a quest for 'signs' and 'revelations' (human wisdom having proved a disappointment). For the first time the East became a metaphor for 'unadulterated spirituality' and 'organic' being. It stood for a union of body and soul. The Greeks took no interest in the political and social conditions of the real East; they were enchanted by an imaginary East, a treasure trove of ancient wisdom untainted by modernity. To Hellenistic philosophers, Eastern priests were philosophers who probed the soul's essence; they fabricated stories of visits by Thales and Pythagoras to Egypt, along with many more tales in the same vein. Hellenistic philosophers were ready to accept Hermes Trismegistus, and Zoroaster and his magi as respected figures. The element of fabrication is also seen in other tales which describe an encounter between Socrates and an Indian sage who assailed him for having rejected mature Indian philosophy. In all of these stories, the source of the philosophy is Eastern and its progenitors are foreigners. This appreciation of Eastern wisdom was revived during the Renaissance and later periods.

As for the ordinary Greek, the colonist or emigrant who settled in Egypt following Alexander's conquests, as well as the commonplace visitor, the sailor or merchant, they were no great admirers of Egyptian wisdom and did not, as far as we know, turn to the Nile civilization for arcane lore.

They considered ancient Egypt to be a culture of enormous sculptures and grotesque animal worship. Egyptian monuments were enigmas, terrifying and incomprehensible. The ordinary Greek felt neither veneration for, nor self-effacement toward, ancient Egypt; on the contrary, he probably felt he represented a more advanced culture. The difference between the average Greek and his more learned compatriot lay in their different areas of interest and in the latter's access to Egyptian scholarship, a closed book to the ordinary person.

#### CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS: 'ANCIENT' AND 'MODERN'

The motif of intellectual debt, or 'theft of wisdom',<sup>65</sup> has had a highly successful career in the world of Christian apologetics; indeed, it has a universal history. Egyptian and Greek traditions were woven into a common fabric which could be internalized by the new Christian world and were adopted by apologist Church Fathers such as Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Justin Martyr,<sup>66</sup> Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius,<sup>67</sup> Tatian, Tertullian, and many others. Their intellectual mission was to synthesize Christian doctrine, biblical tradition and Greek philosophy. Throughout their controversy with the pagans many of the apologists hoped that Christianity's biblical roots would endow it with an aura of antiquity, differentiating it from the many religious sects then springing up.<sup>68</sup> For this reason, Justin and others like him insisted that Plato had taken the creation theory from Moses, his predecessor. Others, who leaned toward the pagan side of the debate, claimed that Moses had been a disciple of Egyptian priests. Origen, for example, repeated the traditional cant that Moses had learned the wisdom of the Egyptians, and that the Greeks too had 'drunk of their philosophy and science'.<sup>69</sup> Tatian, who lived in Mesopotamia during the second century AD also stated that what 'the Greeks regard as inventions are really imitations'.<sup>70</sup> Clement of Alexandria was anxious to show that many Greek ideas were of Jewish origin, but at the same time that Homer and Greek philosophers such as Thales, Pythagoras, Plato and Eudoxus were disciples of Egyptian priests (*Stromata*, I:xv). Egyptian ideas were stolen by the Greeks as the fire by Prometheus, he wrote (*ibid.*, xix). The tenth book of Eusebius' *Evangelical Preparation* is largely devoted to bemoaning the dishonesty of Greeks in the matter of literary theft. We have already mentioned that the Capadocian Father Gregory of Nazianzus (Nyssa), in his *De Vita Mosis*, describes Moses' schooling in Pharaoh's court in order to affirm the authority and superiority of the ancient peoples – the Phoenicians, Egyptians and, above all, the Hebrews over the Greeks.<sup>71</sup> In his opinion 'the Babylonian and the Egyptian are philosophers, not by nature but by training and habit' (Gr. Nyss. *ibid.*, 2.3.7.)<sup>72</sup> We have also mentioned that an anonymous Christian apologist in the third century referred to 'Orpheus, Homer, Solon, who wrote the laws of the Athenians,

and Pythagoras, Plato and some others, [who] have been in Egypt and taken advantage of the history of Moses'.<sup>73</sup> St Augustine took a different view when he wrote that there was a certain degree of learning in Egypt before Moses' time, since Moses received a liberal education (XVIII:37).<sup>74</sup> Plato could not have known Jeremiah, but he became acquainted with the Scriptures as well as with Egyptian books, with the help of an interpreter (VIII:11).<sup>75</sup>

Early Christian tradition, then, is ambivalent about the value and influence of ancient Egyptian culture. Reverence for the 'antiquity of its wisdom' was tempered by contempt and outright rejection, the perpetuation of the Scriptural tradition which depicted Egypt as a land of primitive idolatry and unbridled licentiousness. This motif disappeared in the Christian polemic against the Jews during the Middle Ages, and was beyond the scope of anti-Jewish writings.

#### MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE USAGES

During the Middle Ages (ninth and tenth centuries), Muslim authors were willing to admit that philosophy and science, i.e. wisdom and knowledge (*al 'ulum al 'insaniyya*), had been acquired from pagan (Greek) sources. 'The legacy of Athens, Alexandria and Antioch was not regarded as a foreign commodity by Arab and Muslim translators and philosophers. They believed the Greeks derived their wisdom from the East; consequently, the study of Greek science and philosophy was not an innovation but a renovation, or renaissance.'<sup>76</sup> Sa'id al-Andalusī, for example, wrote:

Pythagoras came a long time after Empedocles. He studied philosophy in Egypt under disciples of Solomon, son of David . . . Prior to that, he studied geometry under the tutelage of Egyptian masters . . .<sup>77</sup>

Nor did he have any inhibitions about describing Muslim science and philosophy as totally dependent on their Greek and Hellenistic heritage: 'Early during the Islamic period, the Arabs did not cultivate any of the sciences, except their language and Islamic law.' Later, during the tenth century, the enlightened *khalif* of Baghdad asked the Byzantine emperors to 'provide him (the *khalif* Harun al-Rashid) with copies of the books of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, Euclid, and Ptolemy, as well as those of other philosophers'. As a result 'a scientific movement was firmly established during his reign'.<sup>78</sup> Muslim writers admitted that Islamic civilization was relatively poor in science and philosophy, and took pains to note that the Qur'an gave express permission to borrow knowledge (*'ilm*) from other nations and that the *khalif* Harun al-Rashid had not shrunk from seeking knowledge in Byzantium.<sup>79</sup>

During the Renaissance and later periods, Europe viewed Egypt as the fount of all wisdom. In the sixteenth century Sigismund Gelenius wrote,

‘. . . after all, it is agreed that Plato travelled to Egypt where he received instruction from both Jewish and Egyptian priestly scribes’.<sup>80</sup> This was also the view of the Jewish-Spanish scholar Isaac Cardoso (1604–83), who wrote in 1679:

The journeys of Pythagoras, Plato and other sages to Egypt, Phoenicia and Babylon helped familiarize them with the Hebrews, and led to a proper awareness of the First Cause; the same is true of Aristotle’s discourse with a Hebrew sage, who spoke to him of divine matters, as Eusebius, Clement of Alexandria and Joseph Ben Matathias related . . . And it is thought that Aristotle himself became a Jew late in life and was a convert by conviction who believed in the true God . . .<sup>81</sup>

This view was repeated in later Jewish literature until the late nineteenth century.<sup>82</sup> Modern Muslim intellectuals, such as Muhammad Husayn Haykal (1888–1956), stated that Egypt was the source of Greek learning ‘long before the times of Moses and Jesus, the science of ancient Egypt as well as its philosophy had passed to Greece and Rome which had them spread their dominion. It was Egypt that contributed to Greek philosophy and literature their noblest ideas.’<sup>83</sup> Islamic civilization, which possessed no scientific acumen, was receptive to all available knowledge.<sup>84</sup>

### THE MYTHS OF ‘STOLEN LIBRARIES’

During the Hellenistic-Roman era, from the establishment of the great library in Alexandria in the second century BC<sup>85</sup> and particularly during the second and third centuries AD the public and private libraries were considered not only among the major cultural institutions, but also a symbol of culture.<sup>86</sup> Thus, it was only natural that fabricated stories about stolen libraries would appear and gain some currency. The legend revolves around stolen libraries because to steal the entire contents of a library means abducting a corpus of learning and knowledge in its entirety.

Several Jewish authors in medieval Spain and Italy felt compelled to prove that the Jews of the Second Temple period, like their Hellenistic contemporaries, had possessed their own libraries, and subsequently developed another legend. According to this legend, Alexander the Great was accompanied by Aristotle on his visit to Jerusalem.<sup>87</sup> Aristotle went to the Temple of Solomon, removed the Jewish books, taking them to Greece and copying them, adding his own errors. He then hid away Solomon’s books to mislead the world into thinking Aristotle himself had written them.<sup>88</sup> The story, in its different versions aimed at establishing the premise that Aristotle had drawn the main tenets of his philosophy from the wisdom of Israel, thereby legitimizing Jewish use of Aristotle’s philosophy, the library being the embodiment of accumulated wisdom, the cultural heritage of a nation.<sup>89</sup>

African-American authors followed the same path of wild and creative imagination, inventing a new version of the stolen-library myth. In their version, Aristotle accompanied Alexander to Egypt and stole the ancient libraries of the Egyptian temple.<sup>90</sup> First to publish this new edition was George G. M. James, author of *Stolen Legacy*, which has been republished in many editions since it first appeared in 1954.<sup>91</sup> He was followed by Cheikh Anta Diop, Yosef A. A. Ben-Jochannan and many others.<sup>92</sup> Not only did Greek visitors appropriate Egyptian wisdom, the phenomenon became organized theft and a large intellectual haul after Alexander's conquest. It was the Greeks who lacked the intellectual acuity required to produce abstract philosophy and who were forced to steal from the Egyptians. It was African genius, Diop maintains, which reached the heights of theoretical conceptualization.<sup>93</sup> Thus, all Greek intellectual achievement originated in Egypt, from philosophy and science, to art and theater.<sup>94</sup> James detects theft, not only between Egypt and Miletos, or Miletos and Athens, but everywhere in the civilized world. Originating in the heart of Africa, the clues can be traced to Muslim Spain and from there to Europe, making all European intellectual history the product of theft and imitation. The black Moors, rulers of Spain, transmitted Egyptian wisdom, in Greek dress, to Spain; from there it spread to Christian Europe and released Christendom from the Dark Ages.<sup>95</sup> Johannes Kepler, Roger Bacon, Copernicus and others all stole and copied Egyptian wisdom they received from the Arabs or black Berbers. Greek philosophy, Hebrew monotheism, Gnosticism, Hermeneutics, all were conceived by Egyptian priests. Ben-Jochannan even serves up a horrific account of the massacre of all the Egyptian priests, perpetrated to cover up the organized theft.

This fabricating is not intended to emphasize the universal nature of science and philosophy, which enables them to cross national and cultural boundaries, but to 'prove' that Egyptian wisdom was stolen by the Greeks. It ignores Strabo's testimony that Plato and Eudoxus were able to obtain only some principles of the Egyptian doctrines, while most of Egyptian knowledge remained hidden (Strabo, *Geography*, XVII:1.29). If ever there was a case of overkill as regards proof, this is it. Any transmission of a body of knowledge calls for a collective, organized endeavor, but no group of Egyptians or Greeks was involved in such endeavor. In order to solve the puzzle of how a large and secret body of knowledge was passed on to the Greeks, James was forced to invent, or reinvent, the theft of a library.

The library, as an institutionalized accumulation of 'wisdom', is but a metaphor of the alleged process of intellectual borrowing. It is a metaphor for the visit of Plato and Eudoxus (390–338 BC) to the school of the Egyptian priests at Heliopolis, where Eudoxus studied astronomy and developed his theories of proportion and the planetary spheres.<sup>96</sup> It is a metaphor for the many Greek students, who, according to this story, flocked to Egypt for generations before and after Egypt's conquest by

Alexander; a metaphor for the fact that the Archimedean laws were, in Diop's view, formulated by Egyptian priests centuries or millennia before the birth of the genius from Syracuse, and that Archimedes was perfectly conscious of his sin. It is a metaphor for the 'fact' that the whole of ancient Greek thought, from the poet Hesiod in the early seventh century BC to Aristotle himself, bears the mark of Egyptian cosmogonies.<sup>97</sup>

The theory that the Egyptians themselves never disseminated their knowledge, making it world property, and that the Egyptian priests scrupulously guarded the secrets of their learning, raises the question of why they accepted foreign students at all. James gets around this difficulty by explaining that the students from abroad were to blame for making Egyptian wisdom public: the knowledge was divulged to them on condition of secrecy, but upon their return home they broke their pledge and published what they had been taught.<sup>98</sup> Although, as the Afrocentric school claims, the Greeks should be condemned for their systematic looting of Egypt's heritage, and for not having admitted that they were merely the pupils of the Egyptian priests, still one cannot forget that were it not for this theft, the entire body of Egyptian wisdom would have been lost forever – or at least until the nineteenth century! It survived only by virtue of the Greek robbery and continued to exercise an influence over the centuries.

This view, however, has become the cornerstone of the new universal Afrocentrist historiography, copied as though it were self-evident from book to book, from essay to essay, and from textbook to textbook. It regards any admission of a cultural debt to other cultures as a sign of weakness, as proof of a paucity of creative faculties. Those who view every culture as an all-embracing, sovereign system cannot accept the idea that at least some elements in this total system had their source in another culture. Cultural borrowing is considered tantamount to a declaration of deficiency, making the borrowing culture dependent on others. Borrowing is perceived as the outward manifestation of a flaw in the organic cultural system.

African-Americans are a culturally 'dependent group', and Afrocentrism responded to this state of affairs by adapting the theory of debt and theft. Unable to disavow their debt to the (oppressive) culture of Europe and of white America, they are determined to prove that European culture is itself indebted to ancient black culture. Through this tactic, black Americans are able to conceal their real debt by creating a new picture of the past and denying that they belong to a culturally dependent group. Admission of a debt to the West is construed as an admission of failure and dependence on the culture of one's enslavers. Furthermore, to accept dependence may imply that the black people and black culture lack the requisite human creative faculties. A radical way to prove the contrary is to show that the black Africans were not only creative in every field from the dawn of history, but that they were the teachers of whites. Western civilization thus historically becomes a culturally dependent civilization.



But according to the second model, the 'Greek case' shows that Western superiority, at least since the Renaissance, was the result of borrowing and adaptation of certain Oriental innovations. Thus, if phrasing the achievement of Egypt is justified, taking pride in its superiority, relating with passion how it influenced the comparatively backward Greek culture, then why not take the same attitude toward Western influences on the extra-European cultures? The paradox here is that a theory which sets out to rebel against the concept of European supremacy, has founded itself on a doctrine which justifies the theory of cultural superiority. By trying to combat an image of inferiority via a theory of superiority (as well as a theory of racial supremacy), African-American authors fall into a pit dug by themselves and, in effect, legitimize the theory of white supremacy. In practice, the resort to the diffusionist theory as regards the ancient past provides an historical justification for the dissemination of Western culture outside Europe. The claim that the Greeks were civilized by the black Egyptians justifies *in principle* (and in retrospect) the civilizing of the blacks in America by the white culture. It seems, then, that the Greek-Hellenistic authors, with their diffusionist outlook and their readiness to admit cultural debts, had more historical sense and understanding than the African-Americans.<sup>99</sup> They were ready to acknowledge Greece's debt to others, even to admit a debt where it did not exist.

During the first centuries of Ptolemaic Alexandria, Greek born intellectuals had only narrow social contacts with indigenous Egyptians. But in later periods, intellectual tourism and the influence of both popular ideas and higher culture shaped the 'Alexandrian renaissance' and was a result of the intellectual and cultural intercourse between Greece and Egypt,<sup>100</sup> in which both sides played the role of teacher and student.<sup>101</sup> At the same time, Alexandria was also the birthplace of a new beginning, free from both ancient Egyptian and classical Greek traditions.<sup>102</sup>

# Ancient Egypt and the Foundation of Western Philosophy and Science

... those who have invented neither gunpowder  
nor compass  
Those who tamed neither steam nor electricity  
  
those who explored neither the sea nor the sky  
but those without whom the earth could not be  
the earth.

Aimé Césaire, *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal (Return to My Native Land, 1956)*<sup>1</sup>

## ANCIENT SCIENCE AS ENTRÉE TO MODERNITY

Since science and scientific creativity is considered a major manifestation of man's genius and achievement, as well as a sign of modernity, it has become vital for many Afrocentric authors to claim that almost every branch of science originated in Egypt, following in the footsteps of other such claims by other people. They make this claim not necessarily to rewrite the history of science, but primarily to repel any arguments which try to deprive them, or any particular group of people, of the mental capacities to be active and creative in the field of science.<sup>2</sup>

The Afrocentric view goes to the extreme when it claims that the ancient Egyptians were the fathers both of theoretical scientific thought and the applied sciences and technology. This expansion on the concept of Egypt as the source is of considerable significance, indicating a modern and modernist aspect of Afrocentric writing, unlike its strong romantic and mythical dimension. It is a reflection of the needs and desires of African-Americans to take a greater part in America's modern, scientific-technological society. Paradoxically, the invention of an ancient past, replete with scientific innovation, and a scientific tradition, seems to be

needed in order to encourage greater black involvement in the scientific and technological field so as to refute the premise that black people lack the mental capabilities required by these professions.

It should be noted, as I stated in the introduction, that it is difficult to draw a clear-cut distinction between views that are legitimate assumptions and those that are products of a wild, creative imagination. Is the belief that the ancient Egyptians formulated the Archimedes principle, for example, a legitimate assumption or a product of a wild speculation?

In 1969, Khalil Masihah, an Egyptian physician interested in flight and ornithology, visited the Cairo Museum to view ancient artistic representations of birds. Suddenly he noticed a model of an unusual bird, without wings or legs, and which astonishingly, had a vertical rather than a horizontal tail. Masihah, who as a youngster had built model airplanes, scrutinized the wooden model which weighed 93 grams, and discovered that its wings were very similar to the aerodynamic structure of the American transport plane C31 *Hercules*. Immediately struck by the idea that this could be a model of an ancient airplane, he asked his brother, a flight engineer by profession, to build a similar model and successfully sent it aloft. The brothers then came to the rather hasty conclusion that the ancient Egyptians had built a model glider in the year 1899 BC predating the Wright brothers by approximately 2,200 years. By the same fantastic logic they went on to claim that Daedalus and Icarus were not legendary figures at all, but flesh-and-blood human beings who had evidently known about the experimental flights taking place in Egypt. In any event, Masihah was convinced that these Egyptian pioneers of flight had built a real working model of an aircraft without using bird feathers glued on with meltable wax.<sup>3</sup>

I have repeated this outlandish tale about this anonymous Egyptian Leonardo da Vinci because it is but one example of the many flights of imagination to be found in more recent Afrocentric books, and not necessarily one of the most outrageous. It is part of the same unflagging attempt to depict the ancient Egyptians as having preceded not only the Greeks (or the Chinese) in learning, but as having been the precursors of the Renaissance, the scientific revolution, and the nineteenth-century era of invention. In the same vein, Diop asserts that the pyramid builders used telescopes for orientation,<sup>4</sup> while a fellow-traveler of Afrocentrism, John Pappademos, who is described as a nuclear physicist, is convinced that Egyptian science predated Isaac Newton in developing a heliocentric theory, indirectly motivating him through ancient Egyptian predecessors.<sup>5</sup> These claims are repeated in numerous pseudo-scholarly articles by many other authors.<sup>6</sup>

Masihah, as well as many radical Afrocentrists, is part of a very old tradition of inventing a history of science, following in the footsteps of the Hellenists, Christian apologists and even Jewish authors over a long period

of time. Tatian, Christian teacher and apologist (second century AD), introduced his *Oratio ad Graecos* (*Against the Greeks*) with a catalogue of barbarian inventors and inventions in order to prove that the cultural achievements of the Greeks were actually first discovered by barbarian nations and inventors.<sup>7</sup> His work was a rich body of '*laudatio barbarorum*' (praising non-Greeks) literature on inventions which 'appear to have flourished especially in the Alexandrian period',<sup>8</sup> and formed a Greek 'minor genre' devoted to the first discoverers, or inventors (*prōtoi euretai*) of arts, techniques, real science, and ideas.<sup>9</sup> In some cases, as in the 'Catalogue' assembled by Diogenes Laertius (third century AD), Greek writers presented ideas or devices found elsewhere as Greek inventions, such as the gnomon, ascribed to Anaximander (Herodotus II.109).<sup>10</sup> Jewish Hellenistic writers also accepted the concept of the wisdom of the East, but in their manufactured history of human wisdom, it was the Jewish sages who taught their skills and science to the Egyptians and the Greeks.

This well-worn genre became a success in Jewish literature during the Renaissance, and was revived during the nineteenth century, owing to the growing stature of modern science and technology in both intellectual and social spheres. Part of this literature claimed that many inventions and discoveries were the children of Jewish genius, inventors and explorers from the ancient period to the present. During the nineteenth century, modern Jews were anxious to disprove two arguments. The first was that the Jews lack the faculties for scientific thinking and theological inventions. In response to this claim, some writers provided a long list of Jewish authors, artists and scientists in almost every field, with the main emphasis on Jewish contributions to mathematics and astronomy.<sup>11</sup> The second was that scientific inquiry leads to heresy. In response to the conservative orthodox rejection of science, modern Jews (including observant) compiled a long list of sages and rabbis who had engaged in science, and who were even innovators in these field. A more radical response was to assert that there existed unique and singular Jewish scientific schools of thought which understood the world in specific Jewish terms.<sup>12</sup>

This genre also grew in the Afrocentric garden, where it flourished and blossomed. African-American authors, too, found it necessary to provide a long list of black inventors who played an active role in America's technological progress.<sup>13</sup> They refuted the claim that black people lack the mental faculties required for invention, scientific thought and creativity by tracing the black people's scientific activity to the early periods of African history, chiefly Egypt, feeling free to use and abuse secondary sources en route to achieve their goal and depicting the ancient Egyptians as the inventors of every branch of science.<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, the history of science is a universalist one, and as such there is scant value in attributing the source of a scientific idea to a particular nation, or perceiving it as the result of national genius. The transmission of

scientific ideas and technological innovations from one culture to another is universal, as is well demonstrated by the relationship between Western, Islamic and Chinese science,<sup>15</sup> and by the fact that Arab science and Chinese technology were instrumental in the development of European science.<sup>16</sup> From a Western point of view, the borrowing of scientific and technological methods, ideas and innovations was not considered a sign of weakness. While the West fully and explicitly acknowledged its debt to Arab and Chinese sciences, Muslim, Chinese (and Jewish) writers often reject the idea that their science owes anything at all to the West. Yet, the question of national origin is very often of great value, and wields much influence. The revival of this genre in Afrocentric literature is primarily a response to the fact that though blacks constitute 12 per cent of the total population and 11 per cent of the total work force, they constitute only 3 per cent of all scientists and engineers employed in the United States. In rebuttal of the racist theories that claim this deplorable situation is due to inferior intelligence and mental faculties,<sup>17</sup> they correctly maintain that it is a result of historical oppression and socio-economic conditions.<sup>18</sup> The African-American search for primeval black science and black origins of Western science is, in many respects, a radical and supplementary argument, or weapon against the biased notion of inferiority, as well as a tactic used to encourage the black community.

Even if one rejects Afrocentric flights of imagination (and the relevance of ancient Egyptian science to the black community's place in modern society) one need not dismiss Egypt's achievements in various areas of science and technology out of hand, nor the possibility that its scientific tradition influenced the development of Hellenistic-Roman science. Here, again, we should be awake to the fact that the transmission of scientific ideas, or technological skills, takes a different form from the transmission of philosophical ideas. In Lloyd's words, in scientific fields 'there may be less formidable barriers to communication between two specialists of different cultures'.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, 'it is the capacity to utilize rather than invent a new technology that is often the significant factor'.<sup>20</sup>

It is not my intention here to suggest a comparative reading of Egyptian cosmological and theological ideas, and Greek philosophical ideas, nor do I intend to trace the various streams of influence and their possible consequences. Such a huge task would require great learning in Egyptian religion, Hellenistic philosophy and early Christianity. Nor am I capable of comparing Egyptian texts on mathematics or geometry with Greek texts in these fields. It should also be noted that not every believer in Egypt's achievements and contributions to science agrees with this glorious portrait of Egypt. Most historians of science correctly point out that the Egyptians wrote no philosophy or scientific tracts in the Greek sense,<sup>21</sup> that Aristotle could not have borrowed ideas such as binary logic or Euclidian geometry from them, and that his philosophy was distinctively Greek. Others, how-

ever, such as Bernal, believe that the pre-Socratics may have been influenced by Egyptian science, and that, at least in the areas of religion and science, Afrocentrist claims have some validity.<sup>22</sup> This ignores the fact that the achievement of the philosophers was to arrive at generalized and depersonalized notion of the words-whole as a unity, and not to replace one myth with another.<sup>23</sup>

#### FROM THALES TO PLATO AND ARCHIMEDES

There is a world of difference between the idea that Greek philosophers or scientists exhibited intellectual curiosity about Egypt, or even absorbed certain Egyptian ideas, and the claim that the Greeks merely plagiarized the scientific writings and copied the technological innovations of Egyptian priests and inventors, without producing a single original idea of their own. There is, for example, a fundamental difference between adopting the Egyptian idea of *Atum* ('fullness' or 'being' and 'non-being') and its use in a totally different framework, such as pre-Socratic natural philosophy. The same is true of other philosophical concepts. There is no reason to suppose that Thales visited Egypt, nor are there any similarities between his physical theory and Egyptian cosmogony. According to Lloyd, the idea that the earth floats on water is one that occurs in several Babylonian and Egyptian myths, but the Milesians 'left the gods out', discovered 'nature' and made the distinction between the 'natural' and the 'supernatural'. The great innovation of the pre-Socratics was the discovery that natural phenomena are regular and governed by determinable sequences of cause and effect, thus rejecting the supernatural explanation of natural phenomena. It may be that Thales was influenced by the myth of *Nun* (primeval water) but he was not simply imitating any myth.<sup>24</sup>

In Book X of *The Laws*, Plato himself states that two intellectual currents had emerged in Greece: one, deriving from the school of Miletus, holding that the world exists without point, purpose or reason and that the human soul is merely one element in nature; the second maintaining that the soul is the inception and principal part of creation and is superior in every way to the earthly world. Which of these two currents was shaped by Egyptian influence? In *The Republic*, Plato also differentiates between the practical approach of the Egyptians and the scientific manner in which the Greek intellect approached the essence of Egyptian science.<sup>25</sup> Some similarities between Plato's and the Egyptian idea of the nether world had already been noted in antiquity.<sup>26</sup> Afrocentrists claim that the cosmology Plato adduces in *Timaeus*, a work steeped in the Pythagorean spirit, which endeavors to elucidate the structure of the universe in mathematical terms, was 'borrowed' by him from an Egyptian source, but Plato's cosmogony and physical philosophy differ fundamentally from the Egyptian doctrine of creation and its inherent laws.

The irony is that radical Afrocentric raciology, which longs to free itself from the white man's history, and from the bondage of white-Western categories of thought regarding the universe, is an act of salvation establishing African holism. It drove Marimba Ani (Dona Richards), to regard Plato as the main representative of the white man's mind, and to call for a revival of the genuine black and Egyptian *Wesen*.<sup>27</sup> Leaving the author's interpretation of Western phenomenology and values, and her 'pure' African concepts aside, the important point here is her claim that it was Platonic philosophy which shaped the Western world-view and Western patterns of behavior; that it was Plato who was responsible for the transition of the Homeric and the pre-Socratic world-view, which was itself shaped by the Egyptian-African world-view. Plato, she writes, had no choice but to argue the supremacy of the new European (Greek) world-view, 'fighting the Sophists, the powerful ancient mystery systems, ancient Kemetic (Egyptian) science, philosophy, religion, and other philosophical and ideological possibilities. He had to change the mental outlook of the culture.'<sup>28</sup> At the same time, Ani takes the view that both Plato and Aristotle stole their ideas from the Egyptian-African (black) priests; thus Platonic philosophy – and the resultant European world-view – is originally African.<sup>29</sup>

Yet, if both Plato and Moses were pupils of the Egyptian priests and their wisdom was nothing but a product of profanation and plagiarism, how can their philosophy or religious ideals, at the same time completely contradict the Egyptian-African religious and philosophical heritage? And if, as some African-American writers argue, Christianity is founded on Ethiopian-African rituals and practices,<sup>30</sup> how can one claim that Christianity is alien to the African soul?

This new history of ancient science and philosophy also lays claim to Aristotelian philosophy. Aware that this philosophy impeded the development of science in the West until it was jettisoned, Bernal emphasizes that the break with Aristotelianism and the concomitant birth of modern science, which was bound up with names like Roger Bacon, Johannes Kepler and Tycho Brahe, was actually a renaissance of Egyptian cosmogony. In the same vein, Afrocentrists argue that the revival of the Egyptian heliocentric world-view is the true foundation of the modern scientific revolution. According to this view, the scientific revolution in Europe was not based on a continuity of Egyptian influence on Greece, and through Greece to Europe, but on a break with Greek scientific heritage! If so, we may wonder, how did it happen that Plato and Aristotle, both accused by the Afrocentric writing of imitation and theft from the same (Egyptian) intellectual source, produced philosophical doctrines differing from one another in every sphere? Could any two conceptions be further apart than Aristotle's inductive approach and Plato's speculative idealism? The only possible answer to these queries, at least from the point of view of

Afrocentric heliocentric theory, might be that Egyptian theology was complex and in fact several theologies existed which are hard to fashion into a harmonious, integral system.<sup>31</sup> But the same theory tries to convince us that there existed one unified ancient Egyptian view of the world!

This Afrocentric heliocentric history of Greek philosophy deliberately ignores the fact that different Greek thinkers and schools held different views about the creation of the universe and the laws which govern it. Afrocentric writers deliberately ignore the fact that ancient Egyptian thinking lacked the idea of causality, the urge to rationalize the laws of nature, to find a general explanation, etc. The urge toward finding the best explanation, the most adequate theory, and thus consider evidence, arguments, proofs and dialectical analysis, writes Lloyd,<sup>32</sup> are the foundations of Greek philosophy and science.<sup>33</sup>

According to the African-American theory of the 'Theft of Wisdom', there were several other Greek scientists (and branches of science) who were no more than copyists of Egyptian wisdom.<sup>34</sup> According to Diop and his disciples, Archimedes, who was born c.287 BC in Syracuse, Sicily, and whom tradition places for a time in Egypt,<sup>35</sup> shamelessly copied the formula named after him ('Archimedes principle') from the 'wisdom of Egypt' – mainly mathematics and geometry, which he learned from local sages.<sup>36</sup> The truth is that Archimedes left behind him works on geometry, mechanics, hydrostatics and other disciplines (as well as an essay, discovered in 1906, showing how he had arrived at his engineering theories after studying the attributes of forms by mechanical means<sup>37</sup>). None of these discoveries, or their underlying methods, is mentioned in the Egyptian scientific papyri. And should the theorems of Archimedes or Pythagoras turn up in the future in some newly discovered papyri,<sup>38</sup> a single law of engineering is hardly a systematic scientific doctrine.<sup>39</sup> The latter is a form of thought, aware of the questions it asks and of the systematic character of the answers it seeks. Compared with the Greeks, the Egyptian scientific world appears to be far more limited, lacking both method and self-awareness.

Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus), the astronomer, geographer and mathematician who was active in c.151–127 AD in Alexandria, proposed a geocentric world picture (in which the earth was immobile and fixed at the center) that was completely at odds with the picture of the universe hypothesized by Eudoxus, and by Aristotle. His great treatise on the movement of the planets (*Tetrabiblos* [*Mathematical Composition*], known as the *Almagest* [the Greats] in Arabic) became the basic textbook of astronomy for the next 1,500 years, until being totally refuted by Tycho Brahe in the sixteenth century. According to the Afrocentric history of science, Ptolemy was influenced by Egyptian astronomy; he himself, however, wrote that the Egyptian astronomers



... no where explain their arrangement or their numbers, their failure to agree in an account of the system might well become an object of suspicion and a subject for criticism. Recently, however, we have come upon an ancient manuscript, much damaged, which contains a natural and consistent explanation of their order and number . . . (*Tetrabiblos* I:21)<sup>40</sup>

Ptolemy, writes Palter, 'was working squarely within a Babylonian-Greek astronomical tradition',<sup>41</sup> not the Egyptian tradition; moreover, his astronomical theory was galaxies apart from Aristotle's, another supposed imitator of Egyptian astronomy. Is this a case of a good student and a bad student, or is it simply that the development of scientific thought shows no distinctive Egyptian conception? How can one claim that Egypt preceded Aristotelian cosmogony and Copernican astronomy both at the same time? If Egyptian science preceded Newton and the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, how can one explain the fact that the Greeks had never heard of these ideas or followed this scientific track?

The Edwin Smith surgical papyrus clearly shows Egypt's achievements in the field of medicine, including the preparation of a medical compendium with symptoms, diagnosis, prognosis and therapeutics, and the realization that the brain is the center of the body.<sup>42</sup> The papyrus confirmed the fame of Egyptian physicians and Egyptian medicine praised in works such as the *Odyssey* ('No one else knows medicine as they do, | Egyptian heirs of Paeon, the healing god' [IV:231-32]) and in records regarding Egyptian physicians who worked in the court of Hittite monarchs. Egypt, according to Herodotus, was 'teeming with physicians' (II:77.3). Yet, it is clear the Egyptian medicine described in the *Odyssey* does not illustrate, much less comprehend, its advanced character.<sup>43</sup> Charles S. Finch, II, basing his argument on the Smith Papyrus and other Egyptian medical papyri, comes to the inevitable conclusion that Hippocrates and Galén drew heavily on the theory and practice of ancient Egyptian medicine:<sup>44</sup>

So heavy was the indebtedness that had Hippocrates ever had the question of priority put to him he might well have echoed the dictum of Homer, who in the *Odyssey* stated, 'In Medicine knowledge, Egypt leaves the rest of the world'.

Finch, therefore, concludes that '... much of Hippocratic medicine (mainly anatomy) was Egyptian medicine in Greek form', and that: 'Hippocrates had not even advanced as far as the ancient Egyptians before him. He never mentions pulse-taking and considered the brain to have been a gland.' What Finch neglects to mention is the pervasive influence of Greek-Egyptian medicine on the development of medicine during the Middle Ages.<sup>45</sup> All these descriptions ignore the fact that this dogmatic adherence to the Greek-Hellenistic (Egyptian) medical tradition had the effect of inhibiting the development of Western medicine. Palter stated:

'Although there seems little doubt that Greek doctors enlarged their pharmacopoeia with Egyptian drugs, other types of influence of Egyptian medicine on Greek medicine are more difficult to document; and certain radical differences between the two medical traditions are very striking', which seems to be a more accurate and historical view.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, according to Von Staden, there might have been some influx of Egyptian ideas into Alexandrian medicine, but Herophilus' rationalistic school abandoned the tradition and lore of ancient Egyptian medical practice and beliefs, its mixture of magic, religion and experience, that is to say, all 'what has been hailed as the most significant Egyptian element in Greek medicine'.<sup>47</sup> Herophilus' theories were remote from the Egyptian concepts.

As for the Egyptian achievements in mathematics, geometry and astronomy, Diop writes:

... the undeniable connection that exists between mathematics and the so-called discoveries made celebrities out of Greek scholars, such as Archimedes and Pythagoras, just to cite these two.<sup>48</sup>

According to Afrocentric scholarship, the Rhind Papyrus and the Moscow Papyrus, revealed astonishing Egyptian achievements in the field of geometry. The latter contains an example of a numerical formula with which it is possible to calculate the volume of a pyramid with base of  $x$  and a height of  $y$ . How the Egyptian mathematician arrived at his conclusion four millennia ago is not known, but it is obvious why the advocates of the Philo-Egyptian theories eagerly seized upon it, positing Egyptian mathematics as the source of all Greek mathematics.<sup>49</sup>

It is generally held that Egyptian mathematics and geometry were discovered due to the practice of land measurement (Herodotus, II:109). However, Aristotle held a different view, claiming that mathematical arts were first developed in Egypt because 'there the priestly caste was allowed to be at leisure' (*Metaphysics* 981b:20-5).<sup>50</sup> In the introduction to *A Source Book in Greek Science* Cohen and Drabkin state that:

The Greeks achieved greater success in pure mathematics than in any other branch of science . . . Recent researchers have increased our knowledge of Egyptian and Babylonian mathematics before and after the rise of the Greeks and have indicated a remarkable skill in calculation and in the solution of various types of problems. But all the evidence indicates that the ideal of rigorously deductive proof, the method of developing a subject by a chain of theorem based on definitions, axioms, and postulates, and the constant striving for complete generality and abstraction are the specific contribution of the Greeks to mathematics.<sup>51</sup>

With regard to geometry, they accept the claims made by Plato, Heron of Alexandria, Diodorus, Strabo and others who argued that the Greeks owe their knowledge in this field to the Egyptians.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand,

they say, the great Greek contribution was 'in the formulation of geometrical systems to represent the notions of the heavenly bodies'.<sup>53</sup> B. L. Van der Warden, in his *Science Awakening*, assumed that mathematics had its origin in Egypt, but that:

... the levels of Egyptian geometry and astronomy are frequently placed too high ... It became clear that, even in the Roman period, when astronomy flourished, Egyptian astronomy lagged far behind Greek and Babylonian astronomy.

He also states that the Greeks learned multiplications and computations with unit-fractions from the Egyptians, but developed it further. 'Characteristic of Egyptian mathematics are the elaborate calculations with fractions, which can not serve as a basis for higher algebra, and the treatment of geometry as applied arithmetic.'<sup>54</sup> Robert Palter asserts that the 'Egyptians never invented a mathematical astronomy in the sense that the Babylonians and the Greeks did'; moreover, they 'never approached the depth of understanding revealed in the most advanced Babylonian mathematics'.<sup>55</sup> It is true that knowledge of the 3-4-5 triangle enables one to construct a right-angled triangle without a protractor, and this knowledge is useful in many fields. But knowledge of the triangle cannot be compared to an understanding of the Pythagorean theorem; the existence of the triangle can be measured but to make intelligent use of the Pythagorean theorem, one must be familiar with other concepts, such as square roots and base two.<sup>56</sup>

Continuing Palter's train of thought, even if the Pythagorean theorem was first deduced by an Egyptian mathematician, it was not placed within a theoretical mathematical system, nor did the Egyptian mathematician imbue numbers with a religious-mystical significance, as Pythagoras did, or make them a basis to explain physical processes. The fact is that hardly anyone questions Egypt's impressive achievements, especially in geometry, astronomy and medicine, but the majority of scholars believe that they were not theoreticians: abstraction was not their strong point.<sup>57</sup> Nonetheless, R. J. Gillings rejects the accepted concept that an argument or logical proof must be *symbolic* if it is to be regarded as rigorous, arguing that a non-symbolic argument or proof *can* be rigorous when given in support of a particular value of the variable. Thus, the Egyptians 'did not ask themselves *why* it worked. They did not seek to establish truth by an a priori symbolic argument that would show clearly and logically their thought processes. What they did was to explain and define in an ordered sequence the steps necessary in the proper procedure, and at the conclusion they added a verification or proof that the steps outlined did indeed lead to a correct solution of the problem ... The Egyptians had no plus, no minus, multiplication, or division signs, no equal or square-root signs, no zero and no decimal point ...'. Nevertheless, while Egyptians 'did not show exactly

how they established their rules of formulae, nor how they arrived at their methods in dealing with specific values of the variable', they 'nearly always proved that the numerical solution to the problem at hand was indeed correct for the particular value or values they had chosen'.<sup>58</sup> The science of the Egyptians, writes Gillings, was Egyptian science, and they 'did not think and reason as the Greeks did'.<sup>59</sup> The historical irony, then, is that Afrocentrists seek to attribute to ancient Egypt not only a Greek way of thinking, but to evaluate Egyptian science according to a modern Western concept of science and scientific thinking as well.

In the light of this background, we must ask whether there is any validity to the claim that Western historiography of science concealed the truth of Egypt's important contribution to the progress of science?

Conventional wisdom states that the genius of the Egyptians lay not in sophisticated (abstract) thinking, but in the skillful application of accumulated experience.<sup>60</sup> Accordingly, it was the Greeks who originated theoretical science; whatever they picked up from the Egyptians in the way of practical science they converted into theory.<sup>61</sup> In fact, Egyptian priests were no strangers to abstract theorizing and schematization, though this had very little impact on the average Egyptian, just as abstract theorizing had very little impact on the average Greek.

The modern history of science, while lavishing praise on the wisdom of Egypt and of ancient Oriental science, believes that their scientific achievements were greatly modified in classical Greece.<sup>62</sup> Egyptian achievements in the various fields of science were never denied and as soon as the hieroglyphics were deciphered and the texts and papyri scientifically published, neither the Egyptologists nor the interested public doubted that they revealed a highly developed culture, rich in scientific achievements.

American Egyptologist James Henry Breasted wrote in his popular book *Ancient Times: A History of the Early World* (1916) that:

In *plane* geometry it is surprising to find that these earliest known mathematicians already had rules for computing correctly the area of a triangle, of trapezium, and even of a circle, which was figured as the square of eight-ninths of the diameter. The value of which resulted from this computation is 3.1605, a result surprisingly near the correct value. This led to a rule for the calculation of the area of a hemisphere.<sup>63</sup>

In his basic book on the history of Greek science, M. Clagett sums up the prevailing view about the quality of Egyptian practical science (mostly geometry) and gives it a better than passing grade, though noting, conventionally, that the Babylonians were more advanced as theorizers. As for the Greeks, they produced a 'generalized, theoretical and abstract science, an orderly and rational structure'.<sup>64</sup> G. J. Toomer writes that 'Egyptian mathematics has had some influence on later civilization. The use of unit fractions was very common in the Greco-Roman world on into the

Middle Ages, and we can hardly doubt that the origin of these is in Egypt . . .'. He goes on to say: 'Though the Egyptian system of multiplication was certainly known to some Greeks, there is no trace of its being seriously used outside Egypt.'<sup>65</sup> As for geometry, he believes the most the Egyptians could have given Thales 'is some empirically derived formulae for the exact or approximate calculations of area and volume'.<sup>66</sup> In their classroom textbook Wallace E. Caldwell and Mary Francis Gyles, write that the Egyptians discovered the theory of the right-angled triangle before Pythagoras; that they calculated the area of a circle, knew how to take the pulse, etc. They lacked, however, both a scientific method and a scientific consciousness.<sup>67</sup> In Lázlo Kákósy's view, the Greeks were inspired by the Egyptian spirit of inquiry and their strong interest in the archaic, and the Egyptian study of ancient texts 'contributed to the development of philological methodology. The Greeks regarded Egypt as a center of knowledge and learning, though Greek science of the classical periods would surpass Egypt in many respects.'<sup>68</sup> Bertrand Russell noted in his popular book on the history of philosophy that:

Much of what makes civilization had already existed for thousands of years in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, and had spread thence to neighboring countries. But certain elements had been lacking until the Greeks supplied them. What they achieved in art and literature is familiar to everybody, but what they did in the purely intellectual realm is even more exceptional. They invented mathematics and science and philosophy . . .

Russell adds:

Arithmetic and some geometry existed among the Egyptians and Babylonians, but mainly in the form of rules of thumb. Deductive reasoning from general premises was a Greek innovation.<sup>69</sup>

Even those views which ascribe stature to the Egyptians in the development of science are considered degrading, perhaps even racist from the African-American perspective. Afrocentrism cannot tolerate the idea that the Egyptians were lacking in theoretical thought. The paradoxical adherence of Afrocentrism, even of the militant anti-European hue, to saliently European categories inevitably led its followers to consider the ability to theorize to be a more advanced stage of human intelligence and thought. This resulted in the need to prove the Egyptians were more than highly skilled artisans, and possessed the capacity for abstract thought and conceptualization, as indeed they did.

PLATONISM AND HERMETICISM, AND  
FROM ISIS TO JESUS

Another sphere of assumed or alleged Egyptian influence on the West via Greece, Rome and Palestine is the area of religious-spiritual ideas. During the Hellenistic-Roman period, and later during the Renaissance, scholars assumed that Egypt had exercised a preponderant influence on the development of religion and culture in the ancient East and in the West in virtually every sphere. Renaissance scholars firmly believed that Hermes Trismegistus was an Egyptian priest, philosopher, and king who lived during the time of Moses and was influenced by the teachings of the Torah; therefore one can detect similarities between Scripture and the Hermetic texts.<sup>71</sup>

Can we safely argue that this pan-Egyptian theory and the assumed Egyptian origin of different Greek-Hellenistic innovations are no more than fictitious stories? Can we safely argue that the image of secret priestly groups and priestly wisdom is the invention of the Renaissance imagination?<sup>72</sup> Is it a mere accident that Plotinus (270–205 AD) came originally from Upper Egypt? The historical fact is that the encounter between Egyptian and Greek cultures took place in Alexandria, which was the site where a symbiosis of ideas occurred and new ideas came to life within the Egyptian-Hellenistic social and cultural milieu. G. Fowden shows the existence of Egyptian elements in the Hermetic corpus, which was composed in Roman Egypt during the late third century AD and attributed to the god Hermes.<sup>73</sup> In his view, many Egyptian priests knew the Greek language and some were ‘sufficiently Hellenized to write books in Greek about Egyptian religion, and perhaps also to translate some of the sacred priestly books for the benefit of those who could not read the original’.<sup>74</sup> In his *De Mysteris Aegyptiorum*, Platonist philosopher Iamblicus of Apamea, records that an Egyptian priest was supposed to have translated some of the hieroglyphic texts of Thoth into Greek (*Mys.* viii.5; x.7).<sup>75</sup> One can presume then, that Platonic philosophy, moreover the Hermetic writings themselves, were a product of Greco-Egyptian symbiosis which articulated Egyptian ideas in Greek. ‘Hellenism, then, was held captive by those it had conquered . . .’<sup>76</sup>

Although it is a gross exaggeration to argue that Hellenistic philosophy, Gnosticism and Christianity<sup>76</sup> were all shaped by motifs and ideas originating in Egypt, I believe there is no doubt, that such influence did exist, even though it is difficult, or impossible, to trace its routes. Egyptian theology, for example, certainly affected the development of Christian theology through the mediation of Neoplatonic philosophy.<sup>77</sup> But even supposing that the idea of soul reincarnation in godly form is an ancient Egyptian concept which inspired similar ideas, only the most superficially mechanistic approach to the history of ideas could consider it a source for the Christian

belief in Jesus' Messianism. The description of intellectual history put forward by Diop, Bernal and their followers disregards the intense controversy which raged between the proponents of different methods, all ostensibly Egyptian in origin.

Is it valid to argue that every development, every idea, every invention, every bit of intellectual progress from the third millennium onward originated in ancient Egypt? While the claim of Egyptian origins may be true insofar as the Hermetic writings and Platonism are concerned, this does not mean that all other Hellenistic achievements originated from the Egyptian cultural heritage, in particular scientific thought. Moreover, while the Egyptian priesthood retained a secret wisdom, or a wisdom which belonged only to a few, Hellenism made this wisdom public property, the property of mankind, preventing its eventual loss.

Not everyone has waxed so enthusiastic about Egyptian origins. Peter Green, for example, found no great theological or metaphysical truth in *The Book of the Dead*; 'No great hidden truth there – and some remarkably silly spells', he notes, adding: 'This is all a great pity, since the culture of Egypt was quite extraordinary enough in sober fact; to credit the Egyptians, in addition, with being the guardians, if not the inventors, of every sort of hermetic wisdom, arcane science, prophetic skill, and perennial philosophy merely detracts from what they did do.'<sup>78</sup> Is Green merely regurgitating the approach founded on Western superiority? Does he prefer to ignore everything that has been discovered about the development of Egyptian culture and its impact, to shield Greek genius against all possible detractors? To answer that question one must first determine whether research has in fact established not only the genuineness of all the achievements attributed to Egypt beyond any doubt, but to clarify whether every idea and every conceptual system, religious or secular, in the Western cultural and intellectual tradition derives from an Egyptian source. Is it possible to trace the Great Chain of Being, which explains the universe and the human soul, all the way back to Egypt? Or is this a simplistic concept of the history of ideas? Both universal scientific history and cosmological and metaphysical ideas offered by the new historiography are an interesting attempt to trace the development of the Great Chain of Being and several ideas of Egyptian origin regarding the soul or the attributes of the universe. But this is all too simplistic. It ignores the fact that in the Egyptian–Greek–Hellenistic world different and even contradictory ideas prevailed about the most central issues, that ideas evolved and changed, that in particular, they altered their place and their function. It is little short of ludicrous to posit an ancient Egyptian source for every religious viewpoint of the Greek–Roman world. Indeed, only by taking an overly simplistic view can one regard the Egyptian intellectual tradition as the seminal source for ideas so radically different from one another, for doctrines and religions such as Judaism and Christianity, Neoplatonism and Gnosticism, Kabbalah and Renaissance

rationalism, and the modern scientific revolution. Absurdly, this portrayal posits Egypt as the mythological mother from whose womb sprang all formative ideas.<sup>79</sup>

The paradox here lies in the fact that the argument favoring a dependence on Egypt calls for an almost blind appreciation of Greek philosophy and science which drew all its accomplishments from Egypt, and which overlooks the fact that Greek science (led by Aristotle, the arch-sinner in the African-American story) had negative impact on the development of scientific thought for 1,500 years. No wonder this contradiction is solved by accusing the Greeks of vitiating Egyptian science because of their ignorance, and by calling the scientific renaissance, which began in the seventeenth century, a 'return to the Egyptian sources . . .'.

#### RELIVING THE EGYPTIAN-AFRICAN DILEMMA

As mentioned earlier, the radical Afrocentric point of view perceives the African and the Greek (Western) understanding of the world as fundamentally different and contradictory. This perception also demands the conclusion that science is an integral part of national genius and a people's particular world-view. Again, Afrocentric literature finds itself caught up in an internal dilemma. On one hand, this literature stresses the gap – real or imagined – between the Oriental and Western modes of thought, and accepts the view that different civilizations acting in different cultural and political environments do develop their own distinct scientific school of thought (such as Muslim, Indian and Chinese scientific thought). Afrocentric literature often adopts the approach which attributes differences in the development of scientific thought to mental structure. How, then, does it explain the fact that Egyptian scientific ideas were taken up by a Greek society which had such disparate modes of thought? One explanation is that Greek science was in no way the fruit of the collective Greek genius nor part of the Greek culture, but rather the province of a very small élite which acted under Egyptian influence. Egyptian scientific and philosophical concepts, so we are told, were actually foreign to the spirit of Greece; these ideas, which were considered alien and incomprehensible in their socio-cultural milieu, were transmitted to a small group of philosophers who were then persecuted! When, during the Hellenistic period, Greece underwent deep changes, Greeks began to flock to Egypt as the entire range of its scientific lore was made available to Hellenistic society ready to accept them. So-called 'Hellenistic' philosophy and science were no more than ancient Egyptian wisdom translated into Greek and disseminated, without giving credit to the original authors. On the other hand, Diop and his followers presume that scientific thought possesses a universal character rather than being the child of the unique mentality of a particular culture. While a world-view cannot be transmitted, scientific principles



can. Here Diop and his fellow Afrocentrists fully accept the Western and Islamic view that natural and applied sciences are universal, a common heritage of mankind, neutral in nature, and as such, should be distinguished and separated from metaphysics.<sup>80</sup> A third course, as we have already seen,<sup>81</sup> is to argue that the metaphysical speculations in Greek philosophy also had an Egyptian source – so that nothing precluded their acceptance as scientific ideas.

Yet, while Diop and his disciples insist on ‘proving’ the Egyptian origins of Greek metaphysics and political philosophy, so far no university curriculum in the United States has reflected the need to teach a separate course in Egyptian-African science alongside European science, just as no such need has been expressed in Muslim countries, in Jewish schools or in the Far East. Nowhere has the argument been made that the African laws of nature and mechanics operate differently from the European laws of nature and mechanics. The argument revolved around metaphysical and cosmogenic ideas, not around science and its laws. Indeed, the radical Afrocentrists claim that, thanks to their unique mental equipment, the black race created a unique system of logic and a unique cosmogony, but none of them would argue that the black race formulated unique physical or chemical laws. On the other hand, they always attempt to argue that the laws of nature, as set down by Western science, had in every case been previously conceived by the black race. The controversy focuses on the identification of the scientific ideas – not their validity. Consciously or unconsciously, Afrocentric historiography has internalized the Western world’s view, particularly its high esteem for theoretical science, a concept totally unknown and alien to the ancient Egyptians. Unlike Jewish, Muslim or Christian fundamentalist scholarship, African-American literature on the subject is not immersed in the interminable debate between science and modern Creationism, i.e. the need to prove that the cosmogony of the *Book of Genesis* precedes – and corresponds with – the conclusions of modern science. Even more important, African-Americans have no need to confront the religious-fundamentalist negation of scientific research, nor to seek legitimization for free scientific inquiry, as the Jews have had to do since the Middle Ages. Their dilemma is different: they must come to terms with the idea that the cosmogony of the ancient Egyptians, an arcane theology, was the source of Greek metaphysics, and at the same time the source of the monotheistic concept.

Moreover, while Afrocentric literature accuses the Greeks of being thieves, lacking any genuine achievement in science, they actually verify their major contribution to the history of science. James, for example, asserts that the Egyptians did not commit their doctrine to public writing, thus contradicting himself and others who have referred to the existence of a systematic religious, philosophical and scientific literature inscribed on tablets or on papyri. If these ideas were written down and copied, they then

became a general cultural asset, making any talk of theft irrelevant. But there is a far more important point here. James completely ignores the fact that, according to his own theory, the entire corpus of Egyptian wisdom, including the written portions, would have been lost forever (or at least until the nineteenth century) had it not been copied or stolen, or taken over by the Greeks, thus becoming the property of the civilized world. If not for the Greek 'theft', the Arabs, Moors and Byzantine would not have been able to transmit the wisdom to Spain and Italy, and from there to Europe and the colleges and universities in the United States, where twentieth-century black scholars subsequently claimed it for their own. The Greeks were well aware that theft of wisdom is not robbery but rather transmission of knowledge and values from place to place and from generation to generation. If the Greeks could inherit and put to good use the knowledge of others, are we not wise enough to realize that employing knowledge for the general good is not necessarily plunder? It would seem that Afrocentric theory can serve those who claim that black Africans differ in their intellectual capacities from Egyptians, and that similar skin color is not proof of similar mental abilities. On the other hand, the cosmopolitic model of Hellenistic Alexandria clearly shows that the development of science is a product of collective effort and intellectual openness, in which creativity is expressed by an ability to adopt existing knowledge in order to utilize it and develop it further.<sup>82</sup>

Indeed, faced with this need to explain why Egyptian science was adopted and assimilated by the Greeks, while Africa was reluctant to accept it, the Afrocentrists, who view Africa and Egypt as one civilization, sharing the same mental capacity and outlook, set off to prove that Africa was also rich in scientific achievements. Thus, in addition to the attempts to prove ancient Egypt's scientific achievements, Afrocentric authors are making tremendous efforts to prove that Africa was much more scientifically advanced than Europe, and that African nations in various parts of the African continent knew the secret of steel-making, were adept at astronomical-mathematical calculations, constructed buildings of great ingenuity, and that various African nations were literate. Many articles and research papers have been written in order to verify this claim. But, again, even assuming the secret of producing iron tools was known to ancient African societies before it was developed in Asia, there is no sign that they used iron tools. Diop, who believes that the 'black had been the first to discover iron', tries to explain this by maintaining that the ancient Africans had no need for iron, and technical development was less stressed than in Europe.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, even if iron was first discovered in Africa, or passed from Egypt (and North Africa) to the main body of Africa, its use apparently did not spread into the forest until about 300–500 AD.<sup>84</sup> As to the question of script, before the coming of Islam, the only form of writing that appeared in equatorial Africa was that of pictographic signs, but no evidence has been

found anywhere of any pictographic or syllabic writing. Moreover, even if testimonies of the existence of an African proto-script are real, they tell us that sub-Saharan African societies did not develop a real script or literate communities, such as in Egyptian society.<sup>85</sup>

Looking back at ancient history and inventing a scientific tradition can be a regressive factor. On the other hand, however, it can reveal the benefits of indebtedness and dependence in the cultural and scientific realms. Instead of inducing cultural isolation, it can encourage any community to borrow from all sources available to it. If indeed the Greeks stole their philosophy and science from the Egyptians and from black Africans, the world ought to thank them, for it was they – not African cultures – who preserved these invaluable treasures for humankind. Without the Greeks, these achievements of the black-Egyptian mind would have been lost forever. Most important, if Western philosophy and science are indeed of African origin and genius, Afrocentrists cannot – and may not – reject their conceptual framework and categories. If the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, Newton and Descartes, are African in character, even radical Afrocentrism cannot reject them as a manifestation of the white man's fallacy.<sup>86</sup> Thus, African-American efforts to claim ownership of the great achievements of early science will prove to be harmless if they only result in encouraging American blacks to enter the various fields of science – an *entrée*, even if acquired under false pretences, to science, and not an obstacle to it.

# The Quest for Ancient Egypt's Black Identity

O Egypt, Egypt, only stories of your religion will remain, and they will not be believed by your posterity; only words inscribed on stone narrating your pious deeds will survive . . .

*Asclepius*, 24 (in B. P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum*, 214)

## THE 'BLACK' FOUNDATION OF THE 'ANCIENT MODELS'

From the point of view of Afrocentric universal history the revival of the two ancient models was not in itself sufficient, since its major goal was not only to reconstruct the history of the ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean to the Hellenistic period, with Egypt's placed in the center. Its main goal was to claim that glorious Egypt was an integral part of Africa and the black race. Thus, it was crucial to provide convincing arguments that the ancient Egyptians were indeed a black people, and therefore their civilization was a black civilization. An array of disciplines have been marshaled by Afrocentric writers to prove their contention that the Egyptians were a black-skinned, African race. For this purpose they adopted the notion of one homogeneous black race with a homogeneous black culture. The blackness of the ancient Egyptian became both an article of faith and a scientific dogma.<sup>1</sup>

I shall not discuss at length the question of the primordial origins and 'racial' character of Egypt's population in prehistoric (and pre-dynastic) times, a question which has solicited a variety of old and new speculative answers.<sup>2</sup> Nor will I discuss the question of whether the Egyptian population underwent several physical changes due to natural selection and the change in environmental and climatic conditions, which could have affected their pigmentation, or population movements such as migrations and infiltrations from the South or the East, and the assimilation of this flow into the Egyptian population.<sup>3</sup> Although I do not focus on the examination of physical remains,<sup>4</sup> it is worth mentioning that scientists hold diverse

opinions on this subject. Based on a study of non-metrical variation in the skull, A. C. Berry and R. J. Berry argue that there was an 'impressive uniformity in the basic Egyptian population',<sup>5</sup> whilst A. Leahy argues that the ancient Egyptians were not a homogeneous people, and that there was an 'incessant movement of different ethnic groups into Egypt throughout the Pharaonic period'.<sup>6</sup> He adds, however, that Egyptian society was capable of absorbing them without prejudice.<sup>7</sup> Derry, who studied the physical remains of Old Kingdom élites buried in Giza and excavated in the early twentieth century by G. Reisner, concluded that 'the pyramid builders were a race of invaders who were not black'.<sup>8</sup> F. Yurco, while rejecting this theory of a dynastic race which arrived from the East (Asia), and accepting the notion of 'Nilotic' continuity, argues that the inhabitants of Egypt were a hybrid mixture of North African and sub-Saharan populations.<sup>9</sup> Bohannan and Curtin argue that the Egyptians were a brown-skinned people with long hair, who came into contact and intermingled with the darker, curly-haired people up the Nile in Nubia.<sup>10</sup> They were not closely related to sub-Saharan Africans. African-American anthropologist S. O. Y. Keita states that biological affinities between the Egyptians, especially in the south, were great and they were part of the Saharo-tropical variant. However, while the early Nile populations were primarily coextensive with indigenous African population, they underwent a significant genetic change as a result of the migration of foreign genes.<sup>11</sup> Even Diop and other radical Afrocentrists suppose that the skin of the blacks who dwelt along the Nile valley underwent modification. Thus, there were two variants of the black race: one, straight-haired, represented by the Nubians, and by the Tubbou or Tedda; and the second, with curly hair, represented by the people of the Equatorial regions. Both types made up the Egyptian population.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, since Afrocentrists believe in the environmental theory and that environment (particularly the climate) also alters physiognomy (and culture), the assumption that there was a strong resemblance between the inhabitants of inner Africa and those of the Nile valley, resulting from a common ancient source, can have two bases: that there is no significant climatic difference between sub-tropical Africa and the Nile valley, or that the migration of people from tropical Africa continued throughout the entire prehistorical period and thereafter as well. In any event, the focus of this discussion is the degree of the black biological influence of Africa on Egypt during different periods, and in different parts of Egypt, and the nature of the racial variants and of the process of racial mixture.

But, as discussed earlier,<sup>13</sup> radical Afrocentrism maintains that it is possible to define 'pure black racial characteristics and identity', and that the racial identity of the ancient Egyptian population, based on physical remains, was a homogeneous, pure black race. According to this view, the population of the Nile valley was but one of many variants of the black race, and in ancient Egypt the true black genotype varies from dark brown

to black. Thus, the Egyptian population from the Paleolithic period (35,000 BC) to the predynastic period (fourth millennium BC) 'displays physical features common to 'Afrocoid' with broad black African traits; this is true also of later periods.<sup>14</sup> There is, according to this view, a racial continuum between the race (or races) of East Africa and Equatorial Africa, and the Nile valley, which also resulted in a cultural continuum. This theory rejects the view that, from the genetic perspective, the concept of a uniform, homogeneous genetic race is baseless, since races and racial taxonomy undergo a process of evolution and hybridization due to a variety of causes which create new combinations.<sup>15</sup>

The irony is that Afrocentrism appears to reject scientific dismissal of racial typology, and attempts to confirm a theory which gives deeply rooted prejudices scientific credibility. This firm conviction that black Africanism defines a distinct unified human race is based on the fact that physiogenetic characteristics are indeed a basic human typology; thus, even if science rejects the concept of race as a biological entity based on physical features,<sup>16</sup> a black man can still be easily identified from basic physical characteristics, and is defined as a 'black' by both blacks and others.<sup>17</sup>

There are various sources which serve the Afrocentric theory. The question I will pose here is whether Egyptian, Greek and Hebrew literary sources reveal the physiogenetic characteristics of the ancient Egyptians, and whether they agree on this point.

#### BLACK EGYPT OR BLACK EGYPTIANS?

In a short story for children, *My First Trip to Africa* (1991), an African-American girl, Tye, whose name is derived from Tiy', mother of the famous king Amentehop III, travels to Egypt in search of her African identity. She learns that the Pharaohs were black-skinned, that Egypt's black scribes invented the alphabet, the clock and calendar, the public library, paper and much more. In addition she learns that the black Egyptian heritage is prominent in her own country. Some examples are the Lincoln Memorial, the Washington Monument and the American eagle, all imitations or out-and-out thefts of Egyptian and African structures and symbols. Egypt is a showcase for the magnificent achievements of the black race which were plundered or imitated by the white West. Tye decides that next Halloween, she and her girlfriends will dress up as Nefertiti, the exquisite black queen of Egypt. No more Miss Piggy for them. As for the boys in the neighborhood, she will persuade them to go trick-or-treating disguised not as Freddie Kruger, but as one of the great Pharaohs. This journey, or pilgrimage to black Egypt is not intended to show that the Egyptian heritage has a broad universal message; its main purpose is to demonstrate that the heritage of a black civilization was purloined by the West, especially by American culture, and that recognition of Egypt's

greatness is conditional on acknowledging its black-African origins and its black-African content.<sup>18</sup>

'Black and friable (fat mud), what one would expect of an alluvial soil formed of the silt brought down by the river from Ethiopia.' This is how Herodotus described the soil of the Nile delta (II:12). Officially the ancient Egyptians called 'Egypt' (the Greek term; in biblical Hebrew – *Missrayim*), 'the two lands' (*T3.wy*). The Egyptians themselves called their land *Timuri* (*t3-muri*) – beloved country in the vernacular, or *Kemet* (*K'mt*)<sup>19</sup> – 'the black land' or 'the black one', after the fertile fat mud; the black soil which is brought down the river from Ethiopia (very different from the red color of the barren desert land [*deshret* – 'red land'] to the south!). Hence the Egyptians called themselves *rmt en k.m.t*, meaning not the 'black ones' or 'black people', as Diop, Hansberry, and other Afrocentric writers claim, but 'those people who live in *Kemet*', 'those people who live in the black, fertile, country'.<sup>20</sup> The claim that *Kemite* means black-skinned Egyptians became a key argument in the new historiography; in fact, it became its cornerstone. It is, however, a very misleading argument, since the name *Kemet* was given to Egypt in order 'to emphasize Egypt's contrast with other flat or mountainous tracts of territory as something apart'.<sup>21</sup> The land of the Egyptian delta was indeed rich black soil. When the Egyptians referred to themselves as *rmt n k.m.t* – 'man of Egypt' – one who lives in the 'black land', they meant it as a metaphor, drawn from Egypt's black earth. They did not mean to say that they were a black-skinned people.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the Afrocentric view recruits several European travelers from the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century who referred to the Egyptians' black skin color. Afrocentric writers usually refer to the French traveler M. C.-F. Volney's observation, during his *Voyage en Syre et en Egypt* (1787),<sup>23</sup> where he distinguishes between four principal races of inhabitants in Egypt, among them the peasants, whose skin was tanned by the sun and thus almost black, and the Copts, descendants of the ancient Egyptians who have a rather yellowish, dusky complexion, puffed face, swollen eyes, flat noses and thick lips. After visiting the Sphinx and recording its black African features, he reached the conclusion that the ancient Egyptians were 'real blacks'.<sup>24</sup> Those who accept Volney's statement fail to notice that, assuming he is right, he still hints at the possibility that the population of ancient Egypt consisted of people with different complexions. However, most of the European travelers and scholars reject Volney's view.<sup>25</sup> The British Egyptologist E. A. Wallis Budge, for example, wrote in 1898 that '... all attempts to prove that the Egyptians are of Negro origin are overthrown at the outset by facts which cannot be controverted ... the fact, however, remains, that the physical type of the Egyptian *fella'h* (farmer) is exactly what it was in the earliest dynasties'.<sup>26</sup>

Undoubtedly there were many black-skinned people among Egypt's Muslim population, the result of waves of Nubian immigration throughout

the ages, many of them slaves, just as there were in ancient times.<sup>27</sup> It seems, however, that the modern European or American tourist, like the ancient Greek traveler, usually considered every person with brown or dark skin to be black-skinned. In any event, references to the color black in ancient Egyptian literature are primarily directed at the fertile soil of the Nile valley in Lower Egypt (which alone was dubbed black) and not at skin color. It was the blackness of the soil in the Nile Delta which impressed travelers and visitors, not the blackness of the people.

#### ANCIENT EGYPTIAN EVIDENCE

The first question to be dealt with is which physiological and physiogenetic criteria categorize a person as black African in both modern and ancient opinion. From the historical point of view we must distinguish between the Egyptians' skin color in terms of the conventional racial division introduced during the Middle Ages, and their skin color in ancient perceptions. The question, then, is how did the Egyptians describe themselves? Did they draw a clear line between themselves and the neighboring peoples, especially those whom they termed black? Did they emphasize their own uniqueness and stress the differences between themselves and other peoples, such as the Libyans and the Kushites (the people of Kush) of African origin?

Egyptian records refer to *Kush* and the *Kushites* as a separate land and a distinctive people, without referring to their natural characteristics.<sup>28</sup> But there are many indications that they also noted the distinct physical traits of those who dwelled south of Egypt, and at the same time made a clear distinction between the black-skinned people of *Kush*,<sup>29</sup> in the Middle Nile region, as well in central Sudan, and those who dwelled in tropical Africa. Moreover, literary sources seem more reliable than wall-paintings because artwork presents artistic conventions and must solve problems of artistic representation in ways other than those taken by literature or official records. However, both Egyptian art and literature physically distinguished the Egyptian from the outer world of Asia, the Aegean and the South. The Egyptians were the first people to leave a record of their experience with African blacks. Historical Egyptian sources clearly distinguish between the people of *Kush* (the 'Southern Lands'; the name Nubia – Kush – first appears during the Roman period), and the people of Upper and Lower Egypt. They are not regarded as members of a single nation, but as comprising different regions or tribes (*Irjet-Nubians*, *Medja Nubias*, *Yam-Nubians*, *Wawat-Nubians*, *Kaau-Nubians*<sup>30</sup>). The people of *Ish*, who inhabited Nubia, were often called the 'evil people of *Ish*'. The Kushites (*nhsi*) were different and separate from the Egyptians, the two peoples having a long and complex history of wars, conquests, alliances, etc., spanning hundreds of years. Kush and Egypt were two distinct entities, Kush being perceived as the



'foreign land of Kush'. This, however, did not prevent the integration of Kushites into Egyptian society from the XXV Dynasty onward;<sup>31</sup> the Egyptians and Kushites became accustomed to each other, and thus saw no need to represent their different skin colors, though in addition to wall-paintings there are also texts which underscore the difference.<sup>32</sup>

Although the Egyptian language apparently did not differentiate between different types of dark-skinned or black-skinned people, Egyptian murals make a clear distinction between the major types (brown and black) and other physiognomic features. In any event, what is important, in my view, is that they differentiated between themselves and the inhabitants of the regions south of Egypt. Frequently the ethnographic stratification of ancient Egyptian society was denoted by skull shape and by dress, instead of by skin color. A wig or beard might differentiate between an Egyptian and a foreigner. In drawings depicting Egypt's heterogeneous society, the black figures are prominent in the role of slaves, domestic servants or mercenaries (black archers). No one observing Egyptian wall-paintings can fail to distinguish between the different classes, which frequently correspond to ethnographic differences. One cannot claim that the frescoes are realistic, with black or brown figures depicted according to their true skin color, while at the same time claim that coins or sculptures prove the black African extraction of certain Pharaohs because of the shape of nose, skull or lips, even though their skin color is not black. A well-known model of a troop of Nubian archers discovered at Asyut in the Tomb of Mesekti, viceroy of Nubia under Tutankhamen, circa 1360 BC shows the distinctive hair style, dark brown skin color and ornamental leather loincloth which typified the southerners, Nubians being the brown-skinned people, whilst the black-skinned population are people from farther south.<sup>33</sup> Based on this, as well as other wall-paintings (such as the Tomb of Rekhmire, XVIII Dynasty, of Queen Hatshepsut's mission to Punt, etc.) Charles K. Wilkinson clearly demonstrates the different features of captive Bedouins, Nubians, Libyans, Cretans and Babylonians.<sup>34</sup> 'Egyptian men have a reddish complexion, while Egyptian women have a clear yellowish cast'; and moreover there are almost no black women in the many wall paintings.<sup>35</sup> D. A. Welsby asserts that the 'Nubians retained a number of distinctive features of insignia, clothing and physical features which made their non-Egyptian character plain for all to see.'<sup>36</sup>

Black people, therefore, are always represented as being different from others and the Egyptians as anthropologically distinct from blacks (and the Asiatic people). Thus, 'the Egyptian painters and sculptors were careful observers, and all the foreigners are quite distinct from the Egyptians'.<sup>37</sup> According to Bruce Trigger, when Egyptian rule extended above the Fourth Cataract, 'a more southerly African type was frequently portrayed. These southerners are shown with black skin, everted lip, and prognathous jaws'.<sup>38</sup>

In the *Book of the Gates*, the deity Horus (Sekhmet), the creator of all man, protected the souls of Asiatic (*c3 mu*), black Africans (*nhsyu*) and Libyans (*tmhu*), and clearly distinguishes between these groups,<sup>39</sup> while in the *Great Hymn to Aten*, (in the Tomb of Ay) a paean to the sun god who created all things written by the heretic and revolutionary king, the Pharaoh Akhenaton (1353–36 BC), contains the following lines:

Kharu [Syria] and Kush [Nubia] and the land of Egypt,  
You put every man in his place.  
You provide their needs . . .  
Their tongues are separate in language,  
And likewise their nature.  
Their skins are distinguished,  
For you have distinguished the foreigners . . .  
All faraway foreign lands, you have made their life.<sup>40</sup>

According to this, the god endowed each people with its own distinctive physical traits; not only were their tongues separated in speech, and their nature as well, but their skins are also distinguished.<sup>41</sup> Even if we assume that the hymn represents a humanist-universalistic outlook, it still distinguishes between the physical attributes of Egyptians and those of the Kushites, a constantly recurring theme in Egyptian sources. Egyptian documents produced during periods of strife between Egypt and Nubia revile the Nubian Kushites and brand them an inferior people, or a people which preserved its unique and exotic culture. Again, the frescoes which supposedly depict the Egyptians as black Africans are actually irrefutable evidence that they clearly distinguished between the different ethnic types which resided in Egypt and in the neighboring areas. Similarly, the peoples of the East who maintained close ties with Egypt also differentiated between Egyptians and Nubian Kushites.

This evidence leads us to the conclusion that the Egyptians were fully aware of the differences in skin color between themselves and the Kushites (Nubians) and even more between themselves and the black Africans of interior Africa (as well as Asiatic peoples). Their testimonies, according to Trigger, show that

On the average, between the Delta in northern Egypt and the Sudan of the Upper Nile, skin color tends to darken from light brown to what appears to the eye as blueish black. Hair changes from wavy–straight to curly or kinky, noses become flattened and broader, lips become thicker and more everted, teeth enlarge in size from small to medium, height and linearity of body build increase to culminate in the extremely tall and thin ‘Nilotic’ population . . . all these people are African.<sup>42</sup>

However, since these differences seemed natural to the ancient observers, they were never transformed into any sort of racial theory. From the

Egyptian point of view, black Nubians were neighbors, enemies or allies, subjects and conjurers, but always a separate people. At the same time the Nubians were distinct from the black-skinned southerners, identified by their markedly black-African features and dark skin.<sup>43</sup>

#### EVIDENCE FROM CLASSICAL LITERATURE<sup>44</sup>

Greek, Hellenistic and Roman ethnographic literature lacked a scientific etymology. Their determination of ethnic relations was based on a highly creative use of false etymologies which led them to assign similar names to similar places. At the same time they frequently use common physical *topoi* in order to describe ideal types of foreign people. There is also a difference between artistic, literary and ethnographic characteristics. Very often black or brown figures appear in Greek paintings, but if we assume that black represents realistic features we must also assume that green-headed or red-headed figures are also realistic, and are not a result of artistic convention or technique (at any rate, the daily life and mythical scenes pictured on Greek vases are definitely different from Egyptian daily life and mythical scenes).<sup>45</sup>

The pure Greek is of medium height, neither too tall nor too small, neither too broad nor too slim. He possesses an erect figure, is handsome of countenance and appearance, of reddish-white complexion, and has neither too much nor too little flesh. He has well-proportioned hands and elbows . . . He possesses a head which is neither too large nor too small, a strong and powerful neck and soft red hair which is curly or wavy and smooth. His face is angular, his lips are soft, his nose is straight and regular. His eyes are moist, blueish-grey and very mobile and shining. (Polemon of Laodicea, [c.78 AD] *de Physiognomia* [*Physiognomy*, Forster, *Die Physiognomie der Griechen*, Kiel, 1884, SP 236–244])<sup>46</sup>

According to this idealistic description the pure Greeks had fair faces and light complexion and the adjective ‘*xanthos*’ (fair-haired) is applied by Homer to several of his heroes. However, a pure Greek was no more than an ideal picture<sup>47</sup> and the skin color of the pure Hellenic type, according to Polemon, was reddish-white, not white. Nevertheless, even from a reddish-white point of view, a dark complexion was different and conspicuous and therefore could be considered black. Sometimes Greek writers did not distinguish between dark, burnt, and black skin, whilst in other cases, the difference between dark and black skin was explicit. The Danaids, for example, refer to their own skin as ‘darkened by the sun’ (Aeschylus, *Supp.* 154–55). This can be interpreted in two ways: they were white but their long sojourn in Africa had darkened their skins; or, according to the climate theory, their skin became black due to the African sun.<sup>48</sup> The first explanation seems more accurate, since the Greeks never

presumed that prolonged immigration from one climatic zone to another could change their skin color.

Nevertheless, though the Greeks perceived themselves as part of the Mediterranean type, they were far removed from the Egyptians in skin color, not to mention the Nubians and black Africans.<sup>49</sup> The Greeks classified dark-skinned people according to a color-scheme or scale, in which the black people were the sun-burnt Ethiopians, the Indians less sunburned, the Egyptians mildly dark, and the Moors lighter black. (Indeed, Manilius writes that the Moors name derives from their faces. According to him, 'the land of Egypt, flooded by the Nile, darkens bodies more mildly owing to the inundation of its fields' [Manilius, *Astronomica*, 4.722-30]<sup>50</sup>.) Greek and Hellenistic-Roman literature found explanations for ethnic diversity in various theories of origin, but particularly in 'climate theory', which dealt with the effect of climate and the natural environment on physical and mental traits. Drawing on the climate theory they distinguished between Egyptians from the flat land of the Nile and black Africans (Ethiopians) who inhabited tropical Africa, not only in terms of geographical location and political and cultural organization, but also genetically. However, Greek literature did not propose a cultural hierarchy based on color, nor did it link character traits with skin pigmentation. The Greeks mentioned skin color because it was the most visible physical feature; Western racism, on the other hand, drew on the climate theory to exclude the black race from world humanity,<sup>51</sup> an attitude which was alien to classical writers and to the Greek-Roman world, where slaves came from every nation on earth, including from Thracia, Scythia, and later on Slavs, who had fair skin and fair hair.

One can argue that the Greeks thought skin color to be irrelevant in determining human worth;<sup>52</sup> however, they were aware of the difference between the Egyptians and the people who lived in tropical Africa, and therefore believed the tropical climate presumably influenced skin color and human behavior. Even though color was not a category invoked in determining the divisions of peoples and cultures in the ancient and classical periods,<sup>53</sup> the attitude of the ancient peoples toward skin color was neither positive nor negative; skin color was mentioned solely to inject realism into ethnographic descriptions. However, the Greeks and Romans could not simply ignore differences in physiognomy and skin color. Moreover, the color black had numerous hues, and was not employed only as a pejorative term signifying inferiority, but was often evoked symbolically or metaphorically to denote positive or even admirable qualities. Nor was there any connection between slavery and blackness; the Roman Empire possessed more white than black slaves. Lloyd A. Thompson,<sup>54</sup> rejects this ideal view, and prefers to use the terms 'somatic type' or 'somatic norms' instead of race or racial prejudice. Nonetheless, his reading of the Roman sources proves that the Romans showed 'a deep sensory aversion to strong

black African, features'.<sup>55</sup> The evidence clearly shows that those Greco-Roman authors who refer to skin color and other physical traits distinguish sharply between Ethiopians (Nubians) and Egyptians, and rarely do they refer to the Egyptians as black, even though they were described as darker than themselves. No Greek doubted that the Egyptians were darker than the Greeks, but not as dark as black Africans. While early Greek literature referred to Ethiopians (*Aethiopes*) primarily in a figurative sense;<sup>56</sup> an ideal type of people who lived in a remote utopian land, later Greek literature mentions the land and people south of Egypt, i.e. the population of the Upper Nile kingdom of Kush (Napata-Meroë) and real *Aethiopes*, referring to them as dark-skinned people, but whose blackness is lighter in comparison with the skin color of the black Africans in the interior.<sup>57</sup> Ethiopians were marked by a combination of black skin, curly hair, thick lips, and a broad or flat nose (*sima nare*).<sup>58</sup> In later periods the term *Afri* referred to the dark-skinned inhabitants of the African interior.<sup>59</sup> Often the name *Aethiopes* was used to describe both the Nubians and the black-Africans, the distinction between them is not always clear, but what is evident is that Egyptians and Nubians were both clearly distinguished from the black Africans.

In the Homeric epic nothing is said about the Egyptians' physical appearance, though while the Ethiopians are described as 'burnt-faced men', Xenophanes writes that the Ethiopians 'think their gods have snub noses and black hair' (fr.16), like themselves.<sup>60</sup> Black people resided not in the Nile valley but in a far land, 'by the fountain of the sun', or where the sun 'goes to and fro' (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 527-8). Herodotus' comments about the ethnography of Egypt could presumably be considered reliable since they are the eye-witness testimony of a visitor to that land. In this matter Herodotus did not rely on what the priests told him; he saw the black-skinned and curly haired Egyptians with his own eyes! However, he begins by distinguishing clearly between Egyptians, Ethiopians and Libyans, and writes that he was told that the Egyptians (and not the Ethiopians) shave their heads from childhood, while the Ethiopians are said to be 'the tallest and best-looking people in the world' (II:20.1). Physically, they are radically different from the Egyptians. Still, one cannot ignore his description of the Egyptians as having black skins (*melanchroes*) and curly hair, but adding: 'Though that indeed goes for nothing seeing that other people, too, are such' (II:104.2).<sup>61</sup> Yet he specifically mentions only the Colchians in this connection, a people living near the Caspian Sea.<sup>62</sup> For the advocates of the black-Egyptian theory, this passage is considered to be convincing first-hand proof, that the Egyptians and others were black. As an eyewitness, his description could hardly be false.<sup>63</sup> Yet if there were other black peoples in Asia, why should Herodotus single out the Egyptians and the Colchians? Indeed, Herodotus, as Snowden clearly demonstrated, used the word *melanchroes* and not *Aethiopes*, thus distinguishing between the

dark or black-skinned peoples from the south of Egypt, and those from the southern fringes of northwest Africa.<sup>64</sup> But even if one accepts the view that the Egyptians were closer to the Nubians in skin color than to the Greeks, this still does not make them and the Nubians one nation, sharing the same skin color and hair.<sup>65</sup>

The Hippocratic corpus, written and compiled during the fifth century BC dealt extensively with peoples' traits in *Air, Water, Places*. Although the passages on Egypt have been lost, it is perhaps possible, though with tremendous caution, to reconstruct the text on the subject by examining other passages in which he compares the Egyptians with the Scythians. Because Hippocrates believed that climate influenced physical and mental traits, he would have rejected the idea that a people living in the Nile delta, a flat plain situated between two desert areas, could possess the same traits as people who resided in the tropical forests of equatorial Africa, on the shores of vast lakes or below snow-capped mountains. 'Climates differ', he wrote, 'and cause differences in character; the greater the variation in climate, so much the greater will be the differences in character' (ibid., XXIV: 36-40).<sup>66</sup> Hippocrates likened the Scythians to the Egyptians, whom he considered to possess homogeneous traits. 'They differ, however, from the Egyptians', he added, 'in that their peculiarities are due to cold instead of heat, to be neither large nor slight but rather broad in build, fleshy and black-haired':

The Scythians have a ruddy complexion on account of the cold, for the sun does not burn fiercely their reddened skin, but the cold causes their fair skins to be burnt and reddened. (XX: 20-4)<sup>67</sup>

According to the Hippocratic text, both the Egyptians and the Scythians have red skin, but the Egyptians' color is a result of the fierce sun and not the bitter cold.

Aristotle described the Ethiopians as the blackest people on earth. He also described them as having curly hair, which he attributed to their dry environment, in contrast to the straight hair of the Scythians (*Problemata*, 66:898b; and *Physiognomica* 812a,b)). According to Ptolemy's climatic theory, those who live south of the equator in the tropics, have the sun over their heads and thus are burned by it, resulting in their black skins and thick, curly hair: 'We call them by the general name Ethiopians (*Tettabiblos*, II:2.56-62).<sup>68</sup> Philostratus described the Ethiopians as darker than the Egyptians (*Vita Apolloni*, 6.2). Lucian describes a native Egyptian priest as being 'tall, flat-nosed, with protruding lips and thinnish legs' (*Philopseudes*, 34),<sup>69</sup> but he does not refer to the skin. Diodorus Siculus clearly distinguishes between Egyptians and those who were of 'the Ethiopian race', particularly those living along the Nile; Ethiopians are 'black in colour, with flat noses and woolly hair' (III:8.2).<sup>70</sup> Roman writers refer often to the

Egyptians as having curly or tightly curled hair, but they were nowhere perceived as *Aethiops*.<sup>71</sup>

The dark skin of the Egyptian was a common motif in Greek tragedies, serving to emphasize the differences between the Greeks and the barbarians. In Heliodorus' novel *Ethiopica*, Theagenes, is a pure white Greek and a descendant of Achilles, while his lover, Chariclea, is an Ethiopian princess with white skin whose royal parents are black-skinned Ethiopians. The queen mother is compelled to explain her daughter's white complexion which is 'alien to the native Ethiopian tint'. On the other hand, the legendary biography of Alexander the Great, *Alexander Romance*,<sup>72</sup> describes an exchange of letters between Alexander and Queen Candace of Meroë, regarding Kush's former control of Egypt. At one point the queen writes: 'Do not despise us for the color of our skin. In our souls we are brighter than the whitest of your people.'<sup>73</sup> No Egyptian could have written to Alexander in this apologetic manner about his skin color, juxtaposing black, a negative symbol, with white, a positive symbol.

The Roman Emperor Julian also used the climatic theory to explain physical differences when he wrote:

For different natures must first have existed in all those things that among the nations were to be differentiated. This at any rate is seen if one observes how very different in their bodies are the Germans and the Scythians from the Libyans and Ethiopians. (*Against the Galileans*, I:143E)<sup>74</sup>

From a Roman point of view the nordic (*candidi Galli*), pale-white peoples of central and northern Europe, and the black Africans south of the Sahara were perceived as the two extreme somatic or racial stereotypes. The Ethiopians, as well as the Libyans, were regarded as different from the Egyptians. The black Africans were a human category in their own right.<sup>75</sup> In Hellenistic-Roman Egypt, skin color was not part of the ethnic (or political) distinctions made between the indigenous Egyptians and Greek immigrants; in fact nowhere can we find an ethnic-culture based on physiognomic features – a fact which proves that the Egyptian Greeks did not consider these features to be important, or that there were no skin color distinctions between the indigenous Egyptians and the newcomers.<sup>76</sup>

It seems that the Greco-Roman sources often distinguished between three racial groups: Egyptians (who might have a dark or swarthy complexion compared with the lighter, pale complexion of the people north of the Mediterranean); the Kushites of Nubia; and the black Africans of the interior (though they often referred to the last two as Ethiopians (*Aethiopes*). However, Roman writers, who were far more familiar with Africa than the Greeks, perceived *Aethiopes*, or black Africans, as somatically distinct from other black-skinned and dark-skinned racial types, marked also by curly hair, thick lips, and a broad or flat nose (*simā maris*).<sup>77</sup> It may be that some authors, due to a large black presence in Egypt, confused Ethiopian blacks

and dark-skinned Egyptians<sup>78</sup> and, as a result, the term *Aegyptius* appears as a synonym of *Aethiopes*. Generally, however, the differences were clear, so that skin color is nearly always one of the features said to differentiate the Nubians ('Ethiopians') from the Egyptians. Surely, however, the compilation of cursory references from literature extending over hundreds of years cannot form a serious basis for drawing ethnological conclusions. Snowden states: 'The Bernal-Afrocentrist practice of describing Egyptians as blacks overlooks crucial distinctions made in antiquity between the physical characteristics of Egyptian and Nubians, and actually equates the two types – an equivalence not supported by the ancient evidence.'<sup>79</sup>

#### THE BIBLICAL EVIDENCE<sup>80</sup>

From the Christian Afrocentric point of view, blackness, according to the children of Israel, was a natural color for skin type. Indeed, the Hebrew Bible is not of much help in supporting or denying the theories concerning the color of the Egyptians and the Ethiopians,<sup>81</sup> but in fact the Bible shows almost no interest in ethnography or in physical characteristics. However, the fact that it is used by certain Afrocentrists compels us to discuss briefly what it has to say on the subject. When the Bible refers to *Cushim* (Kushites), we assume that *Cushi* is black; in the Bible, however, the word designates a distinct people without any mention of skin color.

*Cush* (Kush) is mentioned 28 times in the Bible, *Cushi* 22 times, and *Cushan* once. In most instances the term, *Cush*, indicates an area south of Egypt, while *Cushi* indicates a distinct ethnic group. In some cases it may indicate black mercenaries who were posted to Palestine and remained there.<sup>82</sup> However, it is clear that the Bible differentiates between Egyptian and Kushite (Nubians), and has never, as some Christian Afrocentric authors fiercely argue, perceived the Egyptians as a black people. On the other hand, when the Bible refers to the Nubians (*Cushim*) or to the *Land of Kush* it refers to a land, a kingdom, or a people with no reference to their color. The Table of Nations in *Genesis* 10 states that Egypt was the patrimony of one of Noah's grandsons, the child of his youngest son, Ham. What color was Ham, and his offspring? The Table of Nations does not catalogue the nations according to skin color or other physiogenetic traits, nor is anything said in *Genesis* to indicate that the descendants of either Ham or Canaan were black-skinned. Only Ham's son Kush, whose name means black in Hebrew, might be thought to have been black, allowing one to leap to the conclusion that his father and indeed his entire family might have been black.<sup>83</sup> But Egypt (*Mizrayim*) of the Bible is a geographic or ethnographic designation and does not denote skin color. Kush itself, in the context of the table in *Genesis*, is the name of a place located south of Egypt, where Sudan lies today. The fact that Kush refers to a black-skinned people is hardly proof that the Bible says all Hamites, the sons of Ham,



descendants of Ham, were black-skinned. Nor does the Bible state that Yaphet's offspring were white or Shem's dark-skinned. Nothing is mentioned about the color of the sons of Shem, including the Israelites themselves, but this does not indicate that the Hebrews were black. There is no division by color of skin whatsoever.

Attempts have been made, of course, to make biblical etymology conform to racial divisions; to propose, for example, that Ham derives from the Hebrew *ham*, to be hot. There is however, a wide gap between *ham* in the sense of heat of the sun and the notion of skin color; indeed, one could argue that *ham* is associated with the color *khum* (brown) or alludes to a dark skin caused by exposure to a hot sun, rather than to a black complexion.<sup>84</sup> Etymological games such as these are pointless, as well as being dangerous pitfalls for the players, because they take into account neither language structure nor the mechanism by which foreign words penetrate a particular linguistic system. Their most glaring omission is the fact that the ancients themselves fiddled with etymology in order to assert legendary relationships, leaving a misleading and elusive legacy. If everything that was called black had indeed been black, we would have a very long list, including the Black Sea, the Carpathians ('black mountains' in Turkish), the Serbian dynasty of Carageorgoviz, and so forth. Both black and red symbolized courage and had no realistic implications. The Black Sea is no more black than the Red Sea is red.

*Cushi* also appears in the Bible as a personal name (*Cushi*, one of David's warriors; *II Shmuel*, 19:21–23; the father of the prophet Zepania is '*Cushi*, the son of Gedaliah . . .' [1:1:1]). If they are personal names, (either real or a denomination) there is no reason why they should refer to their ethnic origins.<sup>85</sup> Only the verse 'Can the Cushi change his skin / or the leopard his spots' (*Jeremiah* 13:23) furnishes definitive proof – albeit poetic and at a late date – of a connection between Kushite and black skin color (though without reference to other characteristic physiogenetic traits). Another allusion to the black skin of the Kushites can be found in Isaiah's prophecy of Ethiopia: 'Woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia (Kush)' (18:15). The people of Ethiopia are described as 'a people scattered and peeled' (18:7). Some commentators believe peeled (*me'morat*) refers to the smooth skin of the black people. When the prophet Amos speaks in the name of God, saying 'Are ye not as children of the Ethiopians (*cu'sim*) unto me, O children of Israel?' (*Amos*, 9:7), the word *cusim* designates a far and alien people with whom the Israelites must not, and should not, be compared! The land of Kush is always perceived as separate and distinct from Egypt (*Amos*, 11:11; 20:3; 33:3; etc.)<sup>86</sup>

Recent Christian-Afrocentric biblical historiography bases itself on the interpretation of the Egyptian word *ku*, meaning black; this appears related to 'Ham', but, as has been demonstrated, in Egyptian texts 'black' refers to the color of Egypt's fertile soil, not the skin color of its people. In any case,

there is no connection between the Egyptian word and the Hebrew *cham*, thus the entire edifice built by Afrocentric literature is without foundation. But the manipulative use of the Table of Nations goes beyond the invalid use of biblical names. The Bible states that Kush, Mizrayim, Put and Canaan were the descendants of Ham. Should we not conclude that all these peoples were black? This is the conclusion of Afrocentric scholarship, which disregards the linguistic aspect, namely that many of Ham's offspring spoke Semitic languages. Some scholars, endeavoring to reconcile biblical ethnology with the linguistic situation, identified the Kushites as the Kassites who ruled in Babylon during the second half of the second millennium BC (a people which migrated from the Iranian plateau and were not Semites). Others identified the Kassites or 'Kushan' (*Kushu* in Egyptian) with nomadic tribes in the Negev (*Habakkuk* 3:7). According to another view, Kush, who begat Nimrod – perhaps the god *Ninurta*, the 'mighty hunter before the Lord' (*Genesis*, 10:9) and later the founder of the kingdom of Babel – was the Semitic *Kassu* (in Greek *Kassai*) of Babylonia, who was confused with the *Kasi* of Amarna letters.<sup>87</sup> Afrocentric literature confuses *Chusan rishathaim* and Kush,<sup>88</sup> identifying the Kassites as Kushites, and describing them as a single race whose territory extended from Africa to the heart of Asia.

Nowhere does the Bible refer to the inhabitants of Egypt as dark-skinned or as black-skinned Kushites, but it clearly distinguishes between Egyptians and Kushites. Only infrequently does the Bible use the name Kush synonymously with Egypt in order to denote the entire area of the Egyptian kingdom. For the most part Kush refers to a remote land south of Egypt, as in 'beyond the rivers of Ethiopia [Kush]' (*Isaiah* 18:1; *Zephaniah* 3:10). Where a more precise ethnic characterization is made, the distinction between Egyptian and Kushite/Ethiopian, meaning Nubian, is clear. Moses slays an Egyptian, not a Kushite, though his second wife is an Ethiopian woman (perhaps a reference to her origins from a nomadic tribe in the Negev desert). Explicit references are made to the presence of Ethiopian soldiers in the Egyptian army (*Jeremiah* 46:9; *Ezekiel* 30:5; *II Chronicles* 12:3) and in the service of the king ('. . . Ebed-melech the Ethiopian [*Cushi*] one of the eunuchs who was in the king's house . . . ' *Jeremiah* 38:7). Contrary to what the Afrocentrists would have us believe, the references to Kushites in the Bible only prove that the Bible drew a clear distinction between the Egyptians (and Canaanites) and the black Nubians from the Land of Kush, meaning the land beginning at the Second Cataract of the Nile and extending to south of the Fourth Cataract (known to the Egyptians as Kush and to the Greeks as Ethiopia). The Bible is often lavish in its praise of the Kushite warrior, without any hint of a curse on the descendants of Ham, though always recognizing the Kushites as a people both singular and apart.<sup>89</sup>

Nothing could be more erroneous than to accept poetic language as a

realistic ethnological description. Biblical imagery ('I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem', *Song of Solomon* 1:5) is not meant to be a realistic portrayal; in this case the color is certainly not meant to describe the natural pigmentation of all the daughters of Jerusalem. As a rule, if a particular literature singles out traits of certain individuals, it does so to underscore their distinctiveness, rather than suggest they are part of a widespread phenomenon, or that they indicate a certain standard. Moreover, verse 1:6 is clearly apologetic in nature: 'Look not upon me, because I am black. | Because the sun hath looked upon me.' Biblical norms of beauty are expressed as 'Fair as the moon, | Clear as the sun . . .'<sup>90</sup> In the *Septuagint* the name *Kush* appears in two forms: it appears as *Kush* in those verses designating the son of Ham; in other cases it is Ethiopia. In the New Testament the word Ethiopian refers to the inhabitants of the area south of Egypt: ' . . . and behold, a man of Ethiopia, a eunuch of great authority under Candace queen of the Ethiopians, who had charge of all her treasure, and had come to Jerusalem to worship . . . ' (*Acts of the Apostles* 8:27). Later Christian literature also explicitly distinguishes between Ethiopians and Egyptians. When Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, fr. 16, 15), drawing on Xenophanes, writes that the 'Ethiopians say that their gods are snub-nosed and black', and comments that 'horses would draw the form of their gods like horses', he refers only to Ethiopians – not to Egyptians – as black people.<sup>91</sup>

In any event, the genealogy and descriptions of nations in Scripture were never intended as a scientific representation of the ethnographic composition of the ancient world. Biblical authors were aware of Egypt's splendor and had some knowledge of its geography and ethnography, but they never described the Egyptians in terms of their physical features.

In his *Exagoge* (*Leading Out*, 62) Ezekiel the Tragedian, a Jewish writer in Alexandria during the second century BC, wrote a tragic drama recounting the story of the Exodus, in which Sepphorah referred to Moses as 'the dark-skinned Aethiops'.<sup>92</sup> In other words, she (and the playwright) clearly distinguished between Egyptian and Aethiops on the basis of skin-color. Nowhere in Egyptian literature, written during the Hellenistic-Roman and Byzantine period by pagan, Jewish or Christian writers, do we find any mention of the Egyptians and Nubians as belonging to the same race. Legends and folk-tales about Moses' expedition to *Kush* (Ethiopia) and his sojourn there as a king of the Ethiopians, recorded by Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, II:242 ff.), the Jewish-Hellenistic Artapanus, in his legendary tale, makes it clear that the authors, their sources and their audiences, all believe the Ethiopians south of Egypt are a different people from the Egyptians.<sup>93</sup>

The Hebrew Bible thus makes a clear distinction between Egyptians and Nubians or black Africans. Yet, when Diop turns to the Bible for evidence, he accepts Scriptural tradition verbatim, maintaining that the name Ham is an ethnic concept denoting skin color. But because *Genesis* is silent as

regards the color of the Egyptians and the Canaanites, Diop points out that 'Genesis is not the whole Bible' and refers us to the Song of Songs, as if it were an historical account. The black and comely young woman mentioned here, he claims, is none other than the daughter of Pharaoh, one of the wives of Solomon.<sup>94</sup> A bit of creative imagination which serves him as biblical authority. As a matter of fact, the entire structure so diligently built by Afrocentric authors and developed in numerous works, such as the Rev. Walter Arthur McCray's *The Black Presence in the Bible*, vols I-II, and Bishop Alfred G. Dunston, Jr, *The Black Man in the Old Testament*, is totally without foundation.<sup>95</sup> It is a jumble of fundamentalist naïveté, ignorance and sophisticated manipulation. We shall have more to say about its inner logic in our discussion of Afrocentric fundamentalism.

#### MEDIEVAL EVIDENCE

The geographic and ethnographic literature of the Middle Ages regarded sub-Saharan 'Africa' as '*terra incognita*'. Egypt, however, was considered part of Asia, and information about it, both fact and fiction, was abundantly available. A well-known treatise of the period, *De Imagine Mundi* I.18 (c.1100), which was widely copied, including in the *Otia imperialia* (II.759) by Gervase of Tilbury, contains descriptions of Egypt and *Al-Habash*, or Abyssinia, often confused with India.<sup>96</sup> Nowhere is it suggested that the Egyptians resembled the inhabitants of the rest of the African continent – who were frequently said to be of 'monstrous appearance', to have four eyes, four mouths, eyes in their breasts, and other such aberrations – or the black people in Eastern Ethiopia (India). Indeed, contemporary authors say little about the Egyptians' physical features, though they are very generous in the information they provide about the features of others. John Mandeville, summing up fourteenth-century ethnographic images in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1356),<sup>97</sup> describes the Numidians as 'black in colour, and they consider that a great beauty, and the blacker they are the fairer they seem to each other . . .'.<sup>98</sup> As regard the Ethiopians, he writes that they are 'blacker than those in the Eastern part'.<sup>99</sup> He cites no such trait in his pages about Egypt. Very different from Mandeville's combination of fact and fiction is the great treatise by the renowned fourteenth-century Muslim historian, Ibn Khaldûn, *Prolegomena to History* (1377). His analysis of the relationship between the Table of Nations (the Scriptural genealogy) and the accepted racial division on the basis of skin color, merits our consideration:

Genealogists who had no knowledge of the true nature of things imagined that Negroes were 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 . . . To attribute the blackness of the Negroes to Ham, reveals disregard of the true nature of heat and cold and the influence they exercise upon the climate and upon the creatures that come into being in it. The black color (of skin) common to the inhabitants of the first and second zones is the result of the composition of the air in which they live . . . (I.152)<sup>100</sup>

As a result of his 'climatology' Ibn Khaldûn assumed that blacks who settle in temperate zones (fourth and seventh zones) tend toward whiteness, and 'are found to produce descendants whose color gradually turns white in the course of time' (I.153) because color is conditioned by the composition of the air.<sup>101</sup> He sharply differentiated between Egyptians and black Africans, since Egypt's natural environment was radically different from that of the African interior. Differences between nations led genealogists to seek the explanation for the source of skin color in fables, he wrote, but there was no connection between the names of southern peoples, such as the Sudanese (blacks in Arabic) and Habashites (Ethiopians) who were descended from the black-skinned Ham. Ibn Khaldûn added what later Afrocentrism has ignored: that it is not genealogical extraction, but the conditions of life which produce different traits in different peoples. It follows that if the descendants of Ham who settled in Egypt were black-skinned, then the post diluvian Egyptians were indeed black, though their skin color changed, but under the impact of the climate, and they ceased to be black at some point in their early history.<sup>102</sup> The same view was shared by Maimonides,<sup>103</sup> and by Sā'id al-Andalusī, who wrote that the people who lived close to the equinoctial line and behind it have the sun close to their heads for long periods; therefore their skin color turns black, their hair becomes curly, and their behavior fiery.<sup>104</sup> 'These are the people of Sudan, who inhabited the far reaches of Ethiopia, Nubia, the Zinj, and others.' Obviously, from Ibn Khaldûn's point of view, such peoples could not conceivably be related to the Egyptians.<sup>105</sup> This climatic explanation was popular among European writers and a considerable number of scientific works were published concerning the origin of the skin color of black Africans.

Clearly, neither Ibn Khaldûn's argument nor the assumptions of natural philosophy as regards the connection between climate, skin color and mental attributes is based on facts. Nevertheless, Afrocentrist authors resorted to such pseudo-scientific arguments in order to explain the pigmentation process by which Noah's sons, all of them reputedly black, produced offspring of different colors, including white. Diop, for example, gives this explanation: 'The color of the Egyptians has become lighter down through the years, like that of West Indian Negroes.'<sup>106</sup> This is a mistaken statement as far as the Caribbean is concerned, where changes were brought about by racial interbreeding; it also fails to explain why

blacks in the United States did not undergo a similar pigmentation process, and flatly contradicts claims made in Afrocentrist literature itself about the perpetual character of black pigment.

As far as this study is concerned, it is not the theory which is important, but the fact that in all these sources the Egyptians (and Persians, Arabs and Moors) were described as having brown skin, while the Africans have dark, black skin.<sup>107</sup>

#### PORTRAITS OF PHARAONIC EGYPTIANS IN MODERN RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

The concern of this study is with the historical – not prehistorical – Egyptians of the Nile valley. In the light of the evidence from the ancient world, I believe we may safely claim that generations of travelers, from classical antiquity onward, never thought that the ancient Egyptians might have been like the people of tropical Africa. The vast amount of travel literature contains only a handful of accounts which could conceivably support the radical Afrocentric approach; thus, to argue that multitudes of visitors and travel diaries simply preferred to ignore the fact that this glorious culture was the creation of black people is misleading. These same visitors noticed that the Egyptian Muslims, like Muslim populations elsewhere, included a large number of black-skinned people, and attributed this to a southern ethnic element which had mingled with the indigenous population, or immigrants from the Arabian Peninsula. They never entertained the possibility that the Hamitic Egyptians were black-skinned; not because they were racists, but because in the historical-ethnological tradition the Hamites were dark (or bronze-toned) – but not black-skinned. In other words, they were not 'blacks'.<sup>108</sup>

The complex issues of the Egyptians' early origins, the formation of Egypt's population during the third millennium BC, and the physiogenetic and physiognomic changes wrought by new population elements over the centuries are irrelevant to our subject. In any event, it would be impossible to reconstruct transformations which took place over such vast periods of time. Nineteenth-century scholarship concluded that the Egyptians belonged to the white or Caucasian race; since the Semites and Hamites were branches of the white race, the Egyptians, Phoenicians, North-African Arabs and others had to be offshoots of the Hamitic branch of the white race. The ethnologic and physiognomic definition of the Egyptians was based on the examinations of mummies and skeletons according to the then prevailing physiological criteria (including genetic sources), and on comparisons with photographs and copies of wall-drawings from Egypt and Mesopotamia. The prevailing scholarly view at the end of the nineteenth century was summed up, for example, by Rev. A. H. Sayce in his book *The*

*Races of the Old Testament* (1891), and the renowned French Egyptologist Gaston Maspero. Sayce proposed extending the spectrum of skin color beyond the black-white dichotomy. Africans were black but Syrians were olive-colored, Egyptians were red-skinned, Libyans were white. To this palette Sayce added the brown color said to characterize the inhabitants of Malaya and Polynesia, the 'copper-colored race of America', and so forth. He ascribed to artists a striking sense of realism towards early Egyptians: Egyptian males were depicted with red skin because they spent a great deal of time in the sun, whereas women in wall-paintings had a pale yellow or even white hue because they were, for the most part, house-bound. The Egyptian was black-haired and black-eyed but his skeletal and other features show that he was not a black African. In any case, neither Sayce nor his contemporaries could deny that over the course of thousands of years various ethnic elements, among them Nubians from the south, had left their mark on the indigenous Egyptian population, or that the Egyptian social structure might also, in part, represent ethnic stratification, although it is also worth noting that not all researchers thought the Nubians themselves to be black Africans. The French scholar Gaston Maspero wrote that it was difficult to maintain the Asiatic origin theory and the 'bulk of the Egyptian population presents the characteristics of those white races which have been found established from all antiquity on the Mediterranean slope of the Libyan continent'.<sup>109</sup> Over the course of time Egyptian society became stratified; this stratification, he argues, reflects social divisions. The frescoes clearly distinguish between those Egyptians wearing long white curly wigs and dark-skinned figures without them. In the course of many generations black ethnic elements came north from the south as slaves, mercenaries and even governors, and mingled with Egyptian society.

The main proponent of the Mediterranean brown-race theory was Grafton Elliot Smith,<sup>110</sup> who had taken part in an archaeological expedition to Nubia headed by G. A. Reisner. In 1911 Smith published his findings, based on an examination of skeletons uncovered during the dig, in his study *The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence Upon the Civilization of Europe*. Smith endeavored to prove that all human culture originated in Egypt and found, in Hoffman's words, ancient Egypt 'under every stone'.<sup>111</sup> He concluded that the Hamitic Egyptians were brown-skinned and that everywhere they went – East Africa, India, the Mediterranean Basin – they encountered other brown-skinned peoples.<sup>112</sup> The brown race, then, existed virtually everywhere. From southern India, he claimed, emerged a racial mixture of Indians, Egyptians and Babylonians who emigrated to South America, where their racial traits underwent a process of transmutation after having been cut off from their mother civilization.<sup>113</sup> Smith thus believed that the indigenous ancient Egyptians were not full black Africans, but only distantly related to the black race, and that these proto-Egyptians were the forebears of the brown Hamites. The proto-Egyptians, Smith

wrote, were undoubtedly black-eyed and brown-skinned. If so, the proto-Egyptians produced brown-skinned Egyptians, and traces of the brown race are visible throughout the Aegean and Mediterranean. Definitive proof of this theory, which was based on anatomical criteria, was said to be furnished by the many brown-colored figures in Egyptian frescoes. Smith believed that, over the course of thousands of years of close contact between the south and the north, an array of elements from Africa and from Asia had penetrated Egyptian society, producing a racial mixture which caused Egypt's decay.<sup>114</sup> The bronze complexion, he believed, meaning the Mediterranean race, encompassed Semitic (Arab) and Aramnoid peoples, and was distinct from the black race. True, the Egyptians had not perceived their culture in terms of complexion, but had drawn a clear distinction among the different ethnic elements which mingled with it, or which they encountered elsewhere.

Smith was one of the pioneers and leading exponents of the heliocentric theory during the twentieth century, but his theory outraged the Afrocentric school. Its proponents were appalled by his view that 'In these [i.e. physical] and many other respects there is evidence of the profound gap that separated the Negro from other races of mankind, including the Egyptian'.<sup>115</sup> From the Afrocentrist viewpoint, Smith is guilty not only of 'racism', but of engaging in a pseudo-scientific attempt to deny the truth about the identity of the ancient Egyptians by inventing an intermediate, dark-complexion Mediterranean race. The Afrocentrist racial division has no room for any such brown Mediterranean race, the only intention of which is to deny the black character of the Mediterranean peoples.<sup>116</sup> Smith's theory was adopted by the Egyptian scholar, Salama Musa, one of the few Egyptian disciples of Smith, who stated in his book *Hadarat misr fi ifriqiya* (*The Civilization of Egypt in Africa*, Cairo, 1935) that some of the Egyptian Dynasties in 4000–3000 BC were black dynasties.<sup>117</sup> He, we might add, was also an ardent supporter of the theory that Greek civilization was indebted to Egyptian culture, and that Pharaonic influences extended as far as Britain. Again, the irony lies in the fact that although the Mediterranean theory of a brown Mediterranean race contradicts the Indo-European (Aryan) theory, it is nevertheless perceived by Afrocentric authors as yet another manifestation of European racism, which they challenge by promoting yet another racial theory.

The British scholar J. Gardner Wilkinson also categorically states that, on the basis of various criteria, the Egyptians were definitely not of black-African origin: 'Everyone who considers the features, the language and the peculiarities of the ancient Egyptians will feel convinced that they are not of African extraction.'<sup>118</sup> While F. Brahm Zincklein, in his book *Egypt of the Pharaohs and the Kediye* (1871), notes that 'some salient particulars at once arrest our attention. The people, though African by situation, have in them evidently very little that can be regarded as African affinities . . . The idea,



then, of an African origin may be at once summarily dismissed.<sup>119</sup> In fact, the Egyptians were Aryans, although 'some of the queens of Egypt were black'.<sup>120</sup> In other popular accounts the ancient Egyptians are portrayed as a 'handsome race . . . Their skin was light at birth, but soon became so tanned under the hot Egyptian sun that artists always depicted men with reddish and women with yellowish skin, since the latter exposed themselves less often to the sun.'<sup>121</sup> The German Egyptologist, Hermann Kees, wrote that anthropology had been unable to determine with any degree of certainty what racial group brought the Egyptians to the banks of the Nile,<sup>122</sup> while another German Egyptologist, Adolf Erman, wrote 'The inhabitants of Libya, Egypt, and Ethiopia have probably belonged to the same race since prehistoric times.' According to the Egyptians themselves, he adds, they were indigenous people, who received their deep, dark brown color in men and a light yellow in women from the gods.<sup>123</sup> Henri Berr, in his foreword to Moert's *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, writes that the population of Egypt, even in the remote period, was composed of various elements, one of which was blacks from Africa.<sup>124</sup>

Both nineteenth-century and modern research generally accept the supposition that the Egyptian population of Paleolithic aborigines intermixed with Hamitic tribes which most likely came from Asia, and to which were later added black elements from Nubia and possibly from deeper inside Africa as well. As a result the population of ancient Egypt was perceived as ethnically stratified, and in part consisted of blacks. If a dark or black skin color was ascribed to the inhabitants of Egypt, this was because of the considerable Nubian presence in Egypt, though equally because the inhabitants of ancient Egypt were not white in the sense that the color white is understood in modern ethnographic literature. The Egyptians, like all inhabitants of the ancient East, had dark skins of various shades compared with the skin color of northern peoples. The population of Egypt was a mixed bag. At most, scholarship agrees that the Egyptians were black only if one compares their skin color to the Greeks; and that during history the population of Egypt underwent changes which resulted in its becoming a mixed or multiracial society and that genetically the Egyptians were not closely related to sub-Saharan Africans – rather, they were brown, becoming darker as they approached the Sudan.<sup>125</sup>

This approach, which became a linchpin in the new universal historiography, was not satisfied with the merits of the argument showing the existence of a large black element in the Egyptian population, but insisted that the majority was of a black racial composition, unaffected by the influx of immigrants of other races.

## BLACK EGYPTIANS IN AFROCENTRIC LITERATURE

Radical Afrocentric writing is almost obsessed with the racial identity of the ancient Egyptians, much as nineteenth-century European thought was obsessed with the Indo-Germanic origins of the population of Europe. However, the hypothesis that the Egyptians were black-skinned did not easily make its way via esoteric research literature into Afrocentric ideology and historiography to become a scientific dogma and an article of faith. Although attractive, its initial reception was hesitant and reserved. True, it changed the status of blacks in world history in the blink of an eye, but it seemed to be unreasonably out of line with the conventional view. Its influence derived solely from the fact that it undermined the accepted world picture and offered a radical antithesis to the dominant Indo-European doctrine. Some black writers, such as W. E. B. Du Bois, C. G. Woodson and W. L. Hansberry, proposed a moderate approach,<sup>126</sup> holding that about one-third of the Egyptian population was black. According to this theory, many Egyptian soldiers were black, as well as slaves and other laborers who built the pyramids, prayed to the sun god and served in senior administrative positions. According to N. E. Cameron, ancient Egypt consisted of a mixed population in which black men and women held prominent positions.<sup>127</sup> Even an extremist such as Michael Bradley is ready to say:

The evidence forces us to conclude that Ancient Egypt was not a Caucasoid achievement, as we are much too ready to assume automatically, but was a culture built by a composite people exhibiting a mixture of Negroid, Caucasoid and Capoid racial traits.<sup>128</sup>

Diop, who has not the slightest doubt that black Egyptians could have influenced the entire world, cannot countenance the idea that an Asian population left its mark on Egyptian culture.<sup>129</sup> Nevertheless, in his extensive writing on the subject of race he employs all sorts of evidence in order to reach the conclusion that the ancient Egyptians were black-skinned.<sup>130</sup> Many Afrocentric authors agree with his premise that the Egyptian population was related to other Nile valley and tropical African populations 'more closely than to any population outside Africa', but that a genetic influence flow from outside Africa may have introduced Caucasoid genes.<sup>131</sup> Egypt's decline, according to the new historiography, was primarily caused by an influx of non-black settlers and conquerors. There is some irony in this moderate theory, since it maintains that the blacks who held well-defined positions were not part of the indigenous Egyptian population but arrived from the south.

Various writers on Afrocentric universal history hold diverse opinions on the matter, but on the whole, their positions represent a structural dilemma: on the one hand they write about a fusion of races which engendered a

mixed population in Egypt; but on the other, they also accept the climate theory, according to which the Egyptians should over the millennia have undergone a genetic transmutation owing to the climate, which is different from that in the interior. Thus they stress that pre-dynastic Egypt was entirely black, but are then forced to admit that during the historical period – in Egypt's case extending for thousands of years – only about a third of the population was black, and not necessarily the dominant third.<sup>132</sup>

Thus, we are, offered by the Afrocentric school a choice of three theories:

1. The Egyptians, like the Nubians and Libyans, were black-skinned Africans and hence an integral part of a black race. The black Africans can, and must, lay exclusive claim to the cultural heritage of the ancient Egyptian civilization.<sup>133</sup>
2. The Egyptians were separate and distinct from the other African peoples, but over time intermingled with various ethnic elements; thus they show a gradation of skin color: dark, bronze, brown, black and white.
3. The Egyptians were dark-skinned: black in relation to the Greeks but white in relation to the Nubians in the south and the blacks in the African interior.

The evolution of part of the pan-African literature into Afrocentric literature which proposes a black universal history, obliged its proponents to adopt the first theory. It would become the cornerstone of their proposed alternative universal history.

But what is the significance of the Egyptians' racial identity?

For all these reasons, the black Africans can and must lay claim to the cultural heritage of the old Egyptian civilization. They are the only ones today whose sensitivity is able to blend easily with the essence and the spirit of that civilization which the Western Egyptologist finds so hard to understand. The intellectual and effective disposition of present-day blacks is the same as those of the people who edited the hieroglyphic texts of the pyramids and other monuments and sculptured the bas-reliefs of the temples. We can gradually bring back to life all those from Egyptian civilization that today are dead to European consciousness.<sup>134</sup>

Diop's declaration embodies the radical Afrocentric position, the utopian-idealist attempt, not only to leap an abyss of two or three thousand years of history, but to fabricate a spiritual emotional racial partnership. It ignores the fact that, even were we to accept the premise that the Egyptians were black-skinned, this in itself is not proof that they shared a common culture with the peoples of Africa. A common race does not constitute a basis for a common culture, and vice versa. Declaring race and culture to be equivalent is a saliently racist principle. Moreover, if the cultures of inner

Africa took an almost entirely different course from that of ancient Egyptian civilization, this fact is absolute proof that peoples of the same racial origins can become different and distinct from one another as a result of their divergent development. No wonder, then, that Afrocentrism tries hard to prove not only that at an early stage Egyptian culture was dependent upon African culture, but that both cultures retained their affinities and similarities throughout history. But let us suppose, for argument's sake, that the Egyptians were actually black-skinned and possessed physiognomic traits resembling those of the peoples in equatorial Africa. How should we treat this racial characteristic? Race, as we have seen, was not perceived as a factor contributing to cultural inferiority in Egypt or the classical world, nor as an irremediable drawback. The ancient world, characterized by the unceasing movement and the exchange of populations and cultures, did not engage in the kind of racist thought which deals in cultural and intellectual classification based on skin color. None of the many documents in our possession describing diplomatic negotiations between different peoples contains a hint of racial, let alone racist thinking. Naturally, national traits are described positively or negatively, as the case may be, but skin color plays no part in this.

But Afrocentrist theory is not interested in redrawing the ethnographic picture of the ancient world. Its entire purpose is to endow one particular race with seniority and superiority. Yet, to focus on the racial characteristics of ancient Egypt is contrary to the Egyptians' own approach. The response of Afrocentric authors is to say that by highlighting the element of race, the inferior image of blacks is overcome, while unremitting historical propensity to conceal the true character of the ancient Egyptians is reversed. In other words, singling out the racial character of the Egyptians corrects a deep-rooted historical distortion. While there is a great deal of truth in this argument, its foundation is racial and even racist: the message of Afrocentric theory is not that Egypt was a highly developed culture of blacks (and was 'mentally' black), but that it was a highly developed culture *because* it was a culture of blacks. Of course, from a socio-cultural point of view, race is a dominant phenomenon which shapes the fate of people and nations. From this perspective racial diversity within the same race is worthless compared with the effect of the oppositional ideal models of race. But belonging to the same race does not mean sharing the same culture and the same set of values.<sup>135</sup> Only if one assumes that belonging to the same race means a sharing of the sub-stratum uniform ontological traits, a shared view of the world and shared mentality, might race be considered more important than culture.

Thus, Afrocentrism cannot not explain the Egyptian miracle merely by referring to the unique genius of the Egyptians. It cannot be satisfied with the idea that, due to singular historical circumstances, one black nation, the Egyptians, developed a culture different and more advanced than neigh-

boring cultures, as the Greeks would do later. Afrocentrism must place its faith in a black-African source predating Egyptian culture, while postulating that Egyptian culture was not *sui generis* but rather an integral part of a more extended racial culture.

# The Curse of Canaan and the Black Presence in the Bible

Cursed be Canaan.  
a servant of servants shall he be unto  
his brethren.

*Genesis 9:25* (authorized version, 1954)

Cursed be Canaan. A slave of slaves shall  
he be to his brothers . . .  
Blessed by the Lord my God be Shem  
and let Canaan be his slave.

*Genesis 9:25* (revised standard version)

## THE ORIGIN OF THE CURSE

In her one-act play *The First One*, originally published in 1927, Zora Neale Hurston describes a confrontation between the sons of Noah in the Valley of Ararat three years after the flood. Instead of bringing a material offering to Jehovah as his brothers have done, Ham, the 'first' black man, chooses to 'embody the creative gifts of joy and abandon'. While their father is drunk his brothers trick him into putting a curse on Ham, depriving him of his birthright. Thus Noah deprives him of the new Eden, though Ham's wife shows him how to turn injustice into triumph, saying:

Ham, my husband . . . Let us go before you awake to learn to despise your father and your God. Come away Ham . . . Come with me to where the sun shines forever, to the end of the Earth . . .

To this Ham replies that he will leave his family and 'go to the sun'.<sup>1</sup>

This play should be understood as if this black American playwright was poking fun at those who take the biblical sanction for racial separation seriously, but the fact remains that most African-American authors take the biblical curse very seriously. Many of them believe it to be the cause of

generations of the black people's slavery. The black people, like Ham and Cain, went out into the world – and entered history – deprived of a homeland, branded and wearing the chains of a slave. But the fact is, however, that this myth of the curse of Ham and Canaan, is shared by the Judeo-Christian and Islamic cultures,<sup>2</sup> thus placing a very heavy burden on the shoulders of the blacks.

Since the Bible plays so vital a role in the spiritual life and historical consciousness of the black Americans,<sup>3</sup> the biblical attitude toward black peoples became a grave problem for Afro-Christian theology: is the Bible a source of Western racism and a manifestation of 'divine' racism? Is it a moral tale or a book of sacred myths? The 'Curse of Canaan' became a serious theological problem primarily because of its later interpretations: post-biblical exegetic literature of the sages and medieval interpretations of the curse are the source of Western racism anointed with 'divine' justification. Laying the blame on post-biblical literature could acquit the Bible itself of much of the blame, but many African-American authors understand the biblical curse in the light of later exegetic literature, laying the blame at the doorstep of biblical tradition. Well aware of the exegetic and ideological use of the curse in Jewish, Christian and Muslim literature, black-American Christian clergy and scholars were forced to confront the curse and its long metamorphosis. Afrocentric Christians face the need to reconcile their perception of the central place of the black race in the biblical world with the claim that the Bible is the source of later racial prejudice against the black people.

If Canaan was indeed the son of Ham, and therefore a black-skinned man, what hateful heritage passed from generation to generation in Holy Scripture? Jewish and Christian heritage is held to blame for this suffering, mainly because blackness was nowhere considered as a curse in Greek and Roman literature, nor is the black man selected to be a slave.<sup>4</sup> As a result, the curse of Canaan (or Ham), symbolized the Bible's racial attitude towards black-skinned people for some black American writers. The ninth chapter of *Genesis* therefore poses a grave challenge to black Christian believers. In effect, Afrocentric thinkers place a dual interpretation on the tradition of the curse: it is perceived as a single link in a chain of theological and ethnographic interpretations extending from the Talmud, the Church fathers, medieval and Renaissance literature, the racist writings since the sixteenth century to our own time. But it is also seen within the context of relations between the Jewish and black communities in the United States.

Much has been written on this subject recently, primarily from a polemic or apologetic point of view. The interpretation of the Bible, as well as the Rabbinic literature, as sources of racial discrimination poses difficult problems to Christian and non-believing black writers alike. The purpose of this chapter is not to give yet another short history of the curse and its

metamorphosis, but to examine the different ways it has been manipulated and the internal contradiction inherent in its Afrocentric interpretation.<sup>5</sup>

The curse in *Genesis* 9:25 is directed at Canaan, not at his father Ham, nor at his brother Kush.<sup>6</sup> If the point of the chapter was to condemn the black-skinned Kushites (Nubians) to perpetual slavery, the curse would not have been directed at Canaan, even though he too was considered to be dark-skinned. We have already seen that the authors of *Genesis* were well acquainted with the ethnic and social structure of the ancient Near East and Africa as far south as Nubia, and were certainly aware of black slaves who were not Canaanites. Nevertheless, Canaan alone was cursed, not the other children of Ham. The biblical curse says nothing about the color of Canaan's skin. Apparently it was later Talmudic and Christian ethnography which identified the children of Ham with the black peoples of Africa, and therefore believed the curse to be directed at all the children of Ham. In fact, the phrase 'children of Ham' should be viewed as a symbolic description rather than an ethnographic definition. Through it a link could be created between the tripartite ethnographic division of the Bible and the ethnographic reality, in the known world, which of course included people with dark skin; otherwise, many difficult questions arise. How was it possible for Noah to have two white sons and one black? Are the blacks not descended from Noah? If not, what are their origins? Were they survivors of the antediluvian age? If so, why did the flood, described as a cosmological-universal event, not occur in Africa? Furthermore, if both the Israelites and the Egyptians were black, why would black authors curse themselves and condemn their own people to everlasting bondage? Such questions left both the old tradition and the new Afrocentric tradition at an impasse. It is ironic that black authors, especially contemporary African-Americans, who take the Bible at face value and stress that Ham and dark-skinned are synonymous, perceive the ancient curse as the foundation for the theology of slavery that originates in the Bible, and as such find in the curse justification for an anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic approach.

It must be emphasized again, however, that the Bible contains no mention of Noah's sons. The division of nations in *Genesis* is oblivious to physiognomic traits, unlike Greek ethnography. On the other hand, the Bible has several positive things to say about black-skinned people – Kushites – and about the color black. Miriam, Moses' sister, is punished for objecting to her brother's marriage to a Kushite woman (*Numbers* 12:10), but Miriam, so it seems, objected not because the woman was black-skinned but because she belonged to a foreign people. Nor does a later *midrash* see anything improper about Moses marrying into the Nubian royal family.<sup>7</sup> The Bible tells us that Kushites played a role in the service of the Israelite kings, and Kushites are perceived as 'the mighty men of Ethiopia' (*Jer.* 46:9). In the social universe of the Bible, Kushites are not depicted as slaves. In addition, a sharp distinction is drawn between Canaan, Canaanite



slave, and Kushite. The book of *Kings* is fully aware of the pre-eminence of the kingdom of Kush after it conquered Egypt (711–664 BC). Here 'Cushi' means Nubian or Ethiopian, not a black person from interior Africa. No less important is the fact that the curse is certainly not laid on the Egyptians, the descendants of *Mizrayim* – and also the offspring of Ham. With their prodigious kingdom, the Egyptians could never be depicted as slaves within the biblical world-view. In any event, the biblical term 'cushi' relates to Ethiopian from Nubia, not a black-African from equatorial Africa. Again, there is no foundation whatsoever to the argument put forth by African-American literature that the Bible is sympathetic to Cushites, or avoids mentioning skin color at all, because the Hebrews themselves were dark-skinned. In biblical mythology, human beings are divided according to language and land, not according to the color of their skins. Nor is there any etymological connection between *chum* (heat), and dark-brown (*hum*) skin. In *Jewish Antiquities* (1:9.131–2), Josephus states: 'From the four sons of Ham nothing befell Kush in the curse of time: for the Ethiopians, whom he ruled, are today still called Kushites.' Josephus identifies Kushites with Ethiopians, following the convention in Greek-Hellenistic literature; what is most important in our case is his assertion that 'nothing befell Kush', i.e. nothing happened to Kush; certainly he and his descendants were not condemned to eternal servitude.

The biblical curse, then, is directed at Canaan, the forefather of a Semitic people, who, according to the genealogy in *Genesis*, is the son of Ham. This familial designation must be understood in the context of Scriptural theo-politics as related to the conquest of the Land of Israel by the Israelite tribes. The genealogical table in *Genesis* 10 and the curse of Canaan in the preceding chapter are part of the various historical-theological strata which make up *Genesis*. It was the nation of Canaan, not a Hamitic people, whom the Israelites defeated in the Land of Israel – an act which called for theological and moral justification: the imputation is that Canaan committed a flagrant primeval moral transgression.<sup>8</sup> It is also noteworthy that the genealogical narrative in *Genesis* is not of a piece but combines diverse traditions. The compiler of the Table of Nations confused Cushites from Nubia with Cassites from the Babylonian-Arab desert (the *Kasshu* of the Assyrian inscriptions), a people whose home was across the Tigris, northwest of Babylonia.<sup>9</sup> The Bible mentions tribes of Hamites residing at 'the entrance of Gedor', where 'they found fat pasture and food, and the land was wide, and quiet, and peaceable; for they of Ham had dwelt there of old' (*I Chronicles* 4:39–41). This may have been a reference to western Semitic *Kushu* tribes mentioned in the Egyptian execration texts, who resided south of the Land of Israel and in trans-Jordan during the period of the Israelite kingdom. Their identification as Hamites and hence as Canaanites in later biblical tradition, is once again required to justify their despoilation and plunder by the tribe of Simeon.<sup>10</sup> That the later biblical

author knew the difference between Canaan and Ham and between Canaan and Egypt is clear from *Psalms* 105:27 quoted above, which distinguishes between the promise to Jacob ('Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan') and the exile in Egypt ('Israel also came into Egypt; and Jacob sojourned in the land of Ham'). When the prophet Amos declares 'Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians [*Cushim*] unto me, O children of Israel' (9:7), he not only means to underscore the difference between Israelites and Cushites, but to show that, symbolically, their situations are similar as well. Various biblical commentators maintain that the comparison with Cushites was meant to suggest that the Israelites were not adhering to the Torah, and were therefore no different from the Philistines, Amorites, Cushites, and so forth. Some regard the phrase 'like the Ethiopians' as a positive, rather than a negative, expression, one meant to point out the uniqueness of the Jewish people, distinguished by their singular spiritual qualities. The point is that the Israelites are set apart because they obey the commandments, just as the Cushites are set apart by the color of their skin; the Cushites are eternal servants to their masters just as the Israelites are the eternal servants of the Lord. It is written in *Pirkei de Rabbi Eliezer* (in the name of R. Tach'nah) that the children of Israel were called *cushim*, for 'just as this black man differs from all others, so the Israelites differ from all other people in their good deeds, hence they are called *cushim* (Ch.53). The Talmudic and medieval exegesis seems to stem from the desire to reject any possible comparison between the Israelites and the Cushites, maintaining that both are equal before God. There is some evidence that the biblical author of the curse had nationalist motives in the Talmudic story (*Sanhedrin*, 91) which discusses the 'complaints of Africans' to Alexander the Great, who claimed that their land had been despoiled by the plundering Israelites. The response of the *Baraita* is to cite *Genesis* 9:21 as justification for the conquest. These Africans, were, perhaps, descendants of the Phoenicians who emigrated to North Africa, and are called Canaanites, not Hamites, in the Talmudic apologetics. The curse was used in post-biblical Jewish literature to justify the slavery of the Canaanites ('Canaanite slave') in Israelite society, but there is no reference in the Bible to Canaanite slaves in Israelite households. According to biblical tradition, only a very few Canaanites were slaves, and, on the other hand, many Israelites were. Most likely the explanation should be sought in the need to justify the conquest, rather than to account for Canaanite servitude in Israelite homes. It is a justification, Evans believes, unrelated to the inferiority of their birth, but bound up with the dehumanization stemming from their moral state.<sup>11</sup>

Afrocentric biblical historiography, however, asserts that Canaan was part of the Hamitic family, and therefore part of the black race. In historical reality, however, Canaan belonged to the west-Semitic family of languages; moreover this west-Semitic family, the language spoken in Canaan, was

very close to Hebrew and far removed from the Hamitic tongues. In other words, to place Canaan within the Hamitic family of nations is a mythological attribution adopted by Afrocentric literature. The primeval *Genesis* text probably placed the curse on Ham, but in later texts this was altered to 'Canaan' to justify usurpation and conquest. Realizing this, editors of some editions of the Septuagint revised the text directing the curse at Ham. Afrocentric literature, which considers almost everyone in the ancient East to be 'black descendants of Ham', also accepts the theological commentary based on the fiction that Canaan, alone among all the inhabitants of the ancient Land of Israel, was Hamitic and therefore black-skinned. The paradox becomes even more acute if we recall that this literature has much to say about the close relations between the Israelites and the Cushites or blacks, even suggesting a racial affinity between them.<sup>12</sup> No less important is the fact that the biblical prophecies against Egypt foresee the coming of great and numerous tribulations, but never a prophecy that the Egyptians will become slaves for ever ('. . . I will deliver them into the land of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon; and afterward it shall be inhabited, as in the days of old, saith the Lord' [Jer. 46:26]).

#### THE LATER TRADITION: FROM THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD TO THE RENAISSANCE

The *Book of Jubilee* (ch. VII) relates that Noah cursed his youngest son Ham, but included the curse for Canaan. Ham and his sons – Kush, Mizrayim, Put and Canaan – departed and went south. Chapter VIII, however, states that the Land of Israel was divided by lot. Late Talmudic tradition, from the second to the sixth century AD, takes a different attitude toward Ham's sons. It is the attitude of these sages, not that of the Bible, that is interpreted as racist. The distinction drawn by the Catholic Church, and afterward in Protestant Scriptural criticism, between Israel the author of the Bible and the Jews who wrote the Talmud allows African-American writers to differentiate between the Scriptural tradition and the Talmudic-rabbinic tradition; thus they 'rescue' the Hebrew Bible and place the blame and responsibility on the Talmud.

In fact, the literature of the Sages contains various traditions displaying a different, primarily negative, attitude toward blacks. One Talmudic legend tells about the love of Kush for his son Nimrod. Kush gave his son the garment God had made for Adam and Eve when they were expelled from the Garden of Eden, which Kush had stolen from his brother. Thanks to this garment Nimrod became a mighty hunter. The legend itself does not suggest a negative attitude toward Kush. On the other hand, Sanhedrin, 10 bg3 (*Baby. Seder Nashim*, ed. 1. Epstein, trans. J. Schechter and H. Freeman, London 1935, p.745), exegeting on the curse, says: 'Therefore

your seed will be ugly and dark-skinned.' Some traditions linked to Ham depict his grave moral transgressions; in a few extreme cases, he is accused of castrating his father to ensure his inability to sire another son.<sup>13</sup> One story is that God forbade anyone to have sexual relations while on the ark and Ham disobeyed this command. Another explanation is that Ham was cursed with blackness because he resented the fact that his father wanted a fourth son. In yet another story, Ham's descendants are depicted as being led into captivity with their buttocks uncovered as a sign of their degradation. According to the Babylonian Talmud, Ham 'was smitten in his skin', while in the Jerusalem Talmud he is described as being *mefuham*, or charred.

But why was Canaan cursed and not Ham? 'When Noah awoke from his wine and became sober, he pronounced a curse upon Ham in the person of his youngest son Canaan, to Ham himself he could do no harm for God had conferred a blessing upon Noah and his three sons as they departed from the ark. Therefore he put the curse upon the last born son that had prevented him from begetting a younger son than the three he had.'<sup>14</sup> The Talmudic *midrash* also identifies Moses' Kushite woman with Zippora, the daughter of Jethro the priest, and praises her effusively. She was called Kushite because she was beautiful: 'All acknowledge her beauty, as all acknowledge the blackness of a Kushite' (according to one legendary Jewish-Hellenistic tradition, the Kushite woman was one whom Moses married in the land of Kush, of which he was the ruler).<sup>15</sup> Rashi (tenth/eleventh centuries AD) also says Zippora was called Chusit (Kushite woman) for the same reason. In his commentary to *Genesis* 12:11., Abraham tells Sara 'but now we are traveling among the black and repulsive people, brethren of the Ethiopians (*Cusim*) who have never been accustomed to see a beautiful woman'.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the Italian scholar Shmuel David Luzzatto's, (1800–65) explanation is that 'Abraham took a Kushite woman [perhaps because Zippora had died] from among those who attached themselves to the Israelites when they left Egypt, and it is known that Egypt is close to Kush . . .'.<sup>17</sup>

*Shir Hashirim Raba*, in its exegesis to the line in the Song of Songs 'Look not upon me because I am black', tells a story in the name of Rabbi Isaac exhibiting a negative attitude toward blacks. The story tells about a Kushite (Ethiopian) maid servant who told her friend that her master was going to cast out his wife and marry her because his wife's hands were 'like char' ('he saw her hands all stained'). The friend replied: 'foolish woman, if the master wants to cast out his wife because her hands are like char, how is it possible that he would wish to marry instead a woman who is completely charred? How then will he endure you who are stained all over and black from the day of your birth!' (*Midrash Rabba: Shir HaShirim (Song of Songs)*, 1:6.3, trans. Maurice Simon, p. 59).<sup>18</sup> The point here is that God would never cast out Israel in favor of another people, even if the people sinned; it

is evident, however, that the color black symbolizes evil and sin. Another example from the same *midrash* states:

'That the sun hath tanned me'. R. Abba b. Kahanna said in the name of R. Hiyya the Great: . . . What this teaches is that they committed one sin which was as bad as two . . . (Ibid., I:6.2)<sup>19</sup>

And in yet another *midrash* the black people are described as drunken people: 'Ten *kubs* of drunkenness descended to the world, nine were taken by Ethiopians . . .' (*Bab. Kiddushim* 49b. trans. Epstein, 1936),<sup>20</sup> though it is not clear from where he took this generalization.

Thus, the color black in the literature of the Sages is associated with ugliness, though in some cases it is used in a neutral sense. The Talmud speaks about 'black [*shahor*] wine' or a 'black citron', etc., and refers to different shades of blackness. Blue and green were also sometimes considered to be in the black category; there was also the word *shahum*, meaning swarthy-ness, which was a combination of black (*shahor*) and brown (*hum*). *Shahor* also denoted a very dark color. The important fact is that even if the Talmud shows some racist tendencies toward the black race, with black people being portrayed in degrading terms,<sup>21</sup> in all the Talmudic legends and *midrashim*, black skin color is not linked to the status of slavery, since any connection between skin color and slavery would have forced the Talmud to explain why there were non-black slaves, not to mention the fact that even the Israelites were sometimes sold into slavery or driven into exile! The enslavement of black people is considered – as it was in Roman society – as 'natural'.

It is difficult to prove that the Sages made a clear distinction between a *Nigri* and an *Aethiop*. Post-biblical literature does not use the term Ethiopians and there is no way of knowing if – and when – it uses Kush and Cush to refer to a person of Nubian origins or an equatorial African. The only places we find a direct reference to the blacks of tropical Africa is in *Avot deRabbi Nathan* (2,29, ed. S. Schether, p. 61, and its equivalent in *Babylonian, Shabbat*, 21a) in the words of old Hillel, who was asked why the soles of the feet of the *Apsim* (people who live in regions of deep swamps; [*Ezekiel* 47:3], namely Africa), are broader than those of other men (*Baby. Shabaat* speaks about the broad feet of the *Afrika'im*). Hillel responds with a neutral reply: 'because they live in swamps and walk in them day and night, hence the soles of their feet are broad'. It is clear that the attribution of broad soles to someone who spends most of his days and nights walking in water is not a positive one.<sup>22</sup>

David M. Goldenberg reviewed the literature which accepts and spreads the allegation that the Sages are the source of anti-black prejudice in Western civilization, claiming that this charge rests upon a total of two Talmudic-*midrashic* sources (and three later medieval sources). He asserts that these folk-tales are concerned with color, not race; black skin, how-

ever, is an important symbol of race. Moreover, only the black people were designated in these sources by their color! There is an apologetic nuance, in my view, in his explanation that 'the rabbis had an aesthetic preference for their own skin color'.<sup>23</sup> The fact is, however, that in the literature of the Sages one can clearly find racial prejudice towards black-skinned people. Africa and Africans had no part in the world of the Sages, though they no doubt saw and met black slaves in their immediate social context, and the same 'naïve racism' shaped the attitude of later Jewish writers who had never laid eyes on a black African.<sup>24</sup>

The negative image of blacks in Talmudic literature and, generally speaking, in medieval biblical commentary as well, refers not to Ethiopians but to blacks from equatorial Africa, whose presence was widespread throughout the Roman world (African slaves were brought through the Sahara to north Africa, but the Romans did not make a clear distinction between African blacks and 'Ethiopian' slaves). It seems these negative stereotypes were not necessarily the outcome of a close acquaintance with blacks, not, certainly of the need to justify the employment of black slaves (as well as free blacks) in Jewish households (although the black person was often identified as a slave in the Roman world). Nor were they the result of a fear of the black man, who supposedly posed a threat to contemporary white society. Rather these stereotypes stemmed from the exegetic need to interpret the appearance of black people in diverse contexts in biblical literature, the curse of Ham, Moses' marriage to a Kushite woman, the Jewish-Hellenistic legend of Moses in Kush, the prophecies regarding Kush, and the like. Kush and the black person were perceived as existing at the ends of the earth, that is, at the end of the geographical horizon, a people extremely different in appearance from other humans. Black symbolized ugly, aggressive, satanical, and bestial – the opposite of the clean and pure white color. It seems the process which determined this image was not a negative attitude toward the black people, but rather one in which the color black became a symbol of evil and ugliness in both appearance and inner character. In the various European languages black was equated with night and darkness.<sup>25</sup> Only in the medieval commentaries does one find an explicit link between the slavery motif and the color black in Christian and Jewish texts. For example: 'It must be Canaan, your first-born, whom they enslave . . . Canaan's children shall be born ugly and black. Your grandchildren's hair shall be twisted into kinks . . . shall swell.' Or: 'Men of this race are called Negroes; their forefather Canaan commanded them to love theft and fornication, to be banded together in hatred of their masters and never to tell the truth.'<sup>26</sup> *Sefer Hayashar*, the narration of world history from creation to the conquest of the Land of Israel, compiled in Italy in the generations following the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, states that Moses married the daughter of the king of Kush; however, he did not consummate the marriage because he remembered the command-

ment not to take a wife from the daughters of Canaan or the daughters of Ham, for 'God made Ham the son of Noah and his sons and all his seed slaves to the children of Shem and the children of Japhet and their seed after them eternally.'<sup>27</sup> Maimonides used the Hellenistic and Muslim climatic theory to explain the human inferiority that he and contemporary Muslim scholars found in the blacks of Africa, without having recourse to the tradition of sin and its punishment which is implicit in the curse episode.<sup>28</sup> It is significant that, during the Middle Ages, the Jews called the land of the Slavs 'Canaan' because Slavs were sold as chattel servants in Western Europe. The use of the term Canaan and Canaanites in the later biblical literature related to *Genesis* to mean the Land of Israel (the land of Canaan) and the mercantile Phoenicians,<sup>29</sup> instead of the 'land of Ham' or the children of Ham, shows the influence of *Genesis* 9, and the absence of the imprint of the Talmudic legends. Jewish authors adopted this attitude from European (or Muslim) writings because it was the dominant view of the time. 'Only the children of Ham were excluded from the covenant with God because of their acts of desecration and wantonness.'<sup>30</sup> In most of the discussions from the medieval period onward of the humanistic-universalist character of Judaism, no special attention was paid to the status of the children of Ham or the blacks; Jews did not address this issue until the emergence of the new Jewish culture in the United States. In any event, the description of blacks in Jewish medieval literature, such as in the book of Benjamin of Tudela, do not premise their 'animal-like' condition in the ancient biblical curse.

### *The emergence of Western Christian tradition concerning blacks*

The New Testament does not identify Canaan with Ham or 'black' nor does it link any of them with the concept 'slave'. However, the universalist message of the Church did not eliminate the negative and antipathetic attitudes towards the blacks and the color black continued to carry with it a negative symbolic meaning. For example, in Origine's exegesis of *Song of Songs* ('I am black and beautiful' [*nigra sum et speciosa*]) the black bride symbolizes the black soul of a former sinful pagan who converted to Christianity; blackness and whiteness are spiritual symbols in which white represents the spiritual purity of the Christian man.<sup>31</sup> It appears that, in the early Christian world-view, the term Ethiopian used to designate the people of the great kingdom of Kush ('... behold, a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charges of all her treasure, and he had come to Jerusalem...' [*Acts*, 9:27]) became the term used to designate the black people of Africa. Because the Nubian kingdom had been Christianized, it is difficult to assume the real Ethiopian would personify evil. The connection between Kushite and slaves dates from the eighth century AD when Africa became

the major source of slaves.<sup>32</sup> St Augustine, in *De Civitate Dei*, explains that Ham ('the wicked brother') was cursed because he was born laughing, a sign that Satan was involved in his birth.

... the name Ham means 'hot' and Noah's middle son, separating himself, as it were, from both the others and keeping his position between them, is included neither in the first fruit of Israel, nor in the full harvest of the Gentiles, and he can only stand for the hot breed of the heretics. (Book XVI: Chapter 2)<sup>33</sup>

St Augustine also writes that:

Now in the passion of Christ we may be said to honor what was done on our behalf while at the same time we turn our backs on the crime of the Jews. The garment stands for a mystery; the blacks symbolized the memory of past events; for this, we may be sure, is now the time when 'Japhet lives in the houses of Shem' and the wicked brother lives between them ... This is the reality symbolized by the fact that Ham went out and published his father's nakedness outside, while Shem and Japheth came in to veil it, that is, to honour it – which means that their action had a more inward character. (Ibid.)<sup>34</sup>

This, however, is a theological exegesis, not a justification for slavery; nor should it be forgotten that in Afrocentric literature, St Augustine himself is said to belong to the dark-skinned children of Ham in North Africa. In their biblical exegeses, the Church fathers reiterated the idea that Ham was cursed by becoming black – but not a slave. The Church did not condone slavery, and certainly not on the basis of skin color.<sup>35</sup> In the East, the color black was considered a sign of beauty, as evidenced by the paintings of the black Madonna. In the West, however, it took on pejorative connotations with some linking between *malus* (bad) and *melas* (black). Medieval and Renaissance art and literature were preoccupied with the theological question of why Canaan was cursed. Many fanciful conjectures were made. Von der Hart, for example, says that Ham was rebellious and behaved abominably on the ark. The drunken Noah and his sons were portrayed in countless paintings and dramas. Some claimed that Kush emerged black (though his parents were white) because his mother's mind was either on something black at the time of his conception, or else was longing for a black during his gestation.<sup>36</sup> In medieval England, the curse of Canaan provided justification for the serfdom of whites. Even those who accepted the idea that the curse was responsible for the color of blacks did not link the physiogenetic result with slavery.<sup>37</sup>

It was the interconnection between the biblical curse, the Talmudic and Christian exegeses, the ethnography of the Middle Ages and later periods, and the fact that the black slave trade became a major component, first in the Muslim, then of the European economy, which led to the distortion of



the sources and the manipulative inter-linkage of diverse traditions.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, this connection was not universally accepted and drew objections from many important personages during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The abolitionists, who believed in the common origin of human beings and rejected the deterministic theory of black inferiority, said the curse on Canaan did not apply to Kush or to Ham's other sons, and therefore, could not be cited in justification of slavery. 'And the posterity of Cain had been exterminated by the flood.'<sup>39</sup> For many, however, black slavery was a natural phenomenon which needed theological explanation.<sup>40</sup>

### THE JEWS AS BLACKS

In medieval literature a theory prevailed in which the Jews were part of the black race, or were at least dark-skinned. A number of bizarre examples were brought forth as proof. One was that because Jewish religious law commands that coitus takes place in the dark, Jewish children are born with dark skins.<sup>41</sup> The image of the Jew as dark-skinned fits in with the image of the southern, Mediterranean type. Indeed, the Jew practically became the prototypical Mediterranean: small, black, and hairy all over. In *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs*, Abée Grégoire wrote that rarely does one meet a pale-colored Jew, that most of them are brownish with curly hair.<sup>42</sup> The image of the Semitic (Mediterranean) Jew as black occupied a significant place in both popular and learned anti-semitic literature of the nineteenth century. Some, like Houston Stewart Chamberlain, in *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, described the Jews as an 'admixture of Negro blood with Jewish in the Diaspora of Alexandria . . .'<sup>43</sup> In early twentieth-century anti-Semitic and racist literature, the Oriental Semitic-Hamitic race was depicted as the complete opposite of the white race. Jewish blood is dark black, wrote Max Beyer, a racist, anti-intellectual and anti-Semitic author who produced a series of articles in which Jews are exemplified as utterly negative, dark of character, and Judaism as a black essence ('*das schwarzseelige Judenthum*').<sup>44</sup>

The fear of the black intensified in post-World War I Germany because of the presence of black-skinned soldiers in the French occupation army stationed in the Rhineland. Combined with confused and insane racist anti-Semitic imaginations, and the highly charged monstrous image of the black in European literature, this fear became a patent brew which reinforced the old image of the Jew as black.

#### MANIPULATION OF THE CURSE IN THE SERVICE OF RACISM

The first manipulation of Noah's curse was the linkage of Canaan with Ham by adopting the biblical genealogy of nations, in complete disregard of the biblical author-editor's own manipulation of that genealogy to promote saliently nationalist Israelite goals.

The second manipulation was the identification of the children of Ham with the black African race, and the latter with black-skinned people everywhere. The identification of Canaan with the children of Ham, and the definition of the latter as Kushites, inevitably creates the fraudulent and ahistorical connection between the curse of Canaan and black slavery.<sup>45</sup>

The third manipulation was to depict the Talmud as an advocate of slavery, primarily of the European slave trade and of black slavery in America. Pseudo-science has provided three explanations for the black skin of the Kushites:

1. the climatic (environmental) theory, linking skin color to climate;<sup>46</sup>
2. the pre-Adamite theory, which considered the blacks as an antediluvian race (the same explanation was offered for the origin of the American Indians);<sup>47</sup> and
3. the biblical-theological account.

The latter, which is the currently accepted explanation, resulted from the correlation of Hamite with black by medieval Christian and Muslim ethnography and their association through the biblical curse. During the sixteenth century the curse became a Christian theme, and in the seventeenth century was widely accepted as an explanation of black skin. 'From there it was but a small step to the interpretation of the curse of Canaan as an explanation of, and justification for, the slavery of black Africans.'<sup>48</sup> During the Enlightenment, the theological argument was rejected as improbable. 'If the curse theory was a plausible explanation', writes Popkin; 'a lot more Asiatic and Egyptians should be black, for they were cursed more peculiarly than the western remote coasts of Africa'.<sup>49</sup> This explanation was replaced by the naturalistic idea, which held that the heat of the sun was the main factor in turning the Africans black.

The theological argument, however, was widely cited during the period in which slavery was at its height (in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), and was preferred over the naturalistic (climatic) explanation. The presence and status of blacks could thus be understood within the framework of the accepted history of the human race, i.e. the biblical framework. The longevity of this explanation derives from the need during those centuries to draw on Scriptural authority to account for slavery, not least because the Bible could also be read in the opposite manner: as taking a

firm position against the idea of slavery based on racial origin. Jordan traces the acceptance of this idea to the perceived affinity between heat and sensuality, and the fact that blacks had been slaves since ancient times. Aware that this is a rather strained explanation, Jordan also traces the acceptance of the linkage between black skin color, and inferiority and slavery to Jewish tradition. It was necessary to introduce the Jewish factor because Church fathers such as St Jerome and St Augustine interpreted the curse of Canaan in the context of slavery alone, with no mention of skin color. They casually accepted the assumption that Africans were descended from one of Ham's four sons, an assumption which became universal in Christendom despite the obscurity of its origins.

Again, however, it is important to understand that the Talmudic exegesis never claimed that the consequence of the curse would inevitably be slavery. Nor did they distinguish between the primeval curse of Canaan – the curse of slavery – and the sins and punishments imposed on Ham and his descendants. The real point is that there was no need for a theological justification of slavery; it was widespread and considered legitimate in all ancient cultures, not excepting Greece and Rome. Christendom, then, appears to have required the theological aspect, both because the Old Testament was integral to its spiritual world and, perhaps more important, because there was no white slavery; all slaves were black. A theological foundation was required for this modern racial distinction. By twisting Talmudic *midrashim*, Christians could make a defense of slavery. Winthrop D. Jordan, in his excellent study *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1510–1812*, notes that it is difficult to reconstruct the lines of influence. In any event, he believes the Talmudic exegeses became known to Christian authors during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance as a result of renewed interest in Jewish writings.<sup>50</sup> Thus, it is important to recall that medieval Christian authors regarded Talmudic exegeses as the essence of Judaism, and that the crux of the Jewish–Christian debate was not the religious (*halakhic*) stratum of the Talmud, but its legendary *midrashic* elements. The Church fathers were influenced by *midrashim* and created their own hermeneutic system. One medieval author (Eike von Repgow in *Sachsenspiegel*, 1221–4) for, example, argued that the origins of slavery did not stem from the curse of Ham, for the Bible had cursed Canaan!<sup>51</sup> However, the combined effect of the discovery of Africa, the beginning of settlement in America, and a renewed interest in the Jewish intellectual-religious heritage allowed Christian authors to cite the curse of Canaan as justification for the humiliation of blacks. Since the color black was considered a reflection of baseness and inferiority, it was, in any event, more conveniently perceived as a curse.<sup>52</sup> Here, then, is yet another historical irony: the Christian interest in the Talmud during the late Middle Ages and during the Renaissance stemmed from their disputation with it. Christian sages of the period were interested in Jewish mysticism, in the

Kabbalah, but not necessarily in the Talmud as a *halakhic* work. Deriving their knowledge of Judaism mainly from Jewish converts, they were far more preoccupied with its legends than with its religious precepts. Many thick treatises assailed the Talmud, which was portrayed as an anti-Christian work meriting eradication.<sup>53</sup> During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Talmud was printed by Christian presses in Venice; in the middle of the sixteenth century, however, a systematic burning of all available copies of the Talmud began. Yet, their acquaintance with the Talmud (and with early Christian exegesis), allowed those involved in the disputatious apologetics, if the need arose, to cite legends from the banned and maligned Talmud in order to justify slavery. Here is a bitter irony: Christian literature, the essence of which was the execration of Talmudic tradition and the exposure of its 'lies' in an attempt to refute Judaism, allowed one theme to be extracted, then warped, in order to justify slavery.

'Though the genealogy of Noah's descendants was always somewhat tangled', Jordan writes, 'Ham has always represented for the ancient Jews as the southern people, including the Canaanites, whom the Jews drove from the promised land and upon whom they fastened the millstone of sexual offenses which are repeatedly and so adamantly condemned and guarded against in the Pentateuch.'<sup>54</sup> This is not so. The early Hebrew could distinguish between the Canaanite, his closest neighbor in the Land of Israel and in the Lebanon, and an Egyptian or a Kushite. The linkage of black with a descendant of Ham or Hamite was forged by Western ethnographic literature, which created a correlation between the biblical genealogical division and racial types according to skin color. It was this literature which identified the black race with the offspring of Ham and adopted the erroneous biblical description of the Canaanites as the descendants of Ham. Thus, when it was discovered that medieval and subsequent Jewish literature identified the black nations of Africa – not the Egyptians – with the descendants of Ham, that identification was borrowed from European literature. The distorted use of the biblical conception is clearly seen in the fact that, though the Egyptians were also considered Hamites, there is nothing in European or American literature which justifies the subjugation of Egypt or its population; moreover, a clear distinction is made between black and cursed Kush and the Egyptians. Thus the curse did not apply at all to the most famous of the children of Ham.

Mainstream Christian African-Americans, unwilling to surrender their biblical heritage, reject the interpretation and historical value of the curse on Canaan. Consequently, they must purge the Old Testament of its ostensibly racist motifs. According to W. Sollors, it was Alexander Crummell who developed perhaps the 'most systematic refutation of the curse of Ham in his essay *The Negro Race not Under a Curse: An Examination of Genesis IX.25*,<sup>55</sup> in which he argued that the curse was not pronounced

upon Canaan, nor upon Ham. The black race was not descended from Canaan, and the Land of Canaan mentioned in the Bible was not intended to include the African continent.<sup>56</sup> Edward Wilmot Blyden added that the Jews were in servitude to the Egyptians, who were the descendants of Ham.<sup>57</sup> Latta R. Thomas, in his book *Biblical Faith and the Black Man*, rejects the exegesis of white racists and black racists alike. The book of Genesis, he writes, mentions nothing about Ham being black, nor has the story any historical basis. Neither, he adds, is there evidence in the Bible that Noah's curse on his progeny was endorsed by God. In place of the exegetic reading, Thomas proposes a critical reading of the Bible which argues that diverse traditions were welded together, and that an understanding of their historical context is essential. Canaan and Ham of the Bible do not signify black, he maintains, contrary to the view of the new Afrocentrist historiography. Thomas is, of course, correct. His primary intention, however, is not to examine the historical value of biblical tradition, but to 'rescue' the traditional allegorical-symbolic approach, which sees the Bible as a message of redemption, from the exegetic interpretation, which is, in fact, a different critical historical reading.<sup>58</sup> Henry M. Morris, president of the Institute for Creation Research, and professor of hydrology, offers a 'Creationist' liberal approach in his 'scientific and devotional commentary on the book of beginnings.' Morris suggested that Ham was cursed to be responsible for physical service of the Lord; thus, the Hamitic people were occupied largely with material pursuits, and in this field made great contribution to mankind, including the fact that 'They were the original explorers and settlers of practically all parts of the world, following the dispersion of Babel.' They were the first to cultivate basic foods, to develop most the basic types of structural forms of the usual fabrics for clothing, the discoverers and inventors of a wide variety of medicines, practical mathematics, etc. Kush, as Ham's oldest son, resented the curse and became a great ruler (*Genesis* 10:8,9), while the eleven sons of Canaan, established great empires. By interpreting servitude in a positive manner, accepting much of the Afrocentric historical picture, Morris is able to state that neither blacks nor 'any other Hamitic people is intended to be forcibly subjugated on the basis of this Noahic declaration'.<sup>59</sup>

However, if we accept Sollors' affirmation that 'Race thinking began to rely less and less upon biblical justification',<sup>60</sup> the irony is that the identification between Canaan, Ham and Africa was accepted by at least part of the new Afrocentric literature and is perceived as a manifestation of 'divine racism.' The idea was to identify the children of Ham with the black race, to create, at any price, a correlation between the biblical world-view and the ethnological approach; thus they adopted the racial orientation of Western thought – but overturned its conclusions. This necessarily entailed taking an anti-biblical position. Paradoxically, or, ironically, the preoccupation with the curse of Ham in the new Afrocentric

literature becomes a counter-reaction to the use still being made of the curse by racist fundamentalists. The paradox and irony lie in the fact that both sides, the racists and those offering a defense against racism, produce the same fundamentalist historical interpretation of the Bible, endeavoring to make it correspond with ethnographic prejudices, and use it to further their goals in the inter-racial struggle. Of course, any attempt to find symmetry between the two sides would be misplaced, but in the African-American case this is another expression of inverted acculturation, stemming from the same sources and the same conceptual pattern. Nonetheless, this is testimony to the status of the Bible in the spiritual world of the African-American and his acute intellectual antagonism toward American Jewry. Only thus can a pretext be found for African-American anti-Semitism: on the grounds that the Old Testament and the Talmud laid the theological foundations for slavery, as Dr Yosef A. A. Ben-Jochannan, for example, argues in his lecture *Roots of 'Biblical Anti-Negroism', a Cause for Black 'Anti-Semitism'*.<sup>61</sup> According to him, the biblical curse and Jewish exegeses of the curse established the moral basis for black slavery and caused the counter-action called black anti-Semitism.<sup>62</sup>

The paradox becomes more acute if we remember that Afrocentric and black literature frequently see not only the Israelites but also the Jews of the Talmudic era and the Church fathers as being dark-skinned. Is it logical that black Jews would call up a curse condemning themselves to perpetual slavery? In his popular book *The Black Man in the Old Testament*, Bishop Alfred G. Dunston naïvely ascribes the blame for slavery to the translation of the Bible published in 1611. If the King James version had made use of the Hebrew word Kush, or Cush, or the Greek word Ethiopia, he argues, the English reader would have understood the historical-cultural background of the black race. No barrier would have arisen between the black of the Bible and the black who was sold into slavery. 'This tradition has misled the Christian world for the past three-hundred and sixty-odd years', he claims, 'and it is highly conceivable that a more appropriate, or English term of identification of the Cushites might have changed the entire European attitude toward the enslavement of black people.'<sup>63</sup>

The irony is that if Christian authors were acquainted with the Talmud, it was due to their bitter war against it; they twisted what they read, as they twisted *Genesis*. The result is a macabre historical jest which pervades Afrocentric literature: a completely marginal element was borrowed from the Talmud, the canonical Jewish work, by Christianity, scorned, then distorted and exploited in order to present a racist theological doctrine which conflicts with the spirit of both the Old Testament and the Talmud. As if this were not enough, this twisted use of Jewish sources became the basis for an attack on the Jewish tradition of formulating the theological justification for slavery, and indeed for supposedly practicing slavery. Afrocentric writers charge the Jews with a crime that was committed by the

Christian West, drawing on western Christendom's warped and racist interpretation of Jewish sources.

Black Christians are caught between two traditions and two attitudes: on one hand, the Bible is perceived as containing a universal spiritual message which has special meaning for the black person, a source of information about the glorious days of the black race. On the other hand the Bible is perceived as a white book containing a message of slavery and humiliation. If the ancient Israelites were black and 'closely identified with the black people of Africa', how can one explain the biblical curse of Canaan, son of Ham, and the entire black race? One can distinguish between white Jews and black Jews, and claim that the blacks intermarried with whites, while in Babylonian captivity,<sup>64</sup> but this theory cannot solve the difficulty caused by the ancient biblical curse. Joyce Andrews, a Baptist teacher in Beaumont, Texas, believes that the blacks were enslaved because God allowed it! Black people – especially the black Egyptians – were warned time and again by the prophets, but continued to sin against the Lord; hence, God allowed the fulfillment of His prophecy. The entire black race, according to this theodicy, suffered as a result of the Egyptians' sins, and God chose the white race to mete out the punishment. However, the writer is fully aware that she justifies a global punishment of the black race; thus she was forced to explain why it was only the blacks of Africa, and not the blacks in Arabia, India, Crete, Persia, etc. who were condemned. It is, she says, because when the Bible refers to Egypt, it refers only to the people who occupied the land of Egypt; she fails, alas, to explain why out of so many sinful people, God chose to punish only the Egyptian-African people. Nevertheless here the intentions and message are clear: black Egypt was a country blessed by God, but it sinned, God's divine favor was lost through disobedience and was bestowed upon the Jews; yet in the not so distant future, the black descendants of black Egypt will be wiser than their ancestors, and will be saved and regain their lost glory.<sup>65</sup>

It is not the Bible which contains a theological basis for black slavery, but later exegeses. The sad irony is that it is the Christian Afrocentric modern reading of it which identifies Ham and Canaan as black-African people, adhering to a few post-biblical exegeses, which create a false link between African slavery and the book of *Genesis*, and were used by Christians to justify the mass slavery of black Africans. The use of the myth of Ham's curse in some African-American literature is part and parcel of the authors' critical attitude towards American Jewry. It is an attempt to attack

effort to refuting the validity of the term. On the other hand, it adopts the biblical ethnographical genealogy and assigns the black population of Africa to the children of Ham. But more important, while on one hand it perceives the ancient Hebrews as black-skinned people, part and parcel of the 'black race', it also claims that biblical and post-biblical Jewish literature was anti-black. This argument can make sense only if one claims that post-biblical Jews, during the Talmudic period, were racially different from the biblical Jews. However, as far as I know, few Afrocentric biblical scholars have come forward with this kind of claim.<sup>66</sup>



# The ‘Noble Ethiopian’: Symbol and Reality

Ye Ethiopians also, Ye shall be slain by my sword.

*Zephaniah 2:12*

Woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Kush.

*Isaiah, 18:1*

The river comes out of the heat-laden country from the south, rising from the heart of the region of noonday amidst black tribes of men thoroughly baked by the sun.

Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, vol. VI, trans. W. H. D. Rouse, 712–13<sup>1</sup>

The Ethiopians burn beneath the carb,  
Whose heat is fiercest, and this the color of their skins makes plain.

Manilius, *Astronomica*, 4, 758–9

## WHY CUSH (KUSH)?

A border stela of Senwoset III at Semna (c. 1846 BC) describes the Nubians as follows

Not people to be respected  
they are wretches, broken-hearted!<sup>2</sup>

Another king, Thutmose III (1479–25 BC) left a stele relating his many victories at Karnak, including some over Kush:

I bind the Nubian Beduin in ten thousands, and the northern  
People in hundred thousands.

The description of the Kushites as coward nomads is definitely not meant to be a compliment.<sup>3</sup> Generations later, when the Kushite king Piankhy

(690–64) of the XXV Dynasty) captured Egypt, he was considered by native Egyptians in Lower Egypt to be a foreign ruler.<sup>4</sup> Afrocentric historiography, when it refers to this chapter in Egyptian history, usually ignores this fact and endeavors to describe the Nubian and the Egyptian as twin cultures, even describing Nubia as the mother of Egypt. Thus, while Afrocentric universal history looks to the Aegean in order to trace ancient Egyptian (African) influences there, the natural place to look for both ethnic and cultural unity is the Nile valley and south of it, ignoring the long history of hostility and alienation between Egypt and the people that dwelt on its southern borders.

What should concern us is not the political relations between different entities in the Nile valley, primarily Egypt and Kush (Kush),<sup>5</sup> but the question of whether a high degree of cultural unity actually existed beneath the political rivalry; or whether political control was followed by Nubian cultural influences on Egypt or vice versa. Since it is clear that Nubia-Kush was an independent historical entity, it is not enough to insist that the ancient Egyptians were black in origin, or belonged to the black race, in order to prove and reinforce both the African and black nature of ancient Egypt. From the Afrocentric point of view it is vital to prove that the same united and uniform culture existed in the Nile valley, and that the cultures of Nubia, on the one hand, and of Upper and Lower Egypt on the other, shared not only a common racial sub-stratum but were in fact one unified cultural entity during their entire long history. The only debate between Afrocentrists who hold this pan-Nile valley theory concerns the direction of the cultural movement and transmission: was it down river, from south to north, or up river, from north to south?<sup>6</sup> Seen from this Afrocentric perspective, Kush is rooted in 'Africa' far more than Egypt, and therefore represents the ancient and true essence of African culture. Afrocentric universal history insists Kush was the mother civilization of Egypt, not only the glorious kingdom of Kush (with its capitals Napata and Meroë<sup>7</sup>) from 900 BC to 350 AD<sup>8</sup> but indigenous ancient Kush as well; a civilization much older than that of Egypt, rooted in central Africa, which created the entire Nile valley civilization. In other words, many Afrocentric writers suggest that Egypt as an entity was born under Nubian influence, rather than the other way around.

Here again, Afrocentric historiography follows Greek and Hellenistic-Roman tradition. The idea that human civilization entered Egypt through, or from, Kush is at least as old as Herodotus. When the Greeks reached the Nile valley in the second half of the seventh century BC, Nubia, then a strong, independent kingdom, was the ruler of Egypt (XXV Dynasty; 712–657 BC). Thus, for a short period Egypt and Nubia were united by the Nubians. Nubian rule was still fresh in Egyptian memory when the Greeks arrived and settled in Egypt and their presence in Egyptian society was perhaps stronger than ever before. Greek visitors may have heard stories

about the greatness of Kush; there is a strong reason to believe that these glorious days were exaggerated by the Nubians. More influential perhaps was the fact that the Nile flows from south to north, making it almost natural to believe that the origin of culture followed the same route. From here it was easy to leap to the conclusion that the entire Egyptian civilization had originated upstream, in Nubia, and from there had spread northward, downstream along the great river. The logic behind this concept becomes understandable when one remembers that the Greek writers always sought the original source of every culture; what could be more natural than to identify Egypt's cultural source at a point proximate to its physical source, upstream?

It is therefore obvious why this geographic tradition was seized upon by Afrocentric theorists as an 'historical truth' which, supposedly, had been deliberately hidden for generations by whites. Because the new history maintains that Nubia was Egypt's 'partner both in race and in culture', it is essential for them to prove that Egypt and Nubia were also partners in the same culture. Some African and African-American writers maintain that Nubia was the source of Egyptian culture because they believe that Nubia, not Egypt, was the first black civilization. But this does not suffice from the Afrocentric point of view; one has to prove not only close political ties between Egypt, Nubia and the African interior, but the existence of a deep cultural partnership resulting not from close political relations, but from a common race. Simple relations between neighboring peoples are not adequate, because then the black peoples of the interior could not have been part of a common black cultural entity, having no intensive political or cultural contacts with Egyptian civilization. Thus, according to this view, Nubia shared a common race and cultural traits with Egypt, and both shared the same traits with 'Africa'.<sup>9</sup> The reason behind this persistence is obvious: Nubia is considered far more 'African' than black Egypt, due to the later close relationship with the Near East and the Aegean. To claim that Nubia was the 'mother' of Egypt means to ascribe to 'Africa' the title of the 'mother' of Egypt (and hence of almost the entire human culture). Diop, however, believed that while the peopling of the Nile valley began from the Great Lakes region, at the foot of the Mountain of the Moon, it is Egypt which occupied the position of 'the source' of high culture during the historical period, because of its cultural superiority as a literate culture.

#### BETWEEN EGYPT AND KUSH: LEGEND AND HISTORY

It is first of all important to clarify the difference between modern Ethiopia and ancient Ethiopia (Nubia), particularly the Ethiopia which became a symbol of black power in radical Afrocentrism's Ethiopianism and the 'Abyssinian movement' against the background of the Italian-Ethiopian

war (1935). That Ethiopia was Christian Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and not Muslim Sudan or Nubia. It is to that Ethiopia, the glorious kingdom, to which the anthem of the *Universal Negro Improvement Association* (1920) refers:

Ethiopia, thou land of our fathers,  
Thou land where the gods used to be . . .<sup>10</sup>

This dreamy Ethiopia, 'land of the buzzing wings', 'home of the sages', the 'sunrise of human culture', which, according to *Psalms* 68:31 'shall soon stretch out her hands unto God', became a symbol of African pride and of Africa's glorious past, in fact the core of modern African-American millenarist hopes – Ethiopia, the 'mother race' and future Africa triumphant.<sup>11</sup> Yet, when black political and cultural eschatology turned to find its hope for redemption in Ethiopia, which symbolized a glorious black past and black values, it confused this with the biblical 'Ethiopia', i.e. Nubia (Kush). It was the new Afrocentric historical literature which turned to ancient Ethiopia (Nubia), or Kush, for inspiration and ancestry,<sup>12</sup> yet there were few who distinguished clearly between the different Ethiopians. In 1883 George Washington Williams described Meroë as the cradle of civilization, with a mighty capital of 'colossal walls and stupendous gates . . . gorgeous chariots and alert footmen . . . inventive genius and ripe scholarship'.<sup>13</sup> The confusion was a result of the fact that the name Cushite (Kushite), or Greek Ethiopian (known as Nubia to medieval Arabs), featured in Greek literature, and later in Christian literature of the West, as a generic term for people 'burnt dark' or 'of black face'. Greek and Roman writers knew little about 'Ethiopia' other than the fact that it was a high, virtually inaccessible plateau. Not until the fourth and fifth centuries AD was the name Ethiopia ascribed specifically to the region we know today as Ethiopia.<sup>14</sup> This particular Ethiopia had had a unique history in the African context from its beginnings. By the fourth millennium BC groups speaking proto-Kushite and proto-Omorc had already branched off from the Afro-Asiatics. Groups speaking proto-Semitic appeared at about the same time. According to the great Kushite theory, this is evidence that the Semites who migrated from Africa to Asia were dark-skinned.<sup>15</sup> The ethnographic truth, however, is that the inhabitants of the Ethiopian plateau had distinctive physiognomic features, spoke a language different from the Kushites and were distinctly hostile toward the blacks. According to J. L. Newman: 'People of Semitic background could have been present in Ethiopia as early as 8,000 years ago. The more usual interpretation, however, places their appearance between 4,000 and 3,500 years ago . . .'.<sup>16</sup> Ethiopia (Abyssinia) was a Semitic outpost in Africa, its people dark-skinned but distinct from the black African race.

The conversion of Ethiopia to Christianity during the fourth century AD and its subsequent role in Byzantine history, produced a written literature,

of legend and fact. Yet there is no written Kushite literature at all. Not even in the annals of the Egyptian priests was the history of Kush preserved; if it was, nothing remains. Only during the fourth and fifth centuries were Hebraic and Hellenistic allusions to Ethiopia first associated with the region now known as the magnificent kingdom of Aksumite Ethiopia, with its main political center then at Aksum.<sup>17</sup> The Arabs, who were acquainted with sub-Saharan Africa before – and far better than – the Europeans, distinguished between Habash and Sudan, which means black in Arabic. In general, later texts written after the spread of Islam in Africa, referred to the sub-Saharan lands as *Bilad al-Sudan* (land of the Blacks), but did not apply this term either to the Christian Ethiopians in Habash or to Egypt.<sup>18</sup>

Greater Nubia – Lower Nubia and Upper Nubia – is generally regarded as extending from Aswan to Ed Debba in Dongola Reach, some 1,000 miles from north to south. In 1898, the British government divided Nubia between Egypt and Sudan by fixing the boundary line between them at the twenty-second latitude, since when Nubia has been part of southeastern Egypt and northeastern Sudan. In Pharaonic times its southern part was called Kush. *Kush* was a geographical term used increasingly from the Middle Kingdom onward,<sup>19</sup> though ultimately the name was applied to the whole of Nubia.<sup>20</sup> Egyptian, Greek and Hebrew sources refer to *Kasu* (in Hebrew *Kush*; *Cush*, and *Aethiopia* in Greek) as the area which lies along the middle section of the Blue and White Nile, from the Sixth to the First Cataract of the Nile at Aswan.<sup>21</sup>

The Egyptians clearly differentiated between themselves and the people in the south (the *Nehasyu*), and the Greek and Hebrew sources followed their example. According to one view, 'prior to 3200 BC Egypt possessed not only a homogeneous population but a fundamentally unified culture by the second half of the third millennium; however, Egypt and Nubia had become differentiated in habit and outlook'.<sup>22</sup> Historically, Kush itself was far from being one geographical or cultural unit. It was divided between Lower Nubia, the area between the First and the Second Cataracts, the southern lands – *Wawat* (*Wawae*) – now shared between Egypt and Sudan, and which became an integral part of Egypt during the eighteenth century, and Upper Nubia (*vile Kush*), whose capitals were Napata and Meroë, located south of the Second Cataract.<sup>23</sup> The original Kush (*Cush*) was a limited area, but over the course of time represented the entire area north of Kartum (which later became an independent Kushite (Ethiopian) kingdom).<sup>24</sup>

Kush (or *Ta-Sety* – 'Land of the Bow') was Egypt's corridor to trans-Saharan for trade in ostrich feathers, monkeys, ebony and ivory, leopard skins, giraffe tails, etc.<sup>25</sup> Egypt captured Nubian slaves and recruited soldiers. Wall-paintings and inscriptions from this period depict Egypt's war exploits in Kush, whose inhabitants are pictured as prisoners of war, mercenaries<sup>26</sup> or tax embezzlers. As early as the Old Kingdom (2275–

2134 BC), Kushite soldiers served in the Egyptian army which carved out the Egyptian empire in Asia. In the mid-XVIII Dynasty (1550–1070 BC) *medjai* (nomad Nubians) became virtually synonymous with the word 'policemen'.<sup>27</sup> During the Second Intermediate Period Nubians also settled in growing numbers in Egypt and became an integral part of its society.

For generations the Egyptians looked upon their neighbor to the south as 'the foreign land of Kush'. During the second millennium BC Egypt extended its influence southward. Three dynasties, beginning with the XVIII, had a southward orientation and occupied the entire area of Nubia between the First and Third Cataracts. Punitive expeditions to Nubia were responsible for the destruction of this rival power to the south. In order to control the lands in the south, the Egyptians built two frontier fortresses, Semna and Kumma, on opposite sides of the Nile about thirty miles above the Second Cataract, the southernmost point of an elaborate network of military bases intended to prevent any hordes of Nubians from invading in the opposite direction, apart from those who came to trade. Pharaoh Senwoset also ordered a new channel to be dug near the island of Sehel, in the First Cataract to help his ships.<sup>28</sup> During his reign Nubia was firmly under Egyptian control. These fortresses were lost during the Hyksos period, but later restored by the XVIII Dynasty (1550–1070 BC). Egypt was forced to defend its southern frontier against Nubian invaders (as well as its western flank against the Libyans).<sup>29</sup> Later, the Egyptians turned Napata, situated near to the Fourth Cataract, into a stronghold, building temples and burial pyramids in the area, notably at Abu Simbel, and mining vast quantities of gold in Nubia and founding settlements.

The Egyptians forced the Nubians to adopt their customs, taking their sons as hostages in order to educate them at court. But the distinction was clearly maintained; when it was important to represent them as foreigners or foreign emissaries, Nubians wore different clothes in the wall-drawings.<sup>30</sup> To the Egyptians, Kush (Nubia) was a foreign land and Lower Nubia a colonial possession. Egyptian literature, unlike the Greek poetic tradition since Homer, did not idealize the Nubians and never described them as 'blameless people' or 'noble Ethiopians', symbolizing 'purity' or noble virtues. At the beginning of the first millennium AD an independent, though highly Egyptianized, dynasty arose in Kush, making its capital at Napata and later, until the fourth century AD, at Meroë. The kingdom was highly developed and maintained close trade relations with Egypt, the Mediterranean world (through Egypt), and ports on the eastern coast of the Indian Ocean. Several small kingdoms continued to exist in Nubia after 300 AD, the year of the Muslim conquest. Unfortunately, we have no Kushite chronicles for this period of more than a thousand years; all our information comes from Egyptian and other sources. The corpus of Meroitic texts is both very limited (it includes mainly funeral inscriptions) and only partially understood.<sup>31</sup> Neither is there any evidence to support

the charge that ancient Kushite literature was deliberately destroyed by Christian emissaries in Ethiopia.

Ancient testimonies show clearly that their writers were fully aware of the distinction between Egypt and Nubia. The Bible knew that Kush, south of Egypt, was both a distinct land and kingdom (*Isaiah* 11:11; 20:3-5; *Nahum* 3:9; *Job* 28:19). Kush served as the link between the African interior, Egypt and the eastern coast of the Indian Ocean. Greek, Hellenistic and Roman geographers and ethnographers were attracted to Ethiopian (Nubian) lore and its wonders.<sup>32</sup> For the early Greeks writers, 'Ethiopia was less a geographical location than a state of mind . . . At times it was more localized, referring to the Nubian kingdom of Kush . . .'<sup>33</sup> For the ancient Greeks, writes Strabo, 'all the countries in the south which lie on oceans were called "Ethiopia"' (see Strabo, *Geography*, 1:2.27).<sup>34</sup> It denotes a person of dark color and remote places. While some authors wrote that the Ethiopians are distinct from the black people 'who dwell by the Aithiops and by the fountain of the sun' (Aeschylus, *Prometheus Unbound*, 807-9), others asserted they were black. The Ethiopians, wrote Xenophanes during the latter part of the sixth century BC, 'think their gods have snub noses and black hair . . .' (fr.16).<sup>35</sup> Greek writers who came to the Nile valley during the seventh century BC learned about Egypt when the land was ruled by Nubia and when Nubia was the seat of orthodox Egyptian culture; they thus jumped to the conclusion that Egypt's entire civilization had originated in Ethiopia.

Herodotus emphasized both the physiological and the cultural differences between Nubians and Egyptians. According to him, it is the Ethiopians who adopted Egyptian customs and 'have become milder-mannered by intermixing with the Egyptians' (II:30.5). No wonder that Ben-Jochannan claimed that Herodotus was wrong, because he had never reached Nubia and must have relied on rumor.<sup>36</sup> Thus, when Herodotus fails to fit the Afrocentrist theory, he becomes a poor spinner of Greek fiction! Yet if Afrocentric scholars consider him reliable in all other matters, why should we reject his description of Egypt's great efforts in the defense of its southern border, or of singular practices of the Nubians, such as choosing the tallest among them as king? Why reject his comment that the result of Egypt's conquest of Nubia was that the Ethiopians learned Egyptian manners and became more civilized? Later Greek and Roman sources also point to cultural differences between Nubia and Egypt.

The political differences between Egypt and Kush are preserved in Jewish-Hellenistic writings such as that of Artapanus, whose story about Moses leading an Egyptian military expedition to Kush and becoming the ruler of the land had some historical basis.<sup>37</sup> The Egyptians did in fact build fortress cities in Nubia, thus consolidating their rule and providing a base from which to extend their influence in Nubia. Josephus offered a different version of the legend of Moses in Kush in his *Antiquities* (Book 2,

V:238–53).<sup>38</sup> A legendary Talmudic tradition also contains echoes of this biographic myth. The Talmudic source, which drew upon the Jewish-Hellenistic legend, scrupulously preserved the moral image of Moses. Even though he took the king's widow as his wife (according to *Yalkut Shimoni, Numbers*, 168) 'he did not go to her' until the queen complained; Moses, aged 67, fearing to return to Egypt, went to Midian. Thus, it clearly distinguishes between Kush, Midian and Egypt. *Exodus Rabbah* 13:14 clearly distinguishes between Egypt and Kushites: 'Our sages said that the plagues that the Almighty brought down upon the Egyptians led to peace between them. How? There was a controversy between Ham and the Egyptians, the Egyptians said up to here is our territory and the Cushites said up to here is our territory. But once the [plague of] frogs came, they made peace.'

Afrocentric writers prefer the testimony of Hecataeus of Abdera over Jewish legends (in Diodorus) which states that, according to the Ethiopians, 'the Egyptians are colonists sent out by the Ethiopians, Osiris having been the leader of the colony . . . And the larger part of the customs of the Egyptians are, they hold, Ethiopian, the colonists still preserving their ancient manners . . .' (Dio., III:2.3). One example of such manners preserved in Egypt is the Ethiopian belief that their kings are gods, supported by the very special attention they pay to their burials.<sup>39</sup>

#### THE CULTURAL UNITY OF KUSH AND EGYPT

Nineteenth century European literature usually portrayed the Nubians as barbarians and their cultural characteristics, prior to the Egyptian conquest and hegemony, as un-Egyptian.<sup>40</sup>

Afrocentrics perceive Africa, Nubia and Egypt as a human and cultural unity: 'Cataracts aside, the ancient Nubians and Egyptians never considered the rocks in the river impregnable boundaries that prevent social, political, and military interactions and interventions.'<sup>41</sup> In their view, Egyptian writing, ancestor worship and divine kingship originated in Nubia. This view is shared by scholars such as Bruce B. Williams, 'Egypt and Nubia shared a core of Pharaonic institutions, rules, deities, officials, and representations that began long before Egypt became a unified state'.<sup>42</sup> Christopher Ehret also states that 'The connection of many Egypt's predynastic gods to particular localities is surely a modified version of . . . early Afrasian belief. Political unification in the late fourth millennium brought the Egyptian deities together in a new polytheistic system. But their local origins remain amply apparent in the records that have come down to us.'<sup>43</sup> After its unification, Egypt underwent major changes, which deepened the gap between it and its origins.

On the other hand, other scholars agree with O'Connor that, 'For nearly 1,500 years (3000–1570 BC), the indigenous cultures of Lower Nubia were



markedly different from those of historical Egypt, and in Upper Nubia the distinctions were carried on into the Meroitic period.<sup>44</sup> Nubia's core culture remained indigenous, until it came under Egyptian influence during the Middle Bronze Age. Even if we assume that Egypt, Nubia and Sudan shared a common culture during the Stone Age, until about 3800 BC, the fact remains that due to the agricultural (and later urban) advances in the lower Nile valley, Egypt experienced a cultural rate of growth which set it apart and formed the basis for the early dynastic era, in which it took a singular historical course.<sup>45</sup> This separation is manifested by the fact that the Nubians spoke a language foreign to the Egyptians.<sup>46</sup> As a result of growing Egyptian influence,<sup>47</sup> Nubian culture underwent dramatic changes during the Middle Bronze Age; however, the development of culture in the northern Egyptian Nile valley differed from the south. In any case, similarities between Egyptian and Nubian culture were a result of the transmission of Egyptian culture, and not the other way around. The endeavor by Egypt's Nubian kings to adopt classic Egyptian models and thus to associate themselves with the Egyptian golden age, accounts for several of the Nubian monuments which have been preserved, as well as for certain salient Egyptian elements in Nubian culture. The fact is that it was the Nubians who became Egyptianized, not vice versa. Nevertheless, 'Only certain Egyptian cultural forms in art and religion become evident, but the many differences in detail and emphasis, and the eventually exclusive use of the native Meroitic languages and script emphasize once again the individuality of these early Sudanese civilizations.'<sup>48</sup> Meroitic script was based on Egyptian script but from the second century BC it was developed into a distinct script. Unlike Egyptian hieroglyphs, the Meroitic version forms an alphabet of 23 characters.

Little is known about the internal history and the development of the culture of the black kingdoms in Greater Nubia, beginning with ancient Sudanese civilization up to Nubia's destruction by the Christian Ethiopians from Abyssinia in 330 AD. Both the political structure and the culture of Kush evolved through many stages; the many cultural achievements are in part the product of internal developments and in part the result of Egyptian influence. Conventional scholarship has determined that Egypt, the more developed civilization, influenced its neighbor to the south, an influence which extended to the Kushite kingdoms in different spheres such as agriculture, technology, writing, engineering, religious ideas and ceremonies, and political organization.<sup>49</sup> This is not to deny the possibility that certain traits in ancient Egyptian culture were derived from Nubia or from some other common source. Nevertheless, transmission of a few selective cultural traits does not create cultural dependence.

Afrocentric authors have erected an edifice of historical reconstruction which ascribes a splendor and power to the kingdoms of Kush and Nubia they never attained, and credits them with extraordinary feats such as main-

taining regular trade relations with India and China. In these texts the Kingdom of Kush is often referred to as 'an Athens in Africa'.<sup>50</sup> A description of political, economic and cultural relations between Egypt and Nubia, however intensive, is not enough to justify the creation of a 'new history'. Afrocentric writing is not satisfied with a historical picture which rescues Kush from its isolation and links it with the contemporary historical-cultural system. The Afrocentrists prefer the other track of influence: Nubia as a black culture which antedates Egypt and is the primary source of all the 'wisdom of Egypt'. Because the theory is founded on an evolutionist-diffusionist concept of civilization – a concept which strives to identify the source – it cannot accept the possibility that Egyptian culture developed without an earlier source. That source was Nubia. Just as Greece did not come into being through a historical short cut or through a miracle, argues the new historiography, neither is Egypt an autogenetic wonder. The tremendous changes which took place in Egypt between 4000 and 3300 BC are said to be the result of Kushite influence. This, then, is the explanation for Egypt's prodigious leap in civilization. Afrocentrist historiography transformed Menes, Egypt's legendary first king, into a Kushite who brought the idea of monarchy to Egypt from 'Africa'. The 'new historiography' seems incapable of viewing Egypt as a *sui generis* wonder which developed independently of its surroundings. Such an idea would render the 'African' connection untenable. With information about Nubia scarce, the simplest way is to link the two cultures and view Egyptian culture as a joint Nubian-Egyptian creation. As Ben-Jochannan says, 'Egypt and Nubia, as Meroë and sometimes Cush, shared identical writing, culture, gods, agriculture, science, medicine; and at various times they also shared a common head-of-state called Pharaoh (king)'.

Even if we assume, for argument's sake, an early Kushite influence on Egypt, the historical facts clearly show that the cultural development of Egypt had soon left Kush far behind. Not even the most ardent philo-Kushite can claim that Kush produced works equal to those of the Egyptians. On the other hand, if the influence ran in the other direction, from Egypt to Kush, its traces are discernible in only a few specific spheres; again, not even the most ardent philo-Kushite has proved that Kush produced philosophers who adopted the metaphysical concepts of the Egyptian priests. We know of no Nubian writers who went on a pilgrimage to Egypt to study the secret books of the Egyptians and their scientific achievements in the Egyptian temples. Even if there existed a deep racial partnership or identity the fact remains that the Greeks were more curious, more open, more willing, to adopt Egyptian wisdom and advance to higher levels.

In the light of this background, it is clear that cultural goods were transmitted from Nubia to Egypt and from Egypt to Nubia, or were common to both, and should be considered in comparison with items which, according

to the same supposition, were transmitted from Egypt to Greece. Why, we must ask, were the Greeks, but not the Nubians, so insatiably curious about Egypt, so willing to drink deeply from its wells of wisdom? What is the significance of the fact that the Greeks, but not the Nubians, learned script from the Egyptians? Or that there is no parallel in Nubia for the literary, philosophical and scientific developments which took place in Greece under supposedly Egyptian influence? The simple explanation for this asymmetry lies not in disparities of talent or genius between Nubians and Greeks, as the racially oriented might argue. Indeed, Afrocentric theory itself furnishes an explanation in terms of the product of different patterns of influence. Nubia was in fact under Egyptian influence, but adopted or emulated only a limited number of cultural items. These were of a type which cultural diffusionism easily leads from one place to another, being related to material civilization or religious symbolism. Other analogues in the cultural patterns of Egypt and Nubia can be explained as the products of similar responses to similar natural surroundings: both the Nubians and the Egyptians depended on the Nile for their survival, and both lived on a fertile strip of land running through desert terrain. At a deeper level, though, the vast disparity which developed between the two cultures ruled out Nubian borrowing or emulating of items of higher culture, such as the Greeks were able to adopt and adapt to their own purposes.

One might, of course, argue that Nubian culture was swept into oblivion and that because so little has survived we have received an incorrect impression of the culture's comparative thinness. Taking this apologetic approach through to its logical conclusion, what remains of Nubia's contribution to human progress is what it transmitted to Egypt, and through Egypt to the world. This, however, is unsupported historical speculation. From the perspective of the history of culture, we can deduce that Egypt and Nubia maintained cultural contacts in various spheres, but that Nubia did not produce a culture equal in scope and diversity of achievement to that of Egypt. The attempt to create a shared and uniform Nubian-Egyptian history therefore stands on very shaky ground. On the other hand, our considerable knowledge about Egypt shows that it maintained close cultural ties with the regions to its east and its north. True, geographically Egypt is located in Africa, but historically it interacted far less with Africa than with the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean. Afrocentric alternative universal history tries hard to depict Africa, Egypt and the Mediterranean (Near East and the Aegean) as belonging to one united historical framework; however, the marked tension between stressing the centrality of the close ties between Africa and Egypt on one hand, and of Egypt and the Aegean world on the other, undoes this picture.

# Egypt, Africa and the Nile Valley as an Afrocentric Dilemma

Hail to thee, O Nile, that issues from the earth  
and comes to keep Egypt alive! . . .  
He that waters the meadows which He created . . .  
He that makes to drink the desert . . .  
He who makes barley and brings emmer [wheat]  
into being . . .  
O, Nile, verdant art thou, who makes man and cattle to live.<sup>1</sup>  
. . . even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt . . .

*Genesis, 10:31*

## THE UNIQUENESS OF THE NILE VALLEY

The nature of the Nile valley and the Nile river's function as a unifying factor for Egypt, Sudan and the rest of Africa is a major subject in the Afrocentric world-view and historiography.<sup>2</sup> African and African-American scholars who invested so much effort in establishing the theory that Egypt and the Nile valley were an integral part of Africa must inevitably claim that it was the river and the river valley which played an important role in creating this unity and uniformity.<sup>3</sup> But here the writings of the Afrocentric school reveal another inner dilemma of the Afrocentric view and its historical reconstruction; the dilemma of the origin of the common African culture: was it Africa (*Albebu-lan*), Nubia or Egypt?

But why is it necessary to choose at all? If Africa is perceived as a racial and cultural unity, of which Egypt is an indivisible part,<sup>4</sup> why is it important to ask who has seniority – Egypt, Nubia or equatorial Africa and its many nations? After all, Afrocentric historiography is unable to follow the classical sources at this point because while they often argued in favor of Nubian seniority, they never suggested that Egypt was the child of Africa. Moreover, the classical view was that the Nile was responsible for the uniqueness of ancient Egypt both as a physical and a cultural entity,

different in nature from the rest of Africa. This is the point at which Afrocentrism breaks off from both the Egyptian and the classical sources in order to establish its view about the 'unity of Africa'.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to Afrocentric theory, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans (as well as modern scholarship and the modern Egyptian view) shared the perception that the Nile and Egypt were unique.<sup>6</sup> Various writers from Herodotus to Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, as well as Jewish writers from Philo of Alexandria to the Jewish Sages, carried on this tradition, recognizing and praising the Nile's contribution to Egypt's unique nature. When Herodotus wrote the famous words 'Egypt is the gift of the Nile', he was referring to the thick mud and black soil of the delta brought by the river from Ethiopia, stressing the uniqueness of Lower Egypt. This phrase was expanded upon and became a common *topos* of both parts of Egypt, Upper and Lower, as one physical unit.<sup>7</sup> According to Egyptian accounts, wrote Diodorus Siculus, men came into being in Egypt right after the beginning of the universe, 'both because of the favorable climate of the land and because of the nature of the Nile. For this stream, since it produced much life and provided a spontaneous supply of food, easily supported whatever living things have been engendered' (I:10.1).<sup>8</sup> 'What is Egypt but a river valley, which the water floods', Strabo asks rhetorically (I:2.25).<sup>9</sup> Indeed, as one moves to the south the climate becomes progressively more arid, and the importance of the river is enhanced until it is the only life-sustaining feature.<sup>10</sup>

As for the Nile's role in shaping the history and kingdoms of Kush, it should be noted that Kush 'extended into a number of diverse climatic zones which offered vastly different potentials for agricultural activities. Some degree of homogeneity in the lifestyle of the peoples inhabiting its banks, however, was provided by the river Nile which traversed these zones'.<sup>11</sup>

### *The Nile as a means of communication*

Thus we find that all the ancient and classical sources shared the view that the Nile was the major factor in the creation and flourishing of ancient Egyptian civilization, and the main force behind its distinct and unique character – a view shared by modern historians.<sup>12</sup> Yet, none of these sources, be it from ancient Egypt, classical antiquity or the Hellenistic-Roman period, mentions anything about the Nile as a water route between the Nile valley (Nubia and Egypt) and inner Africa, nor do any Egyptian records in our possession describe the Nile as Egypt's route to sub-Saharan equatorial Africa.<sup>13</sup> Egyptian records and ship logs reveal the importance of the Nile in unifying Egypt; the Egyptian kings (and their Ptolemaic successors) made regular river trips from temple to temple, but nothing is said about frequent trips up the river from Lower Egypt to Sudan – the gateway

to inner Africa. The main function of the river was the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt; 'It was the Nile, and traffic upon it, that was in time to permit the creation of a great Egyptian kingdom.'<sup>14</sup> Actually, however, it served as a water route for 750 miles, from the red granite outcropping at Aswan northward to the Mediterranean, and back.<sup>15</sup> Travelers were forced to bypass the six cataracts between central Sudan and southern Egypt,<sup>16</sup> thus bypassing the river valley itself.<sup>17</sup> Stronger and larger boats and ships, carrying heavy commodities, sailed primarily to and from the sea on the northern part of the river.<sup>18</sup>

Early in the VI Dynasty five canals were excavated to overcome part of the natural obstacles,<sup>19</sup> and in the eighth year of Sesotris III (1870 BC), the period in which Lower Nubia was subjected, a canal 150 cubits long, 20 cubits wide and 15 cubits deep had been constructed at the cataract at Aswan.<sup>20</sup> Herodotus wrote that at some point the travelers had to leave the river 'for forty days, because sharp rocks . . . make the river impracticable for boats' (II:29.5); according to Diodorus, it took ten days to sail the Nile from Alexandria to Ethiopia (III:34.7).<sup>21</sup> 'In the reach from Abu Hamed to el Debba, where the direction of the current and the prevailing winds coincide, movement upstream is virtually impossible for vessels under sail. Elsewhere boats were able to float downstream with the current or sail upstream before the north wind, which blows virtually all the year round.'<sup>22</sup>

If this is so, then the Nile, as a means of communication, barely served as a *connecting link* between Egypt and the Sudan, while the Lower Nile permitted contact and interaction between Lower and Upper Egypt and lower (*Wawat*) and upper Nubia (*Kush*), serving as a major factor in the unification and centralization of the land and its kingdom.<sup>23</sup> One had to leave the water route and later return to the river several times, and afterward continue over land farther south through Sudan to the interior of Africa. There was no easy way into the heart of Africa from the Nile valley. The Egyptians used donkeys on caravan routes to carry on the long-distance trade with the south. But there is no mention of donkeys making their way into the heart of Africa, and the journey there and back, off the track of desert roads, must have been based entirely on porters. The traffic on the Nile permitted the creation of the Egyptian kingdom and offered the only natural and convenient route from village to village.<sup>24</sup> But the river's role was performed inside the Nile valley alone, up to the cataracts and not beyond.

Though well aware of this fact, Molefi Kete Asante, nevertheless dismissed the obstacles and writes: 'Cataracts aside, the ancient Nubians and Egyptians never considered the rocks in the river impregnable boundaries that prevented social, political, and military interrelation and interventions.'<sup>25</sup> The Afrocentric doctrine, then, is that the Nile, in John Henrik Clarke's words, ' . . . played a major role in the relationship of Egypt with

the nations in southeast Africa. During the early history of Africa, the Nile was a great cultural highway on which elements of civilization came into and out of inner Africa.<sup>26</sup>

### *Egypt and Africa*

If there were ongoing contacts between Egypt and Africa, what were they like and what influence did they wield? Who was the benefactor (donor) and who was the beneficiary (receiver) in the relationship between the Nile valley and tropical Africa south of the Sahara?

The chances of influential contacts between the Egyptian Nile valley, the Sahara and Africa south of the Sahara and along the upper reaches of the Nile were better between 5000 and 3000 BC than in later periods. East Africa was the cradle of humanity and the peopling of the Nile valley was a result of waves of migration from the south. As mentioned earlier, the Nile valley provided a unique environment for the development of an agricultural society, dependent upon domesticated crops and animals, basically different from the African societies in the equatorial rain forest,<sup>27</sup> in spite of the fact that many cultivated plants (such as water melon, pigeon pea, castor bean, etc.), were transmitted from sub-Saharan regions.<sup>28</sup> These waves of migration in prehistorical periods suggest that there may have been a transmission of cultural elements and goods between the south and north. Perhaps a common cultural sub-stratum existed during the prehistorical period as well. If this is true, the question is whether discrete cultures developed from that sub-stratum and fragmented, or whether it was sufficiently vigorous and strong to remain active even after the various cultures split off and went their own ways.

Nevertheless, following that long prehistorical period, almost all significant contact between Egypt and most of Africa via the Sahara came to an end,<sup>29</sup> including migration into it from the south, and Egypt became isolated from the sub-Saharan continent, mainly as a result of climatic changes in the Sahara region, which had become arid, and as a result of Egypt's rapid development as a united kingdom. Some scholars believe that the Sahara region could not continue to serve as a route between Egypt and Africa, whereas others believe that even after 3000 BC a 'rich trade was carried on for all the coveted commodities of Africa, for ivory and ebony, for ostrich feathers and eggs, for leopard skins and cattle and slaves, and gold'.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, no wonder that on the basis of his findings in Knossos, Sir Arthur Evans even reached the conclusion that some African products may have found their way into Crete by way of the Nile valley and Egypt, or by overland routes across the Sahara<sup>31</sup> from the interior via Nubia. Some of these commodities were brought to Egypt and the Mediterranean.<sup>32</sup> According to this view, prior to the introduction of the camel to Africa,<sup>33</sup>

'donkey-drawn and possibly horse-drawn carts and even chariots crossed the western and central Sahara between North Africa and the regions of the Upper Nile and the Niger River, throughout a long period before the middle of the first millennium BC. Another useful route lay between the Middle Nile and the western region around Lake Chad, passing across Africa by way of Kordofon, Darfur and Zangawa.'<sup>34</sup> The Nile, however, never replaced the desert routes; even if we accept the view which favored continuous trade contacts, it is quite clear that only limited Egyptian commodities reached Africa, and very few reached the interior of Africa through the Nile valley. In any case, there is a fundamental difference between trade contacts, on one hand, and migration of population, on the other.

From an Afrocentric point of view, however, it is not nearly enough to find common cultural roots or traces of continuous trade contacts between the interior of Africa, Nubia and Egypt, or even limited cultural exchange. Its aim is to claim far greater, more intensive, continuous and influential biological and cultural contacts during the prehistorical periods. Thus, Afrocentrist writers argue that these contacts occurred during the pre-dynastic period (before the third millennium) and continued during the historical dynastic periods; that they were based on deep cultural affinities and resemblances with common racial backgrounds. In other words, they were based on a sub-stratum of racial and cultural unity and uniformity, thus creating another cultural unity and uniformity. It seems that Afrocentrists emphasize this point – the continuity of interdependence during the historical (dynastic) period, based on the common sub-stratum – because they are fully aware that the phenomena of human migration and cultural diffusion during prehistorical periods are fundamentally different in nature from cultural diffusion in historical periods, just as they are fully aware that this fundamental difference is much more evident when one party in the relationship – the Egyptians – was a highly advanced civilization, while the peoples of interior Africa were far less culturally advanced. In other words, some Afrocentrists fully realize that even if Egypt and Africa shared the same material culture during the Neolithic period, Egypt developed so rapidly that it became very different from the interior cultures, as well as from Nubia and Sudan.<sup>35</sup>

This Afrocentric view can be regarded as an inverted intellectual response to Western diffusionist theories which claimed that African culture developed through the outside influences of the white or Hamitic race, and that African so-called backwardness resulted from Africa's long isolation from the Near East and the Mediterranean basin.<sup>36</sup> Their urgent need to respond in kind led the Afrocentrists in this case to adopt a hyper-prehistorical and historical diffusionist paradigm. They also stressed the importance of the racial factor, which they believed responsible for the common human traits which, according to this view, were (and are) long



lasting and stronger than any other cultural development, evolution and context. In their view, African cultural evolution was free of any external African influences. Instead, Africa is perceived as both a totally indigenous civilization and the source and origin of human evolution. The goal of the Afrocentric theory and world-view was to turn the picture of African isolation and backwardness upside down.<sup>37</sup> It was preceded by a few European scholars who drew parallels between ancient Egyptian and African cultures and believed they discerned a basic resemblance between Egyptian and African customs which, in their view, arose from a common African sub-stratum.<sup>38</sup> G. Elliot Smith claimed an ebb and flow of migrants from the south came to Nubia and Egypt, bringing with them the concepts and patterns of divine kingship, cosmology, language, and more.<sup>39</sup> Africans and African traits were transmitted to Nubia and Egypt from the south, whereas the pre-dynastic age was characterized by the migration of blacks into Egypt, not only from Nubia, but from the inner regions of Africa as well. This flow continued during the dynastic period. However, these European scholars stopped at this particular point: an African sub-stratum existed, expressed mainly in popular religion, but Africa was never able to attain the high achievements of Egypt. It is no wonder that only part of this theory has been adopted by African and African-American scholars, convinced as they are that Egypt, Nubia and Africa sprang from a common racial stock or sub-stratum, shared the same philosophical concepts and customs, and that the Egyptian language belongs to the family of African languages. For the Afrocentrists, this view or theory became a scientific truth, an ideological faith, a political stand, a historical revelation and redemption.<sup>40</sup>

Yet, even some Afrocentrists agree that in the course of hundreds of years, the population of the Nile valley must have undergone physiogenetic changes as a result of living in a physical environment which differed from the one in equatorial Africa. Diop himself wrote that the man born in Africa was 'necessarily dark-skinned due to the considerable force of ultra-violet radiation to the equatorial belt. As he moved toward the more temperate climes, this man gradually lost his pigmentation by process of selection and adaptation.'<sup>41</sup> A geographically defined population, as was the Egyptian population, 'can undergo significant genetic change with a small percentage of steady assimilation of foreign genes',<sup>42</sup> and as a result, '... the people of the Nile valley present a continuum, from the lighter northern Egyptians to the browner Upper Egyptians, to the still browner Nubians and Kushites and to the ultra-dark brown Nilotic peoples'.<sup>43</sup>

But let us assume, for the sake of argument, that Africa and the Nile valley indeed shared a common biological and cultural sub-stratum. Does this mean, as Afrocentric writings claim, that 'Egypt was African in its way of writing, in its culture and in its way of thinking'? Even if we are able point to some biological and cultural similarities, the question still remains:

was this a result of the common biological sub-stratum, or a result of continuous cultural contacts between the Nile valley and the sub-Saharan savannah? Here we may argue that if one stresses the racial sub-stratum, there is no need to claim continuous contacts and influences, since those who belong to the same race will respond in similar patterns and create a similar human culture. And if, indeed, we accept the theory of both a common biological sub-stratum and continuous contact between Egypt and Africa, one may wonder how the vast differences separating the civilization and culture of ancient Egypt from that of Nubia, and even more so, from that of Africa, may be explained.

As we already saw, all Afrocentrists believe that humankind originated around the region of the Great Lakes and that the peopling of the Nile valley (and other parts of the world) must have taken place in a succession of waves.<sup>44</sup> Du Bois, for example, thought that black Africans came as hunters and fishermen. 'Probably they came up from Nubia. They began to settle down and till the soil . . . They had copper and varied tools of flint capable of working timber.'<sup>45</sup> In his view, the origin of the indigenous Egyptian is African, and as a result the African people who moved or pushed northward along the Nile brought the basic elements of their culture with them until Egypt 'passed from the wings to the center stage in the unfolding human drama of northeastern Africa'.<sup>46</sup> If, however, this is so, what happened after the end of the prehistorical and pre-dynastic periods?

On this point, Afrocentrists take two different tracks which have historical as well as ideological significance.

### *The 'up the river theory': from north to south*

According to Diop and his disciples, black Egyptian civilization originated in Upper Egypt from the Paleolithic period onward,<sup>47</sup> and the different inhabitants of the African interior originated from this southern Egyptian stock and derived their culture *from* Egypt, namely, up the river.<sup>48</sup> Diop adopted this paradigm because it was evident to him that even if a common Stone Age African sub-stratum existed, the Nile valley civilization advanced more rapidly than other African civilizations. Since Diop could not be satisfied with the basic Stone Age traits, and since ancient Egypt was a literate culture while African cultures were oral cultures, he was inclined to assume that it was Egypt which influenced Africa (an influence which became possible because Egypt and Africa shared the same racial and mental equipment). For us, wrote Diop, 'the turn to Egypt in all domains is a necessary condition for reconciling African civilization with history . . . in order to renovate African culture . . . In a reconceived and renewed African culture, Egypt will play the same role that Greco-Latin antiquity plays in Western culture.'<sup>49</sup> According to this view, Egyptian cultural influences spread for thousands of kilometers in the direction of black Africa.<sup>50</sup>

In his many publications, including his contribution to the UNESCO International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa, Diop claimed that Africa was inhabited by people from the Nile valley. He also said that 'in all likelihood, after the drying of the Sahara (7000 BC), black people first lived in bunches in the Nile basin before swarming out in successive spurts toward the interior of the continent',<sup>51</sup> and that the Yoruba are of Egyptian origin. According to him, the nations of the Kara from southern Sudan and Upper Oubangui, the Kare-kare from northeastern Nigeria, the Yoruba of southeastern Nigeria, the Fulani, the Serer, the Zulu, and others, all originated in the Nile valley. According to him, these black people left the Nile valley because of overpopulation and a series of crises. The fundamental changes resulted from the different ecological conditions they met when they penetrated deeper into the continent, and their adaptation to the different ecological conditions. Thus, they abandoned the technical equipment and scientific knowledge they had brought with them, assets which were not needed in their new environment. Diop claims that with economic resources assured by nature, without the need for perpetual invention, the black African became progressively indifferent to material progress,<sup>52</sup> and although he was the first to discover iron, he found no use for it. Asa G. Hilliard is one of many African-American writers who adopted this baseless theory, claiming that 'indigenous Africans were driven from Egypt by various invasions occurring after the twelfth dynastic period c. 1783 BC settling in other parts of Africa including West Africa'.<sup>53</sup>

Does a theory of ecological adaptation explain why migrant Egyptians failed, for example, to use iron tools? As mentioned earlier, the use of iron spread into sub-Saharan Africa from about the first century BC and was used south of the equatorial forest only after 50 AD though it had diffused throughout the Mediterranean basin around 750 BC.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, Afrocentric writers are not quite happy with Diop's environmental theory and they stress what are in their view Africa's achievements in the field of material culture.<sup>55</sup> Diop was neither the first nor the only scholar to develop this theory. *The Religion of the Yorubas* by Archdeacon Lucas, Biobaku's *Lugard Lectures*, Bowditch,<sup>56</sup> Meyerowitz<sup>57</sup> and others asserted that there were strong cultural and linguistic ties between the Yoruba, the Asante people, and the Egyptians as a result of diffusion processes from Egypt south to the lands of the Yoruba and Asante as well as to other West African peoples. These statements, writes P. L. Shinnie, 'have been repeated time and time again without any further authority. Apart from the inherent improbability of cultural and artistic traits surviving in recognizable form over such a period of time, it is difficult to see how any objective study could find anything distinctively Egyptian in the cultures of the people described.'<sup>58</sup> He does not rule out the possibility of Egyptian influence on Africa, or vice versa, and agrees that there exist 'here and there faint traces of common culture

or of influence of the one on the other. Through the haze of centuries of separation there is the suggestion that there were exchanges, some in the realm of ideas and institutions, some in the realm of material objects'. But, as he sums up, it is very hard to tell which way these ideas or objects traveled, or when.<sup>59</sup> Scholars such as Graham Connah,<sup>60</sup> William Y. Adams<sup>61</sup> and others admit that Africa south of the Sahara supplied Nubia and Egypt with gold, ivory and slaves, but we can find 'very little influence' from neither Nubia nor Egypt on the rest of Africa.<sup>62</sup>

On the other hand there are those, such as Daima M. Clark, who suggest similarities between the Egyptian and the Dogon (in Mali) perception of Man, God and Nature.<sup>63</sup> According to Yoruba traditions, for example, 'enthusiastically propounded by some (modern) Yoruba historians',<sup>64</sup> they were influenced by ideas from the Nile valley, perhaps transmitted via Meroë. In Robert S. Smith's careful judgment, even if we accept the possibility that certain techniques and forms of government were influenced by the Sudanic state, 'these possibilities far from justify the acceptance of the Egyptian theory, while other parts of the argument, especially the supposed resemblance in language, between ancient Egyptian and Yoruba, can be dismissed'.<sup>65</sup>

One may wonder why these Egyptian immigrants never thought of using their technological heritage to shape their environment; to use, for example, iron tools (which were transmitted to the main body of Africa primarily through North Africa),<sup>66</sup> irrigation systems, and the like. Indeed, iron-pointed spears were a great social and political innovation in Africa, but the use of iron was limited and very backward compared to the Nile valley civilization. And how do we explain the theory that while they maintained their basic social organizations and cosmology in the savannah and the rain forest, all their other cultural, social and political achievements were so unlike the Egyptian origin. Even if we assume that the idea of the divine Pharaonic monarchy, rule by a god, is founded on a broad African *soubassement* as claimed by Meyerowitz,<sup>67</sup> this idea underwent fundamental changes in Egypt, not to mention changes in its functions; the Egyptian king was 'closely tied from the outset to the fertility of the Nile and the soil of Egypt. He personally guaranteed this fertility.'<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, the crucial question is the degree of importance of the components, transmitted from Egypt to Africa, in shaping the nature of the various cultures in Africa, or in affecting the dynamics of their changes. The cultural elements which moved from north to south during the period in question, according to the 'up the river' theory, were not the sort that could shape the nature of African society or influence its dynamics.

*The 'down the river' theory: from south to north*

The second theory claims that ever since the prehistoric period, the movement of human migration, cultural diffusion and transmission went from the south (the Great Lakes and inner Africa) to the north – down the river – and that the movement of black Africans from the south to the north along the Nile valley and the Sahara desert brought with it the African language, myths, cosmogony and skill. This view was held by quite a few European scholars. For example, the British Egyptologist E. A. Wallis Budge, in *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* (1911), asserted that Africans and African traits arrived in Nubia and Egypt from the south, and that the pre-dynastic age was characterized by migration to Egypt by black people from sub-Saharan Africa in a stream which continued during the dynastic period. The indigenous Egyptian beliefs in a god creator of the world and in his resurrection and immortality are African in origin.<sup>69</sup>

Thus, according to this view, Africa was the first and genuine source of migration and cultural diffusion; it was from Africa that Nubia and Egypt received almost everything which enabled them to rise. This school of thought holds that Egyptian civilization is millennia older than is usually believed, and that the Sphinx represents *prima facie* evidence of the existence of a full-fledged, flourishing Nile valley civilization no later than 7,000 years ago, quite possibly as much as 9,000 years. The conclusion is that high Egyptian culture evolved from a confluence of migration and influences coming down the Nile from the Great Lakes, merging with those moving eastward out of the Sahara.<sup>70</sup> This cultural influence was a result not only of Stone Age diffusion, but also of Bronze Age and Iron Age diffusion and transmission.<sup>71</sup> The historical implications are clear: the view that cultural diffusion during the historical period went down (from north to south), not up the river (from south to north), gives cultural priority to 'black' Egypt; a priority that, from a radical Afrocentric viewpoint might be seen as undermining the originality and greatness of the sub-Saharan African culture. Even if Afrocentrists regard Egypt as a 'land of black people', from the ideological point of view they still prefer to give priority to 'pure' Africans and 'genuine' Africa. If Africa was the fountain of Egyptian cultural achievements, and these great achievements grew out of a genuine African culture, then *it is Africa* which gains the status of the primordial civilization.

The other point of view states that if Egypt is considered as the source of African culture, then Africa gains from having been inspired by this great civilization. If Africa was influenced by Egypt, it could not have been a backward continent. Thus, black Africans can and must lay exclusive claim to the cultural heritage of the Egyptian civilization.<sup>72</sup> Basil Davidson, I believe, is aware of the difficulties inherent in this theory. Thus, even though he refers to classical authors who wrote that Pharaonic culture had derived from inner Africa, and himself writes that inner Africa was the

cultural begetter of the ancient Egyptians, his African source is not equatorial Africa but the cultures of the then green Sahara of the fifth millennium BC and earlier.<sup>73</sup> Afrocentrists refer to Africa as a homogeneous entity, whereas, as W. Macgaffey observes, 'the influence of Egypt on Africa, and vice versa, must be studied in terms of plurality of discrete, autonomous groups instead of the undifferentiated blacks and Hamites of the traditional approach'.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, they actually assert that the said African societies have remained static, without undergoing any real cultural change for thousands of years.

In addition to these two extremes there is another, moderate, and more accepted view, according to which correlations of linguistic and archaeological data suggest a westward migration of Nilo-Saharan speakers at approximately 3000 BC. Here Africa is not considered a homogeneous racial-cultural entity, and diffusion and acculturation are regarded as complex and dynamic phenomena. According to Davidson, 'Much of the greatest number of tropical Africans lived in former times, as many live today, in villages or scattered homesteads, having few material possessions, knowing nothing or little of the written word, enjoying the present as a gift from the golden age of their ancestors, and not much caring for a different future. Yet their technological simplicity was no guide to their social and cultural achievement. In truth they had tamed a continent.'<sup>75</sup> Davidson also rejects the notion of diffusion from one common fund and what one may define as parallelomania. A processal approach is taken here.<sup>76</sup> The internal progress of African societies is seen not as a mere result of outside influences, but as a result of internal dynamics.

But, let us accept, for the argument's sake, the theory that common racial origins create a common world-view, symbols and social organization in the early stages of the evolution of human society. This *does not* mean, however, that different cultures cannot, in later periods, emerge from the same 'racial source' and sub-stratum. If this is so, the population which sprang from the assumed common African stock underwent physiogenetic and more important, cultural changes. The claim of constant migration and diffusion from Africa to Egypt or vice versa is baseless, but *if* indeed this constant and continuous migration and diffusion took place, one may wonder what caused the *fundamental differences* between the cultures of interior Africa and the Egyptian-Nubian civilization. If Africans were dependents of the Egyptians, or vice versa, they underwent a cultural separation from their original culture; even if we accept the radical view that 'the ancient Egyptians retained for more than 3,000 years their essential African outlook in terms of myths, symbolism, and ethos throughout the history of the country' until the arrival of the Greeks,<sup>77</sup> we still cannot deny the fact that their culture diverges from its origins. According to the Afrocentrists, Egypt 'brought the African genius to its highest and finest expression, inner Africa was the mother, the great Nile the father, and

Egypt the brilliant son and fulfiller'.<sup>78</sup> If this is so, then it is necessary to explain what gave the 'son' the driving force and ability to ascend higher than his 'mother'.

### *The ideal Africa*

Cut off from the Nile valley and the Mediterranean, the people of Africa settled in a geographical environment requiring a minimum effort of adjustment, and became oriented towards the development of their social, political and moral organization, rather than toward speculative scientific research. Afrocentrists portray Africa as the home of an ideal civilization which emerged as a harmonious balance of nature and environment – the same ideal environment as in Egypt. Asante, a leading Afrocentrist scholar, compares Africa to the Nile valley, claiming that

The central physical phenomenon of Egypt is the great river, the Nile. It played a vital role in the creation of Kemetic philosophy, agriculture, technology, and religion . . . Much like other Africans in riverine areas of the continent, the Egyptians viewed the world with security, stability and optimism. The world did not seem harsh and ferocious, cruel and menacing to the Egyptians. To a large extent the geography of Egypt provided the people with a pleasant isolation except to the south. There were no harbors in the Delta, deserts east and west, and so openness to the south through the cataracts allowed Ethiopians and Nubians to interact with the Egyptians . . . The Egyptians retained their essential African outlook in terms of myths, symbolisms, and ethos throughout the history of the country.<sup>79</sup>

Needless to say, this is an unhistorical and imaginary description of ancient Egyptian society which ignores its close interrelations with the Near East, the Aegean, and even inner Asia. It is misleading to compare the economic resources of the Nile valley with those of tropical Africa, or to argue that Egypt was not indifferent to material progress. On the other hand, can we accept his statement that Egypt's social and moral order had attained a level of perfection? Can we truly accept the utopian view that in this tropical setting, man was freed from the need to adjust to nature, or had no incentive to change it to meet his own needs? The Afrocentric view tends to describe this human condition as an ideal and harmonious co-existence with nature. The fact is that the different peoples of equatorial Africa adapted themselves to the limitations or the possibilities of the land in different ways, resulting in pronounced regional differences.

On the other hand, Afrocentrists invest much effort in proving that interior Africa was an advanced civilization from the technological and scientific point of view.<sup>80</sup> However, the testimonies of the existence of African proto-script, if they are real, only tell us that the African societies were unable to develop a real script and a literate élite. If we accept the

theory that the script originated in Africa and was subsequently transferred to Egypt, the question arises: when – and why – did African culture cease to develop writing, and why were the Egyptians the only ones who continued. On the other hand, if there was an Egyptian cultural influence on Africa, how do we explain the fact that the African people did not adopt the written culture of the Egyptians, together with other technological and scientific achievements? The claim that a written culture existed but did not survive is unfounded and unsubstantiated. In other words, the theory that Africa was the teacher and Egypt the conscientious pupil reveals an internal contradiction; it reveals Africa's absolute inferiority in relation to Egypt.

### *The wonder of Egypt*

At this point we must return to the Nile and the Nile valley, and to the common perception about them.

Some Afrocentrists often accept the climatic theory and the influence of environment on creative genius and social and political order. According to Diop, the black skin color of the first human beings was a result of the warm and humid climate which produced a black pigment. Not only was the climate of the Nile valley different from the climate of the African hinterland, the Nile valley and the river had different features and functions compared to the other great African rivers. The Nile necessitated the creation of an organized social and political order able to produce large surpluses of food, consequently resulting in a stratified society, a segment of which was urban and highly developed. Corn had been grown in the Nile valley since 7000–5000 BC, along with barley, unknown to Africa, emmer wheat, flax, and later, palm trees, dates, papyrus, and others. Indeed, Africa was the origin of various cultivated plants,<sup>81</sup> but the roots of Egypt's agricultural system 'must be sought in both Africa and Asia, from among a wide array of economic traditions'.<sup>82</sup> Domesticated animals, for example, gradually expanded into Egypt from Asia. However, Egypt's agriculture and system of food production, which finally appeared in northern Egypt shortly before 5000 BC, were indigenous in character.<sup>83</sup> Unlike the Nile valley, agriculture in Western and Central Africa spread very slowly. The horse and chariot, which did not reach Africa, were very influential on the shaping of the Egyptian state and political society. In parts of Africa the use of iron tools dates from 700 to 400 BC, while in other parts from about the third or fourth century AD.<sup>84</sup> There were no temples or libraries in ancient interior Africa, no scribes (certainly not a class of scribes) of sacred books, no science like that in Egypt.<sup>85</sup> All the elements of culture which Afrocentrists claim are common to Africa and Egypt only serve to underscore the number of disparate elements, as well as number of elements in Egyptian culture which are absent in African cultures.



If the ecology of the Nile valley shaped the nature of Egyptian culture, it was stronger than the primordial common sub-stratum. In other words, even when we accept the influence of a real or alleged common sub-stratum and the existence of several similarities, we, as well as most of the Afrocentrists, cannot avoid accepting the ancient view, echoed by Du Bois, that 'to the Nile Egypt owes all the special peculiarities which distinguish it from Africa'. Even though he tries to stress the unity of black history and culture from the Mountains of the Moon to the Mediterranean, he is forced to admit that this culture blossomed along the lower Nile ('but was never severed from the Great Lakes and Inner Africa'); even though he argues that Egyptian religion 'came naturally from the primitive animism of the African forest', he must admit that 'gradually . . . The Egyptians became a separate inbred people with characteristics quite different from their neighbors', and that the 'primitive animism' progressed to a more 'advanced' religion.<sup>86</sup> Herodotus himself asserts that not only is the Egyptian climate peculiar to that country, and the Nile different in its behavior from other rivers elsewhere, but the Egyptians themselves in their manners and customs seem to have reversed the ordinary practices of mankind (Herodotus, II.35), thus stressing the unique nature of Egyptian civilization which separates Egypt from the rest of the world, including Africa.

### *Africa – modernism and primitivism*

Afrocentrism faces a fundamental dilemma, far more important than that associated with the question of who exerted influence on whom – Egypt on sub-Saharan Africa, or vice versa. It is linked to the question of how the nature of African culture is defined. In its 'primitivist' image it is portrayed as natural, spontaneous and harmonious, devoid of any negative drives, a total antithesis to white Western civilization – an archaic happy paradise. In the Martinican poet, Aimé Césaire's view, for example, the very incapacity of the black people for rationalism and abstract thought endowed them with naturalness and emotional purity.<sup>87</sup> This utopian Africa is totally removed from the 'demonic' other – the white people's world. Yet it is difficult to connect ancient Egypt with a culture of this kind since Egyptian culture evolved within a complex urban civilization. Some Egyptocentrists argue that Egypt and Africa possess identical symbolic systems, with the clear goal of supporting their claim of a cultural commonality between the two. Even if we agree, however, that there exists some similarity between their systems of symbols and values, it is still obvious that the 'civilizatory' environment in which the Egyptians lived and acted was totally disparate from that of the inhabitant of Equatorial Africa. Hence, most of those adhering to the radical Afrocentric view prefer to stress the 'civilizatory', 'modern' aspect of Africa and to describe it as a great

and developed civilization which did, in fact, undergo a process of decline like other cultures, but whose glorious – classical – past is a harbinger of its future. But – and this is an important point – in all Afrocentrist and philo-African descriptions of the lost glory of Africa, the black society is always described in ideal terms. In any event, the linkage of Africa with ancient Egypt almost inevitably forces Afrocentrists to prefer the ‘civilizational’ approach, to accentuate the image of Africa as a continent of material and cultural achievement, not merely its symbolic, ‘spiritual’ image.

In his poem *The Negro Speaks of Rivers* (1921), Langston Hughes wrote:

I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.

I looked upon the Nile and raised the Pyramids above it.<sup>88</sup>

Hughes, I presume, was unaware that with these lines he was clearly pointing, not to a common basis, but to fundamental differences – the differences symbolized by a *hut* on one hand, and a *pyramid* on the other.

In the final analysis the picture which emerges from even Afrocentric writing on this subject is one of a deeper and more meaningful affinity between Egypt and the East than that between Egypt and equatorial Africa, proving that real or imagined racial links are no guarantee of cultural ties. Moreover, members of the same race are apt to develop along disparate and separate tracks, and to discover a closer affinity to members of a different race than to members of their own. This is a conspicuous, unconvincing attempt by Afrocentric authors to prove at one and the same time that the Egyptians borrowed key values of their world-view from equatorial Africa (without trying to prove that this Africa was influenced by Egyptian cosmology, philosophy and science) and also influenced the Eastern (Oriental) and Aegean world. Assuming this is the case, how can we explain the fact that equatorial Africa learned very little from Egypt; that it did not borrow Egyptian script, mathematics, geometry and practical engineering, not to mention essential items of civilization such as iron, the wheel, etc.? Even if we assume civilization originated in Africa in prehistoric times, the path of its development leads from there to its extraordinary pinnacle in Egypt, while the rest of Africa was left behind.

We may conclude that the main function of the Nile, and the Nile valley was not a route or corridor – up or downstream – between Egypt and inner Africa, creating and preserving racial and cultural interrelations and even unity, but as a river which provided Egypt with a distinct environmental setting for the emergence and development of an integrated, advanced and unique civilization; a civilization which developed and flourished on both sides of the river and which was, from its inception, fully aware of its uniqueness. This was a civilization which might have been accessible to the south – to Africa – but maintained a deep and fruitful cultural relationship

with neighboring cultures in the Mediterranean basin and in the ancient Near East instead. Both ancient and modern sources depict the genesis and evolution of ancient Egypt as a wonder, and a wonder it is, much the same as the genesis and evolution of classical Greece is a wonder.

# From India to Ethiopia (Kush): The Invention of the Fictitious Kushite Empire

... the sun has gone  
To make his circuit with the dark-skinned men;  
He shines upon the Greeks a shorter time.

Hesiod, *Works and Days*, ll. 256–8

Heaven filled his happy thoughts; and journeying  
Through his own Ethiopians and the lands  
Of India beneath their burning skies,  
He quickly reached his father's rising-place.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.776–9 (trans. A. D. Melville)

From Ethiopia you go to India through many different countries.

*The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, 118

## INDIA IS ETHIOPIA

One of the most fabulous 'wild' aspects of the Afrocentric universal history of humankind is that which expands the history and deeds of the 'black race' to distant and remote lands. Once upon a time, according to this product of historical imagination, an empire flourished which spanned the entire known world; the first and greatest of all human empires. This new universal history is not satisfied with black Egypt, an Africa united by a shared black culture, or black civilization's influence on Europe. It seeks to encompass the entire human world in order to create a truly global universal history, unified and cohesive.<sup>1</sup>

As we have already witnessed, this expanded history was an integral part of some of the most bizarre universal histories written during the

nineteenth century, such as Massey's *Book of the Beginnings*. In the second volume, following Hecataeus, he 'revealed' and discovered Egypt as the 'lost origin' and birthplace of 'myths and mysteries, types and symbols, religion and language' from the British Isles to the Indus Valley. Egypt, not India, was:

the common cradle of all we have in common, east, west, north, and south, all round the world. The languages, beliefs, rites, laws and customs went to India . . . Egypt supplied the parent source, the inventive mind, the propagating migratory power. In Egypt alone we shall find the roots of the vast tree, whose boughs and branches have extended to a world wide reach.<sup>2</sup>

The black race which spread from Egypt around the world took the place of the Indo-Germanic 'race' of the nineteenth-century European racial myth. Moreover, the black race, contrary to the Indo-Germanic race, not only spread throughout one continent (Europe), but throughout Asia, Europe and the Americas as well. The origins of the 'third ancient model' are to be found in the *mapa mundi* of the classical world. As noted above, the sources for this imaginary black *imago mundi* are to be found, as we have seen, in ancient authorities and in modern concepts. These include Greek and Roman traditions, interpretations of the biblical account in *Genesis* and other ethnographic and geographic information contained therein, readings of the ethnic and cultural history of Mesopotamia based on Mesopotamian sources, the actual history of the Egyptian Empire in Asia<sup>3</sup> and finally, modern race theories and the inclusion of every black person as belonging to one black-African race.

'Ethiopia stretches along both shores of the oceans from the rising to the setting of the sun' (*Od.* II:2.24). Homer identified the inhabitants of two places, the 'most distant of men', at the ends of the earth, both in the far east and the far south (where Hyperion sets out and where he rises) as 'Ethiopians'.<sup>4</sup> In fact, Homer, according to Strabo, (*Geography*, I:2.29-35), had no knowledge of India; in his *mapa mundi*, 'Eastern Ethiopia' could mean the eastern side of the Red Sea which separates Asia from Africa. Herodotus wrote that the dark-skinned Asiatics (Indians) from the shores of the Indian Ocean, the eastern Ethiopians, and the western Ethiopians (who came from the region above Egypt), both of whom live at the ends of the earth, are two different nations; they differ from one another 'in nothing but their language and the nature of their hair' (II:111.101). Strabo wrote that to the ancient Greeks, all the countries situated on the shores of the Indian ocean were called 'Ethiopia' (I:2.27), a view held by Pliny as well (V:8.43).<sup>5</sup> In the Greek image of the inhabited world, the term Ethiopia designated a distant land on the edges of the known world, a place mysterious and full of wonders, isolated and strange (*Od.*, I:22-24). It was used as a metaphor or image rather than a reference to a real land and people.<sup>6</sup> Thanks to books such as these and the popular knowledge of the age, an

educated person in Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine or medieval times perusing one of the many geographical maps which graphically expressed the contemporary *mapa mundi* of the *imago mundi*, could discover that the area south of Egypt was called India, or that the two land masses separated by the Indian Ocean were joined together. Hecataeus, Herodotus, Ctesias (in *Persica and Indica*), Pliny, Eratosthenes, Poseidonius, Hipparchus, Claudius Ptolemy, Atarbo, Stephanus of Byzantium and others, all, according to Strabo, 'designated as Ethiopia the whole of the southern countries toward the ocean' (1:2.27).<sup>7</sup> This was also the image found in a manual for sailors and merchants written in mid-first century or early second century AD, entitled *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*Periplus Maris Erythraei*).<sup>8</sup> In the same tradition the map of Jerome of Palestine shows two territories called *India Egyptii* and *India Ethiopie*.<sup>9</sup> The Indian Ocean was called the Ethiopian Sea and the Eritrean (Red) Sea was a highway connecting the east coast of Africa with Arabia and the western shores of India. According to pseudo-Manetho's *The Book of Sothis*, 'The Ethiopians, removing from the River Indus, settled in Egypt.'<sup>10</sup>

The common description of the inhabitants of eastern Ethiopia, i.e. southern Mesopotamia, Elam or India, as 'dark-skinned' was also a product of the Hellenistic period. The Hippocratic corpus (*Airs, Waters, Places*, 16–23), notes that in various parts of Europe there lived people 'rather broad in build, fleshy and black-haired'.<sup>11</sup> The association of Ethiopia with India stemmed from the perception of both, located at 'the ends of the earth', existing at the far edge of human imagination. However, it was equally the result of the fact that a dark-skinned population resided in southern India. From the Hellenistic point of view, it was almost natural to merge 'black-skinned' and 'dark-skinned' peoples into a single human species. To the Greeks dark skin was both a feature which distinguished them from various 'barbarian' peoples and a unifying trait of those peoples. But this cannot attest to genuine racial identity. Essentially, the term 'Ethiopian' was routinely applied to anyone whose skin color was darker than the Greek norm. The Greeks, it should be noted again, did not describe themselves as whites – certainly they had never heard of the modern term 'white race' – but they were aware of differences in skin color between themselves and various Asian peoples. Ultimately, the Greek term 'Ethiopian', signifying both skin color and different, widely separated locales, engendered the theory of a single race, even a single empire.

Latin authors often used the terms 'nigri', 'Mauri' and 'Aethiopes' synonymously. The Byzantine author Cedernus, who wrote around 1050 AD, tells the story of the giant Nivrod (Nimrod), son of Kush the Ethiopian, descendant of Ham, who built Babylon. In their descriptions of the world, Cedernus and the many authors who preceded him took it for granted that the inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent, particularly the Dravidians, were also dark-skinned. The dark pigmentation created the impression that

people resembling one another resided in neighboring countries. Sir John Mandeville (1356) followed this established line of identification when he wrote that: 'On the other side of Chaldea, to the south, is the land of Ethiopia, which is a great country . . . Ethiopia is divided into two main parts, that is, the southern and the eastern parts . . . From Ethiopia you go to India through many different countries.'<sup>12</sup> Marco Polo's account of Java, as well as medieval Muslim literature, refers to South Asia as a country of black people because of its relatively dark-skinned population,<sup>13</sup> while the Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled throughout Asia in 1166 AD described the people in the Quilon as the descendants of Kush 'who read the stars, and are black in color'.<sup>14</sup>

As first-hand knowledge of India became increasingly available, especially in the wake of Alexander the Great's campaign in the Ganges valley, the identification of India with Ethiopia, and of Indians with Ethiopians, gradually disappeared. However, Afrocentric literature has revived this ancient connection, calling it overwhelming proof of a racial kinship between Africa and Asia. From this Afrocentric proponents concluded that the black-African race spread from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and had even established a vast and wonderful Kushite empire, thus, reviving the third ancient model. Thus the Afrocentrists believed Greek and Hellenistic geographical traditions and legends about the eastern Ethiopians to be true and reliable accounts of the history of Asia, which they considered part of a great black-African civilization.

#### NIMROD AND THE BLACK-HEADS OF SUMER AND THE KASSITE ERA: BLACKS IN MESOPOTAMIA

As noted earlier, the civilization of Mesopotamia, according to Hecataeus (in Diodorus), was established by Egyptian colonists:

Now the Egyptians say that also after these events a great number of colonies were spread from Egypt over all the inhabited world. To Babylon, for instance, colonists were led by Belus . . . after establishing himself on the Euphrates river he appointed priests, called Chaldeans by the Babylonians. . . . (Diodorus, The Library of History, I.28.1)<sup>15</sup>

This legendary tale has become the cornerstone of the new racial *imago mundi*.<sup>16</sup> The Greek-Hellenistic geographical-ethnographical *imago mundi* apperas to the new universal Afrocentrist historians to be completely in accord with biblical tradition. Was not Nimrod a descendent of Ham (the father of the black race)? And does not this story accord with Diodorus' tale about Ethiopia (and Egyptian) colonies in Mesopotamia, first established by priests? Doesn't the fact that the root of the word Adam in the Akkadian language, *Adumah* ('black clay'), prove that the first man was black-

skinned?<sup>17</sup> Thus, the new black genealogy believes the Cassites, who ruled Babylon during the second half of the second millennium BC, to be descendants of Nimrod, the warrior hero who, according to *Genesis*, was a Kushite (in fact, the Nimrod legend is alien to the context of the chapter<sup>18</sup>). The biblical authors confused the African Kushites with the Kassites, who they knew to have come from northeast of the Tigris to rule Babylonia. Afrocentric writers and popularizers have adopted these ancient traditions so as to create a new Afrocentric universal history on grand scale; a pan-Ethiopian theory in which great Ethiopia – an ancient black civilization – is the source of human civilization. These ideas, now propped up by an allegedly more scientific base, reappear in these later works. The fact that in Greek literature some peoples of Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau were known as eastern Ethiopians, as well as the fact that the Bible contains several names similar to Kush (e.g. *Cushan-Rishataim*, *Judges* 3:8), together with ancient portraits or sculptures which seem to display black-African traits, are all regarded as evidence that these were blacks, not Semitic peoples. These arguments are adduced exhaustively in a book edited by Ivan Van Sertima and Runko Rashidi, *African Presence in Early Asia*, a collection of articles seeking to prove that cultures in the Indus Valley, on the shores of the Caspian Sea, in ancient China, in Sumer and elsewhere were black. The theory is supported by ‘evidence’ from history, philology and ethnography (relying on photographs of sculptures and paintings). The basic premise is that the early population of Asia was black-skinned.

According to this new ancient universal history, not only the Kassite kingdom (1550–1200 BC) but the older kingdom of Sumer as well, was populated by blacks, its founder none other than Nimrod, son of Kush (*Genesis* 10:8).<sup>19</sup> The etymological similarities, and the fact that the Kassite kings had an intensive political and commercial relationship with Egypt, including intermarriage between the royal families, furnished evidence to support the theory of a shared culture stemming from a common race. Further evidence is found in the term ‘black-headed ones’ (*Sag-giga*) which appears in Sumerian literature. The authors are ready to concede that the Sumerian population was heterogeneous, but insist that blacks were the dominant element. Thus they claim that the black kingdom of Sumer existed from about the fourth millennium BC until 1750 BC when it surrendered to king Hammurabi the Amorite, founder of the Semitic empire of Babylon. But Sumer’s cultural assets were transmitted to the Mesopotamian cultures and thereby became staples of human civilization.

Modern historians are divided as to the identity of the progenitors of early Sumerian culture. Some maintain that the Sumerians only arrived in the second wave of settlement and that this part of the world was populated by peoples of diverse origins. We do not know whether the term black-heads is meant as a realistic or a figurative description.<sup>20</sup> Logic suggests that if the reference was to blacks in the African sense, ‘black-bodied’, or a



similar phrase, would have been more apposite than the ultra-specific black-heads. Moreover, we have already seen that the color black in antiquity usually denoted character traits or age. Any physiognomic similarities between Sumerians and black Africans would hardly have been all-inclusive. Moreover, nowhere in the entire corpus of Afrocentric historical scholarship or in its much quoted sources, is there any evidence of cultural similitude. If Sumerian culture had truly been shaped by Egyptian or Nubian cultures, or was the product of a collective African genius, solid cultural analogues should exist. But they do not: neither linguistically (hieroglyphics and cuneiform script have nothing in common), nor in political organization (Sumer first appears as a land of city-kingdoms), in mythology, nor in their material culture (the Egyptians built pyramids and enormous sphinxes; the Sumerians ziggurats and modest idols). Such similarities as exist may, perhaps, be ascribed to similar human responses to similar geographical conditions in river-lands. It is more likely that elements of Sumerian culture reached India, Kush and Colchis than cultural influences from Kush penetrated Sumer. The new historiography reverses everything. Possible Sumerian cultural traces in Egypt do not indicate Sumerian influence there, but rather the reverse: they attest to Egypt's influence on Sumer.

The same is true with regard to the Cassite kingdom. The Cassite language is unique, with continuity only in its writing (vertical cuneiform). Photographs of black-colored gods say nothing about the human 'source'. After all, even the 'black' Egyptians did not paint or mark their gods black. Therefore, by what stretch of logic should we suppose that the Indians, of all people, might portray their gods in black? Moreover, one cannot firmly reject any claim of 'Asiatic' influence on Egypt, and at the same time argue that many of these Asiatic people were part of the black-African race; if the ancient Asiatic people were black, there is no reason to reject the possibility that they had some influence on Egyptian civilization.<sup>21</sup> It should be noted here that when proponents of the Afrocentric theory firmly reject the idea that the Egyptians were immigrants from the East, they do so because in their view the people of Mesopotamia were a light skinned people, compared to the black Egyptians. If the people of Mesopotamia were black, there could be no harm in a theory regarding immigrants from the East. Herodotus' tale of Egyptian soldiers who remained in Colchis and were the forefathers of the black population there, as well as Hecateaus of Abdera's story of Egyptian settlers in India, seem to contradict the claim that a considerable portion of the western Asian population was an indigenous black people.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, the inhabitants of India (before the Aryan invasion) are described as straight-haired Ethiopians.<sup>23</sup>

However, the most important fact here is that none of these authors claim there to have been a real cultural resemblance between the civilizations of Mesopotamia (or India) and of Egypt. All they can offer are alleged

similarities between a few cultural traits. If this is the case, it clearly proves that the same racial background does not produce the same mythology, the same religion, or the same structure of society, etc. I believe this to be the real reason Afrocentric literature does not very strongly stress a theory in which the great cultures of the 'Country between the Two Rivers' were – like that of Greece – the offspring of ancient Egypt.

The notion that dark-skinned people with tightly curled hair were the indigenous inhabitants around the Indian Ocean, was enough to blur the major physical differences. The dark skins obscured dissimilar physiognomic traits and, more important, great cultural disparities. It was simple and convenient to dub all the inhabitants of the vast expanses from India to Kush 'Ethiopians' and to understand the word to mean black. Since Greek, Hellenistic and Byzantine literature esteemed the 'wisdom of India', the fact that India was identified with Ethiopia imbued the African Ethiopia with the prestige owed to India. The latter was considered a primary source for gods and law – in other words, for human culture. The new historiography turned everything topsy turvy: India owed its illustrious cultural achievements to the fact that its inhabitants belonged to the black race and had drunk from the fountainhead of all culture, African Ethiopia. This is a two-pronged theory. One of its elements is anchored in diffusionism, with a homologous point of departure. The argument runs thus: if humanity originated in black Africa and from there spread throughout the world, then clearly human society was created by blacks who settled the different continents. But a common primordial origin does not guarantee a shared culture. According to the theory's second element, the peoples involved did not wander about aimlessly sometime around the dawn of human history. Far from it. They left the mother country, Kush, and dispersed and settled in an organized manner. This theory encompasses much more than the spread of the black race and its daughter civilizations; this is, in the first instance, the history of a full-blown Kushite empire.

#### D. D. HOUSTON AND THE KUSHITE EMPIRE

The global history of the black race drawn by Massey was expanded upon in America, though it is unlikely the African-American authors had any inkling that he had pioneered the foundation of the Afrocentric universal history. As early as 1883, however, George Washington Williams published his *History of the Negro Race*, in which he propounded the antiquity of the African people and their presence in Egypt and Asia, and particularly in India and Japan.<sup>24</sup>

Drusilla Dunjee Houston will serve as our main guide for this last chapter in the new Afrocentric universal history. She was one of the Afrocentrists who shouldered the task of providing the public with 'a virtual revision of black history the world over'<sup>25</sup> in a book entitled

*Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire*, published in 1926. The book acquired the status of a ground-breaking classic in 'wild' Afrocentric literature, and was reprinted in 1985 by the Black Classic Press and gained wide popularity. Houston's intellectual biography could serve as the model curriculum vitae of the autodidact who is not content to do things by halves but boldly propounds an all-embracing theory based on fragmentary knowledge collected secondhand from some available contemporary sources. Born in West Virginia, she lived in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and finally settled in Oklahoma where she engaged in journalism and more serious writing. She learned most of her history in libraries and from other extra-academic sources. Among her other books are *The Origins of Civilization*; and *The Origin of the Aryans and [the] Astounding Last African Empire*. Like her predecessors and successors, she presents her work as a historical revelation, part of the fight against what she describes as a 'world wide conspiracy in literature to conceal the facts that this book unfolds'. She is not above racial sentiments: the magnificent black race was enslaved by the Aryan race, and 'today the lower types of the Aryan race look upon them as creatures only fit for political and economic spoliation'. We have already met one of her predecessors. In Elliot Smith's view, the Egyptian influence penetrated Asia and Europe through land routes and it was met everywhere – from East Africa to Indonesia – by proto-Egyptians of the brown race.<sup>26</sup> Houston merely changed the brown Hamitic race into a black African race. A perusal of the literature mentioned by Houston reveals that she did not notice that its authors referred to an 'Ethiopia' not located in Africa – at least not in the same sense referred to by the ancient writers – and that her own interpretation was incorrect. For example, she quotes Bunsen ('Cushite colonies were all along the southern shores of Asia and Africa . . . along the southern and eastern coasts of Arabia') without realizing that when he notes that Medea, Persia, Susiana and Armenia were called Ethiopia, Bunsen was not necessarily alluding to ethnographic identity. Yet, she read enough nineteenth-century literature to reconstruct what was the first 'universal history' of the black race and its kingdoms.

Her starting point, like that of her predecessors, was the belief that humanity sprang from a single Ethiopian-Kushite source. From Kush in Africa the black race spread out, settled throughout the world and disseminated its culture. First northward into Egypt and thence into the three continents – Asia, Europe and America – by land and by sea. All the cultures of Mesopotamia, Canaan, Greece and Latin America were of Kushite origins. Identifying this single source resolved the barren dispute about how the different cultures reached areas remote from one another. Celts and Teutons, Etruscans and Basques, all the early inhabitants of Europe, were descended from the Ethiopian race, as were the Phoenicians and the Summerians, the Mayans, the Aztecs and the American Indians. And if the racial source was one, said this theory, so was the cultural. 'The Cushite

race, its institutions, customs, laws and ideas were the foundation upon which our modern culture was laid', wrote Houston. The history of southern Egypt was enlisted in support of this theory. Kush, as discussed earlier, existed as an independent kingdom in Nubia beginning in the middle of the ninth century BC. During the following century the Kushite kingdom conquered Egypt and installed the powerful XXV Nubian Dynasty (712–657 BC). The Assyrian conquest of Egypt reduced the area of Kush, and in 550 BC, during the Persian era, its capital was moved to Meroë until the third century BC. This Kushite–Nubian kingdom (not to be confused with present-day Ethiopia) was actually the ancient kingdom of Axum, which later tradition transformed into early Habash (Ethiopia), engendering in the historical imagination a vast Kushite empire south of Egypt. In black historiography, Taharqa, the Nubian Pharaoh and self-styled 'master of all the world', became the founder and ruler of a large Kushite empire in 690 BC. Compared with the staggering achievements and immense area of this Kushite empire, the conquests of Alexander the Great pale in significance.

To support her thesis, Houston cites a number of sophisticated arguments which have since become commonplace in African-American scholarship: the fables of Aesop are Ethiopian in origin; Hammurabi was a Kushite governor of Akkad who brought his code of laws from Kush; Moses knew about this code and copied it. Greek mythology is said to derive from its Kushite forerunner. The proponents of the ancient wisdom were not Egyptian priests but the priests of Kush.<sup>27</sup> So we must scrap the entire theory of the Indo-European or Semitic origin of culture, for the Indo-Europeans and the Semites were Kushites, or at least their diligently emulative pupils. The history of the Indian subcontinent becomes the chronicle of a struggle between the black Indians and the Aryan intruders from the north. Naturally, India's contribution to the West before Alexander's conquests is described as the beneficial influence of the Ethiopian Indians on Western culture from earliest times. The Arabs in the Arabian Peninsula were also said to be a branch of the Kushite race. It was the Kushites who erected the monuments in southern Siberia and in the Mississippi Valley, not to mention Mexico and Peru. Philological theories are also drafted in an attempt to prop up the argument. One example is that of Sir H. H. Johnson who discovered the lost language of the Hamites in Crete, Lydia, southern India, Sumer and Elam. 'Our story', Houston writes, 'will deal with the ancient Kushite empire of Ethiopians, that conquered three continents and held unbroken sway for three thousand years'.

Most of Houston's book is devoted to a description of the Kushite cultures in Ethiopia, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, Persia, Medea and India. Her attempt, and that of her more recent successors, to find parallels between Far Eastern cultures and Ethiopian culture is based wholly on superficial and partial analogies. The central question in the context of

Houston's thesis is this: how was the Kushite empire formed and what is really meant by empire? Since she claims the Kushite expansion extended into the age of recorded history, she must furnish evidence of their maritime ability (Sinbad the Sailor becomes the Kushite Arabian sailor) and military prowess. Kushite culture was transmitted everywhere, including Europe, by settlers and conquerors of populations at a lower level of development. For example, Houston writes: 'This civilization brought by Kushites to Chaldea must have developed in that first common cradle of mankind that the Greeks located on the Upper Nile.' During the reign of Ramses III, she says, the subject peoples of Mesopotamia, Syria, Asia Minor and the Aegean rose up against black-Egyptian rule and thrust it back into the bounds of Egypt proper. However, the Nubian king Piankhy restored the empire to its former size in 750 BC from Assyria to the Pillars of Hercules (the Atlantic coast), until he was deposed by the Assyrians. Only in connection with the Dravidians, the dark-skinned people of pre-Aryan India, does Houston fail to mention conquest or settlement by African Ethiopians. In India, it emerges, the blacks developed independently. The analogues between Hindu culture and the cultures of ancient Ethiopia and Egypt are, therefore, the result of a common racial-ethnographic source, the same racial genius. At most, it is possible to reconstruct the close ties which brought about Ethiopia's influence on ancient India.

This colorful description of conquering Kushite armies establishing colonies and disseminating culture among racially consanguineous populations is a figment of the imagination. It is this same unbridled imagination that undermines the theory adduced by Houston and all her successors. For if the Mesopotamians were not only inferior nomadic Semites but also original members of the black race, or at least affiliated with it, why were they less developed than their racial brothers in Nubia, and why did they require the help of cultural emissaries from Nubia and Egypt? (Rashidi himself writes about the African tutelage of the Asian nations.) What made them less gifted than the African Kushites? The theory is further eroded by the obsessive need to pinpoint a single source of culture – the universal Kushite culture – a source necessarily located in Africa. It also presupposes that culture is transmitted solely by conquerors and settlers, to the exclusion of any other method. Wherever Houston identifies a cultural change she considers it a retreat from the splendid original Ethiopian culture, the result of a racial mixture which caused the population to degenerate.

Houston was neither alone nor original in propounding the theory that Kushites and Kushite cultures also existed outside Africa. Her contribution to 'alternative history' lies in her invention of the Kushite empire. The difference is telling: it was not enough to claim that the black race spread across the entire globe, since in itself this could not prove that it was the bearer of a cohesive black civilization and a coherent black culture. But that argument would be convincing if it could be shown that more than ethnic

diffusionism was involved; that it was the organized and deliberate activity of a true civilization. Therefore the Kushite empire is built stage by stage: its beginnings lie in the Kushite kingdom founded by the 'old race' that overran and colonized Egypt and then expanded its boundaries. The term Kushite empire was important to Houston because it endowed the 'Kushite ethnocultural lands', described in books by her predecessors, with more than the character of an ordinary territory inhabited by a single nation. These lands now became a full-fledged empire – a term fraught with prestige and potency.<sup>28</sup>

#### FROM BABYLON TO TIMBUKTU, FROM AUGUSTINE TO SPINOZA

Houston was unfamiliar with most of the earlier works such as Gerald Massey and the eighteenth-century author Godfrey Higgins, particularly his book *Anacalypsis*. Present-day Afrocentric scholars, far more learned, have placed her in the pantheon of founders and invested her with the status of a spiritual mother. She was an autodidact who concocted theories based on books she found in libraries in Minnesota and Oklahoma. However, those who endeavored to corroborate and refine her theories were graduates of respectable universities, had access to the finest libraries, and in some cases had read the classical or Egyptian texts in the original language. Yet, this knowledge, instead of curbing their imaginations, gave it even freer rein. There is no point in tracing these fantastic flights of the imagination through all their peregrinations, but a few items are worth mentioning as examples of the entire corpus and of the manner in which these writers feed on one another. The theory itself has simultaneously undergone popularization and gained formal scholarly academic legitimation.

Take, for example, a short book entitled *From Babylon to Timbuktu*, by Rudolph R. Windsor, first published in 1969 and which by 1988, had been reissued in ten editions. The book is a popular summary of the universal history in the style of Houston, Massey and others. Windsor, who studied at Graetz College (a Jewish institution) and at Temple University in Philadelphia, set out, like others before and after him, to right the wrongs in textbooks. He serves up a cocktail of biblical fundamentalism and Afrocentric theories. The book's central message is that European civilization sprang from black civilization. The proof, naturally, lies in the Book of *Genesis*. From the description of the Garden of Eden in *Genesis* 2:10 and from Rashi's assertion that the Gihon River is really the Nile, the author concludes that, without the slightest doubt, the Garden of Eden was located in Ethiopia. And since the inhabitants of Ethiopia are black, so were the inhabitants of the Garden of Eden. Moreover, since the other rivers

mentioned run through Mesopotamia, obviously Mesopotamia was part of Ethiopia and its inhabitants too were black. The reason they did not call themselves Ethiopians, Windsor explains, is that they preferred to call themselves after the cities in which they resided: Babylonians, rather than Ethiopians. According to Windsor, Ethiopians resided both in Mesopotamia and in India. Still to be explained is how the different races were descended from Noah's three black-skinned sons, and where the Indo-Europeans originated, as well as the Chinese and the Japanese. Windsor asserts that the black race populated Asia and Africa, developing their entire material civilization and spiritual culture. From here it is an easy step to see the Jews as black-skinned, Christianity (which originated in Ethiopia) as the faith of blacks, and, of course, the Arabs as black-skinned, as well as the Carthaginians and Berbers of North Africa, and the Moors who ruled Spain for seven hundred years. Another logical conclusion is that all the Jewish Sages who came from North Africa and Spain were black: Hisdai Ibn Shaprut and Saadia Gaon, Maimonides and Spinoza, etc. According to one account, Spinoza was 'middle-sized, [with] good features, skin somewhat black, black curly hair, [with] long eyebrows of the same color', and as the son of Portuguese Jewish immigrants, was a descendant of the 'black Jews'.

Another book, Mark Hyman's *Blacks Who Died for Jesus*, provides a long list of martyrs and church fathers who were black, including Origen, Tertullian, Augustine and Athanasius; he also notes an impressive black presence throughout European society and culture. Black blood flowed in the veins of Pushkin, Beethoven and Alexander Dumas, to mention only three nineteenth-century descendants of blacks.

John G. Jackson, in *Ethiopia and the Origin of Civilization*, casts his net far and wide in an ocean of sources, asserting: 'The vestiges of this early [Nubian-Ethiopian] civilization have been found in Nubia, the Egyptian Sudan, west Africa, Egypt, Meshonaland, India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, South America, Central America, Mexico, the United States . . . It was southern colored peoples everywhere, in China, in Central America, in India, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and Crete who gave the northern white people civilization.'

The trap into which these authors fall seems all too clear: if, in fact, many of the North African and European peoples were without exception black-skinned, if indeed the populations of Palestine and Egypt, of North Africa and Spain, of parts of Italy and of southern France and Britain and many other lands were black, what is the point of drawing up 'racial' genealogies, compiled from an array of testimonies, which take note of outstanding figures? If all the inhabitants of Egypt and North Africa and Spain were black, why single out the likes of Origen and Tertullian, or Cyprian and Augustine?

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that Windsor's particular version of

the 'theory', unlike others, is philo-Semitic. It seeks to prove that the original Israelites were black-skinned, therefore the black Cushites and the Falashas are the original Jews, the same applying to many other tribes in black Africa. As for Jews who are not black or notably dark-skinned, the conclusion is unclear. Unlike Windsor, other authors prefer to stress the contribution of the black race to Christianity rather than to Judaism.

The Indian scholar D. P. Singhal, who accepts the concept that trade ties and perhaps even certain similarities existed between India and Egypt, also adds that 'Despite these similarities, the Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Indus civilizations undeniably developed in their own independent ways and assumed distinct personalities. Their tools, weapons, and vessels have different forms, and the symbols of their scripts differ. The Indus civilization itself was thoroughly individual, deeply rooted in Indian soil . . .'.<sup>29</sup> This is also true of the civilization of Mesopotamia. However, since Afrocentrists cannot ignore the fact that the Near East civilization of Mesopotamia, as well as that of India, were not only highly advanced civilizations but also influenced Greek culture (and through it European culture), they are forced to 'confiscate' these cultures and portray them as black-African, in both origin and essence.



# Black Columbus and Black Natives in the New World

## BLACK DISCOVERY AND BLACK SETTLEMENT

Rewriting the history of America before and after Columbus is part of both the African-American radical Afrocentric reconstruction of the history of the black people on the American continent, as well as the Afrocentric universal history. By recounting African explorers who preceded European explorers, discussing indigenous black populations in America and African migration and settlement, which preceded the beginnings of the African slave trade by centuries or more, African-American historical literature creates a new historical narrative, thus providing a new perception of the black people's experience in America, and through this, a new sense of belonging. It is obvious why America, a continent with a large population of African descendants, could not be excluded from the Afrocentric *mapa mundi*. By including the two Americas in the new world map, Afrocentric universal historiography enlarged the scope and horizon of the history of the black race. The old motif, or theme, of 'claim my antiquity' was thus transplanted to the African-American historical consciousness. As a result, the question of 'who discovered America' and who were its first inhabitants gained vast importance in the African-American historical consciousness and self-awareness. African-American historical literature joined the field of creative imagination, which describes pre-Columbian transoceanic relationships between Asia, Africa and America, and the resulting impact purportedly exercised by African culture on the indigenous American population during the pre-Columbian period.<sup>1</sup>

The first corner-stone to be laid in reconstructing the history of the American continent was to claim that Africans preceded the Europeans in America, not merely as slaves, but as explorers. Thus African voyages across the Atlantic began long before the era of Columbus; African vessels crossed the Atlantic to trade with western hemisphere Indians, and succeeded in establishing colonies throughout the Americas.<sup>2</sup> According to this claim, the Spanish conquistadors found tribes of Africans dispersed all over the

New World upon their arrival.<sup>3</sup> Yet, the fact is that America is absent from the most important map of the fourteenth century; from the Catalan Map attributed to the Jewish cartographer Abraham Cresques, drawn in 1375 and reflecting the Portuguese world-view, including its imaginary aspects.<sup>4</sup> Nor is there any reference to America in medieval Muslim literature. Muslim authors, who meticulously listed all goods and merchandise which reached Islamic lands from their trading partners, from England and Scandinavia to China, make no mention of anything – fruits, vegetables, spices, etc. which could have originated in America. Tobacco, for example, was unknown in the Islamic world until the early seventeenth century, when it arrived from America via England. Nowhere in Muslim geographical literature is there any hint that the American land mass was known, unlike its many reports about Asia. It is difficult to attribute this lacuna to an attempt to keep it secret from European competitors, or to ascribe it to America's unimportance in the Muslim *mapa mundi*. If there had been ties across the Atlantic between Africa and the Americas, and if those ties had produced certain concrete results (such as exchange of goods), surely they would not have escaped the awareness of Muslim geographers and travelers who were not prone to keeping commercial secrets to themselves. Medieval Muslim geography makes no allusion to an unknown 'climate' (zone) at the edge of the West.

Indeed, African blacks and Berbers from North Africa sailed the Atlantic; during the Middle Ages, the Atlantic coast of the Maghreb, especially Tangier, was engaged in extensive trade on both the Mediterranean and the northern Atlantic. Undeniably, ships departing from the Atlantic coast of Africa could have sailed as far west as the Caribbean islands. Nor is there any reason to doubt the maritime ability of Africa's Muslim inhabitants during the Middle Ages. Certainly they possessed the ability to build ships capable of sailing the Atlantic. Some of them may have been swept into the currents of rivers which spill into the Atlantic from Africa, thus reaching islands in mid-ocean or even the coast of America. But there is a basic difference between 'presence', and 'discovery' or 'influence', and there is not a shred of evidence to suggest that the Africans who plied the waters of the Atlantic were aware that they were approaching the coast of a new world. The very concept was alien to their geographical lore. Moreover, they never returned to their homelands to proclaim their discovery or claim ownership. Discovery does not mean a ship driven by ocean currents to the shores of Mexico or Brazil, certainly not ships packed with emigrants whose destination was as vague as their destiny. A voyage of discovery is one which, from the outset, is engaged in a quest for the 'new', or in the aftermath of which something new was inadvertently discovered. Columbus himself did not discover America because he did not realize he had landed in a new world; the existence of a new world was beyond his geographical horizons. Similarly, the term discovery is not intended to

imply that whatever had not been part of Western knowledge before the Age of Discovery did not actually exist. The term had legal implications because it granted possession to the discoverer of the yet unknown territory. America was discovered, even though it was always there, because it became part of the Western world picture of the West which subsequently claimed ownership.<sup>5</sup>

### *A transatlantic who's who*

A survey of the speculative literature written beginning in the seventeenth century turns up a series of competing alternative theories. In some cases the theorizers speak of 'anonymous' discoverers, their names lost, though others are identified with well-known historical figures. Never is there a series of return voyages; they are always single journeys, separated by hundreds of years. African-American historical literature on this subject again traces a long line of questionable European speculations, beginning with the Age of Discovery.<sup>6</sup> The discovery of America and its conquest by the white race created new geographical and ethnographic horizons. It was vital to integrate this new knowledge into the existing world picture. How had the population of America crossed the ocean? From which of Noah's offspring did they stem? There is hardly a hypothesis which had not already been adduced in the seventeenth century.

The ethnic association with the peoples of the Old World derived not only from the biblical world picture, which believed the sons of Noah to have re-fathered the human race after the Flood (which, of course, had also covered the continent of America). This hypothesis was also advanced as a result of information which reached Europe regarding Indian culture. Athanasius Kircher believed that Ham's offspring had settled America and had brought with them the wisdom of Egypt. He was of the opinion, as were many of his contemporaries and successors, that the pyramids furnished irrefutable proof of the link between Egypt, the 'mother of culture', and Mexico.<sup>7</sup> Kircher was possessed of a very vivid imagination, but he did not believe the sons of Ham had crossed the Atlantic Ocean in boats; his theory was that they reached Mexico via the Bering Strait. In other theories the Indians were said to have descended from virtually every ancient people: Romans, Greeks, Phoenicians, Chinese, Egyptians, Africans, Ethiopians, Scythians and the ten lost tribes of Israel.<sup>8</sup> The first discovery of North America is usually ascribed to the Vikings and other northern Europeans.<sup>9</sup> Yet, some speculative imaginary theories carry history back almost to the dawn of human civilization. The subject of these theories are Central and South America. These parts of the continent were considered a more convenient target for discovery from across the ocean thanks to the Atlantic currents which, according to one theory, facilitated the voyage from Africa or Gibraltar to Mexico, Brazil or Argentina.

Moreover, these theories prefer pre-Columbian Latin America as their subject as that enabled them to determine who was first to 'discover', or even establish, the great pre-Columbian civilizations.

One account, as we already saw, has the Sumerians, creators of the first civilization in Mesopotamia, reaching the shores of America. According to the Verrills,<sup>10</sup> the Sumerians reached Peru in the years 2500 and 2000 BC. Colonies were founded by Sargon, king of Akkad and his son, Menes, though they were preceded as discoverers by King Naram-sin who, according to Sumerian documents, sailed 'beyond the western sea'. Proof of the Sumerian influence in pre-Columbian America is furnished by analogues in various spheres. The truth of the matter is that King Naram-sin (2291–2255 BC), grandson of Sargon, the ostensible 'first Columbus', apparently ruled the entire western coast of the Persian Gulf. A poetic work, composed hundreds of years later, praised the king for having in his capital animals from distant lands, including a western land. However, a western land from the Sumerian viewpoint is Amurru or Phoenicia, that is, the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, certainly not America.<sup>11</sup> Mesopotamian sailors plied the waters of the Persian Gulf, even going as far as the Upper Indus, but it takes an imagination run amok to draw a connection between the Sumerian culture and areas beyond the Persian Gulf, Asia Minor and India. Only a voyager on the sea of historical fantasy would ask the gullible reader to believe that a Sumerian vessel not only sailed around Africa, crossed the Atlantic and passed through the Straits of Magellan to the Pacific Ocean, but then turned around and made the same voyage in reverse!

Equally imaginary is the notion that the Phoenicians 'discovered' America.<sup>12</sup> Ancient sources record three long voyages by Phoenician vessels outside the secure waters of the Mediterranean: Herodotus' account of the voyage by Pharaoh Necho II around Africa from 609–593 BC, and reports recording two Carthaginian naval expeditions headed by Hanno and Himilico. The first voyage was along the West African coast around 425 BC; the story of Hanno's expedition is too famous to require reiteration here.<sup>13</sup> There is no doubt that Punic (Carthaginian) ships were active along the Atlantic coast and in the North Sea, bringing goods from Britain and West Africa back to Carthage, but it is most improbable that Hanno's small fleet ever strayed very far from the West African coastline. Phoenician sailors, like their Greek rivals, wary of moving away from the coast, always kept it within sight, or at most, within a day's sail. Phoenician and Greek vessels could not undertake a lengthy voyage without anchoring occasionally to replenish their stocks of food and water. It is true that light ships could more easily sail the waters of the South Atlantic than the heavy vessels of later centuries, but their small size meant that they could not carry enough provisions for a voyage that undoubtedly would have taken weeks or months. Phoenician and Egyptian ships could undertake voyages of

thousands of miles, but only if they could occasionally anchor in a port, as in the Mediterranean or along the coast of East Africa. The cultures of the Mediterranean world sought merchandise and minerals in Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Black Sea, even the Baltic Sea and perhaps the Atlantic islands, but not across the Atlantic. Classical sources testify that the Phoenicians and the Greeks knew the world extended beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, for the sun set in the distant west across a great sea. They may well have reached Madeira and the Canary Islands, which became the 'distant isles' in their geographical-mythical world picture.<sup>14</sup>

Travelers' guides and coastal charts from the Hellenistic and Roman periods describe Iceland, Norway and India, but not America.<sup>15</sup> In other words, the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians were proficient sailors but lacked the capacity to cross the Atlantic, let alone return home afterward. For the Greeks, America was not a part of the *oikoumene*; it was not even *allius orbes* (other lands). It was a continent beyond the pale of knowledge. The idea that a fleet under Alexander the Great circumvented the world and reached America, as proposed by Harold S. Gladwin in *Men out of Asia* (1947) belongs to the genre of what Stephen Williams called 'fantastic archaeology',<sup>16</sup> and there are many others of the same kind. The Greeks, the Hellenists and the Romans, all of whom took such an interest in ethnography, would never have omitted a description of the unknown population supposedly discovered on the other side of the Atlantic, yet they are silent on this matter. The Romans knew about the Atlantic Ocean, which they considered to be the *ultima Thule*, and believed that a world existed beyond it, but it was an unknown world, a subject of the utopian imagination. Some Hellenistic writers traced the voyage of Odysseus to the edge of the *oikoumene*, and Crates of Mallos wrote that Odysseus sailed outside the Mediterranean.<sup>17</sup> In recent generations, the progeny of the imaginary utopian interpretation of Homer from the Hellenistic era has become a rich, pseudo-scientific literature which argues that Odysseus and his men voyaged westward beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. A fantastic geography, created to serve literary or philosophical purposes, is thus transformed into the description of a real voyage or the geographic lore of the Hellenistic period. There is no need, I believe, to consider suggestions that Jewish refugees from the Bar-Kochba war reached North America,<sup>18</sup> or that Chinese delegations landed on its shores. Here, again, Afrocentric theory is in fact an adaptation of European fabulous history, such as that proposed by Alexander Lenoir, archaeologist and specialist on French monuments, or such as an essay published by Lord Kinsborough in *Antiquities* (1834), which provides a 'Comparison of the ancient monuments of Mexico with those of Egypt, India and the rest of the Ancient World'. There is also Charles Farcy's essay '*Discourse on two questions . . . [on] the value of the documents relating to the history of America, and to decide whether there is any link between the languages of the various American tribes and those of Africa and*

India.<sup>19</sup> While some European writers were convinced that the Greeks and Romans had a hand in the construction of the Mayan cities, others sought their origins in Africa and Asia. Still others believed them to be the product of a native American civilization. The Afrocentric theory, naturally, follows the track of the African connection.

The theory which proposes that Pharaonic vessels were the first to reach the shores of Mexico was developed by A. von Wuthenau, a German diplomat who became an expert in pre-Columbian art. In his books *Unexpected Faces in Ancient America* (1955) and *The Art of Terra Cotta Pottery in Pre-Columbian South Central America* (1969), he argued that the appearance of unexpected races in early America after 1500 BC is proved by the ethnographic historical testimony left behind by pre-Columbian artists. To Wuthenau, pre-Columbian art is the primary proof that many early inhabitants of Central America had dark skin and facial features typical of the black or Semitic races. He believes their presence in Latin America shows they arrived via the Atlantic Ocean, and not across the Bering Strait. Wuthenau would have it that artistic motifs and forms were transplanted directly from Mesopotamia and Egypt to the evergreen forests of Mexico or the snow-capped Andes. This accounts, in his view, for the presence of so many Phoenician, Egyptian, Jewish and Islamic elements in pre-Columbian art.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, he claims, the native population underwent a genetic change, triggered by the passengers on the Pharaonic ships who disembarked in the Bay of Yucatan, which imbued it with the physiognomic features of the ancient Egyptians. To Wuthenau's credit, it must be said that he distinguishes between two types of diffusionism: ethnic and cultural-technological. As a result, he is careful to produce precise historical dating, and like his predecessors and successors, he insists on looking for an indisputable relationship between documented events from the history of the ancient East and events which took place on the American continent. However not only must he explain resemblances between items from two different cultures, he must also account for the absence of certain objects in pre-Columbian culture, as settlers would undoubtedly bring more than a few limited items with them to the new land. Surely they would have brought their technology. Wuthenau concludes that 95 per cent of the evidence from the pre-Columbian period which he cites is not written documentation, but rather the mute testimony of art. Yet even if we postulate that monumental sculptures were erected in Mexico as markers for the incoming Egyptian fleet, we must still ask why, unlike their analogues in Egypt and Mesopotamia, they bore no detailed inscriptions identifying the arrivals, stating where they had come from and when. If, as the theory goes, the travelers had been sent by an organized kingdom on an official mission, it stands to reason that a daring maritime voyage of this scale would have been documented, similar to war campaigns closer to home.

Geographical literature of the Middle Ages, both Christian and Muslim

alike, contains no concrete mention of a continent or of human habitation in the west Atlantic. The possible existence of such a world did not fire the imagination of contemporary Muslim geographers and travelers at a time when extensive Muslim shipping took place in a world bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Black Sea and the China Sea. It is difficult to believe that regular maritime traffic between Muslim Africa and the Caribbean, or the coast of America, would have left no documentation, such as the abundant chronicles we possess of the Muslim sea routes to China. If we accept the idea that Portuguese fishermen looking for cod went as far as the coast of America but kept the route a secret, it follows that the Portuguese had no interest in discovering anything about America beyond its offshore fishing grounds. The sweeping claim that 'sea kings' in Africa had maps of America which they took great pains to conceal, but which nevertheless turned up in various places throughout the Mediterranean and became the basis for maps during the Age of Discovery, is without foundation but enables plenty of empty conjectures to be launched. Maps can be hidden and maps can be lost, as can the memory of journeys; however, cultural goods and their impact and influence on those who imported them cannot be concealed – neither in Phoenicia, Carthage nor West Africa. According to one account, the seemingly accurate drawing of the South American coastline on an Ottoman map discovered in Istanbul, the famous *Piri Reis* map of 1513, proves that the mapmaker was acquainted with these coastal features and recorded a major cartographic achievement. The story that he worked from twenty-five maps from the period of Alexander the Great, maps which survived the fire in the great library of Alexandria, may be a fabrication concocted by the Ottoman cartographer for the Sultan, who commissioned the map.<sup>21</sup> More likely, the map was based on an Arab map and four Portuguese maps, or on a copy of Columbus' map of 1498, probably seized by the Turks during one of their naval battles with the Spaniards in the Mediterranean. Scholars are puzzled by the question of how the *Piri Reis* map could show the Andes mountains, for example, but it is fruitless to try to find an ancient source for it. Why not simply suggest that this was a unique example of a successful imagination? As for the theory that maps of America were preserved in the famous library of Alexandria, it is important to remind readers that Ptolemy banished geographical speculation and myths in *Geography*, but at the same time portrayed Africa as a broad block. We must keep in mind that '... the explorers of the Renaissance too often had to unlearn what he had taught them and then learn all over again, the hard way'.<sup>22</sup> Geographical writings of the Hellenistic-Roman period make no mention of the Atlantic coast, while the sixteenth-century Ottoman map is replete with fantastic elements, such as a drawing of the boat of St Brendan and his companions who sailed from Ireland to the 'Promised Land', according to popular *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, in the sixth century AD.<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps the most fabulous story of all is the one told by R. Afique Jairazbhoy in his book *Ancient Egyptians and Chinese in America*. This book is an example par excellence of the historical paradigm described in the first chapter, one which tries to pinpoint a decisive event of diffusion and migration in ancient history by connecting two real or legendary events which occurred in places far removed from one another. This connection was meant to prove that the arrival of people from afar had been the direct and exclusive cause of a vastly significant demographic and cultural change. In other words, the event was supposed to invest the hyper-diffusionist theory with historical concreteness. The connection made by Jairazbhoy is between the mysterious appearance of the Olmec culture, the first high culture in Mesoamerica, located in the Gulf of Mexico, on the shores of Vera Cruz, beginning in 1200–1500 BC (and lasting until 500 BC) and documents of the New Kingdom and the Ramseian dynasty in Pharaonic Egypt (1176–1070 BC), renowned for its conquest, particularly during the reign of Ramses III (1194–63) in Nubia and the Near East. This imaginary plot is woven of many threads: the legendary tradition of pre-Columbian cultures (as recorded in Spanish sources) which tells about an ancient founding father who came from the East; the Egyptian religious belief which centered on the search for the end of the heavens, the location of the underworld and the Garden of Eden (a search which, according to the theory, motivated the Egyptian settlers in Mexico to continue to wander westward in the direction of the Pacific Ocean and to establish additional kingdoms); Egyptian documents which supposedly describe a sea journey in 'inverted' waters, i.e. towards the Atlantic Ocean (in actual fact, the 'inverted waters' in the Egyptian documents refer to the waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris which flow from north to south). Additional evidence in support of this theory are the colossal Olmec heads, three meters high, which sport hats designating particular status, and are found in the Gulf of Mexico, near La Venta and San Lorenzo. These heads appear to have black African features. There seems to be no logical explanation as to why these heads, rather than Caucasian figures, were placed there.<sup>24</sup> Jairazbhoy would argue, I suppose, that the local inhabitants chose to immortalize their black African guests, rather than Egyptians or Semites who belonged to the same expedition, because they regarded them as extraordinary figures. However, since the physiognomy of the Mesoamerican inhabitants was, according to the evidence, the color of high chocolate to beaten bronze, and the legends speak about a white primordial father, this does not make much sense.

The mystery connected with the development of the Olmec culture is therefore fertile ground for this and other flights of fancy, and the key to the puzzle is supposedly found in the historical link between two disparate events, based on a putative symmetry between the cultural traits of civilizations which are totally different from one another. The theory rests on the



baseless assumption that the Egyptians, in the middle of the second millennium, had a fleet of ships capable of making such a long and dangerous sea voyage. Consequently, Jairzabohy has no doubt that this was a very well-planned sea journey. But he is not content to assume merely a sea journey; he also refers to an expedition sent for settlement purposes, one that not only influenced the development of the local population, but in fact created a new population. The story is completely imaginary and I refer to it only because it serves as an excellent test case of an attempt to manipulate 'facts' and weave a fantastic history. The correct way to test it, as in other cases, is not by challenging the reliability of the facts and the cultural symmetries that the author proffers at length and in detail as a tactic to create credibility, but rather by examining the internal logic of the description.

Jairzabohy does not explain what motivated the Egyptians, who, according to his theory, were trying to reach the place where the sun sets, to send a delegation for the purpose of establishing permanent residence there. Logic would have it that the purpose of such a delegation would be to return and tell its sender, the Pharaoh, what they had discovered. In other words, that Ramses believed his ships were able to make such a sea voyage and return. On the other hand, if the intention was to send a delegation of settlers, logically there would have been women participants in the expedition; yet he does not claim there were any women on the Pharaonic ships. In any case, according to this fabricated story, the Egyptian sea expedition (it is not clear how many ships or how many people were involved) included among its passengers Egyptians, black Africans (which means he did not believe the Egyptians to be blacks), Phoenicians, and even some Jews. There were

not only seamen on the ship, but priests, scribes, painters, and perhaps 'engineers' as well. Moreover, each of the ethnic-cultural groups brought with it material and spiritual elements of its specific culture to the shores of Mexico (which miraculously was merged with the cultural elements brought to Mexico, according to another part of the story, by refugees from China). The reader is asked to believe that an invisible hand guided Egyptians, Babylonians and Chinese on a journey of thousands of miles across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, to that particular shore in the Gulf of Mexico; and that in that far-off country, the imported Egyptian culture had an influence many times greater (and more completely preserved) than it had on countries closer to Egypt in the Aegean, in Africa or in Asia Minor. The reader is also asked to believe that the passengers of a single expedition brought to Mexico, and from there to other areas of South America, a broad selection of religion, mythology, ritual, technology, and the like, but for some reason, did not bring other key elements, no less essential for a society of settlers, such as iron weapons. Moreover, the reader must believe that a new medley of Egyptian, Phoenician and Babylonian

cultural elements was created in distant Mexico; nor is it clear how the Babylonians arrived in Mexico, unless the author believes them to be identical to the Phoenicians, despite the differences in their languages and cultures.

Needless to say, this is a completely fanciful tale. Any resemblance the author may have found between cultural elements of the ancient Near East and of pre-Columbian cultures is merely a product of his imagination. Yet many Afrocentrists are willing to embrace this theory, except, of course, for the distinction it makes between Egyptians and blacks. I must therefore reiterate that the purpose of this hyper-diffusionist theory is not to solve the mystery surrounding the appearance of a new culture in South America, but to reject the possibility that the native Mesoamerican cultures had the genius and the capability to develop a high culture independently. The pre-Columbian cultures are presented as a distinct offshoot growth of outside influence, namely of Egyptian (and other) colonization, ruled in the distant past by black masters who had once been Nubian slaves. Inevitably, and certainly contrary to the author's intention, he is in fact proposing an ancient historical paradigm of European occupation and settlement, as well as a positive depiction of this occupation and its results.<sup>25</sup>

### *The new Afrocentric version of the 'discovery'*

It is not surprising that radical Afrocentric historiography insinuated itself into this lengthy historical tradition and offered its own version of events, consisting of two parts: (1) Egyptians, black-skinned of course, were the first to reach Latin America; and (2) blacks from West Africa sailed regularly to America, settled there and left their mark on certain aspects of the local culture. We shall examine some of the evidence, not necessarily to cast doubt on its reliability, but to clarify what its significance would be if it turned out to be credible.

Literature claiming that African travelers and emigrants were present in America has existed since the beginning of the twentieth century. Some works, such as Leo Weiner's three-volume *Africa and the Discovery of America* (1920–22), proposes the appearance of black Muslims in America during the Middle Ages and claimed to find Semitic elements in the Indian languages which, Weiner asserted, had been introduced in the twelfth century by black Muslim merchants who traded regularly with South America and the Caribbean islands. Blacks, he claimed, 'have had a far greater influence upon American civilization than heretofore suspected. It was the Africans who brought tobacco and smoking pipes to North America.' Another book of his, *Maya and Mexican Origins* (1926) points to Hindu influences on pre-Columbian civilization from the sixth century AD. The theories propounded by Weiner were and remained curiosities until they were adopted by Afrocentrist authors. The Afrocentrist school, following

speculations first advanced in the seventeenth century, locates the contact between Egypt and America in the middle of the second millennium BC. Two main products of these speculations are Michael Bradley, *The Black Discovery of America*, and Ivan Van Sertima's *The African Presence in Ancient America: They Came Before Columbus*. The authors disagree about the exact period in which contacts between Egypt and America began, as well as the scope of Egyptian influence on the local population. Both versions are historically unfounded and unreasonable. Van Sertima's book demonstrates how a collection of historical evidence, some of it groundless, is compiled, and how this evidence is organized by a highly flawed internal logic. Since Van Sertima's book also displays an acute awareness of methodological questions, and since one of his purposes is to expose the 'deliberate pitfalls and deceptions that mar the conventional theory', it will be useful to examine several of the book's basic assumptions.

Van Sertima concedes that the absence of documents is a grave disadvantage. Not surprisingly, however, he states that this is the result, not of any lack of literary production among the Africans, but of an almost systematic destruction of the documents. Although it is true that Christian missionaries and priests destroyed some – not all – of the pre-Columbian writings, no evidence exists of systematic destruction or for that matter of any destruction, of African documents. The absence of written documents, however, enables the author to cloak in literary garb episodes for which no documentary evidence exists, and even more important, gives him the freedom to present an 'exact chronology' of the long connection between the old world – the African-Egyptian world – and America, describing a series of voyages separated by hundreds of years. Since the author also adopts the theory that the Egyptians were blacks ('Negroid-Egyptians', to use his phrase), it follows that the sea voyages were made by blacks. Chronologically, the voyages are placed within the period of the Nubian Dynasty in Egypt; thus the Egyptian penetration of America turns out to have been carried out by Egypt's black royal dynasty, creating a continuous line of black seafarers, some anonymous, others well known, from Pharaonic Egypt to the medieval kingdoms of Africa. In contrast to Jairazbhoy, Van Sertima does not accept the theory that a massive immigration from the East founded the native culture of ancient Mexico. '... a cultural vacuum would have voided the impact of the Nile valley visitors', he writes. Therefore, the Olmec civilization already existed when the Egyptians arrived. The well-organized Olmec were ripe to be influenced by the achievements of their visitors, who discovered a native élite, 'a significant minority whom they could influence and who adopted the Egyptian life-style'.<sup>26</sup>

What evidence is adduced for the appearance in Latin America of expeditions by black people, beginning in the second millennium BC until the thirteenth century AD? One piece of evidence is the presence of popu-

lation groups possessing African features. Van Sertima is aware that there is no evidence of regular large-scale emigration from Africa to America, but this fact does not disturb him since anonymous emigration does not meet his historical expectations; moreover, he is really out to find organized expeditions and groups which penetrated the interior of the continent and left such an overwhelming impression on the inhabitants of this huge land mass that it was almost immediately documented in the form of monumental stone sculptures. Van Sertima wonders why, if a handful of Spaniards could conquer South America, African expeditions could not have done the same hundreds of years earlier. His puzzlement ignores the Spaniards' technological superiority. And what of the argument that these black elements existed for centuries in their own isolated settlements and did not interbreed with the local population? After all, the local cultures were not 'primitive', nor did the African arrivals bring a superior culture. How does one explain the survival of separate black African groups for hundreds of years? Supporting evidence which discovers a parallel between the 'early invasion' and the influence wielded by tens or hundreds of blacks on a native culture – such as the 17 shipwrecked blacks who, in the sixteenth century, soon became the rulers of much of present-day Ecuador – does not meet the test of logic: they operated within the sphere of the Spanish conquest. Van Sertima believes that an anti-diffusionist position, which holds that a small group cannot make a deep imprint on a large population occupying a huge area, is nonsense. But this itself is merely a fabrication masquerading as an insightful perception concerning the mechanisms by which civilizations are formed.

Another puzzle is that although traces of Africa are sought in America, no one seeks – or finds – traces of America in Africa. Surely, if mutual relations and regular maritime traffic existed, characteristically American cultural items should be found in Africa and in Asia. Yet there are none before the seventeenth century.

### *Pyramids and the absence of the wheel, the riddle of cotton*

Pyramids were built in the ancient East in Mesopotamia, where the ziggurats served as sacred temples, as well as in the Pacific Ocean, India and elsewhere. In Egypt the custom of perpetuating kings in pyramids began with Djoser, who ruled in 2630–11 BC, and ended during the New Kingdom (XIX–XX Dynasties) and the Third Intermediate Period; it was later renewed by the Nubian XXV Dynasty (712–657 BC), which built pyramids in northern Sudan and elsewhere. Over the course of centuries, the character and structure of the pyramids changed.<sup>27</sup> The classic Egyptian pyramid was used primarily as a burial site for kings and a temple of the dead. In Latin America pyramids were built beginning in the first millennium BC, until the twelfth century AD. In other words, pyramids were built

in America before the Nubian Dynasty renewed their construction in Egypt. In general American pyramids are made of graded heaps of earth, their flanks are tiled with stone and they have temples at their tops, like the Sumerian ziggurats but unlike the Egyptian pyramids. More important, the structure of the American and Egyptian pyramid was crucially different, in addition to having different purposes.<sup>28</sup>

Aside from structure and location, Egyptian and pre-Columbian pyramids differed in their religious and social role. The Mexican pyramids did not serve as burial places for kings but were used for ritual mass human sacrifice (the sun god was nourished by human blood). Human sacrifice was not practiced in Egypt. Adjacent to the pyramids in pre-Columbian America, ball courts were built for ritual purposes while ball games were unknown in the ancient East. Moreover, if the Egyptians actually brought this knowledge, why did they not bring their considerable knowhow in other fields as well?

Indeed, let us consider other cultural analogues. Underlying the strategy of analogues are the assumptions that appearance is all – items which look alike must have a single common source – and that the human imagination cannot create similar objects in different places. Cultural artefacts similar in appearance, such as pyramids, or other cultural products such as the technique of mummification, religious ritual, the yearly calendar, script and so forth are all said to have a single source. We are asked to believe that the inhabitants of pre-Columbian America developed their rich cultural system, including technology and ritual, language and symbols, art and architecture, entirely under the influence of small groups of settlers or visitors. One could, of course, argue that the items in question are easily disseminated and could be rapidly transmitted from one culture to another. But if the foreign cultures were more advanced in every field, why did they only partially influence the cultures of America? If Nubian sailors gave America its architectural heritage (the pyramids), a calendar and religious symbols, why not language and script? Typically African beasts of prey were reputedly found in America; why, then, did the horse, a vital mode of transportation and instrument of war in Egypt and the Near East, remain unknown to the new continent until the sixteenth century?<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the same is true of all the domesticated animals of the ancient East.

If we accept, for argument's sake, the view that there is some resemblance between the Sumerian and Olmec tongues, or between hieroglyphics and Mayan script, we must ask why, despite these influences, did the Mayas or the Incas not adopt hieroglyphic script or, more conveniently, the Canaanite or Greek alphabet? Consider, for example, a central item of material civilization, the wheel. The problem of the wheel crops up in every discussion in this connection. One of the arguments put forth against the theory of Phoenician–Egyptian influence is that the South American

cultures did not have the wheel. Surely the conquerors or settlers would have made wheels for transportation and other needs. How can one account for the absence of an artefact so central throughout the ancient East? Van Sertima does not mention the wheel. Von Wuthenau, however, offers a preposterous argument. Perhaps, he says, Phoenician seamen took no interest in the wheel and so did not bring it with them; or, possibly, the wheel was a sacred religious symbol and therefore prohibited in everyday use. Obviously the building of a wheel was an easy task for a trained craftsman, and everyone in the East knew its value. In *America's Ancient Civilization*, the Verrills, aware of the ramifications of the problem, state that the Sumerians brought the wheel to South America. They cite as evidence drawings of children's games in which wheels are used. This is, of course, absurd: if the wheel was known, why was its use limited to children's games? And how does one explain the fact that the people of pre-Columbian America had no knowledge of iron, used stones, wooden swords and spears topped with bronze or a star-shaped piece of stone as weapons?

Moreover, if fruits and vegetables could travel from continent to continent, why didn't more of them do so? Why did not the voyagers bring seeds and saplings of plants and trees indigenous to the Mediterranean or African landscape? (Seeds can be distributed across great distances by birds and other means, such as weather. This is characteristic in regions with a temperate or tropical climate. Seeds, for example, can be spread by birds through the digestive tract, or by sticking to their feathers.<sup>30</sup>) If there was an exchange of goods, why, until the 'discovery of America' in the modern era, did the peoples of Africa and the Mediterranean basin have no knowledge of certain American imports which have since become staples of their culture: corn and gourds, potatoes, tomatoes and cocoa? Conversely, how is it that America was unacquainted with domesticated cattle, wheat, rice, the plow, various metals (with the exception of bronze), etc.? The fact is that the civilizations on either side of the ocean were completely cut off from one another and, more importantly, completely different from one another.

### *'Discovery' and 'influence' reconsidered*

In what sense can the claim be made that the Egyptians 'discovered' America? What did they actually discover? If by discovery we mean finding something entirely new, then obviously America was not discovered by Columbus, just as China was not discovered by Marco Polo or Australia by Captain Cook. These places were there before European ships dropped anchor in their waters and before Western travelers visited them and recounted their marvels. Their peoples had their own histories and developed independent cultures. These lands were discovered by Europe simply

because Europe was the crux of universal history. Europe made the discovery of new lands an end in itself. It joined all the parts of the world into a single interwoven framework, not only from the standpoint of world picture and knowledge, but also in terms of mutual relations. Europe made the world one. The age of the geographical discoveries allowed a fuller and more reliable world picture to be drawn. For better or worse, it is impossible to understate the enormous impact the appearance of Europeans had in areas of the world which were new to them. One can, of course, condemn the consequences which attended their penetration into America, Africa and Asia; yet there is no denying the tremendous difference between accidental cultural diffusion and the dissemination of Western civilization. The 'West' drew maps, explored newly accessible parts of the globe, recorded the results of its studies, and made an effort to harmonize them with the earlier world picture, though it was forced to change this picture in the end. The discoveries affected the discoverers as well as the lands discovered. None of this occurred until ships from the West began plying the waters of the Indian and Atlantic Ocean.

Let us assume, again, that ships from West Africa reached America and that settlers disembarked there. Let us even assume that Egyptian, Phoenician or Carthaginian ships dropped anchor off the coast of Mexico, and that their passengers trekked to the interior and imparted some of their wisdom to the local inhabitants. Ultimately, they discovered nothing because they did not return to tell about their 'findings', and if they did return, they kept the knowledge to themselves. For centuries to come, the old and new worlds continued to dwell separate and apart, unaware of each other's existence. African, Egyptian or Phoenician seafarers did not return to their home ports laden with goods from America, nor did they rush to tell of the wonders they had seen. Those who came from the old world, if there were any, may have left their imprint on the new, but it disappeared into its depths. The entire process was radically altered in the aftermath of the Age of Discovery, which began in the sixteenth century. The new world then not only became a target and destination for the old, it also became an integral part of that world. The age of exploration did more than produce a map of new worlds; it fused those worlds together in an unbroken bond. Even if Columbus did not discover America, he forged the first link in the chain which made America part of a single unit. Preceding him in creating this global union were Portuguese seafarers; after him came Portuguese and Spanish explorers and conquistadors. The discovery of a country or a continent thus entails more than arriving, disembarking and becoming part of the new land. 'Discovery' means returning to one's home country, sharing the new knowledge, and returning to the new-found place in order to explore it further. These conditions were not met until the Portuguese and Spanish set sail.

None of this rules out the possibility that ties existed between Africa

and South America and the Caribbean during the Middle Ages. But it is impossible to reconstruct those ties with any degree of historical reliability; we have no way of knowing which of the genuine analogues were the result of influence, and which were accidental. Only the obsessiveness associated with universal history leads to the sterile attempt to draw a detailed map of contacts and influences, and to perceive every similarity as convincing proof of such encounters. But the significant fact remains that until the arrival of the Spaniards and Portuguese there is no hint in the Latin American cultures of any common consciousness or of intensive mutual relations. Any old-world influences there might have been were so thoroughly absorbed that they disappeared within the native cultures which had developed locally, independently and in a manner totally different from the cultures of Africa or the ancient East.

Both the literature which would date the discovery of America hundreds of years before 1492, and the writings which seek to prove that the source of Aztec, Mayan, Inca and other cultures lay in Asia and Africa, give the impression that the pre-Columbian civilizations were quite shallow. Actually, they were rich in form and diversified in content (though cruelty was pervasive in everyday life), and underwent many changes through the centuries, from the pre-classical period (1500 BC to 300 AD) until the arrival of the Iberian conquerors. The American peoples spoke different languages and dialects, had different physiognomic features and developed diverse forms of religion, ritual and regime. True, a great deal of continuity is discernible among these cultures – from the Olmecs to the Aztecs – but so is considerable change and transmutation. To examine these cultures in terms of an African external influence is to trivialize and fictionalize a riveting history which was played out over a vast area. To do so would be an Afrocentric mutation of the Eurocentric approach.

Furthermore, most scholars agree that there was not a single, exclusive demographic source of the new world's population, and that even if the majority reached America from Asia by land (via the Bering Strait), others may have come by sea. The populations of the Americas cannot be squeezed into a single ethnic category; moreover, they spoke an astonishing number of languages.<sup>31</sup> The American cultures (like the African cultures) did not forge just one single cultural framework, notwithstanding the reciprocal influences that existed between old and new cultures in America until the arrival of the Europeans. Neither racial origin, nor linguistic or religious proximity, nor African influences created a uniform pre-Columbian civilization of the kind that came into being in North and South America beginning in the sixteenth century. If the idea is to argue that blacks preceded whites as colonizers, then this is a revisionist history of colonialism, with blacks cast in the role of the pioneers. Implicit in this account is the idea that the inhabitants of South America were incapable of developing central facets of their civilization independently – in other



words, a striking case for the superiority of black civilization. This fatuous claim is about as valid as saying that the Native American Indians were descended from the ten lost tribes and that therefore the Jews have 'historic rights' to the United States of America.

*Redemption by the theory of black colonization?*

The Afrocentric rejection of and objections to the Eurocentric world picture has taken many forms, such as attempts to undermine the concept of the discovery of America. How could one 'discover' what was always there? The pre-Columbian cultures had flourished in complete independence of Europe. America was not an object of Europe. Columbus did not discover America, he merely paved the way for its conquest by the West. From the viewpoint of the native, indigenous population, emphasizing the idea that their distant forebears inhabited America long before the white man arrived, and that these forebears were not conquerors (though at the dawn of history they had been both migrants and conquerors), reinforced the non-European identity of the Latin American culture. Yet it is precisely here, in the theories which claim that pre-Columbian cultures were descended from Asian or African cultures, that irony abounds. The implication is that, left to their own devices, pre-Columbian cultures were incapable of reaching the heights of civilization, requiring an external force to fertilize, bringing them ready-made language and writing, astronomy and architecture, ritual and religion, science and technology. It follows, unavoidably, that the peoples of America were mentally deficient; a few ships' crews from Egypt, Phoenicia or Africa sufficed to make an indelible impression on the native culture. Clearly, this theory is contemptuous of the local culture and views it as completely dependent. This theory of cultural diffusion relegates the pre-Columbian cultures to the status of offspring of the cultures of the Near East, Africa, Asia and others. Thus the appearance of black sailors in the Bay of Yucatan and their impact on the local culture is not perceived as colonialism, completely unlike the attitude taken toward Cortez and Pizarro. In fact this theory, again, justifies conquest and colonization of inferior people by a powerful superior nation.

The authors of America's alternative history of America seem to believe that if they can convince their readers that black migrants and settlers reached the continent in antiquity, or even during the Middle Ages, then the history of America would no longer revolve around a cruel encounter between European colonizers and local peoples. Rather, blacks would be considered the settlers and immigrants, creators and disseminators of culture. Blacks, therefore, would not be considered aliens in America. America would be their homeland; belonging to them far more than the immigrants from the West. Thus, while arguing that the great pre-Columbian civilizations are nothing but African offspring, the result of

Africa migration and colonization, Afrocentric universal history describes the black people of Africa as the greatest colonizers ever to exist and at the same time deprives the descendants of Latin America of their indigenous cultural heritage – doing the very same thing they claim was done to black people by Western colonial imperialism and by fictitious white history.

The sad paradox is the fact that the growing sense of separatism, pride and superiority of Afrocentric racialism has created a new hierarchy, in which other ethnic groups are pushed to the bottom of the ladder; their contribution to American history is now described as minimal, and they are perceived not as allies in a multi-ethnic society, but as rivals and adversaries.<sup>32</sup>

## Conclusion

. . . negritude has brought dangers. It has tended to become a school, to become a church, to become a theory, an ideology . . . my conception of negritude is not biological, it's cultural and historical . . . I think there is always a danger in basing something on the black blood in our veins . . .

Aimé Césaire, quoted in René Depestre, *Bonjour et adieu à la négritude*, Paris, 1980, 144-5<sup>1</sup>

Afro-Americans, of course, are neither from Egypt, nor from the famous lost cities.

Albert Murray, *The Role of the Pre-American Past*<sup>2</sup>

The Afrocentric universal history is, for its believers, a new gospel,<sup>3</sup> and as such is central to the fresh perceptions of the new black-American middle class and intellectuals. Understandably, attempts to denigrate it meet with furious ripostes directed against an 'oppressive culture' or against a 'typically racist' approach. Scholarly disagreement turns into racist polemic, eliminating the possibility of serious debate.<sup>4</sup> Although proponents of the new theory are, in essence, a militant opposition group, advocates of an 'oppositional culture', they have been a fully fledged sector of the intellectual and academic institutionalized establishment ever since the 1970s,<sup>5</sup> with their own legitimate interests. Clearly, the new historical writing grew as part of the intense response to centuries of cruel oppression and vicious exploitation, discrimination and humiliation deriving from self-declared European or white supremacy, based on racist doctrines which dictated norms of behavior throughout the Western world. Blacks' feelings of inferiority and rage have given way to a sense of superiority, producing the embarrassing and paradoxical phenomenon of intellectual black racism.

Still, we should distinguish between racist theory which has served the ruling classes and oppressors, and that which is largely a reaction, a form of self-consolation on the part of the victims. This distinction, however, should not affect the need to scrutinize and, if warranted, criticize the new racist theories.

Afrocentrism is a protest and revolt; it expresses the inner tension

between integration and separation, and, as such, the 'American dilemma'.<sup>6</sup> The first Afrocentric mode of response was to list the range of black contributions, real or imagined, to American culture and society, extending literature, science and technology, politics and the military, and even the Wild West.<sup>7</sup> America, stated David Walker in 1829, 'is more our country than it is the whites' – we have enriched it with our blood and tears'.<sup>8</sup> The black American was 'made in America'.

The next stage was to expand the scope of the African-American horizon, to create a homeland and glorious history of the black people in Africa. The African-Americans are a diaspora in exile without a homeland, a real and heavenly homeland. Thus, they created new links, not to particular post-colonial African states, but to the entire continent, which being real, became even more than that, an imagined old–new homeland.

Yet, geography itself was insufficient, and a black race was invented: a race with a glorious history – a universal world-wide history and a cult of African moral, cultural superiority and a distinct African world.<sup>9</sup> Here African-Americans hoped to find compensation for their sense of inferiority, as well as the restoration of their self-esteem. Thus, the 'black race' was endowed with a magnificent cultural past dating back to the dawn of civilization. African-Americans were thus perceived not as 'made-in-America blacks' without historical depth.<sup>10</sup> Yet, underlying this tactic, I believe, was a positive evaluation of American culture, the culture of the enslaving majority. It was as though American blacks were determined to display the full array of their own cultural assets and cultural activity in order to prove they had always been an integral part of American history and American civilization, that they had contributed to America as much as the others.<sup>11</sup> The Afrocentric goal is to create a new African world in the New World.

In the African-American instance, as with others, this effort was of tremendous importance in restoring a sense of self-worth and self-esteem. The goal was laudable: to refute the idea that some peoples or races are genetically inferior. But two of the underlying principles of this effort bear closer examination. First, the fact that a particular group once had a glorious culture says nothing about its situation in the present. Many groups with long histories have experienced periods of cultural growth and prosperity, followed by enervation and decline, a process caused by shifting objective circumstances, unrelated to imminent subjective traits. Second, the effort involves the internalization of the racial principle: it accepts the approach that a particular racial group has a permanent and unvarying qualitative intellectual advantage. In other words, it ascribes to the group ontological and epistemological traits that are given expression in its 'genius', a metahistorical element. Cultural decline, then, is never due to imminent weakness, but is always the product of the group's transformation into an object, i.e. Western imperialism is the force which brought about the enfeeblement of African (or Muslim) civilization.

In recent decades African-American self-consciousness has fluctuated between the first and the second poles of opinion. So it was both natural and logical to conceive and cultivate the idea that the black race possessed a high culture, the product of its innate gifts, which developed without any external influence. Just as natural and logical was the emergence and intensification of the concept that the entire non-black culture was greatly indebted to black culture. Would it, therefore, be correct to argue that African-Americanism in its radical Afrocentric version articulates a new formula which will restrain the continuing trends of black emancipation and acculturation in America? If so, we are witnessing the adoption of an approach which is both ahistoric and sterile. Harping on an interconnection between the culture of Greece and the culture of Egypt, with the goal of demonstrating the former's debt to the latter, obscures the true historical lesson of this connection, assuming that it really existed.

What remains is to examine the relevance which Afrocentric authors find in the historical picture described in these chapters. Two potential, and polemic, directions can be taken. The first is the conclusion that blacks have no need of white culture; they can achieve a fully fledged, fully autonomous alternative culture and society, and thus completely detach themselves, intellectually and culturally, from the white culture without suffering any adverse effects. On the contrary; separatism is part and parcel of 'black Messianism' and of the redemptive process. Not only do the blacks have their own intellectual tradition; their tradition is the first, it is whole and it is true. To provide a foundation and give depth to this alternative, historical (and religious-Messianic) scholarship is recruited to supply the black society with a magnificent and all-inclusive past. One finds a similar type of alternative posited by radical fundamentalist movements in Islam and in Judaism (as well as in other civilizations with long traditions). The fundamentalists in both faiths insist that their religion-culture is all-embracing and has no need of interplay with other cultures; on the contrary, every such contact is pernicious and dangerous.

The other potential path is for the blacks to integrate themselves into the European-American tradition founded on the Greek heritage because they have a large share in it. The Western Greek intellectual heritage, to which the new historical (or mythographical) lays claim, is perceived as being replete with liberal values, aesthetic yearnings, rationalism and universal humanism; the integrative approach would validate an association with this particular tradition. This is really a strategy of disguise for the purpose of acculturation.<sup>12</sup> In other words, if the Western intellectual heritage is the progeny of the black intellectual heritage, then obviously the black has an integral share in it. George G. M. James calls upon the black people to achieve mental emancipation by boycotting white literature, to stop quoting Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, to 'abolish all Greek lettered fraternities

and sororities from all colored colleges, delete the names of Pythagoras from mathematical books', etc.<sup>13</sup> Yet one wonders what difference it makes whether Plato and Aristotle were black or white, or whether they 'stole' their ideas from black Egyptian sources, as long as one accepts the Platonic or Aristotelian philosophy, rather than rejecting it as a white heritage, as in the first alternative. Because the Greek intellectual heritage is perceived as representing universal values of rationalism and liberalism, its adoption, even if disguised as a black heritage, is only a means to share in the world of Western values.

This yearned for freedom from the white man's history is but one act of salvation offered by radical black raciology and Africology, it is African cultural holism. We already saw how Marimba Ani (Dona Richards) offers a way to free the mind and the spirit of the Africans from the bondage of white Western categories of thought about the universe and revives the genuine black and Egyptian *Wesen*. Leaving the author's interpretation of Western phenomenology, values and her 'pure' African concepts aside,<sup>14</sup> what is important here is her claim that it was Platonic philosophy which shaped the Western world-view and Western patterns of behavior; it was Plato who was responsible for the transition of the Homeric and the pre-Socratic world-view, originally shaped by the Egyptian-African world-view.<sup>15</sup> Plato, she writes, had to argue for the supremacy of the new European (Greek) world-view, 'fighting the Sophists, the powerful ancient mystery systems, ancient Kemetic (Egyptian) science, philosophy, religion, and other philosophical and ideological possibilities. He had to change the mental outlook of the culture.'<sup>16</sup> At the same time, Ani takes the view that Plato (and Aristotle) stole their ideas from the Egyptian-African (black) priests, and thus Platonic philosophy – and as a result, the European world-view – is originally African.<sup>17</sup> However, if both Plato and Moses were pupils of the Egyptian priests and their wisdom was nothing but a product of profanation and plagiarism, how can their philosophy or religious ideals be in total contradiction to the Egyptian-African religious and philosophical heritage at the same time? And if, as some Afrocentric authors argue, Christianity is founded on Ethiopian-African rituals and practices,<sup>18</sup> how can one claim that Christianity is alien to the African soul?

We have seen that Afrocentrism has two alternatives: one, to build an historical past and heritage founded on a universal basis in order to become integrated into the wider American society as a minority with equal rights. Second, to build an historical past and heritage in order to cut itself off from American society in particular, and from the Western tradition in general. 'Once and for all', wrote Du Bois, 'let us realize that we are Americans, that we were brought here with the earliest settlers so completely "made in America," as the African-Americans.' The black slaves and their offspring absorbed American culture, and therefore the task facing them is to become

integrated into this society and tear down all the barriers between them and that society. Even if such a thing as an African personality exists, is not an absolute opposite to the white Western personality.

The first alternative created the drive to appropriate the Western heritage – Greek civilization and the Judeo-Christian tradition – and to portray it as having origins and roots in the black race's culture or cultures. Hence the vast effort invested in trying to prove that the literate cultures of the Greek and Hellenistic-Roman worlds on the one hand, and of Judaism and Christianity (as well as of Islam), on the other, originated in black Egypt, or even in Africa. Only a marginal effort is devoted to an attempt to prove that the cultures of the Far East also have African origins, because black people do not live in these countries. If there is occasionally such an effort, it stems from a desire to prove that what the West received from the Far East (or from the ancient Semitic world) originated in the black race's culture. According to this theory, black people and black culture have been distributed throughout the world by the processes of ethnic diffusion and cultural transmission. The black replaces the white, or Indo-European race as the creator of culture and progress. Their subordinate status and oppression are the outcome of the vicissitudes of history which turned the black race, the creator of culture, into a victim, condemning them to slavery and cultural inferiority (at least in the technical sense). Afrocentrism does not provide an explanation of how or why the black race's culture, which attained so many achievements, became a victim of oppression in white culture, the spoils of colonialism, and political, economic and cultural imperialism, nor does it explain what brought about the deterioration of the black race's cultures. The only explanation offered is that the black race was not aggressive by nature and hence was easy prey for the white Western civilization, known for its inherent aggression.

The second alternative makes it necessary to set apart the context of the black African and to depict him/her as a special personality and collective entity, whose world is organized and shaped not by the Eurocentrist tradition, but by the Afrocentrist tradition. The black African is depicted as belonging to a special, separate and very broad entity, that of Africans, and the black Americans as a collective which belongs to a wide, distinct and unique black entity, an African personality. If the African-American could not be an assimilated American by 'whatever means he might use to escape from the stigma of being a black' (because he has 'borne in his personality the mark of oppression'), and at the same time has almost completely lost his African cultural heritage,<sup>19</sup> the only real solution is to create a new African-American sub-culture, with defined boundaries between it and the other American sub-cultures. This would have not only African ethnic food, African ethnic music and African symbols, but a national culture based on a distinct racial collective personality.<sup>20</sup> This new African-American identity may be regarded as a symbolic ethnicity, using, within

the American context, various real or invented African-originated traditions; traditions, which, in a definition by Herbert J. Gans, may be 'only a more visible form of long standing phenomena, or of a new stage of acculturation and assimilation'.<sup>21</sup>

Here, I believe, lies the profound dilemma of the Afrocentric theory: should it argue that 'Western' genesis and evolution originated in the 'African' cultural-spiritual experience, and, to prove this, reconstruct ancient cultural history? Or should it argue on behalf of a total distinction and separation between the white West and black people wherever they exist, on behalf of a total separation in values and categories of thought? The new African-American is full of confidence: 'Fear is gone essentially because we are in the process of becoming a Black Nation, a nation that is as real as if it had a capital.'<sup>22</sup> But what is the nature of this capital? Is it a pure cultural-spiritual African capital; does it contain elements taken from the white Western capital; or is it a synthesis of the two? What kind of a capital or culture would help the black-American 'nation' gain equality with all the other groups which make up multicultural American society, or would help it split off from that society and become – as some radical Afrocentrists would like – a separate, self-sufficient nation within a nation?

Needless to say, rhetoric is much simpler than reality. To effect a total break with Western civilization and categories of Western thinking is no simple act of conversion for any civilization, and even less so for any minority group or sub-culture. But to build a new and complete self-evident world, to create new historical roots and historical depth, a new organizing principle, a new set of values is far more difficult still. Many radical and holistic ideologies – from Japan to Latin America – have been severely bruised trying to realize this kind of spiritual-cultural utopia. It is the kind of ideology which can easily give rise to an identity crisis or a radicalism of acrimony, even to fanaticism and violence. The struggle of a minority to re-establish its collective identity and self pride may very quickly lead from an emphasis on the minority's contribution to the general society, to an ideology of cultural and social isolation and an inevitable conflict with that society. From a narrower point of view, it can lead to the creation of an imaginary past and future.<sup>23</sup> The crucial question is, and will remain, whether this imaginary past functions as a refuge in which one can find shelter in the realm of myth and fantasy from the present day, or whether these myths function only to add an important dimension to the life of the African-American community, a dimension of self-pride and self-esteem which acts not as an obstacle, but as a spur to progress.

Not all African-Americans share this way of thinking and not all of them share this longing for a glorious past. Critics 'from within' even point out the regressive nature of this type of Afrocentrism, as well as its 'false notions of biological determinism and racialism'.<sup>24</sup> From this Afrocentric point of



view, African uniqueness, singularity (and superiority) is founded, not only on a narrow definition of Afrocentrism,<sup>25</sup> but also on the so-called 'melanin theory', which tries to explain the genetic roots of the alleged unique (and superior) cognitive faculties of the black people and black spirituality.<sup>26</sup> According to this theory, white albinos can be genetically destroyed by the melanin-dominant genes of blacks.<sup>27</sup>

The key question posed by this study is whether the new reconstruction of universal history by the Afrocentrist school, is history or myth. The answer is that this is a reconstruction which manipulates the various historical sources; that, in its use of diverse historical traditions, it has been unsuccessful in creating harmony between them, in fact, it has exposed substantive internal contradictions. Although this reconstruction has raised anew old historical questions, and has also proposed several worthwhile changes in the dominant historical paradigm, as an alternative counter-history it lacks substance.

It seems that certain circles in the USA react to the emergence of racial Afrocentrism and its mythical history with some degree of astonishment. They are astonished by the fact that a society that bases itself on the principle of universalism, principles of ethnocentric particularism can play an ever-growing role. Ethnocentrism and its tendency to base itself on an historical past, real or imaginary, on historical myth and the myths of history, as well as on the political and cultural manipulation of these myths, are perceived as a challenge to the unifying foundation of America. Sometimes this phenomenon is regarded as being destructive in nature<sup>28</sup> – almost an ethnic crisis, fitting for some parts of the old world, certainly for the awakening third world, but definitely not for a rational society like the United States, which is fundamentally future oriented. Some authors are truly amazed at the power of historical myths, as if they were alien to the spirit of America, as if they were not a basic element of nearly every national identity, even of every religious faith. Ethnocentricity is thus perceived to be an importation of archaic, organicist, mythological principles contradictory and antithetical to the spirit of America. Ethnocentricity is regarded as foreign to its pluralist nature, fomenting separatism. The paradox is that this 'new' American ethnocentricity, the idea of multiculturalism, the challenge to the old cultural hierarchy, and the claim that every group has a legitimate historical narrative of its own, are all important items of American export at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and they resonate through their influence in the third world.

A second question, which stems from the first, lies in the utilitarian plane. We have asked whether the new reconstruction, assuming we accept it, does in fact serve the ideological (and social and political) goals that motivated its creation. Can one accept Norman Harris' conclusion that 'History is key because when the individual appropriately submerges

himself in the reservoir of African history, then that submersion allows the individual to discover him or herself in the context of that history and thereby to judge the reality of any given phenomenon'?<sup>29</sup> And if it should turn out that this 'history' is but a myth or a fabrication, does this not endanger the new world picture and the important redemptive role assigned to it?

My answer is that the new reconstruction has made a tremendous contribution to shaping the new self-awareness of the black community consisting of more than 30 million people in the United States (and of black peoples in Africa). However, inherent in it are substantive assumptions which put into doubt its ideological use, and even contradict the Afrocentric ideology, thus undermining some of its basic assumptions instead of supporting them.

The emergence of the Afrocentric historical-cultural consciousness in the United States can be related to two phenomena: a new awareness of the multi-ethnic and multicultural nature of American society on the one hand, and the long history of the rise of national and ethnic revival movements on the various continents, on the other. Nearly all national revival movements have been accompanied and aided by the nurturing of an historical awareness, based on a new reconstruction of their history (so creating an alternative history), providing the collective with a shared historical past. This new historical past – real or imagined or a combination of the two – fulfills various purposes: it deepens the national cohesiveness, reinforces a recognition of self-worth, provides legitimacy for territorial and political aspirations, and presents various paradigms of culture, government, etc. Nations and ethnic groups everywhere have fought to rehabilitate their historical past and have done so by reviving cultural assets from their classical or pre-classical periods. They have revived and standardized their ancient or less ancient languages, collected literature and popular writings which ostensibly represented the authentic spirit of the people, and re-written their national history. The blacks in the United States were savagely wrenched from their lands, their languages and their cultures. It was a brutal dislocation, at once geographical and cultural. Even if there were elements of cultural continuity between the African cultures and various strata in the cultures of the black community in America – they lack a written culture, a common language and religion, and were Christianized.<sup>30</sup>

Afrocentrism in the United States has much in common with various national movements, but there is a salient difference: the black nationalism of African-Americans is not a national or ethnic movement striving for political sovereignty or even for autonomy. Its intent is to bolster the self-consciousness of a minority within the multi-ethnic American society, and to vaunt the array of its positive traits.<sup>31</sup> The self-awareness of the African-American minority is linked in various ways to the development of

national movements and of national consciousness in the various African states, but it is a disparate phenomenon since it is active within the framework of American society. However, there are at least two decisive differences between the African-American community and other groups in the United States. First, the black people came there unwillingly, under coercion; not as immigrants, but as slaves, and for generations endured the horrible suffering of brutal slavery, humiliation and discrimination. Hence, the process of rehabilitating their sense of self-value has been particularly long and arduous, and has given rise to radical manifestations. Second, the blacks' process of Americanization was different from that of other groups of immigrants, in so far as religion, language and culture were imposed on them by the majority society, which was also the oppressor society. This led to a strong emphasis on racial commonality, the element which creates a common culture. The collective effort of the black community to invent a past and to create a heritage and common cultural tradition in an exile, which is in fact their homeland, was consequently more difficult than that of any other group. Although the Afrocentric view would argue that this is a revival or rediscovery, in my opinion, what we have here is invention. For this very reason, it is a great collective endeavor to create something from nothing and to fill an immense void; an endeavor which merits not only our understanding but also our empathy. In our criticism of the historical attacks contained in the Afrocentrists' claims, and many of the radical expressions accompanying them, we ought not to overlook the fact that other societies have also used historical myths and an invented or imaginary past. Nor should we forget that this community's need for a historical past and a cultural heritage is needed to rehabilitate and construct the consciousness of a public which has undergone a process of dehumanization, more so than any other community – with the exception of the Jews of Europe during the short and horrifying period of Nazi rule – in modern history.

While other minorities have a defined homeland and a defined hinterland, the black minority has no such clear-cut home front to fall back on, nor can it point to consecutiveness and continuity, even if it does find continuity in certain cultural traits, such as music, dance, motor behavior, patterns of social behavior, ritual, intuition and the like.<sup>32</sup> Hence, the hinterland it prefers is not any one of the African peoples or states, nor any other African culture, but rather the entire African continent and the entire black race, whose areas of life and activity existed not only in Africa, but on other continents as well. Afrocentrism was born as a result of disillusionment with political and social emancipation and with the non-fulfillment of expectations. At the same time it was a result of the emergence of an African-American middle class, consisting of colleagues, university graduates, members of the educational system, achievers in the fields of literature, music, theater, the film industry, sport, politics, etc. In addition it has a dis-

inct black-American market.<sup>33</sup> The almost natural reaction to such disillusionment is to nurture an awareness of uniqueness and encourage as broad a secondary culture as possible. Instead of the old image of the black people's total dependence on the white Western culture, they are depicted as the possessors of a complete culture of their own – a literate culture, one with a history – as people who have made a valuable contribution to the formation of Western civilization, instead of people who lack any assets or rights to it. The conclusion derived from this picture is that co-existence between African-American sub-culture and general American culture is possible. This sub-culture is seen to be based not only on African folklore, ways, beliefs, folk tales, social behavior and ritual, but also on African religion and philosophy.<sup>34</sup> African Afrocentrists took over Harlem's renaissance (of the 1920s),<sup>35</sup> but went over the top in insisting on race history, pride, and exploration of the roots of Afro-American culture and of African-Americans as a separate people, emphasizing their unique Africanness. They then developed this much further by creating a new world history in which a single, generic 'African' entity, with its own unique ethos, is at the core. That, writes Michael L. Blakey, 'not only obscures the rich diversity of African (and other) cultures but also obfuscates many of the real human achievements and failings in the history of these civilizations'.<sup>36</sup>

Both African-American and African critics of the radical Afrocentrist approach have asserted that this submergence in the classical past – real or imagined – is apt to take the form of an escape from reality, and no less so, from modernity. The alienation of pre-modern African societies, described as harmonious, from the technological development and social change which could serve as a model and source of inspiration, would have a regressive effect. According to Makungu M. Akinyela, 'The major weakness of Afrocentricity exists in limiting its social critique to the role of the white supremacist racism and abstracting and dehistoricizing culture in its relationship to politics and power. Afrocentricity for the most part implicitly accepts the legitimacy of static, positivistic epistemology'.<sup>37</sup> According to this view, Afrocentricity cannot accept biological determinism, nor can it cut itself off from the Western world of knowledge, even when it identifies with African past and heritage. Thus, for example, Paulin J. Hountondji criticized the ideology of blackness, arguing that 'the popular idea of a specific African essence and personality embracing a peculiar epistemology and sensibility is erroneous'. Hountondji advocates a 'dynamic African culture subject to change according to the dictates of changing political and technological realities'.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, radical Afrocentrism, which describes Western science and the Western idea of progress as contradicting the humanistic and spiritual soul and viewpoint of the black race, hoping that the 'bankruptcy of western technics', will cause it to 'turn back to the original ideas of Africa'.<sup>39</sup> Ideas about harmonious social order are not only ahistorical but also digressive in nature.<sup>40</sup>

Critics of Afrocentrism – such as Michael Blakey, Skip Gates, Clarence Earl Walker, Valentin Mudimbe, Shomarka Keita, Bassey Andah, Kwame Appiah, Kwasi Wiredu and many others – are basically right in their criticism. However, if we recall that other cultures have their own type of Afrocentrism, we will understand why this criticism, logical and rational as it is, fails to convince those who are devoted to the Afrocentric view and its historical reconstruction of humankind and world history.

It is impossible to avoid noting the internal contradiction in this attempt to define a unique African philosophy. According to the basic Afrocentric assumption, it is language which creates the concepts and categories of world-view. However, all the Afrocentrists write in English and use a Western system of concepts, even though, conscious of the problem, they try to propose a new language and to utilize a few key concepts in one of the African languages (particularly Bantu), as alternative authentic insights in place of Western ones. Yet even if we assume that the African collective is not an abstract, fictitious entity, the opposite of Western man, the question still remains: could black people, who have lived for generations in Western society, really have preserved their supposedly pure and original Africanism without assimilating the values and insights of the surrounding culture? Could African tradition become the source and basis of black African-American national cultures? The fact that American Afrocentrism tried to appropriate ancient Egyptian culture and even regard it as a living cultural heritage proves that it could not.

The reconstructed historical past has provided a picture of the past, a new pantheon of modern, secular black heroes,<sup>41</sup> and a repertoire for a secondary black culture, ranging from children's literature,<sup>42</sup> museums and organized trips, to theater performances, children's games, historical societies, new festivals (such as the Kwanza [Swahili – 'first fruit'] Holiday, celebrated from December 26–January 1, created by Maulana Ron Karenga in 1966 to celebrate the 'unique heritage of African Americans'),<sup>43</sup> periodicals and circulars; from elementary schools to colleges and universities, accompanied by a struggle to mold the state school programs according to the demands of black parents.<sup>44</sup> Black colleges and universities have been established in nearly every state, and African-American studies included in other institutions.<sup>45</sup> However, I believe this is not a natural African style that has been created, but rather a kind of official sub-culture which has gained recognition through Black History Month, first established in 1926 as a week-long celebration and in 1976 implemented as a month-long celebration. Although the participants in this program were supposed to learn about the African-Egyptian culture, including hieroglyphics, art, etc., it is difficult to know how many of these secondary cultural traits have really been internalized. A study in 1989 found that 56 per cent of the black public wanted their children to learn an African language, but the number of American blacks who know any African language whatsoever is very small.

Only 5 per cent answered in the affirmative when asked whether they were prepared to be known as 'Africans'.<sup>46</sup> Unquestionably the ideas of the new historiography have permeated from the educated élite to the broader public, particularly in view of the fact that after generations of discrimination and oppression, blacks have developed 'a heightened sense of group consciousness and a stronger orientation toward collective values and behavior than exist generally among Americans'.<sup>47</sup> But, as I have said, a complete alternative African-American secondary culture has not been created.

The great interest in the history of ancient Egypt or the Eastern Mediterranean basin exhibited by the élite and the general public is, of course, an intriguing phenomenon, but one can hardly say that this history has really become an inseparable part of the average black person's world-view. One can go even further and wonder to what extent the history of Africa, including modern Africa, has become a central component in the African-American's world-view, or an element which affects political positions. African-American culture is almost totally American. Its language is English; its way of life resembles that of other Americans. This is the root of the internal tension, which occasionally erupts in radical form. Black Christian churches and Black Islam are, in the final analysis, major expressions of the secondary African-American culture.<sup>48</sup> But Afrocentric separatism is the ideology of a minority within the black American community and Du Bois' characterization of duality is still valid: the African-American '... simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both black and American, without being cursed and spit upon'.<sup>49</sup> Since complete integration in American society is a vision of the future, the creation of an historical-cultural heritage has value even for those hoping for complete integration.<sup>50</sup> Historical awareness and the consciousness of self-value it imparts are essential tools in reconstructing a collective personality, and they have filled an important function in shaping the self-awareness of American blacks. But their value must be measured and tested in view of the question whether they have also helped to motivate the African-American public to improve its status in the economic, social, educational and technological spheres. If it has indeed provided this help, instead of encouraging regression and insularity (out of a sense of racial superiority meant to compensate for, and supplant, a sense of inferiority), even if we argue that the historical reconstruction is a myth which contradicts science and is flawed through its internalization and use of racist categories, the service it has provided will make it a vital factor.

Many view Afrocentrism, and the scholarly historiographic set of ideas it has developed, as a radical, marginal and temporary phenomenon which has taken root in only a small portion of the black community. This argument is difficult to assess. In any event, it is clear that Afrocentrism is a great and interesting literary product, one which forms another link in the long chain of historical scholarship about universal history, diffusion of

culture, race, etc. And it is in this context that I have tried to describe and evaluate it. I hope I have also been able to show that the synchronization of historical traditions derived from various sources, so as to create a correspondence and a single narrative of the history of humanity from its inception, is not a new invention. It already existed in the ancient Near East and in the Greek-Hellenistic world, and has since become a very popular historiographic genre which has given rise to a profusion of books and articles. However, those attempts at synchronization were in the main an outcome of a speculative imagination, a tireless search for a primary source and similarities, and an idiosyncratic concept. All of these contain not only a contradiction of historical facts, but also – and this was my concern here – inner contradictions stemming from the fact that different parts of the various narratives do not really unite into an integrated whole. The correspondence is like a too short blanket, such that correspondence in one regard reveals an imminent contradiction in another.

Radical Afrocentric historical literature is thus a continuation of a very old, well-established Western tradition. The fact is that none of the African-American authors on this subject has claimed that ancient and classical historical writing – be it Jewish, Greek, Hellenistic or Roman – was born of an Egyptian or ‘African’ source, or was inspired by it. Neither Herodotus, Thucydides, Pliny nor Tacitus (nor the writers and editors of the Bible) received their inspiration from earlier Egyptian-African tradition. While the peoples of Africa may have had a cosmology and a philosophy they had no history. Like some parts of Western universal history, the new Afrocentric history is built on earlier historical traditions, which are themselves a product of attempts to reconstruct or, to be more precise, to construct a historical past by means of etymologies, legends and imaginative invention. If the internalization and use of consummately Western patterns of thought has found any expression in the Afrocentric mode of thought, the African-American historical scholarship described here is undoubtedly one of its most distinctive manifestations.

An ‘historical past’ can sometimes help towards redemption. If this ‘historical past,’ in great part an invented and imaginary one, can help the American blacks to compensate themselves for the ‘black hole’ in their past, to rehabilitate their concrete personality, to obliterate the state of ‘slavery in freedom’, it will do more good than harm. However, an historical past and historical consciousness can also deter redemption, or serve as a partial and unsatisfactory substitute for other tools. In the African-American context, an awareness of the past and cultural ethnic pride can only be one helpful tool which, in the absence of other tools, will be unable to fulfill its function.

Romantic nostalgia, myth as history, pseudo-science and racial categories may exercise a powerful destructive power on culture and scholarship. The key question, however, is not whether the Afrocentric world-view and

historical reconstruction is 'myth' or 'history', the key questions in my view are: what are the social, political and cultural uses of myths or 'invented history', how do they function, and what is their outcome in the 'real world'?

America is a unique historical case of a society which allows extreme particularism to exist within one unifying framework. In the long historical perspective, we may not be witnessing anything more than a wave arising from an intense crisis of change, adaptation and adjustment. When it passes, we will be able to assess whether it has damaged the common foundations of American society or, in its own way, strengthened them.



# Appendix: Josephus' Guilt and the Afrocentric Misuse of His Account

In his book *Against Apion*, Josephus Flavius comes to the defense of the Jewish people's antiquity, attempting to prove that the primacy of the people of Israel is confirmed by reliable external historical evidence or, to be more precise, to prove that dependable, authoritative external evidence attests to the historical truth of the settlement of the Hebrews in Egypt and their exodus from that land. For this purpose, Josephus enlisted the testimony of the Egyptian priest, Manetho, the first author to write a history of Egypt (*Aegyptiaca*). According to Josephus, although Manetho's work was imbued with Greek culture, as Manetho himself stated, it was based on sacred records. Thus, Josephus quotes two versions of the same story, based on Manetho: *Contra Apionem*, the first, I. 75–90; the second, I. 227–50. In the first version, according to Josephus, Manetho wrote:

Tutimaeus. In his reign, for what cause I know not, a blast of God smote us, and unexpectedly, from the regions of the East, invaders of an obscure race marched in confidence of victory against our land. By main force they easily seized it without striking a blow; and overpowered the rulers of the land, they then burned our cities ruthlessly, razed to the ground the temples of the gods, and treated all the natives with a cruel hostility, massacring some and leading into slavery the wives and children of others . . . Their race as a whole was called Hyksos, that is 'King-Shepherd': for *hyk* in the sacred language means 'king' and *sos* in common speech is 'shepherds' . . . These kings . . . and their descendants, ruling over the so-called Shepherds, dominated Egypt, according to Manetho, for 511 years. Thereafter, he says, there came a revolt of the kings of the Thebaid and the rest of Egypt against the Shepherd, and a fierce and prolonged war broke out between them . . .<sup>1</sup>

The result of the war was a treaty in accordance with which all the 'Shepherds' departed from Egypt, journeyed across the desert to Syria, and later built a city called Jerusalem in the land now called Judea. In the second

version of this story, Manetho described the so-called Shepherds' 'captives' in Egypt (*ibid.* 91). Consequently, Josephus concludes that this version is in accord with the biblical narrative of Joseph's captivity in Egypt, and that the people called Shepherds are the forefathers of the Israelites who left Egypt and dwelt in Judea (*Ibid.* 16, 103).

Another story says that after the Hyksos were forced to leave Egypt, King Amoposis, eager to purify Egypt, allowed the 'Hebrew mob' to settle in the deserted city of Avaris. Soon this treacherous sect of impure people called upon the Hyksos to join forces with them against the native Egyptians. Their leader was an Egyptian traitor priest named Osersifh (Osaeseph, i.e. Moses). Egypt was again conquered by a foreign nation which devastated and defiled it. After a long struggle the Egyptian army succeeded in driving the enemy back to Syria (*CA. I.* 227–87).<sup>2</sup>

I am not concerned here with the authorship, authenticity, origin or the historical reliability of these versions of Hyskos rule in Egypt,<sup>3</sup> or with a comparison between it and the updated historical reconstruction.<sup>4</sup> My interest lies rather with the impact of Josephus' story which identifies the Hyskos with the Israelites. Nor is it important for my purposes whether Josephus quotes from the original Manetho or from a later, adapted version,<sup>5</sup> or indeed whether Manetho referred to ancient Egyptian annals or indigenous Egyptian legends, or wrote a counter-history to the biblical account because he was aware of the constitutive role played by the Exodus story in the Jewish national consciousness.<sup>6</sup>

For my purpose it is important to note that Josephus' version is consonant with the biblical concept of the Jewish people as a 'young nation', which was not an autochthonous people in Palestine. Josephus, however, influenced by the prevalent view in the classical world (and thereafter) that antiquity is an important value, which endows prestige, felt compelled to prove the historical antiquity of the Jewish people. Hence, with the help of Manetho's testimony, he tried to place this 'youthful' aspect as far back as possible in ancient history. Moreover, since the controversy is rooted in a segment of ancient Jewish history which is part of Egyptian history, and since Josephus' words are directed against Greek authors or writers in Greek, he credited the annals of Egyptian history with incontrovertible historical reliability. But he also distinguishes between reliable Egyptian historical evidence, and folk-tales and traditions invented for manipulative purposes, namely, to denigrate the Jews.<sup>7</sup>

Hence, Josephus replies in kind, exposing himself as well as the subject he is trying to defend to two grave dangers. First, that some reliable historical sources may refute, with solid historical evidence, the facts on which he bases his argument, consequently undermining his fundamental claim; and second, that for the purposes of his apologetics, he may prefer arguments that can be used against him (namely, against the Jews and Judaism). Obviously Josephus could not have been aware of the use future genera-

tions would make of his identification of the Hyskos with the Jewish people. He had no way of foreseeing that his reliance on the story of the Hyskos and their expulsion from Egypt, in order to prove the historicity of the exodus from Egypt and the antiquity of the Hebrews, would boomerang and that his identification of the Hyskos with the Jewish people would serve as a weapon in the hands of an enemy of the Jews. This identification depicted the Jews as 'collaborators' with the Hyskos (*hequakhasht*) 'Rulers of Foreign Lands' and conquerors of lower Egypt, enemies of the native Egyptians who were the natural sons and legitimate heirs to the 'Egyptian homeland.'

The fact that Josephus preserved the story about Moses as a treacherous Egyptian prince (which substantively differs from the story of Moses' upbringing in Pharaoh's palace in Philo's *De Vita Mosis*) enabled future generations to use his account to claim that the Mosaic religion is borrowed from the Egyptians. We have already seen<sup>8</sup> that the motives of these authors was not to prove the Egyptian contribution to culture or science, but rather to underscore the contribution of ancient Egypt to the creation of the universal 'natural religion'. Henry Blaunt, for example, in his 1692 work, based his argument on *Against Apion* when he wrote that Josephus accepted Manetho's words when it was convenient, and rejected them when it was not, but claimed that Manetho's story attests to the fact that the Jews borrowed most of their customs (including circumcision) from the Egyptians.

As I stated earlier, Josephus attributes exaggerated credibility to the historical annals of Egypt, and thereby bases his formative biblical historical reliability on them. It will suffice to note that he errs in his etymology for the meaning of the name 'Hyksos' and that, in fact, the reference is not to 'shepherd kings' (an etymology that alludes to the biblical statement that the children of Israel were 'shepherds, for they have been keepers of cattle' (*Genesis* 46:32) and that 'every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians' (*Genesis* 46:34)) but to 'rulers of the mountain lands' or 'foreign lands'. Moreover, Manetho's chronology, upon which Josephus relies, is also legendary.<sup>9</sup> But much more than a chronological or etymological error is involved here. In itself, the comparison Josephus makes between the biblical story and Manetho's version of events, which he regards as overwhelming evidence of the 'great antiquity of our people', has given others the option of arguing that the biblical story of the Exodus from Egypt originates in Egyptian sources and is not an authentic tradition, since it shares so many elements with Egyptian literature.<sup>10</sup> What is even more serious, from the Jewish perspective, is the fact that Josephus' version has provided grounds for the claim that the Exodus story actually reveals the negative nature of the Jewish people *from early antiquity*.

One could therefore say that if Josephus had not preserved Manetho's version of the story, there may have been no opportunity to attempt to

create an accord between Egyptian history and Jewish history, or to use Egyptian history as a counter-history for Jewish history. Josephus created this opportunity, misused in later years to describe the Jews as conquerors *twice*: once as conquerors of Egypt and the second time, as conquerors of Canaan, as well as attributing the origins of the leaders of Israel and the Torah to an Egyptian source (contradicting the claim that Egyptian wisdom came from the Israelites). In other words, Josephus' defense could be interpreted as a condemnation!

Josephus apparently agrees with Manetho that the Israelites in Egypt were Manetho's Shepherds, and that they dominated the inhabitants of Egypt until they left. However, he rejects Manetho's version, or another source interjected into his writings, which attempts to 'confuse us with leprous and other diseased Egyptians' (this anti-Jewish story may have been based on *Exodus* 12:37, a reference to the 'mixed multitude' that left Egypt with the Israelites). Philo, in his *De Vita Mosis*, states that 'the departing emigrants had among them over six hundred thousand men of military age, while the rest of the multitude, consisting of old men, women-folk and children . . . were accompanied by a promiscuous, nondescript and menial crowd, a bastard host, so to speak . . .'.<sup>11</sup> Philo's intention was to defend the status of the Jews residing in Alexandria, and so, in my view, would never have thought of identifying the Jews with the Hyksos. Hence, he cites the biblical tradition, denounces Pharaoh for having treated the Jews improperly, though they were not prisoners of war; and regards the property taken by the Israelites from Egypt as compensation for their enforced slavery.

In other words, Josephus agrees that the Israelites were foreign conquerors in Egypt. He may not have had any compunction about presenting the events in that manner in a book intended for Greek and Roman readers, since the Ptolemaic rulers were also foreign invaders of Egypt. But this description by Josephus runs counter to the Egyptian 'national' historical memory, which recalls the 'sons of Asia' and the 'Asiatics' with great hostility and repugnance. Ancient Egyptian literature is replete with denigrating comments about the vile Asiatic.<sup>12</sup> 'The Instruction addressed to King Merikare' (First Intermediate or Middle Kingdom) refers to his war against the Asiatics in Upper Egypt, until the Asiatics became 'a crocodile on its shore . . .'; in 'The Instruction of King Amnemeset I for his son Sesotris I', the king says 'I made the Asiatic do the dog walk.'<sup>13</sup> In the Prophecies of Neferti, the Asiatics are also enemies, who succumb to the Egyptians ('Asiatics will fall to his sword'<sup>14</sup>).

The identification of the Israelites with the invaders, which Egyptian literature also depicted as a 'plague'<sup>15</sup> and who play such an iniquitous role in the Egyptian 'national' memory, could even be regarded as an act of provocation against the Egyptians! All the more so since Josephus frequently deprecates the Egyptians and their religion, and describes them in

his *Antiquities* as 'lovers of luxuries and indolent in their work, devoted to amusements in general and greedy' (II. 201). A native Egyptian patriot might have felt compelled to react to this kind of description in kind, namely, by defaming Judaism.

We ought to bear in mind that the Bible also refers to Egyptian fears that the Hebrews might be a 'fifth column' (*Exodus* 1:9–10), perhaps an echo of the aid given by the Semitic population to the 'Hyksos' in the delta. A reading of Josephus could have provided the Egyptians with grounds for entertaining – as *Exodus* states, and the *Book of Jubilee* reiterates (46:15) – opprobrious thoughts about the Jews: 'and the people of Egypt thought the Israelites to be defiled'. Since Josephus' story identifies the Israelites with foreign invaders, then from a native or national Egyptian perspective, they were a group that joined forces with foreign rulers, and hence were justly punished – their enslavement, later followed by their expulsion, is not an act of redemption, but rather a justified punishment.

It is also important to note that the Qur'an too makes no mention of the Hyksos, and as in the Bible, describes the Egyptians perjoratively. In *Surah* 27 (The Ant's Message), the ten plagues of Egypt are described as a just punishment meted out to the land and its inhabitants, the 'ever evil living folk'; in *Surah* 79 (the message of 'those who drag forth') Moses is depicted as being summoned before the rebelled against Pharaoh as a lesson to the devout. Nowhere does the Qur'an denounce the Israelites for having enslaved the Egyptians. (Nor is there any condemnation of the Israelites having 'stolen' their land from its ancient inhabitants – the Canaanites – who are depicted by a radical-secular movement of the Arab world as the forebears of the Palestinian Arabs.<sup>16</sup>)

We have already seen how central the tradition of the Exodus from Egypt is to the world of the black Christians, who regard it as a manifesto of the hope of redemption: God will intervene again to redeem the blacks from their enslavement. Such a complete redemption, both physical and spiritual, is made possible by the biblical precedent. The enslaved Jewish people symbolizes black history, for the Bible tells the story of the relations between a people and its God, and the Exodus myth is a symbol and value with which the blacks, from their earliest days as slaves, have identified. Neither in popular culture nor in the modern African-American novel<sup>17</sup> is any mention made of the suffering of the Canaanites or the Egyptians, who are described as immoral idol worshipers who constitute (or symbolize) a threat to faith. The Egyptians are always depicted as enslavers – hence the poignancy of the cry: 'Go down Moses, way down in Egypt's land, tell of Pharaoh to let my people go!'

On the other hand, Zora Neale Hurston, in her book *Moses, Man of the Mountain*, 1939 (repr. 1991), does make use of Josephus and Jewish-Hellenistic literature. She describes the Hebrews as a people who came to Egypt as an ally and a collaborator in their oppressive rule. Hence their

enslavement is justified, since they conspired against Egypt. This description, however, is related from the standpoint of the Pharaoh. The author also mentions the cooperation between the Hyksos and the Ethiopians (blacks) when Moses, the military genius, is sent to punish the rebels. Hurston wrote at the end of the 1930s, but we have noted the far-reaching change that occurred in the historical conception of the educated African-American reader, now familiar with the version that identifies the (enslaving) Hyksos with the Israelites. In marked contrast to the biblical historical picture he had previously internalized, he now learns that the Israelites, with whom he had identified, were lepers or foreign invaders. How will he relate to this version when according to another version, both the Egyptians and the children of Israel were black-skinned?

Josef Ben-Levi, in discussing the 'Hyksos question', writes that 'as for the Israelite question as it relates to the Hyksos, there is no practical evidence in the Old Testament of the Israelite being in Kemet nor should it be used as a guide in any attempts to answer the complex question posed by the biblical account . . . The only mention of "Israel" in Kemetic literature is not consistent with the view of the Old Testament and raises serious questions about biblical perceptions and biblical studies as a whole'. He concludes that the Hyksos were not the so-called Hebrews.<sup>18</sup> However, fundamentalists, who mingled their fundamentalism with ancient and modern anti-biblical propaganda, cannot accept this assertion.

Conservative Christian Afrocentrism's rationale for the enslavement of the Israelites in Egypt is that, at first, Pharaoh was merely trying to minimize the Israelite leadership and only later expanded his decree to 'destroy every first-born' because, after having cast off the foreign yoke, the Egyptians were apprehensive about the presence of the Hebrews in their land.<sup>19</sup> Radical Afrocentrism, on the other hand, has adopted the Manetho version and added a racist dimension to it: the Hebrews and the Hyksos were white Semites, and hence the expulsion of the Hyksos-Israelites was an inseparable part of Egypt's war of liberation against the enslavers and their fifth column. According to this approach, Pharaoh is not a symbol of tyranny but rather the leader of a fight for freedom. It is Joseph who helped the foreign king to enslave the Egyptians, and thus the Hebrew collaborators were expelled, since the Egyptians had good reason to suspect the Hebrew 'fifth column'. Moses no longer exemplifies a man leading his enslaved people to their promised land, but now symbolizes traitor from within.

Yosef A. A. Ben-Jochannan makes a particular point of repeating this version. It is no wonder, he says, that Manetho – whom he regards as an impeccable source – calls the Hyksos a 'race of an indeterminate source', for in doing so he wishes to draw a clear distinction between the Semitic Hyksos and the native, black-skinned Egyptians. In his depiction the Hyksos contributed nothing to Egypt and become the earliest example of

European imperialism (the author completely overlooks Egyptian imperialism in Asia). According to Ben-Jochannan, the Egyptians specifically noted the 'physical difference' between themselves and the foreign invaders so that later generations would know they were not of African origin, but rather 'Semites' of the white race.<sup>20</sup>

Legrand H. Clegg II also repeated this theory in his article entitled 'Black Rulers of the Golden Age,' in Van Sertima, *Egypt Revisited*.<sup>21</sup> He enthusiastically describes the treaty between the Egyptians and the black Nubians against the white Semitic invader, and how the Egyptian refugees found shelter with their brethren in the south. The main point here, as far as we are concerned, is the unification of the black forces against the white Semitic invaders the war of liberation and unity of Egypt and Nubia! Rudolph R. Windsor resolves the problem by claiming that the Hyksos were hospitable to the Hebrews because they were aliens themselves. It was one of the Hyksos kings who elevated Joseph to the position of viceroy of Egypt, and Joseph saved Egypt from starvation. After the Hyksos were expelled from Egypt, the new Egyptian government became an autocratic nationalist regime, marking the turning point in the fortunes of the Hebrews. They lost their favored status and their earlier contribution to the nation was ignored; their freedom of movement was restricted, male genocide was decreed, and they were gradually reduced to the status of slaves.<sup>22</sup>

But this point raises yet another problem. According to the Egyptian sources, the (Semitic) Hyksos and the (black) Nubians were allied against the Egyptians who were forced to fight on two fronts, as described in records preserved from the XVII Dynasty. A stele from Karnak recounts in length the military measures taken by Pharaoh Kamose against the Hyksos king,<sup>23</sup> whereas the Carnarvon tablet recorded the early stages of the conflict and revealed the existence of a separate Kushite kingdom which was prepared to join forces with the Hyksos. According to one testimony, the Hyksos ruler, Apophis, wrote to the ruler of Nubia (Kush) from his capital of Avaris, asking him to join forces with him against Pharaoh Kamose. Luckily for the Egyptian king, the messenger carrying the letter was captured.<sup>24</sup>

Owoserve, the Son of Re, Apophis: Greetings to my son, the ruler of Kush. Why do you act there as ruler without letting me know whether you see what Egypt has done to me, how its ruler, Kamose, has set upon me on my own soil (though I have not attacked him!). He has chosen to ruin these two lands, my own and yours, and he has already devastated them. Come north, therefore, be not timid. He is here in my vicinity. There is none who can stand against you in this part of Egypt. Behold, I will give him no repose until you have arrived. And then we two shall divide up the towns of Egypt.<sup>25</sup>

This testimony undermines the picture of cooperation on the basis of race, since a black Nubian (Kush) and an Asiatic (Semitic) joined forces against the supposedly black Egyptian kingdom in Upper Egypt from both north and south. After the foreign Hyksos were expelled from Lower Egypt, the Nubians still retained their hold on the southern province; and king Ahmose, the brother of king Kamose, after having 'slain the Hyksos', marched southward and 'accomplished a great slaughter' of the Nubian desert tribes.

No wonder African-American writers on this subject have ignored this part of Egypt's war of independence, which undermines their image of a war between white Asiatic invaders and black natives.

In popular naïve books, such as John L. Johanson's comic book, *The Black Biblical Heritage* (10th edn, 1993),<sup>26</sup> Moses is a black man, like Ramses II, and the Hyksos are described as giants, members of the black-Hyksos race (Kushites), who came to Egypt from the Arabian deserts. The black Hyksos were the branch of the Kushite family which lived in Arabia prior to invading Egypt. The warlike Hyksos were a people of enormous strength, for they were giants in stature. In this way the contradiction was 'resolved', and the only remaining question was the meaning of the conflict between the black Hyksos-Israelites and the black Egyptians.

This, then, is yet another example proving that attempts to reconcile various historical and legendary traditions or narratives, in order to create a new unified tradition, present a danger, since these traditions contradict one another. Josephus' attempt provided the opportunity for an inverted use, or abuse, of his version, just as African-American writing creates an opportunity to make an inverted use of its own conclusions, which aim to prove the inner inconsistencies of their newly invented narrative of the Hebrew presence in Egypt.



# Notes

## PREFACE

1. 'L'oubli, et je dirais même l'erreur historique, sont un facteur essentiel de la création d'une nation', in Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*, 1882, repr., in *Discours et conférences par Ernest Renan*, 284–5.
2. B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.
3. See in A. D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*.
4. Augustin E. C. Holl, 'African History: Past, Present, and Future: The Unending Quest for Alternatives', in Schmidt and Patterson, *Making Alternative Histories*, 194.
5. See the discussion in Ch. 1 below.
6. Michael L. Blakey, 'Race, Nationalism and the Afrocentric Past', in Schmidt and Patterson, *Making Alternative Histories*, 213. Afrocentric writers define Afrocentrism as a unique and organic mode of a collective consciousness and orientation. According to Asante ('the godfather of Afrocentrism'), author of *Afrocentricity*, *The Afrocentric Idea* and *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge*, etc. (on him see Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 230–9, 242–3), Afrocentrism is a 'frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person' (see Asante, 'The Afrocentric Idea in Education'). He argues against black studies (or African-American studies), that they lack analysis and syntheses, whilst Afrocentrism is a regularized and orderly arrangement of procedures for inquiry, analysis, and synthesis'. In other words, it recognizes the centrality of a world-view based on Africa (Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 173–7). Moore defines Afrocentrism as a holistic approach which allows a look 'at the aspects of African existence before our lives

were corrupted by Europeans. Afrocentrism allows us to re-examine the way of our collective past . . . It is not simply social philosophy; it is a way of life. Beyond that, it is a path to peace because it is harmonistic' (Marvin [Bondeyo] Moore, 'Afrocentrism, Social Philosophy and Beyond', 5). Semmes refers to Afrocentrism and Afrocentricity as a manifestation of vindicationism. According to him, while one trend in Afrocentrism focuses on the 'conditions of African survival and development', the other focuses on 'ideas and values for behaviour'. The stress of African past and African glory is a tradition which 'sought to vindicate African people from the White supremacist myth that Black people contributed nothing to civilization . . . The vindicationist tradition evolves from biblical exegesis to a reliance on the Greek classics . . .'. Semmes stresses the fact that vindicationism spawned a new historiography of world civilizations building on Africa at the center, and ancient Egypt in the center of Africa (Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony and African-American Development*, 24–7). See also in Gates, *Wonders of the African World*, 27–63. Howe rightly distinguishes between moderate mainstream Afrocentrism, which mean 'little more than an emphasis on shared African origins among all black people . . .' and the stronger version, which is far more cohesive, dogmatic, and essentially irrational ideology . . . (Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 1). In fact, I believe the growth and influence of this 'stronger version' should be understood not only in the light of the state of the black American community, but also as an innate and logical outcome of the 'moderate' version. The only way 'Africa' can serve as a metaphor, or as a symbol, is by claiming that it is a source of totality of human values. Indeed, neither of the major Afro-American historians 'has anything much in common with Afrocentricity', because they rejected separatist ideas (Howe, *ibid.*, 59). However, my view is that Afrocentric universal history can serve – intentionally or unintentionally – as a way to encourage the other way round. On Afrocentrism see also: R. L. Adams, 'Varieties of Afrocentrism: A Checklist', 4–6; Oyebadé, 'African Studies and the Afrocentric Paradigm'; Moses, *Afrotopia*, 18–43. A critical survey see in D'Souza, *The End of Racism*, 367–77. On 'mainstream' African-American historical writings, see D. C. Clark Hine, *The State of Afro-American History*; Meier and Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession*.

7. See also Blakey, in Schmidt and Patterson, *Making Alternative Histories*, 214.
8. See Chapters 10, 11.
9. Diop, *The African Origins of Civilization*, 217.
10. See, for example, bell hooks' chapter, 'An Aesthetic of Blackness', in *idem*, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*, 103–22; Gayle, *The Black Aesthetic*; Jones, *Black Psychology*.
11. Karenga, 'Restoration of the Husia: Reviving a Sacred Legacy', in Karenga and Carruthers, *Kemet and the African World View*, 83–99 (on him see Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 215–16).
12. Ani (Dona Richards) *Yurugu: An African-centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior* (on her see Howe, *op.cit.*, 247–9).
13. Hilliard III, 'The Meaning of KMT', 13.

14. Clarke, 'Africa in the Ancient World', in Karenga and Carruthers, *Kemet*, 46.
15. Thus stated English anatomist Robert Knox in 1850 (*The Races of Man*, 6).
16. Momigliano, 'The Origins of Universal History', in *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, 31.
17. Quoted in Boyd and Lenix-Hooker, 'Afrocentrism: Hope or History?' Also see 'Afrocentrism vs. Eurocentrism – the National Debate', *Public Policy Forum* (Kent State University, 1991).
18. C. V. Woodward, *The Future of the Past*, 39.
19. Momigliano, *Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, 31–2.
20. 'Before we assume a posture of outrage or ridicule, it might be well to put this phenomenon into historical perspective' writes Woodward. He refers to the 'Teutonic' and 'Anglo-Saxon' myths of origins *Future of the Past*.
21. See, for example, J. Th. Leersen, 'On the Edge of Europe: Ireland in Search of Oriental Roots, 1650–1850'; V. A. Shnirelman, *Who Gets the Past?* The Irish, the Poles, the Swedes and other groups of immigrants to America also constructed a 'past', with some 'mythological' elements in it. However, the scope of African-Americans' reconstruction of the past is far larger than that of other ethnic groups.
22. In the latter controversy, the question of whether the Bible was an original creation of the Jewish genius and the fruit of divine inspiration or was created under Mesopotamian influence, and the further question of whether early Christianity was 'Aryan' or 'Semitic' in origin, were not merely academic questions but carried religious, cultural and national implications. See: K. Johanning, *Der Bibel-Babel Streit*; Larsen, 'The "Babel/Bible" Controversy and its Aftermath', in J. M. Sasson (ed. in chief), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, I, 95–106. The exponents of pan-Egyptianism theory disregard the pan-Babylonian theory of the beginning of the last century, which linked Egyptian cultural development, including the hieroglyphics, to Sumerian sources (see, for example, Fritz Homel, *Der Babylonische Ursprung der Ägyptischen Kultur*, 1892).
23. C. I. Miller, *Theories of Africans*. Asante, for example, rejects the biological or anthropological basis of the concept of 'race' based on a specific gene pool, and claims that the identity of the black-American as a nation and as a social reality should be dealt with in the light of the American context. He also claims that 'Africanity is not Afrocentricity. Being black does not make you Afrocentric' (*Afrocentricity*, 94–104). Nonetheless, he believes that 'African' cultural heritage can supply an overall unique 'African world-view', which can be shared by all 'black' people (but not 'whites').
24. See in C. T. Keto, *The Africa-Centered Perspective of History*. For Bernal's response to Lefkowitz, see 'The Afrocentric Interpretation of History' (1996), and 'Socrates' Ancestry in Question' (1994).
25. See the two well-informed articles of M. M. Levine: 'The Use and Abuse of Black Athena', and 'Bernal and the Athenians in the Multicultural World of the Ancient Mediterranean'. In these two articles the reader will find an extensive bibliography on the subject.

26. First published in 1996. In the paperback edition (1997) Lefkowitz enlarged her arguments, responded to some of her Afrocentric critics, and added a valuable updated bibliography (*Not out of Africa*, 255–88). For Bernal's response to Lefkowitz see his articles 'The Afrocentric Interpretation of History' (1996), and 'Socrates' Ancestry in Question' (1994).
27. See J. Ray's book review 'How Black was Socrates?' in the *TLS*, 14 February 1997, where he claims the the articles in Lefkowitz and Rogers show 'with overkill' that Bernal's central thesis is untenable, and compares the criticism to *Murder on the Orient Express*, 'where all the characters get an equal chance to stick a dagger in the pathetic corpse'. Also see Norma Thomson's discussion of Bernal's reading of Herodotus in her *Herodotus and the Origins of the Political Community*, 112–41. Afrocentrist scholars claim that what we have here is an unfair play: while anti-Afrocentrist literature is being published by well-established publishing houses, with an extensive sales force, African-American books are published by small publishers (A. Bach, 'Whitewashing Athena', 16, n. 16). See M. M. Levine's review of *Black Athena Revisited* (1998). She writes that what are missing in this volume are Bernal's responses to his critics, or any articles that are supportive, and, as a result, she claims, the book is missing 'the acknowledgement of any ongoing debate'. She finds the volume a 'useful, but seriously flawed book'.
28. While writing the final draft of the book I also benefited from Assmann's intriguing book *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* which urged me to rethink some of my views, especially those related to chapter 5 and the appendix.
29. Dr Charles S. Finch III, 17 February 1996. And see R. L. Allen, 'Politics of the Attack on Black Studies'.
30. Internet message from 27 April 1996. To the criticism from the Harvard African-American scholar Henry Louis Gates, in an article entitled 'Black Demagogues and Pseudo-Scholars', John Henrik Clarke responded that 'Black conservatives are really frustrated slaves crawling back to the plantation, figuratively letting their master know that they are willing to go back into bondage.' (See 'Black Scholars Are "In" with White America But They Deserve To Be "Outed", Says Historian'.)
31. See A. M. Roth, 'Building Bridges to Afrocentrism'. It is hard to see Afrocentrists following in the footsteps of H. S. Chamberlain, who said: 'Even if it were demonstrated than an Aryan race never existed in the past, we want one to exist in the future; for men of action this is the decisive point of departure'. (Quoted in Tal, *Christians and Jews*, 284).
32. Albert Memi, 'Négritude et Judaïté', in his *L'Homme dominé*, 35–49.
33. The book provides a detailed survey of the previous literature on the subject.
34. While Moses argues that criticism of 'wild Afrocentrism' leads to counter-reaction of true believers and fanatics for whom 'wild Afrocentrism' and Egyptocentrism are a religion, a faith, thus reinforcing their beliefs, he shares the view that 'wild Afrocentrism' is based on 'myths', and hence unworthy of academic legitimation and government funding; that it ought to remain within those teaching institutions and private research institutes identified with a defined world-view.

## INTRODUCTION

1. Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America*, 24-7.
2. H. Bloom, *The American Religion*. On multiculturalism see C. R. Taylor, *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*.
3. See, for example out of many, the 'fighting stories' concerning Paul Revere in D. H. Fischer, *Paul Revere's Ride*.
4. See in Himmelfarb's review of Plumb, *Death of the Past: 'Is History Dead?'*
5. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 233.
6. See in M. Olender, *The Languages of Paradise*, 5, and also Olender's article 'From the Language of Adam to the Pluralism of Babel'.
7. Bickerman, 'The Jewish Historian Demitrios', in his *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, 347. See also, 'Origines Gentium'.
8. See von Grunebaum, 'An Analysis of Islamic Civilization and Cultural Anthropology', in *Modern Islam: The Search for Cultural Identity*, 47; Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age*, 13-15; B. Lewis, *History Remembered, Recovered, Invented*. The search for primordial and ancient origins and the claim of ownership of cultural assets is often a radical response to a sense of inferiority. By it a group can make up for various deficiencies, while covering up its borrowing and the associated inferiority complex by portraying itself as the primary source. See Ch. 6.
9. See T. F. Gosset, *Race: The History of an Idea in America*; E. D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*; W. D. Jordan, *White over Black*; D. B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*.
10. See Diop, 'How to Define Cultural Identity?', in *Civilization or Barbarism*, 211-19; Erikson, 'The Concept of Identity in Race Relations'.
11. See V. R. Green, *For God and Country*; C. C. Moskos, *Greek-Americans: Struggle and Success*; Zotos, *Hellenic Presence in America*; Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life*.
12. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress*.
13. Holl, 'African History: Past, Present, and Future: The Unending Quest for Alternatives', in Schmidt and Patterson, *Making Alternative Histories*.
14. Aleksei Khomyakov, a Russian Slavophile philosopher, in his *Notes on Universal History* (1904), put forward two categories of primary human element: 'The Iranian Principle' and the 'Kushite Principle'. The cradle of the Kushite race is Ethiopia and its ancient centers were Babylon, Egypt, China, Southern India and Kashmir. In his view, the Prometheus myth symbolized the struggle between the Iranian and Kushite principles: 'Prometheus is the symbol of eternal human liberty, of moral enslaved by the world of elemental forces; he had been chained to the rock by three Kushite deities Zeus (fate), Mercury (earth-bound wisdom), and Vulcan (fire)' (see Walicki, *The Slavophile Controversy*, 208-12). On the notion of 'historical nations', see Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism*, 358-91. On the German case see Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology*. On the Enlightenment's perceptions of the 'black race', see Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (ed.), *Race and the Enlightenment*.
15. But not only the 'Negroes', also the Turks, the Khazrs and other northern people (Ibn Hazam's *Matrib al' ulum* (*Classes of Science*), quoted in Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage of Islam*, 39). 'Literacy was one of Islam's gifts to Africa', writes Davidson (*African Civilization Revisited*, 28). In Hegel's perception, Africa was a continent (and human entity) which 'has no history'. 'What we properly understand by

- Africa, is the unhistorical, undeveloped spirit, still involved in the condition of mere nature . . .', he wrote (Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, 91-9). In Albert Murray's view, the structure of mental orientation of the African-American derived from their oral tradition, whereas that of the American Jews from their long inherent tradition of written communication and linguistic discipline, 'plus a respect for prescribed procedure' (Murray, *The Omni-Americans*, 182-3). And see H. L. Gates, Jr., *Figures in Black*, 3-21.
16. P. Bohannon and P. Curtin, *Africa and Africans*, 12-13. On the discovery of Africa see, among others, T. Obenga, *A Lost Tradition: Africa in World History*; Williams, *The Destruction of Black Civilization*. See E. P. Skinner, 'African-Americanism in Search of Africa: The Scholars' Dilemma', in Skinner and Robinson, *Transformation and Resilency in Africa as seen by Afro-American Scholars*, 3-26.
  17. There is a vast literature on 'nationalism' versus 'universalism' in modern Europe.
  18. Quoted in J. H. Bracey *et al.*, *Black Nationalism in America*, 302-4.
  19. See, for example J. H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*.
  20. Asante, *Afrocentric Idea*, 174-5.
  21. There is a long list of books and booklets devoted to the contribution of black people to American history and American progress in almost every sphere.
  22. Trigger writes that in textbooks of world archaeology published in the 1960s and 1970s Africa was no longer described as having been a backwater throughout the whole of human history. Instead it was featured as a focal point of progress. (In P. Robertshaw, *History of Africa Archaeology*, 313.)
  23. See in V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa*.
  24. See in M. J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, and Philips, 'The African Heritage of White America', in J. E. Holloway, *Africanism in American Culture*, 225-39. African-American scholars were not pleased with Herskovits' argument that only some patterns of Africanism (such as family life, motor habits, religious practices and music) have survived in America. Franklin wrote in response that 'The survival of varying degrees of African culture in America does not suggest that there has been a limited adjustment of the Negro to the New World situation. On the contrary, it merely points up the fact that he came out of an experience that was sufficiently entrenched to make possible the persistence of some customs and traditions . . .' (quoted in Bennett, *Before the Mayflower*, 28).
  25. See Mintz and Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture*; Sollors and Dietrich, *The Black Columbiad*, 11.
  26. See in Howe, *Afrocentrism*; Moses, *Afrotopia*; C. E. Walker, *Deromanticizing Black History*, 87-107 (see esp. note 3, p. 148). These studies also provide helpful bibliographies on the subject.
  27. Reprinted by Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, New York, 1970.
  28. Ten years later, Hosea Easton, in his *A Treatise on the Intellectual Character and Civil and Political Condition of the Colored People of the United States* (1837), stated that 'the Egyptians communicated their arts to the Greeks; the Greeks taught the Romans and the Europeans were ultimately indebted to Egypt for their civility and refinement.' On him see Moses, *Afrotopia*, 59.
  29. Hill Everett, *America or a General Survey of the Political Situation of the Several Powers of the Western Continent with Conjectors to their Future Prospects* (Philadelphia, 1827), 214-25.
  30. Blyden (1832-1912) emigrated to Liberia in 1852 and became professor of Greek

and Latin at Liberia College. Among his books are *The Negro in Ancient History* (Washington, DC, 1869) and *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (London, 1887). On him see H. R. Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden*; Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism*, 30–6; J. G. St Clair Drake, *The Redemption of Africa*, 45–70; Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*, 122–4; Holl, 'African history: Past, Present, and Future', in Schmidt and Patterson, *ibid.*, 185–6.

31. Published in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*.
32. William Wells Brown, James W. C. Pennington and George Washington Williams (1849–91), *Light and Truth; Collected from the Bible and Ancient and Modern History, Containing the Universal History of the Colored and the Indian Race, from the Creation of the World to the Present Time*; David Walker, *Appeal in four Articles: Together with a Preamble, to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in Particular and Very Expressly to Those of the United States of America* (1830; 3rd edn. See Moses, *Afrotopia*, 56–9); Martin Rolinson Delany, *Principles of Ethnology: Origins of Races and Color with an Archaeological Compendium of Ethiopian and Egyptian Civilization* (1879) (on him see Dorothy Sterling, *The Making of an African-American: M. R. Delany*); George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America: From 1619 to 1880 . . . together with a preliminary consideration of the unity of the human family, an historical sketch of Africa . . .* (New York, 1883); W. H. Councill, *Lamp of Wisdom, or, Race History Illuminated* [1899, repr. edn, New York, 1968]; Rev. Charles T. Walker (1858–1921), *An Appeal to Caesar: sermon on the race question* (1900); Rufus L. Perry, *The Cushites, Or the Children of Ham as Seen by the Ancient historians and Poets* (1887); W. L. Hunter, *Jesus Christ Had Negro Blood in His Veins: The Wonder of the Twentieth Century* (1901); Harvey Johnson, *The Nations from a New Point of View* (1903); Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins, *A Primer of Facts Pertaining to the Early Greatness of the African Race and the possibility of restoration by its descendants . . .* (1905); Joseph Elias Hayne, *The Amonian or Hamitic Origin of the Ancient Greeks, Cretans and all the Celtic Races* (1905); Gerald Massey, *A Book of the Beginnings containing an attempt to recover and reconstitute the lost origins of the myths and mysteries, types and symbols, religion and language, with Egypt for the mouthpiece and Africa as the birthplace*, Vols. I–II (London, 1881); and *Ancient Egypt, in the Light of the World, a work of reclamation and restitution in twelve books* (London, 1907, republished by Black Classical Library, Baltimore, MD, 1992; the book became a 'classic' in African-American historical learning); W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro* (1916); George Wells Parker, *The Children of the Sun* (1918, repr. 1981 by The Hamitic League Press of World History); W. J. Perry, *The Children of the Sun: A Study of Early Civilization* (1923); Morris James Webb, *The Black Man, the Father of Civilization, Proven by Biblical History* (1910); Leo Weiner (1862–1938), *Africa and the Discovery of America*, Vols I–II (Philadelphia, PA 1920–22) (he was a Russian-born Jew and professor of Slavic languages; see in Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*, 112–14); Joseph E. Harris, 'William Hansberry: Profile of a Pioneer Africanist', in Hansberry, *Pillars in Ethiopian History*, 1914, Vols II; IX–XV. James G. Spady defines Joel A. Rogers, William Leo Hansberry, and Drusilla Dunjee Houston (1876–1941) as the 'tri-muse' of African-American studies (see his afterword to Houston's *Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire*, Vols V–VII). Also see Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 35–58.
33. For a short survey see A. Meier, *Negro Thought in America 1880–1915*, 260–78; E. Kaiser, 'The History of Negro History'. See also the 'Homage to the Elders', in M. Monges, *Kush*, 52–61.

34. Clark, in Diop, *Civilization and Barbarism*, xvii. Hilliard writes that he 'Almost single-handedly took on the traditional Egyptological establishment in a frontal assault on cherished presuppositions about KMT as a white or non-African civilization' (Hilliard, 'The Meaning of KMT', 12). The publication of Unesco's multivolume history of Africa was considered a history written for the first time from the point-of-view of the colonized, and the end of the 'monopoly of the history told from European perspective'. Lansana Keith rightly claims that Diop questioned the ideology of Negritude when he tried to trace the origins of Western (Greek) civilization in black Egypt and in this regard his approach is analogous to the way in 'which European scholars have structured the career of European civilization' (Keith, 'Contemporary African Philosophy', in Serequeberhan (ed.), *African Philosophy*, 135–6).
35. Van Sertima, *Egypt Revisited*, 239; See also: Spady, 'The Changing Perception of C. A. Diop and his Work: The Preeminence of a Scientific Spirit', in Van Sertima, *Great African Thinkers*, 89–101; Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa*, 20–6; Holl, 'West African Archaeology: Colonialism and Nationalism', in P. Robertshaw, *A History of African Archaeology*, 302–3, and 'African History', in Schmidt and Patterson, *Making Alternative Histories*, 197–204; Monges, *Kush*, 66. Diop was preceded by writers such as M. Delafosse in his article in *L'Anthropologie* XL (1900), 431–51, 677–90, where he claimed the Akan living in the Ivory Coast derived their culture from Egypt (see in Shinnie, 'The Legacy of Africa', in J. R. Harris, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 436–47; see also Bowdich, *An Essay on the Superstitions, Customs, and Arts Common to the Ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians and Ashantees*).
36. For recent studies on Diop see: F.-X. Fauvelle, *L'Afrique de Cheik Anta Diop*; Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 163–92.
37. For a bibliographical list see in Van Sertima, *Great African Thinkers*, 359–61.
38. Clark, in Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, xv.
39. Holl, 'African History', in Schmidt and Patterson, *Making Alternative Histories*, 204–20.
40. For detailed survey of the scope of Black studies see in M. Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*, 3–66.
41. On the history of African-American nationalism, see, among the many studies on the subject: F. E. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: A Search for Identity in America*; R. P. Carlisle, *The Roots of Black Nationalism*; T. Draper, *The Discovery of Black Nationalism*; A. Meier, 'The Emergence of Negro Nationalism (A Study in Ideologies)'; C. J. Robinson, *Black Movements in America*.
42. R. E. Park states: 'The American Negro no longer conceives his destiny as bounded by the limits of the United States. He is seeking alliances and creating loyalties that transcend the boundaries of our American commonwealth. The Negro in his racial realization at least is internationalist. He is becoming a citizen of the world . . .' (Park, *Race and Culture*, 298).
43. Against these views the African-American classicist, F. M. Snowden, declared that 'There is no question that the history of Blacks has been distorted or misrepresented, but as a black what I want is truth. I don't give a damn whether (Cleopatra) was black or not, she wasn't' (lecture at the University of Maryland, *The News*, 21 May 1993). See also Gates, 'Black Demagogues and Pseudo-Scholars'; Boyd and Lenix-Hooker, 'Afrocentrism: Hope or History?'. Needless to say, there is a deep inner contradiction between the argument that the black race differs totally from the white race, on the



one hand, and the claim that many of those who contributed to Western culture and shaped its nature were originally 'black people' in body and soul.

44. See M. F. Lee, *The Nation of Islam*; C. E. Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America*; A. B. McCloud, *African-American Islam*.
45. See in Ch. 9.
46. On the problem of writing African history on the basis of oral traditions see R. S. Smith, *Kingdoms of the Yoruba*; P. R. Schmidt, 'Oral Traditions, Archaeology and History: A Short Reflective History', in Robertshaw, *History of African Archaeology*, 252–70; Muriuki, 'The reconstruction of African history through historical, ethnographic and oral sources', in Stone and Mackenzie, *The Excluded Past*, 173–82.
47. In Albert Murray's view, the structure of the mental orientation of the African-Americans derived from their oral tradition and they lacked a long inherent tradition of written communication, respect for prescribed procedures and linguistic discipline (Murray, *The Omni-Americans*, 182–3). The same view is shared by Asante, quoting Charles V. Hamilton's book *The Black Preacher in America* (1972): 'The black culture is characterized an oral tradition. Knowledge, attitudes, ideas, notions are traditionally transmitted orally, not through the written word' (Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 47). As we saw earlier Davidson writes that literacy was Islam's gift to Africa; however, he also states that 'the earliest written records of Africa (aside from those of Pharaonic Egypt and the Phoenicians of Carthage or the Sabeans of Ethiopia) belong to the opening years of the Iron Age' (*African Civilization Revisited*, 12). This view is supported by claims such as those by Clyde-Ahmad Winters, that a 'proto-Mande script was invented thousands of years ago by the ancestors of the Manade (or Manding-speaking people). This script, according to this view, was used by the ancient Mande to write or engrave inscriptions throughout the western Sahara ('The Ancient Manding Script', in Van Sertima, *Blacks in Science*, 208–14). Robin Thelwall, on the other hand, notes the absence of ancient textual material in Africa – except from Egyptian, Ethiopian Semitic, and Nubian (Thelwall, 'Linguistic Aspects of Greater Nubian History', in Ehret and Posnansky, *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*, 39). Even if we accept the view that there was an ancient African script, the plain fact is that nowhere was it used to develop any kind of literature. See further discussion in Ch. 11.
48. A. A. Schomburg, 'Racial Integrity: A Plea for the Establishment of a Chair of Negro History in Our Schools and Colleges', *Negro Society for Historical Research, Occasional Papers*, no. 3 (1913), 10, quoted in J. H. Bracey et al., *Black Nationalism*, 304–12. He mentions the fables of Aesop (a native of Thracia according to Greek tradition), Alexander Pushkin (the 'black Byron') and Alexander Dumas as great black writers. See J. H. Clarke, 'Influence of Arthur A. Schomberg on my Concept of African Studies'. Under this influence, perhaps, Hilliard sees in modern Israel an example and inspiration of a revival of a national language ('The Meaning of KMT', 10–22).
49. C. G. Woodson received his PhD from Harvard in 1911. He was editor of the *Journal of Negro History*, which first appeared in January 1916. The Association was established in September 1915. See Meier, *Negro Thought*, 261–3; Walker, *Deromanticizing Black History*, 101–4; J. Hope Franklin, 'On the Evolution of Scholarship in Afro-American History', in Hine, *The State of Afro-American History*, 17; Meier and Rudwick, *Black History*, 1–71.

50. Woodson, *The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History*, leaflet, n.p., n.d. (1947), also in Bracey, Meier and Rudwick, *Black Nationalism in America*, 312–19.
51. See note 47 above.
52. Quoted in Himmelfarb, 'Is History Dead?' 47.
53. On the beginnings of modern Jewish historiography, see: S. Feiner, *Haskalah and History*; R. Michael, *Jewish Historiography*; I. Schorsch, 'The Emergence of Historical Consciousness in Modern Judaism' (in his *Text to Context*, 177–204).
54. C. A. Diop, *Remarks on African Personality and Negritude*, 35.
55. See Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, 256–78; Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*, 3–66; R. A. Bone, 'The Background of the Negro Renaissance', in Drimer, *Black History: A Reappraisal*, 408–31; Kaiser, 'The History of Negro History'; Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony and African-American Development*, 1–40;
56. See W. J. Moses, *The Golden Age*, 132–45.
57. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro*, 5 and see Rudrick, 'Du Bois versus Gravey', in Derwy and Derwy, *Afro-American History, Past and Present*, 337–46.
58. See R. G. Weisbord, *Ebony Kinship*, 181–26; Drachler, *Black Homeland – Black Diaspora*.
59. Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa*, 19–24. Also see his *The Invention of Africa*.
60. Moore, 'Afrocentrism, Social Philosophy and Beyond', 7.
61. Y. A. A. Ben-Jochannan, 'The African Contribution to Technology and Science', in Ben-Jochannan and J. H. Clarke, *New Dimensions in African History* 8, 59.
62. C. E. Walker, 'You Can't Go Home', 539.
63. Italics appear in the original poem. See also Smitherman, "'What is Africa to me?"; Language, Ideology, and African-American'.
64. *Daedalus*, 95, 1 (Winter) 1966. Reprinted in Drachler, *Black Homeland*, 122. See also Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America*, 78–92. African-Americans can be defined as 'Diaspora without homeland' to whom 'Africa' is a 'heavenly homeland'.
65. Within the framework of the American 'melting-pot', and even more within the framework of multicultural America, acculturation and integration of the various sub-groups were attended by the preservation of ethnic characteristics. This required the *active and present presence* of a 'homeland', or 'the land of our forefathers' in the background. However, the return to the native land was an imaginary one. Moreover, to become a poetic, metaphoric and symbolic 'old homeland', Africa had to be invented as a homogeneous, unchangeable human unity.

# I: THE FOUNDATIONS OF AFROCENTRIC UNIVERSAL HISTORY

1. Quoted in P. H. Reill, *The German Enlightenment*, 86.
2. Diop, *The African Origins of Civilization*, 253. See Introduction, note 39.
3. Von Grunebaum, 'An Analysis of Islamic Anthropology', in idem *Modern Islam*, 40–8.
4. Diodorus Siculus, 1.4–7. The first Greek universal history, covering the period from after the Trojan War down to his time (c.340 BC) was written by Ephorus of Cyrene (in Aetolia, Asia Minor). His work is known only from the use of later writers, in particular Diodorus and Strabo, made of it.
5. The most famous of the *logographoi* (composers of mythologies, geographies and chronicles within a unified framework) was Hecataeus of Miletus who wrote his *Periegesis*, or guide to the contemporary world, and his *Genealogies* in the late sixth

century BC. Much of what he wrote continued to be quoted in the generations that followed, even after Alexander's conquests had broadened the Greek world and expanded available knowledge.

6. On the creation of the *mappa mundi* of the Greeks, see Hyde Woodburn, *Ancient Greek Mariners*; J. O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography*; L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*; J. S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth*; C. van Passen *The Classical Tradition of Geography*.
7. B. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecateus*, 187–219. Also see K. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie*.
8. See H. C. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought*, 48–122.
9. Momigliano, 'The Origins of Universal History', in his *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, 31.
10. K. Löwith, *Meaning in History*. Judeo-Christian concept of history as a divinely ordered sequence was alien to the Roman historians, but they accept the notion of fragmentary continuum of cause and effect and recognized various chains of inter-related events; and see R. Drews, *The Greek Account of Eastern History*, 139–40.
11. Universal eschatologies from the Hellenistic period, written by Egyptians, Persians or Jews, described cataclysmic events, such as the destruction and rise of kingdoms, in order to prophesy the return of the 'golden age' of their national culture. See S. K. Eddy, *The King is Dead*; Momigliano, 'The Origins of Universal History', in his *On Pagans*, 31–57.
12. Momigliano, *On Pagans*; A. Funkenstein, 'History as Predestination: The Apocalyptic Mentality', in his *Perspectives of Jewish History*, 70–87.
13. It is important to note that the idea of the distinctiveness of the Jewish people must be seen in the context of universal history – a history guided by one transcendental force – in order to have a universal meaning!
14. G. W. Stocking, 'The Persistence of Polygenist Thought in Post-Darwinian Anthropology', in his *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 44–5. Also see D. Outram, *The Enlightenment*, 74–5. On polygenetic and monogenetic theory in American thought, see Ch. 1 in Stephen J. Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*. American racial thought preferred the monogenetic theory to the polygenetic because the latter contradicts the biblical account of the origin of races.
15. See, for example, James Prichard, *Research into the Physical History of Mankind* (London, 1813).
16. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress*, 100–28.
17. Gamble, *Timewalkers*, 25.
18. See R. H. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère*, 147–65; Bowler, *Invention of Progress*, 106–28; N. Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science*; G. L. Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*; Stocking, 'The Dark-skinned Savage: The Image of Primitive Man in Evolutionary Anthropology', and 'Victorian Anthropology' in his *Race, Culture, and Evolution*, 110–32; Outram, *The Enlightenment*; E. R. Sanders, 'The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origin and Function in Time Perspective', 524.
19. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress*, 39.
20. See Henri Baptiste Grégoire's views (in his *Concerning the Negro*) on this subject in R. F. Necheles, *The Abbé Grégoire 1787–1831*, 53–90.
21. While rejecting the theory that claims that Africa's climate is responsible for the primitive human development of the black race, Du Bois, for example, held a different view, when writing that '... human race originating in Asia or even

- in Europe may have invaded Africa and become Negroid by long segregation in a tropical climate' (Du Bois, 'The Peopling of Africa', in *The World and Africa*, 86). He also writes that we can find in Africa races other than 'genuine negro', and that their color range is wide – from black to yellowish brown (*ibid.*, 91, 96).
22. See C. Gamble, *Timewalkers*, 74–95; C. Stringer and R. McKie, *African Exodus*, 9–43; R. Ardrey, *African Genesis*; R. Leakey and R. Lewin, *People of the Lake*. See also Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 11. On the updated revision of the origin of man see a recent article in *The Times*, 'All in the Family: An Up-to-date Genealogy of Modern Humans and Their Evolutionary Predecessors', 23 August 1999, 42–6. According to another updated report, based on genetic tests, the exodus from Africa began about 40–60,000 years ago, and the origin of the founding family, which numbered about 2,000, came from an ancestor who lived 100,000 years ago. (See Nicholas Wade, *New York Times*, 7 December 1999.)
  23. On the grand migration, see Gamble, *Timewalkers*, 144–78; Ch. 12.
  24. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 13–17.
  25. *Ibid.*, 54. The idea that the primitive inhabitants of Europe were dark-skinned of African origin was known in nineteenth-century Europe (see Bowler, *The Invention of Progress*, 113 (and 106–28)).
  26. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 11–68.
  27. *Ibid.*, 55. Here one may wonder: if mutation fostered by climatic condition is such a strong force, how does this accord with the other theory, that many black people existed during historical times in different places on earth, places which have totally different climatic conditions from Europe?
  28. See note 22 above.
  29. R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa*, 22.
  30. J. Kingdom, *Self-Made Man and his Undoing*, 154. 'Dark skin provides protection against dangerous ultra-violet radiation that can cause skin cancer' (Stringer and McKie, *African Exodus*, 56). They also write that 'humanity's modern African origin does not imply derivation from peoples like current Africans, because these populations must have also changed through the impact of evolution over the past 100,000 years' (*Ibid.*, 155).
  31. B. Davidson, *The Lost Cities*, 7.
  32. Diop, 'Africa – Cradle of Humanity', in Van Sertima, *Nile Valley Civilization*, 27. Diop, however, declares that the fact that humanity was born in Africa and differentiated itself into several races in Europe is not a value judgment: 'there is no particular glory about the cradle of humanity being in Africa, because it is just accident' (*Civilization or Barbarism*, 16). See also: Runoko Rashidi, 'Dr Diop on Asia: Highlights and Insight', in Van Sertima, *Great African Thinkers*, 127. Diop's two cradle theory is a 'moderate' racial version concerning the origin and essence of 'white' negative characteristics. In his view, the genius of the primordial European was shaped under the influence of his nomadic life and the 'ethno-centric-xenophobia mentality' which resulted from it. See Wobogo, 'Diop's Two Cradle Theory and the Origin of White Racism'.
  33. See Diop's criticism of polycentrism in *Civilization or Barbarism*, 61–2. According to Carleton S. Coon, in his *The Origins of Races* (1962), the division in to 'races' is: the Caucasoid, the Mongoloid, the Australoid, the Congoloid and the Capoid, who developed independently. According to Coon, the blacks, had a shorter evo-

- lutionary history than the Caucasoids, and this affected the level of civilization attained. Also see Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 28–33.
34. In his Introduction to the 2nd edition John Henrik Clarke writes that 'This book is not a maserpiece of scholarship or analysis' (in Bradley, *Iceman Inheritance*, xxiii).
  35. Bradley writes: 'This book is racist because I believe that history shows that men can be divided into two divisions on the basis of one significant characteristic.' On the other hand, Asante writes that the concept of 'race' is a political concept and has 'no biological or anthropological basis' (*Afrocentricity*, 96).
  36. *Ibid.*, 129–94.
  37. *Ibid.*, 45. See also Nancy Minngn-Paris, 'The Inhabitant of Ice Age Europe'. A study has recently been published claiming that Neanderthal man and *homo sapiens* lived in the same places at the same time and even mated with each other. According to this study, then, Neanderthal man did not disappear in Europe 30,000 years ago, but some 5,000 years later, after he had fused with *homo sapiens* (see F. H. Smith *et al.*, 'Direct Radiocarbon Dates').
  38. T. Rajak, 'Josephus and the "Archaeology" of the Jews'.
  39. 'Generally speaking, Greek scholars reproduced the native account of the origins of a barbarian people only when they did not know better and left the responsibility to the informant', writes Bickerman ('Origines Gentium', 69). On the other hand, native historians followed their own hellenized traditions in an effort to accord them with the hellenic universal world-view (see G. E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 17).
  40. M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*, 3.
  41. Since there exist many Greek prehistories, they could use or invent many different stories about beginnings (J. van Seters, 'The Primeval Histories', 2).
  42. On the endless efforts to reconcile the biblical legend of Noah and his sons to the new knowledge see in D. C. Allen, *The Legend of Noah*. Already in the mid-seventeenth century Hugo Grotius, for example, believed that the people of Yucatan are of African origin. *De origine gentium Americanarum* (1642).
  43. Conzelmann, *Gentiles, Jews, Christians*, 52–3; A. J. Droge, *Moses or Homer?*, 1–11.
  44. According to them, nothing could be both new and true. See Droge, *ibid.*, 9.
  45. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 223.
  46. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 191–208.
  47. A. Grafton, 'Traditions of Invention and Inventions of Tradition in Renaissance Italy: Annis of Viterbo', in his *Defenders of the Text*, 82.
  48. L. H. Clegg, 'Black Rulers of the Golden Age', in Van Sertima, *Egypt Revisited*, 255, n.2.
  49. F. Schmidt, 'Jewish Representations of the Inhabited Earth during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods', in A. Kasher, *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel*, 119–34.
  50. A. H. Sayce, *The Races of the Old Testament*. Martin Luther, for example, accepted the view that the Germans are descendants of Askenaz, first-born of Gomer, son of Japhet. See L. Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth*, 84.
  51. Allen, *Legend of Noah*, 3.
  52. F. E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, 113.
  53. Few Aufklärer, however, concluded that 'they could surrender Christian chronology without rejecting Christianity' (Reill, *Enlightenment and the Rise*, 75–82).
  54. J. Parsons, *The Remains of Japhet, Being Historical Enquiries into the Affinities of the European Languages* (London, 1767).

55. J. P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 10, 266–72. The term ‘Indo-European’ was used first by Thomas Young, an English physicist, in an article in the *Quarterly Review*, in 1813.
56. *Ibid.*, 11–12, 44.
57. See Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*; Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth*.
58. On the map of African languages see: Bohannan and Curtin, *Africa and Africans*, 59–76; J. L. Newman, *The Peopling of Africa*, 4; C. Ehret, ‘Ancient Egyptian as African Language, Egypt as an African Culture’ in T. Celenko, *Egypt in Africa*, 25–7.
59. There are 1,000 African languages, classified into the four phyla (major families), called Khosian, Nilosaharan, Afroasiatic, and Niger Congo. It should be noted here that in cases of demonstrable contacts, words are known to spread relatively easily and can enter other languages even if they are completely dissimilar. Surely, just because Hebrew borrowed some three thousand words from Greek that does not mean the two languages have a common source or are structurally akin.
60. M. Ginsberg, *Sociology*, 91–2.
61. Dana Reynolds-Marniche, ‘The Myth of the Mediterranean Race’, in Van Sertima, *Egypt – Child of Africa*, 108–25. On Smith see Ch. 8.
62. Newman writes that ‘Africa has been characterized more by human inclusion than by human exclusion’. As a result, the word ‘race’, which is ‘an imported concept implying a separation and a fixity of membership that is out of accord with African genetic facts and, indeed, with those of humankind generally’ (Newman, *The Peopling of Africa*, 3). Also see Bohannan and Curtin, *Africa and Africans*, 35–57.
63. On the socio-economic, on the one hand, and psycho-cultural, on other, origins and explanations of ‘race’ and its conceptualization in American history, see: T. W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, 1–42; Barbara J. Fields, ‘Ideology and Race in American History’, in Kousser and McPherson, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction*, 143–77.
64. It is impossible to overstate the horrific consequences of the image which the black race acquired in the Western (and Muslim) consciousness; but it should be stressed that the primary comparison was drawn between Indo-Europeans and Semites, represented primarily by the Jews, while the ‘black race’ was often considered as existing outside civilization, culture and even the human race. Moses rightly observed that already the Westernized forerunners of Afrocentrism, such as Du Bois, were deeply influenced by west-European concepts of ‘race’ and ‘organicity of races’ (Moses, *The Golden Age*, 132–45).
65. See I. Van Sertima and R. Rashidi, *African Presence in Early Asia*. And see Ch. 12.
66. On the classification of races since Carl von Linnæus’, *Systema naturae* (English trans. 1758) see Gamble, *Timewalkers*, 23–7; Stringer and MacKie, *African Exodus*, 44–64; J. N. Pieterse, *White on Black*, 46–7; Bohannan and Curtin, *Africa and Africans*, 35–57.
67. African-Americans, however, do not consider the inhabitants of southern India or other dark-skinned groups, including some who are also part of the American civilization, as belonging to the ‘black race’ or the ‘African-American’ community. Exterior physical resemblance has produced no common cultural or political ground.
68. C. A. Diop, ‘Origins of the Ancient Egyptians’, in G. Mokhtar, *General History of Africa* (repr. in Van Sertima, *Great African Thinkers*, 41). Mokhtar, the editor of the

- volume, pointed out that Diop presented his view on the subject at the UNESCO symposium which was held in Cairo in 1974 and that the arguments put forward by him 'have not been accepted by all the experts interested in the problem'. In Afrocentric literature this collective rejection is perceived as a yet another proof of Diop's heroic and pioneering endeavor.
69. See Ch. 9 for further discussion on this subject.
  70. See Ch. 12 for further discussion on the Kushite empire. The Dravidians of central and southern India, who resided in India before the Indo-European invasion, were described as having black wavy hair, flat noses, dark skin etc (see Handa, *The Indo-Aryan Races*).
  71. See Ch. 13 for further discussion of America's place in Afrocentric world history.
  72. See H. S. Chamberlain's *Die Grundlagen des 19 Jarhunderts* (1899; English trans. *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, 1900), his *Ariche Weltanschauung* (1905), and Count Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853–1855).
  73. Ginsberg, *Sociology*, 54–7.
  74. See F. Boas, 'Race and Progress', in his *Race, Language and Culture*, 3–17. In 1928, Boas, the dean of American anthropology, wrote that 'cultural forms are not dependent upon race' (F. Boas, 'The Problem of Race', in *Anthropology and Modern Life*, 60). Indeed, the essence of a culture and its various elements are in no way related to physiogenetic traits; nor is there any connection between physiognomic traits and character or mode of thinking. However, from an historical standpoint, the concept of this connection was created as a result of the fact that people with similar physiognomic traits, living together, developed a common culture, and it was this culture that came to identify them.
  75. That cultural differences are not a result of biological causes but of interaction of many dynamic factors see A. L. Kroeber, *Configuration of Cultural Growth*, 19–24.
  76. It is interesting to note that Max Müller, the German-born philologist and 'Aryanist', a professor of modern language at Oxford from 1850, rejected at the end of his career his previous theory about the identification of race and language (and culture). See in H. A. MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History*, 121. Indeed, what value has the claim that Beethoven, for example, was black (or had black blood) if his music has nothing to do with the 'African musical heritage'? And what has Pushkin's poetry got to do with 'Ethiopian extraction'?
  77. G. Daniel quotes a popular statement based on this Egyptocentric point of view from the 1908 (6th remodeled) edition of Baedeker's *Guide to Egypt*: 'Ever since the attention of the civilized world was redirected to Egypt at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the scientific investigation of its innumerable monuments has pointed with ever-growing certainty to the Valley of the Nile as the cradle of history and human culture' (G. Daniel, *The First Civilizations*, 200–1). Lord Raglan, in his *How Came Civilization?* (London, 1939), proposed a Mesopocentric hyper-diffusionist (pan-Sumerian) theory, *ibid.*, 185–7. Daniel defines these theories as simplistic.
  78. See the discussion in B. G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 148–206, 329–69, and C. Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 120–37; Daniel, *The First Civilizations*. For an example of a hyper-diffusionist one-lined evolution view see G. Kraus, *Human Origins and Development from an African Ancestry*. Kraus was the publisher of the journal *The New Diffusionist* (1939–51), where he preached the

- unilinear theory of cultural evolution and criticized the multilinear theory of evolution. Also see M. Bernal, *Black Athena*, II, 523
79. G. E. Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians and the Origins of Civilization*; W. J. Perry, *The Children of the Sun: A Study in the Early History of Civilization*, and *The Growth of Civilization*.
  80. See Ch. 5.
  81. Based on F. A. Freeman's *Comparative Politics* (1873), quoted in A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 59–60.
  82. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, I, 58–60.
  83. See the articles of de Barros, Sheppard, Holl, Trigger in Robertshaw, *History of African Archaeology*.
  84. Trigger, 'The History of African Archaeology in World Perspective', in Robertshaw, *History of African Archaeology*, 308–19.
  85. This is the title of Samuel Shukford's book (1728), a gigantic imaginary effort of this kind to connect every event, even presumably miraculous events, and to find rational explanations. He, for example, 'Brought further confirmations of the (biblical) miracles from the Chinese annals . . .' (Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, 199, and Allen, *The Legend of Noah*, 92). Another example is the way Simon Patrick in 1738 used the information he read in a book written by John Webb, *The Antiquity of China* (London, 1678), among others, to claim that the existence of a Chinese version of the Flood story is unshakeable proof of the universality of the Flood and thus of the biblical cosmogony. These theories resemble, for example, the theory of the Trojan origins of the Gallo-Romans, the Franks and the Normans, based on Virgil's story in *Aeneid* about Brutus, grandson of Aeneas who fled from Troy and established the city of New Troy (Trinoventum).
  86. H. A. Verrill and R. Verrill, *America's Ancient Civilizations*, 104–5. See Ch. 13.
  87. Davidson, *The Lost Cities of Africa*, 74–5. Diop writes that: 'The author of this study puts forward several arguments to demonstrate that this fleet, or perhaps another earlier one, must surely have reached America before Columbus' (*Precolonial Black Africa*, 208–9). See also Lawrence, 'Mandinga Voyages across the Atlantic', in I. Van Sertima, *African Presence in Early America*, 169–214. And see Gates' treatment of the story on 'the voyages king' (Gates, *Wonders of the African World*, 131–2).
  88. F. Dubois, *Timbuctoo the Mysterious*. On the reality behind this legend see Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 150–2.
  89. It should be noted that Sultan Musa appears on the Catalan Atlas (1375), and see I. Van Sertima, *They Came before Columbus*, 63–70; J. Vorvey, 'Africans Sea Kings in America? Evidence from Early Maps', in Van Sertima, *African Presence in Early America*, 118–35.
  90. Van Sertima, *They Came before Columbus*, 72. This story is based on the testimony of Ibn Battuta, the fourteenth-century Muslim traveler that 'The Negroes [of Mali], wear fine white garments on Fridays' (see R. E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta*, 100; S. Hamdun and N. King, *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*, 58).
  91. Skeptics, though, may ask: If the Sultan was a devout Muslim, why is there no reference to Muslim customs in the Aztec culture? The answer we are given is that the Malians (whose ruler, the brother and successor of Abu Bakar, it is related, made the pilgrimage to Mecca accompanied by a large retinue) did not



practice the popular form of the religion. As the people of Mali were not orthodox Muslims, they could not be expected to bring the precepts of Islam to the new land.

92. J. D. Anderson, 'Secondary School History Textbooks and the Treatment of Black History', in Hine, *The State of Afro-American History*, 262–3.
93. B. Feldman and R. D. Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology*, 1680–1860 (Bloomington, IN, 1972).
94. See D. S. Katz, *Philosemitism and the Readmission of the Jews*, 43–88; Jasanoff and Nussbaum, 'Word Games: The Linguistic Evidence in Black Athena', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 201–3. I cannot deal here with the question: what is *Sprachverwandschaft* or *parente*; what is important to note, however, is that language paternity can not be used for a 'racial' identification since history of language and anthropology are totally distinct disciplines. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the critics of Bernal go too far when including Bernal's theory concerning Egyptian influence on Greek vocabulary in the long list of those who have played speculative 'word games'. See also in Ch. 4.
95. Leersen, 'On the Edge of Europe.'
96. For an early example see Pierre Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes orientales et à la Chine* (Paris, 1782).
97. E. Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs*, 106–7.
98. India was perceived as the home of philosophy and was supposed to have some influence on the development of Greek philosophy, chiefly on Pythagoras and Socrates (see D. P. Singhal, *India and World Civilization*, Vol. I, 25–30).
99. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century*, 114. Another 'cradle theory' was that of an 'Arabian origin'. Montgomery, for example, stated that 'not from the wisdom of the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Greek civilization came our Western religions, but out of Arabia', J. A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, 186.
100. I.e. uncovering, revealing.
101. Reprinted, 1992. See Gershon Williams, 'Ancient Kushite Roots in India – A Survey of the Works of Godfrey Higgins', in Van Sertima and Rashidi, *African Presence in Early Asia*, 112–19.
102. Higgins, *Anacalypsis*, Vol. I, 51.
103. See the discussion in Ch. 10.
104. Even Stonehenge, he quotes Reuben Burrow, was a temple of a black, curly-headed Buddha (Higgins, *Anacalypsis*, Vol. I, 39).
105. *Ibid.*, 806.
106. 1851–1925. See in Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 252–3.
107. New edition, 1985 (2nd reprinting, 1991). In Victorian England the widespread idea was that it was the Aryan people who introduced bronze and iron to Europe and that 'only the oldest and most primitive inhabitants of Europe were identified with a darker type of African origin' (Bowler, *The Invention of Progress*, 113).
108. MacRitchie, *Ancient and Modern Britons*, Vol. II (London, 1884), 304.
109. *Ibid.*, 392. On non-Celtic (or ante-Celtic) dark-skinned people in Britain and their influence on the customs and religion of the Celts see Alexander MacBain, *Celtic Mythology and Religion*, 50–2. In Victorian England several writers claimed that the primitive inhabitants of Europe were black-skinned people from Africa, and that it was the Aryan people who introduced the Stone and Iron Ages to the continent. The German scholar Theodor Poesche, in his *Die Arier: Ein Beitrag zur*

*historischen Anthropologie*, claimed that 'black, roundheaded, ugly pre-Aryans' occupied Europe before the coming of the Aryans.

110. A new edition published by Kessinger Publishing Co., 1992.
111. And see also J. G. Jackson, *Pagan Origins of the Christ Myth*.
112. See C. S. Finch, 'The Works of Gerald Massey: Studies in Kamite Origins', in Van Sertima, *Egypt Revisited*, 401–12. Also see Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 252–8.
113. See Ch. 5.
114. Massey, *Books of Beginnings*, Vol. I, 11.
115. *Ibid.*, 23.
116. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 177.
117. *Ibid.*, 361.
118. *Ibid.*, 521, note 1.
119. *Ibid.*, 599.

## 2: THE REVIVAL OF ANCIENT HISTORICAL TRADITIONS IN BLACK AMERICA

1. Or: 'Come back to Egypt! See the residence in which you lived! Kiss the ground at the great portals, mingle with the courtiers!' 'The story of Sinuhe', in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. I, 229–35. See also Parkinson, *The Story of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems*, 36.
2. I have used the chronology of ancient Egypt suggested by O'Connor and Silverman in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, xxix–xxxii.
3. On Sinuhe see Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*; Baines, 'Interpreting Sinuhe'. On the use of this story in modern national Egyptian writing see, for example, Hatem, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 7–16. He writes that 'The Egyptian today, like his ancestors, still prefers his own homeland to anywhere else in the world' (*ibid.*, 16).
4. Edited by Karenga and Carruthers.
5. In the Egyptian text Egypt is also referred too as *Timuri*. See also Ch. 8.
6. See Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 28. Morenz writes that 'in this case Egypt has its own name and is compared with other flat or mountainous tracts of territory as something apart' (Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 46).
7. Glover, 'A Praise Poem', 41.
8. On the history of American Egyptology see Wilson, *Signs and Wonders upon Pharaoh*. The first modern American study of ancient Egypt is George Giddon's book, *Ancient Egyptian*, which went into many editions (the 15th edition was published in 1850).
9. Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa*, 24.
10. Quoted in Drake, *The Redemption of Africa and Black Religion*, 57. See also Gershoni, *Africans on African-Americans*, 57–60.
11. On 'Ethopianism', see Ch. 10.
12. Hilliard, 'The Meaning of KMT'.
13. Diop, *The African Origins*, 142.
14. Hilliard, 'The Meaning of KMT'.
15. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 3. Egypt is Africa's oldest recorded classical civilization and the oldest civilization; a child of inner Africa (Hilliard, 'The Meaning of KMT', 11). Oyebade writes: 'The Diopian school of Afrocentric thought insists that the ancient Kemetic civilization should be the classical reference point for the

study of African civilization, as the Greek civilization is for the analysis of European civilization' (Oyebade, 'African Studies and the Afrocentric Paradigm', 234).

16. George Washington Williams, *A History of the Negro Race*, 22 (and see Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 40–1).
17. Quoted in Brotz, *African American Social and Political Thought: 1885–1920*, 233.
18. In Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 39.
19. Heliodorus, *An Ethiopian Romance*, 57. See also Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 53.
20. Monges, *Kush*, 190.
21. Oswald Spengler, the German historian and prophet of the doom of Western civilization, who formulated a grand-scale morphology of world history, wrote that the Greeks' attempt 'to frame something like a calendar or a chronology was a result of Egyptian influence, and that before the fifth century no one [in Greece] ever thought of noting or reporting historical events' (Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, 10, note 1. He quotes Beloch [I., I, 125], and E. Meyer, [*Gesch. d. Alt.*, II., 442]).
22. The Jewish historian Josephus Flavius (first century AD) also believed that Greek authors, beginning with Homer, had been forced to rely on the historical traditions of the Egyptians and the Babylonians. Those authors, Josephus wrote, made liberal use of unfounded suppositions, constantly contradicted each other and themselves, and then accused one another of distortion, '... each of these writers, in giving his divergent account of the same incidents, hoped thereby to be thought the most veracious of all' (*Contra Apionem*, I:26, 173). Anyone, he writes, can easily discover from the Greek historians themselves that their historical reconstructions have no basis of sure knowledge. For his polemic and apologetic needs, Josephus did not hesitate to praise the antiquity and reliability of the Egyptian annals when he wanted to refute Greek arguments against the antiquity of the Jewish people. Josephus also recalls the existence of very ancient public chronicles in Tyre and the Greek author of the Hellenistic period, Menander of Ephesus, as the translator of the chronicles of the kings of Tyre under the title *History of Tyre*. He also mentions the 'Phoenician History' based on a Phoenician author, of Sanchuniathon, or Sakkunnyaton, who is thought to have lived at the end of the second millennium BC, and was translated in eight volumes by Philo of Byblos in the first to second century AD. The existence of diaries and official records in Tyre is confirmed by the Egyptian Wen-Amon travel account dated to 1070 BC. (See Aubert, *The Phoenician and the West*, 23–6, and also Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Byblos*; Fergus Millar, 'The Phoenician Cities: A Case Study in Hellenization', 63–4; van Seters, *In Search of History*, 195–9.) However, these were 'national histories' which cannot be of much help in any reconstruction of the history of Greece.
23. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*.
24. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, 99. It should be noted that 'the documents from the New Kingdom include yearly records of major events, but no example of it survived' (Redford, *Egypt*, 140). On the theological nature of Egyptian history see Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest*.
25. Redford, *Egypt*.
26. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 127–8; also see Ch. 5.
27. Steindorff and Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, 94–115.
28. Address delivered before Omaha Philosophical Society, 3 July 1917, 334–40. The journal was edited by C. G. Woodson, and first appeared in January 1916,

- Lancaster, PA and Washington DC; in 1918 Parker published *The Children of the Sun*, where he extended the scope of this lecture (Howe, *Afrocentrism*, note 17, 57). And see Woodson, 'The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History', leaflet, n.p., n.d., 1947 (in Bracey, Meier and Rudwick, *Black Nationalism in America*, 312–19).
29. Evans belived in certain Egyptian influence on Minoan Crete. See also Myers, *Who Were the Greeks*, 197–9.
  30. Though classical learning was venerated by many as one of the most valuable forms of 'useful knowledge', there was a persistent stream of antagonism to the classics in America throughout these centuries (Reinhold, *Classical Americana*, 20).
  31. Parker, 'The African Origin', 342.
  32. 'Racial integrity', quoted in Bracey, Meier and Rudwick, *Black Nationalism in America*, 305.
  33. Among the numerous studies on this subject see: Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece*; Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain*. A short summary in Shavit, *Athens in Jerusalem*, Ch. 2.
  34. Myers, *Who Were the Greeks?*, 531. But, he adds that 'it also lies sufficiently aloof and self-contained to impose its peculiar geographical controls on each and all, selecting the strains best fitted for acclimization'.
  35. Reinhold, *Classical Americana*. Also see Levine's evaluation of the Bernal controversy on the state of classical studies in the USA, in 'Bernal and the Athenians in the Multicultural World of the Ancient Mediterranean', 3–4, and Lefkowitz and Rogers in *Black Athena Revisited*, 1–11.
  36. Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism*, 34.
  37. See Waddell's introduction to Mantho's *Aegyptiaca*, vii–xxvii.
  38. See Ch. 6.
  39. See Bremmer 'What is Greek Myth?', and Henrichs, 'Three Approaches to Greek Mythology'.
  40. 'Diodorus could not find any reliable *paraepigma* of dates before the Trojan war' (Forsdyke, *Greece before Homer*, 44–61). On Pausanias' Itinerary of Greece (2nd century AD) see Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*, 66. Hecataeus of Miletus (FGr. His, 1f1) emphasized the fact that the accounts given by the Greeks are both numerous and contradictory, and therefore laughable (see Lateiner, *The Historical Methods*, 1–9). According to Pausanias 'Greek mythology is, as every one knows, a jungle of fascinating, loosely connected, and quite contradictory tradition'. 'Greek attitudes towards their past were much more ambivalent and wide-ranging than Professor Bernal would allow', writes Tamara Green in her article 'Black Athena and Classical Historiography', *Arethusa*, Special Issue, 58. See also Hall, 'When is a Myth not a Myth? Bernal's "Ancient Model"', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 333–48.
  41. Diodorus, *The Library of History*, Vol. II, 339.
  42. Diodorus writes: 'Therefore later historians have stood aloof from the narration of ancient mythology and have undertaken a record of only the more recent events.' This view is repeated, for example, by St Augustine (*De Civitas Dei*, 18:41) and the Muslim historian Ibn Hazam al-Andalusī (thirteenth century) who wrote that Greek (*Rum*) historical information is 'reliable from Alexander onwards but not for earlier periods' (in Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage of Islam*, 59).
  43. According to Emily Vermeule the originals of many myths retold by Homer were

- Mycenaean; however, these were different versions because ‘myth changes with every telling and is constantly being improved . . .’ (Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, 311).
44. Not to mention that according to recent studies, neither Egypt nor Mesopotamia was the cradle of the ‘neolithic revolution’. See Finkelberg, ‘Anatolian Languages and Indo-European Migration to Greece’.
  45. Numerous studies deal with Greek indebtedness to the Near East and Anatolia from the second millennium BC onward. Among these see Walcott, *Hesiod and the Near East*; Burkert, in *Greek Religion* writes that ‘one negative insight at least should emerge; there is no single origin of Greek religion’ (19); and see his, ‘Oriental and Greek Mythology’. West, ‘Ancient Eastern Myths in Classical Greek Thought’, in Sasson, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 33–54; Kuhurt, ‘Ancient Mesopotamia in Classical Greek and Hellenic Thought’, in Sasson, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 55–65; Morris, ‘Daidalos and Kadmos: Classicism and “Orientalism”’ and ‘The Legacy of Black Athena’, in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited* 167–74; also see Ch. 4.
  46. See Ch. 11.
  47. Theoretically speaking, India could be described as the mother of ‘Africa’, Egypt and Greece, since, from the African-American point of view, the indigenous Indians belong to the black race. Stressing the ‘black’ nature of the Indian population and culture thus undermines the ‘Aryan model’. However, it is essential for the Afrocentric school to describe Egypt as the source, and India as its child. See Ch. 10.
  48. Thomas, *Biblical Faith and the Black American*, 67. See also Cleage, *The Black Messiah*, 155–243, 254–65. Hopkins writes that ‘By cursing every-thing white he [Cleage] struggled to give blacks a sense of their own power’, and struggled to develop a theology which would justify both physical and spiritual separation (Hopkins, *Black Theology USA and South Africa*, 57–9). The book offers an extensive bibliography on the subject, 209–44.
  49. According to Joseph Washington’s suffering-servant theodicy, ‘. . . the will of God for His Negro people demands no exodus. For God has called the Negro people to an infinitely more complex and responsible task – not only of being released from bondage but the releasing of its captors from their shackles as well’ (see his *The Politics of God*, 157). Washington’s, Cone’s and Cleage’s views are sharply criticized by W. R. Jones in his *Is God A White Racist?*, claiming that the Exodus story as an exaltation event, or liberation event, lacks any relevance to the African-American experience (ibid., 18, 79–131). On Exodus as an historical narrative and as a symbol, see Sarna, *Exploring Exodus*; Walzer, *Exodus and Revolution*; Said, ‘Michael Walzer’s Exodus and Revolution: A Canaanite Reading’, in Said and Hitchens, *Blaming the Victims*, 161–78. For Origen, who followed the allegorical method of Philo, on the literal level Exodus was a real divine action to free the people of Israel from bondage; on the allegorical level it typifies or symbolizes Christian baptism, which is a fuller and more spiritually significant act of divine rescue (see Wiles, ‘Origen as a Biblical Scholar’, in Ackroyd and Evans, *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. I: *From the Beginnings to Jerome*, 482). The Catholic Church decided at the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) that ‘the exodus of a chosen people from bondage alludes symbolically to the salvation of the Church’. (*Salutem ecclesiae in Populu electi: exitu de terra servitutis mystice praesignari.*) On Exodus in pagan litera-

- ture see Peter Schäfer, 'The Exodus Tradition in Pagan Greco-Roman Literature', in Gafni *et al.*, *The Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman World*, 9–30, and Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 113–33.
50. 'Statement from the Black Christian Nationalist Church' (1976), in Wilmore and Cone, *Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966–1979*, 329.
  51. Thomas, *Biblical Faith*, 11–15. According to Mustafa El-Amin, in his booklet *Freemasonry, Ancient Egypt and the Islamic Destiny*, 'The real exodus is the movement of the mind outside the borders of American life and the American way of thinking. African-Americans must have the courage to think bigger than America' (70). On the Bible in slave spirituals and folk beliefs see Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 30–80. One Thomas Smith of Georgia insisted that the magic power used by Moses to turn his rod into a snake before Pharaoh still existed among blacks (*ibid.*, 57).
  52. An anonymous black-Hebrew writer poses this question: 'How could a white Moses have hidden in a black Pharaoh's house without being detected? This would mean that if Moses was white, then the Pharaoh had to be white, also the children of Israel had to be white. The truth is that during the time of Moses, the Egyptians were black . . . If Pharaoh was black then Moses would have to be black – meaning since Moses was also a Hebrew passing as an Egyptian, that, the children of Israel had to be black!' (Shardrock, *The Truth, The Lie and the Bible*, 12–13).
  53. See Appendix.
  54. In this theory the 'Israelites' were the same 'motley crowd' that had joined the 'Hebrew' core who came from Canaan.
  55. Dunston, *The Black Man in the Old Testament*, 101.
  56. Dunston (*ibid.*, 69) points at yet another problem: 'Does not the Bible describe how Moses' hand turned "leprous white" and after he obeyed God's command his hand had changed to its original black?' (*Exodus* 4: 6–7).
  57. In the case of the Exodus an African-American believer could overcome the contradictions by preserving the message of the story, a myth, or a symbol, even when he accepts the view that both Moses and Pharaoh were black, by claiming it proves that even blacks can enslave their brethren. If the message is the symbolic hope of freedom from slavery and oppression, 'black Pharaoh' can be turned into a symbol with a new content, referring to the internal relations within the black community (and in certain African states). See also Ch. 9.
  58. Felder, *Troubling Biblical Waters*, 11. According to him, a Methodist minister and a leader in the 'movement to document African influence in biblical times', the fact that Mary fled with Jesus to Egypt, means that she intended to hide him among the black Egyptians, and, hence, that Jesus himself was black!
  59. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 6–8; 208–9. However, while pointing at this negative image of Egypt in the Bible, Assmann blurs the fact that the Bible also speaks on the 'wisdom' of Egypt and describes the political (and perhaps cultural) relationship that existed between Israel and Egypt. The Bible indeed refers mainly to Egypt as a land where the Hebrews were enslaved and not as a land where they were exposed to idolatry, but in the eyes of the rebels against Moses in the desert, Egypt is remembered as a land where the Hebrews 'sat by the flesh pots' and where they 'ate bread to the full' (*Exodus* 16:3). There is no basis to the argument that the 'other gods' and the 'graven image' in the Second Commandment relate to

- Egyptian cults and not to the Canaanite cults (*ibid.*, 4). In his review of Assmann's book, Rev. Vladimir Vincent A. Tobin writes: 'It may well be that Biblical tradition is not as hostile to the Egyptian background of Moses as Assmann suggests.' Vincent A. Tobin, review of Assmann's *Moses the Egyptian* in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, LV: 5/6 (Sept.–Dec. 1998), 759. See also Cohen, *The Origins and Evolution of the Moses Nativity Story*.
60. See Ch. 5.
  61. Cleage, *The Black Messiah*, 39.
  62. Felder, *Troubling Biblical Waters*, 5. See, again, W. R. Jones' criticism of the strategy of this type of theodicy, that is, to 'color God, Jesus, and the Israelis black' (Jones, *Is God A White Racist?* 122–4).
  63. This term was coined by Jones. See also Ch. 9.
  64. Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation*, 31. See also his *Black Theology and Black Power*. On him see in Hopkins, *Black Theology*, 54.
  65. On 'history' and revelation see Abraham, *Divine Revelation and the Limits of Historical Criticism*.
  66. Drake, *The Redemption of Africa*, 11.
  67. Wimbush, 'Biblical Historical Study as Liberation: Towards an Afro-Christian Hermeneutic', 163–78; Stendhal, 'The Bible as a Classic and the Bible as Holy Scripture'; and Thomas, *Biblical Faith*.
  68. See Ch. 8.
  69. Ben-Levi, 'The First and Second Intermediate Periods in Kemetic History', in Karenga and Carruthers, *Kemet*, 67.
  70. Ahad Ha'am (Asher Gingberg, 1856–1927), used this phrase, by which he meant that a heavy price was being paid by European Jews for civil emancipation and acculturation: loss of national and personal selfhood. 'Imitation by Assimilation', 33. Theodor Herzl expressed himself along similar lines in his play *The New Ghetto*, as indeed did many nationalist thinkers. It is interesting to note here that Ahad Ha'am believed that while the African had no power to resist European influences, the Jews still possess the spiritual inner powers to resist it.
  71. See also Ch. 5.
  72. See Ch. 5.
  73. See Ch. 11.
  74. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*, 5.

### 3: MAKING-UP STORIES OF EGYPT

1. Herodotus, Vol. I, 315.
2. *Ibid.*, 315–63.
3. Plato, *Phaedrus*, Vol. I, 565.
4. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, 2.
5. Hansberry, 'A Preliminary Critique of Classical Sources', in his *Africa and Africans*, Vol. I, 27.
6. Hansberry, *African History Notebook*, 32.
7. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, 111–12, 129 (see his discussion about 'The Greeks in Egypt', 111–60). See also Luce, *Homer and the Homeric Age*, 54–8.
8. While the poets considered themselves justified in drawing freely on their imaginations for the invention of details. See: Brillante, 'Historical Interpretation of

- Myth', in Edmunds, *Approaches to Greek Myths*, 93–138; Finley, 'Myth, Memory and History', in his *The Use and Abuse of History*, 15; Burn, *Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks*, 17–25. And see Ch. 2, n. 39.
9. Rajak, 'Josephus', 466.
  10. Bickerman, 'Origines Gentium', 70.
  11. Drews, 'PIE Speakers and PA Speakers', 153–77. See also Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Ninoans*; Finkelberg, 'Anatolian Languages and Indo-European Migration to Greece'. She writes that '... there were at least two waves of Indo-European dispersal in the eastern Mediterranean, and that on their coming to Greece at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, the Greeks, belonging as they did to the second wave of the dispersal, found representatives of the first wave there' (Finkelberg, *ibid.*, 13).
  12. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*, 15.
  13. As shown in the previous chapter the diversity of Greek traditions is due to the fact that they had different accounts regarding early time (J. van Seters, 'The Primeval Histories', 4). See the third-century AD Athenian historian P. Herenius Dexippus in his *Chronika*, quoted in Potter, *Prophecy and History*, 77–78.
  14. Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, 9–10.
  15. Finley, 'Myth, Memory and History', in *The Use and Abuse of History*, 18. On the different dates concerning the fall of Troy see Asheri, 'The Dating of the Fall of Troy in Greek Historiography from Herodotus to Timaeus.'
  16. Drews, *The Greek Account of Eastern History*.
  17. Van Seters, 'The Primeval Histories', 2–4.
  18. Rajak, 'Josephus'.
  19. Levine, 'Bernal and the Athenians', 32–43. See also Hall, 'When is a Myth not a Myth?', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 333–48.
  20. 'History writings', writes J. van Seters, 'answer the needs to account for social change and to provide a basis for new meaning, new authority, and new legitimization for those traditional forms that have become dysfunctional in changing social circumstances' (J. van Seters, *In Search of History*, 4).
  21. An arca in the center of Greece between the Gulf of Corinth and the Strait of Euboea.
  22. Buck, *A History of Boeotia*, 45–72.
  23. One has him founding Thebes and its Cadmean fortress; in another he conquers an already existing city. Nonos' version (fifth century AD) in his *Dionysiaca*, states: 'So Cadmos finished his voyage to Hellas, with the inspired voice in his mind stinging a gadfly; and inspired word of Zeus ever ran unerring in his ears and drove him on. There he was to present newer gifts to all Hellens, and to make them forged the lifebringing art of Danaos, the master-mischiefmaker, Danaos the waterbringer: for what good did he do for the Achaans, if once he had dug the ground with bronze pickaxes, and pecking at the flooded hollow of the earth quenched the thirst of Argos . . . But Cadmos brought gifts of voice and thought for all Hellas; he fashioned tools to echo sounds of the tongue, he mingled sonant and consonant in order to connect in harmony to each other. So he rounded off a graven model of speaking silence; for he had learnt the secret of his country's sublime art, and outside intruder into the wisdom of Egypt's, while Agenor dwelt nine years in Memphis and founded hundred-gated Thebes (*Dionysiaca*, IV, 249–65, p. 153).



24. Herodotus is the first to mention the 'Phoenician' origins of Cadmus (whereas according to Diodorus he had Thebean origins (I.23.4). Albert Schachter suggested that Cadmus was a fictitious hero named after the Thebean acropolis and was made 'Phoenician' because of the influence of immigrants from the East to Boeotia (Schachter, 'Kadmos and the Implications of the Tradition for Boeotian History'). In M. L. West's view, the myths of Kadmos and Harmonia at Thebes 'owe their origin to ninth- or eighth-century Phoenician residents there' (*The East Face of Helicon*, 448–50).
25. Buck, *History of Boeotia*, 57. On the Mesopotamian origin of the legend of the 'Seven against Thebes', see in Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, 106–14.
26. Buck, *History of Boeotia*, 58; see also: Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician*; Gomme, 'The Legend of Cadmus and the Logographi'; Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, 104–6; Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, 89–95.
27. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, 172–81; Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe?*, 53. See Ch. 4.
28. Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age*, 309.
29. Buck, *Historia of Boeotia*, 68.
30. Bernal, *Cadmean Letters and Black Athena*, 2, 479–504. According to Linton Myers the Greek stories of immigrants from overseas, including Egypt, show no racial interest and refer to individual adventurers such as Cadmos and Danaus. 'These were clearly attempts to explain the introduction of what seemed to be foreign elements in the early culture of Greek lands by connecting them with legends of foreign immigrants (Myers, *Who Were the Greeks?*, xxii).
31. There exist other legends that the first alphabet developed in Egypt during the eighteenth century BC under Cretan influences, which, according to Graves, 'corresponds with Aristides tradition, reported by Pliny, that an Egyptian called Menos ("moon") invented it' (Graves, *The Greek Myths*, 182–5). See him also on 'Europe and Cadmus', *ibid.*, 194–8.
32. Woodward, *Greek Writing from Knossos to Homer*. See also Winter, 'Homer's Phoenicians: History, Ethnography, or Literary Trope?', in Carter and Morris, *The Ages of Homer*, 247–71.
33. Woodward, *Greek Writing*; Winter, 'Homer Phoenicians', in Carter and Morris, *The Ages of Homer*.
34. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, 143. 'The Athenian orators showed little inclination to use mythology for purpose of illustration' (Pearson, 'Historical Allusions in the Attic Orators'). Burstein writes that 'references to Egyptian religion and culture occur in the works of almost every surviving classical author, however, Egypt had a marginal place in Greek historiography' (Burstein, 'Hecataeus, Herodotus, and the Birth of Greek Egyptology', in his *Graeco-Africana*, 4–5).
35. Hood, 'The Bronze Age Contacts of Home', in Carter and Morris, *The Ages of Homer*, 25–30.
36. According to Strabo, Homer took the foundation of his stories from historical accounts and his knowledge about Egypt is not baseless (*Geography*, I.2.9). See also Strabo's discussion concerning the Homeric (and later Greek writers) knowledge and image of the inhabited world.
37. Finley, *World of Odysseus*, 143.
38. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, 64–9. On the reliability of the tradition that the Achaeans took part in the raids on Egypt see Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, 22, note 1, and Ka'kosky, 'Egypt in Ancient Greek and Roman

- Thought', in Sasson, *Civilizations of Ancient Near East*, Vol. I, 3.
39. On the Greek traditions on Egypt before Homer see Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 120–40.
  40. Trans. R. Fitzgerald, 57. See also Strabo, *Geography* I.22–23. And see Luce, *Homer and the Heroic Age*, 54–5.
  41. *The Odyssey*, trans. Fitzgerald, 325.
  42. 'These drugs of subtle virtue the daughter of Zeus was given / By an Egyptian woman, Polydamna, wife of Thon; / For the rich earth of Egypt bears many herbs / Which steeped in liquor have power to cure, or to kill' (ibid., 60). On Egyptian medicine see: Ghalioungui, *The House of Life, Per Ankh*; Harris, 'Medicine', in Harris, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 112–37. See also Ch. 7.
  43. The legend of Danaus was probably based on the presence of the Danumians, the inhabitants of the coast of Cilicia in the Later Bronze Age. Some of them migrated to Cyprus; in the Assyrian annals the island is called Iadana. See also M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon*, 446–8. He writes: 'Egypt's claims to primacy, however, are countered by the consideration that the brother's great-great-grand-mother came from Argos in the first place' (446). In a fragment of fresco from Thera, Greek archaeologist Marinatos finds the head of a young man with red skin and thick lips that he regarded as representing a Nubian or 'negrito' type, possibly a guest from another land, for he writes, foreign persons came and stayed as rulers in Greece; for example, Danaus came from Egypt (Marinatos, 'African in Thera?'). This is a far-reaching supposition and there is no reason not to assume, for example, that residents of Thera (Santorini) were not acquainted with 'Nubian' mercenaries, just as they were familiar in Crete.
  44. Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, Vol. I, 106–11.
  45. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind*, 9.
  46. Smelik and Hemelrijk, "'Who Knows What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?'".
  47. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 25–108 (mainly chapter on Egypt, 81–90).
  48. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth*, pp. 32–41.
  49. In the fifth century BC many Egyptians became resident in Athens and in the second half of the fourth century they were given permission to dedicate a temple to Isis in Athens (Semlik and Hemelrijk, "'Who Knows What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?'", 1869–70). These Egyptians could become informants about Egyptian affairs.
  50. Van Seters, *In Search of History* 4.
  51. Herodotus was accused of being a *Barbarophile*. See Plutarch, *The Malice of Herodotus (De Malignitate Herodoti)*.
  52. According to Herodotus, Psammetichus put Egyptian boys in the Greek settlements to be taught the Greek language, and 'these, learning Greek, were the ancestors of the Egyptian Interpreters' (II, 154.2). The continued intercourse of Greek and Egyptian, mainly in Memphis, increased Greek knowledge of Egyptian history (ibid., 154.4), 465–7.
  53. In order to control the trade with Greece a concession was given to establish a trading post on the Bollite branch of the Nile, while other mouths were closed to Greek shipping. The Greek presence strengthened Egyptian xenophobia and Greek trade was exposed to hostility (see Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, 206–9). On the inner organization of Naucratis see Roebuck, *Ionian Trade and Colonization*, 53–4.
  54. The Egyptian priest, Solon's interlocutor, ridicules the Greeks' brief historical

- memory: The Greeks are children and their historical traditions are children's tales, he says: 'Oh Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children; there is not such a thing as an old Greek' (the reason for this being that they are unable to read what earlier generations wrote.) Natural adversities, the priests claim, deprived the Greeks of the continuous historical knowledge with which the Egyptians are endowed (Plato, *Timaeus* 22–23c, VII, 38–9).
55. Manetho, *Aegyptiaca* (Epitome), Fr. 21,14 (Armenian version of Eusebius), trans. Waddell, 44–5. On Egyptian appreciation of books see also Papyrus Chester Beatty IV from the New Kingdom: 'Death made their names forgotten/But Books made them remembered!' In Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. 11, 176–7.
  56. See Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*. He writes that 'The only interest of these tales is that they show what is also proven, e.g., by Plutarch's *de Iside et Osiride*, that in the Alexandrian and post-Alexandrian times Greek writers knew the meaning of only a few Egyptian names' (ibid., 44–5).
  57. Cook, *Myth and Language*, 176.
  58. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 81–106. Heidel, 'Hecataeus and the Egyptian Priest in Herodotus Book II'.
  59. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 199–263.
  60. Hecataeus prefaced his book *Genealogies* thus: 'I am writing what I believe to be true, after all the legends of the Greeks are, in my opinion, many and ridiculous'. But Herodotus, the 'father of history', considered Hecataeus' truth itself to be ridiculous (Pearson, *Early Ionian Histories*, 103). And see Drews, *The Greek Account*, 104–5.
  61. Burstein, 'Hecataeus', in *Graeco-Africana*, 7–12.
  62. Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 120–40. Also see Greener, *Discovery of Egypt*, 52.
  63. Herodotus frequently reminded his readers that he follows the Egyptian priests' stories ('so say the priests', *Book II*, 107:1), or 'That, then, I heard from the Theban priests' (55:1). Herodotus himself distinguishes between what he has been told by the priests and the knowledge he acquired through them from ancient written testimonies.
  64. Diodorus was 'mythically inclined, whether by his own beliefs, or, as Thucydides affirmed, for popular appeal' (Forsdyke, *Greece before Homer*, 139).
  65. Herodotus, *Book II*, 333.
  66. On Herodotus travels in Egypt see Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, 61–76. On the reliability of Herodotus' account see, among the many studies: Armayor, 'Did Herodotus ever go to Egypt?'; Lloyd, *Book II*, 61–76. He argues that even if Herodotus received information from the priest, 'we must remember that the use made of a body of material will be always be determined by the basic attitudes of the user. The Egyptian priest would never have thought of setting himself the task of reading the temple inscriptions for detailed information of, e.g., the First Campaign of Victory of Tutomose III because his entire *Weltanschauung* would lead him to consider such matters unimportant . . . even if a priest learned in the official historical records of the land were consulted by Herodotus, or any other Greek, for detailed accounts of individual kings, they would not be able to provide the information required from that source' (ibid., 99–100). This is true of historical accounts but not of information about cults or beliefs (ibid., 112–13). Fehling, in his study *Herodotus and his 'Sources'*, argues that Herodotus never visited Egypt and most of his information is unreliable (ibid., 17–21). See also

- Ka'kosky, 'Egypt in Greece', in Sasson, *Civilisations of Ancient Near East*, 3–4. Drews argues that Herodotus drew his information from the *grammatistes*, who ranked just above the door keepers and workers at the temple, who would hardly have known anything on Egyptian history (Drews, *Greek Account*, 81). On this subject see also Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus*; Pritchett, *The Liar School of Herodotus* (which is the most comprehensive attempt to refute Fehling's theory); Redfield, 'Herodotus the Tourist'. See the extensive and updated bibliography in Thomson, *Herodotus*, 169–88.
67. Evans, *Herodotus: Explorer of the Past*, 7–8.
  68. Byzantine scholar Photius, in his epitome to the last of the last eleventh book of the *Persica* by Cresitas Canidus, wrote that 'in many places he convicted Herodotus of being a liar, and he calls him *logopoios*' (Photius, *Bibl.* 72, 35b, quoted in Lateiner, *The Historical Methods of Herodotus*, p. 218).
  69. As previously shown, the Egyptians kept fairly clear records of their royal succession, but Herodotus has no knowledge even of the most important phases of Egyptian history (Hograd, *Authority and Archaeology: Sacred and Profane*, 168–9).
  70. Luce, *The End of Atlantis*, 21.
  71. Nevertheless, at that time Egypt was a free and strong country, and not a conquered land which had lost its independence; thus the Egyptians had no reason to fabricate fictitious stories to impress their upstart conquerors, as they might have during the Hellenistic period.
  72. Conzelmann, *Gentiles, Jews, Christians*, 52.
  73. Lloyd writes that there is no solid evidence for Solon's visit to Egypt (Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 55–7). Plato's impressions were influenced by his anti-democratic views.
  74. Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 35. According to this version, after founding a new political regime in Athens, Aristotle went to Egypt to engage in trade and spent the next ten years there: '... he went abroad on a journey to Egypt, for the purpose of trading and of seeing the country.'
  75. Gurney, *The Hittites*, 20–64.
  76. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 14–21.
  77. Bickerman, 'Origines Gentium', 74–5; Murray, 'Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship'; Burstein, 'Hecataeus of Abdera's History of Egypt', 19–27. See also Drews, *Greek Account*, 122–32. Hecataeus made use of both Egyptian priestly sources and the accounts of earlier Greek accounts. See in Eide *et al.*, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, II, 501.
  78. Diodorus, Vol. I, 91. Compare with Philo's description of the Jewish colonies in *Legatio ad Gaium*, 282.
  79. See the short general survey of Ka'kosky, 'Egypt in Ancient Greek and Roman Thought', in Sasson, *Civilisations of the Ancient Near East*, 3–14.
  80. Lloyd writes that from the Mycenaean times 'vague memories of Egypt survived, embedded in oral tradition and eventually given their definite form by Homer in the eighth century' (Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 121).
  81. This view has been expressed by scholarship since the beginning of the twentieth century. See Baikie, *The Sea King of Crete*, 139–69; he even speculates that the Neolithic Nilotic people and the Neolithic Minoan Cretans sprang from a common stock and were 'members of the same widespread Mediterranean race' (Baikie, *ibid.*, 144, and Burn, *Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks*, 116–40).

82. Steindorff and Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, 22. On the foreign population of the city of Kahun see David, *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt*, 125–201, and on Deir el Medina (on the west bank of the Nile at Luxor) see Ward, 'Foreigners Living in the Village', in Lesko, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 61–85. These foreigners include weavers, stonemasons, soldiers, merchants, artists, dancers, and other professionals; however, most of them were of Semitic origin. See also Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, 245–71. During the XXI–XXIII Dynasties it is evident that connections existed between Egypt and Crete and that there was an interchange of ideas and products between the two peoples (*ibid.*, 12–13). The agents of this cultural intercourse were merchants, soldiers and diplomats, and it is very clear that the Egyptians were aware of the different types of people existing in the Aegean region.
83. Luxury items, such as ivory, ebony, gold figurines and even live animals were probably exported from Africa and Egyptian mines in Sinai via Egypt to the Minoan colonies in the Aegean. See Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*, and P. Warren, 'Minoan Crete and Pharaonic Egypt', in Davies and Schofield, *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 1–8. The palace of Kato Zakros, situated roughly at the mid-point of the east coast of Crete, was the ideal harbor for vessels arriving from Egypt. See Stylianos Alexiou, *Minoan Civilization*, 38.
84. Steindorff and Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, 22; Redford, *Egypt*, 242–3; West, *The East Face of Helicon* 2–3; Bernal, *Black Athena: Archaeological and Documentary Evidence*, II, 412–18. There is a vast literature on the nature of the Egyptian-Cretan connections since the Prepalatial and Predynastic periods until the great destruction of the Minoan civilization. See P. Warren, 'Minoan Crete and Pharaonic Egypt' (see also the extended bibliography, 14–18); Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägais bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*; Bouzek, *The Aegean, Anatolia and Egypt: Cultural Interrelations in the Second Millenium BC*; Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age*. On the sea routes and vessels, see also Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*.
85. *Herakleion Museum Illustrated Guide*, 129. See also note 43.
86. Wilkinson and Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, 43; Bernal, *Black Athena*, Vol. II, 412–18. See the tomb of Senenmut (Senmut) from the XVIII Dynasty, time of Hatshepsut, 72. On identification of the *Keftiu* and 'the people who came from the West' see Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia*, 117–20. According to this view, while the earlier examples indeed represent Minoans, the later are bad copies 'without the slightest Minoan or Aegean element in their representation . . . Thus, in the few years separating Senmut from Amensuer and Rekhmire, the memory of the Minoans had faded and what was remembered was that they came from the west.' Also see Bernal, *Black Athena*, Vol. II, 412–18.
87. It expresses the theme of 'order versus Chaos'. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 150, 152; Kaster, *The Wisdom of Ancient Egypt*, 18; Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, 166; Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 108–11.
88. A. H. Gardiner writes that 'There must have been some contact with Crete, because the Minoan culture betrays unmistakable signs of Egyptian influence. But for direct maritime activity in that direction we have no evidence. On the contrary, the Pharaonic ships appear to have preferred to hug the shore . . .' (Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 36).
89. Probably Cyprus (Alasiya).
90. See Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II, 37.

91. Cline, 'Amenthop III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypto-Aegean Relations in the 14th Century BC'. Bernal argues that Crete came under Egyptian sovereignty and paid it tribute (*Black Athena*, 426–8).
92. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean*, 132; Pendelbury, *Aegyptiaca, A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area*; Chadwick, *The Decipherment of Linear B*, 107. Kees writes that during the reign of Tutmosis III, 'keftiu ships were numbered along with Byblos ships among the sea-going vessels built in Egyptian shipyards in Lower Egypt' (Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, 141).
93. Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, 254–64, 271, 231. Branigan writes that 'Minoan civilization owed far less to Egypt than we used to imagine' (Branigan, *The Foundation of Palatial Crete*, 198–9). On the Minoan presence in Lower Egypt see Bietak, 'Connections between Egypt and the Minoan World: New Results from Tell el Dab'a/Avaris', in Davies and Schofield (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 19–28.
94. Luce, *The End of Atlantis*, 29.
95. Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia*, 39–40, 62–7, 139–46, 151–4.
96. Luce, *The End of Atlantis*, 41–3.
97. The Legend of Danaos, father of the 50 suppliants, and brother of Egypt (Aigptos), is the only legend to connect Greece (Argos, in the north eastern most peninsula of the Peloponnese) and Egypt. It should be noted that in Aeschylus *Suppliants*, the Egyptians appear 'like dogs, like spiders and vipers in a black dream of Egypt', and personify evil (trans. J. Lembke, 13). Luce (and several other historians) however, do believe that Egyptian records played an important role in transmitting facts about Crete and its sudden collapse (Luce, *The End of Atlantis*, 34–43). According to Herodotus, the daughters of Danaus brought the mysterious rites of Demeter from Egypt and instructed the Pelasgian women in it, 'and after the Dorian conquest it was lost. Only the Arcadians, who were not driven from homes by the invader, continued the celebration of it' (II, 172, 197).
98. See the discussion in Burkert, 'Herodotus über die Namen der Götter: Polytheismus als historisches Problem'; Bergman, 'Beitrag zur Interpretatio Graeca: Ägyptische Götter in griechischer Übertragung', in Hartmann, *Syncretism*, 207–27, and also Linforth, *Greek Gods and Foreign Gods*; Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, 143–54. A. B. Lloyd writes that 'The Greek mind is characterized by a fundamental sense of rational order' (Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 156). According to this view, this is the driving force behind the idiosyncratic theory of Herodotus.
99. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*. Herodotus fails to mention that the Egyptians possessed three different calendars. He relates that the Egyptians were the first to divide the year into 12 parts (month) and arranged the intercalary month with greater wisdom than the Greeks (II, 4). Hesiod and Homer, who lived 400 years before Herodotus, knew nothing of the division of the year into months, only into seasons. The possibility that Egypt transferred its intercalary method to Mycenaean Greece, where it was forgotten during the Archaic period but revived thereafter, seems unreasonable. It is difficult to believe that such an important and efficient practice would have been lost while other cultural borrowings were preserved for hundreds of years. The question as to whether the division of the year came to Greece from Egypt after the Archaic period is yet another question, but it does not touch upon Bernal's thesis of influences in the third and second millennium.

100. Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City*, 355–6. G. E. R. Lloyd, *The Revolutions of Wisdom*, 54.
101. *The Laws of Plato*, 37.
102. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, 113.
103. *Ibid.*, 149. In the Greek perception the gods were simply ancient, not Greeks, and only knowledge of them is the real issue.
104. *Ibid.*, 134.
105. Thomson, *Herodotus*, 117.
106. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 114–18.

#### 4: THE EGYPTIAN TYRANNY OVER GREECE IN THE BRONZE AGE

1. Quoted in Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, 102–3.
2. Several hundred articles were written in response to these two volumes. See the two excellent summaries by Levine, 'The Use and Abuse of Black Athena', *The American Historical Review*, and 'Bernal and the Athenians in the Multicultural World of the Ancient Mediterranean' and see also Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 193–211. Among the many articles see also: Poliakoff, 'Roll Over Aristotle: Martin Bernal and his Critics'; Coleman, 'Did Egypt Shape the Glory that Was Greece?' (and Bernal response, 53–6); Manning, 'Frames of Reference for the Past: Some Thoughts on Bernal, Truth and Reality'; J. Hall, 'Black Athena: A Sheep in Wolf's Clothing?'; Muhly, 'Black Athena versus Traditional Scholarship'; See also the articles in Lefkowitz and Rogers (eds), *Black Athena Revisited*, and the very detailed and analytical survey of Bernal's ideas, methods and arguments, as well as those of his critics, by Van Binsbergen, 'Black Athena Ten Years After: Towards a Constructive Re-assessment', in *Talanta*, 11–64 (he writes that Bernal's thesis was picked up most enthusiastically, immediately to be turned into an article of faith, by African-American intellectuals (Van Binsbergen, in *ibid.*, 21)). In the meantime, Jacques Berlinerblau's study, *Heresy in the University: The Black Athena Controversy and the Responsibilities of American Intellectuals*, has recently been published (1999). It consists primarily of a discussion of Bernal's book and the controversy raging around it, from a standpoint of the sociology of knowledge. Berlinerblau is engaged mainly in analyzing Bernal's methods, and only briefly analyzes and criticizes his historical reconstruction (chapters 2, 3).
3. See in Van Binsbergen, 'Black Athena Ten Years After', 24–6, notes 31, 32.
4. Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa*, 104 (see the discussion on pp. 92–104).
5. Mudimbe also criticized Bernal for 'missing' some important allies, such as Cheikh Anta Diop, Benjamin Ray and Engelbert Mveng (*ibid.*, 101–4).
6. In *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 31, July 1991. Davidson writes: 'One could not guess that whole libraries of books and papers are now available in one or another field of Africa-centered and Africa-directed research and debate . . . Bernal's book is an attempt, a major attempt, to hold old history back upon its feet again so that we may better understand later history, and our own history is a profoundly liberating work because it cut through the mark of racism, academic or otherwise, that has obstructed and confused our conceptions of intercontinental history . . .' (Davidson, *The Search for Africa*, 324).
7. Afterword to Houston, *Wonderful Ethiopians*, ii–iii. Also see Bach, 'Whitewashing Athena'.

8. See Otabil, *The Agnostic Imperative*; Blakey, 'Race, Nationalism and the Afrocentric Past', in Schmidt and Patterson, *Making Alternative Histories*, 225. Carruthers describes Bernal as an 'inside-outsider trying to really get outside' (Carruthers, 'Outside Academia: Bernal's Critique of Black Champions of Ancient Egypt'). Bernal declares that he is not an Afrocentrist, despite his empathy with Afrocentrism. In any event, his theory merits a chapter of its own because of the common ground he shares with Afrocentrism. Bernal provides the Afrocentric heliocentric theory with a detailed, well-documented description, based on his astonishing broad erudition, of the dependence of the Greek world on ancient Egypt, thus giving the theory unanticipated support. The gap between Bernal and the Afrocentrists relates to several relevant fundamental points. Bernal does not utilize categories of race, but rather categories of language and culture. He believes that the cultures of the ancient East also had a great impact on Greece; he believes that the Egyptian population was a mixed one, not exclusively black; he believes that the Hyksos – Egypt's enemies in the Afrocentric view – were important agents of Egyptian culture in the Aegean region; and he does not describe tropical Africa as the source of human civilization. Nonetheless, his hyper-diffusionist model and his heliocentrism make him an important and very influential benefactor of Afrocentric universal history – regardless of any feeling of mutual esteem (or lack thereof) between them.
9. Manu Ampim, 'The Problem of the Bernal–Davidson School', in Van Sertima, *Egypt – Child of Africa*, 191–204.
10. Bernal, 'Black Athena and the APA', 32–3.
11. Bernal explains the readiness of the 'established academy' to treat his ideas seriously because they were put forward in the multicultural (and we may add post-modern) intellectual climate, and because he is an 'Englishman in America', whereas 20 years earlier Cyrus Gordon and Michael Astour had been dismissed and encountered academic indifference and hostility only because of their Jewish origin. In 'Black Athena and the APA', 18–20.
12. It is interesting to note that according to some nineteenth century writers, the original inhabitants of Greece were not 'pure-bred Greeks, "but very heterogeneous, including Mongolians, Thracian, and even black-Africans". The "Aryan and pure Greek" emerged as a result of the "Mixing of blood". In other words, they became Greeks due to a long process of genesis' (see Herbert Cancick, 'Mongols, Semites and the Pure-Bred Greeks: Nietzsche's Handling of the Racial Doctrines of his Time', in Golomb, *Nietzsche and Jewish Culture*, 3–20).
13. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 19. However, at the same time he also states that it was 'the Bronze Age civilization of Crete which permeated and shaped almost all of which was later to become Greece'.
14. Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology*, 13, 126.
15. See Ch. 2, note 45 and Ch. 3, note 43.
16. See Edel, 'Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof'; Zaccagnini, 'Patterns of Mobility among Ancient Near Eastern Craftsmen'.
17. R. Brown, *Semitic Influences in Hellenic Mythology*, 87.
18. Burn, *Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks*, 78. Bernal himself writes that Crete was a mixture of ethnic elements and that Minoan Cretan culture was a distinct civilization with 'striking differences' between it and the neighboring cultures. It was this distinctiveness which gave the Cretans the ability to be initiators as well, since 'like



- most other peoples, the Cretans had considerable cultural originality' (Bernal, *Black Athena*, Vol. II, 185). In West's view 'Egypt seems to have contributed comparatively little to Greek religious ideology, except perhaps certain eschatological concepts. Anatolia though physically the nearest of the eastern lands to Greece, is also of limited importance in this connection' (West, 'Ancient Near Eastern Myth in Classical Greek Religious Thought', in Sasson, *Civilizations*, Vol. I, 35).
19. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 19.
  20. Gordon, *Homer and the Bible*; Gordon, *The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilizations*; Astour, *Hellenosemitica*; Astour 'Ugarit and the Aegean', in Offener, Jr, *Orient*, 17–27; Klengel, *Near Eastern Trade and the Emergence of Interaction with Crete in the Third Millennium BC*. Earlier writers on the Phoenician influence on Greece were François Lermont and Victor Bérard.
  21. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*. Also see R. Brown, *Semitic Influences in Hellenic Mythology*. Brown rejected the influential Aryan theory of Max Muller and his followers, and argued that Muller 'absolutely ignored the vast forces and extent of Semitic influence in Hellas, i.e. continental Greece and her colonies . . .' (*ibid.*, 20), and instead proclaimed Semitic influences as absurd. See also Wirth, *Homer und Babylon*.
  22. See Morris, 'Daidalos and Kadmos'.
  23. On the Thera eruption and its effects see Doumas and Puchlet, 'Thera and the Aegean World'. In Diop's fantasy, the memory of the eruption was at the origin of Judeo-Christian and even Islamic Messianism (*Civilization or Barbarism*, 69–102). In Bernal's fantasy, the eruption had global effects (*Black Athena*, Vol. II, 274–319). A different view see in Wunderlich, *The Secret of Crete*, 136–51.
  24. On the coming of the Sea People and the break of Egyptian–Myceanean inter-relations see: Redford, *Egypt*, 242–43; Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, 280–312; Ward, 'Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium BC'.
  25. Bernal, 'Black Athena and the APA', 21.

I ought to expand here somewhat on Bernal's historical paradigm and the historical construction on which he elaborates in the second part of *Black Athena*. As I stated, Bernal is not content to describe the region of the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean Sea as an 'international space', characterized by the unceasing movement of populations, close and intensive trade relations, the passage of mercenaries, craftsmen and the like. He claims that the vast influence of Egypt (and the Orient) on the Aegean region and the Greek mainland, from Argolis to Boeotia, must be understood against the back drop of conquest and settlement by the Egyptians, who established various footholds, including fortified cities, and a dynasty of princes. In his view, this type of occupation and settlement may have existed as far back as the third millennium BC, but undoubtedly did in the second millennium, the Late Bronze Age and particularly during the rule of the Hyksos in Egypt from 1730 to 1600 BC. However, since Egypt was a centralist monarchy, these could not be groups of emigrants, separated from the mother country, but rather organized groups that carried out military occupation. According to Bernal, only the presence of a population of this kind can result in such an intensive dissemination of the cultural traits of a group more culturally (and technologically) advanced than the local inhabitants. Hence, Bernal's need to believe that the Egyptians (and the Hyksos) had at their disposal substantial navies, capable of send-

ing naval expeditions of soldiers and settlers, with all their equipment (including horses and war chariots), by sea to Greece (evidence of this, he claims, are the charioteers buried in shaft graves in Mycenae). Here I should note that it was possible to convey horses and chariots by sea (see Drews, *The Coming of the Greeks*, 23–4), and, for example, the painting of the ship of the Egyptian vizier, Huy (c.1360 BC, showing a horse in a cabin on its deck). However, there is a vast difference between transporting horses along the Nile, or on a short voyage to the coast, and conveying them on a long voyage on the open seas. It would have been easier to do so from Anatolia to Greece than from Egypt to Greece.

Such a description also leads to the inevitable conclusion that this was not a matter of one-off military and naval expeditions, but rather the establishment of settlements and footholds, with ongoing ties to the mother country. In other words, this description requires one to believe in the existence of a regular, ongoing, organized naval movement between Egypt and Greece. This seems unrealistic, since there was a significant difference between Egyptian rule over Canaan or Nubia, where fortresses were established and the link was maintained by land, and a link by sea with distant Greece.

It should also be noted that settlements by Egyptians in nearby Palestine began as far back as the end of the fourth millennium BC and continued after that time. There is evidence of Egyptian settlements in the Western Negev and near Lydda (Lud) during the Early Bronze Age and in the thirteenth century BC, Ramses II built that fortress in Jaffa. This was settlement by merchants in trading stations and in a military fortress on the Via Maris from Egypt to Syria. For hundreds of years, this presence – like the garrison force and the governmental officials – had no more than a marginal impact on the culture of Canaan. The important point is that this Egyptian presence was intended to serve a clear, Egyptian interest, whereas Egypt had no interest in a military, or commercial presence on the Greek peninsula in the third and second millennia. Moreover, Egypt did not have a problem of over-population, which would force it to send settlers to other, remote, countries.

In any event, advocates of the Indo-European paradigm (such as Drews) and the Egyptian paradigm (such as Bernal) agree that the changes which occurred in the culture and the composition of the population in second-millennium Greece were the result of an occupation (takeover) by groups that were relatively small, but superior to the local population, and the result of migration and complex cultural transmission, borrowing and adaptation. Bernal cites various historical analogies to support this paradigm, but ignores another possible analogy – the European domination of Africa – perhaps because such an analogy might serve as a sub-text depicting European imperialism in Africa as an historical phenomenon that does not automatically call for condemnation.

Even if we should accept the documentary testimonies cited by Bernal as evidence, not only of the existence of Egyptian knowledge about the Aegean region and Greece as a result of continuous contacts, but also of the organized physical presence of Egyptians in Greece (*Black Athena*, Vol. II, 499–545), they constitute rather shaky evidence. In fact, Bernal's description, in which he speaks of naval expeditions, conquest, occupation, and the establishment of military strongholds etc., leads one to expect that the documentary evidence must be massive, certainly more significant than a few local names and etymologies.

26. There is a vast literature on this subject. See MacCarter, *The Antiquity of the Greek*

- Alphabet and the Early Phoenician Scripts*; Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*; Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*; R. Woodward, *Greek Writing*.
27. O'Connor, 'Egypt and Greece the Bronze Age Evidence', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 49–61.
  28. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 19–22.
  29. Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 195.
  30. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*.
  31. Nicolaou, 'The Mycenaeans in the East', in Hadidi, *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, 121–6.
  32. Bernal, *Black Athena*, Vol. II, 68.
  33. *Ibid.*, 185.
  34. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 48.
  35. See Jan Best's article 'The Ancient Toponymus of Mallia: a Post-Eurocentric Reading of Egyptianizing Bronze Age Document', in Van Binsbergen (ed.), *Black Athena: Ten Years After*, 99–129. In his view, Egyptian influence arrived in Crete via the Luwian rulers of Crete, 'who navigated in the service of Amenemhet or through the mediation of Byblos, Egypt's sea port in Phoenicia'. In his response, Van Binsbergen offers two models: 1. Crete was a supposedly unique geographical locus of transformative localization of the intercontinental contributions toward the earliest Cretan script. 2. Byblos and the North Syria/Southeast Anatolian coast was the distinct focal point of transformative localization of the intercontinental contributions toward the earliest Cretan script. Van Binsbergen, 'Alternative Models of Intercontinental Interaction towards the Earliest Cretan Script' (Best, 'The Ancient Toponymus of Mallia', *ibid.*, 131–48). In his view, Egyptian influence on Crete came through Syria; however, Egyptian influences underwent transformative localization, involving amalgamation with other influences locally available.
  36. Wunderlich, *The Secret of Crete*, 67. In contrast to this view, however, the Minoan frescos which were found in tel Daba (Avaris) dated to the XVII Dynasty prove that Minoan artists were active in Egypt, and certain Egyptian artistic elements were used in Minoan art. Bietak now dates these frescoes to the early XVIII Dynasty (Bietak, *Avaris - The Capital of the Hyksos*, 73–6).
  37. Branigan, *The Foundations of Palatial Crete*, 203.
  38. P. Warren, 'Minoan Crete and Pharaonic Egypt', 5. See also Bietak, 'Connections between Egypt and the Minoans: New Results from Tell el Daba\Avaris', in Davies and Schofield, *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 19–27.
  39. Bernal, *Black Athena*, Vol. II, 4; see also Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, 66–8.
  40. Vermeule, *ibid.*, 309–11. 'The continuity of population in the Greek era, in spite of all vehement changes, is assured by language if by anything else (Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 48).
  41. Even if we accept the earlier date of this transmission we can still wonder: 1. Could oral memory be preserved over hundreds of years until the alphabet was transmitted and the stories written down? 2. Even if the letters were transmitted at such an early date, is it logical to assume that the process of writing down the folk-tales immediately followed it? 3. If folk-tales existed in writing before the transmission of the alphabet is it reasonable to assume that they were immediately 'translated' into the new written form?
  42. Walcott, *Hesiod and the Near East*.

43. Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology*; West, *The East Face of Helicon*, 34. He writes: 'certainly the poetry of Hesiod and Homer, from the eighth and seventh centuries, is strongly influenced by near Eastern poetic and mythological traditions, and this is probably due mainly to post Mycenaean contacts though an older stratum of borrowing may also be involved'.
44. Mondl, 'Greek and the Near Eastern Mythology', in Edmunds, *Approaches to Greek Myths*, 142–98; Gordon, *The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilization*. However, some fundamental Semitic myths have almost no place in Greek mythology, in Kirk's view, because their foreign models had irrelevant or unacceptable associations from a Greek point of view (Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths*, 274).
45. On the Mycenaeans see: Sammel, *The Mycenaean in History*; Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World*.
46. Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age*, 293–309.
47. Mallory, *In Search*, 68. And see: Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 33–40; Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, 63–4, 70–2. In her review of Best and Woudhuizen's book, *Lost Languages from the Mediterranean* (Leiden, 1989), Finkelberg writes: 'no identification of an isolated word on the basis of its outward resemblance to a word in another language, attractive as it may appear, can serve as proof of the identity of the language in question, before its overall phonological and morphological system has been reconstituted' (*Mediterranean Historical Review*, 7, 1, (June 1992), 101–2).
48. Clement of Alexandria wrote that the Greek *mysteria*, which were generally connected with chthonic gods (i.e. earth divinities), such as the festivals of Demeter, go back to a time before the arrival of the anthropomorphic gods of Greece and were imported from Egypt (Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, 33).
49. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 244. But he does not assume Bronze Age influences.
50. *Ibid.*, 222.
51. Silverman, 'Divinity and Deities in Ancient Egypt', in Shafer, *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 30; See also Lesko, 'Ancient Egyptian Cosmogonies and Cosmology', in Lesko, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 88–122; Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, I:1, 263–406.
52. Baines, 'Society, Morality and Religious Practice', in Shafer, *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 122.
53. Philo of Alexandria repeated this tradition saying the Greeks borrowed Egyptian names and mythological tales with little understanding of their original usage (*Legatio ad Gaium [Embassy to Gaius]*, ed. and trans., with commentary, E. Mary Smallwood, Leiden, 1970, 54).
54. Again, twentieth-century historiography of Aegean civilization never denied the fact that the 'new Greeks' of Aryan origin assimilated numerous non-'Indo-European' words and religious beliefs (Burn, *Minoans, Philistines and Greeks*, 69–79).
55. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths*, 223–75. The myth of the generation of the gods, for example, comes from the ancient Near East (Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 19).
56. Again, it should be noted that the Egyptian pantheon included some deities that were clearly of foreign origin (Silverman, in Shafer, *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 57).
57. The Egyptians themselves 'Egyptianized' Asiatic deities and included them in the Egyptian pantheon (Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 43–8). See also Burkert, 'Herodotus über die Namen der Götter'.
58. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 244. One example: 'Egyptian influence upon the

- cosmogonic doctrine and the preoccupation with the dead characteristic of Greek devotees of Orphism' (Morenz, *ibid.*, 254; *Black Athena*, 109–20).
59. Bernal has suggested four possibilities: *Harsaphes*, *Khonsu* and the Greek image of a Pharaoh of the Middle Kingdom, c.2090–1640 BC most likely, Sesotris. See *Black Athena*, Vol. I, 109–20.
  60. Whose Semitic analogue is Samson, a tribal-national hero; the two share a single common etymological link with *Hik*, their Egyptian forefather. West writes that Hercules legends have a Greek source, but there is a resemblance between the story about his being suckled by a goddess and a similar Egyptian motif (West, *The East Face of Helicon*, 458–72).
  61. Bodemer, *Herkules*. See Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 208–11. On the origins of the names of Athena and Apollo see *ibid.*, 139–49. Also see Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths*, 176–219.
  62. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 143–9.
  63. There is, needless to say, a long debate concerning the nature of Greek mythology and how it shaped, or reflected, the 'true' nature of the 'Greek spirit'.
  64. The distinctive iconography of Egyptian gods (animal, human body as a heraldic way of representing a god's different ways of manifesting himself) is not found in Greece – apart from the Minotaur.
  65. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 204.
  66. See Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*.
  67. Nilsson, *Greek Folk Religion*, 119–20; Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 194–9. See also Farnell, *Greek Hero Cult and Ideas of Immortality*. It is important to remember that the Greeks had no organized religion in the modern meaning of the term. Religious observance in Greece put more emphasis on the performance of the rites than on the degree of belief.
  68. Bernal, *Black Athena*, Vol. I. 489, n. 59.
  69. Bernal, 'Black Athena and the APA', 23.
  70. Van Binsbergen, *Talanta*, 31–2.
  71. Grant, *The Founders of the Western World*, 11.
  72. Kirk, *Myth*, 209. We should recall here Count Goblet D'Alviella, a pioneer scholar in the field, who called our attention to the fact that 'for two symbolic figures to have a common origin it is not always necessary that they should have the same meaning', and 'it is not the vessel that is important, but the wine which we pour into it; not the form, but the ideas which animate and transcend from it' (*The Migration of Symbols*, 84, 266).
  73. Hall, 'Black Athena: A Sheep in Wolf's Clothing?' 249–51. And see Hulin, 'The Diffusion of Religious Symbols within Complex Societies', in Hodder, *The Meaning of Things*, 90–96.
  74. Smelik and Hemelrijk, "'Who Knows What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?'" 1869–70. The Greeks perceived the Egyptian language as totally distinct from their own, and if language expresses the specific conceptual world of a particular civilization, in poetry as well as in science, then the Greeks faced great difficulties in 'translating' the Egyptian conceptual system in to their own conceptual system. See Landsberger, 'The Conceptual Autonomy of the Babylonian World', *Sources and Monographs on the Ancient Near East*. As a result, a long and mutual process of *interperatio Graeca* and *interperatio Aegyptiaca* took place on Egyptian soil.
  75. Patterson, *Freedom*, Vol. I: *Freedom in the Making of Western Culture*, 156.

76. M. Edwards, *East–West Passage*, 5.
77. G. E. R. Lloyd, 'The Debts of Greek Philosophy and Science to the Ancient Near East', in his *Methods and Problems in Greek Science*, 278–98.
78. Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age*, 295.
79. Singer, *When Great Tradition Modernizes*, 252. Kroeber writes that 'a multiplicity of causative forces necessarily refuses an explanation and uses and allows only one of them'. He adds that in order to understand the nature of a certain culture we must look at the whole unity and the interrelations between the many parts of the end-less organism that is 'culture' (Kroeber, 'Explanation of Cause and Origin', in his *The Nature of Culture*, 12).
80. Montagu, *Man – His First Two Million Years*, 218.
81. The irony is that his Afrocentric critics accuse him of being 'Eurocentric' because he is focusing on Egypt's influence upon Greece!
82. See for example Higginbotham, 'Elite Emulation and Egyptian Governance in Ramesside Canaan'.
83. For another view see Currid, 'An Examination of the Egyptian Background of the Genesis Cosmogony'. He deals particularly with, in his view, reflections of Egyptian cosmogonical thought in *Genesis* 1–2.
84. See Redford, *Egypt*, 234. At the same time Asiatic myths appear rendered with very little modification into Egyptian. And hundreds of Canaanite words turn up in New Kingdom documents (*ibid.*, 236).
85. Giv'eon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan*.
86. Lambdin, 'Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament.'
87. Josephus condemns the bad influence Egyptian culture had on the great king (*Antiquities*, 190–8); and see Redford, *Egypt*, 263–389. See also Oesterleg, 'Egypt and Israel', in Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 218–48; R. J. Williams, 'Egypt and Israel', in Harris, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 257–90. Hieratic numerals and signs appear in epigraphic documents of the kingdoms of both Israel and Judea in the eighth–seventh century BC. They entered the Hebrew script before the division of the monarchy by Canaanite scribes who were trained in it. Goldwasser, 'An Egyptian Scribe from Lachish and the Hieratic Tradition of the Hebrew Kingdoms'. Also see Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs*. According to another opinion, Solomon's royal court, as well as the culture and ritual, were organized according to the Egyptian model. The king's scribes – the heart of the new Israelite bureaucracy – emulated the patterns of rule of the Egyptian pharaohs, and the concept of divine monarchy also originated there (see Heaton, *Solomon's New Men*, esp. 47–60).
88. There are clear cases 'where religious concepts of the Egyptians penetrated into Canaan. This penetration cannot have been deep, in spite of the fact that there were Egyptian temples in the country. This can be seen by the nearly complete absence of any preaching by the prophets against Egyptian religion . . .' (Giv'eon, *Impact of Egypt on Canaan*, 13). On the influence of Egyptian wisdom literature and teaching from the period about 2800 up to 100 BC on the wisdom literature of the Bible, see Würthwein, 'Egyptian Wisdom and the Old Testament', in Crenshaw, *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom*. In his view the agents of this influence were probably foreign or foreign-trained scribes who served at the royal court of Solomon and his successors. At that time Egyptian influence on the Israelites was more intense than that of other cultures in neighboring countries. The most strik-

ing similarities are to be found between the book of Psalms and the book of Proverbs and Egyptian hymns in instructions of moral teaching. See also Shupak, 'Egyptian Prophetic Writings and Biblical Wisdom Literature'.

89. Morenz, *Egyptian Religions*, 251–2.
90. On Egyptian religious and wisdom literature and its influence abroad see: Morenz, *ibid.*, 25–55; Shupak, 'The "Siz im Leben" of the Book of Proverbs in the Light of a Comparison of Biblical and Egyptian Literature'; Posner, 'Literature', in J. R. Harris, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 220–55. This is not the place to discuss real or alleged mutual cultural influences between the ancient Hebrews and the Greeks.
91. J. J. Clarke, *Oriental Enlightenment*, 119–21.
92. For example, they assert that Socrates' philosophy originated in Egypt, and hence was alien to the world-view of the Athenians, who tried Socrates for heresy, and the same is true of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies. Echoing Gayraud Wilmore and Charles H. Long, Cone writes that 'The African way of viewing reality is one that sees God as part of all reality and sees all life as sacred and views life as a totality that somehow or other has a religious dimension to it . . . In the Graeco-Roman and the Westernized way of looking at life, life is chopped up into categories; [this grows] really out of that Greek tradition where man and his mind, in order to understand, has to put things into categories' (quoted in Hopkins, *Black Theology*, 79–80). Be it so, one may again wonder why the great Egyptian influence on the Greek mind had so little impact on their way of thinking. One may also argue that the Western mind was shaped to a very large extent by Christian philosophy, which, according to the Christian Afrocentrists emerged under the influence of African-Egyptian theology; if this is true, then, the West's way of thinking is more 'African' than 'Greco-Roman' . . .
93. Diop, *Precolonial Black Africa*, 31.

## 5: THE GLORY THAT WAS EGYPT

1. Diodorus, *Library of History*, Vol. I, 113.
2. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 3.
3. Diop, *The African Origins of Civilization*, 249–50.
4. Even in Germany, the Greeks were not always considered to be the true heirs of the Aryan heritage.
5. Jewish scholars usually opposed any idea that the ancient Israelites had been influenced by Egyptian or Mesopotamian culture, which was a 'Semitic' culture! Harappollo (Horus-Appolon) of Nilopolis (c.300 AD), wrote two books in Coptic on hieroglyphs where he considered them as purely pictorial writing in which each sign represented a specific idea.
6. Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, 214. See also Walter Scott, *Hermetica*, 343. The text was originally called *The Perfect Teaching*. In the Coptic translation of vi, 8 we read: 'Egypt will become like the fables. And your religious objects will be . . . the marvellous things . . .' (trans. by Brashler, Dirkse and Parrot, in J. M. Robinson's revised edition of the *Nag Hamadi Library*, 334).
7. According to Potter, beneath the Greek surface of the *Hermetica* there are 'ideas and forms that have a very real Egyptian past' (Potter, *Prophecy and History*, 193). Even though 'much of what passed as "eastern wisdom" in the Roman empire was a fraud, "there are significant instances in which it was not:" however, often

“western wisdom” which was absorbed in the east, was recycled (with some additions) to the culture where it was originally formulated’ (ibid., 185). The Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt showed contempt for the Egyptians, but at the same time they learned from them those ‘special wonders’ of Egypt, in particular magic, mysticism and esoterica.

8. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 199. On the development of Hegel’s understanding of Egypt see Harten, ‘Archaeology and the Unconscious: Hegel, Egyptomania, and the Legitimation of Orientalism’, in Bierman, *Egypt and the Fabrication of European Identity*, 3–33.
9. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, Sthälin edn, Vol. II, 96. See Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 57–8, and Droge, *Moses or Homer?*, 124–52.
10. See the popular cycle of stories about magic which are told in the setting of Cheops’ palace (about 2600 BC) in Kaster, *The Wisdom of Ancient Egypt*, 257–62. See also the competition of magic in the Demotic story of Setne Khamwas and Si-Osire, in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. III, 138–51. Assmann argues that the Moses’ discourse in the seventeenth and eighteenth century is based almost exclusively on *Acts* 7:22 (‘And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and in deeds’). See Gardiner, ‘Professional Magicians in Ancient Egypt’, and Borghouts, ‘Witchcraft, Magic and Divination in Ancient Egypt’, in Sasson, *Civilizations*, Vol. III, 1775–86; Ritner, ‘The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice’. On Moses’ image as a practitioner of magic and alchemy see Gager, *Moses in Greco Roman Paganism*, 134–61.
11. In Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 155. Also see Van Seters, *The Hyksos in Egypt*, 103–21.
12. Claggett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, I:i, 23. See also Barb, ‘Mystery, Myth, and Magic’, in J. R. Harris, *Legacy of Egypt*, 139–69; Borghouts, ‘Magical Practices among the Villagers’, in Lesko, *Pharaoh’s Workers*, 119–33.
13. One story, which tells of a lector-priest who magically produced a wax crocodile seven figures long, was set during the reign of the Pharaoh Nebka (III Dynasty) probably composed during the XII Dynasty, was revived in the *Tale Of Wonders*, set in the reign of Cheops of Khufu (IV Dynasty). See Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 215–22. And compare with *Exodus* 4:1–5.
14. *Isaiah* 19:1–12: ‘... and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it ... I will destroy the counsel thereof; and they shall seek to the idols and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards ... Surely the princes of Zoan are fools, the counsel of the wise counselors of Pharaoh is become brutish: how say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings? Where are they? Where are the wise men?’
15. According to one tale, King Solomon asked Pharaoh Necho to send him craftsmen to work for him for a wage ‘for I wish to build a Temple’. The Egyptian ruler, after consulting with his astrologers, sent artisans who were destined to die in that year. Solomon, foreseeing their imminent death through the Holy Spirit, supplied them with shrouds and sent them back to Egypt, with a note to Pharaoh: ‘You apparently had no shrouds in which to bury your dead; I send you herewith both the victims and their shrouds!’ [*Midrash Rabbah: Numbers* XIX.3], 749). On Rabbinic opinions of Egyptian animal worship see Smelik and Hemelrijk, “Who Knows What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?”, 1907–10. On the



- 'Interpretation Aegyptiaca' of Jewish religion in rabbinic literature see Mussies, 'The Interpretation Judiaca of Serapis', and 'The Interpretation Judiaca of Thot-Hermes.'
16. The biblical author refers to Egypt and not to Babylon ('Babylonian wisdom') when he speaks of 'wisdom'.
  17. Würthwein, 'Egyptian Wisdom and the Old Testament', in Greenspan, *Essential Papers of Israel and the Ancient Near East*, 129–49.
  18. We can explain this omission by noting the fact that the Bible shows almost no interest in the genesis and evolution of culture and science, but the fact remains that it reveals no traces of any knowledge of Egypt's 'wisdom' except for magic and wisdom literature.
  19. 'In Egypt you may see a still more wonderful sight, for the man-eating crocodile, the most dangerous of wild animals, which is born and bred in the holiest of rivers, the Nile, understands the benefit of this though it is a deep water . . . ' (Philo, *On Providence*, Vol. XI, 501).
  20. Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, Vol. VI, 279.
  21. *Ibid.*, 287.
  22. ' . . . in addition to wooden and other images, advanced to divine honours irrational animals, bulls and rams and goats, and invented for each some fabulous legend of wonder . . . Many other animals too they have deified, dogs, cats, wolves and among the birds, ibises and hawks; fishes too . . . What could be more ridiculous than all this?' (Philo, *On the Decalogo*, Vol. VII, 45–7). See in Smelik and Hemelrijk, "'Who Knows What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?'" 1910–20, and Carny, 'Biblical Egypt as a Symbol in Philos' Allegory'.
  23. See Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance*. In Lucian's Dialogue, *Philopseudes sive Incredulos* (33–36), Eucrates tells the story of how he was sent by his father to Egypt to complete his education. There, he met an Egyptian holy man, Pancrates, who rode on crocodiles, and secretly overheard the spell by which the holy man orders a pestle to carry water (Lucian, trans. Harmon, III, 371–7). This story was the source for Goethe's poem *Der Zauberhlerling* (The Sorcerer's Apprentice).
  24. Cicero, *On the Nature*, 87. See also the story of the physician Thessalus in his book *Concerning the Virtues of Plants* (*De virt. herb.* 25), in Potter, *Prophecy and History* 59.
  25. Juvenal, *Satire* 15, 1–4, 175. See Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, xx. See also Strabo, 2.35. *The Letter of Aristeeas* (30) describes the Egyptians as a 'foolish people . . . Who have put their faith in wild animals and the majority of creeping things and brute beasts, worshipping them and sacrificing to them . . . ' (trans. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World*, 138). On the perception of Egyptian animal worship see Smelik and Hemelrijk, "'Who Knows What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?'" 1852–2000.
  26. Diodorus, I, 291–5.
  27. Tertulianus, *Apology*, 403. Clement of Alexandria, in his 'Exhortation to the Greeks', wrote: 'How much better are Agyptians, when in cities and villages they hold in great honour the irrational animals, than Greeks who worship such gods as these?' (trans. Butterworth, 83).
  28. Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 133.
  29. St Augustine (trans. O'Merara, 333–7).
  30. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, 63–7. On Mandeville and his various versions see Braude, 'The Sons of Noah', 115–20.

31. Iversen, *The Myths of Egypt*.
32. *The Hieroglyphics by Horapolo*. See also in Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa*, 106–21. Harapollo of Nilopolis (Horus-Appolon), c. AD 300, wrote two books in Coptic on hieroglyphs, which were translated into Greek in the fifteenth century. He considered hieroglyphs to be purely pictorial writing, in which each sign represented a specific idea.
33. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 167.
34. On a latter case of adaptation see Solmsen, *Isis among the Greeks and Romans*.
35. Originally, by 'abomination of the Egyptians' the Bible refers to Egyptian contempt of flocks (*Exodus* 8:21–22).
36. See Lefkowitz, supplementary note 121, *Not Out of Africa*, 1997 cdn, 249.
37. Lefkowitz, *ibid.*, 92.
38. In his three-volume work *Séthos, a History or Biography, based on Unpublished Memoirs of Ancient Egypt* (1731). See Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa*, 91–121 and Assmann, *Moses*, 134–5.
39. For example, Ignaz von Bron, 'Über die Mysterien der Ägypter', *Journal für Freymaurer* I (1784), 17–132 (see Assmann, *Moses*, 135). See also: Yeates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*; Iversen, *The Myths of Egypt*; Syndram, *Ägypten-Faszination*, 106–21; and the articles *Egyptomania: Egypt in Western Art, 1730–1930*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Humbert *et al.* On the other hand, travel books by Italians who traveled to Egypt during the Renaissance, make no mention of the hermetic tradition, and this may, perhaps, suggest that this tradition was not so embracing 'as several modern historians would have us believe' (see Benjamin Arbel, 'Renaissance Geographical Literature and the Nile', in Erlich and Gershoni, *The Nile*, 116).
40. The philosopher Iamblichus (fourth century AD) describes the art of theurgy as 'the summoning of divine manifestation' (Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, 169–76. And see Lefkowitz, *Not out of Africa*, 136).
41. See Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, 55–69. Also see Lesko, 'Literature, Literacy, and Literati', in Lesko, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 131–44; Gambel, *Books and Readers in the Early Christian Church*, 176–80. In the temple of Horus at Edfu, for example, built between 237 and 57 BC and whose library dated from 140 to 124 BC sacred books were stored and survived intact. The first part of the catalogue contains lists of mainly mythological and liturgical manuscripts (Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 57–8).
42. J. Gardner Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians: Their Life and Customs* (1853). He writes that: 'It was the great privilege of the priests to be initiated into the mysteries . . . The mysteries were also divided into the greater and the lesser – the latter preparatory to a fuller revelation of their secrets. This, and the superior knowledge they possessed, gave the priests a great ascendancy over the rest of the people . . .' (Vol. I, 321).
43. The notion of consecrated priesthood was foreign to Greece.
44. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 255–6.
45. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, 50, and on the written magic, 61–74. See also: Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*; Wente, 'Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt'.
46. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, 62.
47. Baines, 'Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions'.

48. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 40; John. G. Griffiths, *The Isis Book (Metamorphoses)*, Book XI, 189. See also T. A. Brady, *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks 300–30 BC*, and Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, xxvii.
49. See Wente, 'Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt'.
50. His lost book, *On Egypt (Aegyptiaca)* preserved in the first book of Diodorus of Sicily, *Historical Library*, written in the first century BC, 1.10–98), purporting to be based on sacred archives of the priests of Egypt, which gave an idealistic description of the Egyptian society and regime. His imaginary picture of Egyptian dominance over Greece and India reflects the Ptolemies' dream of a great Alexandrian empire. See Mendeles, 'The Polemical Character of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*', 95–6.
51. 'But now . . . we must enumerate that Greeks, who have won fame for their wisdom and learning, visited Egypt in ancient times, in order to become acquainted with its customs and learning. For the priests of Egypt recount from their sacred records that they were visited in early times by Orpheus, Musaeus, Melpaumus and Daedalus, also by the poet Homer and Lycurgus of Sparta, later by Solon of Athens and the philosopher Plato, and that also came Pythagoras of Samos . . . As evidence for the visits of all these men they . . . offer proofs from the branch of learning which each one of these men pursued, arguing that all the things for which they were admired among the Greeks were transferred from Egypt' (Diodorus Siculus, *The Library*, Vol. I, 327).
52. ' . . . since Egypt is the country where mythology places the origin of the gods, where the earliest observations of the stars are said to have been made, and where, furthermore, many noteworthy deeds of great men are recorded, we shall begin our history with the event connected with Egypt' (ibid., Vol. I, 33–5).
53. Including the story that the Athenians were colonists from Sais (1.28.4).
54. Powden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 135. Egyptian Greeks preference of Egypt was obviously the result of the fact that Mesopotamia was under the rule of their Seluccieds rivals.
55. See Ch. 6.
56. St Augustine, *City of God*, 812. This is also the reason why Plato, who 'travelled far and wide, wherever he was drawn by any teacher's reputation for philosophical insight . . . went to Egypt to acquire all the highly prized teaching given there' (ibid., Book VIII, Ch. 4, 303).
57. Ibid., 814. And see: ' . . . why should not those people be laughed out of court, instead of being refuted, when they try to establish a chronology so different and so contrary to the truth established by investigation (ibid., Book VII, 40, 815).
58. Gregory of Nazianus (*V. Mos.*2) describes Moses as a man who studied under unbelieving Egyptian scholars at the court of Pharaoh and imbibed profane and sacred learning which 'stood him in good stead in his encounter with paganism . . .' (Pelikan, *Christianity and Classical Culture*, 49).
59. Massey, *Book of the Beginnings*, II, 172–3.
60. Ibid., 193.
61. Ibid., 361.
62. Massey, *The Historical Jesus and the Mythical Christ*, 44.
63. al-Andalusī, *Book of the Categories*, 35.
64. Ibn Khaldūn, *An Introduction to History*, 342.
65. See: Humbert, 'Egyptomania'; Donadoni *et al.*, *Egypt from Myth to Egyptology*;

- Syndram, *Ägypten-Faszination*. On Egyptian mythology in Renaissance art and literature see in Senzec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*. In his *Mythological Theology* (1532), republished in 1558 as the *Magazine of the Gods*, for example, Georg Pictor devotes several chapters to the Egyptian gods (Senzec, *ibid.*, 228).
66. Iversen writes that 'while the origin of the sources from which its singular doctrine were drawn remain debatable, its association with genuine and well-established Egyptian concepts and notions can hardly be denied or disputed' (Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt*, 54).
  67. Grafton, 'Traditions of Invention and Invention of Traditions', in his *Defenders of the Text*, 82–5. Casaubon accepted the tradition that some of Solon's laws have had an Egyptian origin and insisted 'upon the merits of the philosophical achievements of non-Greek' (Grafton, 'Protestant versus Prophets: Issac Casaubon on Hermes Trismegistus' (*ibid.*, 158–61).
  68. Imeri introduction to Giordano Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, 42–4, and the 'Third Dialogue'. (According to Bruno, 'despite the fact that it is true that the Egyptians restored to some abusive practices in their natural religion, they nevertheless worshipped the Deity, one and simple and absolute in itself, multiform and omniform in all things; and therefore, he arrives at the conclusion that their cult was far superior to the anthropomorphic polytheism of the Greeks' (*ibid.*, 44).) See also Assmann, *Moses*, 18–22, 87–8; Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, xiv–lix. Iversen, 'The Hieroglyphic Tradition', in J. R. Harris, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 190–2; Iverson, *The Myth of Egypt*; D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demotic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*; Yeates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*.
  69. Assmann, *Moses*, 20. Athanasius means immortal in Greek.
  70. Grafton, 'Isaac Casaubon', in *Defenders of the Text*, 159. In 1628, in the Jesuit library in the town of Speyer on the Rhine, Kircher found a book called *Thesaurus Hieroglyphii Comum*, by Horwart von Hohenburg (München, 1610). The author treated the hieroglyphs reproduced in the book as decorative elements. Kircher, after studying them more closely and reading up on the subject, published some outlandish essays filled with fantastic conjectures. Gilles Quispel writes in the introduction to the new translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* that Casaubon's criticism has lost much of its validity 'for even if the *Corpus Hermeticum* was written down rather late, its concepts could easily be very old and Egyptian', which is indeed the situation, in his view (in Salman *et al.*, *The Way of Hermes*, 10). The principles of emanation, of the world as an overflow from God, and of man as a ray of sunlight ('All is one, all is from the One') are, in his view, typically ancient Egyptian.
  71. See Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher*; Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt*, 88–124; E. Leospo, 'Athanasius Kircher und das Museo Kircheriano', in Budde and Sievernich (eds), *Europa und der Orient, 800–1900* (Berlin, 1989), 58–71.
  72. He also sought to prove that German is a dialect of Hebrew spoken by Askenaz, the son of Gomer. In his *China Monuments* (1667) he came forward with the idea that the Chinese script must have been spawned by the Egyptian hieroglyphs and that it was Ham who founded the Chinese civilization (Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher*, 51–2). He also believed that the Greek and Egyptian languages were closely related to each other, hence, it was quite easy for a Greek to learn Egyptian, and vice versa (*Prodomus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus*, Rome, 1636, in Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, 159).

73. Harris introduction to *The Legacy of Egypt*, 78.
74. Cosimo de Medici purchased this manuscript, which probably dated from the third century AD, from a library in Constantinople in 1460, it was then translated into Latin and published in 1471.
75. MacNulty, *Freemasonry: A Journey through Ritual and Symbol*, 5–11. On the history of the *Corpus Hermeticum* see: Sarton, *The Appreciation of Ancient and Medieval Science*; Scott, *Hermetica*, 17–48; Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 22–44; Gonzalez Blanco, 'Hermeticism.'
76. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment*, 34. See the two chapters in Grafton, 'Isaac Casaubon', in *Defenders of the Text*, 145–61; and 'The Strange Death of Hermes and the Sibyls', in *ibid.*, 162–77. He writes that these scholars tried to 'displace Greek culture from its central place in human history and connect the modern West directly to the Biblical Near East' (Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, 85). P. E. Jablonsky argued in his *Pantheon Aegyptiorum* (1750–52) that the Egyptians, and not Copernicus, devised the heliocentric system. The *Corpus Hermeticum* is a collection of texts attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, compiled in Greek between the sixth and ninth centuries, but, to quote Filorano, 'originating in the third, or perhaps the second, century AD'. The *Corpus* contains many themes 'typical of contemporary philosophical syncretism and Hermetism is not a coherent philosophical system' (Filorano, *A History of Gnosticism*, 8–9). Walter Scott saw parallels to the *Hermetica* in native Egyptian literature and thus it is possible that the writers got the notion from an Egyptian source (Scott, *Hermetica*, 10). See also Copenhaver, *Hermetica*.
77. Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance*, 64–5.
78. *Ibid.*, 88.
79. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, 117.
80. 'Deism was in a measure responsible for the decline of Christian Hebraism in the eighteenth century' (Manuel, *The Broken Staff*, 81).
81. Spencer, *Urim and Thummim* (1670), and *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et Eorum Rationibus Libri Tres* (1685).
82. Assmann, *Moses*, 57.
83. Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed*, 323. See Assmann, *Ibid.*, 61–4.
84. John Toland, *Origines Judaicae*, and *Letters to Serena Moses* (1704). See Assmann, *Moses*, 91–6.
85. W. Warburton, *The Divine Legation of Moses* (London, 1741). See Assmann, *ibid.*, 96–102.
86. Ettinger, 'Jews and Judaism as Seen by English Deists of the Eighteenth Century'; Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation/The Rise of Modern Paganism*, 72–94.
87. Ralph Cudworth, *True Intellectual System of the Universe* (London, 1678).
88. Assmann, *Moses*, 80–90.
89. Thomas Blackwell, *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (London, 1735).
90. Blackwell wrote that the Greeks derived their science from Egypt and Phoenicia and there was yet no separation of wisdom and philosophy. Ideas wandered over the greatest part of the East: 'Knowledge therefore implied traveling' (*ibid.*, 138).
91. Shaw, *Travels Relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant* (Oxford, 1738), 389–90. In the mid-nineteenth century, Henry Thomas Buckle repeated this notion, when he wrote: 'Thus the religion of the Jews is founded upon the Egyptian'. Since Christianity and Islam originate in Judaism, then they are also

indirect descendants of the civilization of ancient Egypt (Buckle, *Introduction to the History of Civilization in England*, 291).

92. This summary is based on Force, *William Whiston: Honest Newtonian*, 9, 139.
93. J. C. Basnage, *L'histoire et la religion des Juifs depuis Jesus Christ jusqu'au présent . . .* (Vols I–V, Rotterdam, 1707–11).
94. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century*, 117–25; Feldman and Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology 1680–1860*.
95. See Whitehouse, 'Egypt in European Thought', in Sasson, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. I, 13–31; Turner, 'Martin Bernal's Black Athena: A Dissent', 97–109. See also David, *Ancient Egypt*, 11–48.
96. See the articles by Palter, 'Eighteenth-century Historiography in Black Athena', and Norton 'The Tyranny of Germany over Greece?', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 349–420. These two illuminating and rich surveys show first, that quite a few men of letters and scholars during that period (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), had negative attitudes towards Egypt, while, on the other hand, there were quite a few who continued to hold a positive view. These surveys undermine Bernal's claim that the entire nineteenth-century scholarship was anti-Egyptian.
97. Also see T. S. Brady, *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults*. The cult of Isis in Rome was the most important among the foreign cults. It represented the deepest mysteries of life.
98. N. Thomas, *The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt*.
99. Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*, 460–1.
100. Another example is found in a book by Laurence Oliphant, a colorful Victorian figure. In his *The Land of Khemi: Up and Down the Middle Nile*, he wrote: 'Masaeus, Melapaus and Eumpolus acquired in Egypt their theological wisdom. Lycurgus and Solon introduced into their fatherland all the wise regulations they there became acquainted with. It was in Egypt that Archimedes invented his celebrated water-screw and applied it to the irrigation of the land. Pythagoras was a long time in Egypt, and it is fair to assume that his doctrine of the immortality of the soul was derived from a theology in which the existence of the spirit of a man in a future state played so prominent a part. The house in Heliopolis in which Plato and the mathematician Eudoxus lived for thirteen years, was shown to Strabo; and in the philosophy of the former, we have abundant evidence of the inspiration of Egyptian theology – for in it we find the dogma enunciated that, as the masculine and feminine principles of the world, they must ascend to the creator who must have been male and female in one . . .'. Oliphant also asserts that Moses must have known that 'Egyptian apparent polytheism was only symbolical and that it was a pure monotheism' (Oliphant, *ibid.*, 257). This tradition appears in the beginning of the historical preface to the *Description of Egypt* (*Description de la Egypt*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1809) by Jan Baptist-Joseph Fourier: 'Homer, Lycorgus, Solon, Pythagoras and Plato came to Egypt to Study science, religion and law.'
101. The Reverend Stephen Olin, in his *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea and the Holy Land* (1843) wrote: 'I incline to the opinion that in point of genius they [the ancient Egyptians] are entitled to the first place among all the ancient nations . . . It is essential to remember, however, that the Egyptians were the inventors; the Greeks only improved upon their models – an easy task for even inferior minds

- ... In all that indicates high talent, grandeur of conception, and skill in the applications of science to mechanical operations' (quoted in Pick, *Egypt: A Traveller's Anthology*, 167).
102. Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion*, 64.
  103. See in Palter, 'Eighteenth-century Historiography in Black Athena', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 349–402.
  104. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, 206. He was willing to concede limited Egyptian and oriental influences on Greece: 'They [the Greeks] certainly received the substantial beginning of their religious cults from Asia, Syria and Egypt. But they have so greatly obliterated the foreign nature of this origin, and it is so much changed, worked on, turned round and altogether made so different, that what they – as we – prize, know and love in it is essentially their own.' According to Hegel, the 'creative transformation' of the Greeks, enabled them to free their spirit from the thralldom of the 'Oriental spirit'. Thus, the Orient contribution to the genesis and evolution of the Hellenic spirit was its serving as an 'external catalyst' (Harten, 'Archaeology and the Unconscious').
  105. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 220.
  106. Gombrich saw Hegel's interpretation of Egypt as a forced and Procrustean one, based on his understanding of 'culture' as a united system in which every aspect of it is a result of a certain spirit (*Geist*) or ordering principle which creates the unity of the system as a whole (Gombrich, *In Search of Cultural History*, 11). On Alois Riegl's (in his *Die Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, 1901, Vienna, 1927) understanding of Egyptian *Geist* as a 'materialistic monism' which sees in the soul nothing but refined matter see Gombrich, *In Search of Cultural History*, 27.
  107. In *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie de Religion*, quoted in Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks*, 95–6.
  108. Draper, *History of Intellectual Development*, 82.
  109. *Ibid.*, 90, 98.
  110. Buckle, *Introduction*, 28. Among his sources were Bunsen; Bohlen's *Das alte Indien, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Aegypten*, Königsberg, Vols I–II (1830); W. Halilton, *Aegyptica* (London, 1809); S. Sharp, *History of Egypt* (London 1852), and J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, I–V, (1842). And see Buckle's comparison between India and Greece (75–84) and his claim for analogous conditions of the two countries (*Introduction*, 50).
  111. Buckle, *Introduction*, 28.
  112. Bunsen, *Aegyptens Stelle der Weltgeschichte* (1845), which was immediately translated into English by Samuel Birch as *Egypt's Place in Universal History* (1851), in which he lavished praise on a civilization whose origins he traced back to 8500 BC; antediluvian 2nd edn, 1862, Vol I, 112–26.
  113. Bunsen, *ibid.*, I, 24. And see his survey of 'Early Egyptology' in Vol. I, 112–265.
  114. The Hebrew translation appeared in Warsaw, 1897.
  115. Maspero, *History of Egypt*, Vol. II, 217–21.
  116. G. E. Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 170.
  117. *Ibid.*, 36–47.
  118. *Ibid.*, 162–3. Under his influence the Egyptian man of letters, Salama Musa, wrote his booklet *Hadarat misr fi ifriqiya* (*The Civilization of Egypt in Africa*, Cairo, 1935, 77–86), stating that black Africans had a great influence on the beliefs of the ancient Egyptians.

119. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 3. In his book *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, he wrote 'If Egypt became the mother of mechanical arts, the river will have been one of the chief natural forces to which this fact was due' (9).
120. Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 35.
121. Lissner, *The Living Past*, 69.
122. Stoley, 'Science', in Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 160.
123. See in Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*.
124. The Egypt Exploration Fund was established in 1883, Amarna was excavated from 1891 onward, and Tutankhamun's tomb in 1923.
125. Peter Green is not impressed by the new 'tyranny'. . . 'this is all a great pity since the culture of Egypt was quite extraordinary enough in sober fact: to credit the Egyptians, in addition, with being guardians, if not the inventors, of every sort of hebetic wisdom, advanced science, prophetic skin, and perennial philosophy merely detracts from what they did do' (P. Green, *Classical Bearing*, 82).
126. Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 263–4. See also Winstone, *Howard Carter*; Wortham, *British Egyptology 1549–1906*; Mayers, *The Great Belzoni*; A. R. David, *The Discovery of Egypt*.
127. The Indo-Europeans were regarded as the creators of myth and literature, but not of science. Even the most ardent Indo-Europhiles stressed the unique genius of the Greeks, which exalted them in this respect above their Indo-European *Urväter*.
128. In Bernal, *Black Athena*, I, 264. J. P. Vernant, in his book *The Origins of Greek Thought* (Ithaca, NY, 1982), writes 'what prevented the Egyptians from being genuinely scientific in any field was their blind respect for tradition. . . and their false conception of causality. 'Not only did Egypt never give birth to any great poet, she did not produce either an Archimedes or an Hippocrates. Yet the store of Egyptian knowledge was sufficiently impressive to inspire the Greeks to imitation and emulation' (Vernant, *ibid.*, 229–30).
129. See Qazwini, *Aja'ib el-makhlukat (Marvels of the Creation)*, Istanbul, fourteenth century.
130. Haarmann, 'Regional Sentiment in Medieval Islamic Egypt'. Al-Jahiz lists twenty of the thirty wonders of the world located in Egypt (Haarmann, 'Regional Sentiment', 59).
131. Michael Cook, 'Pharaonic History in Medieval Egypt'.
132. Hatem, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 7.
133. Gershoni and Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs*, 169–75. Salama Musa and Nashid Sayfin echoed Hecataeus. Musa wrote about the history of achievements and excellence of ancient Egypt. Egypt was the cradle of world civilization and pharaonic elements and influences could be identified in every high culture that had emerged in Asia, Europe and the Americas. Sayfin wrote that . . . 'It is Egypt which invented the art of writing which became the soul of civilization and the secret behind its existence'. Mhumad H. Haykal confessed that he 'became famous for my Pharaonic mania'. See also Reid, 'Nationalizing the Pharaonic Past: Egyptology, Imperialism, and Egyptian Nationalism, 1922–1952', in Jankowski and Gershoni, *Rethinking Nationalism in the Middle East*, 127–49.
134. The poet Khalil Mutras wrote in 1942 a 'Hymn to Tut-Ankh-Amon' in which he stated: 'The history of Egypt is still what has been since antiquity,/ A history of



- advancement and excellence/ All of it [filled with] great achievements,/ And arts, and finery. . . ' (Gershoni and Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs*, 169). See also Robert S. Bianchi's introduction to Kamal El-Mallakh, *The Treasures of the Nile*, 11–15. On the marginal place of the pharaonic past in Egypt after the 1950s, see Ferki A. Hassan, 'Memorabilia: Archaeological materiality and national identity in Egypt', in Lynn Meskell (ed.), *Archaeology Under Fire*, 200–16
135. None of the modern Egyptian men of letters perceived ancient Egyptian culture as part of black African culture, or that it was influenced by Nubian (Sudanese) culture.
  136. Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, 25
  137. The Greeks were described as the descendants of the 'ever-progressive Aryan race, the progenitor of the Persians and Pelaggasains, of Celts and Teutons, the discoverer of well nigh everything which is great and beneficial in the arts of war and peace, the race from whose bosom came Charlemagne and Alfred, Dante and Shakespeare, Michelangelo and Raphael, Newton and Descartes – the parent in the modern world of the metaphysical subtlety of Germany, and the vital intelligence of France, and the imperial energy of England, the parent in the ancient world of the lofty spiritualism of India, of the glory that was Greece, and the grandeur that was Rome' (Bowler, *The Invention of Progress*, 67). It should be noted that the Nazis' racist ideology took no special pride in its affiliation with classical Greece, whose values it despised. Nazi ideology preferred a direct line between the 'mythic' Indo-European race of ancient times and the Germanic tribes in Europe, without a Greek connecting link. The most radical racists of all, then, did not consider Greece to be their alma mater. The reason is that in the late nineteenth century classical Greece was perceived in Germany as a liberal and rational society – the polar opposite of the type of society desired by nationalists and racists.

#### 6: THE SECOND ANCIENT MODEL: A HISTORY OF DEBT

1. *The Life and Deeds of Alexander of Macedon*, Book I (in Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance*, 83).
2. Ein Junglind, den des Wissens heisser Durst  
Nach Säis in Ägypten trieb, der Priester  
Gehcime Weisheit zu erlernen . . .
3. Smelik and Hemelrijk, "'Who Knows What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?'" , 1878. The educated traveler to the Orient was familiar with these legendary biographies. For example, the American traveler E. M. Newman wrote in his book *Seeing Egypt and the Holy Land* (New York, 1928, 77): 'Heliopolis was the seat of knowledge of the ancient world, and celebrated scholars from all countries visited it. Pythagoras and Plato came here for study and consultation with priests.'
4. See the discussion in Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa*, 122–54, and supplementary note 81 in the 1997 edition, 246.
5. These are the words of Isis in Lucius Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*, written in the second century AD (189).
6. Mendeles, 'Creative History in the Hellenistic Near East in the Third and Second Centuries BC: The Jewish Case.'
7. See Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*.

8. On Berossus' *Babyloniaca*, see Potter, *Prophecy and History*, 191–2; Schnabel, *Berosos und die Babylonische-Hellenistische Literatur*, G. E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 104–17.
9. The work on Manetho was the subject of a complex process of selection and editing and the remains of the *Aegyptiaca* are not reliable. Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, xv. And see in Sterling, *Historiography and Self-definition*, 117–36; Mendeles, 'The Polemical Character of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*'; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 204–332. He writes that the original three volumes of the book are lost, and were unavailable by as early as the second century AD.
10. See T. S. Brown, 'The Reliability of Megasthenes'; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, IV, 68–107. On the Indian reaction to the Greek perception of early history see Baumgarten, *Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, 83.
11. Tertullian (c.150–222 AD) writes in his *Apology* (*Tertulliani Apologeticus*, xix, 5–6): 'We should have to unlock the archives of the most ancient races too – Egyptians, Chaldaeans, Phoenicians. We should have to summon their fellow citizens through whom this knowledge is furnished to us – to wit, one Manetho, an Egyptian, and Berossus, a Chaldaean, and in addition Hieromus, a Phoenician and King of Tyre . . . The Jew Josephus, native champion of Jewish antiquities, must be consulted' (Tertullian, 99). On Egyptian nativism see Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, xxi–xxii and for a short survey see in Sarton, *Hellenistic Science*, 206–13. Thus, it was not only Egypt that was perceived as the ancient sources of 'Eastern wisdom', but also 'Semitic' Babylonia and 'Aryan' Persia and India!
12. Conzelman, *Gentile, Jews, Christians*, 79–84; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-determination*, 137–225; Gruen, 'Cultural Fictions and Cultural Identity'. Lefkowitz writes that all the Hellenistic Jews. 'Simply wished to show that their culture had priority over that of their conquerors' (Lefkowitz, *Not out of Africa*, 125). Nonetheless, at this point exactly their aims and Afrocentric aims do meet. But Hellenistic Jews mainly assert that the Jews were the teachers of the Egyptians.
13. Gardiner, 'The House of Life'; Ghaloungi, *The House of Life: Per Ankh*; Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, 63; Wente, 'The Scribes of Ancient Egypt', in Sasson, *Civilization* iv. 2211–21.
14. Claggett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, I: 1. 32–5; Redford, *Egypt*, 390; Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 53–7; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 329–34.
15. Claggett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, 1–46.
16. As is shown in a text based on the model of the old *Satire of the Trades*: 'See, there's no profession without a boss, Except for the scribe . . . no scribe is short of food . . .' (Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 141–5; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 184–92).
17. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, 63.
18. A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 113; Gardiner, 'The House of Life'.
19. Chaeremon was an Egyptian priest and pedagogue in Alexandria and Rome during the first half of the first century BC. See Van der Horst, *Chaeremon: Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher*, 17, 21, and Herman Te Velde, 'Theology, Priests and Worship in Ancient Egypt', in Sasson, *Civilizations*, Vol. III, 1731–49 (he writes that 'In the "House of Life", the sacred and secret traditions of Egyptian knowledge were brought together. In form and content they constituted holy scripture' (Te Velde, in *ibid.*, 1741)). See also Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 54–7; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 214–31.

20. Papyrus British Museum 10651 (Salt 825), in Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, 30–1. One may wonder whether the urge to collect scrolls in a library was not a result of the Greeks' first real encounter with the Egyptian libraries. However, only in the Hellenistic period do we find the intellectual urge to collect books of other nations and a collective effort to translate them into Greek (Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, 162–3).
21. True as this picture of large-scale learning is, Doran reminds us that we have not even one name of an Egyptian inventor or scientist; nor can it be the mists of time alone which have obliterated all traces of the scribes who did the research and made the discoveries in the fields of science. Among architects and practising physicians, for example, individuals have been identified and even left their autobiographies. The inventor of the waterclock mentions his discovery in his tomb. It may be that the personalities were condemned to obscurity because research and the discovery of new knowledge were shrouded in deliberate secrecy for reasons of state (Doran, *The Geography of Science*, 23).
22. Palter, 'Black Athena, Afrocentrism, and the History of Science', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 209–66.
23. Te Velde, 'Theology, Priests and Worship in Ancient Egypt?', in Sasson, *Civilizations*, III, 1731–49. See in Heliodorus, *An Ethiopian Romance*, 58. ('I told them what I knew and what was written about the river in the sacred books, which only priests may read and understand.')
24. Even if we reject the reliability of the travel stories, it is clear they were invented to postulate imaginary (or real) borrowings.
25. A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 116.
26. Hofner, 'Orient and griechische Philosophie.'
27. Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 49–60.
28. Potter, *Prophecy and History*, 193.
29. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 7.
30. Ray, 'How Black was Socrates?', 4. However, the Hermetic literature also prophesied that when the Greeks get the idea of translating Egyptian books in to their own language, 'the result will be total distortion and obscurity' (*Corpus Hermeticum*, 16, 1). See Baumgarten, *Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, 82–83.
31. Momigliano writes that these biographies create the 'total impression of dependence of Greek culture on barbarian wisdom'. The Hellenistic writers admired 'their own forgeries "as manifestation of a foreign civilization"', which was a totally imaginary civilization (Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*, 146–9). And see Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age*, 13–19; Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 246–91.
32. Some traditions have Homer born in Thebes, Egypt, owing to a legendary and completely baseless connection between No Amon (Thebes ['of the Hundred Gates' in Greek]) and Thebes in Boeotia (see Diodorus, *Library of History*, Vol. I, 97, 4–5). According to Apollonius of Rhodes (who followed earlier writers such as Diodorus) Orpheus went to 'Egypt where he furthered his education and became the greatest man among the Greeks, for his knowledge of the Gods, and for the poems and songs' (trans. Hogart, *The Hymns of Orpheus*, 18). Bernal argues that Orpheus is the ancient Greek mutation of the ancient Egyptian Earth god Geb (Bernal, *Black Athena*, Vol. II, 245).
33. Including Orpheus, Musaeus, Melampus, Daedalus, Homer and Lycurgus, Solon,

- Plato, Pythagoras of Samos, the mathematician Eudoxus, Democritus of Abdera and Oenopides of Chios (Diodorus, 1.79, 4–5). See Droge, *Moses or Homer?*, 15; Sterling, 'Historiography and Self-definition', 59–91, and Smelik and Hemelrijk, "'Who Know What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?'"', 1895–8.
34. Solon lived before Amasis, who, according to Herodotus introduced this law; but this fact does not inevitably discredit Herodotus' testimony, since he could be wrong in attributing it to Amasis and the law might have been introduced earlier.
  35. Sarton, *Hellenistic Science*, 255–6, 417–18.
  36. Heliodorus, *Ethiopica*, 57. He refers to 'sacred books, which only priests may read and understand'.
  37. Strabo, *Geography*, Vol. VIII, 83–5. Scott writes: 'It had long been accepted as a known historical fact that both Pythagoras and Plato studied in Egypt' (Scott, *Hermetica*, 4).
  38. Ka'kosal, 'Egypt in Ancient Greek and Roman thought', in Sasson, *Civilizations*, Vol. I, 7.
  39. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 73.
  40. Exp. tot. mudi, 34, quoted in Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 15.
  41. Fowden, *ibid.*, 13, 30.
  42. According to him an Egyptian priest named Bitys was supposed to have translated one of the hieroglyphic texts of Thoth into Greek (Fowden, *ibid.*, 30. See also Kaster, *Wisdom of Ancient Egypt*, 167).
  43. Marcellinus writes: 'If one wishes to investigate with attentive mind the many publications on the knowledge of the divine, and the origin of divination, he will find that learning of this kind has been spread about from Egypt through the whole world' (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum*, XXII), 19–20; Vol. II, 309). He repeats Diodorus' version about the studies of Plato, Solon and others in Egypt. What in Diodorus is considered as Egyptian tales, becomes a fact for Marcellinus. J. R. Harris comments that it is perhaps the best summary of what the average educated man of late antiquity thought he knew on this subject ('Mystery, Myth, and Magic', in Harris, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 140).
  44. Quoted in Cohen and Darbkin, *A Source Book in Greek Science*, 34. Nowhere can one find any hint that the Greeks were aware of the different theological system that prevailed in Egypt, and their different cosmogonies and theologies.
  45. Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, Vol. VI, 289. On Philo see von Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, IV, 162–301. He writes: 'The Greeks had adopted names and myth without knowing their original physical meaning. Many of the names and epithets of their Gods were based upon gross misconception of the Phoenician names they adopted' (*ibid.*, 166).
  46. Jewish-Hellenistic authors countered the native Egyptian writing and the topos of 'proof by antiquity' by tracing their history beyond the beginning of Egyptian history. See Conzelmann, *Gentiles, Jews, Christians*, and Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*. For a short survey see Shavit, *Athens in Jerusalem*, 58–75.
  47. Cited in Eusebius, *Preparatio euangelica*, XIII, 12.4.
  48. See Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, II, 899–903; Droge, *Moses or Homer?*; Bickerman, 'The Jews' Discovery of the Greeks', in *The Jews in the Greek Age*, 7–8; Sarton, *Hellenistic Science* (who also presents some of the later uses of this motif), 244–58; Shavit, *Athens in Jerusalem*, 66–8.
  49. Hadas, *The Greek Ideal and its Survival*, 9.

50. Part of this literature is apologetic historiography which 'is the story of a subgroup of people in an extended prose narrative written by a member of the group who followed the group's own traditions but hellenized them in an effort to establish the identity of the group within the setting of the larger world' (Sterling, *Historiography and Self-definition*, 17).
51. A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 60.
52. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*, 148. Jasper Griffin, in a critique of Bernal's *Black Athena*, has advanced another intriguing argument. He conjectures that when Greek authors wanted to disparage their adversaries, they accused them of copying from the Egyptians. 'The Egyptian served as a stick with which Greeks beat other Greeks. Pythagoras an original thinker? He picked up his ideas in Egypt! So did Plato! And Homer too!' (Griffin, 'Who Are These Coming To Sacrifice?').
53. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, Book 1–2, 3. 'It has always been my conviction that our countrymen have shown more wisdom everywhere than the Greeks, either in making discoveries for themselves, or else in improving upon what they had received from Greece . . . '.
54. Emperor Julian, *Against the Galilaens*, in *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, Vol. III, 369.
55. H. J. Muller, 'The Romantic Glory of Classical Greece', in his *The Uses of the Past*, 137.
56. In his famous funeral oration (431 BC), an ode to Athenian excellence, Pericles extolled the virtues of his fellow Athenians and remarked that 'there is no point in our being praised by Homer or any other poet who wishes to entice listeners for a while. For it is the Athenians themselves, and rightly so, who should praise their own virtue's' (Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Book II, 41.4). In Pericles' view, their virtues are not their achievements in literature, art or science but their political culture and political conduct. Pericles had no problem admitting that Athenian art or literature had been learned from others, but to him this was not the main issue or the cause of Athens' glory. Athens, he said, did not need a self-glorifying myth. Its greatness stemmed from its very existence as a democratic *politeia* (E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, 190–200). In a later period Plutarch praised Athens for its great innovations and achievements in literature and art 'some of which she was the first to discover', in Plutarch, 'Were the Athenians More Famous in War or in Wisdom?' (Plutarch, *Moralia*, Vol. IV, 493–527).
57. Bickerman noted that the narrators of these stories possessed a better historical sense than the German scholars who railed against Egyptian or Semitic influences on classical Greece and who therefore rejected the stories as so much nonsense. He sees in these traditions a dramatization of actual cultural contacts which took place between 'East' and 'West'. See Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age*, 16.
58. A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 50–1.
59. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt*, 317.
60. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*, 148.
61. Hadas believes that all visits by Plato and other Greek sages to Egypt were 'improbable travels which still survive in some modern biographies of Plato [and] were invented to afford the alien drop a means of entry. Actually, there is nothing anywhere in the Platonic corpus for which a source outside Greek tradition needs to be posited.' This view is shared by other distinguished scholars (Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion*, 72–3).

62. Peter Green, 'The Treasures of Egypt', in his *Classical Bearing*, 84. See also Hadas, 'Barbarian Apologies', in *Hellenistic Culture*, 83–114. According to another fictitious biography, Homer was an Egyptian from 'Thebes of the Hundred Gates'.
63. Internet 16 May 1996: [www.athena-discuss@info.harpercollins.com](mailto:www.athena-discuss@info.harpercollins.com) (see also [www.harpercollins.com/basic](http://www.harpercollins.com/basic)).
64. A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 31.
65. N. Roth, 'The Theft of Philosophy by the Greeks from the Jews'.
66. Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, xxxiv, 59, see in Droge, *Moses or Homer?*, 49–81.
67. The tenth book of Eusebius' *Evangelicae Perperation* is largely devoted to bemoaning the dishonesty of Greeks in the matter of literary theft. Clement of Alexandria was anxious to show that many Greek ideas were of Jewish origin and quotes Philo about the thievery of Ctesias (*Stromata* I–IV). On his influence on the writing of English deists see Assmann, *Moses*, 79. Clement writes that Thales was said to have consorted with the prophets of the Egyptians, as also did Pythagoras, and Plato admits that he visited Egypt, as did many others. However, Epicurus supposed that only Greeks can philosophize. Clement accepts the view that the Egyptians were the first to introduce astrology among men, and were the inventors of geometry. Nevertheless, his view is that 'There is then in philosophy, though stolen as fire by Prometheus, a slender spark, capable of being fanned into flame, a trace of wisdom an impulse from God' (*Stromata*, book I, chs 15, 16; in Roberts and Donalson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 315–21). And see in Droge, *Moses or Homer?*, 168–93.
68. See Roke'ah's introduction to Roke'ah, *Judaism and Christianity in Pagan Polemic*, 1–48.
69. Origen (in his *Contra Celusum*) affirmed the principles of the Greek *paideia* in an exegesis on *Exodus* 12:35–36, which relates how the Israelites left Egypt with much property: 'And the Lord had given the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians so that they granted them what they requested. Thus they plundered the Egyptians.' This interpretation justifies 'exploiting the Greeks' (*spolito graecorum*), and by extension permits the Church to 'exploit' Greek culture. Origen seems to be saying that what is of ultimate importance is not the source, but the context and the message. Therefore, Jaeger correctly notes, that rather than search for Origen's specific sources, it is more useful to reveal his new conceptual paradigm and determine the new role of 'borrowed' elements, i.e. how did Greek philosophy dovetail with the new Christian faith? There was evidently a two-tiered intellectual world: one level ruled by a shared tradition, the other by a tradition that was unique. In Origen's case, the invocation of the 'theft of wisdom' motif enabled different components to be interwoven in order to create a 'third race' (*triton genos*), the Christian Church, successor to Hellenism and Judaism. The church was thus built on a common tradition but also a revolutionary one. It drew on the past but looked to the future, offering its adherents a new world and a new structure to supplant the old ethnic and cultural rifts.
70. Droge, *Moses or Homer?*, 197.
71. See in Pelikan, *Christianity and Classical Culture*, 3–39.
72. *Ibid.*, 393.
73. Ps. Justin, *Cohortatio ad gentiles*, 14, alluding to Diodorus Siculus (I.96.1–3). Quoted in Droge, *Moses or Homer?*, 1, based on Finley, 'Christian Beginnings:

Three Views of Historiography', in Finley, *Aspects of Antiquity*, 167–73. 'It was the achievement of the apologists to bring Christianity within the pale of Hellenism and antiquity.' If the Redeemer was also the Creator, then the histories of His created peoples must interlock (Droge, *Moses or Homer?*, 197–9).

74. St Augustine, *City of God*, 812.
75. Ibid., 314–15. In St Augustine's view the Egyptians lacked philosophy, an essential function in teaching men how to attain happiness. This is because there was nothing of this kind in Egypt until the time of Trismegistus, when such studies won public attention (Book 18, Ch. 41), 816.
76. See in Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, XIX, 3.
77. al-'Andalusī, *Book of the Categories of Nations*, 21.
78. al-'Andalusī, ibid.; Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*. On the modern Chinese concept of ingenuity and debt see Mao Yiseng's *Introduction to Ancient China's Technology and Science*, 1–4.
79. al-'Andalusī, *Book of the Categories of Nations* 35. Medieval Jewish writers, such as Maimonides and Judah Halevi, were ready to attribute philosophy and science to the 'Orient'; and not to Egypt. According to Judah Halevi, the twelfth-century poet and philosopher from Spain, who traced the Greeks' wisdom to the Chaldaeans and ultimately to the Israelites: 'The Greeks only received it when they became powerful, from Persia. The Persians had it from the Chaldaeans. It was only then that the famous [Greek] Philosophers arose . . .' (Judah Halevi, *Kuzari*, I, 63), 46–7.
80. 'Epistola nuchapatia', (2v) quoted in Joanna Weinberg, 'The Quest for Philo in Sixteenth-Century Jewish Historiography', in Rapoport-Albert (ed.), *Jewish History*, 179.
81. Cardoso, *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (*The Virtues of the Hebrews*, 35–6). Cardoso also wrote that Aristotle converted to Judaism at an old age – a fictitious story with the aim of making Jews regard Aristotelian philosophy more favorably and defending those Jews who adopted it against charges of hereticism.
82. Its aims were to refute anti-Jewish allegations, such as the claim that the Jews had contributed nothing to human civilization; to legitimize the limited involvement of Jews in gentile society, in particular to sanction the study of 'neutral' sciences, such as medicine and astronomy, and philosophical theory, mainly Aristotelian, which was not possible in isolation from that society. In other words, the purpose of this tradition was first to prove that the source of the sciences is Jewish, and that the philosophy of Aristotle – far more than the philosophy of Plato – was derived from the writings of the Jewish sages.
83. Haykal, *The Life of Muhammad*, 579–86. Jamal al din al Afgani wrote that the 'first Muslim had no science, but thanks to Islamic religion, a philosophical spirit arose among them . . . This was why they acquired in short time all the sciences . . .' (ibid., 131).
84. This approach dovetailed with views expressed by 'modernist' Islamic thinkers bent on proving that exchanges of knowledge between Islam and the West are possible and desirable in the modern age, even if the roles have been reversed and the West is now the giver.
85. There is no reason, in my opinion, to reject the possibility that the Alexandrian library was also based on the model of ancient Egyptian libraries. See Luz, 'The Encyclopedic Tradition of Alexandria and its Libraries', in Shupak (ed.), *Scribes*,

- Schools and Libraries in Antiquity*, 67–78. See also E. A. Pearson, *The Alexandrian Library*.
86. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*.
  87. See Kashner, 'Some Suggestions and Comments Concerning Alexander Macedon's Campaign in Palestine'; Momigliano, 'Flavius Josephus and Alexander's visit to Jerusalem'; D. Golan, 'Josephus Alexander's Visit to Jerusalem, and Modern Historiography'.
  88. This story, in its several versions, was told by Joseph ibn Kaspi (1279–1340), by Rabbi Ben Yishak Aldabi (c.1310–c.1360) in *Shevilei Emunah* (*Paths of Faith*, Trento, c.1558), Abraham ben Shem Tov Bibago (fifteenth century) in *Derekh Emuna* (*Path of Faith*, 1521), Issac Cardoso in *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (*The Virtues of the Hebrews*, 1679), and others.
  89. While the Church fathers were eager to establish Plato's dependence on Jewish wisdom, Jewish writers in the Middle Ages were eager to establish Aristotle's dependence on Jewish wisdom, a response to the revival of Aristotelian philosophy beginning in the thirteenth century.
  90. The great Library at Alexandria did not yet exist at the time of Alexander, but one may assume that what James really meant was the libraries in the Egyptian temples. Nevertheless, a logical conclusion of this theory must be that Aristotle took with him to Athens a company of talented translators from the Egyptian language to Greek!
  91. It sold more than 500,000 copies. See Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa*, 1997 edn, supplementary note 151, 254. Moses describes the book as 'simply the attempt of a frustrated and abused man to demonstrate a black contribution to the common intellectual heritage of mankind' (*Afrotopia*, 36).
  92. Ben-Jochannan, *Africa – Mother of Western Civilization*, 352–75. See Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa*, 151–2.
  93. See in Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 221–376.
  94. According to this view, Greek theater originated in Egypt because of the source of the cult of Dionysus, from which the theater originated.
  95. James, *Stolen Legacy*, 39.
  96. According to Diogenes Laertius, author of a third-century BC history of philosophy, Eudoxus was the first to translate Egyptian texts into Greek, thus furnishing the Greeks with their initial scientific concepts.
  97. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 354.
  98. James, *Stolen Legacy*, 12–13.
  99. Of course, one may rightly argue that in the case of the black peoples, the transmission of culture was enforced, an act of compulsion; however, black-American writing explicitly speaks of the 'colonization' by take-over of Greece or migration to it (and other parts of the world) by Egypt by military force!
  100. Jaeger, *Paideia*, I, 155–6.
  101. See G. E. R. Lloyd, *The Revolution of Wisdom*, 50–108.
  102. See Von Staden, *Herophilus*, 25–6.



7: ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE FOUNDATION OF WESTERN  
PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

1. Trans. Emile Snyder, 114.
2. The goal is often to legitimize science and encourage black Americans to become involved in the scientific professions. Early Afrocentric writings, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century responded to anti-black racial prejudices by demonstrating the intellectual capabilities of the black people, enabling them, in the words of Pastor Peter Williams in 1830, to integrate in country 'where schools and colleges abound / where all the / arts and sciences are verging / fast to perfection . . .' (see Esedebé, *Pan-Africanism*, 21–9). The perception of ancient (black) Egypt as the birthplace of science also has its roots in mid-nineteenth century Afrocentric literature (see also Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 259–64).
3. Khalili Masiha *et al.*, 'African Experimental Aeronautics: A 2,000-Year Old Model Glider', in Van Sertima, *Egypt Revisited*, 92–9. The story about Daedalus, is based on Diodorus, who tells that Daedalus, 'built the propylon of the temple of Hephaestus in Memphis' (I.97.6; I.333).
4. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 282.
5. Pappademos, 'The Newtonian Synthesis in Physical Sciences and its Roots in the Nile Valley'; and 'An Outline of Africa's Role in the History of Physics', in Van Sertima, *Blacks in Science*, 177–96.
6. See W. F. Rowe's article 'School Daze: A Critical Review of the African-American Baseline Essays for Science and Mathematics'. Among the many Afrocentric books on the subject see Antoine, *Inventeurs et savants noirs*; Klein, *The Hidden Contributors*.
7. Droge, *Homer or Moses?*, 82–91.
8. *Ibid.*, 87–8.
9. G. E. R. Lloyd, *The Revolution of Wisdom*, 51; Thräde, 'Erfinder II'; Kleingünther, *Prōtos Euretēs: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung*; Tzavellas-Bonnet, 'Phoinix. Prōtos Euretēs'.
10. See in G. E. R. Lloyd, *Revolution of Wisdom*, 52–5.
11. See Baron, 'Moritz Steinschneider's Contribution to Jewish Historiography', in Baron, *History and Jewish Historians*, 304–6. But Steinschneider also wrote that 'The more one penetrates into the details of all exact and empirical sciences, one increasingly realizes the importance of the individual, as against the undeniable influences of birth (nationality, language and fatherland)' (*ibid.*, 305).
12. On earlier Jewish responses see Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe*, and Shavit, *Athens in Jerusalem*, Ch. 5.
13. For a few examples see: *A Salute to Black Scientists and Inventors*; MacDonald's *Salute to Black Inventors: Food*; Hayden, 'Black Americans in the Field of Science and Invention', in Van Sertima, *Blacks in Science*, 215–17; J. H. Clarke, 'Bibliographical Guide', in Van Sertima, *Blacks in Science*, 295–7.
14. See, for example: H. H. Adams, III, and Lumpkin, *African-American Baseline Essays*; Lumpkin, 'The Pyramids: Ancient Showcase of African Science and Technology', and 'Africa in the Mainstream of Mathematics History', in Van Sertima, *Blacks in Science*, 67–83, 100–9. Also Lumpkin 'Mathematics and Engineering in the Nile Valley', in Van Sertima, *Egypt Revisited*, 322–40.
15. According to Goody, the foundation of the development of science in both East

- and West was the achievements of the Bronze Age, particularly in Mesopotamia, which spread to the East and the West (Goody, *The East in the West*, 11–249).
16. Huff, *The Rise of Early Modern Science*. Historians of science are interested in the social intellectual context of the discovery and in the reasons why, for example, a scientific revolution took place only in Europe, while science in the 'East' stagnated for a long period. But can we really say that because the 'West' received paper and gunpowder from China, for example, it was culturally dependent on it?
  17. See R. Herrnstein and C. Murray, *The Bell Curve*, and the responses in Fraser, *The Bell Curve Wars*.
  18. See White, *Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering*; Oakes, *Lost Talent*; Matthews, *CRS Report for Congress: Underrepresented Minorities*; Fernandez, *Black Managers in White Corporations*, 67–87. On the impact of affirmative action on the numbers of African-Americans in law schools and medical schools in California, see the *Boston Globe*, 23 December 1997, A1, A8.
  19. In his discussion of 'The Debt of Greek Philosophy and Science to the Ancient Near East' (G. E. R. Lloyd, *Methods and Problems in Greek Science*, 283).
  20. Goody, *East in the West*, 248.
  21. '... from the point of view of what the Greeks might have learnt from Egypt or Babylonia, our evidence still suggests that would not have extended as far as philosophy, constructed as the argumentative, rational or would-be rational inquiry that it was for most Greeks' (G. E. R. Lloyd, *Methods and Problems in Greek Science*, 279).
  22. Internet debate, Jan. 1996.
  23. G. E. R. Lloyd, 'The Debt of Greek Philosophy', in *Methods and Problems*, 159. It should be remembered, however, that not all Greek science was inclined towards abstract theorizing.
  24. *Ibid.*, 287.
  25. And is it not ironic that Plato, who reputedly learned from the Egyptian philosophy and political system, and supposedly built his utopian state on the 'Egyptian model', forbade the citizens of that state to travel abroad lest they became spiritually contaminated by foreign ideas? In *The Laws*, the Athenian stranger seems to admire the static character of Egyptian art, but he is not captivated by all things Egyptian: 'There are other features in their law that you would find pretty poor, but this much about the music is true and worthy of thought ...' (trans. Pangle, 37). Plato did not have to visit Egypt in order to draw his conclusion about the static nature of Egyptian art. Indeed, his true opinion about Egyptian art is by no means clear. He transformed Egypt into a model of static culture to establish a basis for his conservative concept of 'historical authority'. Because Plato believed that music threatens virtues, and because he espoused Apollonian epic poetry as opposed to Dionysian tragedy, he favored supervision of the arts to ensure that they would not undermine social stability. He also made ancient Crete a model of a utopian 'golden age' which reflects his perception of the world. But Plato, who saw Egypt as an ideal model of unchanging traditions and institutions and internal stability, also noted its fallible and poorly functioning institutions (*Laws*, II, 657a).
  26. Ka'kosal, 'Egypt in Ancient Greek and Roman Thought', in Sasson, *Civilizations*, V, 7.
  27. Ani, *Yurugu*, 247–9.
  28. *Ibid.*, 57. According to Onyewuenyi, the metaphysics of Western philosophy has generally been based upon a static conception of being, whilst in African philo-

sophical thought being is dynamic. (Onyewuenyi, 'Is There an African Philosophy?', in Serequeberhan, *African Philosophy*, 29–46). On the other hand, Hountondji argues against the idea of a specific African essence and personality 'African Philosophy: Myth and Reality', in Serequeberhan, *African Philosophy*, 111–31. See also Keita, 'Contemporary African Philosophy: The Search for a Method', in *ibid.*, 132–55. For further discussion see the Conclusion.

29. Ani, *Yurugu*, 119.
30. For one example see P. C. Boyd, *The African Origin of Christianity*. I. Onyewuenyi regards James' theory (in his *Stolen Legacy*, see ch. 6) not only as an article of faith, but as a valid theory, and goes further to claim that St Augustine Origen, Cyril and Tertulian were not only of African descent and students of Ancient Egyptian religion, but also representatives of the genuine black philosophy. If this is true, then the theory that a deep mental gap separated the black and the white Christian has no basis! On the other hand, he describes (following W. E. Abraham's *Mind of Africa*, 166) Amo Anton, a Ghanaian studying in the University of Thalle in Holland, as a genuine black historian; even so he was a disciple of Leibnitz only because he was a black man (see Onyewuenyi, 'Is There an African Philosophy?', in Serequeberhan, *African Philosophy*, 28–46).
31. Trigger, 'Egypt and Early Civilization', in Weeks, *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*, 47.
32. And disclaiming any supernatural authority for their ideas.
33. G. E. R. Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy*, 12.
34. On Hellenistic sciences see Sarton, *Hellenistic Science and Culture*, 53–140; 280–489.
35. According to Sarton 'that is very plausible' (*ibid.*, 71).
36. See Lefkowitz discussion in *Not Out of Africa*, 153. The fact is that Archimedes not only spent some time in Egypt, but continued to correspond with several acquaintances there.
37. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 231.
38. Archimedes credited the discovery of the theorems relating to the volumes of a cone and a cylinder, and those of the pyramid and prism, to Democritus, and to himself the *proof* of these theorems. See Lloyd, *The Revolution of Wisdom*, 78, note 104. According to Diodorus, during his visit to Egypt, Archimedes invented the so-called Egyptian screw, 'and by the use of such screw [the Egyptians] carry water in successive lifts as far as the entrance' (Book V, 370, 3–4) Vol. III, 199.
39. Weighing and measuring were used Egyptian pharmacology (as is found in the *Papyrus Ebers and On the Diseases of Women*, book 1). G. E. R. Lloyd, *The Revolution of Wisdom*, 250–1.
40. Ptolemy, trans. Robbins, 101–3. In fact, Ptolemy marks a regression in the history of science. Oliver Sachs writes: 'While the heliocentric picture of the solar system was established by Aristarchus in the third century BC, . . . and was further applied by Archimedes, Hipparchus, and Erastosthenes, it was turned on its head in the second century AD, by Ptolemy, and was replaced by him by a geometrical picture. This Ptolemaic darkness lasted 1,400 years, until the heliocentric picture was re-established by Copernicus' (Oliver Sachs, 'Stomata: Forgetting and Neglect in Science').
41. Palter, 'Black Athena, Afro-Centrism, and the History of Science', *History of Science*, 244 (repr. in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 209–66). See also Lloyd, 'The Debt of Greek Philosophy', in *Black Athena Revisited*, 293–4.

42. See: Brgan, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine Papyrus: The Papyrus Er Bers*; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 357–63; Lloyd, 'The Debt', in *Methods and Problems*, 295–6. For the Afrocentric view see Finch, 'Science and Symbols in Egyptian Medicine: Comments on the Edwin Smith Papyrus', in Van Sertima, *Egypt Revisited*, 325–51.
43. Herodotus (II.84:1) writes that 'All the country is full of Physicians', specialized in different medical problems. And see: J. R. Harris, 'Medicine', in J. R. Harris, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 112–37; de Saunders, *The Transition from Ancient Egyptian to Greek Medicine*.
44. See in Finch, 'The African Background to Medical Science', in Van Sertima, *Blacks in Science*, 140–56, and Frederick Newsome, 'Black Contribution to the Early History of Western Medicine', in *ibid.*, 127–39.
45. See Talbot, 'Medicine'.
46. Palter, 'Black Athena, Afrocentrism, and the History of Science', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 256. I owe a great debt to his illuminating discussion. Also see also G. E. R. Lloyd's chapter 'The Hippocratic Question', in *Methods and Problems*, 194–223.
47. Von Staden, *Herophilus*, 22.
48. Diop, 'Africa's Contribution to Sciences', in his *Civilization or Barbarism*, 283–4.
49. Lumpkin, 'Mathematics and Engineering in the Nile Valley', in Van Sertima, *Egypt – Child of Africa*, 322–40. See Gillings, *Mathematics in the Time of the Pharaohs*; Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, i–ii; G. Robins, 'Mathematics, Astronomy, and Calendars in Pharaonic Egypt', in Sasson, *Civilizations*, Vol. III, 1799–2030.
50. Quoted in Cohen and Drabkin, *A Source Book in Greek Science*, 34.
51. *Ibid.*, 1.
52. *Ibid.*, 34.
53. *Ibid.*, 89.
54. Van der Warden, *Science Awakening*, 15–36.
55. Palter, 'Black Athena, Afrocentrism, and the History of Science', 255.
56. See also G. E. R. Lloyd, 'The Debt', in *Methods and Problems*, 291–2. He writes that '... what was lacking, from both Egyptian and Babylonian geometry, so far as we can tell, was the notion of geometrical proof'. Stoley writes that 'while the Egyptian knew how to deal with particular cases, there is little evidence that he realized principles' (Stoley, 'Science', in Glanville, *Legacy of Egypt*, 173–4). Iversen writes that the Egyptians had the ability to make empirical observations about the objects and the phenomena of their world; however, the 'pervading belief in the magical nature of things and in magic as a basic and ever active force of nature, became a major obstacle for theoretical explanation based on empirical observation and logic deductions. All Egyptian reasoning, therefore, necessarily became theological speculation, which left no possibility open for the development of an independent logic and an empiric science in our sense of the word' (*The Myth of Egypt*, 39–40).
57. But, G. E. R. Lloyd writes, that 'not all Greek science, even in the period before Plato, is as heavily inclined toward abstract theorising...' (G. E. R. Lloyd, 'Popper versus Kirk', in *Methods and Problems*, 112).
58. Appendix 1 in Gillings, *Mathematics of the Pharaohs*, 232–4. See also Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, and the summary of Gay Robins

- 'Mathematics, Astronomy, and Calendars in Pharaonic Egypt' in Sasson, *Civilizations*, Vol. III, 1799–1813 (and the bibliographical list, 1813). We should here bear in mind Leo Depuydt: 'As long as no mathematical astronomy worthy of the name existed outside Egypt, neither did it in Egypt. By the time that Greek astronomy begins to exhibit a certain level of mathematical complexity, we are in the third century BCE' (Depuydt, 'Ancient Egyptian Star Clocks and Their Theory', 6).
59. Gillings, *Mathematics of the Pharaohs*, 234. However, the Egyptian priests were not alien to abstract thinking, and the absence of a defined concept does not mean the phenomena it describes is not recognized.
  60. '... our conclusion in this subject is that there is little to be said for their theoretic knowledge of this science [geometry and arithmetic] but their practical knowledge sufficed very well for the simple requirements of daily life' (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 368). And Moret writes 'But it seems fairly certain that, expert as they were in applied science and skillful in solving technical difficulties, they were not so gifted for speculation and pure inquiry' (Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, 444).
  61. One of the important Greek developments is that of the explicit concept of, and demand for, demonstration or proof in the more rigorous sense of demonstration by deductive argument from clearly identified premises (G. E. R. Lloyd, *The Revolution of Wisdom*, 74–5).
  62. Doran, *The Geography of Science*, 27.
  63. Breasted, *Ancient Times*, 99.
  64. Clagett, *Greek Science in Antiquity*, 24–32. It should be noted here, following Doods' observation, that the idea which identified the 'Greeks' with pure reason is misleading and not all Greek science was inclined towards abstract theorizing (Doods, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 112).
  65. Toomer, 'Mathematics and Astronomy', in J. R. Harris, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 44.
  66. *Ibid.*, 45.
  67. Caldwell and Gyles, *The Ancient World*, 162–4.
  68. Ka'kosal, in Sasson, *Civilizations*, I, 7.
  69. Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, 25–6 (and see note 1).
  70. See Ch. 5.
  71. As claimed by Lefkowitz. Scott writes: 'All that the outside public knew about it was that the priests had in their hands a collection of ancient books, which were said to have been written by the god Thoth' (*Hermetica*, 4). See Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*.
  72. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*. And see Bernal, *Black Athena*, Vol. I, 134–45.
  73. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 16.
  74. *Ibid.*, 30.
  75. *Ibid.*, 73.
  76. O'Leary, 'The Egyptian Contribution to Christianity', in Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 301–30. See also Bonnet and Tobin, 'Christ and Osiris: A Comparative Study', in S. Israelite Groll, *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity*, 1–29. They listed five crucial similarities between the myth of Isis and the myth of Jesus. Nevertheless, both myths are elements of different mythical systems.
  77. Feibleman, *Religious Platonism*. In his view 'Plato had two philosophies and subscribed to two sets of religious ideas consistent with those philosophies... The first

of the philosophies of Plato (and the one for which he is chiefly known) is that of Idealism . . . The second and more neglected philosophy of Plato is that of Realism' (Feibleman, *ibid.*, 207–11). Also in his *Religious Platonism*, he writes 'Historically Neoplatonism began when Jews encountered Greek rationalism.' See also Doods, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 284–85; Blumenthal and Markus, *Neoplatonism and Early Christian Thought*; A. H. Armstrong, *Platonism and Christian Studies*; Dillon, *The Golden Chain*; Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*. He writes that 'Neoplatonism sums up the results of 200 years of untrammelled thinking. The longest period of free speculation which the human race has enjoyed' (Inge, *ibid.*, xxiii). The 'cradle of Neoplatonism was not Athens but Alexandria, the meeting place of East and West, hospitable to all ideas' (Inge, *ibid.*, xvi).

78. P. Green, *Classical Bearing*, 87.
79. Griggs writes that 'Contrary to some claims, Christianity was not born in Egypt', but arrived in Egypt during the first century AD and its first converts were from Hellenistic circles, people familiar with the Bible (Griggs, *Early Egyptian Christianity from its Origins*, 31). There is, however, good reason to ask whether native-Egyptian motifs were assimilated into ancient Christianity, and whether the struggle between orthodoxy and heresy, which took place in the Egyptian arena, was in any way related to the differences between the acceptance of Christianity in Hellenistic and autochthonous Egyptian circles. In any event, if we presume that any autochthonous Egyptian motifs were assimilated into Christianity, this would serve as a quintessential example of the way in which the meaning of a motif is totally transformed in its new context.
80. Some Muslim philosophers claim that the scientific mind of the Muslim differs from that of the Greeks or western man. See my summary in Shavit, *Athens in Jerusalem*, 79–118.
81. See Ch. 4.
82. Sarton, *Hellenistic Science and Culture*, 9–28.
83. Diop, *African Origins*, 24.
84. On tactics of intellectual acculturation, see Shavit, *Athens in Jerusalem*, 77–8.

## 8: THE QUEST FOR ANCIENT EGYPT'S BLACK IDENTITY

1. See one example of many in Hilliard, 'The Meaning of KMT'.
2. These theories suggest that they descended from the Libyans, Caucasians, Arabs, Pelagians, blacks, Mongols, Indians and even the Australian aboriginals.
3. It should be noted that the population of Africa itself underwent changes through the impact of evolution over the past 100,000 years and is far from being homogeneous in physical traits. See Stringer and MacKie, *African Exodus*, 155. They write further that the 'negroid' characteristics appear to contain as much genetic variation as the rest of humanity put together, 181.
4. Diop, writes Hilliard, 'even developed a simple chemical test to determine the melanin content in the skin of a mummy as a way of determining its "race". The mummies he tested from the Marietta excavations proved to be "black"' (Hilliard, 'The Meaning of KMT', 12). See Diop, 'Pigmentation of the Ancient Egyptians: Test by Melanin Analysis'. Among the many studies on this subject see Loring Brace *et al.*, 'Clines and Clusters versus "Race"', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 129–64; Leahy, 'Ethnic Diversity in Ancient Egypt', in Sasson,

- Civilizations* Vol. I, 225–43; Bard, 'Ancient Egyptians and the Issue of Race', 41–49. According to Berry and Berry the 'Egyptian skull samples are not very distinct from the Nubian samples . . . (however) they are much more distinct from the Ashanti series . . . and the Near Eastern series . . .' A. C. Berry and R. J. Berry, 'Origins and Relationships of the Ancient Egyptians', in Brothwell and Chiarelli, *Population Biology of the Ancient Egyptians*, 206; Batrawi, 'The Racial History of Egypt and Nubia'; Keita, 'Studies and Comments on Ancient Crania from Northern Africa'; Angel, 'Biological Relationships of Egyptian and Eastern Mediterranean Population during Predynastic Times'; J. Harris and K. Weeks, *X-Raying the Pharaohs*; Strouhal, 'Evidence of the Early Penetration of Negroes into Prehistoric Egypt.'
5. Berry and Berry, 'Origins and Relationships', 203.
  6. Leahy, 'Ethnic Diversity in Ancient Egypt', in Sasson, *Civilizations*.
  7. *Ibid.*, 333.
  8. Berry and Berry, 'Origins and Relationships'. See also P. de Barros, 'Changing Paradigms, Goals and Methods in the Archaeology of Francophone West Africa', in Robertshaw, *A History of African Archaeology*, 155–71; Holl, 'West African Archaeology: Colonialism and Nationalism', in Schmidt and Patterson, *Making Alternative Histories*, 296–308; Trigger, 'The History of African Archaeology in World Perspective', in his *History of Archaeological Thought*, 309–19.
  9. Yurco, 'Were the Ancient Egyptians Black or White?' Bard writes that 'the ancient Egyptians were a North African people distinct from sub-Saharan blacks. But to state categorically that ancient Egypt was either a black – or white – civilization is to promote a misconception with racist undertones that appeals to those who would like to widen rather than lessen the racial tensions that exist in modern society' (Bard, 'Ancient Egyptians and the Issue of Race').
  10. See Bohannon and Curtin, *Africa and Africans*, 35–57.
  11. Keita, 'The Geographical Origins and Population Relationship of Early Ancient Egyptians', in Celenko, *Egypt in Africa*, 23–4; Keita, 'Studies and Comments on Ancient Egyptians' Biological relationship'. See also Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 130–5.
  12. Diop, *The African Origin*, 43. And see his 'Origin of the Ancient Egyptians', in Mokhtar, *The General History of Africa: Ancient Civilizations of Africa*, Vol. II, 27–57.
  13. See Ch. I.
  14. W. Keith Crawford, 'The Racial Identity of Ancient Egyptian Population Based on the Analysis of Physical Remains', in Van Sertima, *Egypt – Child of Africa*, 55–74. See the different views expressed in the articles published in Celenko, *Egypt in Africa*.
  15. See Macgaffey, 'Concepts of Race in the Historiography of Northeast Africa'. He writes that 'It is generally agreed that from the beginning of the predynastic period the population of Lower Egypt was a general Mediterranean type specially similar to all subsegment populations of that area; and that at some point to the south this type gave a way to an African Negro type. Argument centers on the nature and location of the boundary, whether the Upper Egyptian population of different periods were substantially indigenous, and what were their relations with Nubia (*ibid.*, 104).
  16. Davis, *Who is Black?*
  17. See Gibel Azoulay, *Black, Jewish, and Interracial*.
  18. Almost 150 years before Tye's trip, on 7 December 1849, the renowned French

writer Gustave Flaubert recorded his impressions of Egypt: 'Now stretching before us is an immense plain, very green, with squares of black soil which are fields most recently plowed, the last from which the flood withdrew: they stand like India ink on the solid green. I think of the invocation to Isis: hail, hail, black soil of Egypt! The soil of Egypt is black' (in *Flaubert in Egypt*, 49; see also P. Jordan, *Egypt the Black Land*).

19. Vocalized in Coptic – *Keme*. A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 27, note 16. See Ch. 3.
20. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 49. In Hansberry's interpretation *Kemet* = the land of *Nehsyuw*, 'the land of the blacks' (Hansberry, *Africa & Africans*, 10–12). See also Diop in Mokhtar, *General History of Africa*, 41–4. See J. Levy, 'Language and Writing', in J. R. Harris, *Legacy of Egypt*, 240. In Heliodorus' *Ethiopian Romance*, the pythia pronounces: 'Tracing your step from the fertile Nile you flee the strong spindle of the Fates. Endure, for the *Dark Egypt's plain*. . . .' (Heliodorus, *ibid.*, 57).
21. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 51.
22. Diop, 'Origins of Ancient Egyptians', in Mokhtar, 41–3. According to Budge, the hieroglyphic word is read *kam*, the skin of a crocodile, and this sign was used to express anything of dark color. He also asserts that ' . . . all attempts to prove that the Egyptian is of Negro origin are overthrown at the outset by facts which cannot be countered' (Budge, *The Nile: Notes for Travellers in Egypt*, 32–3, 349).
23. He traveled in Egypt during the years 1783, 1784 and 1785. Translated from the French, Vol. I, repr. 1972. The French anthropologist George Curier maintained in 1817 that the Egyptian civilization had not been created by 'any race of blacks', but by men of 'the same race as ourselves', who had 'an equally large cranium and brain'. See Stocking, 'French Anthropology in 1800', in his *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 13–41.
24. Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt*, 73–81. This view was already rejected by Brown in his *Nouveau voyage dans la Haute et la Basse-Egypte . . . avec des notes critiques sur les ouvrages de Savary et de Volney*, trans. Castc'ra (Paris (VIII), 1800), 217. However, many travelers were also of the impression that the face of the Sphinx has black features. V. Denon, a French scholar who participated in Napoleon's expedition, described the Egyptians as people with ' . . . A broad and flat nose, very short, a large flattened mouth . . . thick lips, etc.' (Denon, *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, quoted in E. R. Sanders, 'The Hamitic Hypothesis', 525). A. W. Kinglake wrote in the popular book *Eothen* (1844) about the thick and heavy lips of the Sphinx, and that the Christian girls of Coptic blood were beautiful, fashioned according to some ancient mould of beauty, and would 'kiss you on your charitable hand with the big pouting lips of the very Sphinx' (quoted in Pick, *Egypt*, 144). In his *Immovable East* (1913), Baldensperger describes the 'pure-bred' Fellahin in Palestine as 'dark brown, black-haired', and the new Egyptian settlers, who settled in Palestine after 1831, as having 'semi-Ethiopian features – thicker, slightly flattened noses, and . . . of a much darker colour' (Baldensperger, 12, 201).
25. While Afrocentrism regards Volney as a non-racial observer, one may wonder whether his portrait of the Egyptian was not based on racial prejudice against the modern Egyptians.
26. Budge, *The Nile*, 34–5.
27. See Bowning, *Report on Egypt and Candia* (London, 1840).



28. See also Ch. 10.
29. See in Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 234, and Ch. 10.
30. See the Autobiography of Weni from Abydos, the VI Dynasty (2323–2152 BC), in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 19.
31. Emery, *Egypt in Nubia*, 202. And see Chapter 10.
32. According to R. Drenkhahn, blacks do not appear in Egyptian art before the New Kingdom. 'Neger', in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. W. Helck, E. Otto and W. Westendorf, Vol. IV, col. 3858, 385–8. See also Snowden, 'Bernal's "Blacks" and the Afrocentrism', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black African Revisited*, 124–5. According to H. Junker, up to 1600 BC, there is no evidence whatsoever of blacks in the vicinity of Egypt. Only after that period do we find for the first time numerous representations of 'genuine black people' in Egyptian wall-paintings. It was the great victories of the New Kingdom which brought Egypt, in 1500 BC, for the first time into direct contact with black people (Junker, 'The First Appearance of the Negroes in History').
33. Bard claims that '... the shading to skin tones in Egyptian tombs painting, which vary considerably, is not an acceptable criterion for distinguishing race, and specific symbols of ethnic identity can also vary' (Bard, 'Ancient Egyptians', 42).
34. Wilkinson, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, 26–7, 84, 112.
35. They are usually painted in lighter tones of yellow ochre-based paint. See Bard, 'Ancient Egyptians'.
36. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 177.
37. Yurco, 'Black Athena: An Egyptological Review', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 62–100.
38. Trigger, 'Nubian, Negro, Black, Nilotic?', in Horchfield and Riefsthal, *Africa in Antiquity*, Vol. I, 33. Winckelmann, the great German art historian, wrote that the Egyptian concept of beauty was perceived in their own racial features and image, which were black features (see in Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks*, 26). However, here again, the perception of the Egyptians as blacks was a result of contempt and of 'unbiased' artistic observation.
39. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 51.
40. Hallo and Simpson, *The Ancient Near East*, 273–4. Or: 'Their skins are distinct, /For you distinguished the peoples', in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. II, 98. Afrocentrists who portray Akhenaton as a 'black pharaoh' usually ignore this poem. See Dominic Montserrat, *Akhenaten*, 116–23.
41. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 51. The Egyptians considered themselves to be an indigenous people and therefore they alone were termed 'mem' (romet); and nations were Asiatic or black who were descended from the enemies of the gods (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 32). Thus, one may claim that it was the Egyptian who first used a 'nationalistic' concept based on a deep sense of national superiority.
42. Trigger, 'Nubian, Negro, Black, Nilotic?', in Horchfield and Reifstahl, *Africa in Antiquity*, 27.
43. Trigger, *ibid.*; Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 50–1.
44. See: Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization*; Hansberry, 'The Classical Sources', in his *Africa and Africans*, 67–147; Snowden, *Before Color Prejudice*, and *Blacks in Antiquity*.
45. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*; E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, 142. The African blacks are portrayed as having flat noses and curly hair.

46. See E. C. Evans, 'Physiognomics in the Ancient World', 11–15. The quotation is from the Arabic translation of this work published in Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage of Islam*, 43.
47. See in Burn, *Minoans*, 42–7. See also Shapiro, 'Old and New Heroes: Narrative, Composition and Subject in Attic Black Figurines.' 'In classical Greece fair and dark types existed apparently side by side . . .' (Ginsberg, *Sociology*, 88). Women were painted in Greek art, like in Egyptian art, as having fair skin, and men darker skin.
48. E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarians*, 139–43.
49. Bard, 'Ancient Egyptians', 41.
50. Manilius, *Astronomica*, 281. See in Snowden, 'Bernal's "Blacks"', 113.
51. On the 'Western' case see Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère*, 115–65; W. D. Jordan, *White over Black*, 242–52.
52. D. N. Levine, *Greater Ethiopia*, 13.
53. See in Snowden, *Before Color Prejudice*, and *Blacks in Antiquity*.
54. Professor of classics at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria.
55. Thompson, *Romans and Blacks*, 25.
56. Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization*, 1–9.
57. Thompson, *Romans and Blacks*, 57.
58. *Ibid.*, 58, note 6. Agatharchides of Canidus (second century BC) writes in his *On the Erythraean Sea*: 'But the Aithiopians will terrify the Greeks. How? By their blackness and the strangeness of their appearance' (I.16, trans. Burstein, 51). He portrays some Ethiopians as blacker than the others, who are 'extremely black' (V. 59c), *ibid.*, 101–2.
59. Snowden, 'Bernal's "Blacks"', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena*, 112–28.
60. Quoted Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought*, 17.
61. Herodotus tells about an expedition of a group of Nasamonians to the uninhabited southern part of Libya, where, after traveling for many days, they have reached a town inhabited by people who were 'all black' (II.32.7). By the reference to their black skin it is clear that Herodotus distinguishes between them and the Egyptians and the Ethiopians. On the other hand, see his story about the two black birds, representing the two Theban women who establish the oracles in Dodona and Ammon: their blackness signifies their being Egyptian women (II.57.3).
62. Herodotus, Vol. I, 167. He distinguishes sharply between the straight hair of the Asiatic Ethiopians and the woolly hair of the African Ethiopians. If, however, there were Nubian and 'African' mercenaries in Sesostri's army, it is they – not the 'pure-Egyptians', who might have left their mark on the population of Colchis.
63. 'Herodotus', writes Diop, 'was not a credulous historian who recorded everything without checking; he knew how to weigh things . . . Was Herodotus a historian deprived of logic, unable to penetrate complex phenomena? On the contrary . . .' (Diop, *The African Origin*, 2–3). Here Diop contradicts his own assertion that the Egyptians underwent physiognomic changes due to the Egyptian climate, and does not neglect to mention the many baseless facts about Egypt and Nubia in his account.

In his travel book, *Italianische Reise*, Goethe describes the Italians whom he met at the beginning of his trip to Italy, near Lake Garda, as 'sehr braun'. The English translation is 'very dark-skinned' (*Italian Journey*, 51). One might expect a description such as this of Italians from the south rather than from the north. In any

- event, if this were the only physical characterization we had, the outcome of a direct impression made on the spot, might we not have concluded that all the Italians are 'braun' or dark-skinned – just as many try to conclude from Herodotus' description of the Egyptians? It is clear, therefore, the 'north' and 'south' are relative terms, just as are 'light-skinned' and 'dark-skinned'.
64. Snowden, *Before Color Prejudice*, 56. And see also Thompson, *Romans and Blacks*, 96. Diodorus writes that Osiris is represented with a cloak of fawn-skin about his shoulders and that the appearance of one of the daughters of Cadmus was such as the Egyptians hold was that of Osiris (I.81.2; I.23.4).
  65. Aristotle notes that Herodotus is wrong when he states that 'the semen of Ethiopians is black, as though everything about a person with black skin is bound to be black' (*Generation of Animals*, 756b, 4–8). See in N. Thomson, *Herodotus and the Origins of Political Community*, 18.
  66. Hippocrates, *Writings*, 169.
  67. *Ibid.*, 168.
  68. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 121–3.
  69. Lucian, *Philopseudes sive Incredulos*, 34 (The Lovers of Lies, or the Doubter), Lucian, Vol. III, 373. See in Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 166. Ammianus Marcellinus writes: 'Now, the men of Egypt are, as a rule, somewhat swarthy and dark of complexion . . .' ('Homines autem Aegyptii preliques subfusculi sunt et atrati . . .', xxii, 16, 23, 309). In other words, they do not have a 'black complexion' but rather a 'dark complexion'.
  70. Diodorus, *Library of History*, Vol. II, 103–5.
  71. Thompson, *Romans and Blacks*, 57–85. He sums up that 'Blackness of complexion did not, in itself, suffice to warrant classification as *Aethiops*.'
  72. The first version was written in the third or second century BC. In the centuries that followed, it appeared in a variety of languages with many variations.
  73. Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance*, 136. Candaces (Kandakes) was the title of the mother queen of Meroe.
  74. *The Works of The Emperor Julian*, III, 357.
  75. Thompson, *Romans and Blacks*, 72.
  76. Goudriaan, *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*.
  77. Thompson, *Romans and Blacks*.
  78. *Ibid.*, 96.
  79. Snowden, 'Bernal's "Blacks"', in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena*, 115.
  80. See also Ch. 9.
  81. It should be noted that in the Amarna Letters (see W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore, MD, and New York, 1992) from the fourteenth century BC, the king of Jerusalem refers to the Egyptian soldiers in the Egyptian garrison as Nubian (*ameluti casi*, or people) from Nubia (Kush) as separate from the Egyptians (Letter 287).
  82. Hidal, 'The Land of Cush in the Old Testament'; Inge Hofman, 'Kuschiten in Palestina', 9–10.
  83. See Ch. 9.
  84. According to Hieronymus (in *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Libro Geneseos*, IX, 18) 'The Septuagint, who were unable to render into the Greek language the letter heth which has the sound of a double aspirate, often added the Greek letter chi to instruct us that we ought to make an aspiration in words of this sort. So in this

verse they translated Cham for what is actually Ham – from which the word “Egyptian” is pronounced as “Ham” in the language of the Egyptians up to the present day’ (trans. C. T. R. Hayward, *Saint Jerome’s Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, 38).

85. The reference should have been ‘the [or a] son of a [or the] Chusi’. See ‘Cush the Benjaminite’ (ben Jemini) in *Psalms* 7:1.
86. See also *Daniel* ‘... and the Libyan and the Ethiopian shall be at his steps’ (11:43). Egypt is also referred to as ‘the land of Ham’. See *Psalms* 106:21.
87. Reuveni, *Shem, Ham and Yephth*, 62–3; Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, 119–24; Sommerfeld, ‘The Kassites of Ancient Mesopotamia: Origins, Politics, and Culture’, in Sasson, *Civilizations*, II, 917–30.
88. Hansberry, *Africa and Africans*, 9, 13; see also Kelly, ‘Egyptian and Ethiopians: Color, Race and Racism’; McCray, *The Black Presence*, Vols I–II; Bennett, ‘Africa in the Biblical Period’.
89. Recently, Haak suggested that Cushim in the prophecy of *Zephaniah* 2.12 refers to the Chusite tribes in the southern borders of Judah, but this suggestion is unfounded. Haak, ‘“Cush” in Zephaniah’, in Holloway and Handy, *The Pitcher is Broken*, 238–51. See also W. R. Anderson, ‘Zephaniah Ben Cushi and Cush of Benjamin: Traces of Cushite Presence in Syria-Palestine’, in Holloway and Handy, *ibid.*, 45–70.
90. Abelard’s interpretation is that it is Moses’ Ethiopian wife who says ‘I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem’. This Ethiopian woman ‘also has an outward blackness in the flesh, and in so far as pertains to outward things appears less comely than other women; whereas she is not unlike them inwardly, but in many things is more comely and more white . . . And she is black also in outward things because, while she is still an exile in this pilgrimage . . .’ (Scott-Moncrieff, *The Letters of Abelard*, 88–9).
91. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, in Sthälin edn, 168–9.
92. The text is extant only in fragments cited by Eusebius, Clement of Alexandria and Pseudo-Eustathius. See the new translation and introduction by R. G. Robertson, in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, II, 803–919.
93. On these stories see Rajak, ‘Moses in Ethiopia’; Shinan, ‘Moses and the Ethiopian Woman’.
94. Diop, *The African Origin*, 246.
95. See also R. A. Bennett, ‘Africa in the Biblical Period’.
96. J. K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusaders*, 298–306. See also Ch. 10.
97. His reliability is perhaps best illustrated by his remark that Albania is so named because its people are whiter than the inhabitants of the surrounding lands.
98. Sir John Mandeville, 65–4: ‘They say that if they were to paint an angel and a devil, they would paint the angel black and the devil white. And if they do not seem black enough when they are born, they use certain medicines to make them black . . .’
99. *Ibid.*, 117.
100. Ibn Kahldûn, *The Muqaddimah*, 169. No wonder he is regarded by the Afrocentrists as a ‘racist’.
101. *Ibid.*, 171.

102. He also describes the blacks of the first zone as dwelling in caves and thickets, eating herbs, living in isolation (ibid., 168). For Ibn Battuta's description see Hamdun and King, *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*.
103. Maimonides, *Guide*, III, 29, 315–16.
104. al 'Andalusī, *Categories of Nations*, 7.
105. In Arabic the name of the land between the great desert and the quite densely populated grassland belt of West Africa, *bilad al-sudan*, means 'the land of black people'. See Hamdun and King, *Ibn Battuta*, xxv.
106. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 90–4.
107. A. Thomson, *Barbary and Enlightenment*, 63–9. The Europeans also had first-hand knowledge of the Ethiopians. At the end of the fifteenth century, there were small communities of Ethiopians, founded in the previous century, in Cyprus, Venice, Rome, and perhaps also in Florence. See Arbel, 'Renaissance Geographical Literature and the Nile', in Erlich and Gershoni, *The Nile*, 109.
108. See the recent summary of Monges, *Kush*, 19–52.
109. Maspero, *History of Egypt*, I, 75.
110. G. E. Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*. See also Seligman, *Races of Africa*; Reynolds-Marniche, 'The Myth of the Mediterranean Race', in Van Sertima, *Egypt – Child of Africa*, 112–13; and E. R. Sanders, 'The Hamitic Hypothesis'. Often this theory was intended to distinguish between the ancient Egyptians and the blacks, claiming the Hamites were Caucasoid, far removed from the blacks. Ripley, in his *Races of Europe* (1889) claimed that the 'Mediterranean race' was descended from the African blacks. On the reception of the Hamitic theory in modern Egyptian thought, see Gershoni, 'Geographers and Nationalism in Egypt', in Erlich and Gershoni, *The Nile*, 206–8.
111. Hoffman, *Egypt before the Pharaohs*, 258.
112. Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 63. See also Macgaffey, 'Concepts of Race in the Historiography of Northeast Africa', 103–7, and Sanders, 'The Hamitic Hypothesis'.
113. Sanders, ibid., 200.
114. Ibid., 73.
115. Ibid., 78.
116. See also Giuseppe Sergi (1841–1936), *The Mediterranean Race*. According to Sergi, the 'Mediterranean race' is one of the three variations that emerged from the 'African race', in accordance with differing telluric and geographic conditions. There is no difference in race between the historical Egyptians and the men who preceded them, the so-called 'proto-Egyptians'; both belong to Mediterranean stock and are of African origin (ibid., 112–13).
117. Musa, *Hadarat*, 77–86. See also Ahmed Batrawi, 'The Racial History of Egypt and Nubia', and E. Trout Powell, 'Brothers along the Nile: Race and Ethnicity, 1895–1910', in Erlich and Gershoni, *The Nile*, 171–81.
118. Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I, 302–3.
119. Ibid., 25–6.
120. Ibid., 160.
121. Lissner, *The Living Past*, 73.
122. Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, 27.
123. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 32.
124. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, xx.

125. See Brace, 'Clines and Clusters versus "Race": a Test in Ancient Egypt and the Case of a Death on the Nile'; Yurco, 'Were the Ancient Egyptians Black or White?'; Young, 'Was Nefertiti Black?'; Kelly, 'Egyptians and Ethiopians: Color, Race, and Racism'; Ortiz de Montellano, 'Multicultural Pseudoscience'.
126. Du Bois, 'Egypt', in his *The World and Africa*, 98–114. His sources are Seligmann's *Races of Africa*, and Arthur Thompson and David Randall-MacIver, *Ancient Races in the Thebaid* (London, 1905). However, Du Bois acknowledges that, according to his sources, only 24 per cent of the males in Egypt from the pre-Dynastic period to the V Dynasty could be classified as blacks, while in later centuries the rate declined to 15 per cent. Thus, he concludes, 'The inhabitants of Egypt were henceforth a Negroid people in which Semitic, Nilotic and Sudanese-Negro elements were fused' (Du Bois, 'Egypt', in *World and Africa*, 108). See also R. A. Bennett, 'Africa in the Biblical Period', 12–15; Hilliard, 'Bringing Maat, Restoring Isfet', in Van Sertima, *Egypt – Child of Africa*, 127–47; Obenga, *Ancient Egypt and Black Africa*.
127. Cameron, *The Education of the Negro*, Vol. II, 2.
128. M. Bradley, *The Iceman Inheritance*, 160.
129. Diop, *The African Origins*, 85–178.
130. Diop, 'Origins of the Ancient Egyptians', in Mokhtar, *General History of Africa*, 26–75.
131. See, for example, Crawford, 'The Racial Identity of Ancient Egyptian Populations', in Van Sertima, *Egypt – Child of Africa*, 54–74. See also Obenga, *Ancient Egypt and Black Africa*; Hilliard, 'Bringing Maat, Restoring Isfet', in Van Sertima, *Egypt – Child of Africa*, 127–47.
132. Van Sertima, *Egypt Revisited*, 111; Du Bois, 'Egypt', in *World and Africa*, 102–3. In Brazil, the black and mulattos describe themselves in various ways – 'moreno', brown; 'moreno claro', light brown; 'acastanhado', chestnut-colored. In the Brazilian case, distinction was also made between different African slave groups (Degler, *Neither Black Nor White*; Lesser, 'Neither Slave Nor Free, Neither Black Nor White', and Triner, 'Race without Color? Reconciling Brazilian Historiography').
133. Diop, *The African Origins*, 249.
134. *Ibid.*, 250.
135. The Muslim civilization, for example, consists of people who belong to different 'races' but who share the same religious values.

#### 9: THE CURSE OF CANAAN AND THE BLACK PRESENCE IN THE BIBLE

1. In Hermalian and Hatch, *The Roots of African Drama*, 186–203.
2. W. M. Evans, 'From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the "Sons of Ham"'. It interesting to note at this point that the *Kirbe Negest*, the Ethiopian national epic, a composite work which was completed early in the fourteenth century, entails the story of the curse placed on Ham and his descendants. As a result the Tigerans 'had to deny that they were the Hamites of the Old Testament', and they portray their elite as 'having been descended from Solomon and David' (D. N. Levine, *Greater Ethiopia*, 92–112). The Ethiopian Jews (*Beta Israel*), themselves, who were considered by the Tigerans as 'Hamites', and

therefore as slaves, regard Christian Ethiopians as slaves in their households and were converted to Judaism as (*baria*), i.e. as black-skinned (in contrast to their own 'red' skin). The main legitimization for this status was the biblical curse placed on Ham.

3. Wimbush, 'Biblical Historical Study as Liberation'.
4. See Vogt, *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man*, and also Westermann, *The Slave System of Greek and Roman Antiquity*.
5. See Aron, 'Early Rabbinic Exegesis on Noah's Son Ham and the so-called "Hamitic Myth"', and recently Goldenberg, 'The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?' My reading of the texts, however, differs from their interpretation. While I read the final draft, Werner Sollors published a detailed and illuminating study of the history of the 'curse': 'The Curse of Ham, or, From "Generation" to "Race"'. His thesis is that the concept of race had perhaps developed out of the biblical 'generation' and genealogical tables to become the 'history' of permanent racial difference. '... As the importance of theology began to wane, genealogical interest shifted from the attempt to locate the origins of human diversity in Scripture to the search for scientific definitions of racial identity', Sollors, *Neither Black nor White, yet Both*, 78–11.
6. Nor kaptor.
7. Shinan, 'Moses and the Ethiopian Woman'; Rajak, 'Moses in Ethiopia'; Runnalls, "'Moses" Ethiopian Campaign'.
8. See in Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, I, 167–70.
9. Redford, *Egypt*, 400–8.
10. Naaman, 'Pastoral Nomads in the Southwestern Periphery of the Kingdom of Judah', 264–5.
11. W. M. Evans, 'From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea'. On the Sages' attitude to slavery see Urbach, 'Halakhot Regarding Slavery as a Source.'
12. Copher, 'Blacks and Jews in Historical Interaction in the Bible', in Van Sertima and Rashidi, *African Presence in Early Asia*, 178–86. The Hamitic Hypothesis aimed to disconnect the blacks and the Hamites, and their Egyptian branch, who were often described as Caucasians. See E. R. Sanders, 'The Hamitic Hypothesis.'
13. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, 102–5. In Bassett's odd interpretation Ham's sin was that he had sexual intercourse with his father's wife. Bassett, 'Noah's Nakedness and the Curse of Canaan: a Case of Incest?'
14. See Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, V, 167–70.
15. Rajak, 'Moses in Ethiopia'; Shinan, 'Moses and the Ethiopian Woman'.
16. *Pentateuch with Targum Unkolos . . . and Rashi's Commentary*, trans. and annotated by M. Rosenblum and A. M. Silberman, 50.
17. Luzzatto, *Commentary on Numbers*, 12: 1–23 (457–8). According to him, Moses married the Kushite woman after the death of Zipporah. She was one of the Kushites that joined the Children of Israel when they went up from Egypt 'and it is known that Egypt is close to Kush, and perhaps there were Kushites living in Egypt, who saw what God has done for the Jews and joined them'. He also adds that since Moses was a humble man, he preferred to marry a foreign woman, so he would not have sons who in future might claim a right to power by virtue of their father . . .
18. Leaving aside the allegorical message of this story, it shows that at least some Jews in Babylon had black servants or slaves in their households, and that blackness was

already perceived as a mark of inferiority and baseness. Jews were also aware of the presence of blacks in the late Roman army: 'and what is more, this evil kingdom recruits from each and every nation . . . one Kushi comes and enslaves . . .'. *Pesiktah de Rabbi Kahana*, 45 (trans. Y. Mendelbaum, Vol. A, 89–90).

19. *Pesiktah*, 57–8.
20. *Ibid.*, 249. It seems that here the rabbis refer to 'Negroes' and not to 'Ethiopians'.
21. J. Harris characterized the rabbinical legends as embodying 'a most decisive derogatory racial tradition' (Harris, *Africans and Their History*, 14–15). I am grateful to Professor A. Melamed of Haifa University for letting me read his yet unpublished manuscript of his study on the subject. I also would like to thank him for having referred me to J. Schorsch's MA thesis 'The Black Mirror'. In this work I found several references to post-biblical literature I had previously been unaware of. His work reinforces the view that post-biblical Jewish literature regarded the Kushites as different from other humans in skin color as well as in character. He also asserts that there are various references to 'Kushites' in the Jewish sources, some of which are a product of the attitude towards the real-life black person, while others are the product of exegetical writing.
22. Compare with Ovid: 'Who has not heard of the ill-famed waves of Salamis and the Aethiopian lakes? Whoever drinks of these waters either goes raving mad or falls into a strange, deep lethargy' (*Metamorphoses*, Book xv, 319–25, 387).
23. D. M. Goldenberg, 'A Case of Rabbinic Racism?', in J. Zalzman and C. West, *Struggle in the Promised Land*, 26, and *idem*, 'Rabbinic Knowledge of Black Africa' (in his view, *Sifre Deuteronomy* 320 refers to the Blemmyes and the Nubae).
24. See in Isaac, 'Biblical and Rabbinic understanding of the Curse of Noah', and Melamed's study mentioned in note 21 above.
25. In Israeli society, ultra-orthodox Jews are described as 'black' because of the color of their clothing, but the description also denotes a negative attitude towards this community. In a similar fashion, Oriental Jews are described as 'black'; again, the physiogenetic characterization also implies a negative attitude.
26. Graves and Patai, *Hebrew Myths*, 121.
27. Dan, *Sefer Hayashar*, 293–6.
28. B. Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, 13–36.
29. Canaanite became synonymous with merchant.
30. Graetz, cited in Michael, *Jewish Historiography*, 54. See also in J. H. Hertz, the chief rabbi of England, *Commentary to Genesis* 9:25 (London, 1911, 35) that the sublime conception of the unity of the human race logically follows from the belief in the unity of mankind and that polytheism could never develop the idea of humanity. Yet he does not mention the curse. On the Jewish-American attitude see the yet unpublished article by Sholomit Yahalom, 'The Racial Aspect of Slavery'. Some Jewish-American rabbis and writers defend slavery and perceived the blacks as debased and inferior in a hopeless barbarity and heathenism, arguing that the African slave trade was a direct continuation of the Noachian curse; dark skin and enslavement sealed the fate of the Africans forever.
31. Thompson, *Romans and Blacks*, 121, 132–5.
32. W. M. Evans, 'From the Land of Canaan', 25.
33. St Augustine, *City of God*, 650.
34. *Ibid.*, 651–2. But he also refers to Nimrod, the giant son of Kush, son of Ham, the founder of Babylon (*ibid.*, Ch. 3).



35. See in S. Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks*, 13–17.
36. D. C. Allen, *The Legend of Noah*, 196. From B. Braude's article 'The Sons of Noah', I learned that in medieval geographical-ethnographical literature the identification of the continent of Africa with the 'black race' or Ham as the father of the 'black race' was not the dominant identification. Sometimes Ham was even depicted as 'white' (it is possible that this is due to his identification with Christian Ethiopia, part of whose population is Semitic in origin). The identification of sub-Saharan Africa with Ham and the 'black race' took hold after the Portuguese arrival in West Africa and the beginning of the European slave trade from that region. At that time, 'blacks' were identified with slaves, and the curse of Ham was used as legitimization for slavery. See also H. Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, 23–4, and P. Mark, *Africans in European Eyes*.
37. On the Muslim attitude see in B. Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East*, 31–6. See also his *Race and Color in Islam*.
38. D. B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 539–41. On the nexus of madness and blackness see S. Gilman, *Blackness without Blacks*, 1–18.
39. Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, 540. Abbé Grégoire, for example, denied that God had automatically excluded the black race from humanity due to 'Ham's curse'. See Necheles, *The Abbé Grégoire*, 11.
40. Vogt, *Ancient Slavery*, 196–204.
41. Gilman, *The Jew's Body*, 174–5.
42. Grégoire, *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs*, Ch. VII.
43. Quoted in Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany*, 280–9.
44. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*; Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany*, 279. On the German attitude towards blacks see in Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks*.
45. See Popkin, 'Medicine, Racism, anti-Semitism'. Vogt writes that 'It was scholastic thinkers who discussed the moral problem posed by colonial conquest, when the Portuguese began to import Negroes from the coasts of West Africa, and the Spaniards began to subjugate and enslave the Indians' (Vogt, *Ancient Slavery*, 197).
46. A. Thomson, *Barbary and Enlightenment*, 64–9.
47. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère*.
48. Pieterse, *White on Black*, 44.
49. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère* 137. See also A. Thomson, *Barbary and Enlightenment*.
50. See discussion of the 'cure' in W. D. Jordan, *White over Black*.
51. Merchavia, *The Church versus Talmudic and Midrashic Literature*, 219.
52. See Sollors, 'The Curse of Ham', in his *Neither Black nor White*, 92–6.
53. Azaria de Rossi, *Sefer Me'or Eiynayim*, ed. Bonfil, 52–5.
54. W. D. Jordan, *White over Black*, 41. See Braude's critique on W. D. Jordan, in *The Sons of Noah*, 129–31.
55. Published in revised form in 1862.
56. Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, 107.
57. *Ibid.*, 108.
58. L. R. Thomas, *Biblical Faith*, 11–17, 50.
59. H. M. Morris, *The Genesis Records*, 236–55. See also R. Merrill, *The Curse of Canaan Resolved*; D. E. Edwards, *Chosen, Not Cursed*; O. Edwards, 'Are Black People Cursed by God?'
60. Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, 109.

61. Ben-Jochannan, 'Root of Biblical Anti-Negroism', in his *Africa – Mother of Western Civilization*, 598–627.
62. See also Drake, *Black Folk Here and There*, 22–3; Washington, *Anti-Blackness in English Religion*, 10; Felder, *Troubling Biblical Waters*, 38.
63. Dunston, *The Black Man in the Old Testament*, 18–19.
64. Cleage, *The Black Messiah*, 14.
65. Andrews, *Bible Legacy of the Black Race*.
66. One example is Ben-Jochannan in his bizarre book, *We The Black Jews*.

#### 10: THE 'NOBLE ETHIOPIAN': SYMBOL AND REALITY

1. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, 495.
2. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, 45.
3. Steindorff and Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, 60. In Lichtheim's translation: 'I fettered Nubian bowmen by the thousand thousands' (*Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II, 35).
4. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 387–93. And see Eide *et al.*, *Fontes* Vol. I, 47–120.
5. A short outline of Nubian history, see Peter Lacovara, 'An Outline of Nubian History', in Celenko, *Egypt in Africa*, 92–7; and W. Y. Adams, 'The Kingdom and Civilization of Kush in Northeast Africa', in Sasson, *Civilizations*, Vol. II, 689–775.
6. See Ch. 11.
7. The kingdom of Kush was known in the Roman period as the Kingdom of Meroë.
8. 'The history of the kingdom of Kush can be divided into two great periods: the Napata (until 295 BC) and the Meroitic (until about 350 AD). See: Hintze and Hintze, *Civilizations of Old Sudan*, 19.
9. Hansberry, *African History Notebook*, II, 5–15; Monges, *Kush*.
10. Drake, *The Redemption of Africa*, 9–11. In his 'Ballad of Ethiopia', Langston Hughes praises the land 'Where the mighty Nile's' Great headwater rise | And the black man's flag In bright freedom lies'. Gates writes: 'Nubia has come to stand for all that has been lost, or stolen, from the historical record of black African contribution to civilization' (Gates, *Wonders of the African World*, 29).
11. Moscs, *The Golden Age*, 156–69. Also see Weisbord, *Ebony Kinship*, 89–144.
12. Monges, *Kush*.
13. G. W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race*, 22. However, this African-American alliance, which was followed by African-American efforts to raise active support, turned out to be a futile illusion since the Ethiopians were reluctant to be identified with 'Negroes'. See Weisbord, *Ebony Kinship*, 89–114.
14. Budge, *A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia*, I, vii–xii.
15. See Ch. 12.
16. Newman, *The Peopling of Africa*, 90–1.
17. Levine, *Greater Ethiopia*, 1–7. He writes that 'It was probably in the fourth or fifth century that Hebraic and Hellenic allusions to Ethiopia began to be associated with the region now called Ethiopia, whose chief political center was at Aksum.' The royal court at Aksum was converted to Christianity by the middle of the fourth century.
18. B. Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, 50–3.
19. D. N. Edwards, 'Archaeology and Settlement in Upper Nubia', 3.

20. The name Kush first appears in Egyptian texts of the XI Dynasty, around 2000 BC referring then to a localized area in northern Nubia, along the middle course of the Blue and White Niles and the First Cataract (W. Y. Adams, 'The Kingdom and Civilization of Kush in Northeast Africa', in Sasson, *Civilizations*, ii, 775–89; and W. Y. Adams, 'The Coming of Nubian Speakers to the Nile Valley', in Ehret and Posnansky, *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*, 18). See also Edwards, 'Archaeology and Settlement in Upper Nubia', 3. According to *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 'from Herodotus onward Ethiopia designated especially the lands south of Egypt – Nubia, Sennaar, Kordofan, and north Abyssinia' (340).
21. According to A. H. Gardiner, the geographical name Kush, designated in the New Kingdom 'an administrative province distinct from Wawae and lying to the south of the Second Cataract, while in the Old Testament it corresponds vaguely to Ethiopia' (A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 133).
22. Geiser, *The Egyptian Nubians*, 17. He also argues that most of the population of Napata were of Egyptian origin, but their linkage with Egypt was broken over the years, and the infiltration of people from Libya, Arabia and peoples from black Africa reduced the ethnic homogeneity of the Sudanese population so that it eventually resembled the black tribes of central Africa (Geiser, *ibid.*, 18). According to Adams, the native inhabitants were peoples of African origin and language. Adams, 'The Kingdom and Civilization', in Sasson, *Civilization*, 775.
23. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 56–62; Emery, *Egypt in Nubia*, 17; Burstein, *Ancient African Civilizations*, 3–28. W. Y. Adams writes that we are obliged to think of 'Nubia' as an area having fluctuating boundaries (W. Y. Adams, 'The Coming of Nubian Speakers', 13). The autobiography of Weni (VI Dynasty) distinguishes between different peoples who dwelt on both sides of the Nile (Irtej-Nubian, Yam-Nubian, etc.). (see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 19). Nomadic Nubians east of Lower and Upper Nubia were also called the 'Medjayan'. See also Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 133.
24. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 34; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, 331–44.
25. Redford, *Egypt*, 337; W. Y. Adams, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa*; Emery, *Egypt in Nubia*.
26. Fischer, 'The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period'.
27. Redford, *Egypt*, 207; Taylor, *Egypt in Nubia*, 7; O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia*, 43. During the Second Intermediate Period, Nubian mercenaries had their own settlements in Egypt.
28. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 135.
29. On the Nubian campaign of king Ahmose (1550–25), see in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. II, 31–4.
30. S. T. Smith, *Askut in Nubia*, 184–8.
31. D. N. Edwards, 'Archaeology and Settlement in Upper Nubia', 1.
32. See in Eide *et al.*, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, ii. We know the names of seven writers of *Aithiopika* (works about Kush). Burstein, *Ancient African Civilizations*, 73. He writes: 'Greeks of all sorts – diplomats, intellectuals, artisans, and most important. Ptolemaic elephant hunters – travelled freely throughout Meroitic territory' (Burstein, *Ancient African Civilizations*, 37).
33. Levine, *Greater Ethiopia*, 1 (and see pp. 3–9). See also J. Oliver Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography*, 24; Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization*, 1–9.

34. Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, I, 123. See also Hansberry's view in 'Ancient Designations for Ethiopia', in *Africa and Africans*, 5–15; Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*; L. A. Thompson, 'Eastern Africa and the Graeco-Roman World', in Thompson and J. Ferguson (eds), *Africa in Classical Antiquity* (Ibadan, 1969), 26–61; Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa*, 71–104.
35. Dieles-Krauz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, quoted in Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind*, 17. See also Levine *Greater Ethiopia*, 1–3.
36. Ben-Jochannan, *Africa – Mother of Western Civilization*, 156–7.
37. According to the story, Moses taught the Cushites to circumcise their sons. See Colins translation in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, II, 897–903.
38. Josephus relates that the 'Cushites' repelled an Egyptian attack on their land and overran Egypt. The Egyptians, in severe distress, were counseled by God to take a Hebrew for an ally. Pharaoh duly summoned Moses and appointed him commander of his army. Moses then proceeded to Kush, to the delight of the Egyptian astrologers, who wanted to be rid of him. Going overland, rather than by the Nile, he took the Nubians by surprise. The Cushites were driven back to their capital, Sheba, later called Meroë, and Moses laid siege to the city. The daughter of the Cushite king (named Tarbitz, according to Artapanus) understood that Moses had achieved an Egyptian victory and offered to marry him. Moses accepted on condition that the city surrender, married the Cushite princess and returned with his victorious army to Egypt. Envy among the Egyptians forced him to flee to Midyan.
39. Diodorus, *The Library of History*, Vol. II, 93–5.
40. Maspero, *History of Egypt*, II, 221–2. For a modern perception see, for example. Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, 335. And see Burstein, *Ancient African Civilizations*, 11–14.
41. Asante, 'Early African Cultures: An Afrocentric Perspective', in Celenko, *Egypt in Africa*, 33.
42. B. B. Williams, 'The Qustul Incense Bruner and the Case for a Nubian Origin of Ancient Egyptian Kingship', in Celenko, *Egypt in Africa*, 95–7.
43. Ehret, 'Ancient Egyptian as an African Language, Egypt as an African Culture', in Celenko, *ibid.*, 25–7.
44. O'Connor, 'Ancient Egypt and Black Africa', 4.
45. See Murdock, *Africa: Its People and their Cultural History*; Wegner, 'Interaction between the Nubian A-Group and Predynastic Egypt: The Significance of the Qustul Incense Burner', in Celenko, *Egypt in Africa*, 98.
46. Yurco, 'The Origin and Development of Ancient Nile Valley Writings', in Celenko, *Egypt in Africa*, 34. W. Y. Adams writes that 'it was not until they (the Nubians) passed under direct Egyptian colonial rule, between about 1500 and 1000 BC, that the art of writing became known to the people of the middle Nile . . . The Meroitic alphabetic characters are recognizably derived from the Demotic script of contemporary Egypt' (W. Y. Adams, 'The Coming of Nubian Speakers', 15–16).
47. O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia – Egypt Rival*, 56–7. O'Connor writes that Egyptian sources stress the internal developmental strength of the Kushite state. For the conquest of Egypt by it in 750 BC and the cohesion and organization of it (O'Connor, 'Egyptology & Archaeology: An African Perspective', in Robertshaw, *A History of African Archaeology*, 250–1).
48. O'Connor, 'Ancient Egypt', 9.
49. 'In their own capital, Ethiopian kings spent enormous sums of money restoring and

enlarging New Kingdom temples and building sacred edifices in purely Egyptian style dedicated to Amon . . . They adhered to the basic structure of the Egyptian pantheon as much as they adhered to the individual figures which it comprised' (Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 242).

50. Davidson, *The African Genius*, 47. During the Meroitic renaissance, writes Davidson, Kush became a distinctively non-Egyptian system and culture. It developed its own alphabet and cursive script, extended its international trade and built a large iron industry (Davidson, *The Search for Africa*, 71).

## II: EGYPT, AFRICA AND THE NILE VALLEY AS AN AFROCENTRIC DILEMMA

1. Trans. Wilson, in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 372. See the translation in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 205–10 ('Hail to you, Hapy: / Sprung from earth / Come to nourish Egypt! . . .'). See also the 'Hymn to the Nile' ('Nilhymnus') in Helck, *Kleine Ägyptische Texte: Der Text des 'Nilhymnus'*, 11.
2. See in Levine, 'Bernal and the Athenians', 20. See Ann Macy Roth's comparison between the Egypto-mystic and the Afrocentric perception and usage of ancient Egypt; Ann Macy Roth, 'Ancient Egypt in America: Claiming the Riches', in Lynn Meskell (ed.), *Archaeology Under Fire*, 217–29.
3. Many scholars, however, emphasize the impact of internal factors on the developments of African societies in central Africa. See also the different and contradicting views expressed in the articles in Celenko, *Egypt in Africa*. And see Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 138–55.
4. See, as one example, the statement by Asante: 'The Egyptians retained their essential African outlook in terms of myths, symbolism, and ethos throughout the history of the country' (Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*, 52).
5. Afrocentrist historiography, of course, can always claim that tropical Africa was outside the scope of the geographical lore of classical antiquity.
6. See a more detailed review of this perception in Shavit, 'Down the River or Up the River', in Erlich and Gershoni, *The Nile*. Also see Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 122–55.
7. Volney, *Travels Through Syria and Egypt*, I, 18–34. This view became the conventional wisdom. Hegel, for example, wrote that the Nile Valley was adapted to become a mighty center of independent civilization and therefore is as isolated and singular as Africa itself appears in relation to other parts of the world (Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, 207–10). At the same time, however, he accepted Diodorus' view that the Egyptians received their culture from Nubia (Meroë).
8. Diodorus, I, 43–5. Also see Plato's *Timaeus* (D.111–12).
9. Also see Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, trans. W. D. Rouse, VI, 712; Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, trans. F. J. Miller, (1.422–4) and Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, trans. F. H. Colson (1, 5–6).
10. Moret writes that ' . . . nature has created Mediterranean Egypt and African Egypt . . . ' (Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, 26).
11. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 153.
12. See, for example, Breasted, *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, 9–10; Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*.

13. See also Noguera, *How African was Egypt?*
14. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 204, 115–18.
15. See Budge, *The Nile*, 45–9, and Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, 96–141.
16. 'The six cataracts upstream from Aswan prevented navigation, and the Nile seemed to lose itself inextricably in the marshes of the Sudanese lowland at a latitude of some 8° N, making it impossible to track the river to its sources' (Hugon, *The Exploration of Africa*, 42). J. A. Alexander also asserts that the Nile was not a corridor but a cul-de-sac (Alexander, 'The Saharan Divide in the Nile Valley'). See also Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 146–7.
17. As a result, the Middle Nile was actually a backwater, even though light boats (made of papyrus), used for fishing and transporting goods, could be easily carried from one place to another over land, thus bypassing the cataracts.
18. Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. II, 119–32. Butzer writes that 'the Nile itself was characterized by more vigorous summer flood with the competence to carry massive loads of gravel from Nubia to Cairo . . .' (Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*, 13).
19. See the autobiography of Weni in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. I, 21. On Egypt's relationship with Nubia until the Assyrian conquest, see Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 37–113.
20. Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, 100–1.
21. According to Ibn Khaldûn, '. . . Boats cannot get through. Cargoes from the Sudanese boats are taken off and carried on pack animals to Assuan at the entrance to Upper Egypt. In the same way, the cargoes of the boats from the cataracts to Assuan is a 12-day journey (Ibn Khaldûn, *The Muqaddimah*, I, 121).
22. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 171.
23. O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia*, 12.
24. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, 11.
25. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*, 33.
26. J. H. Clarke, 'Cheikh Anta Diop and the New Concept of African History', in Van Sertima, *Great African Thinkers*, 115–16.
27. Many scholars believe that this development was due to diffusion from the East. See Newman, *The Peopling of Africa*, 42.
28. Blench, 'Connections between Egypt and sub-Saharan Africa: The Evidence of Cultivated Plants', in W. V. Davies, *Egypt and Africa*, 54–6.
29. O'Connor, 'Ancient Egypt', 2.
30. Steindorff and Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, 97.
31. Hansberry, *African History Notebook*, 39.
32. O'Connor, 'Ancient Egypt'.
33. The camel was first introduced in the Eastern Horn of Africa. The camel arrived in Egypt in the Roman times. See Richard Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (New York, 1990).
34. Davidson, *African Civilization Revisited*, 13.
35. According to Murdock, Egypt, Nubia and Sudan shared a common culture during the Stone Age until c.3000 BC. Agricultural advances in the Lower Nile Valley brought about a cultural spurt which separated them and formed the basis for the early dynastic age (Murdock, *Africa: Its Peoples and their Cultural History*).
36. See notes 37, 39 below.

37. In one famous example, Gordon Childe claimed that Egypt advanced as a result of a migration of large numbers of people into the river valley oasis during the last Ice Age who settled in the Nile Valley and did not migrate to the south, resulting in Africa's isolation. The early Egyptians came as conquerors from outside Africa (Asia), and advanced through Lower Egypt southwards (Trigger, 'Egypt and Early Civilizations', in Weeks, *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*, 26). This was the 'conventional wisdom' among many scholars. The logical conclusion of the identification of the ancient Egyptians as non-Africans in origin was that every cultural evolution southward to Egypt was a result of diffusion or transmission from the Nile Valley. See in Holl, 'West Africa: Colonialism and Nationalism', in Robertshaw, *History of African Archaeology*, 229–301.
38. Philip de Barros, 'Changing Paradigms, Goals and Methods in the Archaeology of Francophone West Africa', in Robertshaw, *History of African Archaeology*, 150–72. For a hyper-diffusionist approach see Gerhard Kraus, *Human Development from an African Ancestry*, i–ii. Also see Van Binsbergen, 'Rethinking Africa's contribution to global cultural history', in *Talanta*, 219–51 (esp. note 60). While he argues that African cultural inputs continued to filter into ancient Egyptian culture, it was probably less far-reaching than claimed in Afrocentrist discourse. See Seligman and Seligman, *The Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*; see also G. A. Wainwright, 'Pharaonic Survivals, Lake Chad to the West Coast'.
39. G. E. Smith, *Migration of Early Culture*. See Ch. 5.
40. Diop, 'Origins of the Ancient Egyptians', in Mokhtar (ed.), *General History of Africa*, II, 27–57. See also in Van Sertima, *Egypt Revisited*, 9–37.
41. Diop, 'Africa: Cradle of Humanity', in Van Sertima, *Nile Valley Civilization*, 21. A more reasonable argument is that the Egyptian population underwent changes as a result of non-African migration.
42. Keita, 'The Geographical Origins and Population Relationship of Early Ancient Egyptians', 24 and 'Studies and Comments on ancient Egyptian biological relationship', in Celenko, *Egypt in Africa*.
43. Yurco, 'Were the Ancient Egyptians Black or White?'
44. See the summary in Finch, 'Nile Genesis: Continuity of Culture from the Great Lakes to the Delta', in Van Sertima, *Egypt – Child of Africa*, 35–54.
45. Du Bois, 'Egypt', in his *The World and Africa*, 100.
46. See in Ehret, 'Ancient Egyptian as an African Language, Egypt as an African Culture', in Celenko, *Egypt in Africa*, 25–7.
47. Diop, *The African Origins of Civilization*, 85–98.
48. *Ibid.*, 179–201.
49. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 3.
50. Diop, *African Origins*, 254.
51. Diop, *Precolonial Black Africa*, 213; and *African Origins*, 134–78.
52. See in Holl, 'African History: Past, Present, and Future', in Schmidt and Patterson, *Making Alternative Histories*, 200–4; Diop, *Precolonial Black Africa*, 212–34. This, ironically, adopts the Eurocentric view that the African people were able only to adapt to environment and not to change it. Also see Andah, 'European Encumbrances to the Development of Relevant Theory in African Archaeology', in Ucko, *Theory in Archaeology*, 96–109.
53. Hilliard, 'The Meaning of KMT', 13.
54. Bohannan and Curtin, *Africa and Africans*, 214–16. Afrocentrists often claim that

- metallurgy was discovered first in Africa, basing this idea on 'scientific news' such as an article from 6 February 1970, in the *New York Times*, announcing that South African archaeologists discovered an iron mine in Swaziland which reveals that iron smelting dates back at least 43,000 years in Africa. Debra Shore is convinced that 'as long as 2,000 years ago, Africans living on the western shores of Lake Victoria had produced carbon steel in preheated forced-draft furnaces, a method that was technologically more sophisticated than any developed in Europe until the mid-nineteenth century' ('Steel-Making in Ancient Africa', in Van Sertima, *Blacks in Science*, 157). In accordance with his 'up the river' theory, Diop's view is that iron was an Egyptian invention more than 1,000 years before the appearance of the Hittites, and diffused from Egypt to the rest of Africa ('Iron in the Ancient Egyptian Empire', in Van Sertima, *Great African Thinkers*, 64–73). There is a large amount of literature on the question, did iron technology diffuse, and on the origins of iron technology in West Africa. See Newman, *The Peopling of Africa*, 104–57; van der Merwe, 'The Advent of Iron in Africa', in Wertime and Mubly, *The Coming of the Iron Age*, 453–506; T. Huffmann, 'The Early Iron Age and the Spread of the Bantu', *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 25 (1970), 3–21. According to Newman, the earliest dates on record of iron-making are in the 700–400 BC range, at the Taruga site, located along the margins of the Jos Plateau in central Nigeria. According to him, the Phoenicians are a reasonable source of external iron-making diffusion (Newman, *The Peopling of Africa*, 107–9). Bohannon and Curtin suggest that iron spread into sub-Saharan Africa by a variety of different routes only in the first century AD (*Africa and Africans*, 214–16). Holl quotes John Rustad's article 'The emergence of iron technology in West Africa, with special emphasis on the Nok culture of Nigeria', in which he points to the important fact that 'different components of iron technology could have diffused independently, while others may have been invented locally'. (Holl, 'West African Archaeology: Colonialism and Nationalism', in Robertshaw, *A History of African Archaeology*, 306.)
55. See, for example, Davidson, *African Kingdoms*, 147–70. This environmental theory contradicts racial theory; if, indeed, natural environment is the most important factor in shaping human existence, then human existence in Egypt was totally different from that in Africa, and at the same time, different from that in Greece.
  56. A. Bowdich, *Essay on the Superstitions, Customs, and Arts Common to the Ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians and Ashantees*. See also Gerald Massey, *Book of the Beginnings*, Vol. II, 598–674.
  57. Meyerowitz, *Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt*.
  58. Shinnie, 'The Legacy to Africa', in J. R. Harris, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 436–7.
  59. *Ibid.*, 438.
  60. Connah, *African Civilizations*.
  61. W. Y. Adams, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa*.
  62. D. M. Clark, 'Similarities between Egyptian and Dogon Perception of Man, God and Nature', in Karenga and Carruthers, *Kemet*, 119–30. And see Baines, 'Origins of Egyptian Kingship', in O'Connor and Silverman, *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 95–156. He stresses the unique nature of the dual kingship of ancient Egypt, which is a result of the physical contrast of the Nile valley and the delta.
  63. D. M. Clark, 'Similarities between Egyptian and Dogon Perception of Man, God and Nature', in Karenga and Carruthers, *Kemet*, 121–2.
  64. Lucas, *The Religion of the Yoruba*.



65. R. S. Smith, *Kingdoms of the Yoruba*, 10. 'Oral traditions appear to be capable of recalling about 500 years of a group's past.' Needless to say, they are incapable of recalling memories and traditions 2,000 years old. See Muriuki. 'The Reconstruction of African History through Historical, Ethnographic and Oral Sources', in Stone and MacKenzie, *The Excluded Past*, 173–82.
66. Davidson, *African Kingdoms*, 13.
67. See Meyerowitz, *Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt*. Hegel contrasts the nature of the African fetish with the abstraction of the Nile in ancient Egyptian religion. According to him, this abstraction was caused by the substantial and unchangeable ruling power of the Nile. In *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, quoted in S. Gilman, *On Blackness Without Blacks*, 95–6.
68. Redford, *Egypt*, 24.
69. Budge, *The Nile*, I, 348–9. See also the entire chapter, 348–83. See the articles in Van Sertima (ed.), *Egypt – Child of Africa*. According to this view, African nations in various parts of the continent knew the secret of iron-tool production, astronomical mathematics, etc., and even possessed proto-script. This view was adopted by the modern Egyptian scholar Musa in his book *Hadarat misr fi ifriqiya* under the influence of G. E. Smith. In the tradition of the Bushongo tribe, the art of iron-smelting reached Lake Chad from the south, via a 'white man', around 350 AD (Wainwright, 'Pharaonic Survivals', 170–1).
70. Finch, 'Nile Genesis: Continuity of Culture from the Great Lakes to the Delta', in Van Sertima, *Egypt Revisited*, 35–54.
71. See, for example, Ben-Jochannan, *Africa – Mother of Western Civilization*, 292–303. However, he stresses primarily the deep links of the Nile valley (down to Zimbabwe) and the Great Lakes.
72. Diop, *The African Origins*, 249.
73. Davidson, 'The Ancient World and Africa: Whose Roots?' in his *The Search for Africa*, 324–5. This idea was recently repeated by Monges, in her book *Kush*. This book, like most others, is not based on an original study, but rather on a summary of existing literature, collected in such a way which reflects her premeditated decision to reject books which do not concur with her opinion, and to praise those books which support it (Diop, in particular). For the most part, her book focuses on the connection between Nubia and Egypt. Both, according to the writer, are closely connected to eastern Africa and tropical Africa. She ignores Diop's views on Egypt's influences during the historic period, and prefers to focus on Africa's alleged influence on Egypt (and Nubia). Her view is that residents of the Nile Valley were of indigenous African ancestry, who brought with them important elements of their culture from south to north, or 'down the river' – elements which became the foundation of Egyptian culture. She also feels it necessary to argue that despite Egypt's progress, its culture was not necessarily superior to other African civilizations.
74. Macgaffey, 'Concepts of Race in Northeast Africa', 17. In fact, Africa is characterized by a vast variety of cultures and societies and was neither a single nor a simple human world. See Bassey W. Andah, 'Iron Age Beginnings in West Africa: Reflection and Suggestions', 135–50, and Appiah, *In My Father's House*, 153.
75. Davidson, *The African Genius*, 27–8.
76. Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 120–44.
77. Asante, *Kemet*, 50–3.

78. Finch, 'The Works of Gerald Massey', in Van Sertima, *Egypt Revisited*, 401.
79. Asante, *Kemet*, 50–3.
80. See in Van Sertima, *Blacks in Science*.
81. Blench, 'Connections between Egypt and sub-Saharan Africa'.
82. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization*, 11.
83. On the modern Egyptian perception of the Nile see Gershoni and Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam, and the Arabs*, 134–5. In this perception it is the 'effusive Nile' and the physical setting of the Nile Valley which forged and embodied the distinctive personality (*shaksiyya bariza*) and genius (*al 'abaqariya al-missriyya*) of the Egyptian nation and its stability and uninterrupted continuity.
84. See note 20.
85. See in Introduction, above, note 20.
86. Du Bois, 'Egypt', in *The World and Africa*, 98–114.
87. See his *Return to my Native Land*.
88. The poem appeared in *Crisis*, June 1921, and according to Moses, was possibly inspired by Du Bois' 'The Story of Africa', which appeared in that same journal some seven years earlier (Moses, *The Golden Age*, 168).

## 12: FROM INDIA TO ETHIOPIA (KUSH)

1. See Du Bois, 'Asia in Africa', in *The World and Africa*, 176–200. According to him 'The ethnic history of India would seem to be first a prehistoric substratum of Negrillos or black dwarfs; then pre-Dravidians, a taller, larger type of Negro; then the Dravidians, Negroes with some mixture of Mongoloid and later of Caucasoid stock', 177.
2. Massey, *Book of the Beginnings*, I, 23.
3. Redford, *Egypt*, 125–240.
4. The Greek word *aithiops* means radiant. See John Porsdyke, *Greece before Homer Ancient Chronology and Mythology* (New York, 1964), 87–100. Homer could have no knowledge of the non-Aryan darker-skinned indigenous population of India (the Sanskrit term for 'caste' – *va'ma* – means 'color').
5. Isis, in Lucius Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*, speaks of 'both sorts of Ethiopians which dwell in the Orient and are enlightened by the morning rays of the sun . . .', Lucius Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, 188.
6. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth*, 49–60.
7. Strabo, *Geography*, V, 123.
8. *Periplus* = sailors' handbook. See: Casson, *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 5–47; J. K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusaders*, 303; J. O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography*, 21–2; Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, 3 vols; MacCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, 1–5. On the periplus of the second century BC historian, Agatharichides of Cnidus, *On the Erythraean Sea*, see *Agatharichides*, trans. Burstein.
9. J. K. Wright, *Geographical Lore*.
10. Manetho, *Aegyptiaca*, 208–11.
11. Hippocrates, *Writings*, 160–9.
12. Mandeville, *The Travels*, 117–18.
13. B. Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, 250.
14. E. N. Adler, *Jewish Travelers in the Middle Ages*, 59.

15. Diodorus, *The Library of History*, I, 91.
16. See Rashidi, 'Dr Diop on Asia: Highlights and Insights', in Van Sertima, *Great African Thinkers*, 127–45.
17. C. P. Boyd, *The African Origin of Christianity*, Vol. I: *A Biblical and Historical Account*, 12–26.
18. Speiser, 'In Search of Nimrud'.
19. Ibid.
20. A document from Mari (c.1806–1762/60 BC) speaks of the people of Elam as 'black ants' (and of the people of Mari as 'white ants'). According to Durand, this is the most ancient testimony of the racial differences between the two nations. However, in Anbar's view, this is a metaphorical expression which emphasizes the deep differences (black against whites) from a cultural or political point of view. Moshe Anbar, "'And it will rise from its Channels and go over All its Banks" (*Isaiah* 8:7)'
21. It should be noted here that the western sea-board of the Indian sub-continent was called *Makan and Melūhha* in Akaddian (a possible proto-Dravidian name) and in the second half of the second millennium BC was identified with Egypt and Ethiopia. See Thapar, 'A Possible Identification of Meluhha, Dilmun and Makan', and Gelb, 'Mekkan and Meluhha in Early Mesopotamian sources'.
22. Yet, according to Flavius Philostratus (c.175–244/249 AD), in *Vita Appollunius* (VI. 2, 11, 16; III. 280), the Aethiopians originally emigrated to Africa from India.
23. Indeed, the inhabitants of India before the Aryan invasion were dark-skinned people (*dasas*). See Wolpert, *A New History of India*, 25.
24. Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony*, 14.
25. See W. P. Coates' Introduction and J. G. Spady's Epilogue to Houston, *Wonderful Ethiopians*, i–v and v–viii.
26. G. E. Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 170.
27. Houston, *Wonderful Ethiopians*, 84.
28. It might be interesting to note here that the theory described above was also adopted by some Jewish geographers. For example, Yehiel Zevi Hirschenson, in his book *Seva Chakhmot batalmud ubamidrash* (*Seven Wisdoms in the Talmud and the Midrash*) writes that Kush, whose flesh was red (*chama* = sun, which is red, reddish or black), took his part of the world in the east of Gomer, east of the Indus river and west of the Himalayas, up to the mountains of Indo-Kush, and also spread to the south of the mountains. The writer also believes that the inhabitants of Lithuania and Fresia are the descendants of the Scythes, the sons of Kush (ibid., 21–2).
29. Singhal, *India and World Civilization*, I, 7.

### 13: BLACK COLUMBUS AND BLACK NATIVES IN THE NEW WORLD

1. On the 'controversy over Columbus' see recently: Dinesh d'Souza, *The End of Racism*, 346–51; Ortiz de Montellano *et al.*, 'They were not here before Columbus. Afrocentric Hyperdiffusionism in the 1990s', (with updated bibliography).
2. H. G. Lawrence, *African Explorers of the New World*. See also: L. Bennett, Jr, *Before the Mayflower*; R. W. Davis, 'Negro Contribution to the Exploration of the Globe', in Roueck and Kierman, *The Negro Impact on Western Civilization*, 33–50; R. R. Wright, 'Negro Companions of the Spanish Explorers'; M. D. W. Jeffrey, 'Pre-Columbian Negroes in America'. African-American Muslims, on the other hand, emphasise the presence of African Muslims in America since the seventeenth

- century in order to prove that Islam is neither a newcomer nor a twentieth-century American phenomenon. It also emphasizes the fact that these African Muslim slaves remained faithful to their religion. See Adib Rashid, *The History of Islam and Black Nationalism in the Americas*; Jeffrey, 'Arabs Discover America before Columbus'. The forerunner of this theory was Leo Weiner, Professor of Slavic Languages at Harvard, in his *Africa and the Discovery of America*, Vols I–II (1920–22).
3. In fact, the Spanish alone transported approximately 200,000 African slaves to their colonies in America before 1650.
  4. Sanders, *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands*, 3–16. He writes that 'any hints of Africa south of the Sahara, of the Americas, or the rest of world as we know it belonged to the realm of myth . . .' (4).
  5. Also see Washburn, 'The Meaning of "Discovery" in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries'.
  6. Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420–1620*.
  7. Ignatius Donnelly, a Philadelphia lawyer, published a book called *Atlantis: The Antediluvian World* in 1882 (by 1890 there were 23 American and 26 English editions) in which he claimed that Mayan script writing is a derivation of Egyptian hieroglyphics. Yet, as Hibben noted, 'the Mayan alphabet presented such glaring differences from the Egyptian that Donnelly had to concoct "intermediate forms"' (Hibben, *Digging up America*, 45–6). On the pseudo-theories that the petroglyphs in North America originated in the 'old world' see Steward, 'Petroglyphs of the United States'.
  8. See D. C. Allen, *The Legend of Noah*.
  9. See Morrison, *The European Discovery of America*, 3–31. See the fictitious story of the Vikings' arrival in Paraguay in Pistilli, *Vikings et al. Paraguay*.
  10. Verrill and Verrill, *America's Ancient Civilizations*.
  11. Malamet, 'The Sacred Sea', and 'Mari and its Relations with the Eastern Mediterranean', in his *Mari and the Bible*, 24–32, 33–40.
  12. Sudhoff, *Sorry Kolumbus*.
  13. Donald Harden, *The Phoenicians* (Harmondsworth, 1971), 159–70.
  14. On the Atlantic trade routes of the Phoenicians of Gadir (Spain) see Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West*, 246–9.
  15. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth*, 161–2, 215–18; Tillinghast, 'The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients Considered in Relation to the Discovery of America', in J. Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. I, 1–58.
  16. S. Williams, *Fantastic Archaeology*.
  17. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth*, 188–9.
  18. Covey, *A Roman Jewish Colony in America from the Time of Charlemagne through Alfred the Great*.
  19. Baudez and Picasso, *Lost Cities of the Maya*, 39–43.
  20. One bit of 'evidence' often repeated is the use of the 'Star of David' in pre-Columbian art. The assumption here is that the Star of David has been a central Jewish Symbol from earliest times and that its 'presence' in Latin America is proof of Canaanite or Jewish influence. However, the Star of David did not become a central symbol in Jewish culture until the Middle Ages. On Islamic elements (a crescent accompanied at the bottom by three stars or crescents) in Mexican shields, see Van Sertima, *They Came Before Columbus*, 101.
  21. B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, 152. It was followed in 1580 'by an

- account of the discovery of the New World apparently compiled from European sources by the Ottoman geographer Muhammad ibn Jasan Su'udi, and presented to Sultan Murad III'. Also see: Ortiz de Montellano *et al.*, 'They Were Not here', 207; L. Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, used and enlarged by R. A. Skelton (Cambridge, MA, 1966), 107–8.
22. Penrose, *Travel and Discovery*, 9–10.
  23. This story soon found its way to European cartography. J. J. O'Merara, (translated from the Latin), *The Voyage of Saint Brendan*. Some recent studies have identified the island on which he landed, as the Faroes, Iceland, Newfoundland, Madeira, Bahamas or Jamaica. See Ashe, *Land to the West*; Chapman, *The Man Who Led Columbus to America*.
  24. On the Olmec enigma see Miller and Taube, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya*, 15–16, 125–7. And see Ortiz de Montellano, 'Multi-culturalism, Cult Archaeology, and Pseudoscience', in Harrold and Eve, *Cult Archaeology and Creationism*, 139. He writes that '... no genuine African or Egyptian pre-Columbian artifacts have ever been found in the New World'. Moreover, the only source for stones was the volcanic (black) Tuxtla mountains. The first to put forward this idea was Alfred Chavero in *Historia antigua de la Conquista (Mexico a través de los siglos*, Vol. I, Mexico, 1887).
  25. Jairazbhoy believes that the pre-Columbian pyramids were built according to the Chinese model of the tumulus, which was built according to the Mesopotamian ziggurat, *Ancient Egypt, Mexico and the United States*, 113–20. On Mesoamerican pyramids see Miller and Taube *Gods and Symbols*, 139–40. Bernal does not reject the possibility of African contacts with Mexico beginning in the first millennium BC, and sees no reason why 'educated Egyptians should not have known of America at the time of Plato in the early 4th century as that of Solon in the 6th' (*Black Athena*, II, 298). It seems to me that this wild speculation does not rest on any evidence, but mainly on Bernal's desire to ensure that Europe was not the only continent capable of being influential on other cultures. Already more than 100 years ago Gustav d'Euchthal 'called attention to the similarities between the monuments of central America and of Buddhist Asia. In his view, certain artistic influences radiated from China, Japan, or the Indian Archipelagi, to the shores of the New World, long before the Spanish conquest' (quoted in D'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, 262–3).
  26. Van Sertima, *They came before Columbus*, 30–3.
  27. I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*.
  28. Hibben, *Digging Up America*, 191–207.
  29. J. Lawrence, *The History and Delineation of the Horse*, 80–9. G. G. Simpson writes: 'In January, AD 1519 there were no horses on the American Continent' (in *Horses*, 59).
  30. See Cowan and Watson (eds), *The Origins of Agriculture: An International Perspective*.
  31. In Fagan, *The Great Journey*, 137–238; Hibben, *Digging up America*, 38–84.
  32. Ortiz de Montellano *et al.* write that some Afrocentrists are willing to trample on the self-esteem of native Americans and Latinos by denigrating their cultures and minimizing their contribution to world history ('They Were Not Here', 220).

## CONCLUSION

1. Quoted from R. Despetre, *Bonjour et adieu à la négritude* (Paris, 1980), in J. Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 177–8.
2. A. Murray, *The Omni-Americans*, 184. This assessment is based on his argument that ‘culture of its very essence is a dynamic, ever accommodating, ever accumulating, ever assimilating environmental phenomenon, whose components (technologies, rituals and artefacts) are emphasized, de-emphasized, or discarded primarily in accordance with pragmatic environmental requirements, which of course are both physical and intellectual or spiritual’, 180.
3. James, *Stolen Legacy*, 159–62. And see A. Boyd and Lenix-Hooker, ‘Afrocentrism: Hope or History’, 46–8.
4. In the lecture ‘Black Demagogues and Pseudo-Scholars’, which met with some brutal responses, Snowden argued that ‘There is no question that the history of Blacks has been distorted or misrepresented, but as a black, what I want is truth. I don’t give a damn whether (Cleopatra) was black or not. She wasn’t’ (University of Maryland, 21 May 1993). The Afrocentric theoretician Keto, for example, argued against the hegemonic tendencies in Afrocentric literature and their use of racial concepts (Keto, *The Africa-centered Perspective of History*).
5. A. Meier and E. Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession*, 303.
6. See J. A. Evans, ‘“Black Athena” and the American Dilemma’.
7. See, for example, P. Durham and E. L. Jones, *The Negro Cowboy*; L. W. Katz, *Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage*.
8. David Walker, *Appeal*, in *Four Articles*, 65.
9. Appiah, *In my Father’s House*, 73–84.
10. Asante, *Kemet*, 15.
11. Some African-American leaders of earlier generations accepted the view of the superiority of ‘Western culture’. Booker T. Washington is an outstanding example, while Blyden believed that slavery enabled black Americans to absorb Christianity and Western culture.
12. Shavit, *Athens in Jerusalem*, 77–8.
13. James, *Stolen Legacy*, 153–62. For Innocent Onyewuenyi, James’ theory (in his *Stolen Legacy*, see Ch. 6) is an article of faith but he goes further to claim that not only were St Augustine, Origen, Cyril and Tertullian ‘Africans’ and students in Egypt but also black philosophers. If this is true, then the theory that a deep mental gap divides the black from the white Christian man has no basis.
14. See Appiah’s criticism, *In my Father’s House*, 73–136.
15. Ani, *Yurugu*. Some Modern Islamic thinkers claim along the same line of thought. For a short discussion of the modern Jewish approach, see Ch. 7 in Shavit, *Athens in Jerusalem*.
16. Shavit, *Athens in Jerusalem*, 57. See also Kunjufu, *Hip-Hop vs Maat*. According to Innocent Onyewuenyi, the metaphysics of Western philosophy have generally been based upon a static conception of being whilst in African philosophical thought, being is dynamic (Onyewuenyi, ‘Is There an African Philosophy?’, in Serequeberhan, *African Philosophy*, 29–46). On the other hand, Paulin Hountondji argues against the idea of a specific African essence and personality (Hountondji, *African Philosophy*, (Bloomington, IN, 1983) 160–4). See also Lansana Keita, ‘Contemporary African Philosophy: The Search for a Method’, in Serequeberhan,

- African Philosophy*, 136, and Wiredu, 'How not to Compare African Thought with Western Thought'. See Diop's description of Egyptian, Dogon and Bantu philosophy (or, in fact, cosmogony), in *Civilization or Barbarism*, 309–26. Also see Howe's discussion in *Afrocentrism*, 156–62.
17. Ani, *Yurugu*, 119.
  18. P. C. Boyd, *The African Origin of Christianity, I: A Biblical and Historical Account*.
  19. Frazier, *Race and Cultural Contacts in the Modern World*, 35, 317. See also Kardiner and Onesey, *The Mark of Oppression*.
  20. On 'ethnicity' and 'race' in general, and in the American context, in particular, see Sollors, *Theories of Ethnicity*; Glazer and Moynian, *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*; Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Bergen and Borton, 1969); Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*; F. J. Davis, *Who is Black? One Nation's Definition*; R. P. Warren, *Who Speaks for the Negro*.
  21. Gans, 'Symbolic Ethnicity: Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America', in Sollors, *Theories of Ethnicity*, 425.
  22. Cleage, *The Black Messiah*, 11.
  23. C. E. Walker, 'You Can't Go Home Again: Problem with Afrocentrism'.
  24. Akinyela, 'Rethinking Afrocentricity: The Foundation of a Theory of Critical Africentricity', in Darder, *Culture and Difference*, 21–39.
  25. Blakey, 'Race, Nationalism, and the Afrocentric Past', in Schmidt and Patterson, *Making Alternative Histories*, 216.
  26. See *ibid.*, 217–24; Dyson, 'A Struggle for the Black Mind: Melanin Madness'.
  27. Ortiz de Montellano, 'Multiculturalism, Cult Archaeology, and Pseudoscience', in Harrold and Eve, *Cult Archaeology and Creationism*, 143.
  28. See: Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa*; Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America*.
  29. N. Harris, 'A Philosophical Basis for an Afrocentric Orientation', 157.
  30. It is not surprising that Hilliard, for example, tried to find a modern day example of historical and cultural rescue in Israel, and of using a rescued and refurbished history and culture in order to build a national identity for Jews throughout their diaspora. But the Zionist example, which inspired revival movements on the African continent, could not serve as a source of inspiration for the African-American public. The African-American did not aspire to achieve either political independence or the revival of a national language. At the very most, one can say that the political independence of African peoples contributed to the African-American's sense of self-awareness and cohesiveness, just as the State of Israel did for the American Jews after 1948 (Hilliard, 'The Meaning of KMT', 14). He does not refer to the claims that the biblical past of ancient Israel is nothing but ancient and modern reconstruction and does not reflect the 'real' past.
  31. Both Jews and Muslims in the USA often try to present their cultural heritage and religion in accord with the standards of normative American culture (mainly as liberal in nature). Also see Howe, *Afrocentrism*, 87–100.
  32. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*. For a different view see: Frazier, *Race and Cultural Contact*.
  33. Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie*. On the economic power of the African-American purchasing market see Joiner, 'Price Fixing', 36–48. According to her estimation it rose from US \$ 304.4 million in 1990 to US \$ 469.4 million in 1997 (47).
  34. Holloway, 'The Origins of African-American Culture', in Holloway, *Africanism in*

- American Culture*, 17 (1–18). Following Herskovits, who identified different cultural zones in Africa, Holloway sees the culture of West Africa as a conglomerate and heterogeneous. However, given the homogeneity of the Bantu culture and the strong similarities among Bantu languages, the Bantu slaves were able to maintain a strong sense of unity and to retain a cultural vitality, which laid the foundation for the development of the African-American culture. See also Vass, *The Bantu Speaking Heritage of the United States*.
35. Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance*; Weisbord, *Ebony Kinship*, 181–226. Asante writes that what has been called the *Harlem Renaissance* was in fact an apologetic movement which failed to understand that there ‘can be no true confraternity without the attraction of Africa as a symbol . . . and for the black American not to deal with Africa on an intellectual basis is to remain encapsulated, in effect, isolated from the African Consociation’ (*Afrocentricity*, 70).
  36. Akinyela, ‘The Foundation of a Theory of Critical Africentricity’, in Darder, *Culture and Difference*, 31.
  37. Keita, ‘Contemporary African Philosophy: The Search for a Method’, in Serequeberhan (ed.), *African Philosophy*, 136. See P. J. Hountondji, *African Philosophy* (Bloomington, IN, 1983), 160–4, and her article, ‘African Philosophy: Myth and Reality’, in Serequeberhan, *African Philosophy*, 111–31.
  38. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 80–2. Diop wrote that Africa, with the ‘warmth of her social fabric’, can save Western man from his ‘pessimism and individualistic solitude’ (Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 161). See also Akinyela, ‘Rethinking Afrocentricity: The Foundation of a Theory of Critical Afrocentricity’, in Darder, *Culture and Difference*, 21–39.
  39. On ethnophilosophy and its critics see Appiah, *In my Father’s House*, 85–106.
  40. L. W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, 367–440.
  41. Khorana, *Africa in Literature for Children and Young Adults*; Lumpkin, *Ancient Egypt for Children*; Dianne Johnson, *Telling Tales*.
  42. The African-American Wax Museum was established in Harlem in May 1989.
  43. Kwanzaa stamp is available through the USA Postal Service. See Cedric McClester, *Kwanzaa*; Karenga, *The African American Holiday of Kwanzaa*. On the holiday of Kwanzaa, see also Gates, *Wonders of the African World*, 151.
  44. Jaynes and Williams, Jr, *Common Destiny: Black and American Society*, 175–7. On 18 December 1997 the school board in Oakland, California, recognized Black English (Ebonic) as a separate language. See also the Sobol Report and the debate it awoke: *One Nation, Many Peoples: A Declaration of Cultural Interdependence. The Report of the New York State Social Studies Review and Development Committee*, June, 1991; Heather MacDonald, ‘The Sobol Report: Multiculturalism Triumphant’; S. G. Grant, ‘Appeasing the Right; Missing the Point’; Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America*, 73–99; B. J. Gardiner, ‘The Teaching of African-American History in School and Colleges’, in D. Clark Hine, *The State of Afro-American History*, 171–83. Also see J. D. Anderson, ‘Secondary School History Textbooks and The Treatment of Black History’, in D. Clark Hine, *The State of Afro-American History*, 153–274.
  45. See Martin and Young, ‘The Paradox of Separate and Unequal: African Studies and Afro-American Studies’; R. L. Adams, ‘Intellectual Questions and Imperatives in the Development of Afro-American Studies’; idem, ‘Evaluating Professionalism in the Context of Afro-American Studies’; Colon, ‘Critical Issues in Black Studies: A Selective Analysis’; R. L. Allen, ‘Politics of the attack on Black Studies’. Adams



- writes that 'As a movement, black studies were created by the political explosion of intellectual outrage over the omission and distortion of the black experience in the curriculum of most institutions of higher education' (R. L. Adams, 'Intellectual Questions', 202).
46. Jaynes and William, *Common Destiny*, 197. According to Smitherman's study of 1991, one-third of African-Americans are in favor of name changes (Smitherman, "'What is Africa To Me?'" 128).
  47. Jaynes and William, *Common Destiny*, 13.
  48. Membership in major black religious denominations, *ibid.*, 173–6.
  49. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 215.
  50. See the recent study by Thernstrom and Thernstrom, *America in Black and White*. Their conclusion is that 'The majority of blacks and whites, then, seem still to be committed to integration', 520.

## APPENDIX

1. Waddell, trans., *Manetho*, 79–83. See also A. Kasher, *Josephus Flavius: Against Apion*, Vol. I, 90–112.
2. See the fictional theory recently put forth by Gary Greenberg (president of the Biblical Archaeology Society of New York): *The Moses Mystery: The African Origins of the Jewish People*, which accepts Manetho's story that Moses was an Egyptian prince, or rather, the chief priest in Akhenaten's monotheistic cult.
3. On the war and the conquest of Avaris see 'The Autobiography of Attmose Son of Abana' in his tomb at El-Kab (in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. II, 12–13). On the Hyksos, see Oren, *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspective*; Bietak, *Avaris*. See also R. M. Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*; Redford, 'The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition'; Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*; Bietak, *Avaris and Piramesee*.
4. See Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 147–76. He writes that 'Manetho's account as related by Josephus contains truth and falsity in almost equal measure.'
5. Conzelmann, *Gentiles, Jews, Christians*, 83. In his view, Josephus possessed a flawed version of Manetho. But, 'Taken as a whole, Josephus' "refutation" of Manetho's is picky and banal.' According to Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, Josephus had access to more than one version of Manetho, but 'chose a more embellished account simply for reason of propaganda' (Van Seters, *ibid.*, 124).
6. Schäfer believes that all the versions of the Hellenist-Roman authors had a common model: 'there must have been an Egyptian expulsion story as a *Vorlage* of the Exodus tradition . . .' (Schäfer, 'The Exodus Tradition in Pagan Greco-Roman Literature', in Gafni, *The Jews in the Hellenistic Roman World*, 9–38; see also Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 113–33). Recently, E. S. Gruen (1998) argued that Manetho's and other pagan versions of the Exodus narrative, were not constructed as a counter-history, but rather were of Jewish-Hellenistic origins. 'Jewish inventiveness expropriated Egyptian myth in order to insert their own heroes, their religious superiority, and even their military triumphs' (Gruen, 'The Use and Abuse of the Exodus Story', in *Heritage and Hellenism*, 41–72). Gruen claims that, prior to the Septuagint, the story of the Exodus could not have been known to native Egyptian and Hellenist intellectuals, and that, even after the translation was completed, very few read it. I believe, however, that during the Hellenistic era,

Egyptian intellectuals, as well as the general public, could have learned the story of exodus from Egypt from both the Passover *seder* ritual and the pilgrimage to Jerusalem during Passover (in particular from Egypt). These events certainly would have made them aware of the central and constitutive status of the exodus from Egypt in the Jewish national consciousness. It is difficult to accept Gruen's argument that the Jews in Egypt exploited their own creativity to further their interest by presenting an historical version depicting them as a foreign occupiers in an almost provocative manner.

7. Kasher, 'Josephus' Reproach of Greek Historiography in Contra Apionem', in Gafni *et al.*, *Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman World*, 273–99.
8. See Ch. 5.
9. The biblical story is based on the 'reality' of the existence of Western-semitic peoples in the Egyptian delta prior to the Hyksos period and thereafter, as well as on the existence of Asiatic prisoners of war in Egypt during the I Dynasty, some of whom became domestic servants (Redford, *Egypt*, 221–2). Moreover, Diodorus Siculus and his sources had no knowledge of the Hyksos. In Book II of his *Antiquities*, Josephus himself does not refer to the Hyksos in his version of the subjection of the Hebrews in Egypt.
10. For example, the acts of magic performed by Moses and Aaron in Pharaoh's court.
11. *Philo*, VI, 359.
12. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 104.
13. *Ibid.* 137.
14. *Ibid.* 143.
15. From which one could conclude that they are referring to people who were really afflicted by a plague.
16. It may not be surprising that the Qur'an does not mention the Hyksos, 'Asiatic' invaders of Egypt, since Islam in Egypt was also an invader that came from the East. On the contrary, *Surah* 7 ('the Message of the Heights') states that Palestine belongs to Allah, who has bequeathed it as a legacy to those of his worshippers that he chose. And all of Allah's promises to the Israelites have been fulfilled because they waited patiently 'until we destroyed Pharaoh, all of his buildings and all of his property, and transferred the children of Israel on dry land over the sea.' ('Therefore we took retribution from them. Therefore, we drowned them in the sea; because they denied our revelation and were heedless of them' (*The Glorious Qur'an*, 393, 682, 159).) How ironic, for, according to this, Edward Said ought to have blamed the Qur'an for disseminating a 'distorted colonialist' tradition! The use of Manetho's version in contemporary anti-Jewish Arab writings ignores the Qur'an, which does not contain a version which differs from the Judeo-Christian tradition. For example, Dr Chamal Shaapan, in his pseudo-scientific book, *Al-Yahud ta'arichan va Akidatan* (*The Jews, their History and Religion*, Cairo, 1981), totally disregarded the Qur'an when he repeated the Hyksos-Israelite story to show how ungrateful the Jews were by nature. According to this version, the Jews rob their Egyptian benefactors and go forth to steal a land that is not theirs. In his view, this is the innate and unalterable character of the Jews. A renowned writer of counter-history is Edward Said, who, in response to Michael Walzer's *Exodus and Revolution* (New York, 1984), wrote 'Exodus and Revolution: A Canaanite Reading', in E. Said and C. Hitchens (eds), *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* (London/New York, 1988), 161–78, a book which uses

the exodus from Egypt for purposes of internal Jewish and Israeli arguments, which will not be discussed here. Said does not refer to the Hyksos story because he is interested in Palestinians, not Egyptians. He attacks the Judeo-Christian tradition, disregarding, as I noted, Muslim tradition. According to him, the Exodus tradition is not a model and metaphor for freedom and redemption, but a model for Zionist colonialism which conquers land and distorts history, turning the victims of oppression into the culprits. The tradition of the exodus from Egypt is, in his view, one of most successful spurious myths ever invented. My only comment on this is that Manetho himself refutes this claim, for in his version the Hyksos-Israelites are foreigners in Egypt, and hence return to the land which was inhabited by Semites. If the Israelites were Semites and foreign invaders in Egypt, their return to the land of Canaan cannot be regarded as an invasion or conquest. Although Said was unaware of this, he was preceded long before by Johann Gottfried Herder, who wrote that Moses led God's chosen people to Palestine and gave them a land 'which according to human laws did not belong to them', (see Ze'ev Levy, *Judaism in the Worldview of J. G. Hamman, J. G. Herder and W. V. Goethe* (Jerusalem, 1994, Hebrew), 143–45), at the same time massacring the previous inhabitants. However, this did not prevent Herder from holding Moses and Mosaic law in great esteem.

17. Harper, *Moses: A Story of the Nile*. See also P. L. Dunbar, *Antebellum Sermon*; James W. Johnson, *Let my People Go*, and others.
18. Ben-Levi. 'The First and Second Intermediate period in Kemitic history', in Karenga and Carruthers, *Kemet*, 61–69.
19. Bishop A. G. Dunston, *The Black Man in the Old Testament and its World*, 95–7.
20. Ben-Jochannan, *Africa – Mother of Western Civilization*, 271–75.
21. *Ibid.*, 239–43.
22. Windsor, *From Babylon to Timbuktu*, 62–79.
23. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II, 12–5.
24. See Redford, *Egypt*, 92–129, and Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 165–70.
25. Steindorff and Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, 31. See also Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 167–8.
26. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 69.

# Bibliography

- Abraham, W. E., *The Mind of Africa* (Chicago, IL, 1966).
- Abraham, W. J., *Divine Revelation and the Limits of Historical Criticism* (Oxford, 1984).
- Abid Rahad, *The History of Islam and Black Nationalism in the Americas* (Beltsville, MD, 1991, 2nd edn).
- Ackerman, R., *James George Frazer: His Life and World* (Cambridge, 1987).
- Adam, S., 'The Importance of Nubia: A Link between Central Africa and the Mediterranean', in G. Mokhtar (ed.), *UNESCO General History of Africa, II: Ancient Civilizations of Africa* (Berkeley, CA, 1981), 226–244.
- Adams, H. H., III, and Lumpkin, B., 'African and African-American Contribution to Science and Technology', in *African-American Baseline Essays* (Portland, OR, 1987).
- Adams, R. L., 'Evaluating Professionalism in the Context of Afro-American Studies', *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 10 (1980), 140–142.
- Adams, R. L., 'Intellectual Questions and Imperatives in the Development of Afro-American Studies', *Journal of Negro Education*, 53, 3 (1984), 201–205.
- Adams, R. L., 'Varieties of Afrocentrism: A Checklist', *New Essence: A Journal of Contemporary African Philosophy*, 2, 1 (1991), 4–7.
- Adams, W. Y., 'The Coming of Nubian Speakers to the Nile Valley', in C. Ehret and M. Posnansky (eds), *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History* (Berkeley, CA, 1982), 11–38.
- Adams, W. Y., 'Continuity and Change in Nubian Cultural History', *Sudan Notes and Records*, 48 (1967), 1–32.
- Adams, W. Y., *Nubia, Corridor to Africa* (Princeton, NJ, 1984, 2nd edn).
- Adler, E. N. (ed. with introduction), *Jewish Travelers in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1987).
- Adler, M. W. (trans. and commentary), *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Critical Text* (New York, 1907).
- Aeschylus, *Suppliants*, trans. J. Lembke (Oxford, 1975).
- Africa, T. J., 'Herodotus and Diodorus on Egypt', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 22 (1963), 254–258.
- Agatharchides of Canidus, *On the Erythraean Sea*, trans. S. M. Burstein (London, 1989).
- Ahad Ha'am, *Selected Essays*, trans. Leon Simon (Philadelphia, PA, 1944).
- Akinyela, M. M., 'Rethinking Afrocentricity: The Foundation of a Theory of Critical Afrocentricity', in A. Darder (ed.), *Culture and Difference: Critical Perspectives on the Bicultural Experience in the United States* (Westport, CT, 1995), 21–39.
- al-Andalusī, Sā'id, *Science in the Medieval World: Book of the Categories of Nations*, trans. and ed. S. I. Salem and A. Kumar (Austin, TX, 1991).

- Alexander, T. A., 'The Saharan Divide in the Nile Valley: The Evidence from Qasr Ibrim', *African Archaeological Review*, 6, 1 (1998), 73-90.
- Alexion, S., *Minoan Civilization*, trans. G. Ridley (Heraclion, 4th edn, n.d.).
- Alkalimat, A. (ed.), *Introduction to Afro-American Studies: A Peoples College Primer* (Chicago, IL, 1986).
- Allen, D. C., *The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science, and Letters* (Urbana, IL, 1963).
- Allen, R. L., 'Politics of the Attack on Black Studies', *The Black Scholar*, 6 (Sept. 1974), 2-7.
- Allen, R. L., *Black Awakening in Capitalistic America: An Analytic History* (Trenton, NJ, 1990).
- Allen, T. W., *The Invention of the White Race*, Vol. I: *Racial Oppression and Social Control* (London, New York, 1994); Vol. II: *The Origins of Racial Oppression in Anglo-America* (London, New York, 1997).
- Ambrose, S. H., 'Archaeology and Linguistic Reconstruction of History in East Africa', in C. Ehret and M. Posansky (eds), *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History* (Berkeley, CA, 1982), 104-146.
- Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum*, trans. J. C. Rolfe, Vol. II (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1986 edn).
- Anbar, Moshe, "'And it Will Rise from its Channels and Go Over All its Banks'" (*Isaiah* 8:7), in *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies*, 24 (The Israeli Exploration, Jerusalem, 1993), 158-160 (in Hebrew).
- Andah, B. W., 'Iron Age Beginnings in West Africa: Reflections and Suggestions', *West African Journal of Archaeology*, 9 (1979), 135-150.
- Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, rev. edn, 1991).
- Anderson, J. D., 'Secondary School History Textbooks and the Treatment of Black History', in D. C. Hine (ed.), *The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present and Future* (Baton Rouge, CA), 153-274.
- Anderson, T. (ed.), *Black Studies: Theory, Method and Cultural Perspectives* (Seattle, WA, 1990).
- Anderson, T., *Introduction to African-American Studies: Cultural Concepts and Theory* (Duboquo, IA, 1993).
- Anderson, T., 'Blowing Smoke: Exposing Empty Criticism of Afrocentricity', in D. Ziegler (ed.), *Molefi Kete Asante and Afrocentricity: In Praise and in Criticism* (Nashville, TN, 1995).
- Anderson, W. R., Jr., 'Zephaniah Ben Cushi and Cush of Benjamin: Traces of Cushite Presence in Syria-Palestine', in S. T. Holloway, and L. K. Handy (eds), *The Pitcher is Broken: Memorial Essays for Gösta W. Ahlstrom* (Sheffield, 1995), 45-70.
- Andrews, J., *Bible Legacy of the Black Race: The Prophecy Fulfilled* (Nashville, TN, 1993).
- Angel, J. L., 'Biological Relationships of Egyptian and Eastern Mediterranean Population during Predynastic Times', *Journal of Human Evolution*, 1 (1972), 307-311.
- Ani, M. (Dona Richards), *Yurugu: An African-centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior* (Trenton, NJ, 1994).
- Ansboro, J. J., *Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Making of America* (New York, 1986).
- Antoine, Y., *Inventeurs et savants noirs* (Paris; Montreal, 1998).
- Appiah, K. A., *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (Oxford, New York, 1992).

- Appiah, K. A., 'Europe Upside Down: Fallacies of the New Afrocentrism', *Times Literary Supplement*, 12 February 1993, 24-25.
- Appolodorus, *The Library*, trans. J. G. Frazer, Vols I-II. (Cambridge, MA and London, 1921 edn).
- Arbel, B., 'Renaissance Geographical Literature and the Nile', in H. Erlich and I. Gershoni, *The Nile Histories, Cultures, Myths* (Boulder, CO, 1999) 105-119.
- Ardrey, R. *African Genesis: A Personal Investigation into the Animal Origins and Nature of Man* (London, 1967 edn).
- Arieli, Y., 'The Future-looking Dimension in American Experience', in Y. Arieli, *History and Politics* (Tel-Aviv, 1992), 267-277 (in Hebrew).
- Aristeas, *The Letter of Aristeas*, in J. R. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge, 1985), 11-34.
- Aristotle, *Athenean Constitution*, Vol. XX, revised and reprinted (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1952).
- Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium* (*Generation of Animals*), Vol. II, trans. A. L. Peck (London, 1953).
- Armayer, O. K., 'Did Herodotus ever Go to Egypt?', *Journal of American Research Center*, 15 (1988), 59-73.
- Armayer, O. K. M., 'Sesotris and Herodotus, Autopsy of Thrace, Colchis, Inner Asia and Levant', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 84 (1989), 51-74.
- Armour, R. A., *Gods and Myths of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 1992, 5th edn).
- Armstrong, A. H., *Platonism and Christian Studies* (London, 1979).
- Aron, D. H., 'Early Rabinic Exegesis on Noah's Son Ham and the so-called "Hamitic Myth"', *Journal of the Academy of Religion*, 64, 14 (1995), 721-759.
- Asante, M. K., *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (New York, 1980).
- Asante M. K., *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia, PA, 1987).
- Asante, M. K. *Afrocentricity* (Trenton, NJ, 1988).
- Asante, M. K. 'The Afrocentric Idea in Education', *Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 2 (1991), 170-180.
- Asante, M. K., *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton, NJ, 1992).
- Asante, M. K., 'The Painful Demise of Eurocentrism', *The World and I*, April (1992), 305-317.
- Asante, M. K., *Classical Africa* (Magwood, NJ, 1995).
- Ashe, G., *Land to the West* (London, 1962).
- Asheri, D., 'The Dating of the Fall of Troy in Greek Historiography from Herodotus to Timaeus', in A. Rofo and Y. Zakovitch (eds), *Isac Leo Seeligmann Volume* (Jerusalem, 1983), 425-508 (in Hebrew).
- Assmann, J., 'Sentimental Journey zu dem Wurzelen Europas: Zu Martin Bernal's *Black Athena*', *Merkur*, 522 (1992), 921-931.
- Assmann, J., *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, MA, 1997).
- Astour, M. C., *Hellenosemitica: An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece* (Leiden, with additions and corrections, 1967, 2nd edn).
- Astour, M. C., 'Ugarit and the Aegean', in H. A. Offener, Jr (ed.), *Alter Orient und Altes Testament: Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), 17-27.
- Aubet, M. E., *The Phoenicians and the West* (Cambridge, 1966).
- Augustine, St, *City of God*, trans. J. O'Mera (London, 1984 edn).

- Avans, W. M., 'From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the "Sons of Ham"', *American Historical Review*, 85 (1980), 43-51.
- 'Azam, 'Abd-al Raham, *The Eternal Message of Muhammad*, trans. C. E. Farah (London, 1979 edn).
- Bach, A., 'Whitewashing Athena: Gaining Perspective on Bernal and the Bible', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, 77 (1998), 3-19.
- Bagrow, L., *History of Cartography*, revised and enlarged R. A. Skelton (Cambridge, MA, 1966).
- Baikie, J., *The Sea King of Crete* (London, 1910).
- Bailey, R., 'Why Black Studies?', *Education Digest*, May (1970), 46-48.
- Baines, J., 'Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 27 (1990), 1-24.
- Baines, J. R., 'Interpreting Sinuhe', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 68 (1982), 31-44.
- Baines, J. R., 'Was Civilization Made in Africa?', *New York Review of Books*, 11 August 1991, 12-13.
- Baldensperger, P. J., *The Immovable East: Studies of the People and Customs of Palestine* (London, 1913).
- Baldry, H. C., *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought* (Cambridge, 1965).
- Bard, K., 'Ancient Egyptians and the Issue of Race', *Bostonia*, 2, Summer (1992), 41-43, 69 (repr. in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 103-111).
- Bar-Kochva, B., *Pseudo-Hecateus on the Jews: Legitimizing the Jewish Diaspora* (Berkeley, CA, 1996).
- Barnes, J., *Melanin: The Chemical Key to Black Greatness* (Houston, TX, 1988).
- Baron, S. W., 'Moritz Steinschneider Contribution to Jewish Historiography', in S. W. Baron, *History and Jewish Historians* (Philadelphia, PA, 1964), 276-321.
- Barth, F., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Differences* (Bergen and Boston, 1969).
- Bartlett, J. R., *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Josephus, Aristeas, the Sibylline Oracles, Eupolemus* (Cambridge, 1985).
- Barton, A., *Diodorus Siculus, Book I: Commentary* (Leiden, 1972).
- Barzun, Jacques, *Race: A Study in Superstition* (New York, 1965).
- Bassett, F. W., 'Noah's Nakedness and the Curse of Canaan: A Case of Incest?', *Vetus Testamentum*, 21 (1951), 232-237.
- Batravi, A., 'The Racial History of Egypt and Nubia', and 'The Racial Relationship of the Ancient and Modern Population of Egypt and Nubia', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 75-76 (1945-46), 81-101, 131-165.
- Baudez, C. O., and Picasso, S., *Lost Cities of the Maya* (London, 1994).
- Baumgarten, A., I., *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos: A Commentary* (Leiden, 1981).
- Ba-Yunnus, I., *Muslims in North America: Problems and Prospects* (The Muslim Students' Association of the United States and Canada, 1977).
- Beardsley, G. H., *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization: A Study of the Ethiopian Type* (Baltimore, MD, 1929).
- Beckman, G., 'Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Hattusa', *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 35 (1983), 97-114.
- Ben-Jochannan, Y. A. A., *African Origin of the Major 'Western Religions'* (New York, 1970).

- Ben-Jochannan, Y. A. A., *The Black Man's Religion: Excerpts and Comments from the Holy Black Bible* (New York, 1970).
- Ben-Jochannan, Y. A. A., *The Black Man's North and East Africa* (New York, 1971).
- Ben-Jochannan, Y. A. A., *A Chronology of the Bible: Challenge to the Standard Version* (New York, 1973).
- Ben-Jochannan, Y. A. A., *Africa – Mother of Western Civilization* (Baltimore, MD, 1988 edn).
- Ben-Jochannan, Y. A. A., *Black Man of the Nile and His Family* (Baltimore, MD, 1989).
- Ben-Jochannan, Y. A. A., 'The African Contribution to Technology and Science', in Y. A. A. Ben-Jochannan and J. H. Clarke (eds), *New Dimensions in African History* (Trenton, NJ, 1991), 55–62.
- Ben-Jochannan, Y. A. A., *We the Black Jews* (Baltimore, MD, 1993).
- Bennett, L., Jr, 'The African Past', in H. N. Derwvy, *Afro-American History: Past and Present* (New York, 1971), 12–19.
- Bennett, L., Jr, *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America* (Chicago, IL, 1976).
- Bennett, R. A., Jr, 'Africa in the Biblical Period', *Harvard Theological Review*, 64 (1971), 483–500.
- Bergman, J., 'Beitrag zur Interperatio Graeca: Ägyptische Götter in griechischer Übertragung', in S. S. Hartmann (ed.), *Syncretism: Symposium at Åbo 8–10 Sept. 1966* (Stockholm, 1969), 207–227.
- Berlinerblau, J., *Heresy in the University: The Black Athena Controversy and the Responsibilities of American Intellectuals* (New Brunswick, NJ, and London, 1999).
- Berman, P. (ed.), *Black and Jews: Alliance and Arguments* (New York, 1994).
- Bernal, I., *The Olmec World* (Los Angeles, CA, 1976).
- Bernal, M., 'The Afrocentric Interpretation of History: Bernal Replies to Lefkowitz', *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 11 (1966), 86–94.
- Bernal, M., 'Black Athena and the APA', *Arethusa*, special issue: *The Challenge of Black Athena*, Fall (1989), 17–37.
- Bernal, M., *Cadmean Letters: The Transmission of the Alphabet to the Aegean and Further West before 1400 BC* (Winona Lake, IN, 1990).
- Bernal, M., *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*; Vol. I *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785–1985* (London, and New Brunswick, NJ 1987); Vol. II *The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1991).
- Bernal, M., 'The Case for Massive Egyptian Influence in the Aegean', *Archaeology*, 45, 5 (1992), 53–55, 82–83.
- Bernal, M., 'Roots: Response to M. Lefkowitz', *New Republic*, 9 March 1992, 4–5.
- Bernal, M., 'Response to Robert Palter', *History of Science*, 32, 4 (1994), 445–464.
- Bernal, M., 'Socrates' Ancestry in Question: Response to M. Lefkowitz', *Academic Questions*, 7 (1994), 6–7.
- Berry, A. C., and Berry R. J., 'Origins and Relationships of the Ancient Egyptians: Based on a Study of Non Metrical Variations in Skull', in D. R. Brothwell and B. A. Chiarelli (eds), *Population Biology of the Ancient Egyptians* (London/New York, 1973), 199–203.
- Biaki, P. M., 'Black Athena and the Phoenicians', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 3 (1990), 67–75.
- Bickerman, E. J., 'Origines Gentium', *Classical Philology*, 48, 10 (1952), 65–81.
- Bickerman, E. J., 'The Jewish Historian Demitrios', in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* (Leiden, 1980), 347–58.



- Bickerman, E. J., *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge, MA, 1988).
- Bierman, I. A. (ed.), *Egypt and the Fabrication of European Identity* (Los Angeles, CA, 1995).
- Bietak, M., *Avaris – The Capital of the Hyksos* (London, 1966).
- Bietak, M., *Avaris and Piramesse: Archaeological Exploration in the Eastern Nile Delta*, Proceedings of the British Academy (London, 1979).
- Bigg, C., *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (Oxford, 1968).
- Birley, A. R., *The African Emperor: Septimus Severus* (London, 1988).
- Blassingame J., *New Perspectives of Black Studies* (Chicago, IL, 1973).
- Blench, R., 'Connections between Egypt and Sub-Saharan Africa: The Evidence of Cultivated Plants', in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam* (London, 1991), 54–56.
- Bloom, A. D., *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York, 1987).
- Bloom, H., *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York, 1992).
- Blumenthal, H. J., and Markus, R. A. (eds), *Neoplatonism and Early Christian Thought: Essays in Honour of A. H. Armstrong* (London, 1981).
- Boardman, J., *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade* (London, 1980).
- Boardman, J., *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London, 1988).
- Boas, F., *Anthropology and Modern Life* (New York, 1962).
- Boas, F., *Race, Language and Culture* (Chicago, 1982).
- Boas, G. (trans.), *The Hieroglyphics by Horapollo* (New York, 1950).
- Bodemer, F., *Herkules* (Cologne, 1953).
- Bohannon, P., and Curtin, P., *Africa and Africans* (Garden City, NY, 1971).
- Borad, M. A., *Jihad: A Commitment to Universal Peace* (Indianapolis, IN, 1979).
- Bone, R. A., 'The Background of the Negro Renaissance', in Melvin Drimer (ed.), *Black History: A Reappraisal* (New York, 1968), 408–431.
- Bonnell, R. and Tobin, V. A., 'Christ and Osiris: A Comparative Study', in S. Israelite Groll (ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity* (Jerusalem, 1985), 1–29.
- Boone, K. C., *The Bible Tells Them So: The Discourse of Protestant Fundamentalism* (Albany, NY, 1989).
- Borghouts, J. E., 'Witchcraft, Magic and Divination in Ancient Egypt', in J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. III (New York, 1995), 1775–1786.
- Bouzek, J., *The Aegean, Anatolia and Egypt: Cultural Interrelations in the Second Millenium BC* (Prague, 1985).
- Bowdich, T. E., *An Essay on the Superstitions, Customs, and Arts Common to the Ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians and Ashantees* (Paris, 1821).
- Bowersock, G. W., *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1966).
- Bowler, P. J., *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (Oxford, 1989).
- Bowning, J., *Report on Egypt and Candia* (London, 1840).
- Boxill, B. R., *Blacks and the Social Change* (Trenton, NJ, 1984).
- Boyd, A. and Lenix-Hooker, C. J., 'Afrocentrism: Hope or History?', *Library Journal*, Nov. (1992), 46–48.
- Boyd, P. C., *The African Origin of Christianity*, Vol. I: *A Biblical and Historical Account* (London, 1991).
- Boylan, P., *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt: A Study of Some Aspects of Theological Thoughts in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1922).

- Brace, C. L., et al., 'Clines and Clusters versus "Race": a Test in Ancient Egyptian and the Case of a Death on the Nile', *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology*, 36 (1993), 1-21 (revised version in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 129-164).
- Bracey, J. H., Jr, Meier, A. and Rudwick, E. (eds), *Black Nationalism in America* (Indianapolis and New York, 1969).
- Brady, T. H., *The Reception of Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (300 BC-30 BC)*, Missouri Studies 10.1 (Columbia, MO, 1935).
- Bradley, M., *The Iceman Inheritance: Prehistoric Sources of Western Man's Racism, Sexism and Aggression* (New York, 1991).
- Bradley, M., *The Columbus Conspiracy* (New York, 1992).
- Bradley, M., *The Black Discovery of America* (Toronto, 1981).
- Branch, T., *Parting the Waters - America in the King Years 1954-1963* (New York, 1989).
- Branigan, K., *The Foundations of Palatial Crete: A Survey of Crete in the Early Bronze Age* (London, 1970).
- Braude B., 'The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 54, 1 (1997), 103-142.
- Brawley, B., *The Negro Genius: A New Appraisal of the Achievement of the American Negro in Literature and the Fine Arts* (New York, 1937).
- Breasted, J. H., *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1912; repr. Philadelphia, PA, 1972).
- Breasted, J. H., *Ancient Times: A History of the Early World* (Boston, MA, 1916).
- Breasted, J. H., *A History of the Ancient Egyptians* (New York, 1926).
- Bremmer, J., 'What is Greek Myth?', in J. Bremmer, *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London/Sydney, 1987), 1-9.
- Bremmer, J. (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London/Sydney, 1987).
- Brillante, C., 'History and Historical Interpretation of Myth', in Lowell Edmunds (ed.), *Approaches to Greek Myths* (Baltimore, MD, 1990), 93-138.
- Brodie, J. M., *The Lives and Ideas of Created Equal Black American Inventors* (New York, 1993).
- Brodin, K., *How Jews Became White Folks and What that Says about Race in America* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1999).
- Broodbank, C. and Strasser, T. F., 'Migrant Farmers in the Neolithic Colonization of Crete', *Antiquity*, 65 (1991), 233-245.
- Brothwell, D. R., and Chiarelli, B. A. (eds), *Population Biology of the Ancient Egyptians* (London/New York, 1973).
- Brotz, H. (ed.), *African-American Social and Political Thought: 1885-1920* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1992).
- Browder, A. T., 'Nile Valley Contribution to Civilization', *Exploring the Myths*, Vol. I (Washington, DC, 1992).
- Browder, A. T. and Browder, A. T., *My First Trip to Africa* (Washington, DC, 1991).
- Brown, J. P., *Israel and Hellas* (Berlin; New York, 1995).
- Brown, R., *Semitic Influences in Hellenic Mythology* (1898; repub. Clifton, NJ, 1966).
- Brown, T. S., 'The Reliability of Megasthenes', *American Journal of Philosophy*, 76 (1955), 18-33.
- Brown, William W., *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* ([1865] Salem, NH, 1992).

- Bruno, G., *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, trans. with introduction and notes A. D. Imeri (Lincoln, NE, 1964).
- Brunson, J. E., *Black Jade: African Presence in the Ancient East* (DeKalb, IL, 1985).
- Bryan, C. P., *Ancient Egyptian Medicine Papyrus: The Papyrus Ebers* (London, 1930).
- Buck, R. J., *A History of Boeotia* (Alberta, GA, 1979).
- Buckle, H. T., *Introduction to the History of Civilization in England* (new revised edn, London, 1857–61).
- Budge, W. E. A., *The Nile: Notes for Travelers in Egypt* (London, 1898).
- Budge, W. E. A., *A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia*, Vol. I (London, 1928).
- Budge, W. E. A., *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, Vols I–II ([1911] New York, 1973).
- Budge, W. E. A., *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, Vols I–II. ([1895] new edn, New York, 1967).
- Budge, W. E. A., *The Gods of the Egyptians: Studies in Egyptian Mythology*, Vols I–II (1904, new edn, 1969).
- Budge, W. E. A., *Egyptian Magic* ([1899] New York, 1971).
- Bulliet, R. W., *The Camel and the Wheel* (New York, 1990 edn).
- Bunbury, E. H., *History of Ancient Geography*, Vols I–II (London, 1883).
- Bunsen von, K. J., Baron, *Egypt's Place in Universal History (Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte 1845)*, Vols I–V, trans. S. Birch (London, 1862, 2nd edn).
- Burkert, W., *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, trans. J. Raffan (Cambridge, MA, 1985).
- Burkert, W., 'Herodotus über die Namen der Götter: Polytheismus als historisches Problem', *Museum Helveticum*, 42 (1985), 121–132.
- Burkert, W., *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, MA, 1987).
- Burkert, W., 'Oriental and Greek Mythology: The Meeting of Parallels', in J. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London/Sydney, 1987), 10–40.
- Burkert, W., *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, trans. M. E. Pinder and W. Burkert (Cambridge, MA, 1992).
- Burn, A. R., *Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks BC 1400–900* (London, 1930).
- Burstein, S. M., review of *Black Athena*, Vol. II, *Classical Philology*, 88, 2 (1993), 157–162.
- Burstein, S. M., *Graeco-Africana: Studies in the History of Greek Relations with Egypt and Nubia* (New Rochelle, NY, 1995).
- Burstein, S. M. (ed.), *Ancient African Civilizations: Kush and Axum* (New Haven, CT; 1998).
- Burt, McK., *Black Inventors of America* (Portland, OR, 1989).
- Burton, A., *Diodorus Siculus, Book I: A Commentary* (Leiden, 1972).
- Butler, E. M., *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany – A Study on the Influence Exercised by Greek Art and Poetry over the Great German writers of the Eighteenth–Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* ([1935] repr. Boston, MA, 1958).
- Butzer, K. W., *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology* (Chicago, IL, 1976).
- Caldwell, W. E. and Gyles, M. F., *The Ancient World* (New York, 1966 3rd edn), 7–67.
- Camac, C. N. B., *Imhotep the Harvey: Background of Medical History* ([1931] Boston, 1977).
- Cameron, N. E., *The Education of the Negro*, Vols I–II ([1929–34] repr. Westford, CT, 1970).
- Cancick, H., 'Mongols, Semites and the Pure-bred Greeks: Nietzsche's Handling of the Racial Doctrines of his Time', in J. Golomb (ed.), *Nietzsche and Jewish Culture* (London/New York, 1997), 3–20.

- Cardoso, I., *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (*The Virtues of the Hebrews*) (Amsterdam, 1679), trans. with introduction and notes by Y. Kaplan (Jerusalem, 1972) (in Hebrew).
- Carlisle, R. P., *The Roots of Black Nationalism* (Port Washington, NY, 1976).
- Carny, P., 'Biblical Egypt as a Symbol in Philo's Allegory', in M. Weinfeld (ed.), *Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, Vols V-VI (Jerusalem; Tel Aviv, 1978-79), 197-204 (in Hebrew).
- Carrett, R. G., *The Egyptian Revival: Its Sources, Monuments, and Meaning 1808-1858* (Berkeley, CA, 1978).
- Carruthers, J. H., *Essays in Ancient Egyptian Studies* (Los Angeles, CA, 1984).
- Carruthers, J. H., 'Outside Academia: Bernal's Critique of Black Champions of Ancient Egypt', *Journal of Black Studies*, 22, 4 (1992), 59-78.
- Carter, J. B., and Morris, S. P. (eds), *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily T. Vermeule* (Austin, TX, 1995).
- Casson, L. (intro., trans., commentary), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (New Haven, CT, 1989).
- Cassuto, U., *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, Vol. I-II (Jerusalem, 1983) (in Hebrew).
- Celenko, T. (ed.), *Egypt in Africa* (Indianapolis, IN, 1996).
- Césaire, Aimé, *Cahier d'un Retour au Pays Natal* (*Return to My Native Land*), trans. E. Anyder ([1947] Paris, 1971 edn).
- Chadwick, J., *The Mycenaean World* (Cambridge, 1976).
- Chadwick, J., *The Decipherment of Linear B* (Cambridge, repr. with new postscript, 1992).
- Chamberlain, H. S., *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. J. Lee (London, 1910).
- Chapman, P. H., *The Man Who Led Columbus to America* (Atlanta, GA, 1973).
- Charlesworth, J. H. (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vols I-II (New York, 1985).
- Christopher, R., *Crashing the Gates: The De-Wasping of America's Power Elite* (New York, 1989).
- Churchward, J., *The Lost Continent of Mo* (London, 1932).
- Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods* (*De Natura Deorum*), trans. J. M. Ross (Harmondsworth, 1927).
- Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, Vol. I, trans. J. E. King (Cambridge, MA, 1945).
- Clagett, M., *Greek Science in Antiquity* (New York, 1955).
- Clagett, M. (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Science: A Source Book*, Vol. I, (in two parts): Vol. I, *Knowledge and Order* (Philadelphia, PA, 1989); Vol. II, *Calendars, Clocks and Astronomy* (Philadelphia, PA, 1995).
- Clarke, J. H., *Africa's Gift to America* (St Petersburg, 1961).
- Clarke, J. H., 'Black Pseudo-scholars Are "in" with White America, But They Deserve to be "Outed"', says Historian', *City Sun*, 26 Aug.-1 Sept. 1992, 6, 37.
- Clarke, J. H., 'Influence of Arthur A. Schomberg on My Concept of African Studies', *Phylon*, 49, 1, 2 (1992), 4-9.
- Clarke, J. J., *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter between Asian and Western Thought* (London, and New York, 1997).
- Cleage, A. B., *The Black Messiah* (Trenton, NJ, 1989).
- Clegg, L. H., II; 'Who Were the First Americans?', *Black Scholar* 7, 1 (1975), 34-35, 39.
- Clifford, J., *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, MA, 1988).

- Clifford, R. J., *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge, MA, 1972).
- Clement of Alexandria, *The Exhortation to the Greeks*, trans. G. W. Butterworth (London, and Cambridge, MA, 1960 edn).
- Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata Buch*, Vols I–VI, trans. O. Sthälin (Leipzig, 1906; repr. Berlin, 1960).
- Cline, E., 'Amenthop III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypto-Aegean Relations in the 14th Century BC', *Orientalia*, 56, June (1987), 1–36.
- Cline, E., 'Contact and Trade or Colonization? Egypt and the Aegean in the 14th–13th Centuries BC', *Minos*, 25/6 (1900–91), 25–26, 7–36.
- Cohen, J., *The Origins and Evolution of the Moses Nativity Story* (Leiden, 1993).
- Cohen, M., and Drabkin, I. E., *A Source Book in Greek Science* (New York, 1948).
- Coleman, J. E., 'Did Egypt Share the Glory that Was Greece? The Case Against Martin Bernal's *Black Athena*', *Archaeology*, 45, 2 (1992), 49–52, 77–81 (repr. in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 280–302).
- Colon, A. K., 'Critical Issues in Black Studies: A Selective Analysis', *Journal of Negro Education*, 53, 3 (1984), 268–277.
- Condon, E. O'M., *The Irish Race in America* (New York, 1887).
- Cone, J. H., *Black Theology and Black Power* (New York, 1969).
- Cone, J. H., *A Black Theology of Liberation* (New York, 1986).
- Connah, G., *African Civilizations – Precolonial States and Cities in Tropical Africa: An Archaeological Perspective* (Cambridge, 1987).
- Constable, G., *The Neanderthals* (New York, 1973).
- Conzelmann, Hans, *Gentiles, Jews, Christians: Polemic and Apologetics in the Greco-Roman Era*, trans. M. Eugene Boring (Minneapolis, MN, 1992).
- Cook, A., *Myth and Language* (Bloomington, IN, 1980).
- Cook, M., 'Pharaonic History in Medieval Egypt', *Studia Islamica*, 57 (1983), 54–66.
- Cook, R., *Sweet Land of Liberty? The African-American Struggle for Civil Rights in the Twentieth Century* (London; New York, 1998).
- Coon, C., *The Races of Europe* (New York, 1939).
- Coon, C. S., *The Origins of Races* (New York, 1962).
- Copenhagen, B. P., *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius* (Cambridge, 1993).
- Covey, C., *Catulus: A Roman Jewish Colony in America from the Time of Charlemagne through Alfred the Great* (New York, 1975).
- Cowan, W. C., and Watson, P. J. (eds), *The Origins of Agriculture: An International Perspective* (Washington, DC, 1992).
- Crenshaw, J. (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (New York, 1976).
- Crouch, T. L., 'Early Black Studies Movement', *Journal of Black Studies*, 2 (1971), 189–200.
- Crowley, J. L., *The Aegean and the East. An Investigation into the Transference of Artistic Motifs between the Aegean, Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age* (Jönköping, Sweden, 1989).
- Cruse, H., *Rebellion or Revolution?* (New York, 1967).
- Cruse, H., 'Black Studies: Interpretation, Methodology, and the Relationship to Social Movement', *Afro-American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 2, June (1971), 15–51.
- Curlander, H., *A Treasure of African Folklore: The Oral Literature, Tradition Myth, etc.* (New York, 1996).

- Currid, J. D., 'An Examination of the Egyptian Background of the Genesis Cosmogony', *Biblische Zeitschrift*, new series, 35, 1 (1991), 18–40.
- Custance, A. C., *Noah's Three Sons: Human History in Three Dimensions* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1975).
- D'Alviella, Count G., *The Migration of Symbols* ([1892] New York, 1956).
- Dan, J. (ed. and introduction), *Sefer Hayashar* (Jerusalem, 1986) (in Hebrew).
- Daniel, G., *The First Civilizations: The Archaeology of their Origins* (London, 1968).
- Daniels, P. T. K., 'Black Studies: Discipline or Field of Study?', *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 4, 3, Fall (1980), 195–199.
- Darder, A. (ed.), *Culture and Difference: Critical Perspectives on the Bicultural Experience in the United States* (Westport, CT, 1995).
- David, A. R., *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt: A Modern Investigation of Pharaoh's Workforce* (London, 1968).
- David, A. R., *Discovering Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1994).
- Davidson, B., *African Kingdoms* (New York, 1966).
- Davidson, B., *The African Genius: An Introduction to African Social and Cultural History* (Boston, MA, 1969).
- Davidson, B., *Discovering our African Heritage* (Boston, MA, 1971).
- Davidson, B., *The Lost Cities of Africa* (Boston, MA, revised edn, 1987).
- Davidson, B., *African Civilization Revisited: From Antiquity to Modern Times* (Trenton, NJ, 1991).
- Davidson, B., *The Search for Africa: History, Culture, Politics* (New York, 1994).
- Davies, J. J., *Moses and the Gods of Egypt* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1971).
- Davies, V. W. (ed.), *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam* (London, 1991).
- Davies, V. W. and Schofield, L. (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium* (London, 1995).
- Davis, D. B., *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, NY, 1975).
- Davis, F. J., *Who is Black? One Nation's Definition* (University Park, PA, 1991).
- Davis, R. W., 'Negro Contribution to the Exploration of the Globe', in Joseph Roueck and T. P. Kierman (eds), *The Negro Impact on Western Civilization* (London, 1970), 33–50.
- Davis, W. M., 'Plato on Egyptian Art', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 66 (1979), 121–127.
- Dawud, Abdu'l-Ahad, *Muhammad in the Bible* (London, 1991).
- Degler, C. W., *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (first edn, 1971] Madison, WI, 1986).
- De Gobineau, J. A., Comte, *The Inequality of Human Races*, trans. H. Fertig (New York, 1967).
- Denon, D. V., *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, Vols I–II (London, 1803, 2nd edn).
- Dent, A. A., *The Horse through Fifty Centuries of Civilization* (New York, 1974).
- Depuydt, L., 'Ancient Egyptian Star Clocks and Their Theory', *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, LV, 1/2 (Jan.–April 1998), 5–44.
- Derry, D. E., 'The Dynastic Race in Egypt', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 42 (1956), 80–88.
- Derwy, D. E. and Derwy H. N., *Afro-American History: Past and Present* (New York, 1971).
- De Saunders J. B., *The Transition from Ancient Egyptian to Egyptian Medicine* (Lawrence, KS, 1963).

- Dickinson, O., *The Aegean Bronze Age* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Dillon, J., *The Golden Chain: Studies in the Development of Platonism and Christianity* (Aldershot, 1990).
- Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, trans. C. H. Oldfather, Vols I–III (Cambridge, MA and London, 1960 edn).
- Diop, Cheikh A., *Remarks on African Personality and Negritude: Pan-Africanism Reconsidered* (New York, 1955).
- Diop, Cheikh A., 'Pigmentation of the Ancient Egyptians: Test by Melanin Analysis', *Bulletin de L'institut fondamental d'Afrique, Série B. Sciences Humaines*, 35, 3 (July, 1973), 515–530.
- Diop, Cheikh A., *The African Origins of Civilization, Myths or Reality?* trans. M. Cook (Chicago, IL, 1974) (originally published in French as: *Nations nègres et culture*, 1955).
- Diop, Cheikh A., 'Origins of the Ancient Egyptians', in G. Mokhtar (ed.), *UNESCO, General History of Africa*, Vol. II: *Ancient Civilizations of Africa* (Berkeley, CA, 1981), 27–57.
- Diop, Cheikh A., 'Africa: Cradle of Humanity', in Van Sertima (ed.), *Nile Valley Civilization, Journal of African Civilization*, 6, 2 (1984).
- Diop, Cheikh A., *Precolonial Black Africa*, trans. H. Salemsen (Brooklyn, NY, 1987).
- Diop, Cheikh A., *The Nile – Notes for Travellers in Egypt* (London, 1989).
- Diop, Cheikh A., *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (Chicago, IL, 1990, 3rd edn) (trans. of *L'Unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire*, 1959).
- Diop, Cheikh A., *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology*, trans. Yaa-Leng-Meema Ngemi (Brooklyn, NY, 1991) (French original: *Civilisation ou barbarie: Anthropologie sans Complaisance*, 1981).
- Doane, T. W., *Bible Myths and Their Parallels in World's Major Religions . . .* ([1882] repr. New York, 1948, 7th edn).
- Donadoni, R., Curto, S., and Roveri, A. M. (eds), *Egypt from Myth to Egyptology* (Milan, 1990).
- Doods, E. R., *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1951).
- Doods, E. R., *The Ancient Concept of Progress and Other Essays on Greek Literature and Belief* (Oxford, 1973).
- Doran, H., *The Geography of Science* (Baltimore, MD, and London, 1991).
- Doumas, C. and Puchlet, H. C. (eds), 'Thera and the Aegean World', paper presented at the second International Scientific Congress, Santorini, Greece, August 1978 (London, 1978).
- Drachler, J. (ed.), *Black Homeland – Black Diaspora: Cross-Currents of the Africa Relationship* (Port Washington, NY, 1975).
- Drake, St Clair, *The Redemption of Africa and Black Religion* (Chicago, IL and Atlanta, GA, 1970).
- Drake, St Clair, 'Black Studies and Global Perspectives: An Essay', *Journal of Negro Education*, 53, 3 (Summer 1984), 226–242.
- Drake, St Clair, 'African Diaspora and Jewish Diaspora: A Convergence and Divergence', in J. Washington (ed.), *Jews in Black Perspective: A Dialogue* (Rutherford, NJ, 1984), 19–41.
- Drake, St Clair, *Black Folk Here and There: An Essay in History and Anthropology*, 2 Vols (Los Angeles, CA, 1987, 1990).
- Draper, T., *The Discovery of Black Nationalism* (New York, 1971).

- Draper, W. J., *History of Intellectual Development* ([1861] rev. edn, New York, and London, 1896).
- Drews, R., *The Greek Account of Eastern History* (Cambridge, MA, 1973).
- Drews, R., *The Coming of the Greeks: Indo-European Conquests in the Aegean and the Near East* (New Haven, CT, 1988).
- Drews, R., 'PIE Speakers and PA Speakers', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 25, 1, 2 (1997), 153–177.
- Drimer, M., *Black History – A Reappraisal* (New York, 1968).
- Droge, A. J., *Moses or Homer? Early Christian Interpretations of the History of Culture* (Tübingen, 1989).
- Drower, M. S., *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology* (London, 1985).
- D'Souza, D., *The End of Racism* (New York, 1995).
- Dubois, F., *Timbuctoo the Mysterious* ([1897] repr. New York, 1969).
- Du Bois, W. E. B., *The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part which Africa has Played in World History* (New York, enlarged edn, 1966).
- Du Bois, W. E. B., *The Negro* ([New York, 1915] reissued New York, 1970).
- Du Bois, W. E. B., *The Souls of Black Folk* ([1903], repr. with introduction by H. L. Gates, New York, 1989).
- Dunn, R. E., *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta* (Berkeley, CA, 1989).
- Dunston, A. G., Jr, Bishop, *The Black Man in the Old Testament and its World* (Trenton, NJ, 1992 edn).
- Durham, P., and Jones E. L., *The Negro Cowboy* (Lincoln, NE, 1965).
- Dyson, M. E., 'A Struggle for the Black Mind: Melanin Madness', *Emerge*, 3 (1992), 32–37.
- Eddy, S. K., *The King is Dead: Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism 334–31 BC* (Lincoln, NE, 1961).
- Edel, E., *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof* (Opladen, 1976).
- Edmunds, L. (ed.), *Approaches to Greek Myths* (Baltimore, MD, 1990).
- Edwards, B. R., *Kadmos the Phoenician: A Study in Greek Legends and the Mycenaean Age* (Amsterdam, 1979).
- Edwards, D. E., *Chosen, Not Cursed* (Kansas City, KS, 1989).
- Edwards, D. N., 'Archaeology and Settlement in Upper Nubia in the 1st Millennium AD', in *Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology*, 36 (Cambridge, 1989).
- Edwards, I. E. S., *The Pyramids of Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1964).
- Edwards, M., *East–West Passage: The Travel of Ideas, Arts and Inventions between Asia and the Western World* (New York, 1971).
- Edwards, O., 'Are Black People Cursed by God?', in *Direction Student* (Chicago Urban Ministries, IL, 1980/81).
- Ehret, C. and Posnansky, M. (eds), *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History* (Berkeley, CA, 1982).
- Eide, T., Hägg, T., Pierce, R. H., and Török, L., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eight Century BC, and the Sixth Century AD*, 3 vols (Bergen, 1994).
- El-Amin, M., *The Religion of Islam and the Nation of Islam: What is the Difference?* (Newark, NJ, 1990).
- El-Amin, M., *Freemasonry, Ancient Egypt and the Islamic Destiny* (Jersey City, NJ, 1993).
- El-Amin, M., *Ancient Egypt and the Islamic Destiny* (Jersey City, NJ, 1994).



- El-Mallakh, K., *The Treasures of the Nile: Art of the Temples and Tombs of Egypt* (New York, 1986).
- Eley, G., and Suny, R. G. (eds), *Becoming National* (New York, Oxford, 1996).
- Emerson, R., *From Empire to Nation: The Rise of Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples* (Cambridge, MA, 1962).
- Emery, W. B., *Archaic Egypt: Culture and Civilization in Egypt Five Thousand Years Ago* (London, 1963).
- Emery, W. B., *Egypt in Nubia* (London, 1965).
- Endesfelder, E., and Hinze F. (eds), *Ägypten und Kush* (Berlin, 1977).
- Engberg, R. M., *The Hyksos Reconsidered* (Chicago, 1939).
- Erikson, E. H., 'The Concept of Identity in Race Relations: Notes and Queries', *Daedalus*, 95, 1, Winter (1966), 145–71.
- Erich, H., and Gershoni, I. (eds), *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths* (Boulder, CO, 1999).
- Erman, A., *Life in Ancient Egypt*, trans. H. M. Tirard (New York, 1971).
- Esedebe, P. O., *Pan-Africanism: the Idea and Movement 1776–1963* (Washington DC, 1982).
- Essien-Udom, E. U., *Black Nationalism: A Search for an Identity in America* (2nd edn, New York, 1964).
- Ettinger, S., 'Jews and Judaism as Seen by English Deists of the Eighteenth Century', in S. Ettinger, *Modern Anti-Semitism: Studies and Essays* (Jerusalem, 1964), 182–207 (in Hebrew).
- Euripides, *The Phoenician Maidens*, trans. A. S. Way (Cambridge, MA, and London, Vol. III, 1967).
- Evans, A. J., *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* (London, 1921–35).
- Evans, E. C., 'Physiognomics in the Ancient World', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 59/5 (August 1969).
- Evans, J. A., 'Black Athena and the American Dilemma', *Contemporary Review*, 272, 1584 (1998), 17–22.
- Evans J. A. S., *Herodotus: Explorer of the Past* (Princeton, NJ, 1991).
- Evans, W. M., 'From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the "Sons of Ham"', *American Historical Review*, 85 (1980), 15–43.
- Eze, E. C. (ed.), *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader* (Malden, MA, 1998, repr.).
- Fagan, M. B., *The Great Journey: The Peopling of Ancient America* (London, 1987).
- Fagan, M. B., *Rape of the Nile: Tomb Robbers, Tourists, and Archaeologists in Egypt* (Wakefield, RI, and London, 1992 edn).
- Fanon, F., *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. C. L. Markmann ([1952] New York, 1967).
- Fanon, F., *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. V. Farington ([1961] New York, 1963).
- Farnell, L. R., *Greek Hero Cult and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford, 1921).
- Fauvelle, F.-X., *L'Afrique de Cheikh Anta Diop* (Paris, 1996).
- Fehling, D., *Herodotus and his 'Sources': Citation, Invention and Narrative Art* (Leeds, 1989).
- Feibleman, J. K., *Religious Platonism: The Influence of Religion on Plato and the Influence of Plato on Religion* (London, 1959).
- Feiner, Shmuel, *Haskalah and History: The Emergence of a Modern Jewish Awareness of the Past* (Jerusalem, 1995) (in Hebrew).
- Felder, C. H., *Troubling Biblical Waters: Race, Class and Family* (New York, 1990).
- Feldman, B., and Richardson, R. D., *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680–1860* (Bloomington, IN, [1860] 1972).

- Fell, B., *America BC: Ancient Settlers in the New World* (New York, 1976).
- Fernandez, P. J., *Black Managers in White Corporations* (New York, 1975).
- Fischer, D. H., *Paul Revere's Ride* (New York, 1994).
- Field, B. J., 'Ideology and Race in American History', in J. M. Kousser and J. M. McPherson (eds), *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward* (Oxford New York, 1982), 143-178.
- Filoramo, G., *A History of Gnosticism*, trans. by A. Alcock (Cambridge and Oxford, 1992).
- Finch, C. S., *The African Background to Medical Science* (London, 1990).
- Fingerhut, E. R., *Who First Discovered America? A Critique of Writings on Pre-Columbian Voyages* (Claremont, CA, 1989).
- Finkelberg, M., review of J. Bestad and F. Woundhuszen, *Lost Languages from the Mediterranean* (1989), *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 7, 1 (1992), 101-102.
- Finkelberg, M., 'The Dialect Continuum of Ancient Greek', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philosophy*, 96 (1994), 1-35.
- Finkelberg, M., 'Anatolian Languages and Indo-European Migration to Greece', *Classical World*, 91, 1 (1997), 3-20.
- Finkelberg, M., 'Bronze Age Writing: Contacts between East and West', in E. H. Cline and D. Harris-Cline (eds), *Aegaeum 18: The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium* (Liège, 1998), 265-272.
- Finley, M. I., 'Christian Beginnings: Three Views of Historiography', in Finley, *Aspects of Antiquity: Discoveries and Controversies* (London, 1968), 167-184.
- Finley, M. I., *The World of Odysseus* (London, 1979 edn).
- Finley, M. I., *The Use and Abuse of History* (London, 1990 edn).
- Fischer, D. H., *Paul Revere's Ride* (New York, 1994).
- Fischer, H. G., 'The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period', *Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities*, 9 (1961), 44-80.
- Flaubert, G., *Flaubert in Egypt: A Sensitivity on Tour*, trans. and ed. F. Steegmuller (Chicago, IL, 1979).
- Flavius Philostratus, *Vita Appolinus*, trans. C. D. Jones (Harmonsworth, 1970).
- Forcc, J. E., *William Whiston: Honest Newtonian* (Cambridge, 1985).
- Forsdyke, J., *Greece before Homer: Ancient Chronology and Mythology* (New York, 1964).
- Fowden, G., *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (New Haven, CT, 1986).
- Fox, M. V., *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison, WI, 1985).
- Franklin, J. H., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (5th edn, New York, 1980).
- Fraser, S. (ed.), *The Bell Curve Wars: Race, Intelligence, and the Future of America* (New York, 1995).
- Frazier, E. F., *Race and Cultural Contacts in the Modern World* (New York, 1957).
- Frazier, E. F., *The Negro Church in America* (New York, 1960) (new edn bound with *Black Church since Frazier*).
- Frazier, E. F., *Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States* (New York, 1962).
- Frazier, E. F., 'The Failure of the Negro Intellectual', in J. A. Ladner (ed.), *The Death of White Sociology* (New York, 1973), 52-66.
- Friedman, J., 'The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity', *American Anthropology*, 94, 4 (1992), 837-859.

- Funkenstein, A., 'History as Predestination: The Apocalyptic Mentality', in Funkenstein, *Perspectives of Jewish History* (Los Angeles, CA, 1993), 70–87.
- Gafni, I. M., Oppenheimer, A., and Schwarz, D. R. (eds), *The Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman World* (Jerusalem, 1996).
- Gager, J. G., *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, NY, 1972).
- Gamble, C., *Timewalkers: The Prehistory of Global Civilization* (Cambridge, MA, 1996, 2nd edn).
- Gamble, H. Y., *Books and Readers in the Early Christian Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, CT, 1995).
- Gans, H. J., 'Symbolic Ethnicity: Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America', republished in W. Sollors (ed.), *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader* (London, 1996), 425–459.
- Gardiner, A. H., *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris, 1916).
- Gardiner, A. H., 'Professional Magicians in Ancient Egypt', *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 39 (1917), 31–44, 138–140.
- Gardiner, A. H., 'Per Ankh: The House of Life', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 24 (1938), 157–179.
- Gardiner, A. H., *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, repr. with corrections, 1966).
- Gardiner, A. H., and de Garis Davies, N., *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (London, 1915).
- Gardiner, B. J., 'The Teaching of African-American History in Schools and Colleges', in D. C. Hine (ed.), *The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present and Future* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1986), 83–171.
- Garin, E., *Astrology in the Renaissance: The Zodiac of Life*, trans. C. Jackson and J. Allen (London, 1983).
- Gates, H. L., Jr, *Figures in Black: Words, Signs, and the 'Racial' Self* (New York, and Oxford, 1989 edn).
- Gates, H. L., Jr, 'Black Demagogues and Pseudo-Scholars', *New York Times*, 20 July 1992.
- Gates, H. L., Jr, *Wonders of the African World* (New York, 1999).
- Gay, P., *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, Vol. II: *The Rise of Modern Paganism* (New York, and London, 1977 edn).
- Gayle, A. (ed.), *The Black Aesthetic* (Garden City, NY, 1971).
- Geiser, P., *The Egyptian Nubians: A Study in Social Symbiosis* (Cairo, 1989).
- Gelb, I. G., 'Mekkan and Meluhha in Early Mesopotamian Sources', *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, 64, 1 (1970), 1–8.
- Genovese, E. D., *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1976).
- Georgakas, D., 'Black Athena: Aryans, Semites, Egyptians, and Hellenes', *Cineaste*, 19, 2–3 (1993), 55–56.
- Gershoni, I., 'Geographers and Nationalism in Egypt: Huzayyin and the Unity of the Nile Valley 1945–1948', in Erlich and Gershoni, *The Nile, Histories, Culture, Myths* (Boulder, CO, 1999) 199–215.
- Gershoni, I., and Jankowski, J., *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900–1930* (Oxford, 1989).
- Gershoni, Y., *Africans on African-Americans: The Creation and Uses of an African-American Myth* (London, 1997).
- Ghalioungui, P., *The House of Life, Per Ankh: Magical and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt* (Amsterdam, 1973).
- Gibel Azoulay, K., *Black, Jewish, and Interracial: It's Not the Color of Your Skin, but the Race of Your Kin, and Other Myths of Identity* (Durham, NC, and London, 1997).

- Giddon, George, *Ancient Egyptian* (Philadelphia, PA, 1843).
- Gilbert, P., 'Homère et l'Égypte', *Chronique d'Égypte*, 14 (1939), 47–61.
- Gillings, R. J., *Mathematics in the Time of the Pharaohs* ([1972] New York, 1982).
- Gilman, S. L., *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany* (Boston, MA, 1982).
- Gilman, S. L., *Jewish Self-Hatred Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore, MD, 1986).
- Gilman, S. L., *The Jew's Body* (New York, and London, 1991).
- Ginsberg, M., *Sociology* (Oxford, 1963 3rd edn).
- Ginzberg, L., *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols, trans. H. Szold (repr. Philadelphia, PA, 1968).
- Girshick-Ben Amos, P., 'The Promise of Greatness: Women and Power in the Edo Spirit Possession Cult', in T. B. Blakely *et al.* (eds), *Religion in Africa* (Portsmouth, NH, 1994).
- Giveon, R., *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan: Iconographical and Related Studies* (Freiburg, Switzerland, and Göttingen, 1978).
- Glanville, S. R. K. (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford, 1953 edn).
- Glazer, N., and Moynian, D. P. (eds), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge, MA, 1975).
- Glover, H. S., III, 'A Praise Poem', *New Essence*, 2, 1 (1991), 41.
- Godwin, J., *Athanasius Kircher: A Renaissance Man and the Quest for Lost Knowledge* (London, 1979).
- Goethe, J. W., *Italian Journey (1786–1788)*, trans. W. H. Auden and E. Mayer (1970 edn).
- Golan, A., *Myth and Symbol: Symbolism in Prehistory Religions* (Jerusalem, 1991) (in Hebrew).
- Golan, D., 'Josephus Alexander's Visit to Jerusalem, and Modern Historiography', in U. Rappaport (ed.), *Josephus Flavius: Historian of Eretz-Israel in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (Jerusalem, 1982), 29–56 (in Hebrew).
- Goldenberg, D. M., 'The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?', in J. Zalzman and C. West (eds), *Struggle in the Promised Land* (Oxford, and New York, 1997), 21–52.
- Goldenberg, D. M., 'Rabbinic Knowledge of Black Africa' (*Sifre Deut.* 320), *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 5 (1998) 318–328.
- Goldwasser, O., 'An Egyptian Scribe from Lachish and the Hieratic Tradition of the Hebrew Kingdoms', *Tel Aviv*, 18 (1991), 248–253.
- Goldzieher, I., *Mythology among the Hebrews and its Historical Development*, trans. R. Martineau (New York, 1967 edn).
- Gombrich, E. H., *In Search of Cultural History* (Oxford, 1969).
- Gomme, A. W., 'The Legend of Cadmus and the Logographi', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 33 (1913), 53–72, 223–254.
- Gonzalez Blanco, A., 'Hermeticism: Bibliographical Approach', in H. Temporini and W. Hasse (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, Vol. II (Berlin/New York, 1984), 2240–2281.
- Gordon, C. H., *The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilizations* (New York, 1965, 2nd edn) (1st edition entitled *Before the Bible*, 1962).
- Gordon, C. H., *Ugarit and Minoan Crete: The Bearing of the Texts on the Origins of Western Culture* (New York, 1966).

- Gordon, C. H., *Homer and the Bible* (New York, 1955).
- Gordon, P., 'On Black Athena: Ancient Critique of the "Ancient Model" of Greek History', *Classical World*, 87 (1993), 7-2.
- Gordon, V. V., *Kemet and Other Ancient African Civilizations: Selected References* (Chicago, IL, 1991).
- Gosset, T. F., *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (New York, 1965 edn).
- Goudriaan, K., *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Amsterdam, 1988).
- Gould, S., *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York, 1981).
- Graetz, H., *Essays, Memoirs, Letters*, trans. Y. Tolkes (Jerusalem, 1969) (in Hebrew).
- Graetz, H., 'Correspondence on Judaism and Semitism', in H. Graetz, *The Structure of Jewish History and Other Essays*, trans., ed. and introduction I. Schorsch (New York, 1975).
- Grafton, A., *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science* (Cambridge, MA, 1991).
- Grant, M., *The Rise of the Greeks* (New York, 1987).
- Grant, M., *The Founders of the Western World* (New York, 1991).
- Grant, S. G., 'Appeasing the Right: Missing the Point', *Social Education*, 6, 12 (1997), 102-106.
- Graves, R., *The Greek Myths* (London, 1992).
- Graves, R., and Patai, R., *Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis* (Garden City, NY, 1964).
- Green, P., *Classical Bearing: Interpreting Ancient History and Culture* (London, 1989).
- Green, T., 'Black Athena and Classical Historiography: Other Approaches, Other Views', *Arethusa*, Special Issue, Fall (1989), 55-65.
- Green, V. R., *For God and Country: The Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Ethnic Consciousness in America, 1860-1910* (Madison, WI, 1975).
- Greenberg, G., *The Moses Mystery: The African Origins of the Jewish People* (New York, 1996).
- Greener, L., *The Discovery of Egypt* (New York, 1966).
- Grégoire, Henri Baptiste, *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs* (Paris, 1789).
- Grégoire, Henri Baptiste, *An Enquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties, and Literature of the Negro*, trans. D. B. Warder (Brooklyn, NY, 1810).
- Griffin, J. G., 'Who Are These Coming to Sacrifice?', *New York Times*, Review of Books, 15 June, 1989, 25-27.
- Griffiths, J. G. (Intro., trans., comm.), *The Isis Book (Metamorphoses)*, Book XI (Leiden, 1976).
- Griffiths, J. H., *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cardiff, 1970).
- Griffiths, J. H., *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1986).
- Griggs, C. W., *Early Egyptian Christianity from its Origins to 451 CE* (Leiden, 1991, 2nd edn).
- Gruen, E. S., 'Cultural Fictions and Cultural Identity', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Association*, 123 (1993), 1-14.
- Gruen, E. S., *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley, CA, 1998).
- Grunebaum, G. von E., 'An Analysis of Islamic Civilization and Cultural Anthropology', in von Grunebaum, *Modern Islam: The Search for Cultural Identity* (New York, 1964), 40-48.
- Gurney O. R., *The Hittites* (London, repr. with revisions, 1990).

- Gyekye, K., *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme* (New York, 1987).
- Haak, R. D., "Cush" in Zephaniah', in S. W. Holloway and L. K. Handy (eds), *The Pitcher is Broken/Memorial Essays for G. W. Aiström, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series: 190 (Sheffield, 1995), 238–251.
- Haarmann, U., 'Regional Sentiment in Medieval Islamic Egypt', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 43 (Leiden, 1980), 55–66.
- Habicht, C., *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley, CA, 1985).
- Hadas, M., *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion* (New York, 1939).
- Hadas, M., *The Greek Ideal and its Survival* (New York, 1960).
- Halevi, Judah, *The Book of the Kuzari*, trans. from Arabic with introduction H. Hirschfeld (London, and New York, 1905).
- Hall, E., *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-definition through Tragedy* (Oxford, 1991).
- Hall, H., P., *Freemasonry of the Ancient Egyptians* ([1937] Los Angeles, CA, 1971).
- Hall, J., 'Black Athena: A Sheep in Wolf's Clothing', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 3, 2 (1990), 247–254.
- Hall, P. A., 'Beyond Afrocentrism: Alternatives for Afro-American Studies', *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 15, 4, Winter (1992), 207–212.
- Hall, R. L., *Black Separatism in the United States* (Hanover, NH, 1978).
- Hallo, W. W. and Simpson, W. K., *The Ancient Near East: A History* (New York, 1971).
- Halsell, G., *Prophecy and Politics: The Secret Alliance between Israel and the US Christian Right* (Chicago, IL, 1989).
- Hamalian, L., and Hatch, J. V. (eds), *The Roots of African-American Drama: An Anthology of Early Plays, 1858–1938* (Detroit, MI, 1991).
- Hamdun, S. and King, N., *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*, with new introduction R. E. Dunn (New Haven, CT, 1995).
- Hamilton, C. V., *The Black Preacher in America* (New York, 1972).
- Handa, R. C., *The Indo-Aryan Races: A Study of the Origin of Indo-Aryan People and Institutions*, Vol. I (Rajsdhi, Bengal, 1916).
- Handlin, O., *Race and Nationality in American Life* (Boston and Toronto, 1948).
- Hansberry, W. L., *African History Notebook*, Vol. I: *Pillars in Ethiopian History*; Vol. II: *Africa and Africans as Seen by Classical Writers*, ed. J. E. Harris (Washington DC, 1981).
- Harber, L., *Black Pioneers of Science and Invention* (New York, 1970).
- Harden, D., *The Phoenicians* (Harmondsworth, 1972 edn).
- Hare, N., 'The Battle of Black Studies', *The Black Scholar*, 3, 9 (May, 1972), 32–37.
- Harper, F. E. W., *Moses: A Story of the Nile* (Philadelphia, PA, 1869).
- Harrington, M., 'Loyalities. Dual and Divided', in M. Walzer et al. (eds), *The Politics of Ethnicity* (Cambridge, MA, 1980), 93–138.
- Harris, J., *Africans and their History* (New York, 1987, revised edn).
- Harris, J., and Weeks, K., *X-raying the Pharaohs* (New York, 1973).
- Harris, J. R. (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford, 1971, 2nd edn).
- Harris, N., 'A Philosophical Basis for an Afrocentric Orientation', *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 16, 3 (1992), 154–159.
- Harris, R. L., Jr, *Teaching African-American History* (1992).
- Harrold, F. B., Eve, R. A. (eds), *Cult Archaeology and Creationism: Understanding Pseudoscientific Beliefs about the Past* (Iowa City, 1995).

- Harten, S., 'Archaeology and the Unconscious: Hegel, Egyptomania and the Legitimation of Orientalism', in I. A. Bierman (ed.), *Egypt and the Fabrication of European Identity* (Los Angeles, CA, 1985), 3-33.
- Hartog, F., *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, trans. J. Lloyd (Berkeley, CA, 1988).
- Hatem, M. A.-K., *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 1982, 2nd edn).
- Havelock, E. A., *The Liberal Temper in Greek Politics* (New Haven, CT, 1980).
- Haykal, M. H., *The Life of Muhammad*, trans. from 8th edn Ismail Ragi A. Al-Faraqui (North American Trust Publications, 1976).
- Haynes, J. L., *Nubia Ancient Kingdoms of Africa* (Boston, MA, 1992).
- Hayward, C. T. R. (trans., with commentary), *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (Oxford, 1995).
- Heaton, E. W., *Solomon's New Men: The Emergence of Ancient Israel as a National State* (London, 1974).
- Hegel, G. W. F., *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York, 1956).
- Heidel, W. A., 'Hecateus and the Egyptian Priest in Herodotus Book II', *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 9, 2 (1935), 53-134.
- Heinberg, R., *Memories and Visions of Paradise: Exploring the Universal Myth of a Lost Golden Age* (Los Angeles, CA, 1990 edn).
- Heitsch, E. (ed.), *Die Griechischen Dichterfragmente der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Vol. I (Göttingen, 1963).
- Helck, W., *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasien zur Ägais bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1979).
- Helck, W. (ed), *Kleine Ägyptische Texte: Der Text des 'Nilhymnus'* (Wiesbaden, 1971).
- Helck, W., Otto, E., and Westendorf, W., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. IV (Wiesbaden, 1982).
- Heliodorus, *Ethiopica (An Ethiopian Romance)*, trans. with introduction M. Hadas (Ann Arbor, MI, 1957).
- Henrichs, A., 'Three Approaches to Greek Mythology', in J. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London/Sydney, 1987), 242-277.
- Herakleion Museum Illustrated Guide* (Athens, 1978).
- Herodotus, *Book II*, Vols I-II, trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge, MA, 1960).
- Herrnstein, R. and Murray, C., *The Bell Curve* (New York, 1994).
- Herskovits, M. J., *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston, MA, 1989 edn, with new introduction S. W. Mintz).
- Hesiod, *Theogony Works and Days*, trans. and introduction D. Wender (London, 1973).
- Hess, M., *The Revival of Israel: Rome and Jerusalem, The Last Nationalist Question*, trans. with introduction and notes M. Waxman (Lincoln, NE, 1995).
- Hibben, F. C., *Digging Up America* (New York, 1968).
- Hidal, S., 'The Land of Cush in the Old Testament', *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*, 41-42 (1976-77), 97-106.
- Hieronymous, 'Hebraicae Quaestiones in Libro Geneseos', in S. Hieronymi, *Presbyteri Opera, Pars I: Opera Exegetica* (Turnhout, Belgium, 1959).
- Higginbotham, C., 'Elite Emulation and Egyptian Governance in Ramesside Canaan', *Tel Aviv* 3 (1996), 154-169.
- Higgins, G., *Anacalypsis*, Vol. I ([1836], repr. New York, 1992).
- Hill, G., *When Black Meet White: The Afro-American Experience since 1948* (Chicago, IL, repr. 1983).

- Hilliard, A. G., III, 'The Meaning of KMT (Ancient Egyptian) History for Contemporary African-American Experience', *Phylon: The Clark Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture*, 49, 1, 2 (1992), 10-22.
- Himmelfarb, M., 'Is History Dead?', *Commentary* (1970), 45-49.
- Hine, D. C. (ed.), *The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1986).
- Hintze, F. and Hintze U., *Civilizations of Old Sudan* (Leipzig/Amsterdam, 1968).
- Hippocrates, *Writings*, ed. with introduction G. E. R. Lloyd, trans. L. Chadwick and W. N. Mann et al. (London, 1983).
- Hirschenson, Y. Z., *Seva Chakmot batalmud ubamidrash (Seven Wisdoms in the Talmud and the Midrash)* (Lemberg, 1883) (in Hebrew).
- Hoffman, M. A., *Egypt Before the Pharaohs: The Prehistoric Foundation of Egyptian Civilization* (New York, 1979; rev. and updated edn, Austin, TX, 1991).
- Hofman, I., 'Kuschiten in Palestina', *Göttinger Miszellen*, 46 (1981), 9-10.
- Hogart, R. C. (trans.), *The Hymns of Orpheus* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1993).
- Hogarth, D. G. (ed.), *Authority and Archaeology: Sacred and Profane* (London, 1899).
- Holloway, J. E. (ed.), *Africanism in American Culture* (Bloomington, IN, 1990).
- Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. R. Fitzgerald (Garden City, NY, 1963 edn).
- hooks, b., *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (Boston, MA, 1990).
- Hopkins, D. N., *Black Theology USA and South Africa: Politics, Culture and Liberation* (New York, 1990).
- Horapolo, *The Hieroglyphics by Horapolo*, trans. George Boas (New York, 1950).
- Hornung, E., *Concepts of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. J. Baines (Ithaca, NY, 1982).
- Hornung, E., *Geschichte als Fest* (Darmstadt, 1966).
- Hountondji, P. J., *African Philosophy* (Bloomington, IN, 1983).
- Houston, D. D., *Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire*, Vols I-II ([1926] Baltimore, MD, 1985 edn).
- Howe, S., *Afrocentrism: Mythical Pasts and Imagined Homes* (London: New York, 1998; paperback, 1999).
- Huff, T. E., *The Rise of Early Modern Science: Islam, China, and the West* (Cambridge, 1993).
- Huffman, T., 'The Early Iron Age and the Spread of the Bantu', *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 25 (1970), 3-21.
- Huggins, N. I., *Afro-American Studies* (New York, 1985).
- Huggins, N. I., *Harlem Renaissance* (New York, 1971).
- Hugon, A., *The Exploration of Africa from Cairo to the Cape*, trans. A. Cambell (New York, 1993).
- Hulin, L. C., 'The Diffusion of Religious Symbols within Complex Societies', in I. Hodder (ed.), *The Meanings of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression* (London, 1989), 90-96.
- Hulin, L. C., 'The Worshippers of Asiatic Gods in Egypt', in S. Groll (ed.), *Papers and Discussions*, Vol. I (Jerusalem, 1981-82), 269-278.
- Humbert, J.-M., Pantazzu, M. and Ziegler, C. (eds), *Egyptomania: Egypt in Western Art, 1730-1930* (Ottawa, 1994).
- Hutchinson, R. W., *Prehistoric Crete* (Harmondsworth, 1963).
- Hymn, M., *Blacks Who Died for Jesus* (Nashville, TN, 1988).
- Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, trans. T. Taylor (London, 1965).



- Ibn Khaldûn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, 3 vols, trans. F. Rosenthal (New York, 1958).
- Ignatiev, N., *How the Irish Became White* (New York, London, 1995).
- Inge, W. R., *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, Vols I–III (London, 1923, 2nd edn).
- Isaac, E., 'Biblical and Rabbinic Understanding of the Curse of Noah', *Sidic*, 11 (1978), 22–27.
- Isaac, E., 'Genesis, Judaism and the Sons of Ham', in J. R. Willis (ed.), *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa* (London, 1985), 5–9.
- Isichei, E., *A History of Christianity in Africa from Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1995).
- Iversen, E., *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* ([1961] Princeton, NJ, limp edn, 1993).
- Jackson, B. D., *We Are the Children of the Great Ancient Africans* (New York, 1981).
- Jackson, J. G., *Ethiopia and the Origin of Civilization* (Baltimore, MD, 1979).
- Jackson, J. G., *Introduction to African Civilization* (New York, 1994 edn).
- Jackson, J. G., *Pagan Origins of the Christ Myth* (Austin, TX, 1988).
- Jackson, T., *Putting it all Together: World Conquest, Global Genocide and African Liberation* (New York, 1991).
- Jacob, M. C., *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London, 1981).
- Jaeger, W., *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge, MA, 1962).
- Jaeger, W., *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, trans. G. Highet, 3 vols (Oxford: New York, 1939–44).
- Jairazbhoy, R. A., *Ancient Egyptians and Chinese in America* (London, 1974).
- Jairazbhoy, R. A., *Ancient Egypt, Mexico and the United States* (London, 1951).
- James, G. G. M., *Stolen Legacy: The Greeks Were Not the Authors of Greek Philosophy, but the People of North Africa, Commonly Called the Egyptians* ([1954] New York, 1989 edn).
- Jarvis, I., *Hollywood's Overseas Campaign: The North Atlantic Campaign Movie Trade 1920–1959* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Jaynes, G. D., and Williams, M. W., Jr (eds), *A Common Destiny: Black and American Society* (Washington DC, 1989).
- Jean, C. M., *Behind the Eurocentric Veils: The Search for African Realities* (Amherst, MA, 1992).
- Jeffrey, M. D. W., 'Arabs Discover America before Columbus', *Muslim Digest*, June (1953).
- Jeffrey, M. D. W., 'Pre-Columbian Negroes in America', *Scientia*, 88 (1953), 202–219.
- Jenkyens, R., *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, MA, 1980).
- Johanning, K., *Der Bibel-Babel-Streit* (Frankfurt, 1988).
- Johnson, F. D., *Telling Tales: The Pedagogy and Promise of African American Literature for Youth* (Westport, CT, 1990).
- Johnson, J. L., *The Black Biblical Heritage* (St Louis, MO, 1975).
- Johnson, J. L., *The Black Biblical Heritage: Four Thousand Years of Black Biblical History* (Nashville, TN, 1993).
- Joiner, L. L., 'Price Fixing', *Emerge*, Dec./Jan. (1998).
- Jones, R. L. (ed.), *Black Psychology* (New York, 1972).
- Jones, W. R., *Is God A White Racist? A Preamble to Black Theology* (Boston, MA, 1989 edn).

- Jordan, P., *Egypt the Black Land* (Oxford, 1976).
- Jordan, W. D., *White over Black: American Attitudes towards the Negro, 1550-1812* (New York, 1986 edn).
- Josephus, trans. H. St J. Thackeray et al., Vol. I: *Against Apion*; vols IV-X: *Jewish Antiquities* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1989 edn).
- Julian, Emperor of Rome, *Against the Galileans, in the Works of the Emperor Julian*, trans. W. C. Wright (Cambridge, MA, and London, Vol. III, repr. 1989).
- July, Robert W., *The Origins of Modern African Thought* (London, 1968).
- Junker, H., 'The First Appearance of Negroes in History', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 8 (1921), 121-132.
- Juvenal, *Satire*, trans. R. Humphries (Bloomington, IN, 1958).
- Kaerst, I., *Universalgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1930).
- Kaiser, E., 'The History of Negro History', *Negro Digest*, 17 (Feb. 1968), 10-15.
- Kaiser, M., *Herodotos Begegnungen mit Ägypten* (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1969).
- Kallen, H., *Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea: An Essay in Social Philosophy* (Philadelphia, PA, 1956).
- Kantor, H. J., 'The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium BC', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 51 (1947), 1-106.
- Kardiner, A., and Ovesey, L., *The Mark of Oppression: Exploration in the Personality of the American Negro* (Cleveland, OH, 1962).
- Karenga, M., *Selection from the Husia: Sacred Wisdom of Ancient Egypt* (Los Angeles, CA, 1984).
- Karenga, M., *The African American Holiday of Kwanzaa: A Celebration of Family, Community and Culture* (Los Angeles, CA, 1988).
- Karenga, M., 'Black Studies and the Problematic of Paradigm: The Philosophical Dimension', *Afro-American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 18 (June 1988), 395-414.
- Karenga, M., *The Book of Coming Forth by Day: The Ethics of the Declarations of Innocence* (Los Angeles, CA, 1990).
- Karenga, M., *Introduction to Black Studies* (Los Angeles, CA, 1993).
- Karenga, M. (ed.), *Reconstructing Kemetic Culture: Papers, Perspectives, Projects* (Los Angeles, CA, 1990).
- Karenga, M., and Carruthers, J. (eds), *Kemet and the African World View* (Los Angeles, CA, 1986).
- Kasher, A., 'Josephus' Reproach of Greek Historiography in Contra Apionem', in I. M. Gafni, A. Oppenheimer, and D. R. Schwartz (eds), *The Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman World: Studies in Memory of Menahem Stern* (Jerusalem, 1996), 273-299 (in Hebrew).
- Kasher, A., 'Some Suggestions and Comments Concerning Alexander Macedon's Campaign in Palestine', *Beit Mikra*, 62, 1 (1975), 187-208 (in Hebrew).
- Kasher, A., *Josephus Flavius: Against Apion* (a new Hebrew trans.), Vols I-II (Jerusalem, 1996).
- Kaster, J., *The Wisdom of Ancient Egypt: Writings from the Time of the Pharaohs* (London, 1995).
- Katz, D. S., *Philosemitism and the Readmission of the Jews* (Oxford, 1982).
- Katz, L. W., *Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage* (New York, 1986).
- Kaysers, W., 'Zu den Quellen der ägyptischen Geschichte Herodotos', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 94 (1976), 109-113.

- Kees, H., *Ancient Egypt: A Cultural Topography*, trans. I. F. D. Morrow (Chicago, IL, 1961).
- Keita, S. O., 'Studies and Comments on Ancient Egyptian Biological Relationship', *History in Africa*, 20 (1993), 129–154.
- Kelly, D. H., 'Egyptian and Ethiopians: Color, Race and Racism', *Classical Outlook*, 68 (Spring 1991), 77–82.
- Kendell, T., *Kush, Lost Kingdom of the Nile* (Brockton, MA, 1982).
- Kenyon, F. G., *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford, 1951, 2nd edn).
- Keto, C. T., *The Africa-Centered Perspective of History: An Introduction* (Laurel Springs, NJ, 1989).
- Khorana, M., *Africa in Literature for Children and Young Adults: An Annotated Bibliography of English Language Books* (Westport, CT, 1994).
- Kilian-Dirlemeier, I., 'Fremde Weihungen in Griechischen Heligtümern von 8. bis zum Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanische Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 32 (1985), 15–254.
- King, William M., 'The Importance of Black Studies for Science and Technology Policy', *Phylon*, 49, 1–2 (spring–summer 1992), 23–32.
- Kingdom, J., *Self-Made Man and His Undoing* (London, 1993).
- Kirk G. S., *Myth, Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* (Cambridge and Berkeley, CA, 1973).
- Kirk, G. S., *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Harmondsworth, 1974).
- Kirk, G. S., Raven, J. E., and Schofield, M., *The Presocratic Philosophers: A Critical History with a Selection of Texts* (Cambridge, 1983, 2nd edn).
- Kitchen, K. A., *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Rameses II* (Cairo, 1982).
- Kitchen, K. A., *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster, 1983, 2nd edn).
- Klein, A., *The Hidden Contributors: Black Scientists and Inventors in America* (New York, 1971).
- Kleingünther, A., *Protōs Euretēs: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung* (Leipzig, 1933).
- Klengel, H., 'Near Eastern Trade and the Emergence of Interaction with Crete in the Third Millennium BC', *Studi Micenei ed. Egeo-Anatolici*, 24 (1984), 7–19.
- Knapp, B. A., *The History and Culture of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt* (Chicago, 1988).
- Knapp, B., 'Islands Cultures: Crete, Thera, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Sardinia', in J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. III (New York, 1995), 1433–49.
- Knox, R., *The Races of Man* (London, 1850).
- Kousser, J. M., and McPherson, J. M. (eds), *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward* (Oxford and New York, 1982).
- Kraemer, J. L., *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam* (Leiden, 1992, 2nd revised edn).
- Kranz, W., *Stasimon, Untersuchungen zu Form und Gehalt der griechischen Tragödie* ([Berlin, 1933] Hildesheim, 1988).
- Kraus, G., *Human Origins and Development from an African Ancestry*, Vols I–II (London, 1990).
- Kroeber, A. L., *Configuration of Cultural Growth* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1944).
- Kroeber, A. L., *The Nature of Culture* (Chicago, IL, 1952).
- Krzyzaniak, L., Roubesiewicz, M. and Alexander, L. (eds), *Environmental Changes and Human Culture in the Nile Basin and Northern Africa until the Second Millenium BC* (Poznan, 1993).

- Kunjufu, J., *Hip-Hop vs MAAT: A Psycho-social Analysis of Values* (Chicago, IL, 1993).
- Lambdin T. O., 'Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 73 (1953), 145-155.
- Lambrou-Phillipson, C., *Hellenorientalia: The Near Eastern Presence in the Bronze Age Aegean, ca. 3000-1100 BC, Interconnections Based on the Material Record and the Written Evidence . . .* (Göteborg, 1990).
- Landes, T., and Quinn, R., *Jesse Jackson and the Politics of Race* (Ottawa, IL, 1985).
- Landry, B., *The New Black Middle Class* (Berkeley, CA, 1987).
- Landsberger, B., 'The Conceptual Autonomy of the Babylonian World', *Sources and Monographs on the Ancient Near East*, Vol. I, part 4 (Malibu, 1976).
- Landstrom, B., *Ships of the Pharaohs: 4000 Years of Egyptian Ship Building* (New York, 1970).
- László, T., *Meroë City: An Ancient African Capital*, Vols I-II. (London, 1991).
- Lateiner, D., *The Historical Methods of Herodotus* (Toronto, 1991).
- Lattimore, R., 'Herodotus and the Names of Egyptian Gods', *Classical Philology* 34 (1939), 357-65.
- Lawrence, H. G., *African Explorers of the New World* (New York, 1992).
- Lawrence, J., *The History and Delineation of the Horse in all its Varieties* ([1809, Hildesheim] New York, 1979).
- Lazarus-Yafeh, H., *Intertwined World: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (New Haven, CT, 1992).
- Leakey, R., and Lewin, R., *People of the Lake* (Garden City, NY, 1978).
- Lee, M. F., *The Nation of Islam: An American Millenarian Movement* (Lewiston/Queenstown, 1988).
- Leersen, J. Th., 'On the Edge of Europe: Ireland in Search of Oriental Roots, 1650-1850', *Comparative Criticism: An Annual Journal*, 8 (1986), 91-112.
- Lefkowitz, M. R., *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History* (New York, [1996] revised edn, 1997).
- Lefkowitz, M. R., and Rogers, G. M. (eds), *Black Athena Revisited* (Chapel Hill, NC/London, 1996).
- Lesko, L. H. (ed.), *Pharaoh's Workers: The Villagers of Deir El Medina* (Ithaca, NY, 1994).
- Lesser, J., 'Neither Slave nor Free, Neither Black nor White: The Chinese in Early Nineteenth Century Brazil', *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe*, 5, 2 (July-December 1994), 23-34.
- Levine, D. N., *Greater Ethiopia: The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society* (Chicago, IL, and London, 1974).
- Levine, L. W., *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (Oxford, 1977).
- Levine, M. M., 'The Use and Abuse of Black Athena', *American Historical Review*, 97, 2 (1992), 440-464.
- Levine, M. M., 'Bernal and the Athenians, in the Multicultural World of the Ancient Mediterranean', in R. Katzoff (ed.), *Classical Studies in Honor of David Sohlberg* (Ramat-Gan, 1996), 1-56.
- Levine, M. M., 'The Marginalization of Martin Bernal', *Classical Philology*, 93 (1998), 354-363.
- Levine, M. M., and Peradotto, J. (eds), *The Challenge of Black Athena, Special Issue of Arethusa*, 22, Fall (1987).

- Levy, J., 'Hecateus of Abdera', in J. Levy, *Studies in Jewish Hellenism* (2nd edn, Jerusalem, 1962), 204–208 (in Hebrew).
- Levy, Z., *Judaism in the Worldview of J. G. Hamman, J. G. Herder and W. V. Goethe* (Jerusalem, 1994; in Hebrew).
- Lewis, B., *Race and Color in Islam* (New York, 1971).
- Lewis, B., *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York, and London, 1982).
- Lewis, B., *Semitism and Anti-Semitism* (New York, and London, 1986).
- Lewis, B., *History Remembered, Recovered, Invented* (New York, 1987 edn).
- Lewis, B., *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (Oxford, 1990).
- Lewis, Jack P., *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden, 1968).
- Lichtheim, M., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vols I–III (Berkeley, CA, 1975–80).
- Lincoln, C. E., *The Black Muslims in America* (Trenton, NJ, 1994, 3rd edn).
- Lincoln, C. E., and Mamiya, H. L., *The Black Church in the African-American Experience* (Durham, NC, and London, 1990).
- Linforth, I. M., 'Greek Gods and Foreign Gods (Herodotus II, 50 to 52)', *Classical Philology*, 9 (1926), 1–25.
- Lissner, I., *The Living Past*, trans. J. M. Brownjohn (New York, 1957).
- Lloyd, A. B., *Herodotus Book II: Introduction* (Leiden, 1975).
- Lloyd, A. B., *Herodotus Book II: Commentary 1–98* (Leiden, 1976).
- Lloyd, A. B., 'Nationalistic Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt', *Historia*, 31 (1982), 33–55.
- Lloyd, G. E. R., *Polarity and Analogy: Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought* (Cambridge, 1966).
- Lloyd, G. E. R., *The Revolution of Wisdom: Studies in the Claims and Practice of Ancient Greek Science* (Berkeley, CA, 1987).
- Lloyd, G. E. R., *Methods and Problems in Greek Science* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Logan, R. W., and Winston, M. R. (eds), *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (New York, 1982).
- Lombardi, J., *Black Studies in the Community Colleges: A Survey* (Washington, DC, 1971 edn).
- Loprieno, A., *Topos and Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der Ägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1988).
- Lorimer, H. C., *Homer and the Monuments* (London, 1950).
- Löwith, K., *Meaning in History* (London; repr. 1976).
- Lucas, J. O., *The Religion of the Yoruba* (Lagos, 1948).
- Luce, J. V., *The End of Atlantis: New Light on an Old Legend* (London, 1970 edn).
- Luce, J. V., *Homer and the Homeric Age* (London, 1975).
- Lucian, *Philopseudes sive Incredulos*, trans. A. M. Harmon et al., Vol. III (Cambridge MA and London, 1969 edn).
- Lucius Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, trans. W. Adington, revised S. Gaelee (Ware, Hertfordshire, 1996).
- Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, trans. F. J. Miller (Cambridge, MA, 1984 edn).
- Lumpkin, B., 'Mathematics and Engineering in the Nile Valley', *Journal of African Civilization*, 6, 2 (1984), 102–119.
- Lumpkin, B., *Ancient Egypt for Children: Facts, Fiction and Lies* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1989).
- Luz, M., 'The Encyclopedic Tradition of Alexandria and its Libraries', in N. Shupak (ed.), *Scribes, Schools and Libraries in Antiquity* (Haifa, 1996), 67–78.

- Luzzatto, S. D., *Perush Reb Shmuel David Luzzatti al Chamisha Chumshei Tora* ([1870], Jerusalem, 1972, 2nd edn) (in Hebrew).
- Lynch, H. R., *Edward Wilmot Blyden. Pan-Negro Patriot* (London, 1967).
- MacBain, A., *Celtic Mythology and Religion* ([1917] Royston, Hertfordshire, 1996).
- MacCarter P. K., Jr, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet and the Early Phoenician Scripts* (Missola, MT, 1975).
- MacCrindle, J. W., *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (Westminster, 1901).
- MacDonald, H., 'The Sobol Report: Multiculturalism Triumphant', *New Criterion*, Jan. (1992), 9–18.
- MacDougal, H. A., *Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons* (Montreal and Hanover, 1982).
- Macgaffey, W., 'Concepts of Race in the Historiography of Northeast Africa', *Journal of African History*, 7, 1 (1966), 1–17.
- MacNulty, K. W., *Freemasonry; A Journey through Ritual and Symbol* (London, 1991).
- MacRitchie, D., *Ancient and Modern Britons: A Retrospect*, 2 vols ([1884] London, repr. 1991).
- Maimonides, Moses, *Guide for the Perplexed*, trans. M. Friedländer (New York, 1954, 2nd rev. edn).
- McDonald's, *Salute to Black Inventors: Food* (Chicago, IL, 1986).
- McKissic, W. D., Sr, *Beyond Roots: In Search of Blacks in the Bible* (Wenonah, NJ, 1990).
- Malamat, A., *Mari and the Bible* (Leiden, 1998).
- Malkin, I., *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Mallory, J. P., *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth* (London, 1989).
- Malul, M., *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1990).
- Mandeville, J., *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans., with introduction C. W. R. D. Moseley (London, repr. 1987).
- Manetho, *Aegyptiaca*, trans. W. G. Waddell (Cambridge and London, 1956).
- Manilius, Marcus, *Astronomica*, trans. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1992 edn).
- Manning, S. W., 'Frames of Reference for the Past: Some Thoughts on Bernal, Truth and Reality', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 3, 2 (1990), 255–274.
- Manuel, F. E., *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (New York, 1967).
- Manuel, F. E., *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge, MA, 1992).
- Marable, M., *Race Reform and Rebellion* (London, 1984).
- Marable, M., *Black American Politics: From the Washington Marches to Jesse Jackson* (London, 1985).
- Marinatos, S., 'An African in Thera?', *Archaiologika Analekta Athenon*, 2 (1969), 374–375.
- Mark, P., *Africans in European Eyes: The Portrayal of Black Africans in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century* (Syracuse, NY, 1974).
- Marrou, H. I., *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb (Madison, WI, 1956).
- Marrow, G. R., *Plato's Cretean City: Historical Interpretation of the Laws* (Princeton, NJ, 1960).
- Marshak, A., *The Roots of Civilization: The Cognitive Beginnings of Man's First Art, Symbol and Notation* (New York, 1972).
- Martin, G., and Young, C., 'The Paradox of Separate and Unequal: African Studies and Afro-American Studies', *Journal of Negro Education*, 53, 3 (1984), 257–267.

- Maspero, G., *History of Egypt*, trans. M. L. MacClure, Vols I–II (London, 1901–04).
- Masolo, D. A., *African Philosophy in Search of Identity* (Bloomington, IN, 1994).
- Massey, G., *The Historical Jesus and the Mythical Christ, or Natural Genesis and Typology of Equinoctial Christolatry* (London, 1936).
- Massey, G., *Gerald Massey's Lectures* ([1900] New York, 1974 edn.).
- Massey, G., *Ancient Egypt the Light of the World: A Work of Reclamation and Restitution in Twelve Books* ([1907] Baltimore, MD, 1992 edn.).
- Massey, G., *Book of the Beginnings: Containing an Attempt to Recover and Reconstitute the Lost Origins of the Myths and Mysteries, Types and Symbols, Religion and Language, with Egypt for the Mouthpiece and Africa as the Birthplace*, Vols I–II ([1881] repr. Kila, MT, 1992).
- Matthews, C. M., CRS Report for Congress: 'Underrepresented Minorities and Women in Science, Mathematics, and Engineering: Problems and Issues for the 1990s', 5 Sept. 1990 (Congressional Research Services, Library of Congress, Washington DC).
- Mayers, J. L., *Herodotus: Father of History* (Oxford, 1999 edn.).
- Mayers, S., *The Great Belzoni* (London, 1959).
- McClester, C., *Kwanzaa* (New York, 1993).
- McCloud, A. B., *African-American Islam* (New York; London, 1995).
- McCray, W. A., *The Black Presence in the Bible*, Vols I, II (Chicago, IL, 1991 edn.).
- McGready, A. G., 'Egyptian words in the Greek vocabulary', *Glotta*, 44 (1969), 247–254.
- Means, S. M., *Black Egypt and Her Negro Pharaohs* ([1945] Baltimore, MD, 1978 edn.).
- Megged, Nahum, *Pre-Columbian Cultures* (Tel Aviv, 1999) (in Hebrew).
- Meier A., *Negro Thought in America 1880–1915*, with new introduction (Ann Arbor, MI, 1966).
- Merier, August, 'The Emergence of Negro Nationalism (A Study in Ideologies)', *Midwest Journal*, IV (Winter, 1951–52), 96–104; Summer (1952), 11–95.
- Meier, A. and Rudwick, E., *Black History and the Historical Profession 1915–1980* (Urbana, IL, 1986).
- Memi, A., *L'Homme dominé* (Paris, 1968).
- Mendeles, D., 'Creative History in the Hellenic Near East in the Third and Second Centuries BC: The Jewish Case', *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigraphia*, 2 (1988), 13–20.
- Mendeles, D., 'The Polemical Character of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*', in H. Verdin, G. Schepens, and E. de Keyser (eds), *Purposes of History: Studies in Greek Historiography from the 4th to the 2nd centuries BC* (Lovanni, 1990), 91–123.
- Mendelshon, I., *Slavery in the Ancient Near East* (Oxford; New York, 1949).
- Merchavia, C., *The Church versus Talmudic and Midrashic Literature, 562–1248* (Jerusalem, 1970) (in Hebrew).
- Merrill, R., *The Curse of Canaan Resolved* (1981, 2nd edn.).
- Meskel, L. (ed.), *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (London, New York, 1998).
- Meyerowitz, E. L. R., *Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt* (London, 1960).
- Michael, R., *Jewish Historiography from the Renaissance to Modern Time* (Jerusalem, 1993) (in Hebrew).
- Midrash Rabbah: Numbers*, trans. J. J. Slotki (London, 1961).
- Millar, F., 'The Phoenician Cities: A Case Study in Hellenization', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* (1983), 55–71.

- Miller, C. L., *Theories of Africans: Francophone Literature and Anthropology in Africa* (Chicago, IL, 1990).
- Miller, M. A., and Tauber, K. A., *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya: An Illustrated Dictionary of Mesoamerican Religion* (New York, 1993).
- Miller, O. E. and Van der Merwe, N. J., 'Early Metal Working in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of African History*, 35 (1994), 1-36.
- Minngn-Paris, N., 'The Inhabitant of Ice Age Europe', *Expedition*, 34, 3 (1992), 23-36.
- Mintz, S. W., and Price, R., *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston, MA, 1980).
- Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, trans. G. H. Rendall (Cambridge, MA, 1984 edn).
- Mokhtar, G. (ed.), *UNESCO General History of Africa*, Vol. II: *Ancient Civilizations of Africa* (Berkeley, CA, 1981).
- Momigliano, A., *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge, repr. 1978).
- Momigliano A., 'Flavius Josephus and Alexander's Visit to Jerusalem', *Athenaeum*, 67 (1979), 442-448.
- Momigliano, A., *On Pagans, Jews and Christians* (Middletown, CT, 1987).
- Monges, Miriam Ma'at-Ka-Re, *Kush: The Jewel of Nubia* (Trenton, NJ, and Asmara, Eritrea, 1997).
- Montagu, A., *Man - His First Two Million Years: A Brief Introduction to Anthropology* (York, Canada, 1969 edn.).
- Montagu, A. (ed.), *The Concept of Race* (York, Canada, 1964).
- Montgomery, J. A., *Arabia and the Bible* (Philadelphia, PA, 1934).
- Montellano, B. Ortiz de, 'Multicultural Pseudoscience: Spreading Scientific Illiteracy among Minorities, Part I', *Skeptical Inquirer*, 16 (1991), 46-50.
- Montellano, B. Ortiz de, 'Magic Melanin: Spreading Scientific Illiteracy: Part II', *Skeptical Inquirer*, 16 (Winter 1992), 162-166.
- Montellano, B. Ortiz de, 'Multiculturalism, Cult Archaeology and Pseudoscience', in F. B. Harrold and R. A. Eve, *Cult Archaeology and Creationism* (Iowa City, IA, 1995) 134-151.
- Montellano, B. Ortiz de, Hslip-Viera, G., and Barbour, W., 'They Were Not Here before Columbus: Afrocentric Hyperdiffusionism in the 1990s', *Ethnohistory*, 44, 2 (Spring 1997), 199-234.
- Montet, P., *Eternal Egypt*, trans. D. Weightman (New York, 1964).
- Montserrat, D., *Akhenaten: History, Fantasy and Ancient Egypt* (London, 2000).
- Moore, Marvin (Bondeyo), 'Afrocentrism, Social Philosophy and Beyond', *New Essence: A Journal of Contemporary African-American Philosophy*, 3, 1 (1997).
- Moran, W. L., *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, MD, and New York, 1992).
- Morenz, S., *Egyptian Religion*, trans. A. E. Keep (Ithaca, NY, 1992).
- Moret, A., *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, trans. M. R. Dobic ([1927] London 1972 edn).
- Morison, S. E., *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages, AD 500-1600* (Oxford, 1971).
- Morkot, R. G., *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers* (London, 2000).
- Morris, H. M., *The Genesis Records: A Scientific and Devotional Commentary on the Book of Beginnings* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1976).
- Morris S. P., 'Daidalos and Kadmos: Classicism and "Orientalism"', *Arethusa*, Special Issue, Fall (1989), 39-54.



- Morris, S. P., 'Greece and the Levant', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 3, 1 (June 1990), 57-66.
- Morrow, G. R., *Plato's Cretan City: A Historical Interpretation of the Laws* (Princeton, NJ, 1960).
- Moskos, C. C., *Greek-Americans: Struggle and Success* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1989).
- Mosely, W., *What Color Was Jesus? African-American Image* (Chicago, IL, 1987).
- Moses, W. J., *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism 1850-1925* (New York, and Oxford, 1978).
- Moses, W. J., *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (Cambridge, 1998).
- Mosse, G. L., *Towards the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (London, 1978).
- Mosse, G. L., *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, with new preface (New York, 1981).
- Mudimbe, V. Y., *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington, IN, 1988).
- Mudimbe, V. Y., *The Idea of Africa* (Bloomington, IN, and London, 1994).
- Muhly, J. D., 'Black Athena versus Traditional Scholarship', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 3, 1 (1990), 83-110.
- Muller, H. J., 'The Romantic Glory of Classical Greece', in H. J. Muller, *The Uses of the Past: Profiles of Former Societies* (Oxford, 1952), 99-143.
- Müller, K. E., *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung* (Wiesbaden, 1972-80).
- Murdock, G., *Africa: Its People and their Cultural History* (New York, 1959).
- Muriuki, G., 'The Reconstruction of African History through Historical, Ethnographic and Oral Sources', in P. G. Stone and R. Mackenzie (eds), *The Excluded Past: Archaeology in Education* (London New York, pbk edn, 1994), 173-182.
- Murray, A., *The Omni-Americans: New Perspectives on Black Experience and American Culture* (New York, 1970).
- Murray, O., 'Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 56 (1970), 141-171.
- Musa, S., *Hadarat misr fi ifriqiya (The Civilization of Egypt in Africa)* (Cairo, 1935).
- Mussies, G., 'The Interpretatio Judaica of Serapis', in M. J. Vermaseren (ed.), *Studies in Hellenistic Religion* (Leiden, 1979), 189-214.
- Mussies, G., 'The Interpretatio Judaica of Thot-Hermes', in H. Heerman van Voss et al. (eds), *Studies in the History of Religion* (Supplement to *Numen* XLIII: *Studies in Egyptian Religion*) (Leiden, 1982), 89-120.
- Myers, J. L., *Herodotus, Father of History* (Oxford, 1999 edn).
- Myers, J. L., *Who Were the Greeks?* ([1930] new edn, New York, 1967).
- Naaman N., 'Pastoral Nomads in the Southwestern Periphery of the Kingdom of Judah in 9th-8th Centuries BC', *Zion*, 52, 3 (1987), 261-278 (in Hebrew).
- Necheles-Jansyn, R. F., *The Abbé Grégoire, 1787-1831: The Odyssey of an Egalitarian* (Westport, CT, 1971).
- Negbi, O., 'Early Phoenician Presence in the Mediterranean Islands: A Reappraisal', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 96 (1992), 599-615.
- Neugebauer, O., *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, 3 vols (Berlin, Heidelberg and New York, 1975).
- Newman, J. L., *The Peopling of Africa: A Geographic Interpretation* (New Haven, CT, 1995).
- Nicolaou K., 'The Mycenaeans in the East', in Adnan Hadidi (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, Vol. I (Amman, 1982), 121-126.

- Nilsson, M. P., *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* ([1932] with new introduction and bibliography by Emily Vermeule, Berkeley, CA, 1972).
- Nilsson, M. P., *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (London, 1950).
- Nilsson, M. P., *Greek Folk Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Philadelphia, PA, 1961 edn).
- Noel, I., *How the Irish Became White* (New York, and London, 1995).
- Noguera, A., *How African was Egypt? A Comparative Study of Ancient Egyptian and Black African Cultures* (New York, 1976).
- Nonos of Panopolis, *Dionysiaca*, trans. W. H. D. Rouse, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA and London, 1962 edn).
- Norris, J. W., *The Ethiopian's Place in History and His Contribution to the World's Civilization* (Baltimore, MD, 1916).
- Novick, P., *The Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Nunn, J. F., *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (London, 1996).
- Oakes, J., *Lost Talent: The Underparticipation of Women, Minorities, and Disabled Persons in Science* (Washington, DC, 1990).
- Obenga, T., *Ancient Egypt and Black Africa* (London, 1992).
- Obenga, T., *A Lost Tradition: Africa in World History* (Philadelphia, PA, 1994).
- O'Connor, D., 'Ancient Egypt and Black Africa – Early Contacts', *Expedition*, 41, 1 (Fall 1971), 2–9.
- O'Connor, D., *Ancient Nubia – Egypt Rival in Africa* (Philadelphia, PA, 1993).
- O'Connor, D., and Silverman, D. (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship: New Investigations* (Leiden, 1995).
- Oden, R. A., 'Philo of Byblos and Hellenistic Historiography', *Palestine Explorations Quarterly*, 110 (1978), 115–126.
- Okafor, Victor O., 'Diop and the Origin of Civilization: An Afrocentric Analysis', *Journal of Black Studies*, 22, 2 (1991), 252–286.
- Olela, Henry, *From Ancient Africa to Ancient Greece: An Introduction to the History of Philosophy* (Atlanta, GA, 1981).
- Olender, M., *The Languages of Paradise: Race, Religion, and Philology in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA, 1992).
- Olender, M., 'From the Language of Adam to the Pluralism of Babel', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 12, 2 (1997), 51–59.
- Olin, S., *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea and the Holy Land* (New York, 1843).
- Oliphant, L., *The Land of Khemi: Up and Down the Middle Nile* (Edinburgh, 1882).
- Oliver, R., and Fage J. D., *A Short History of Africa* (1962).
- O'Merara, J. J., trans., *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Journey to the Promised Land* (Gerard's Cross, Buckinghamshire, 1991).
- Omi, M., and Winant, H., *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York, 1994).
- Oren, E. (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspective* (Philadelphia, PA, 1997).
- Osei, G. K., *African Contribution to Civilization* (London, 1973).
- Otabil, K., *The Agnostic Imperative: The Rational Burden of Africacenteredness* (Bristol, IN, 1994).
- Outram, D., *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995).
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Vol. I., trans., F. J. Miller (Cambridge, MA, 1984).

- Oyebade, B., 'African Studies and the Afrocentric Paradigm: A Critique', *Journal of Black Studies*, 21/2 (Dec. 1990), 233-238.
- Page, D. L., *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley, LA, 1959).
- Pagel, W., and Winder, M. (eds), *Religion and Neoplatonism in Renaissance Medicine* (London, 1985).
- Palmer, L. R., *Mycenaeans and Minoans: Aegean Prehistory in the Light of the Linear B Tables* (New York, 1965 2nd edn).
- Palter, R., 'Black Athena, Afrocentrism, and the History of Science', *History of Science*, 31 (1993), 227-287 (repr. in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 209-266).
- Pappademos, J., 'The Newtonian Synthesis in Physical Sciences and its Roots in the Nile Valley', *Journal of African Civilization* 6, 2 (1984), 84-101.
- Park, R. E., *Race and Culture: Essays in the Sociology of Contemporary Man* (London, 1964 edn).
- Parker, G. W., 'The African Origin of Grecian Civilization', *Journal of Negro History*, 2 (1917), 334-344.
- Parker, R. A., *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, IL, 1950).
- Parkinson, R. B., *Voices from Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991).
- Parkinson, R. B., *The Story of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems* (Oxford, 1997).
- Parsons, E. A., *The Alexandrian Library: Glory of the Hellenic World* (New York, 1967, 3rd edn).
- Patterson, O., *Freedom, I: Freedom in the Making of Western Culture* (New York, 1991).
- Pearson, L., *Early Ionian Historians* (Westport, CT, 1939).
- Pearson, L., 'Historical Allusions in the Attic Orators', *Classical Philosophy*, 37, 8 (1941), 209-229.
- Peet, T. E., *Egypt and the Old Testament* (Liverpool, 1927).
- Polikan, J., *Christianity and Classical Culture: The Metamorphosis of Natural Theology in the Christian Encounter with Hellenism* (New Haven, CT, 1993).
- Pemble, J., *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford, 1988).
- Pendelbury, J. D. S., *Aegyptiaca: A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area* (Cambridge, 1930).
- Penrose, B., *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420-1620* (New York, 1962).
- Pentateuch with Targum Unkolos . . . and Rashi's commentary*, trans. and annotated by M. Rosenblum and A. M. Silberman (London, 1946).
- Perry, W. J., *The Children of the Sun: A Study in the Early History of Civilization* (New York, 1923).
- Perry, W. J., *The Growth of Civilization* (New York, 1932 edn).
- Pesiktah de Rabbi Kahana*, trans. Y. Mendelbaum (1961 edn).
- Philo Judaeus, Vol. VI: *De Vita Mosis*; Vol. VII: *De Decalogo*, trans. F. H. Colson (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1920-53).
- Phoenix, J. K., 'Towards and Afrocentric Methods of Knowing', *New Essence: Journal of Contemporary African American Philosophy*, 2, 1 (Fall 1991), 29-33.
- Pick, C., *Egypt: A Traveller's Anthology* (London, 1991).
- Pieterse, J. N., *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven, CT, 1992).
- Pinch, G., *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994).
- Pinkney, A., *Red, Black and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States* (Cambridge, 1976).

- Pinkney, A., *The Myth of Black Progress* (New York, 1984).
- Pistilli, V., *Vikings en el Paraguay* (Asunción, 1978).
- Plato, *Timaeus*, Vol. VII, trans. R. G. Bury (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1952 edn).
- Plato, *Phaedrus*, Vol. I, trans. W. Hamilton (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1960 edn).
- Plato, *The Laws*, trans. with notes and interpretive essay T. Pangle (New York, 1980).
- Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (London, 1962–68).
- Plumb, J. H., *Death of the Past* (Boston, MA, 1970).
- Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, trans. F. C. Babbitt, in *Plutarch's Moralia*, Vol. V, 7–191.
- Plutarch, *Plutarch's Moralia*, Vol. IV, trans. F. C. Babbitt (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1993, repr.).
- Plutarch, *The Malice of Herodotus (De Malignitate Herodoti)*, trans. L. Pearson and F. H. Sanbach in *Plutarch's Moralia* 5, Vol. II (Cambridge, MA/London, 1993), 9–133.
- Pococke, E., *India in Greece* (London, 1852).
- Poesche, T., *Die Arier: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Anthropologie* (Jena, 1878).
- Poliakoff, M., 'Roll Over Aristotle: Martin Bernal and His Critics', *Academic Questions*, Summer (1991), 12–28.
- Poliakov, Leon, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalistic Ideas in Europe*, trans. E. Howard (London, 1974).
- Popkin, R. H., *Isaac La Peyrère (1569–1676): His Life, World, and Influence* (Leiden, 1987).
- Popkin, R. H., 'Medicine, Racism, Anti-Semitism: A Dimension of Enlightenment Culture', in G. S. Rousseau (ed.), *The Languages of Psyche: Mind and Body in Enlightenment Thought* (Berkeley, CA, 1990), 405–442.
- Porsdyke, J. M., *Greece before Homer: Ancient Chronology and Mythology* (New York, 1964).
- Potter, D. S., *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1990).
- Potts, D., 'The Road to Meluhha', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 41, 3 (July 1982), 271–288.
- Powell, B. B., *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Pritchard, L. B. (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (New Haven, CT, 1969 3rd edn).
- Pritchett, W. K., *The Liar School of Herodotus* (Amsterdam, 1993).
- Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, ed. and trans. F. E. Robbins (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1956 edn).
- Puhvel, J., *Comparative Mythology* (Baltimore, MD, 1988 2nd edn).
- Quarles, B., *The Negro in the Making of America* (New York, 1969 edn).
- Quirke, S., *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London, 1992).
- Qur'an, *The Glorious*, text and explanatory translation by Muhammad M. Oicthall (New York, 1992).
- Raglan, F. R. S., *How Came Civilizations?* (London, 1939).
- Rahad, Abid, *The History of Islam and Black Nationalism in the Americas* (Beltsville, MD, 1991, 2nd edn).
- Rajak, T., 'Moses in Ethiopia: Legend and Literature', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 29 (1978), 111–122.
- Rajak, T., 'Josephus and the "Archaeology" of the Jews', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 33, 1–2 (1982), 465–477.
- Rappaport, U. (ed.), *Josephus Flavius: Historian of Eretz-Israel in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (Jerusalem, 1982) (in Hebrew).

- Ra Un Nefer Amen, *An Afrocentric Guide to a Spiritual Union* (New York, 1992).
- Ray, J., 'An Egyptian Perspective', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 3/1 (1990), 77–82.
- Ray, J., 'Levant Ascendant: The Invasion Theory of the Origins of European Civilization', *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 October 1991, 3–4.
- Ray, J., 'How Black Was Socrates?', *Times Literary Supplement*, 14 February 1997, 4.
- Reagon, B. J. (ed.), *Black American Culture and Scholarship: Contemporary Issues* (Washington DC, 1985).
- Redfield, J., 'Herodotus the Tourist', *Classical Philology*, 80, April (1985), 97–118.
- Redford, D. B., 'The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition', *Orientalia*, 39 (1979), 1–51.
- Redford, D. B., *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (Cairo, 1984).
- Redford, D. B., *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History* (Mississauga, Ontario, 1986).
- Redford, D. B., *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (New Haven, CT, 1992).
- Reed, A., Jr (ed.), *Race, Politics and Culture: Critical essays on the Radicalism of the 1960s* (Westport, CT, 1986).
- Reid, D. M., 'Nationalizing the Pharaonic Past: Egyptology, Imperialism, and Egyptian Nationalism, 1922–1952', in J. Jankowski and I. Gershoni (eds), *Rethinking Nationalism in the Middle East* (New York, 1997), 127–149.
- Reill, P. H., *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism* (Berkeley, CA, 1975).
- Reinhold, M., *Classical Americana: The Greeks and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Detroit, MI, 1984).
- Renan, E., *Discours et conférences par Ernest Renan* (Paris, 1947–60).
- Rendsburg, G. A., 'Black Athena: An Etymological Response', *Arethusa*, Special Issue, Fall (1989) 67–87.
- Renfrew, C., *The Emergence of Civilization: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium BC* (London, 1972).
- Renfrew, C., *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (London, 1987).
- Renfrew, C., 'World Linguistic Diversity', *Scientific American*, 270, 1 (1994) 104–110.
- Reuveni, A., *Ami kedem (Ancient People): Shem, Ham and Yephth* (Tel Aviv, 1970) (in Hebrew).
- Rice, M., *Egypt's Making* (London, 1991).
- Ridgeway, W. C., *The Early Age of Greece* (Cambridge, 1911).
- Ripley, W. Z., *Races of Europe* (London, 1898).
- Ritner, R. K., 'The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice', *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* (Chicago, IL, 1993), 54.
- Roberts, A., and Donalson, J. (eds), *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. II: *Fathers of the Second Century* (Peabody, MA, 1926).
- Robertshaw, P. (ed.), *A History of African Archaeology* (London Portsmouth, 1990).
- Robinson, C. J., *Black Movements in America* (New York, and London, 1997).
- Robinson, J. M. (general ed.), *Nag Hamadi Library* (revised edition, San Francisco, CA, 1988).
- Robinson, P. T., and Skinner, E. P. (eds), *Transformation and Resiliency in Africa as Seen by Afro-American Scholars* (Washington DC, 1983).
- Roebuck, C. D., *Ionian Trade and Colonization* (New York, 1959).
- Rogers, J. A., *Nature Knows No Color-line: Research into the Negro Ancestry of the White Race* (New York, 1952, 3rd edn).

- Rogers, J. A., *Africa's Gift to America* (New York, 1956).
- Rogers, J. A., *The Five Negro Presidents* (New York, 1965).
- Rogers, J. A., *The Real Facts about Ethiopia* ([1936] London, 1981).
- Roke'ah, D. (introduction, trans. and notes), *Judaism and Christianity in Pagan Polemic: Celsus, Porphyry, Julian* (Jerusalem, 1991) (in Hebrew).
- Romm, J. S., *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (New Haven, CT, 1992).
- Rosenthal, F., *Science and Medicine in Islam: A Collection of Essays* (Aldershot, 1991).
- Rosenthal, F., *The Classical Heritage of Islam*, trans. from German E. and J. Marmorstein (London, and New York, repr. 1994).
- Rossi, A. de., *Sefer Me'or Einyayim*, ed. with introduction R. Bonfil (Jerusalem, 1991) (in Hebrew).
- Roth, A. M., 'Building Bridges to Afrocentrism: A Letter to My Egyptological Colleagues', *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 167, September (1995), 14-17, and 168, December (1995), 15-21.
- Roth, N., 'The Theft of Philosophy by the Greeks from the Jews', *Classical Folia: Studies in the Christian Preparation of the Classics*, 31 (1978), 53-67.
- Roueck, J. S., 'The Black American and the New Viewpoints in Black American History', in J. S. Roueck and T. P. Kierman (eds), *The Negro Impact on Western Civilization* (London, 1970), 1-22.
- Rowbotham, A. H., 'Voltaire, Sinophile', *Modern Language Association*, XLVII (1932), 1050-1065.
- Rowe, C. L., *Crisis in African Studies: The Birth of the African Heritage Studies Association* (Buffalo, NY, 1970).
- Rowe, W. F., 'School Daze: A Critical Review of the African-American Baseline Essays for Science and Mathematics', *Skeptical Inquirer*, 19 (Sep./Oct. 1995), 27-32.
- Ruderman, D., *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven, CT, 1995).
- Rudrick, E. E., 'Du Bois versus Gravey', in D. E. Derwy and H. D. Derwy (eds), *Afro-American History: Past and Present* (New York, 1971), 337-346.
- Runnalls, J. D., '"Moses" Ethiopian Campaign', *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 14 (1983), 135-156.
- Russell, B. *History of Western Philosophy* (London, 1965).
- Saakana, A. S. (ed.), *African Origins of the Major World Religions* (London, 1988).
- Sachs, O., 'Stomata: Forgetting and Neglect in Science', in R. B. Silvers (ed.), *Hidden Histories of Science* (London, 1997 edn), 141-187.
- Said, D. W., 'An African Theology of Decolonization', *Harvard Theological Review* 64 (1971), 501-524.
- Said, E. W., *Orientalism* (London, 1978).
- Said, E. W., 'Michael Walzer's *Exodus and Revolution*: A Canaanite Reading', in E. Said and C. Hitchens (eds), *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* (London, and New York, 1983).
- Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, trans. with Introduction and Commentary C. T. R. Hayward (Oxford, 1995).
- Salaman, C., Van Oyen, D., and Wharton, W. D. (eds), *The Way of Hermes: The Corpus Hermeticum* (London, 1999).
- Sammons Ovelton, V. O., *Blacks in Science and Medicine* (New York, 1990).
- Samnel, A. E., *The Mycenaean in History* (NJ, 1966).

- Sanders, E. R., 'The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origins and Function in Time Perspective', *Journal of African History*, X, 4 (1969), 521-532.
- Sanders, R., *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands: The Origins of American Racism* (New York, 1992, 2nd edn).
- Sarna, N. N., *Exploring Exodus: The Heritage of Biblical Israel* (New York, 1986).
- Sarton, G., *The Appreciation of Ancient and Medieval Science during the Renaissance (1450-1600)* (Philadelphia, PA, 1955).
- Sarton, G., *Hellenistic Science and Culture in the Last Three Centuries BC* (New York, 1987).
- Sasson, J. M. (Ed. in Chief), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vols I-IV (New York, 1995).
- Saunders, J. B. de C. M., *The Transition from Ancient Egyptian to Greek Medicine* (Lawrence, KS, 1963).
- Sauneron, S., *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, trans. from French A. Morrisset (New York, 1960).
- Sayce, A. H., *The Races of The Old Testament* (London, 1891).
- Sayce, A. H., *The 'Higher Criticism' and the Verdict of the Monuments* (London, 1894; 3rd edn, rev.).
- Schachter, A., 'Kadmos and the Implications of the Tradition for Boeotian History', in *La Béotie antique: colloques internationaux du CNRS*, Lyon, St Etienne, 16-20 May 1983 (Paris, 1985), 143-153.
- Schäfer, Peter, 'The Exodus Tradition in Pagan Greco-Roman Literature', in I. Gafni et al. (eds), *The Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman World* (Jerusalem, 1996), 9-29 (English section).
- Schiller, F., *The Works of Friedrich Schiller*, ed. N. H. Dole, Vol. IX (London/Boston, MA, 1902).
- Schlesinger, A. M., Jr, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (New York, 1993 edn).
- Schmidt, Francis, 'Jewish Representations of the Inhabited Earth during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods', in A. Kasher et al. (eds), *Greece and Rome in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem, 1990), 119-134.
- Schmidt, P. R., and Patterson, T. C. (eds), *Making Alternative Histories: The Practice of Archaeology and History in Non-Western Settings* (Santa Fe, NM, 1995).
- Schnabel, P., *Berosos und die Babylonische-Hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig, Berlin, 1923).
- Schomburg, A. A., *Racial Integrity: A Plea for the Establishment for a Chair of Negro History in our Schools and Colleges* (New York, 1913).
- Schorsch, I., 'The Emergence of Historical Consciousness in Modern Judaism', in I. Schorsch, *From Text to Context: To Turn to History in Modern Judaism* (Hanover, NH, 1994), 177-204.
- Schorsch J., 'The Black Mirror: Tracing Blackness and Othernesses in Pre-Modern Jewish Thought', MA thesis, Berkeley, CA, 1995.
- Schure, E., *The Mysteries of Ancient Egypt: Hermes/Moses* (New York, 1973).
- Schwab, R., *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East (1680-1880)*, trans. G. Patterson-Black and V. Reinking (New York, 1984).
- Scobie, E., *Black Britannia: A History of Blacks in Britain* (Chicago, IL, 1972).
- Scobie, E., *Global African Presence* (Brooklyn, NY, 1994).
- Scott-Moncrieff, C. K. (trans.), *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (New York, 1942).
- Scott, W. (ed. and trans.), *Hermetica* (Bath, 1993 edn).
- Seligman, C. G., *Races of Africa* (London, 1930).

- Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa: A Study in Divine Kinship* (London, 1934).
- Seligman, C. G., and Seligman, B., *The Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (London, 1965).
- Semmes, C. E., *Cultural Hegemony and African-American Development* (Westport, CT, 1992).
- Senzec, J., *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (Princeton, NJ, 1972 edn).
- Serequeberhan, T., *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia, PA).
- Serequeberhan, T. (ed.), *African Philosophy: The Essential Reading* (New York, 1991).
- Sergi, G., *The Mediterranean Race: A Study of the Origins of European Peoples* ([Italian orig. 1895] London, 1901).
- Shafer, B. E. (ed.), *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice* (Ithaca, NY, and London, 1991).
- Shapiro, H. A., 'Old and New Heroes: Narrative, Composition and Subject in Attic Black Figurines', *Classical Antiquity*, 9 (1990), 114–148.
- Shardrock, *The Truth, the Lie and the Bible* (Toronto, new edn, 1992).
- Sharp, S., *History of Egypt* (London, 1852).
- Shavit, Y., *Athens in Jerusalem: Classical Antiquity and Hellenism in the Making of the Modern Secular Jew* (Oxford, 1997).
- Shavit, Y., 'What is Africa in the Talmud? A Short Journey in Imaginary Geography', in Y. Ben-Artzi et al. (eds), *Studies in Geography and History* (Jerusalem, 1999; in Hebrew), 75–91.
- Shaw, T., *Nigeria: Its Archaeology and Early History* (London, 1978).
- Shinan, A., 'Moses and the Ethiopian Woman: Sources of a Story in the Chronicles of Moses', *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 27 (1978), 66–78 (in Hebrew).
- Shinnie, M., *Ancient African Kingdoms* (London, 1965).
- Shinnie, P. L., *Meroë, Civilization of the Sudan* (London, 1971).
- Shnirelman, V. A., *Who Gets The Past? Competition for Ancestors Among Non-Russian Intellectuals in Russia* (Washington DC, 1996).
- Shupak, N., 'The "Siz im Leben" of the Book of Proverbs in the Light of a Comparison of Biblical and Egyptian Literature', *Revue Biblique*, 94 (1987), 98–119.
- Shupak, N., 'Egyptian Prophetic Writings and Biblical Wisdom Literature', *Biblische Notizen*, 54 (1990), 81–102.
- Shupak, N. (ed.), *Scribes, Schools and Libraries in Antiquity* (Haifa, 1996) (in Hebrew).
- Sievernich, G., and H. Budde, *Europa und der Orient, 800–1900* (Berlin, 1989).
- Simpson, G. G., *Horses: The Story of the Horse in Modern World and through Sixty Million Years of History* (Oxford, 1951).
- Singer, M., *When Great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization* (New York, 1972).
- Singhal, D. P., *India and World Civilization*, Vol. I. (East Lansing, MI, 1968).
- Sitkoff, H., *The Struggle for Black Equality 1954–1980* (New York, 1981).
- Skinner, E. P., 'African-Americanism in Search of Africa: The Scholar's Dilemma', in E. Skinner and P. T. Robinson (eds), *Transformation and Resiliency in Africa* (Washington DC, 1983), 3–26.
- Smelik, K. A. D. and E. A. Hemelrijk, "'Who Knows What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?" Opinions on Egyptian Animal Worship in Antiquity as Part of the Ancient Conception of Egypt', in H. Temporini, and W. Hasse (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, II. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung* (Berlin, and New York, 1984), 1852–2000.



- Smith, A. D., *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1988).
- Smith, Fred, Trinkas, H., and Pettitt, E., 'Direct Radiocarbon Dates for Vindija G1 and Velika Pećina Late Pleistocene Hominid Remains', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, 26 October 1999, Vol. 95, No. 12281-12286.
- Smith, G. E., *The Ancient Egyptians and their Influence upon Civilization of Europe* ([London, 1911] New York, 1923, 2nd edn).
- Smith, G. E., 'Ancient Mariners', *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, 33, I-V (1911), 1-22.
- Smith, G. E., *The Migration of Early Culture: A Study in the Significance of the Geographical Distribution of the Practice of Mummification as Evidence of Early Migration . . .* (Manchester, 1915, 2nd edn).
- Smith, G. E., 'The Influence of Racial Mixture in Egypt', *Eugenics Review*, 7 (1916), 163-183.
- Smith, G. E., *The Ancient Egyptians and the Origins of Civilization* (London, 1923).
- Smith, G. E., et al., *Culture: The Diffusion Controversy* (New York, 1927).
- Smith, R. S., *Kingdoms of the Yoruba* (Madison, WI, 1988, 3rd edn).
- Smith, S. T., *Asket in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium BC* (London; New York, 1995).
- Smitherman, G., "'What is Africa to Me?': Language, Ideology and African-American", *American Speech*, 66, 2 (1991), 115-132.
- Snodgrass, A., *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* (Berkeley, CA, 1986).
- Snowden, F. M., *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge, MA, 1970).
- Snowden, F. M., *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks* (Cambridge, MA, 1983).
- Snowden, F. M., 'Bernal's "Blacks"', *Herodotus and other Classical Evidence*, *Arethusa*, Special Issue, Fall (1989), 83-93.
- Sobol Report, *One Nation - Many Peoples: A Declaration of Cultural Interdependence* (New York, June, 1991).
- Sofola, J. A., *African Culture and the African Personality* (Ibadan, 1973).
- Sollors, W., *Neither Black Nor White, Yet Both* (Oxford, 1997).
- Sollors, W. (ed.), *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader* (London, 1996).
- Sollors, W., and Dietrich, M. (eds), *The Black Columbiad: Defining Moments in African-American Literature and Culture* (Cambridge, MA, 1994).
- Solmsen, F., *Isis among the Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge, MA, 1979).
- Sommerfeld, W., 'The Kassites of Ancient Mesopotamia: Origins, Politics and Culture', in J. M. Sasson (ed.) *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. II (New York, 1995), 917-930.
- Seiser, E. A., *Mesopotamian Origins: The Basic Population of the Near East* (Philadelphia, PA, 1930).
- Seiser, E. A., 'In Search of Nimrud', *Eretz-Israel*, 5 (1958), 32-36.
- Spence, L., *Egypt, Myths and Legends* (London, 1994).
- Spencer, A. J., *Early Egypt: The Rise of Civilization in the Nile Valley* (London, 1993).
- Spengler, O., *The Decline of the West: Form and Actuality*, trans. C. F. Atkinson, Vol. I (New York, 1944).
- Spiegelberg, Wilhelm, *The Credibility of Herodotus' Account of Egypt in Light of the Egyptian Monuments*, trans. A. M. Blackman (Oxford, 1927).
- Steindorff, G., and Seele, K. C., *When Egypt Ruled the East* (Chicago, IL, 1957, rev. edn).

- Stendhal, K., 'The Bible as a Classic and the Bible as Holy Scripture', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 103, 1 (1984), 3-10.
- Stepan, N., *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960* (London, 1982).
- Sterling, D., *The Making of an Afro-American: Martin Robinson Delany, 1812-1885* (New York, 1980).
- Sterling, G. E., *Historiography and Self-definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden, 1991).
- Steward, J. E., 'Petroglyphs of the United States', in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington DC, 1937) (pub. 3405), 405-425.
- Stocking, G. W., *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York, 1969).
- Stoneman, R. (trans., introduction and notes), *The Greek Alexander Romance* (Harmondsworth, 1991).
- Stonequist, E. V., *The Marginal Man: A Study in the Subjective Aspects of Cultural Conflict* (New York, 1937).
- Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, trans. H. L. Jones, Vols I-VIII (Cambridge, MA, 1969 repr.).
- Strehl, W., and Soltau, W., *Grundriss der alten Geschichte und Quellenkunde, I: Orientalische and Griechische* (Breslau, 1910).
- Stringer, C., and McKie, R., *African Exodus: The Origins of Modern Humanity* (London, 1996 edn).
- Strouhal, E., 'Evidence of the Early Penetration of Negroes into Prehistoric Egypt', *Journal of African History*, 12 (1971), 1-9.
- Stylianios, A., *Minoan Civilization*, trans. Cressida Ridley (Heraclion, Crete, n.d.).
- Sudhoff, Heinke, *Sorry Kolumbus: Seefahrer der Antike entdecken Amerika* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1991, 3rd edn).
- Syndram, D., *Ägypten-Iaszination: Untersuchungen zum Ägyptenbild im europäischen Klassizismus bis 1800* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1990).
- Syndram, D., 'Das Erbe der Pharaonen: Zur Ikonographie Ägypten in Europa', in H. Budde and G. Sievernich (eds), *Europa und der Orient 800-1900* (Berlin, 1989), 18-57.
- Szabo, A., *African-American Bibliography: List of Books, Documents and Periodicals on Black-American Culture located in San Diego State College Library* (San Diego College, CA, 1976).
- Takaki, R., *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Boston, MA, 1993).
- Tal, U., *Christians and Jews in Germany: Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Second Reich (1870-1914)*, trans. N. J. Jacob (Ithaca, NY, 1975).
- Talbot, C. H., 'Medicine', in D. C. Lindberg (ed.), *Science in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, CA, 1978), 391-428.
- Tamuz, O., 'The Sea as Economic Factor: Aspects of the Maritime Connection of the Eastern Med. Coastal Populace from the Amarna Age to the Decline of Assyrian Empire According to Written Documents' (MA thesis, Tel Aviv University, 1986) (in Hebrew).
- Tarharka, *Black Manhood: The Building of Civilization by the Black Man of the Nile* (Washington DC, 1979).
- Taylor, A. E., *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Oxford, 1928).
- Taylor, C. R. (ed.), *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton, NJ, 1992).
- Taylor, J. H., *Egypt in Nubia* (Cambridge, MA, 1991).

- Taylor, T. M. (trans.), *Iamblichus' Life of Pythagoras* (London, 1965).
- Tertullian, *Apology*, trans. T. R. Glover (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1984 edn).
- Thapar, R., 'A Possible Identification of Meluhha, Dilmun and Makan', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 18, 1 (1975), 1-42.
- Thelwal, R., 'Linguistic Aspectys of Greater Nubran History', in C. Ehret and M. Posnansky (eds), *The Archeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History* (Berkeley, CA, 1982), 39-52.
- Thernstrom, S., and Thernstrom, A., *America in Black and White: One Nation Indivisible* (New York, 1997).
- Thomas, G., 'The Black Studies War', *Village Voice*, 17 January 1995.
- Thomas H., *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870* (London, 1999).
- Thomas, L. R., *Biblical Faith and the Black American* (Valley Forge, PA, 1976).
- Thomas, N., *The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Los Angeles, CA, 1995).
- Thomas, R., *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Thompson, L. A., *Romans and Blacks* (London, and Oklahoma, OK, 1989).
- Thompson, L. A., and J. Ferguson, *Africa in Classical Antiquity* (Ibadan, 1989).
- Thomson, A., *Barbary and Enlightenment: European Attitude towards the Maghreb in the 18th Century* (Leiden, 1987).
- Thomson, N., *Herodotus and the Origins of the Political Community* (New Haven, CT, 1996).
- Thomson, J. O., *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge, 1948).
- Thräde, K., 'Erfinder II', *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. T. Klausner, Vol. V (Stuttgart, 1962), 1191-1278.
- Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. R. Crawley (Ware, Hertfordshire, 1997).
- Tillinghast, W. H., 'The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients Considered in Relation to the Discovery of America', in J. Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. I (Cambridge, MA, 1899), 1-58.
- Tobin, V. A., review of Assmann's *Moses The Egyptian*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, LV, 5/6 (Sept.-Dec. 1998).
- Török, L., 'Kush and the External World', *Meroitica*, 10 (1989), 49-215, 365-79.
- Török, L., *Meorë City: an Ancient African Capital*, Vols I-II (London, 1991).
- Torr, C., *Memphis and Mycenae*, ed. D. Rohl and M. Durkin (Redhill, Surrey, 1988).
- Toynbee, A. J., *A Study of History*, Vol. I, abridgment of Vols I, II by D. C. Somervell (New York, 1965).
- Trigger, B. G., *Nubia under the Pharaohs* (London, 1976).
- Trigger, B. G., 'Egyptology and Anthropology', in Kenet Weeks (ed.), *Egyptology and the Social Sciences* (Cairo, 1979), 23-56.
- Trigger, B. G., 'Nubian, Negro, Black, Nilotic?', in S. Horchfield and E. Riefsthal (eds), *Africa in Antiquity. I. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan. The Essays* (New York, 1978), 27-35.
- Trigger, B. G., *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, MA, 1990 edn).
- Triner, G. D., 'Race without Color? Reconciling Brazilian Historiography', *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe*, 10, 1 (Tel Aviv, 1999), 120-140.
- Trout Powell, E., 'Brothers along the Nile: Race and Ethnicity, 1895-1910', in H. Erlich and I. Gershoni, *The Nile: Histories, Centuries, Myths* (Boulder, Co, 1999), 171-181.

- Truesdell, S. B., 'The Reliability of Megasthenes', *American Journal of Philology*, 76 (1955), 18–33.
- Turner, F. M., *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, CT, 1981).
- Turner, F. M., 'Martin Bernal's *Black Athena: A Dissent*', *Arethusa*, Special Issue, Fall (1989), 97–109.
- Turner, J., *The Next Decade: Theoretical and Research Issues in African Studies* (Ithaca, NY, 1984).
- Twain, Mark *The Innocents Abroad, or New Pilgrim's Progress* ([1867], New York, 1966, pbk edn).
- Tzavellas-Bonnet, C., 'Phoinix. *Prōtos Euretēs*', *Les Études Classiques*, 51 (1983), 3–11.
- Ucko, P. J. (ed.), *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective* (London; New York, 1995).
- Urbach, E., 'Halakhot Regarding Slavery as a Source for the Social History of the Second Temple and the Talmudic Period', *Zion*, XXV (1960), 141–189 (in Hebrew).
- Van Binsbergen, W. M. J. (ed.), *Black Athena: Ten Years After*, Vols XXVIII–XXIX (Hoofddorp, 1997).
- Van der Horst, W. P., 'The Secret Hieroglyphs in Classical Literature', in *Actus: Studies in Honor of H. L. W. Nelson*, J. den Boeff and A. H. M., Kessels (eds) (Utrecht, 1982), 115–123.
- Van der Horst, W. P., *Chaeremon: Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher: The Fragments*, collected and trans. with explanatory notes (Leiden, 1984).
- Van der Merwe, N. J., 'The Advent of Iron in Africa', in T. A. Wertime and J. D. Mubly (eds), *The Coming of the Iron Age* (New Haven, CT, 1986), 463–506.
- Van Der Warden, B. L., *Science Awakening*, trans. A. Dresde (Groningen, 1954).
- Van Passen, C., *The Classical Tradition of Geography* (Groningen, 1957).
- Van Sertima, I., *They Came Before Columbus: The African Presence in Ancient America* (New York, 1976).
- Van Sertima, I. (ed.), *Nile Valley Civilization* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1992, 4th edn; incorporating *Journal of African Civilization*, 8, 1 (1986)).
- Van Sertima, I. (ed.), *Egypt Revisited* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2nd expanded edn 1989).
- Van Sertima, I. (ed.), *Blacks in Science: Ancient and Modern* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1991).
- Van Sertima, I. (ed.), *African Presence in Early America* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1992).
- Van Sertima, I. (ed.), *Great African Thinkers: Vol. I. Cheikh Anta Diop* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1992).
- Van Sertima, I. (ed.), *Egypt – Child of Africa* (New Brunswick, NJ, edn 1995).
- Van Sertima, I., and Rashidi, R. (eds), *African Presence in Early Asia* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1988, rev. edn).
- Van Seters, L., *The Hyksos: A New Investigation* (New Haven, CT, 1966).
- Van Seters, J., *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven, CT, 1983).
- Van Seters, J., 'The Primeval Histories of Greece and Israel Compared', *Zeitschrift für alttestamentale Wissenschaft*, 100 (1988), 1–22.
- Vass, W., *The Bantu Speaking Heritage of the United States* (Los Angeles, CA, 1979).
- Vercoutter, J., *The Search for Ancient Egypt* (London, 1992).
- Vercoutter, J., Leclant, J., Snowden, F., and Desange, J. (eds), *The Image of the Black in Western Art. I: From the Pharaohs to the Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York, 1976).
- Vermeule, E., *Greece in the Bronze Age* (Chicago, IL, 1964).
- Vermeule, E., 'The World Turned Upside Down', *New York Review of Books*, 26 March 1992, 40–43 (repr. in Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 269–279).

- Verrill, H. A., and Verrill, R., *America's Ancient Civilizations* (New York, 1976).
- Veyne, P., *Did the Greeks Believe in their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination*, trans. P. Wissing (Chicago, IL, 1988).
- Vogt, J., *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man*, trans. T. Wiedmann (Cambridge, MA, 1975).
- Volney, C.-F., *Travels through Syria and Egypt in the Years 1783, 1784 and 1785*, 2 Vols (London, 1787): *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte* (Paris, 1787).
- Von Staden, H., *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Wachsmann, S., *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 20 (Leuven, 1987), VII-XXVI.
- Waddell, W. G., Introduction to Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* (Cambridge, MA and London, reprinted 1956).
- Wainwright, G. A., 'Pharaonic Survivals, Lake Chad to the West Coast', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 35 (1949), 167-175.
- Walbank, F. W., *The Hellenistic World* (Cambridge, MA, 1981).
- Walcott, P., *Hesiod and the Near East* (Cardiff, 1966).
- Walicki, A., *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (Oxford, 1982).
- Walicki, A., *The Slavophile Controversy: History of a Conservative Utopia in Nineteenth-Century Russian Thought* (Notre Dame, IN, 1989).
- Walker, C. E., *Deromanticizing Black History, Critical Essays and Reappraisals* (Knoxville, TN, 1991).
- Walker, C. E., 'The Politics of Ethnonationalism', *Journal of International Affairs*, 27 (1973), 1-32.
- Walker, C. E., 'You Can't Go Home Again: Problem with Afrocentrism', *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies*, 18 (1993), 535-547.
- Walker, D. P., *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, *Studies of the Warburg Institute*, XXII (London, 1956).
- Walzer, M., *Exodus and Revolution* (New York, 1984).
- Ward, W. A., 'Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium BC', *Orientalia*, 30 (1961), 22-45, 129-155.
- Warren, P., 'Minoan Crete and Pharaonic Egypt', in V. W. Davies and L. Schofield (eds), *Egypt, The Aegean and the Levant* (London, 1995), 1-18.
- Warren, R. P., *Who Speaks for the Negroes?* (New York, 1965).
- Washburn, W. E., 'The Meaning of "Discovery" in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *American Historical Review*, 68, 1 (1962), 1-21.
- Washington, J. R., *The Politics of God* (Boston, MA, 1960).
- Washington, J. R., *Anti-Blackness in English Religion 1500-1800* (New York, 1984).
- Webb, J. M., *The Black Man the Father of Civilization Proven by Biblical History* (Seattle, WA, 1910).
- Weeks, K. (ed.), *Egyptology and the Social Sciences* (Cairo, 1979).
- Weinberg, J., 'The Quest for Philo in Sixteenth-Century Jewish Historiography', in A. Rapoport-Albert et al. (eds), *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky* (London, 1988), 163-187.
- Weinberg, M., *Afro-American History: Separate or Interracial?* (Chicago, IL, 1968).
- Weinberg, S. (ed.), *The Aegean and the Near East* (Locus Valley, NY, 1956).
- Weiner, L., *Africa and the Discovery of America* ([1920-22] reissued New York, 1971).
- Weisbord, R. G., *Ebony Kinship: Africa, Africans, and the Afro-American* (Westport, CT, 1973).

- Weisbord, R. G. and Stein, A., *Bitter Sweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jews* (Westport, CT, 1970).
- Welsby, D. A., *The Kingdom of Kush: The Napatan and Meroitic Empires* (London, 1996).
- Wente, E. F., 'Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 41 (1982), 161–180.
- West, J. A., *Serpent in the Sky: The High Wisdom of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1979).
- West, M. L., *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 1998).
- West, M. L., *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Its Nature, Structure and Origin* (Oxford, 1985).
- Westermann, W. L., *The Slave System of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia, PA, 1955).
- White, E., *Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering: An Update* (Washington DC, 1992).
- Wilde, A. D., 'Mainstreaming Kwanzaa', *The Public Interest*, 119, Spring (1995), 68–79.
- Wildung, D., *Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile*, trans. Peter Der Mannelian (New York, 1997).
- Wiles, M. F., 'Origen as a Biblical Scholar', in P. R. Ackroyd, and C. F. Evans (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to Jerome* (Cambridge, 1976), 454–488.
- Wilkinson, C. K. and Hill, M., *Egyptian Wall Paintings* (New York, 1983).
- Wilkinson J. G., *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Vols I–V (London, 1837).
- Wilkinson J. G., *The Ancient Egyptians: Their Life and Customs*, Vols I–II ([1853], repr. London, 1994).
- Williams, B., 'The Lost Pharaohs of Nubia', *Journal of African Civilizations*, 10, Summer (1989), 94–104.
- Williams, C., *The Destruction of Black Civilization: Great Issues of a Race 4500 BC to 2000 AD* (Chicago, IL, 1974).
- Williams, D., *Icon and Image* (London, 1974).
- Williams, G., 'Ancient Kushite Roots in India – A Survey of the Works of Godfrey Higgins', in I. Van Sertima and R. Rashidi (eds), *African Presence in Early Asia* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1988).
- Williams, G. W., *A History of the Negro Race in America* (New York, 1883).
- Williams, S., *Fantastic Archeology: The Wild Side of American Prehistory* (Philadelphia, PA, 1991).
- Wilmorc, S. G., and Cone, H. J. (eds), *Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966–1979* (New York, 1990, 7th edn).
- Wilson, J. A., *The Burden of Egypt: An Interpretation of Ancient Egyptian Culture* (Chicago, IL, 1951).
- Wilson, J. A., *The Culture of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, IL, 1951).
- Wilson, J. A., *Signs and Wonders upon Pharaoh: A History of American Egyptology* (Chicago, IL, 1964).
- Wimbush, V. L., 'Biblical Historical Study as Liberation: Towards an Afro-Christian Hermeneutic', *Journal of Religious Thought*, 42, 2 (1985–86).
- Windsor, R. R., *From Babylon to Timbuktu: A History of the Ancient Black Race Including the Black Hebrews* (New York, 1966).
- Winstone, H. V. F., *Howard Carter and the Discovery of the Tomb of Tutankamun* (London, 1991).

- Winters, C.-A., 'Mexico's Black Heritage', *Black Collegian*, Dec.-Jan. (1981-82), 76-84.
- Wintz, Cary D., *Black Culture and the Harlem Renaissance* (Houston, TX, 1988).
- Wiredu, K., 'How Not to Compare African Thought With Western Thought', in R. A. Wright (ed.), *African philosophy: An Introduction* (Lanham, MD, 1984, 3rd edn).
- Wirth, H., *Homer und Babylon: Ein Lösungsversuch der homerischen Frage vom orientalischen Standpunkte aus* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1921).
- Wobogo, V., 'Diop's Two Cradle Theory and the Origin of White Racism', *Black Book Bulletin*, 4, 4 (1976), 21-30.
- Wolpert, S., *A New History of India* (Oxford 3rd edn, 1989).
- Woodburn, H. W., *Ancient Greek Mariners* (Oxford, 1947).
- Woodson, C. G., 'The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History', leaflet, n.p., n.d, 1947, in J. H. Bracey, Jr. et al. (eds), *Black Nationalism in America* (Indianapolis and New York, 1969), 312-319.
- Woodward, C. V., *The Future of the Past* (New York; Oxford, 1989).
- Woodward, R., *Greek Writing from Knossos to Homer* (Oxford, 1997).
- Wortham, A., *The Other Side of Racism* (Columbus, OH, 1981).
- Wortham, J. D., *British Egyptology 1549-1906* (Oklahoma, OK, 1971).
- Wright, J. K., *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusaders* (New York, 1965).
- Wright, R., *Stolen Continents: The 'New World' through Indian Eyes* (Boston, MA, and New York, 1992).
- Wright, R. R., 'Negro Companions of the Spanish Explorers', *American Anthropologist*, 4 (1902), 217-228.
- Wright, S., 'Black Studies and Sound Scholarship', *Phi Delta Kappa*, March (1970), 356-368.
- Wunderlich, H. G., *The Secret of Crete*, trans. R. Winston (Athens, repr. 1990).
- Würthwein F. E., 'Egyptian Wisdom and the Old Testament', in J. Crenshaw (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (New York, 1976).
- Wuthenau, A. von, *The Art of Terracota Pottery in Pre-Columbian Central and South America* (New York, 1969).
- Wuthenau, A. von, *Unexpected Faces in Ancient America: 1500 BC to 1500 AD, The Historical Testimony of Pre-Columbian Artists* (New York, 1975).
- Yahuda, A. S., *The Language of the Pentateuch in its Relations to Egyptian* (Oxford, 1932).
- Yeates, F. A., *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London, 1964).
- Yiseng, Mao, *Introduction to Ancient China's Technology and Science* (Beijing, 1967), 1-4.
- Young, P. A., 'Was Nefertiti Black?', *Archaeology*, 45, 2 (1992).
- Yurco, F. J., 'Were the Ancient Egyptians Black or White?', *Biblical Archaeological Review*, 15, 5 (1989), 24-29, 58.
- Zaccagnini, C., 'Patterns of Mobility among Ancient Near Eastern Craftsmen', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 42 (1983), 245-264.
- Zandee, J., *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960).
- Zigler, D. (ed.), *Molefi Kete Asante and Afrocentricity: In Praise and in Criticism* (Nashville, TN, 1995).
- Zincke, B. F., *Egypt of the Pharaohs and of the Kefive* ([1871] Boston, MA, repr. 1977).
- Zotos, S., *Hellenic Presence in America* (Wheaton, IL, 1976).

# Index

XXV Dynasty 225, 240, 241–2

XXVI Dynasty 59

XXVII Dynasty 65

aborigines 166

Abraham 100, 116, 177

abstract thought 137, 138, 142, 330nn59, 60

Abu Bakar II, Sultan of Mali 31, 32, 285n91

Abyssinia 192–3, 198

Achaians 57, 294n38

Adams, R. L. 357n45

Adams, William Y. 209, 345n46

Aegean 57–8, 64–6, 226; Egyptian dominance 70–89, 302–3n25; Egyptian interactions with 200; influence on Crete 77; West Asian influences on 84

Aesop 41, 114, 225

Aethiopes 154, 156–7, 160

Africa: ancient texts 16; Asian connection 220, 223; colonialism and cultural assimilation 88; common African culture 201–2, 206, 207–8; cultural diffusion 30; cultural heritage 2; division of races 24, 26, 27; and Egypt 52, 72, 192–3, 197, 199–215, 350n73; evolution of mankind 20–2, 281nn30, 32; and Greece 41, 72; historical consciousness 274–5n15; reconstruction of a homeland and history 5–6, 8, 12–13, 15, 249, 256–7, 259, 275n22, 279n65; black Indian cultural origins 33–4; influence on the Americas 8, 230, 235, 237, 240–1, 246–7; modernism 214–16; Nile valley as a

unifying factor with Egypt 201–7;

philosophy 327n28; primitivism

214–16; race and culture 28; racial

unity 26, 283n62; scientific

achievements 143; spiritual longing for

37; utopian view 212–13; and world

culture 34–5; *see also* East Africa;

Equatorial Africa; individual countries;

inner Africa; sub-Saharan Africa; West

Africa

African languages 25–6, 283nn58, 59;

proto-script 143–4, 212–13

African-American studies 8–9, 11, 258, 357n45

African-Americans 110; black

foundations of Western science 127–8,

129, 132, 138, 326n2; Christianity 97;

cultural heritage 2–5, 274–5n15,

275n24; division of races 283n67; Islam

236, 239, 352n2; place in American

society 4, 5, 7, 9, 249, 251–9, 261;

stolen-library myth 124–6; *see also*

Afrocentric universal history; radical

Afrocentrism

Afrocentric historical literature: cultural

heroes 31; evolution of mankind 20; as

foundations of Afrocentric universal

history 16–17

Afrocentric universal history: and

American historical reconstruction

230–47; ‘ancient models’ revival

36–53; as compensatory history 3;

conclusions 248–61; critiques 253–5,

257–8, 277n43; cultural construction

254–9; and culture formation 84–5;

curse of Canaan 171–6, 183, 185–9;



- Cushite empire and global black culture 217–29; definition 8–9, 12–15; Egypt as *sui generis* phenomenon 108; Egyptian religious influence 97; Egyptian tyranny over Greece 70–2, 87–9, 301n8, 308n92; Egyptian–African unity via the Nile Valley 201–16; Egypt's black identity 145–8, 157–63, 165–70; Egypt's Nubian influences 191–2, 196–200; Egypt's scientific influence 127–8, 129–33, 135, 137, 138, 141–4, 326n2; emergence 255, 256; Ethiopia as mother race 193; foundations 16–35; heliocentric theory 91; use of historical myths 3, 4, 5–8, 10–14, 53, 254–61; India as Ethiopia 217–20, 351n1; intellectual black racism 248; Israelites–Hyksos collaboration 267; and Mesopotamia 220–3; self-awareness of black peoples 255–6, 259, 356n30; stolen-library myth 124–6; texts 7–8, 10–11, 16, 278nn46, 47; and Western intellectual heritage 10, 250–2, 253, 257, 355n13; as continuation of Western tradition 14, 260; and world culture 9
- Afrocentrism 6, 8–9, 13; *see also* Afrocentric universal history; radical Afrocentrism
- agriculture 213, 243
- Akhenaton 97, 151, 334n40
- Akinyela, Makungu M. 257
- Aksumite Ethiopia 194, 342n17
- al-Andalusī, Sā'id 98, 122, 162
- Alexander the Great 220, 225, 234
- Alexandria 92, 120
- Alexandrian renaissance 126
- Allen, Don Cameron 25
- alphabets 294n31; Canaanite 75; Meroitic 198, 345n46; Phoenician 56–7, 75; Semitic 78, 304n41
- al-Rashid, Harun 122
- Amarna Letters 336n81
- Amenemhet I 265
- America: African-American's place in 4, 5, 7, 9, 249, 251–9, 261; black descent 224, 228; black discovery/settlement 31–2, 230–47; Egyptian influence 38; evolution of mankind 20; multicultural heritage 1–2; reconstructing the history of 5, 8; and a uniform black race 26, 283n63; Western discovery 230–2, 234–5, 243–6; *see also* Native Americans
- American Egyptology 287n8
- American Jews 275n15
- Ammianus Marcellinus 115, 321n43, 336n69
- Amorites 221
- Amos 158, 175
- Ampim, Manu 72
- Anatolia, influence on Greek civilization 46, 73, 84, 86, 290n45
- Anbar, Moshe 352n20
- 'ancient models' 86; Afrocentric revival 36–53; black foundation 145–7; as fabrication 63, 64; first 52–3, 109–10; fourth 52–3; revised 74; second 52–3, 64, 109–26; third 52–3, 218, 220
- Andah, Bassey 258
- Andes 27
- Andrews, Joyce 188
- Ani, Marimba 132, 251
- antiquity 2–5, 23–8, 262–9
- anti-Semitism 182, 187, 359–60n16
- Appiah, Kwame 258
- Arabia 286n99
- Arabian Peninsula 225
- Arabs 194; anti-Jewish writings 359–60n16; ethnography 163, 165, 225, 228; science 122–3, 130
- Aramnoid peoples 165
- Archaic Age 74–6, 78, 82
- Archimedes 125, 133, 328n38
- Aristotle 62, 250–1, 297n74; on Egyptian ethnography 155, 336n65; Egyptian influences 124, 130, 132, 134, 144; Jewish influences 123, 324nn81, 82, 88, 89
- art: Egyptian 64–5, 149, 150, 298n86, 334nn33, 38; and ethnography 149, 150, 152, 334nn33, 38, 335n47; Greek 41, 152, 335n47; pre-Columbian 235
- Artapanus 111, 116, 160, 196

- Aryan race 26, 91, 224; *see also* Indo-Europeans
- Asante, Molefi Kete 203, 212, 278n47, 346n4, 357n35
- Asante people 208
- Asia 166; black descent 220, 221, 222, 224, 228; cultural diffusion 30; division of races 24, 26, 27; and Egypt 265; evolution of mankind 20; *see also* Central Asia; individual countries; Mesopotamia; West Asia
- Asia Minor 226
- Assman, J. 49, 100, 101, 291n59
- Assyria 225, 226
- Astour, Michael C. 73
- astronomy 133-4, 135, 136
- Aswan 203
- Asyut 150
- Atlantic Ocean 231-2, 234-6
- Australia 20, 243
- Avaris 263, 268, 358n3
- aviation 128
- Axum 225
- Aztecs 32, 224, 245
- Babylon 27, 35, 59, 136-7, 159, 221, 227-8, 238-9
- Bacon, Roger 124, 132
- Baikie 297n81
- Baldensperger, P. J. 333n24
- Bantu 26, 356n34
- Bard, K. 332n9, 334n33
- Basnage, J. C. 101
- Basques 224
- Ben-Jochannan, Yosef A. A. 196; on black anti-Semitism 187; Egyptian influence on Greece 124; on Egyptian-Nubian cultural similarities 199; on the Hyksos 267-8; on Moses 13
- Benjamin of Tudela 220
- Ben-Levi, Josef 267
- Berbers 228, 231
- Berlinerblau, Jacques 300n2
- Bernal, Martin 56-7, 63, 140; on Africa's discovery of the New World 354n25; on culture formation 83-4; on Egyptian ethnography 157; on Egyptian influence in Crete 77-8; on Egyptian tyranny over Bronze Age Greece 71-7, 81, 87-9, 300nn2, 6, 301n8, 301-2nn11, 18, 302-3n25; on Orpheus 320n32; on science 132; on the Western racist conspiracy against Egypt 90-1, 106
- Berr, Henri 166
- Berry, A. C. 146, 331n4
- Berry, R. J. 146, 331n4
- Best, Jan 304n35
- Bewer, Max 182
- Bible 10, 11; black descent of European culture 227-8; black peoples and the curse of Canaan 171-89; and blacks in Mesopotamia 220-1; division of races 24-5, 27; Egyptian ethnography 157-61; Egyptian wisdom 93, 310n18; as gateway to ancient Egypt 47-52, 53; on Hebrew-Egyptian relations 266, 267; King James version 187; prophecies 18; *see also* Hebrew Bible; New Testament; Old Testament
- Bickerman, Elias 3, 282n39, 322n57
- Biobaku 208
- Birch, Samuel 316n112
- Black History Month 258
- Black Islam 9-10
- black race 18-19; Christianity 47-52, 53, 266; division 26-8; educational needs 258, 357nn44, 45; global influence 217-29; independence from white race 250; inferiority 3-4, 6, 7, 20, 169, 248-9, 274n8; influence on Western intellectual heritage 250-2, 253, 257, 355n13; monogenism 20-1; and the New World 230-43, 244-7; self-awareness 255-6, 259, 356n30; separatism 9, 250, 251, 252-3; supremacy 10, 19-20, 22-4, 27-8, 30, 248, 254; theology 47-52, 290n49, 290-1n51, 291nn52, 56, 57, 58; uniform 26, 283n62; *see also* African-Americans; Afrocentric universal history; Afrocentrism
- Blackwell, Thomas 100, 314n90
- Blakey, Michael L. 257, 258
- Blaunt, Henry 264

- Blyden, Edward Wilmot 7–8, 37, 186,  
     275–6n30, 355n11  
 Boas, F. 284n74  
 Boeotia 56–7  
 Bohannon, P. 146, 348n54  
 Bopp, Franz 25  
 Bowdic, A. 208  
 Bradley, Michael 22–3, 167, 240, 281n35  
 Brahe, Tycho 132, 133  
 Branigan, K. 299n93  
 Breasted, James Henry 105, 106, 137,  
     317n119  
 Britain 34, 194, 233; *see also* England  
 Bronze Age, Egyptian–Greek relations  
     54–9, 64–7, 70–89, 34 294nn34, 36  
 Brown, Robert 73, 302n21  
 brown-race theory 164–5, 224,  
     338nn110, 116  
 Bruno, Giordano 98, 313n68  
 Buck, R. J. 56  
 Buckle, Henry Thomas 104, 314n91,  
     316n110  
 Budge, W. E. A. 148, 210, 333n22  
 Bulwer-Lytton 102  
 Bunsen, K. J. von., Baron 104–5, 224,  
     321n45  
 Burkert, W. 73, 95, 301n13  
 Burn, A. R. 73  
 Burstein, S. M. 294n34  
 Butzer, K. W. 347n18  
  
 Cadmus (Cadmos), legend of 56–7,  
     293nn23, 24, 294n30  
 Cain 172, 182  
 Caldwell, E. 138  
 calendars, ancient Egyptian 67, 299n99  
 Cameron, N. E. 167  
 Canaan: curse of 48–9, 171–89, 339n2,  
     340n5; Cushite descent 224; Egyptian  
     influence 87–8, 307nn87, 88;  
     ethnography 161  
 Canaan (son of Ham) 48–9, 159, 171–89  
 Canaanite alphabet 75  
 Canaanite epic 73  
 Cardoso, Isaac 123, 324n81  
 Carthaginians 228, 233, 234, 244  
 Casaubon, Issac 313n67, 313n70  
 Cassites 221, 222  
 Catalan Map 231  
 Cedernus 219  
 Celts 224  
 Central Asia 21  
 Césaire, Aimé 127, 214, 248  
 Chaeremon 111–12, 320n19  
 Chaldea 35, 226  
 Chamberlain, Houston Stewart 182  
 Childe, Gordon 348n37  
 China 238, 243; black identity 221, 228;  
     origins of human culture 33; science  
     130  
 Christian apologetics 121–2, 129,  
     323nn69, 73  
 Christian Ethiopia 193–4, 198  
 Christianity 132; biblical gate to ancient  
     Egypt 47–52; black 47–52, 53, 266;  
     black influences on 11, 228, 251, 252;  
     curse of Canaan and attitudes towards  
     black people 180–8; division of races  
     24; Egyptian ethnography 157–61;  
     Egyptian influences 93–7, 99–101,  
     121–2, 139–40, 314n91, 331n79; and  
     Greece 121–2; *see also* Jesuits;  
     Protestantism; Roman Catholicism  
*Chusan nishathaim* 159  
 Cicero 93, 118  
 Clagett, M. 137  
 Clark, Daima M. 209  
 Clarke, John Henrik 8, 22, 203–4,  
     281n34  
 classical era 10, 66–8, 109–26; Egyptian  
     influence on Greece 41–3, 52, 58–64,  
     289n30; religious continuity 77–8  
 classical literature: Egyptian ethnography  
     152–7; historical validity 54; *see also*  
     Herodotus  
 Claudius Ptolemaeus *see* Ptolemy  
 Cleage, Albert B. 49  
 Clegg II, Legrand H. 24, 268  
 Clement of Alexandria 92, 121, 160,  
     305n48, 310n27, 323n67  
 climatic theory 145–7, 153, 155, 162,  
     183, 206, 208, 213–14, 349n55  
 Cohen, M. 135–6  
 Colchians 154, 335n62  
 Columbus, Christopher 230, 231, 243,  
     244, 246

- Cone, J. H. 308n92  
 Connah, Graham 209  
 Conzelmann, Hans 62, 358n5  
 Cook, James 243  
 Coon, Carleton S. 281n33  
 Copenhaver, B. P. 93  
 Copts 148, 333n24  
*Corpus Hermeticum* 98, 99, 314n76  
 cosmology 131, 133, 134, 142  
 Cresques, Abraham 231  
 Crete: black descent 41, 225, 228; and Egypt 64–7, 77–8, 84, 297n81, 298nn82, 83, 84, 88, 304nn35, 36; and Egyptian influence on Greece 73, 301–2nn13, 18; *see also* Minoans  
 Crummell, Alexander 185–6  
 Cudworth, Ralph 100  
 Cullen, Countee 15  
 cultural decline 249  
 cultural dependence 71, 78  
 cultural diffusion 29–30, 284nn77, 78  
 cultural heroes 30–3, 285nn85, 87  
 culture: formation 78–86, 88, 307n79; origins 23–8, 33–5; racial determinism 28–9, 284nn74, 75, 76  
 Currier, George 333n23  
 Curtin, P. 348n54  
 Cush 337n89, 339–40n21, 345n38; curse of Canaan 174–8, 180–1, 183, 187; ethnography 157–8, 160; fictitious invention of an empire 217–29; global influence 217–29; and D. D. Houston 223–7; as origins of global culture 190–4, 197, 199; *see also* Kush  
 ‘Cushi’ 174, 178  
*Cushim* 27, 175  
 Cyprus 57  
  
 Danaids 152  
 Danaus, legend of 58, 68, 294n43, 299n97  
 Daniel, G. 284n77  
 Dark Age 78  
 Davidson, Basil 22, 32, 210–11, 278n47, 300n6, 346n50  
 Dawson, Christopher 16  
 Defoe, Daniel 16  
 Deism 98–102  
  
 Denon, V. 333n24  
 dependency theory 90, 125  
 Derry, D. E. 146  
 d’Euchthal, Gustav 354n25  
 Dickinson, O. 78, 83  
 diffusionist theory 29–30, 47, 73–4, 81, 89, 126, 205, 252, 284nn77, 78; ‘down the river theory’ 210–12; hyper 29–30, 73–4, 89, 237, 239, 284n78; ‘up the river theory’ 207–9; West’s 85  
 Diodorus Siculus 17, 36, 90, 279n4, 359n9; on Egyptian animal worship 94; on Egyptian ethnography 155; on Egyptian income policy 114; Egyptian influences 96, 135, 312n51; on Egypt’s uniqueness and the Nile 202; on Greek mythology 45, 289n42; on Mesopotamia 220; and mythology 61, 296n64; on Nile travel 203; on the origins of Cadmus 293n24  
 Diogenes Laertius 115, 129, 325n96  
 Diop, Cheikh Anta 8, 11, 128, 140, 192, 276–7n34, 277n35; on African literature 16; on African qualities 357n38; on black Egyptian cultural heritage 38, 287n15; on black identity of Egypt 72, 207–8; climatic theory 206, 213; and cultural diffusion 30; on cultural heroes 285n87; on Egyptian ethnography 148, 160–3, 167–8, 331n4, 335–6n63; on mathematics 135; on metallurgy 348n54; on racial classification 21, 27, 281n32, 283n68; on science 133, 141–2, 143; stolen-library myth 124, 125; on the universalist approach 89; on the Western racist conspiracy against Egypt 90, 91  
 divine racism 50, 172–3, 186  
 Djoser, Pharaoh 241  
 Dogon (Mali) 209  
 Donnelly, Ignatius 353n7  
 Doran, H. 320n21  
 Dorian Hellenics 75, 76  
 Douglas, Frederick 38  
 ‘down the river theory’ 210–12  
 Drabkin, I. E. 135–6  
 Draper, John William 104

- Dravidians 27, 219, 226, 288n70
- Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt  
207, 214, 259, 280n21; on black Indian identity 351n1; on black people's role in American society 251; on Egyptian ethnography 167, 339n126; on radical Afrocentrism 12
- Dunston, Jr, Alfred G., 48, 161, 187
- Dupuis, Charles François 101
- East Africa 27, 147, 204
- eastern Europe 14
- Eastern Mediterranean 8, 70–1, 74, 83, 88, 200; *see also* individual countries
- Easton, Hosea 7, 275n28
- education, black needs 258, 357nn44, 45
- Edwin Smith surgical papyrus 134
- Egypt: abstract thought 137, 138, 142, 330nn59, 60; African gate to the study of 52; ancient historical traditions revision 36–53; art 149, 150, 334nn32, 38; and Asia 265; biblical prophecies against 176, 188; biblical tradition as gateway to 39, 47–52, 291n59; black cultural origins 34–53, 72, 145–70, 167–70, 207–9, 210–15, 331n4, 332nn9, 15, 333n22, 334n41, 350n73; and a black Golden Age 36–8, 287n15; Bronze Age 70–89; calendars 67, 299n99; and Christianity 121–2; and Crete 64–7, 77–8, 84, 297n81, 298nn82, 83, 298nn84, 88, 304nn35, 36; cultural diffusion 30; common African culture 201–2, 206, 213–15, 347n35; and the curse of Canaan 185; Kushite descent 224–9; division of races 26; Egyptian gate to the study of 11, 39–40; geometry 135, 136, 137, 138; global influence 33, 218, 224, 260; general influence on Greece 7, 37–46, 52–3, 199–200, 221, 275n28, 288nn21, 22, 295–6nn49, 52, 53, 54; general influence on Greece, conclusions 251, 252; dawn of Greek history in Egyptian records 64–6; influence on the formation of Greek prehistory 56, 294n34; influence on Bronze Age Greece 54–9, 64–6, 67, 294nn34, 36; influence on Greece during the classical period 41–3, 52, 59–64, 289n30; influence on Greek learning during the Hellenistic era 110–21, 122–3, 124–6, 323n67; tyranny over Greece 70–89, 301n8, 302–3n25, 308n92; Greek gate to the study of 39, 40–5; influence on Greek religion 66–9, 139–40; influence on Greek wisdom and mythology 96, 100–5, 308n7, 312n51, 313n68, 314nn76, 90, 317n128; Hecataeus and Herodotus on 59–64; heliocentric theory 90–108, 132–3; Hellenistic 92, 94–5, 110, 113; historical reconstruction 6, 8, 11, 54–69; historical texts as gate to 39–40, 44, 288n24; in the Homeric epic 57–9; black Indian cultural origins 33–4; influence on Jewish antiquity 262–9, 358n6, 359–60n16; as land of magic 91–7, 101–2, 104–5, 308n7, 309nn10, 13, 15; maritime capabilities 234–5, 302–3n25; mathematics 135, 136–8; medicine 58, 73, 134–5, 295n42; Medieval 94, 98–102; and Mesopotamia 220, 222–3; modern outlook 106–7; mythology 66–9, 78–87, 305nn48, 53; Near Eastern/West Asian influences 46–7; and the New World 232, 235, 237–46, 353n7; Nile valley as a unifying factor with Africa 201–7; and Nubia 191–2, 194–200, 345n38; philosophy 127–44; pilgrimage to 109–13; race and culture 28; racist conspiracy against 90–1; religion 66–9, 79–80, 93–7, 99–100, 113, 115, 308nn88, 90, 310nn22, 25, 312–13n69, 313n71, 314n92, 321n43; Renaissance 94, 98–102; ritual 66–9; and Rome 38, 93–4, 115, 139, 202; sacred texts 95, 311n41; science 98, 104, 106, 112, 127–44, 320n21, 326n2; as *sui generis* phenomenon 107–8, 199; and Sumer 221, 222; superiority 89; uniqueness and the Nile 201–2, 212–16; utopian view 212–13; wisdom 91–3, 96–106, 111–16, 119–23,

- 127–44, 308n7, 323n67; *see also* Lower Egypt; pan-Egyptianism; Upper Egypt
- Egyptian ethnography: biblical evidence 157–61; black Egypt/black Egyptians 147–9; black Egyptians in Afrocentric literature 167–70; black foundations of the ancient models 145–7; classical literature 152–7; Egyptian literature 147–52, 151; medieval evidence 161–3; modern research and literature 163–6
- Egyptian historical tradition 59–66, 111–12
- Egyptian literature: Egyptian ethnography 147–52, 151; philological 105–6; ‘theft’ 142–3
- Egyptian priesthood 311n42; abstract thought 137, 330nn59, 60; Egyptian learning 111–12; influence on Greek thought 60–1, 114–16, 124–5, 139, 296n63, 312n51; ‘magical’ functions 95–6
- Egyptology 37, 107, 287n8
- ‘Egyptomania’ 78, 122–3
- Egyptophilia: Medieval and Renaissance 98–102; modern 102–6, 107, 315n96, 317nn133, 134
- Egyptophobia 100, 102, 104, 105, 315n96
- Ehret, Christopher 197
- Elam 27, 225
- El-Amin, Mustafa 291n51
- Ellison, Ralph 15
- England 181
- environmental theory 145–7, 153, 155, 162, 183, 206, 208, 213–14, 349n55
- Ephorus of Cyme 56, 279n4
- Equatorial Africa 146–7, 153, 155, 178–9, 201–2, 206, 215
- Eritrean Sea 219
- Erman, Adolf 166
- eschatological literature 18, 280n11
- Ethiopia 37, 41; Aksumite 194, 343n17; Christian 193–4, 198; curse of Canaan 173–4, 177–8, 180; ethnography 148, 153–62, 166, 335n58, 338n107; global influence 217–29; India as 217–20, 228, 351n1; influence on ancient Egypt 7, 52; noble 190–216; *see also* Abyssinia; Cush; Kush; Nubia
- Ethiopian Sea 219
- ethnocentrism 254; *see also* racial superiority
- Etruscans 224
- Eudoxus 114, 115, 121, 124, 325n96
- Euhemerist explanation 101
- Eurocentrism 4, 14, 44, 126
- Europe: Age of Discovery 230, 243–4; Aryan roots of 91; black cultural origins 224, 227–8, 286n109; cultural diffusion 30; division of races 24, 27; Egyptian cultural theft and imitation 124, 125–6; Egyptian influence 38, 105; Egyptomania 98–102, 122–3; evolution of mankind 20, 21, 22, 23, 281nn25, 32; race and culture 28; racist conspiracy against Egypt 90–1; science 130; *see also* eastern Europe; Indo-Europeans
- European universal history 11–12
- Eusebius 121, 323n67
- Evans, Arthur 40, 204
- Evans, W. M. 175
- Everett, Hill 6–7
- evolution of mankind 19–23, 280n21, 280–1n22, 281nn25, 27, 30, 32, 33, 282n37
- Exodus myth 47–9, 51, 92, 97, 160, 263–6, 290n49, 290–1n51, 291nn52, 56, 57, 358n6, 359–60n16
- Falashas 229
- Fanon, Franz 2
- ‘fantastic archaeology’ 234
- Farcy, Charles 234–5
- Far East 252; *see also* individual countries
- Feibleman, J. K. 330n77
- Felder, Cain Hope 49, 50, 291n58
- Fellahin 333n24
- Ficino, Marsilio 99
- Finch, II, Charles S. 134
- Finkelberg, M 292n11, 305n47
- Finley, M. I. 57, 294n34
- Flaubert, Gustave 332n18
- flood, story of 85
- foundations of Afrocentric universal history 16–35; cultural diffusion 29–30, 284nn77, 78; cultural heroes

- 30–3, 285nn85, 87; Higgins on 33–4; MacRitchie on 34; Massey on 34–5; monogenism 19–23, 280n21; origins and antiquity 23–8; quest for a universal history 16–19; race and culture 28–9; racial divisions 24–8, 283nn64, 66, 67
- Fowden, G. 139
- France 228
- Franklin, J. H. 275n24
- freedom, as Greek concept 82
- French Revolution 14
- Fulani 208
- Gans, Herbert J. 253
- Gardiner, A. H. 298n88, 344n21
- Gardner Wilkinson, J. 311n42
- Gates, Skip 258
- Geiser, P. 344n22
- Gelenius, Sigismund 122–3
- Genesis 157, 160–1, 201, 221, 227–8; curse of Canaan 171–7, 180, 187–8
- geometric theory of the solar system 133, 328n40
- geometry 115, 135–6, 137, 138
- Germany 14, 91, 182, 318n137
- Gillings, R. J. 136–7
- Gladwin, Harold S. 234
- Glanville, S. K. R. 105
- globalism, black 217–29
- God 48, 50, 188
- Godwyn, Thomas 100
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 335–6n63
- Goldenberg, David M. 178–9
- Gombrich 316n106
- Gordon, Cyrus 73
- Grafton, A. 98, 99, 314n76
- Grant, M. 82
- Great Lakes 207, 210
- Greco-Roman world 96, 137–8, 140
- Greece: admission of cultural debt 117–21; art 41, 152, 335n47; black identity 33–4, 40–5; black influence on Western intellectual heritage 250–1, 252, 355n13; Bronze Age 70–89; and Christianity 121–2, 323n69; civil-political sphere 118–19, 322n56; classical 41–3, 52, 54, 56, 289n30; as composite culture 73–7, 301n12; Egypt as land of magic 93, 96; Egypt as unique culture 202; general Egyptian influence on 7, 37–46, 52–3, 199–200, 221, 275n28, 288nn21, 22, 295nn49, 52, 53, 54; general Egyptian influence on, conclusions 251, 252; Egyptian records and the dawn of Greek history 64–6; Egypt's influence on the formation of prehistory 56, 294nn34; Egypt's influence during the Bronze Age 54–9, 64–6, 67, 294n34, 36; Egyptian influence during classical period 41–3, 52, 59–64, 289n30; Egypt's influence during the Hellenistic era 110–21, 122–3, 124–6, 323n67; denial of Egyptian cultural influence in the nineteenth century 90, 91; Egyptian–Nubian influences 191–2; Egypt's influence on Greek religion 66–9, 139–40; Egypt's influence on Greek science and philosophy 130–8, 141–2, 143, 144, 327n21; Egypt's influence on wisdom and magic 96, 100–5, 308n7, 312n51, 313n68, 313–14n76, 314n90, 317n128; Egypt's tyranny over 70–89, 301n8, 302–3n25, 308n92; and Ethiopia 193, 196, 218–19, 224; influence on Muslim culture 122; Jewish influences 121, 123, 324nn81, 82; mathematics 135–6; medicine 134–5; Mesopotamian influences 221; mythology 44–5, 53, 55–7, 67–9, 78–86, 289nn40, 42, 43, 305nn48, 53; Near Eastern/West Asian influences 46; and the New World 234, 235; Oriental influences 316n104; prehistory and foreign cultures 54–7; racial characteristics 152–3; reconstructing history 6; religion 66–9, 77–81, 305nn48, 53, 306n67, 321n45; science 129, 141; stolen-library myth 123–6; as *sui generis* phenomenon 107–8, 318n137; theatre 68–9; as unique culture 82–3, 85–6
- Greek historical tradition 54–64, 74–5, 85–6

- Greek language 79, 81  
 Greek literature: Egyptian influences 74–5, 112–13, 323n67; Greek universal history 17, 279nn4, 5; Hellenic/classical Egyptian ethnography 152–3, 154–6; West Asian influences 85–6  
 Greek universal history: cultural origins 23, 24, 282nn39, 41; historical literature 17, 279nn4, 5  
 Green, Peter 140  
 Green, Tamara 289n40  
 Greenberg, Gary 358n2  
 Grégoire, Abéc 182  
 Gregory of Nazianus 312n58  
 Gregory of Nyssa 121  
 Griffin, Jasper 322n52  
 Griggs, C. W. 331n79  
 Grote 45  
 Gruen, E. S. 358n6  
 Gulf of Mexico 237, 238  
 Gyles, Mary Francis 138
- Haak, R. D. 337n89  
 Ha'am, Ahad 292n70  
 Habash (Ethiopia) 194, 225  
 Hadas, Moses 117, 322n61  
 Halevi, Judah 324n79  
 Hall, Edith 68  
 Hall, Jonathan 82  
 Ham 197, 219–20, 232; curse of Canaan 171–2, 174–7, 179–89, 339n2, 342n36; ethnography 24, 27, 157–8, 159, 160, 161–2  
 Hamites: curse of Canaan 174–6, 183, 185, 186, 188–9; Egyptians as 40; ethnography 25, 26, 27, 157–8, 163, 166  
 Hamitic theory 338n110  
 Hammurabi 221, 225  
 Hanno 233  
 Hansberry, W. L. 148, 167  
 Harlem renaissance 257, 356n35  
 Harris, J. R. 99  
 Harris, Norman 254–5  
 Hatem, M. Abdel-Kader 107  
 Haykal, Muhammad Husayn 123  
 Hebraism 98–102  
 Hebrew Bible 176; Egyptian ethnography 157, 160–1; as gateway to ancient Egypt 47–52; *see also* Old Testament  
 Hebrews: black identity 35, 189; cultural origins 23; Egyptian influences 87–8, 97, 98, 99–100, 307nn87, 88; ethnicity 158–9; influence on Greece 123; Josephus Flavius on the antiquity of 262–9; written traditions and black historiography 10–11; *see also* Israelites; Jews; Judaism  
 Hecataeus of Abdera 63–4, 96, 114, 222  
 Hecataeus of Miletus 56, 60, 197, 219, 220, 279n5, 289n40, 296n60  
 Heeren, Arnold Hermann Ludwig 7  
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 92, 104, 274–5n15, 316n104, 316n106, 346n7  
 heliocentric theory 84, 86, 90–108, 132–3  
 Heliodorus 36, 38, 114, 156  
 Hellenics 75, 76; racial characteristics 152  
 Hellenistic era 23, 110–21, 282n39; cultural influences 44, 52, 113–21, 139–40; cultural origins 111; curse of Canaan 176–82; Egyptian influence 44, 52, 139–40; and Ethiopia 219; historical tradition 113–16, 117, 320n31, 32, 322nn50, 52; Jews 93, 110–11, 113, 116, 196–7, 321n46, 358n6; literature 112–13, 120; and the New World 234, 236; origins of learning 113–16; philosophy and science 141, 143  
 Hellenistic-Roman era 92, 112, 113, 123, 153–4, 156  
 Hellenized Egypt 92, 94–5, 110, 113  
 Heracles 80  
 Herder, Johann Gottfried 2–3, 104, 359–60n16  
 Hermes Trismegistus 91, 94, 99, 120, 139, 314n76  
 Hermeticism 139–41  
 Herodotus 10, 11, 58, 119, 222; on differences between Nubians and Egyptians 196; Egyptian calendars 299n99; on Egyptian ethnography 148, 154–5, 335nn61, 62, 335–6n63, 336n65; on Egyptian income policy 114, 321n34; on Egyptian influence on Greece 54, 59–64, 61, 66–8, 69,



- 79–80, 82, 295n52, 296nn63, 66, 297n69; on Egyptian medicine 134; on Egyptian uniqueness 202, 214; on Ethiopia and India 218, 219; on Nile travel 203; on the origins of Cadmus 294n24; reliability 66, 297n68; on the voyage of Necho II 233
- Herophilus 135
- Herskovits, M. J. 275n24
- Herzl, Theodor 292n70
- Hesiod 23, 57, 78, 85, 217, 304n43
- Hibben, F. C. 353n7
- Higgins, Godfrey 33–4, 227
- Hillel 178
- Hilliard, III, A. G. 72, 208, 276–7n34, 331n4, 356n30
- Hippocrates 134, 155
- Hirschenson, Yehiel Zevi 352n28
- historical myths: Afrocentrism's use of 3, 4, 5–8, 10–14, 53, 254–61; Jewish use of 262–9, 356n30
- Hittites 63
- Hoffman, M. A. 164
- Hogarth, D. G. 1
- Holl, A. E. C. 348n54
- Holloway, J. E. 356n34
- Homer 61, 320n32; on discovery of the New World 234; Eastern influence 78, N43 304; Egyptian influences 121; on Ethiopians and Indians 218, 351n4; Grecian ethnography 152; Odyssey 58, 134, 234
- Homeric epic 57–9, 64, 75, 78, 85–6, 154, 294n36
- Homeric world-view 132
- homo Africanus* 28
- Homo erectus* 20, 21
- Homo sapiens* 20, 21, 22, 282n37
- Hopkins, D. N. 290n48
- Hountondji, Paulin 257, 327n28, 355n16
- Houston, Drusilla Dunjee, and the Kushite empire 223–7
- Hughes, Langston 15, 215
- Hurston, Zora Neale 171, 266–7
- Hyksos 262–9, 358n3, 359n9, 359–60n16
- Hyman, Martin 228
- hyper-diffusionist theory 29–30, 73–4, 89, 237, 239, 284n78
- Iambalichus of Apamea 115, 311n40
- Ibn Hazan 4
- Ibn Khaldûn 98, 161–2, 338n102, 347n21
- Ibn Shaprut, Hisdai 228
- Icarus 128
- imago mundi*, classical world 52, 218–19, 220
- Inaros, king of Libya 60
- Incas 242, 245
- India: black identity 33–4, 47, 290n47; and Ethiopia 217–20, 222–3, 225–6, 228–9, 351n1; ethnography 27, 153; influence on Egyptian/Greek civilization 46–7, 290n47; origins of global culture 33–4, 286n98; western sea-board 352n21
- Indian Ocean 219
- Indo-Europeans: black descent 225, 228; as creators of myth and science 106, 317n127; influence on Greece 55, 73–4, 293n11, 303n25; supremacy 25, 43; *see also* Aryan race
- Indo-Iranian roots of European civilization 91
- Indus Valley 221
- inner Africa 202–3, 205, 210–11
- 'Iranian Principle' 274n14
- iron tools, use of 208, 209, 348–9n54, 350n69
- Isaiah 93, 158, 309n14
- Ish, people of 149
- Islam: Black 9–10; curse of Canaan 172; and Egypt 106–7, 314n91; influence on African literature 16; science 98, 122–3, 130, 142, 324n83; *see also* Muslims
- Israel 87–8, 307n87
- Israelites: black descent 187, 188, 229; curse of Canaan 174, 175, 176, 177–8, 183; Egyptian influences 87–8, 95, 97, 100; ethnicity 158; Exodus 47–9; Josephus Flavius on the antiquity of 262–9, 359–60n16; *see also* Hebrews; Jews; Judaism
- Italian–Ethiopian war (1935) 192–3
- Italy 99, 228
- Iversen, E. 313n66

- Jablonsky, P. E. 98, 314n76  
 Jackson, John G. 228  
 Jacob 175  
 Jaeger, W. 323n69  
 Jairazbhoy, R. Afique 237–8, 354n25  
 James, George G. M. 72, 96, 124–5, 142–3, 250–1, 355n13  
 Japan 228  
 Japhet (Japheth) *see* Yaphet  
 Japhites 25  
 Jeffries, Leonard 22  
 Jerome of Palestine 219  
 Jerusalem 262  
 Jesuits 98–9  
 Jesus Christ, black identity 49–50  
 Jewish Sages 93, 96–7, 309n15; black identity 228; black racism 176–9; Egypt's uniqueness and the Nile 202; influence on Egyptian culture 110, 116, 129, 319n12; influence on Greek culture 111, 116, 129  
 Jews: American 275n15; anti-Semitism 182, 187, 359–60n16; black cultural influence 7; black descent 49–50, 182, 187–9, 228–9; and black racism 176–80, 184, 187–9, 340n18, 341nn21, 30; curse of Canaan 175–80, 184, 187–9, 340n18, 341nn21, 30; distinctiveness 18, 280n13; on Egyptian ethnography 160; and Egyptian mythology 93, 98; and Egyptian wisdom 96–7; Hellenistic 93, 110–11, 113, 116, 196–7, 321n46, 358n6; use of historical myths 262–9, 356n30; influence on Aristotle 123, 324nn81, 82, 325nn88, 89; influence on Greece 121, 123; Josephus Flavius on the antiquity of 39, 262–9; and the New World 353n20; and philosophy 324n79; and science 129, 324n79; slavery 47–9, 292n70; written traditions' influence on black historiography 10–11; *see also* Judaism  
 Johanson, John L. 269  
 Johnson, E. A. 5  
 Johnson, H. H. 225  
 Jones, W. R. 290n49  
 Jones, William 25  
 Jordan, Winthrop D. 184, 185  
 Joseph 116, 267, 268  
 Josephus Flavius 109, 111, 116, 160, 174, 196–7, 288n22, 345n38; on Jewish antiquity 39, 262–9, 356n5  
*Journal of Negro History* 40, 288n28  
 Judaism: biblical gate to ancient Egypt 47–52; black influence 252; curse of Canaan 172, 184–5; Egyptian influences 95, 97, 99–100, 101, 314n91  
 Judea 87, 262–3, 307n87  
 Julian the Apostate 118, 156  
 Justin Martyr 121  
 Juvenal, Roman poet 93–4  
 Kákosy, Lázlo 138  
 Kamose 268  
 Kara nations 208  
 Kare-kare 208  
 Karenga, Manula 72  
 Kasi 159  
 Kassites 159, 174, 220–3  
*Kassu* 159  
 Kees, Hermann 166  
 Keita, S. O. 146, 258  
 Keith, Lansana 277n34  
 Kemet (Egypt) 37, 148  
 Kepler, Johannes 124, 132  
 Keto, C. T. 355n4  
 Khomyakov, Aleksei 274n14  
 Khosian 26  
 Kingdom, J. 281n30  
 Kinglake, A. W. 333n24  
 Kinsborough, Lord 234  
 Kircher, Athanasius 99, 232, 313nn70, 72  
 Kirk, G. S. 82  
 Kleproth, H. J. 25  
 Kmt (Egypt) 37  
 Knossos 77, 204  
 Kraus, G. 284n78  
 Kroeber, A. L. 307n79  
 Kumma 195  
 Kush 190, 195, 196, 203, 340n17, 343n20, 344n21, 346n50; curse of Canaan 173–4, 176–7, 179–82, 185–6; ethnography 27, 149–51, 154, 156–8, 159, 160; global domination of the Cushite empire 35, 217–29; Hyksos

- alliance 268–9; and the Nile 202, 203;  
origins of global culture 190–200; *see*  
*also* Cush
- Kush (son of Ham) 157, 159, 160, 219,  
220, 221, 352n28
- Kushite 194, 195, 199
- 'Kushite Principle' 274n14
- Kushw tribes 174
- Langeles, Louis Mathiey 33
- language: African 25–6, 283nn58, 59;  
influences 78–9, 81, 305n47, 306n74;  
Mayan script 242, 353n7; paternity 32,  
286n94; west-Semitic family 175–6;  
world-view creation 258; *see also*  
alphabets
- Latin America: Cushite cultural origins  
224; discovery 232–9, 240–3, 244–7;  
ethnography 21
- Leahy, A. 146
- Lefkowitz, Mary 95, 119–20
- Lenoir, Alexander 234
- Levant 73, 81
- Levine, D. N. 343n17
- liberation 47–8, 290n49
- libraries: Alexandrian 123, 324n85;  
Egyptian 111–12; stolen-library myth  
123–6
- Libyans, ethnography 154, 156, 164, 166,  
168, 335n61
- Lichtheim, M. 287n1
- literature: anti-Semitic 182; classical 54,  
152–7; Egyptian 105–6, 142–3,  
147–52, 151; eschatological 18,  
280n11; Roman 153–4, 155–6; *see also*  
Afrocentric historical literature; Greek  
literature; texts
- Lloyd, Alan B. 39, 111, 297n80
- Lloyd, G. E. R. 130, 131, 133, 329nn56,  
57
- Lower Egypt: ethnography 149; Greek  
relations 58, 61; and the Nile 202–3;  
and Nubia 191, 269
- Lower Nubia (Watat) 194, 195, 197–8,  
203
- Löwith, K. 280n10
- Lucas, Archdeacon 208
- Luce, J. V. 62
- Lucian 155
- Luzzatto, Shmuel David 177, 340n17
- Macgaffey, W. 211
- McKie, R. 22
- MacRitchie, David 34
- Maimonides 100, 162, 180, 228
- Mali 31–2, 286n91
- Mallory, J. P. 79
- Mandeville, John 161, 220
- Manetho 59, 100; history of Egypt 44,  
110, 262–5, 267, 319n9, 358nn2, 5,  
359–60n16
- Manilius, Marcus 153, 190
- Mann, Thomas 102
- Mansa Musa, Sultan of Mali 31–2,  
285n89
- Manuel, Frank E. 99
- mapa mundi*: Afrocentric 52, 230;  
Hellenistic 218–19
- Marco Polo 220, 243
- maritime capabilities, ancient civilizations  
231, 233–4, 238, 302–3n25
- Marrou, H. I. 115
- Masihah, Khalil 128
- Maspero, Gaston 105, 164
- Massey, Gerald 34–5, 97, 218, 223, 227
- mathematics 135–8
- Mayans 31, 224, 235, 242, 245; script  
242, 353n7
- Medea 224, 225
- medicine: Egyptian 58, 73, 134–5,  
295n42; Greek 134–5
- Mediterranean: Egyptian relations 216;  
*see also* Eastern Mediterranean;  
individual countries
- Mediterranean race 26, 164–5, 338nn110,  
116
- Melamed, A. 341n21
- melanin theory 254
- Menes 72, 199, 233
- Merikare 265
- Meroë 193, 194, 195, 199, 225
- Meroitic alphabet 198, 345n46
- Mesoamerica 239
- Mesopotamia: blacks in 220–3, 224, 226,  
228, 229; influence on Egyptian  
civilization 46–7; influence on Greek

- civilization 46–7, 72, 74, 84, 85–6  
 metallurgy 208, 209, 348–9n54, 350n69  
 Mexico 31, 32, 232, 235, 237–9, 240, 242, 244  
 Meyerowitz, L.-R. E. 208, 209  
 Middle Ages: curse of Canaan 180, 181, 182, 184–5; Egyptian ethnography 161–3; Greek influences on Western philosophy and science 122; perception of Egypt 94, 98–102  
 Middle Kingdom 64–5  
 Middle Nile region 149, 205  
 Miletus, school of 131  
 Minnngn-Paris, Nancy 282n37  
 Minoans 67; Egyptian influence 57, 73, 74–5, 77, 78, 301–2n18, 304n36; Egyptian records of 65, 298nn83, 86, 88, 299n93  
 Mississippi delta 27  
*Mizrayim* 157, 174, 176  
 modernism 214–16  
 modernity 127–31  
 Mokhtar, G. 283n68  
 Momigliano 18, 320n31  
 Monges, Miriam 350n73  
 monogenism 19–23, 47, 280n21  
 Montellano, Ortiz de 354n32  
 Moors 153, 228  
 Morenz, S. 79, 80, 87, 287n6  
 Moret, A. 330n60  
 Morris, Henry M. 186  
 Moscow Papyrus 135  
 Moses 159, 160, 267, 269, 340n17, 359–60n16; black identity 48, 291nn52, 56, 57; curse of Canaan 173, 177, 179–80; Kushite influences 225; Egyptian influences 92, 97, 98, 100, 121–2, 132, 251, 309n10, 312n58; as Egyptian prince 263, 264, 358n2; and Egyptian wisdom 97, 98, 312n58; Exodus 47, 48; and Greek inspiration 116, 121; and Kush 196–7, 345n38; and magic 92, 309n10; Qur'an's depiction of 266  
 Moses, W. J. 283n64  
 Mudimbe, Valentin 71–2, 258  
 Müller, Max 284n76  
 multiculturalism 1–2  
 Murdock, G. 347n35  
 Murray, Albert 248, 275n15, 278n47, 355n2  
 Musa, Salama 31, 165, 316n118, 317n133  
 Muslims: African-American 236, 239, 352n2; cultural heroes 31–2, 285–6nn89, 91; Egyptian 148–9, 163; and the New World 231, 235–6, 352n2; philosophy and science 98, 122–3, 130, 142, 324n83; *see also* Islam  
 Mutras, Khalil 317n134  
 Mycenaean civilization 55, 57, 64–7, 74–8  
 Myres, Linton 294n30  
 mythology: Egyptian 66–9, 78–86, 87, 305nn48, 53; Greek 44–5, 53, 55–7, 67–9, 78–86, 289nn40, 42, 43, 305nn48, 53; stolen-library myth 123–6  
 Napata 194, 195, 344n22  
 Naram-Sin, king of Sumer 31, 233  
 Nation Islam 9–10  
 Native Americans 224, 230–1, 232, 246  
 naval expeditions: ancient Egyptian 302–3n25; *see also* maritime capabilities  
 Nazis 318n137  
 Neanderthals 22, 282n37  
 Near East: Bronze Age period 58, 70, 73, 74, 76, 83, 86; Egyptian relations 40, 200, 216; influence on Egyptian/Greek civilization 46–7, 290n45; *see also* individual countries  
 Neoplatonism 139, 330n77  
 New Testament 160, 180  
 Newman, J. L. 193, 283n62, 348n54  
 Niger Congo dialect 26  
 Niger River 205  
 Nigeria 208  
 Nile river: and Egypt's uniqueness 201–2, 213–16; as means of communication 202–4, 347nn16, 17, 18, 21  
 Nile valley: Egyptian cultural origins 191–2, 196, 198; ethnography 146–7, 149, 153, 155; as a unifying factor between Egypt and Africa 201–7; uniqueness 201–16, 346n7; *see also* individual nations

- Nilosaharan 26  
 Nimrod 159, 176, 219, 220–3  
 Noah 101, 161–2, 228, 232; curse of  
     Canaan 171, 173, 176, 177, 180, 181,  
     183, 185, 186  
 Nonos of Panopolis 293n23  
 North Africa 205, 228, 231  
 North African Arabs 163  
 north-eastern Nigeria 208  
 Novalis 90  
 Nubia: and the curse of Canaan 173, 174,  
     178, 180; Kushite empire 225, 226,  
     228; and Egypt 190–9, 225, 240,  
     241–2; ethnography 27, 146, 148–52,  
     154–7, 159–60, 164, 166, 168, 336n81;  
     Hyksos alliance 268–9; language 198,  
     345n46; Nile valley and  
     communication links 203, 204, 205;  
     race and culture 28; search for a  
     common African cultural origin 201,  
     206–7, 209–10, 347n35, 350n73; *see*  
     *also* Kush; Lower Nubia  
 Numidians 161  
  
 O'Connor, D. 197–8, 345n47  
 Odyssey (Homer) 58, 134, 234  
 Old Testament 184, 185, 187, 267; *see*  
     *also* Hebrew Bible  
 Oliphant, Laurence 315n100  
 Olmcc culture 237–40, 242, 245, 354n24  
 Onyewuenyi, Innocent 327n28, 355n16  
 Orient: influence on Greece 84,  
     316n104; influence on Western  
     civilization 126  
 Oriental Renaissance 106  
 Origen 121, 228, 290n49, 323n69  
 Orpheus 116, 320n32  
 Osersifh 263; *see also* Moses  
 Oyeade, B. 287n15  
  
 Paleolithic aborigines 166  
 Palestine 87, 88, 228, 333n24, 359–60n16  
 Palter, Robert 134–5, 136  
 pan-Egyptianism 96, 110, 139, 312n51  
 Pappademos, John 128  
 Park, R. E. 277n42  
 Parker, George Wells 40–1, 288n28  
 Parsons, James 25  
  
 Patrick, Simon 285n85  
 Patterson, Orlando 82  
 Pausanias 56, 289n40  
 Pemble, J. 103  
 Pennington, James William Charles 7  
 Pericles 322n56  
 Perry, W. J. 30  
 Persia 116, 224, 225, 228  
 Persian Empire 60, 63  
 Peru 233  
 Petri, Suffridus 70  
 Philo of Alexandria: Egyptian influence  
     on Greece 305n53; on Egyptian  
     religion 310n22; on Egyptian wisdom  
     93, 116; Egypt's uniqueness and the  
     Nile 202; on the Jewish exodus from  
     Egypt 265  
 philosophy 120–3, 251, 324n79, 355n16;  
     Egyptian foundations of Western  
     tradition 127–44  
 Phoenicia: Cushite cultural origins 224;  
     Egyptian influence on Greece 59, 73,  
     81, 86; Egyptian influences 87;  
     ethnography 163; influence on Greece  
     116, 117; and the New World 233–4,  
     238–9, 242–3, 244, 246  
 Phoenician alphabet 56–7, 75  
 Photius 296n68  
 Piankhy, Nubian king 190–1, 226  
 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni 99  
 Piri Reis map 236  
 Plato 54, 250–1; Egyptian influences 59,  
     68, 110, 114–15, 117, 119–24, 131–2,  
     135, 144, 322n61, 327n25; and Egyptian  
     knowledge 98, 312n56; on genesis  
     myths 118; Jewish influences 116, 121  
 Platonism 139–41  
 Pliny the Elder 17, 218, 219  
 Plumed Serpent legend 31  
 Poesche, Theodor 286n109  
 Polemon of Laodicea 152  
 political culture, Greek 118–19, 322n56  
 polygenism 19–20, 22  
 Popkin, R. H. 183  
 Portuguese 244–5  
 Potter, David 113  
 pre-Socratics 131, 132  
 primitivism 214–16

- Proclus 115–16  
 Prometheus myth 121, 274n14  
 Protestantism 176  
 proto-Egyptians 164–5  
 proto-script, African 143–4, 212–13  
 Ptolemy: Egyptian ethnography 155; on Egyptian wisdom 112, 133–4; theories of 133–4, 219, 236, 328n40  
 Puhvel, J. 73, 304n43  
 Put 159, 176  
 pyramids 241–3, 354n25  
 Pythagoras: Egyptian influences 114, 115, 119, 121, 122, 123; Jewish influences 116  
 Pythagorean theorem 136
- Quetzalcoatl 32  
 Quispel, Gilles 313n70  
 Qur'an 106, 122, 266, 358–9n16
- race: and culture 28–9, 249–50, 284nn74, 75, 76; descent of mankind 18–19; divisions of 21–8, 145–7, 280n21, 281nn27, 30, 32, 33, 282n37, 283nn64, 66, 67; scholarly debate on 248, 355n4  
 racial inferiority 3–4, 6, 7, 20, 22–3, 169, 248–9, 274n8  
 racial superiority: black 10, 19–20, 22–4, 27–8, 30, 248, 254; white 20, 42–3, 126, 248  
 racism: black supremacy 10, 19–20, 22–4, 27–8, 30, 248, 254; curse of Canaan 176–80, 183–9, 340n18, 341nn21, 30; divine 50, 172–3, 186; intellectual black 27–8, 30, 248; Jews as source of black racism 176–80, 184, 187–9, 340n18, 341nn21, 30; white denial of Egyptian–Greek influence 107–8; white denial of a uniform black race 26; white supremacy 20, 42–3, 126, 248  
 radical Afrocentrism: separatism 9, 250, 251, 252–3; *see also* Afrocentric universal history  
 Ramses III 226, 237, 238  
 Rashidi, Runko 221  
 Reisner, G. A. 146, 164  
 religion: Egyptian 66–9, 79–80, 93–7, 99–100, 113, 115, 139–42, 307nn88, 90, 310nn22, 25, 313nn68, 70, 315n91, 321n43; Greek 66–9, 77–81, 140, 305nn48, 53, 306n67; Roman 140; *see also* Christianity; Islam; Judaism  
 Renaissance 25; curse of Canaan 176–82, 181, 184–5; Egyptian influence on Western philosophy and science 122–3; Egyptian influence on Western religion 139; perception of Egypt 94, 98–102  
 Renan, Ernest 95  
 Rhind Papyrus 135  
 Richards, Dona *see* Ani, Marimba  
 Riegl, Alois 316n106  
 Ripley, W. Z. 338n110  
 ritual, Egypt as source of 66–9  
 Roman Catholicism 176, 290n49; *see also* Jesuits  
 Roman literature, Egyptian ethnography 153–4, 155–6  
 Roman universal history 17, 280n10  
 Rome: black identity 49–50; cultural origins 23; Egypt as unique culture 202; Egyptian influence 38, 139; Egyptian mythology and religion 93–4, 115; Egyptian wisdom 115; and the New World 234, 235, 236; *see also* Greco-Roman world  
 Russell, Bertrand 107, 138  
 Ryland Papyri II, no. 63 114–15
- Saadia Gaon 228  
 Sachs, Oliver 328n40  
 Sahara region 204–5, 210, 211  
 Said, Edward 359–60n16  
 St Augustine: black descent 228; on the curse of Canaan 181, 184; on Egyptian religion 94; on Egyptian wisdom 97, 122, 324n75  
 St Jerome 184  
 Saitic dynasty 62  
 Sanhedrin 49–50, 176–7  
 Sargon, king of Akkad 233  
 Sayes, A. H. 163–4  
 Sayfin, Nashid 317n133  
 Schachter, Albert 294n24

- Schäfer, Peter 358n6  
 Schiller, Friedrich 109  
 Schliemann, Heinrich 40  
 Schölzer, August Ludwig 16  
 Schomburg, Arthur A. 10, 41  
 Schorsch, J. 341n21  
 science: Egyptian foundations of Western  
   tradition 98, 104, 106, 112, 127–44,  
   320n21, 326n2; Greek 129, 141;  
   history of 127–44, 326–7nn15, 16;  
   Jewish 129, 324n79; Muslim 98,  
   122–3, 130, 142, 324n83  
 Scotland 34  
 Scott, Lefkowitz 330n71  
 Scott, W. A. 36  
 scribes 111–12, 319n16  
 Scythians 155  
 Semites: alphabet 78, 304n41;  
   ethnography 21, 25, 163, 165, 193,  
   225; Hyksos as 267–9; influence on  
   Bronze Age Greece 73, 78, 302n21,  
   304n41; *see also* individual peoples  
 Semna 195  
 Senwoset III 190, 195  
 separatism 9, 250, 251, 252–3  
 Sapphophora 160  
 Serer 208  
 Sergi, Giuseppe 26, 40, 338n116  
 Seters, J. van 293n20  
 Shaapan, Chamal 359–60n16  
 Shaw, Thomas 100–1  
 Shelley, P. B. 90  
 Shem 24, 158, 180, 181  
 Shepherds 262–3, 264, 265  
 Shihab al-Din Ibn el-Umari 31  
 Shinnie, P. L. 208–9  
 Shore, Debra 348n54  
 Shukford, Samuel 285n85  
 Singal, D. P. 229  
 Singer, Milton 83  
 Sinhue 36–7, 287nn1, 3  
 slavery 267; and the curse of Canaan  
   48–9, 172–3, 175, 178–85, 187–8,  
   340n18, 341n30, 342n36; Exodus  
   myth 47–9, 51, 266; Greek–Roman  
   world 153  
 Slavs 28, 180  
 Smith, Grafton Elliot: on the brown-race  
   theory 26, 164–5; cultural diffusionist  
   theory of 30, 105, 206, 224  
 Smith, Robert S. 209  
 Snowden, F. M. 154–5, 277n43, 355n4  
 Sollors, Werner 185, 340n5  
 Solomon, King of Israel 93, 309n15  
 Solon 114, 321n34  
 south-eastern Nigeria 208  
 southern India 225  
 Spain: black identity 228; cultural theft  
   and imitation from Egypt 124;  
   discovery of the New World 230–1,  
   241, 244–5  
 Spencer, John 100  
 Spengler, Oswald 288n21  
 Sphinx 148, 210, 333n24  
 Spinoza, Baruch 228  
 Star of David 353n20  
 Stoking, Jr, George W. 19  
 Stoley, R. W. 105, 329n56  
 Stoneman, R. 109  
 Strabo: on Egyptian–Greek influences  
   114, 124, 135; Egypt's uniqueness and  
   the Nile 202; on Ethiopia 196, 218, 219  
 Stringer, C. 22  
 sub-Saharan Africa 208, 209, 210  
 Sudan: ethnography 149, 151, 162, 166;  
   and the Nile 202–3; and Nubia 194,  
   198; search for a common African  
   cultural origin 198, 201, 208, 209, 210,  
   347n35  
 Sumer 220–5, 233, 242–3  
 Syria 226, 228; Egyptian influence 87;  
   ethnography 164; influence on Bronze  
   Age Greece 84, 86  
 Table of Nations 157, 159, 161, 174  
 Talmud: Babylonian 177; Christian  
   interest during the Middle Ages 184–5;  
   curse of Canaan 172, 173, 175, 176–9,  
   180, 183, 184, 187, 189; Jerusalem 177;  
   on Moses in Kush 197; as source of  
   anti-black racism 176–9, 180, 184, 187,  
   189  
 Tangier 231  
 Tatian 121, 129  
 Taylor, A. E. 296n56  
 Tedda 27, 146

- Terasson, Abbé Jean 95  
 Tertullian 94, 121, 228, 318n11  
 Teutons 224  
 texts: Egyptian historical 39–40, 44, 288n24; Egyptian sacred 95, 311n41; Greek historical 41, 42, 44–5, 289n42; *see also* literature  
 Thales 115, 121, 131, 138  
 theatre 68–9  
 Theft of Wisdom theory 133  
 Thelwall, Robin 278n47  
 Thera eruption 74, 302n23  
 Thernstrom, A. 358n50  
 Thernstrom, S. 358n50  
 Thomas, Latta R. 186  
 Thompson, Lloyd A. 153–4  
 Thompson, Norma 69  
 Timuri (Egypt) 148  
 Toland, John 100  
 Toomer, G. J. 137–8  
 Toynebee, Arnold J. 30  
 trade 203, 204–5  
 Trigger, Bruce 150, 151, 275n22  
 Tubbou 27, 146  
 Twain, Mark 103  
  
 UNESCO International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa 208  
 unity of mankind 18  
 universal histories 3–4; European 11–12; Greek 17, 23, 24, 279nn4, 5, 282nn39, 41; morphological–genealogical order 18; Roman 17, 280n10; Western 3–4, 11–12, 16–17; *see also* Afrocentric universal history  
 Upper Egypt: Aegean relations 58; origins of black Egyptian civilization 207; ethnography 149, 151, 332n15; and the Nile 202, 203; and Nubia 191; Nubian–Asiatic alliance against 269  
 Upper Nile 205  
 Upper Nubia *see* Kush  
 Upper Oubangui 208  
 ‘up the river theory’ 207–9  
  
 Van Binsbergen, W. M. J. 81, 304n35, 348n38  
 Van der Warden, B. L. 136  
 Van Sertima, Ivan 8, 221, 240–1, 243  
 Van Seters, L. 358n5  
 Vera Cruz 237  
 Vermeule, Emily 78, 289n43, 304n40  
 Vernant 317n128  
 Verrill, H. A. 233, 243  
 Verrill, R. 233, 243  
 Veyne, Paul 44  
 Volney, M. C.–F. 148, 333nn23, 25  
 Von der Hart 181  
 Von Staden, H. 135  
 Von Wuthenau, A. 235, 243  
  
 Walcott, P. 290n45  
 Walker, Clarence Earl 258  
 Walker, David 249  
 Washington, Booker T. 355n11  
 Washington, Joseph 290n49  
 Watat (Wawae) *see* Lower Nubia  
 Weiner, Leo 239–40  
 Welsby, D. A. 150  
 West Africa 233, 239, 244  
 West Asia 46–7, 84–6; *see also* individual countries  
 West, Martin L. 84–6, 294n24, 305n60  
 west-Semitic family of languages 175–6  
 Western civilization: Afrocentric universal history as continuation of 14, 260; and the Americas 230–2, 234–5, 243–5, 246; black influence upon through Egyptian–Greek traditions 10, 42–3, 105–6, 125, 127–44, 250–2, 253, 257, 355n13; Egyptophilia 102; Oriental influences 126; racist conspiracy against Egypt 91; superiority 355n11  
 Western Egyptology 107  
 Western universal history 3–4, 11–12, 16–17  
 wheel, discovery of 242–3  
 white race: black independence 250; Egyptians as descendents of 163–4; evolution of negative characteristics 22–3; inferiority 22–3; racial differentiation 21, 22–3, 281n32; racist denial of a uniform black race 26; supremacy 20, 42–3, 126, 248



- Wilkinson, Charles K. 150  
 Wilkinson, G. G. 105  
 Wilkinson, J. Gardner 165  
 Williams, Bruce B. 197  
 Williams, George Washington 38, 193, 223  
 Williams, Stephen 234  
 Wilson, J. A. 119  
 Winckelmann 334n38  
 Windsor, Rudolph R. 227–9, 268  
 Winters, Clyde-Ahmad 278n47  
 Wiredu, Kwasi 258  
 Woodson, Carter G. 10, 167  
 world culture: black influence 217–29;  
     multi-national claims to 2–4, 274n8  
 Würthwein, F. E. 307n88  
 Xenophanes 154, 160, 196  
 Yaphet 24, 25, 158, 180, 181  
 Yoruba 208, 209  
 Yurco, F. 146  
 Zephaniah 190  
 Zinckein, F. Brahm 165–6  
 Zippora 177  
 Zoroaster 120  
 Zulu people 208