

(which the United States did not), they allow for the conceptual distinction of race from class and hence make less credible the racialist hypotheses that confuse the legal boundaries of class and race with those of species. It would be worth comparing the situations of English and French America with that of Spanish and Portuguese America. In this vein, Sequera, in his 1988 consideration of the apparent union of the “ethnic” groups of Venezuela—the European Spanish, Indian-American, and African “elements”—into the modern “nation of Venezuela,” writes that this union of internal ethnic groups, which many people call “mestization,” should be understood in relation to the United States. Sequera argues that “Nuestra ‘identidad’ no es, en este momento, el simple resultado de la confluencia de tres etnias—nunca lo fue, en términos reales—como se nos enseñó y aún se enseña en los colegios, sino algo más complejo, puesto que hemos sido víctimas voluntarias de un mestizaje ideológico por medio del cual casi hemos erradicado del mapa a Centroamérica, en un desesperado intento por compartir fronteras con Estados Unidos” (Figueroa, Prologue by Sequera, *Folklore Venezolano*, p. 13).

150. Quoted in Takaki, *Iron Cages*, pp. 46, 49–50; cf. Gillman, *Dark Twins*, pp. 82–84.

151. That is, whereas racialists presumably want to keep the blood pure, nationalist liberals want to be chaste (literally, nonincestuous). Yet, the liberal maxim “All men are brothers” requires a lifting of the incest taboo in much the same way as the racialist rule “Marry only your brother.” For Gobineau, see chap. 8, nn. 15–22, in this volume.

152. Few abolitionists were willing to follow Noyes’ ideas to the point where they accepted equality within the family (hence incest) or even miscegenation within wedlock, however.

153. Quoted from a letter of 1837, in Parrington, *Romantic Revolution*, p. 336. On Perfectionism from this perspective, see also Garrison, *Life*.

154. “Out of mannes nacion Fro kynde thei be so miswent, / That to the likenesse of Serpent Thei were bore” (Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, 1.55).

155. Schiller, “An die Freude,” *Sämtliche Werke*, 1:133–36. Beethoven’s music for Schiller’s ode was first conceived in 1812, when Percy Bysshe Shelley was also making “the earth one brotherhood” (“Prometheus Unbound,” 2.2.95).

156. See Douglas, *Implicit Meanings*, p. 289. Douglas considers how in some tribes “the contrast between man and not-man provides an analogy for the contrast between society and the outsider” (*Implicit Meanings*, p. 289; cf. Needham, *Primordial Characters*, p. 5).

157. On this role of Lady Liberty, see Paulson, *Representations*, p. 16. Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, p. 84, argues that the American Statue of Liberty recalls the alma mater tradition.

158. “Unions occur unseen (*aphonós*) and in the dark between whatever man happens by with whatever women happens by” (Strabo, *Geography*, 11.5.1). See also Tyrrel, *Amazons*.

159. Mme. de Tencin denied throughout her life that d’Alembert was her son. See chapter 6.

160. For the view that it was not only a simple moral failing that led Rousseau to abandon his five illegitimate children but also a political program, see chapter 6.

Chapter 2

1. The *Koran* grounds this series of divisions and is consistent with the well-known Pact of Umar I, which established special regulations for Christians and Jews living in Muslim lands. “There is to be no compulsion in religion. Rectitude has been clearly distinguished from error. So whoever disbelieves in idols and believes in Allah has taken hold of the firmest handle. It cannot be split. Allah is All-hearing and All-knowing” (Sura 2:256, trans. in Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, pp. 149, 157–58). Cf. Sura 109:6: “To you your religion, to me my religion.” On Sabianism as a fourth religion of the Book, see chap. 8, n. 85.

2. Cf. Bernal, *Black Athena*, p. 241: "If Europeans were treating Blacks as badly as they did throughout the 19th century, Blacks had to be turned into animals or, at best, subhumans; the noble Caucasian was incapable of treating other full humans in such ways"—a statement with whose irony I would agree if, for "noble Caucasian," Martin were to have substituted "man of Christendom who held that all humans are brothers and that one must love one's brother."

3. Kahana, *R. Avraham b. Ezra*.

4. Stillman, *Sources*, p. 76.

5. E.g., Paret, "Sure 2,256," pp. 299-300.

6. In the eleventh century, e.g., the Christian monarch Alfonso VI (sometimes called "El Bravo") offered limited protection to Muslim subjects in León and Castile (*Ency. Brit.* [11th ed.] 1:734); Alfonso designated as his heir a son by Zaida, daughter of the Muslim king of Seville. The tolerance toward Muslims and Jews of the "Muslim-Christian" king Frederick II of Sicily is another example.

7. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, p. 327; cf. Lewis, *Jews of Islam*, chap. 1, and Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West."

8. On the fate of the *çala* in Christian states, see Roca Traver, "Un siglo de vida mudéjar en la Valencia medieval," p. 127; and Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, pp. 262-63. On the classification of Muslims as animals, see Tilander, *Los Fueros de Aragón*.

9. For the Iberian origin of the term *caste*, see Gilman, *Spain of Fernando de Rojas*, p. 113. The origin of race, from the Portuguese *raça*, is obscure, but many scholars have connected it with various cognates of "generation."

10. For the Iberian term *nação*, see note 55.

11. On these statutes (*Sentencia-Estatuo*) see Sicroff, *Controverses des statuts*; Yerushalmi, "Spinoza's Words"; and Netanyahu, "Américo Castro."

12. Yovel, *Spinoza*, p. 17. In fact, the pope had complained as early as 1437 that certain conversos in Aragon were being excluded from public office (Révah, "La controverse sur les statuts de pureté de sang," p. 265).

13. In Gratian's *Decretum* and Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* there is no invidious discrimination between Old Christians and New Christians, since "baptism into the faith" was regarded as a "regeneration of man and rebirth" (Cohen, *Martyr*, p. 290n; see Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, pt. 3, quest. 65, pp. 2375 ff., esp A 2 [p. 2376]). Kamen, *Inquisition*, p. 122, writes, "In theory canon law limited the extent to which the sins of fathers could be visited on their sons and grandsons." Compare the specifically Jewish position that Marranos, or compelled Christians, were still Jews. For example, the Spanish Jew Isaac Abravanel, who served Ferdinand and Isabella, argued in his *Ma'ayene ha-yeshu'ah* that religious conversion cannot bring about the ethnic assimilation of the Jews: "The Ingathering shall be for the Children of Israel who are called Jacob, and also for the Marranos who are of their seed" (Commentary on Isaiah 43:7; cited in Netanyahu, *Don Isaac Abravanel*, pp. 203ff).

14. Dahn, *Lex Visigothorum*.

15. Some writers have said that the "Visigoths" were more tolerant toward "others" than were the Catholics (Salvian, *De Gubernatione Dei*). Visigoth law codes contained discriminatory provisions against Jewish converts (Baron, *Social and Religious History* 3, 33-46), but in comparison with Catholic codes, such provisions appear moderate. Such practices as the Catholics' expelling Jews—and selling into slavery anyone found practicing a Jewish ceremony (Grayzel, *History of the Jews*, pp. 302-303)—generally ceased with the Muslim conquest and began again only with the Catholic reconquest.

16. His history of the Gothic or Teutonic "brotherhood," the *Historia Gothorum, Wandalarum, Sueborum*, is included in the nineteenth-century German national series *Monumenta Germaniae historica* (*Scriptores, Auctores antiquissimi, Chronica Minora* II).

17. Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts*, pp. 36–41.

18. Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts*, pp. 36–41; see Oropesa, *Luz para conocimiento de los Gentiles* (1465) and Alonso de Cartagena, *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae* (1449–50).

19. *Germa* means “brother” in some Iberian dialects. *Germania* was the name for the agrarian revolt in Valencia in 1520 that included forced conversions to the Christian “brotherhood” of Muslims living under Spanish Christian domination—*Mudéjares*, so called from the Arabic word for “allowed to remain” (Cagigas, *Los Mudéjares* 1, 58–64). Cf. Ferdinand’s and Isabella’s *hermandad*, which was a system of “brotherhood” practiced by Castilian towns as a type of police force.

20. See Peñalosa’s fixation on imputing *limpieza* and *hidalguía* to the “true” Spanish person: “Among the Spaniards is found the most ancient nobility of any nation, retaining always the blood of their first progenitor, Tubal [who, according to Peñalosa, came to Spain in the year 2,163 B.C.]” (Peñalosa y Mondragón, *Libro de las cinco excelencias del Español*, cited in Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, p. 386).

21. See Yerushalmi, *Assimilation and Racial Anti-semitism*.

22. In Fascist Italy, “racial laws” followed fast on the doctrine of the “Aryan Italian.” The *Manifesto degli scienziati*, for example, proclaimed on July 14, 1938 “that the Italian population was Aryan in origin, that a pure Italian race existed to which Jews did not belong, and that this race had to be defended from possible contamination.” In Italian East Africa, laws prohibited conjugal relationships between Italian citizens and subjects, in order “to prevent the growth of interracial marriage and to furnish the Italians with . . . awareness of their racial dignity and superiority.” On August 20, 1938, the Rome journal *La Difesa della Razza* [*Defense of the Race*] called for the sword to protect Italian “Aryans” from Jewish and African contamination. See Toscano, “Jews in Italy,” pp. 39, 40.

23. Rafael de Tramontana y Gayango—Marquis of Guadacorte and President of the Fundación Gayangos—is quoted in Abercrombie, “When the Moors Ruled Spain,” p. 92. Juan Antonio Llorente—General Secretary of the Inquisition from 1789–1801—pointed out in his *Memoria Histórica* that “you will find hardly a book printed in Spain from the time of Charles V to our own day in which the Inquisition is not cited with praise” (cited in Kamen, *Inquisition*, pp. 44, 133). The English term *blue blood* is a translation of the Spanish *sangre azul*; aristocratic Christian families of Castile, claiming to be of a light complexion that made their veins appear relatively blue, apparently used the term to characterize themselves as having never been “contaminated” by Jewish or Muslim blood (OED, “Blood,” 1:8); cf. the royal Egyptian Queen Cleopatra’s proud reference to her “bluest veins” in Shakespeare’s *Antony and Cleopatra*, 2.5.29.

24. The relevant statute was instituted by the archbishop Juan Martínez Silíceo in Toledo in 1547, ratified by Pope Paul V in 1555, and upheld by Philip II in 1556 (Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, p. 15).

25. Kamen, *Inquisition*, p. 121.

26. On the *sambenitos*, see Kamen, *Inquisition*, p. 122.

27. Baroja, *Los Judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea* 2, 304. The *Tractatus bipartitus de puritate et nobilitate probanda* was published in the seventeenth century.

28. “Pouco sangue Judeo he bastante e destruyr o mundo!” (Costa Mattos, *Breve discurso contra a heretica perfidia do Iudaismo* [1623], trans. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, p. 416).

29. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, bk. 2, chap. 63, p. 1515.

30. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, bk. 1, Prologue.

31. Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, bk. 2, chap. 6; trans. Cohen, p. 506. On Cervantes’ *converso* ancestry and his mockery of lineage in general, see Madariaga, “Cervantes y su tiempo,” and Castro, *Cervantes y los casticismos*.

32. Yovel, *Spinoza*, p. 112. As Gilman points out, there are no direct references to *con-*

versos in the *Celestina* (Gilman, *Spain*, p. 366). However, Calisto describes Melibea as possessing “limpieza de sangre e fechos” (Rójas, *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* [*The Celestina*, act 12]). In the “Preface,” Rójas speaks of his “fellowmen” or *socios* (cited by Yovel, *Spinoza*, p. 90).

33. Is it essentially blood kinship with Adam and Eve or spiritual kinship in God that makes us universal kin? Disagreement about this matter informs the difference between King Alfred’s and Queen Elizabeth’s translations of a well-known passage from Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy*: “*Unus enim rerum pater est.*” King Alfred the Great, ruler of the West Saxon tribes in the ninth century, translates the line in such a way as to stress blood, or tribal, kinship. Boethius’s “one father of all things” becomes for Alfred “the father and mother of the race”; divine kinship becomes human ancestry. Five years after the defeat of the Spanish Aramada in 1588, Queen Elizabeth offered a more accurate interpretation of Boethius’s words: “All humain kind on erthe / From like beginninge comes: / One father is of all, / One only al doth gide [guide]” (Boethius, *Consolation*, 3.6; in Elizabeth, *Poems*, ed. Bradner, p. 32. For the historic proverb and King Alfred, see Friedman, “When Adam Delved . . .,” pp. 220–21).

34. Yovel, *Spinoza*, p. 17. See Cohen, *Martyr*, on Spanish laws forbidding Jews, Muslims, and *conversos* to emigrate to the New World and on Spanish intolerance towards the Indians of the Americas. When Pernambuco (in Brazil) was conquered by the Dutch, Jewish New Christians, like other people in the New World freed from Spanish domination, established relatively free communities (Wiznitzer, *Jews of Colonial Brazil*). Greene writes about the Iberian epic *Os Lusíadas*’s “imperialism and nationalism” (*Descent*, p. 220). *The Lusíads*, composed by the Portuguese poet Luiz de Camoëns in the years following 1556 and published in 1572, concerns the discovery by Camoëns’ kinsman Vasco da Gama of the sea route to India; it includes nationalist views of such major events in Portuguese history as the massacre in 1510 of every Muslim in Goa (*Ency. Brit.* [11th ed.] 12, 160). Cf. Greene’s discussion of *La Christiada* (1611) by Diego de Hojeda, the Spanish-born Dominican monk of Peru (*Descent*, pp. 231ff).

35. Marquillos de Mazarambros, who instigated the first discriminatory statute, calls the *conversos* “children of incredulity and infidelity” (see Gilman, *Spain*, p. 191n, citing Benito Ruano, “El memorial contra los conversos”).

36. “*El humor o error nacional*” (Láinez’s Letter to Araoz [1560], cited in Kamen, *Inquisition*, p. 126).

37. “*El humor español*” (cited in Rey, “San Ignacio de Loyola”). The harsh judgment of Spain which this view of history would entail might be tempered with the observation that, during this period of the emergence of modern nationalism, few other states were called upon to live peaceably with strangers in their midst. There were no Muslims in England, for example, and the Jews had been expelled from that country centuries earlier.

38. See Calderón, in Pérez de Ayala, *Política*, p. 186.

39. See Cossio, *Los Toros* 4, 765; Ortiz Cañavate, “El toreo en España”; Conrad, “Bullfight,” p. 114; and Marvin, *Bullfight*, p. 139.

40. Campos de España, “España y los toros,” cited in Marvin, *Bullfight*, p. vii.

41. See Dryden’s “scaly Nations of the Sea profound” (in his translation of Virgil, *Georgics*, 3:806).

42. The Old Irish *braido/brado* (“wild,” “savage”) is apparently linked etymologically with the Spanish and Portuguese *bravo*. Cf. Provençal *braidin* (“fiery,” “spirited” [horse]) and Latin *rabidus* (“mad,” “fierce”). See Storm, “Mélanges étymologiques,” pp. 170–71.

43. Hemingway, *Dangerous Summer*, p. 26.

44. Marvin, *Bullfight*, p. 96.

45. The verb *lidíar* means something like “to outmanoeuvre [sic] the bull,” but it also

retains the sense of its Latin etymon *litigare* (“to dispute, to sue at law”), as at an auto-da-fé. According to Bollain, *lidiar* also concerns “the most efficient preparation for death of the bull” (Bollain, *El Touro*, p. 16). In this context it is worth noting that bullfighting in Spain has a role much like that of rodeo bronco-busting in the United States, fox-hunting in England, and cockfighting in Bali (see Lawrence, *Rodeo*; Bouissac, *Circus and Culture*; Howe, “Fox-hunting”; and Geertz, “Deep Play”).

46. Pitt-Rivers, “El sacrificio del toro.”

47. See Gilpérez García and Fraile Sanz, M. *Reglamentación Taurina Vigente*, article 131, cited in Marvin, *Bullfight*, p. 140.

48. Marvin, *Bullfight*, pp. 34–35, 61, 96, 75, 203–4.

49. In *Teshuba* 3.5 Maimonides, who left Spain as a young man, says that the pious gentiles have a share in the world to come, and in *Edut* 11.10 he says that, in certain circumstances, pious idolaters have such a share (Maimonides, *Moreh Nebukhim* [*The Guide of the Perplexed*]; cited in Strauss, *Spinoza’s Critique*, p. 273n).

50. Lopez’s assertion, “being spoken by a Jew, as it was,” writes Camden, “was but onely laughed at by the people” (*Historie of the Life and Reigne of that Famous Princesse Elizabeth*, p. 105; cited by Mullaney, “Brothers and Others,” p. 72). For an extended treatment of the problems of conversion, race, and religion in *The Merchant of Venice*, see my *Money, Language, and Thought*, chap. 3.

51. On the “Festival of the Christians and Moors,” see Abercrombie, “When the Moors Ruled Spain.”

52. Maurice Cranston, “Toleration,” in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* 8:142, citing Eliot’s “Idea of a Christian Society.”

53. Cf. Latin: *tollo, tollere, sustuli, sublatum*. “Sublation,” a longstanding term in European philosophy, is the literal translation of Hegel’s *Aufhebung*; see my *Money, Language, and Thought*, chapter 4.

54. Quoted from *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s.v. “Toleration,” 8:143.

55. In Portuguese: *nação*. In Spain, the Marranos became the *nación* and in France the *nation*. See Vicente de Costa Mattos, *Breve discurso contra a heretica perfidia do Iudaismo*, esp. pp. 148ff. Gomes de Solis’s work, *Alegación*, calls the new Christians the *hombres de la nación*, and in 1649, King Philip IV called them the *gente da nação*; see Saraiva, *Inquisição et Cristãos-novos*. The Latin term *natio* plays a role in the Marrano Baruch Spinoza’s *Ethics*; in Proposition 3:46 (in *Improvement of the Understanding*) Spinoza writes: “If someone has been affected with joy or sadness by someone of a class or nation different from his own, and his joy or sadness is accompanied by the idea of that person as its cause, under the universal name of the class or nation, he will feel love or hate not only to that person, but everyone of the same class or nation.”

56. The Hebrew term *anusim* recalls discussions of coercion and rape in the Talmud. On the ambivalent religious practices of the Marranos, see Roth, “Religion of the Marranos.”

57. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, p. 49. On Cardoso’s writing in general, see Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*.

58. The *Philosophica libera* was published in Venice in 1673. I leave aside here such works as translations and commentaries by Elijah de Medigo and the neo-Platonic *Dialoghi d’amore* (1535) by Judah León Abravanel (“Leone Ebreo”), son of the Spanish-born Isaac Abravanel.

59. On the Marrano community in Amsterdam, see Silva, “Literatuurlijst.”

60. Cardoso, *Excelencias*, p. 389, cited in Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, p. 375. Cardoso refers to such bullfights as that of June 19, 1630, where twenty bulls and three men were killed. And he probably refers also to the national Fiesta Agonal of October 13, 1631. There tigers, bears, bulls, horses, greyhounds—and “other less important animals which

might enhance the laughter and entertainment” of the spectators—were thrown into the ring (Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, p. 96). The bull was triumphant among these creatures, goring most of them to death, after which King Philip IV himself donned his cape and killed the exhausted bull. In his earlier days as a Spanish Catholic, Cardoso had attended this Fiesta. Pellicer de Tovar includes in his *Anfiteatro* a sonnet by Cardoso that depicts King Philip as a “Christian Mars” and the bull as gratefully accepting his wounds at the hand of the monarch (Pellicer de Tovar, *Anfiteatro*, fols. 3–11, 43v, cited in Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, pp. 96–98, 375).

61. Cardoso, *Excelencias*, p. 374, cited in Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, pp. 469–470.

62. Strauss, *Spinoza’s Critique*, p. 53.

63. Gilman, *Spain*, p. 193.

64. *Concerning Heretics*. This is an anonymous work attributed to Châteillon, together with excerpts from other works by Châteillon and David Joris; cf. Kamen, *The Rise of Tolerance*, p. 75. For Sánchez, see Limbrick, introd. to Sánchez, *Quod Nihil Scitur*.

65. Montaigne’s essays show the influence of his mother, the Marrano Antoinette de Louppes (Lopez), and of his father, for whose sake he translated the Spanish schoolman Raymund de Sabunde’s *Theologia naturalis* (1569).

Davis, in her excellent study of rites of violence, argues that the French Catholic killers at the Saint Bartholomew Day’s massacre in 1572 did not think of the Protestants that they killed as “a foreign race” (as Estèbes had claimed in *Tocsin pour un massacre*) but merely as people who engaged in polluting, divisive, and disorderly actions (Davis, “Rites of Violence,” p. 160n). Davis also remarks, however, that the Catholics considered their Protestant victims to be “nonhuman” and that they forgot that their victims were “human beings” (Davis, “Rites of Violence,” pp. 175n, 181). It seems to me that such dehumanization often amounts to racism—especially in the context of universalist or catholic ideology. Where “all human beings are siblings,” and every creature’s status as human being is questionable, the anthropocentric butchering as animals of thousands of creatures called Huguenots—or “kin of Hugo”?—amounts to the same thing as the racist massacre of them as nonsiblings. (On the sixteenth-century interpretation of Huguenot as “kin of Hugo,” see Richard, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 46–48.)

66. See esp. *Theologico-Political Treatise*, ch. 20. Strauss, *Spinoza*, p. 16, writes that Spinoza “was the first philosopher who was both a democrat and liberal. He was the philosopher who founded liberal democracy, a specifically modern regime.”

67. See Basnage de Beauval’s *Tolérance des religions* (1684), a Huguenot defense of religious toleration, and Bayle’s *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, a discussion of Luke 14:23, where the master tells his servants to force the guests to enter.

68. Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise*, p. 6. When Spinoza’s former student Albert Burgh converted to Catholicism and tried to convince Spinoza to forgo philosophizing and likewise convert, Spinoza sent him an uncharacteristically angry letter. Spinoza reminded him how Burgh’s own Netherlandish ancestors had been tortured during the period of the Spanish Duke of Alva’s “Blood Council” and how the convert Judah the Faithful had recently been burnt alive by the Inquisition (Spinoza, *Correspondence*, pp. 415, 417–18). Judah the Faithful, says Pollock, was Don Lope de Vera y Alcarón de San Clemente, who was burnt to death in Valladolid on July 25, 1644 (see Pollock, *Spinoza*, chap. 2, last note).

69. Matt. 5:43.

70. Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise*, p. 169.

71. See Strauss, *Persecution and the Art of Writing*, pp. 174–75.

72. Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise*, p. 250.

73. Spinoza, *Correspondence*, p. 366. Orobio was a fellow resident in Amsterdam who criticized Juan de Prado. Prado had been “excommunicated” together with Spinoza in 1656. Orobio’s *Certamen Philosophicum Propugnatae Veritatis Divinae ac naturalis*, published in

1684 with Fénelon's *Traité de l'existence de dieu*, was a Cartesian response to Spinoza. Orobio's *Prevençiones divinas contra la vana idolatria de las gentes*, published in French under the title *Israel vengé* (1770), was used as ammunition by French atheists against Christianity. On Orobio and the Marranos generally, see Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism*.

74. Cf. Strauss, *Persecution*, p. 168.

75. "Economy," says Cardinal John Henry Newman in *Arians of the Fourth Century* (p. 65), means "setting [the truth] out to advantage," as when "representing religion, for the purpose of conciliating the heathen, in the form most attractive to their prejudices," and the *disciplina arcani* is a "withholding [of] the truth" in the form of allegory, by which the same text may express the same truth at different levels to different people. Economy is necessary to "lead children forward by degrees" and may employ similes and metaphors. Newman maintains, for example, that "the information given to a blind man, that scarlet was like the sound of a trumpet, is an instance of an unexceptionable economy, since it was as true as it could be under the circumstances of the case, conveying a substantially correct impression as far as it went" (pp. 72–73).

76. Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise*, p. 53. Cf. Strauss, *Persecution*, p. 190.

77. Kamen, *Rise of Toleration*, p. 223.

78. Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise*, p. 264.

79. Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise*, p. 6.

80. Had Manasseh not been absent from Amsterdam on his mission to England, says Israel Abrahams, Spinoza would probably not have been "excommunicated" by the Jewish community in 1656 ("Menasseh ben Israel," *Ency. Brit.* [11th ed.] 18, 112). On the English translation of Spinoza's *Treatise*, see Elwes' introduction to Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise*, p. xxxiii. On Marranos in seventeenth century England generally, see L. Wolf, *Crypto-Jews*.

81. Rosenzweig, *Star of Redemption*, p. 216.

82. Lessing, the friend of Moses Mendelssohn and himself the German translator of Manasseh ben Israel's work, idealized the Pact of Umar in his Enlightenment drama. In the middle scene of the middle act of this play, Nathan, the Jewish descendant of Solomon the Wise, is asked by Saladin, the Muslim ruler, which of the three "religions of the Book" is genuine. The three religions are here squared off against one another in a way recalling the twelfth century Spanish Jew Yehuda Halevi's *Kuzari*, a work written in Arabic and indebted to the fifth century Islamic philosopher Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali's *Courteous Refutation*. For the influence of al-Ghazali on Halevi, see David Kaufman, *Geschichte der Attributenlehre*, esp. pp. 119–40. See also Lessing und die *Toleranz*.

83. Strauss, *Persecution*, p. 192.

84. See Laslett's catalog of Locke's library in his edition of Locke's *Two Treatises*.

85. See Locke's "commonplace books," which contain essays on the "Roman Commonwealth" (concerning religious liberty and the relations of religion to the state) as well as one entitled "Essay concerning Toleration" (1666).

86. For Orobio's disputation with Limborch, see Schoeps, *Israel und Christenheit*, esp. pp. 97–113. Philip van Limborch's *Historia Inquisitionis* (1692), esp. vol. 2, fols. 158, 322–23, is indebted to Orobio. Since reviews in the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* are generally unsigned, attributions are uncertain (Colie, "Locke in the Republic of Letters").

87. Using the pseudonym "Philanthropus," Locke published *A Second Letter Concerning Toleration* (1690) and *A Third Letter for Toleration* (1692). Work on *A Fourth Letter for Toleration* was interrupted by his death in 1704.

88. Locke, *First Treatise*, para. 144–46; cf. *Second Treatise*, para. 110.

89. Américo Castro attributes Inquisitorial fanaticism to the *converso* heritage of some of the early inquisitors (Castro, *Structure of Spanish History*, pp. 521–44).

90. Guyon, *Réflexions sur la tolérance*, is a good example of the arguments that blame

anti-Semitism on the Jews: “Alors que les autres dieux méditerranéens se manifestaient les uns aux autres une déférence de bon goût, le lèveh israélite apporta brusquement l’intolérance dans ses relations avec ses confrères. Cette invention s’est, par un bien mauvais tour du destin, retournée contre la race élue; son esprit d’intolérance, passé par la suite dans le christianisme, s’est exercé contre les Juifs dispersés et leur a valu d’éternelles persécutions dont ils peuvent, avec quelque mélancolie, trouver le prototype dans leurs propres antécédents” (p. 87). Not surprisingly in this context, Guyon argued in 1933 for the practice of universal incest, basing his views on the universalism of mankind; see the doctrines of the London-based pro-incest Guyon Society as formulated in Guyon’s *Sex Life and Sex Ethics*, and my *End of Kinship*, p. 246.

91. See Netanyahu, “Américo Castro.”

92. The history of defining nationhood and class in terms of the biblical “book of generations” includes Noah’s cursing Ham’s son Canaan as a slave (“Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers” [Gen 5:1, 10:25]). On the one hand, Christian apologists for serfdom and slavery argued that their “white” serfs and slaves were descendants of the children of Ham (Friedman, “When Adam Delted . . .,” p. 228, cites Hugo von Trimberg’s *Renner* [c1300] and Heinrich Wittenweiler’s *Ring* [c1400]). On the other hand, people in Europe and the United States argued that all whites should be free. Canaan, they argued was “black” (Ham presumably copulated with a raven on the ark—as suggested in the *Sachsen-spiegel* [c1200]) and God gave Africa to Ham’s descendants (which is the gist of *Cursor Mundi* [c 1300] and the “T-map” in Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae* [1472], bk. 14, chap. 1). They rarely mention that Canaan was not African—other sons and grandsons of Ham, like Egypt and Sheba, were (Gen. 10:6–7)—and they conclude that only blacks should be slaves.

93. For example: In the ancient Hebrew Commonwealth members of all nations (Ammonites and Moabites excepted) had access to the rights of citizenship (Deut. 23:3).

94. Universalist Christians have sometimes criticized Jews in the *diaspora* for “exclusiveness.” William Smith, for example, writes that “the liberal spirit of the Mosaic regulations respecting strangers presents a strong contrast to the rigid exclusiveness of the Jews at the commencement of the Christian era. The growth of this spirit dates to the time of the Babylonian captivity” (Smith, *Bible Dictionary*, p. 664). Smith neglects to mention that the liberal spirit of the Mosaic regulations respecting strangers—which he contrasts with Jewish exclusiveness—presents a strong contrast to the intolerance of Christians. Although for Christians exclusiveness and intolerance are theoretically always the same (“Be my brother—i. e., be included in my brotherhood—or I will kill you”), for Jews they are distinct (“If you are not my brother I will still keep faith with you”). Particularist tolerance may not be possible without a polity (that is the gist of Spinoza’s remarks on the subject); universalist tolerance may not be possible at all.

95. Penn writes in his “Journal” that “the utmost they [the Hebrew Commonwealth] required from strangers . . . was an acknowledgement to the Noachical precepts” (*Select Works of William Penn* 1, ii; and *Constitution and Select Laws*, p. xvi; cf. Penn, *Considerations Moving to Toleration*). Among the original regulations associated with the Noachic covenant with all men: “Whoever sheds the blood of a man, by man shall his blood be shed; for God made man in his image” (Gen. 9:6). For Locke, see his *Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Romanell, p. 43.

96. On *hidalguía*, a sort of nobility which is sometimes distinguished from blood purity, see Gilman, *Spain*, pp. 146–47.

97. Other texts generally cited included the Golden Rule (Matt. 7:12), the parables of the tares (Matt. 13:24–30; Mark 4:26–29), Jesus’ discussion of the bruised seed (Matt. 12:20), and Rabbi Gamaliel’s exhortation to the Jews (Acts 5:38–39). Another important text was Paul’s statement that God “made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth” (Acts 17:26, cf. John 3:16).

98. Cited in *Ency. Brit.* (11th ed.) 11, 4.
99. Cited in Kamen, *Rise of Toleration*, pp. 65, 78.
100. Luis de Granada's *Libro de la Oración* (1554) is cited in Kamen, *Rise of Toleration*.
101. See *Racovian Catechisme*; and concerning Socinianism generally, see Williams, ed., *Polish Brethren*.
102. *Homines sunt Protestantes: humani ab illis nihil alienum*; in Conring's introduction to the 1649 edition of the writings of George Witzel and George Cassander, cited in Kamen, *Rise of Toleration*, p. 124.
103. Williams, Letter to the Governor of Massachusetts (1651), cited in Kamen, *Rise of Toleration*, p. 189. Cf. Williams, *Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*.
104. The Corinthian sect's acts of incest were not "deed[s] done secretly out of weakness but . . . ideological act[s] done openly with the approval of at least an influential sector of the community" (Adela Yarbro Collins, "Function of 'Excommunication' in Paul," p. 253; see Cor. 5:1).
105. "I will love you if you will be my kin" also became the French Revolution's nationalist promise to the Jews.
106. Mendelssohn, *Jerusalem*, pp. 106–8.
107. The "barbarism of universalism" has not disappeared. Consider, for example, the popular contemporary Russian nationalist ideologue Igor Shafarevich. In his "Russophobia," published by the Union of the Russian People, he writes that "one of the most wonderful phenomena and enigmas of our Earth [is] belonging to one's [own particular] people." And he insists that everyone fully human should convert to this nation. Confusing thus the polis with the family (nation), Shafarevich writes of Jews in the Soviet Union that they must "make the choice between the status of aliens without any political rights and citizenship based on the love of the Fatherland." If a person does not share the same Ur-father—or have the same autochthony from an indigenous Fatherland—as do "genuine" Russians, then he is an "alien"—without political rights. According to the usual universalist principle of Christendom, every alien is nonhuman ("nothing human is alien to me"). So aliens in Shafarevich's universalist Russia would be worse off than strangers in a particularist Commonwealth. Not surprisingly, the nationalist Shafarevich makes the old accusation (like Schopenhauer's) that Jews regard non-Jewish human beings as animals: "Well known are the pronouncements from Talmud," he writes, "which from many points of view explain that a person of another religion cannot be considered human . . . [that non-Jews] are animals with human faces, etc., etc." (quoted by Liah Greenfield, "Closing of the Russian Mind," pp. 33–34 *passim*). As I show in chapter 7, there are universalist Christians who say that those who are not essentially (or potentially) Christians are nonhuman. And there are particularists who, as Locke reminds us in his *First Treatise of Government*, not only guarantee specific political rights to human strangers but also reserve special protections for animals. (See, for example, Locke's discussion in the *First Treatise* ed. Laslett [37–39] of how, though man was intended to be a shepherd, he was not permitted to take "a Kid or Lamb out of the Flock to satisfie his hunger.") Cf. Shafarevich's *Socialist Phenomenon*, with its foreword by the nationalist exile Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn.
108. Locke, *Toleration*, p. 57; emphasis mine. Compare Oliver Cromwell's statement that "I had rather that Mahomedanism were permitted amongst us than that one of God's children should be persecuted" (*Ency. Brit.* [11th ed.] 7, 493). Still, Cromwell was not tolerant towards Roman Catholics and Anglicans.
109. Locke, *Toleration*, p. 43.
110. Locke, *Toleration*, p. 43. Cf. John Milton's forceful advocacy of the separation of church and state in his *Treatise of Civil Power*.
111. See p. 9 of that essay.
112. Locke, *Toleration*, p. 52.

113. Locke, *Toleration*, p. 12.

114. See, for instance, Marcuse, “Repressive Tolerance.”

115. Locke, *Toleration*, p. 39.

116. Christian sects, both from primitive times and of the seventeenth century, were frequently accused of “lustfully pollut[ing] themselves in promiscuous uncleanness,” as Locke remarks. Locke says the accusation about the primitive Christians was false (*Toleration*, p. 39), though modern historians might disagree, claiming, for example, that the Corinthian sect’s incestuous deeds were “ideological act[s] done openly with the approval of at least an influential sector of the community” (Collins, “Excommunication,” p. 253). There were similar incestuous heretics in seventeenth century England. Abiezer Coppe, a member of the Ranter sect, argued that through the intermediation of Jesus sin was “made to disappear”; promoting “sexual license,” he praised the Pauline state beyond “good” and “evil,” or chastity and incest (Carey, Foreword, in Nigel Smith, ed., *Collection of Ranter Writings*, p. 7, and Cohn, “The Cult of the Free Spirit,” p. 68).

117. Locke, *Toleration*, p. 13.

118. In 1689, William and Mary were crowned as joint sovereigns in England; one of the new sovereigns’ first bills was the “Act of Toleration,” which granted freedom of worship, on certain conditions, to Dissenting Protestants. See James Tyrrell’s letter to Locke of May 6, 1687, in which Tyrrell says that “your Discourse about Liberty of Conscience would not do amiss now to dispose people’s minds to pass it when the Parliament sits” (cited in Laslett, *Introd.*, p. 67, from Locke, *Two Treatises*).

119. It is important to ask ourselves whether the cruelty of the relatively tolerant American colonists toward the black slaves within their own borders—and of the relatively tolerant Dutch toward the indigenous peoples of Africa and the Malay Archipelago—was based on greed, as Locke might have liked to believe, or on a racialism that follows from a potentially intolerant universalist creed conflating family and species (“only my brothers—my generation, or *race*—are men worthy of humane treatment”), or on both. In this context, we might consider specifically Christian arguments for apartheid (“apartness”) and Muslim arguments for slavery in Africa (cf. Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East*).

Chapter 3

1. Darwin, *Descent of Man*, pt. 1, chap. 2, p. 59.

2. See Wright, “Quest,” p. 64; and Ross, “Hard Words”; cf. Gen. 4:20: “The man called his wife’s name Eve, because she was mother of all living things.”

3. Acts 17:26; cf. John 3:16.

4. See Shevoroshkin, “Mother Tongue.”

5. For the early history of the idea of “Adamic” language, see D. Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, esp. chap. 2.

6. Cited in Wright, “Quest,” p. 48. On the racist quality of German romantic linguistics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Bernal, *Black Athena*, pp. 224–72.

7. The Québec government’s Parent Act of 1964 introduced a few supposedly non-confessional schools—there had been none earlier—and various governments since then have tried to secularize the entire school system.

8. In the early 1960s Montréal’s publicly supported primary schools were run either by the Protestant or the Catholic school board. Jews counted as Protestants and paid taxes to the Protestant school board. In previous decades some members of the Jewish community, including the Bundists, had favored the assimilationist tendencies of this arrangement.

9. On the issue of the routing of Montréal’s “ethnic minorities” into French language schools in the wake of Bill 101 (1977), see *Vivre la diversité en français*. For an analysis of