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Wordtrade Reviews: Mindbombs End(s) Time(s)

Contents

Editorial Appraisals:

Some qualified reviewers offer their own brief evaluation of the book. Otherwise, most of our content represents the authors'-editors' own words as a preview to their approach to the subject, their style and point-of-view. <>

MINDBOMBS: VISUAL CULTURES OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE edited by Sebastian Baden, Larissa Diana Fuhrmann, Johan Holten with assistance by Katharina Jörder, Kunsthalle Mannheim, essays by Sebastian Baden, Robert Dörre, Larissa D. Fuhrmann, Sebastian Gräfe, Christoph Günther, Daniel Hornuff, Katharina Jörder, Maryam Kirchmann, Charlotte Klonk, Farhad Khosrokhavar, W.J.T. Mitchell, Simone Pfeifer, Sylvia Schraut, Verena Straub, Design by Jonathan Blaschke, Bruno Jacoby unter Mitwirkung von Anton Stuckhardt, Staatliche Hochschule für Gestaltung HfG Karlsruhe, Events: MINDBOMBS – Visuelle Kulturen politischer Gewalt // Visual Cultures of Political Violence Kunsthalle Mannheim, 10.09.2021-24.04.2022 [Kerber Verlag, 9783735608062]

RAF, NSU and IS are acronyms of terrorist groups whose extremist propaganda and political violence challenge the visual arts to react decisively. The exhibition therefore opens up a highly topical artistic perspective on the history and political iconography of modern terrorism. For the first time, three sections comparatively examine the effects of social revolutionary, far-right, and jihadist terrorism on

visual culture. Twenty years after September 11, 2001, and ten years after the discovery of the NSU in the fall of 2011, the exhibition and publication together explore the question of how acts of political violence affect cultural memory through the media.

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Excerpt: MINDBOMBS AND TERROR: THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE ON VISUAL CULTURE AND THE HISTORY OF ART by Sebastian Baden

Twenty years after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and a decade after the public appearance of a trio of German terrorists, the National Socialist Underground (NSU), on November 4, 2011, the exhibition titled MINDBOMBS is dedicated to the "thought bombs" of political violence in different areas of visual culture. The focus is on the question of how society and art react to attacks undertaken by political extremist groups or so-called lone perpetrators. This is not just a German issue; it amounts to a global phenomenon made up of political convictions expressed in acts of violence. Processed via a range of artworks, the media used in creating visual culture and political iconology are under observation here, seen from a perspective derived from the various modes of studying culture and images that comprise the field of Visual Culture Studies. On the one hand, media become a means of reflection involved in the processes of, for instance, memory, or learning to cope with trauma. On the other, though, media can provide topics, ideologies, images, texts, and propaganda material for methods of political radicalization.

This dualistic, basic principle of cultural-critical radicalization versus the cultural technique of art-critical enlightenment must be taken into account, which is why the title MINDBOMBS attributes a combined impact to the physical and the psychological aspects of violence. As "mindbombs", acts of violence imprint themselves on memory and can even influence entire so-called aesthetic regimes, meaning, the ways the world is perceived as reality.

Visual culture — and within it, the visual arts — are both therefore a central arena for sociopolitical conflicts, as a symbiotic partner in the transmission of attacks via media such as television, newspapers, and the Internet, on one hand, and on the other, as a zone of resistance and critical enlightenment in artistic works. The lives of individuals are endangered in an "age of anger," when hatred and images of the enemy divide societies despite all peace processes, and anger-driven, "thymotic energies" increase in spirals of violence towards terrorism. However, especially with regard to neo-fundamentalist, ethno-nationalist, and other political or religious radicalization processes, it is important to maintain an open contact zone for de-escalation and prevention, such as the museum, where a public discourse can take place.

The exhibition MINDBOMBS, therefore, introduces a highly topical, artistic perspective on the history and iconography of political violence, which is linked to the emergence of the modern and controversial concept of terrorism. This is the first time such a diversity of artistic confrontations, divided into three sections addressing the themes of the social revolutionary, the right-wing extremist, and jihadist ideologies and acts of violence as part of visual cultures will be presented.

Terror and Terrorism

In the case of politically motivated acts of violence, the words 'terror' or 'terrorism' are used when — beyond the destruction of an object or the killing of people — there is an intent to communicate an overriding demonstration of hatred and danger.

The definition of terrorism, according to sociology and communications studies, explains the psychological effect of terror as fear and dread aimed at affecting a certain audience or targeted group of victims via the "propaganda of the deed." Depending on the ideological motive, the terrorist communications strategy varies in order to address different audiences: the immediate victims, the general audience, and possible sympathizers. The fact that there are great differences here is clearly illustrated by both the expert essays in this book and the artworks in the exhibition. Also relevant to the exhibition's concept is that it is about ways of constructing images of the 'enemy'; that the word 'terrorism' is also often selectively applied as a term for 'the others,' as seen from the perspective of the so-called Global North; and that white male assassins are often only referred to as individual perpetrators, while their motives for committing the crime — for example, ideologies such as misogyny, racism, or sexism — are not discussed. Collective awareness of the selective use of the term has increased only in recent years.

RAF, NSU, and ISIL are acronyms of groups whose extremist convictions and communications strategies, along with violence they have committed, have been perceived and labeled as terrorism for the past fifty years. Their political and ideological motives, as well as their use of media, reveal their differences and allow conclusions to be drawn about their addressees, supporters, and the construction of images of the 'enemy.'

Across the three sections of this volume, the exhibition explores the artistic view of political violence in the context of the battle cry of 'terrorism', with the aim of highlighting the transformation of the term itself from a motif of resistance to an apparatus of oppression.

Despite objections to the linguistic image of the 'enemy' that the terms 'terror' and 'terrorism' open up, the influence of the modern history of violence associated with them cannot be denied. In particular, the way that the French Revolution's concept of virtue couples 'terror' with a positive goal, or the process of transforming 'terror' into a purely destructive practice under the totalitarian rule of dictatorships are important and even decisive features of change, as well as the position from which the concept of

The concept of terrorism has altered several times, from a label initially embraced by progressives, to a negative, pejorative epithet imposed from the outside. Even the modern social revolutionary and anarchist movements were unable to achieve a beneficial connotation of the term, despite their links to the avant-garde. The word denotes a relationship to society defined as enmity and marked by violence, regardless of whether terrorism is applied by individuals or collectives operating from the so-called underground or by representatives of the state. Nevertheless, the previously mentioned questions surrounding the definition of terrorism and who has the right to define it will be taken up again here. What are the intentions and messages associated with terrorist acts? How does political violence become terror? How does terrorism manifest itself in cultural memory?

Sociology has described terror as an autotelic kind of violence that threatens annihilation. Wolfgang Sofsky and Jan Philipp Reemtsma have offered detailed arguments for a modern history of violence in which terror plays a central role. Political violence in the form of terror has resulted in uncanny catastrophes. The murder of millions of people, the majority of whom were European Jews, by National Socialists represents a particular escalation of violence in modernity that can be characterized as state terror. The terror of the Nazi dictatorship was part of a modern totalitarianism, based on a primarily racist and ethnonational worldview whose goal was to destroy any life that deviated from it. "The dream

of the absolute gives birth to absolute violence," Sofsky writes, concluding that "destruction is total, the destruction of people, of things, of foreign culture." Violence and terror shape "personal culture," the 'anthropological imaginary', while also affecting the visual culture that shapes habit.

In the age of digital media, terrorist messages spread even faster, are filmed 'live' and transmitted simultaneously to a global audience. Furthermore, political perpetrators of violence — as in the case of ISIL's propaganda or right-wing extremist attacks — make use of aesthetic practices from film and gaming culture, resulting in a semi-fictional situation in which levels of reality overlap. Pointing out the boundaries and transitions here is part of the artistic work in this exhibition.

Violence perpetrated by terrorist actions is not only physically but also mentally effective; it affects social structures and linguistic codes and disrupts communication processes. This is why scholars distinguish between old and new guerrilla strategies of action and communication used by terrorists. Franz Wördemann highlights the difference between the guerrilla operating locally and terrorists operating transnationally: "The new guerrilla tends to occupy space in order to capture thought later — the terrorist occupies thought because he cannot take space." Still under the impression of the terrorist media events of the early nineteen-seventies, the journalist and television program director Wördemann wrote, "a headline can explode more glaringly than a bomb." This metaphor corresponds to the "information bomb" in Paul Virilio's media theory, describing the same effect of media violence.16 The word 'terrorism' has become a limiting, judgmental, and controversial marker of political language, selectively appearing in the media whenever extreme violence is politically interpreted. Nevertheless, especially from the perspective of those affected, the topic of terrorism has become part of visual culture in the form of images and news reporting, which is why the visual arts and art history are also concerned with the iconography of extremist ideologies and the resulting attacks.

This companion volume to the MINDBOMBS exhibition introduces the political and ideological background behind the concept of terrorism, starting with the media revolution of the nineteenth century, and moving on to the historical change in the concept of terrorism, from its association with resistance struggles in the context of post-colonial and social revolt to Islamist-motivated attacks and the culture of extreme right-wing hate.

Whether assassinations are carried out by politically left-wing or rightwing groups, or by religious fundamentalist groups, terrorism is the term used to describe their effects, which cause violence, destruction, and both physical and psychological pain. In most cases, the intention is to put a political position on the agenda and to attract as much attention as possible — even if, as in the case of the NSU, the public has no knowledge of the perpetrators until later.

Unlike guerrilla warfare, terrorist attacks have a much stronger impact due to the ways they are presented in the media. This kind of mental scattering can be described by the term "mindbomb," which comes from guerrilla marketing. It is understood to mean a psychological shock effect that is intended to influence the audience emotionally and turn them into sympathizers. Images and videos help to intensify the moment of shock.

Martin Hofmann, who bases his research on NGO marketing strategies, refers to the mental effect of images triggering strong emotions and affects as "mindbombing": "This is where the 'mindbombs' come into play, simple images for complex contexts that are transported by the media and have an emotional

effect in people's minds — in other words: explode." The frightening mediation of terror and terrorist violence can thus be explained with a metaphor from the advertising industry.

In the attention economy, terrorists work with the principle of maximization, because they want their actions to be perceived as widely as possible. The physical explosive device finds its counterpart in the psychological attack. "For the art of mindbombing consists precisely in achieving the greatest possible public attention with a limited use of financial resources." Terrorist acts target social consciousness, or at the very least, a specific group of victims, whose perception is supposed to be threatened by fear and terror. This principle of "bombing into awareness" is a "media-theoretical construct," as Hofmann explains, with which commercial advertising campaigns also work, but in the case of terror, it is enhanced by the threat of violence or the use of violence.

Interesting and slightly provocative is the derivation of "mindbombing," which, Hofmann explains, is based on the communications strategy of the NGO Greenpeace and can be traced back to its founding figures, Rex Weyler and Bob Hunter. Hunter's manifesto The Storming of the Mind (1971) draws on Marshall McLuhan's theory of media and his concept of the "mind bomb," by which is meant that a radical public relations campaign is needed to raise awareness of social and ecological grievances in the world. In 1975, Hunter noted that, for the success of a worldwide anti-whaling campaign, "... emotional images ... served as evidence in a worldwide war. Mindbombs that ignited in the minds of newspaper readers and television viewers."

The drastic, spectacular actions of environmental activists are not terrorist acts, but they use the same communications strategy employed by political activists and perpetrators of violence. Their martial rhetoric and rigorous deployment of bodies act as disruptive factors and evoke an awareness of the problem. The media have become a means of emotionalization in asymmetrical warfare, notes Herfried Münkler, and terrorists, like NGOs, perfidiously exploit the effect of visual superiority by "staging events whose script is essentially oriented toward the production of the most spectacular images possible." Even in a case where terrorist communication is based on the premise of "deeds instead of words" — such as the series of murders by the right-wing extremist NSU — press reports are automatic messengers of an act without a letter of confession. Terrorist violence reproduces itself not only through mimetic imitation, but also by memes, i.e., on the basis of behaviors and cultural techniques that belong to a so-called meme-complex of terrorism.

The Exhibition Concept

Three important works of art from the collection of the Kunsthalle Mannheim contribute to the concept of the MINDBOMBS exhibition: The painting The Execution of Emperor Maximilian (1867-69) by Édouard Manet, which was the first painting of its kind to deal with an anti-colonialist theme and the emergence of guerrilla warfare and its mediatization in the European press; the video installation dial H-I-S-T-O-R-Y. (1997) by Belgian artist Johan Grimonprez, which examines the media history of skyjacking and thus also international terrorism in the context of civil aviation; and the painting Deutscher Wald (German Forest, 1981) by Walter Dahn and Jirí Dokoupil, whose subject refers to the resurgence of National Socialist ideology in postwar Germany and warns against right-wing extremist acts of violence.

Section 1: Art and Political Iconography from the French Revolution to 9/11

In the first section, the fundamental conception of the exhibition is based on art-historical research that has focused on war, on the Red Army Faction, or on the culture of memory in relation to the attacks of

September 11, 2001. The media-historical overview leads through the iconography of political violence from the French Revolution in 1789 to the "visual event" or "visual act" of the terrorist attacks of 9/11. The artworks on display and contemporary documents explore the question of which strategies terrorist attacks use to assault cultural memory via the media. Artists critically portray the power of violence. In their work they refer to the cultural and ideological background behind the emergence of political extremism and radicalization in the popular culture of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, as well as to the cultural techniques of propaganda.

Section 2; Contestations of the "War on Terror" and the So-called Islamic State in Art

The second section offers artistic perspectives on current phenomena of political violence in the context of the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. Yet, it is more than just an investigation of ISIL's communications and mediatized acts of violence. The artists also examine ISIL's practices of resistance against continuing colonial violence, anti-Muslim racism, modern military invasions, and the securitization of Muslims worldwide in the name of the "war on terror."

Since September 11, 2001, a distinct perception of terrorist attacks has emerged in the context of the instrumentalization of Islam known as jihadism. Contemporary media and youth cultures are appropriated for the online propaganda of jihadist groups such as ISIL, so that the accompanying aestheticization of ISIL's ideology must be examined from a cultural-historical perspective. In contrast to this, many commenters in both the press and academia interpret the concept of the "war on terror" as an irrational escalation in a "clash of civilizations." The artists here react to this situation with their works, which process the current war in Syria and the diverse, interwoven themes of ISIL's iconoclasm. At the same time, the artists offer a critical attitude of resistance and freedom of expression with their works – against violence, racism, and hegemonic claims.

Section 3; Artistic Reflections on the Continuity of Right-wing Extremism and Questions of Security

International daily news reports, especially in Europe, have predominantly focused so far on the propaganda of Islamist terrorists and related attacks in Europe. It is striking that the violence of an extreme right-wing scene, which is much larger, older, and also internationally networked, has received so little attention from these media organs. Yet right-wing groups have carried out attacks in post-war Germany and more frequently than ever since reunification. However, it was not until the group known as the National Socialist Underground (NSU) revealed itself that the attention of the general public was drawn to right-wing extremist violence — long after it had been pointed out by the victims' relatives.

Other countries in Europe, as well as the U.S. and New Zealand, have also seen a rise in right-wing extremist attacks in recent decades, testifying to a global phenomenon.

Therefore, in the third section, the artistic focus will be on right-wing extremist popular culture and the violence associated with it, including the social, legal, and political consequences of right-wing terrorist attacks. Right-wing extremist perpetrators or groups use Nazi ideology to justify committing their attacks, even in court, as Anders Breivik did after his assault on the island of Ut^ya on July 22, 2011.

The particularly racist, anti-Semitic, discriminatory, and ethnonationalistic character of right-wing extremist political violence threatens pluralistic democracy. Contemporary artists pay critical attention to the murder trails, the cruel concept of the death lists, the victims' families, and the court case against the network of perpetrators. In parallel, the artistic gaze turns toward the right-wing extremist lifestyles of so-called Reich Citizens. The works on display are intended to visualize the symbolism, the self-dramatization, and the design of living spaces occupied by groups of right-wing extremists. In addition, it becomes apparent that in the case of the NSU, for example, there has been no clarification in accordance with the demands of the joint plaintiffs and victims' families, despite many years of police work, and that state authorities are withholding important evidence. Here, it must also be mentioned that the German security agencies are themselves permeated by networks of right-wing extremist actors, while at the same time they also prevent any efforts to provide clarification.

In order to visualize the specifics of the violent phenomena presented, MINDBOMBS takes an artistic-scientific and curatorial approach that enables the historical and contemporary works to enter into dialogue.

For a better overview, the exhibition and the publication are divided into three thematic sections. Overlaps among the artistic positions emerge, however. The exhibition is not strictly divided but allows

for cross-references, comments, and uncomfortable juxtapositions to surface. Thus, the presentation seems to become an "atlas" of the visual cultures of political violence and their artistic exploration.

Around thirty-seven international artists or collectives are represented with works in the exhibition, spanning about two centuries of experience with violence. Themes are articulated in diverse forms of contemporary art. Most of the works deal with commemorative culture formats or analyze methods for instrumentalizing propagandistic images. Images, videos, and objects show the different dimensions of "Mindbombs," always in connection with emotions and an appeal to make injustice visible.

Interventions

Interventions by thirteen students, alumni and guest artists of the Karlsruhe University of Arts and Design will be featured in the exhibition, on the accompanying app, and in other spaces at the Kunsthalle Mannheim. These works are the result of a direct examination of the exhibition's main themes, which took place in the seminar Brick by Brick under the direction of Professor Susanne Kriemann and Friederike Schäfer. The works of the young artists, created or adapted especially for the exhibition in Mannheim, assist in explaining backgrounds, perspectives, and perceptions with a view to a controversial, conceptual history of terrorism. The interventions are site-specific, and relating to other works in the three sections as a kind of commentary on the museological task of pointing out similarities and differences. Through their works, artists broaden the exploration; the exhibition itself offers a landscape of conceptual struggle, where political violence and the attribution of enemy images are subjected to critique in the double sense of "mindbombing." The interventions appear in the exhibition and in the catalog as re-contextualizations; as guerrilla communications, they are part of the curatorial practice and thus an institutionalized form of critique of the museum as a place where concepts are questioned by any means in order to gain new insights.

Essays and Section Overviews

The essays printed in this publication are organized according to the three sections of the exhibition. They precede each respective overview and introduce thematic focal points to the exhibition, some of which are only indirectly addressed by the artworks. The texts offer background information and discussion from a scientific perspective, which are relevant to the overall focus of MINDBOMBS.

This introduction, with its basic clarification of the definitions of terror and mindbombs, is followed by an essay by Friederike Schäfer and Professor Susanne Kriemann on the seminar project Brick by Brick and the interventions by the working group of the Karlsruhe University of Arts and Design (HfG). It ties the new works on exhibit to the seminar's findings, which were gained in a collaboration with the Office of the Attorney General in Karlsruhe. For the young artists, the exhibition offers an extraordinary opportunity not only to participate but literally to intervene, deconstructing the conventional fabric of curatorial practice and editorial work.

The initial section of the exhibition, is launched in the first essay written by Sylvia Schraut. She highlights historiography's gender-political perspective of research into terrorism and demonstrates not only that men and women are perceived and represented differently as political actors, but also that gender-specific discrimination takes place in two senses and must undergo historical revision. In The Gender of Terrorism, Schraut uses the figures of Charlotte Corday and Karl Ludwig Sand to show how the French Revolution had an impact on Germany and how an early assassination attempt on August von Kotzebue in Mannheim in 1819 prevented democratic change for many years to come.

Charlotte Klonk focuses on Édouard Manet's painting The Execution of Emperor Maximilian, presenting the history of the painting's reception in the context of art history, the media revolution of the nineteenth century, and as part of the artist's subversive political statement. Particularly with regard to the relationship between media and history images, Klonk makes clear how the narcotic effect of visual media has already manifested itself in Manet's work and continues to have repercussions up to the current visual practices related to terrorist attacks.

This section also contains an essay on Art and Political Iconography from the French Revolution to 9/11; in it, the works presented in the first part of the exhibition are discussed as an interrelated sequence and explained from the perspective of the exhibition's curator.

The second section is marked by a detailed examination of the term "jihadism," as well as by a further differentiation of a kind of Islamist extremism that had an impact through the formation of the so-called Islamic State. In The 'Jihadist Imaginary' of the New Caliphate among European Youth, Farhad Khosrokhavar elaborates on the sociological and political science findings that contribute to an understanding of the radicalization of European youth, as well as further prevention. From his sociological perspective, the author emphasizes that the experience of racist and social discrimination in particular leads young people to orient themselves toward utopian alternatives to a secular and so-called Western society and, in doing so, to become increasingly radicalized. Beyond Khosrokhavar's remarks on jihadism, it is interesting in the context of the exhibition that the scientific concept of the "social imaginary" can also be fruitful for an anthropological consideration of left-wing and right-wing extremist dispositions and the ways in which they construct their worldviews.

In her essay The Assassin Video in the Context of Digital Image Cultures: Computer Games, Selfies, and Livestreaming, Verena Straub addresses the consequences of political radicalization and cites examples of terrorist visual practices. The author sees the presence of digital media as an exponential source of danger in its dissemination of violent images, because social media and easy accessibility to image editing software or video production make it simple for assassins and extremists to offer targeted propaganda. In addition, the aesthetics of contemporary propaganda in the field of extremism are strongly influenced by the visual habits of computer game culture and Hollywood aesthetics, and thus help to create fictional worlds of imagination, in which radical viewpoints seduce people into committing real acts of violence.

Simone Pfeifer, Robert Dörre, and Christoph Günther draw on this point and explain the challenges for editorial work in Journalism and Images of Violence – Ethical Perspectives. The authors are concerned with responsible reporting that does not allow itself to be hijacked by terrorist attacks and their attention economy. Contrary to the theory that "mindbombs" automatically achieve dispersion, the researchers from the junior research group Jihadism on the Internet argue for using pattern recognition to offer a reflective, indirect representation of previous reports on political violence, along with critical commentary of it.

The reflective use of media is also the basis for Maryam Kirchmann's presentation in Memes as an Expression of Visual Culture in Political Education Work with Young People. The Islamic scholar and media educator explains the use of memes as a prosumer, digital, cultural technique. Using workshops held by the ufuq.de group as an example, Kirchmann demonstrates the advantages of using young people's own visual designs as preventive measures against their political radicalization.

Larissa-Diana Fuhrmann, as a member of the junior research group Jihadism on the Internet and a co-curator of the MINDBOMBS exhibition, specializes particularly in the subject of the second section, and her text Contestations of the "War on Terror" and the so-called Islamic State in Art provides a profound overview of the artistic works in this part of the exhibition.

The third and final section offers a topical, culturally critical essay by W. J. T. Mitchell of Chicago. The art scholar offers an unsparing, fundamental critique of former President Donald J. Trump and how a radical attitude in some of the citizenry manifested itself in the storming of the Capitol at the end of his term. The Revolution was Televised can be read as a reckoning with Trump's symbolic politics and, at the same time, extends a warning to the current U.S. government, which is still confronted with right-wing extremists, some of them within its own ranks.

In his consideration of The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing? On the Aesthetics of the New Right, the art and design scholar Daniel Hornuff shows that it is necessary to keep a watchful eye on this topic in Germany as well. Right-wing extremism is not a sudden problem but a disposition that is already at work in the midst of society. Hornuff reveals how subtly and subversively right-wing demagogues use social networks, how neo-Nazi groups create their own haunts, and even how a right-wing, identarian popular culture has emerged that draws on other aesthetic fields to mask its messages with an ordinary appearance.

Finally, Sebastian Gräfe's political science essay, Right-Wing and Left-Wing Terrorism in Germany: A Comparison of the Communication Strategies of the NSU and the RAF introduces an examination of terrorism from the perspective of the security authorities. Gräfe's hypothesis is based on the fact that the communications strategy employed by left-wing extremist groups such as the RAF is directed at their own community, the so-called sympathizers, despite their widely publicized attacks and letters of confession. In contrast, communications with society from a right-wing extremist group like the NSU are reduced to the slogan "deeds instead of words," since their only intention is to strike at and destroy the groups they target entirely without commentary. <>

VICES OF THE MIND: FROM THE INTELLECTUAL TO THE POLITICAL by Quassim Cassam [Oxford University Press, 9780198826903]

Epistemic vices are character traits, attitudes, or thinking styles that prevent us from gaining, keeping, or sharing knowledge. In this book, Quassim Cassam gives an account of the nature and importance of these vices, which include closed-mindedness, intellectual arrogance, wishful thinking, and prejudice. In providing the first extensive coverage of vice epistemology, an exciting new area of philosophical research, VICES OF THE MIND uses real examples drawn primarily from the world of politics to develop a compelling theory of epistemic vice.

Cassam defends the view that as well as getting in the way of knowledge these vices are blameworthy or reprehensible. Key events such as the 2003 Iraq War and the 2016 Brexit vote, and notable figures including Donald Trump, are analyzed in detail to illustrate what epistemic vice looks like in the modern

world. The traits covered in this landmark work include a hitherto unrecognized epistemic vice called "epistemic insouciance."

Cassam examines both the extent to which we are responsible for our failings and the factors that make it difficult to know our own vices.

Review

"It is great to see philosophers paying more attention to vice, and Cassam has provided a compelling framework for epistemic vice that should prove both useful and fruitful for some time to come." -- Denise Vigani, *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*

"Cassam has laid the groundwork for future research on the nature, development, and expression of epistemic vice, and we may reasonably hope that subsequent work will make vice epistemology more thoroughgoingly social." -- Mark Alfano, *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*

"One of the book's many excellent features is its use of case studies from recent history." -- Alexandra Plakias, *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*

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In her book Thinking to Some Purpose, published in 1939, Susan Stebbing wrote, 'There is an urgent need today for the citizens of a democracy to think well. It is not enough to have freedom of the press and parliamentary institutions.' Our difficulties, she suggested, 'are due partly to our own stupidity, partly to the exploitation of that stupidity, and partly to our own prejudices and personal desires'. Perhaps it didn't need saying in 1939 which difficulties she was referring to. Her book is an attempt to encourage her readers to improve their thinking by alerting them to some of the varieties of flawed thinking to which we are prone. For example, there is what Stebbing calls 'twisted thinking'. My thinking is twisted 'when I believe I am thinking effectively and have discovered sound reasons for my conclusion but am mistaken in this belief'. Stebbing's technique is to illustrate this and other types of flawed thinking with examples taken from the political debates of her day, and this gives her book a practical focus to which she obviously attached great importance.

It isn't hard to understand why, writing on the eve of a world war, Stebbing thought it was important to identify the intellectual vices that contributed to the disasters of the 1930s. It would be naïve to suppose that improved thinking would have been enough to avert the rise of fascism but the idea that 'our difficulties' at that time were partly due to our intellectual defects and partly to the exploitation of those defects is one that will resonate with many readers today. It certainly resonated with me when I sat down to write this book in 2016. It would be fatuous to compare the historical significance of 2016 with

that of 1939, though one might also take the view that it's too early to tell. Nevertheless, from my perspective and I suspect the perspective of many readers of this book, 2016 was a very bad year, a true annus horribilis which saw the rise of extremism in Europe and America, the political disintegration of parts of the Middle East, the Brexit vote in the UK, and the election of Donald J. Trump as the 45th president of the United States.

Readers who are unconcerned about these developments will probably see no reason why they should be of any great philosophical, as distinct from political, interest. If, like me, you view these developments with dismay there is a pressing and obvious question: how on earth could such things have happened? The answer to this question is no doubt complex but—and this is in the spirit of Stebbing—it's hard not to think that stupidity and the exploitation of that stupidity have something to do with it. Stupidity in this context means foolishness, not lack of intelligence. It is one of the intellectual vices that Stebbing identifies. Others include prejudice and closed-mindedness. Prejudice is an attitude whereas closed-mindedness is most naturally understood as a character trait. Intellectual vices come in several different varieties and are not confined to flawed thinking. The relationship between thinking styles, attitudes, and character traits will come up several times in this book.

Intellectual vices or, as I prefer to call them, 'epistemic' vices are systematically harmful ways of thinking, attitudes, or character traits. Epistemic vices are, first and foremost, epistemically harmful and the other harms they cause—including political harms—are a consequence of their epistemic harms. Epistemic vices get in the way of knowledge. They obstruct the gaining, keeping, and sharing of knowledge and it's because they do that that they can have disastrous consequences in the political realm. The eight chapters that follow give examples of some of these consequences. Each chapter begins with a detailed description of a significant event or development—often a politically significant event or development—in the unfolding of which epistemic vices of one type or another appear to have played a not insignificant role. Like Stebbing, I use real-world events to build an understanding of the nature of epistemic vices. Vice epistemology is the philosophical study of the nature, identity, and epistemological significance of epistemic vices. In these terms, this book is an exercise in vice epistemology, but not a purely abstract philosophical exercise. Understanding epistemic vices helps us to understand our world and ourselves.

Indeed, it was an interest in self-knowledge, rather than an interest in politics, that got me going on the topic of epistemic vice. In my last book, Self-Knowledge for Humans (2014), I made the point that we don't always know why we believe the things we believe. I gave the example of Oliver, a believer in outlandish conspiracy theories, who thinks he believes his conspiracy theories because he has good reasons to believe them. In reality, his bizarre beliefs are more a reflection of his intellectual vices, his gullibility for example, than the evidence. I quoted Linda Zagzebski's list of intellectual vices: 'intellectual pride, negligence, idleness, cowardice, conformity, carelessness, rigidity, prejudice, wishful thinking, closed-mindedness, insensitivity to detail, obtuseness, and lack of thoroughness'. I knew the study of intellectual or epistemic virtues was a thriving philosophical cottage industry and I assumed that those who had written so much about virtues of the mind would have quite a bit to say about vices of the mind. Not so. In comparison to the vast literature on epistemic virtue the philosophical literature on epistemic vice is miniscule, though it does include some excellent contributions by Jason Baehr, Heather Battaly, Miranda Fricker, Ian James Kidd, and Alessandra Tanesini, among others.

The relative unpopularity of epistemic vice as a topic in philosophy came as a surprise as it seemed obvious to me that without a proper understanding of our epistemic vices there is little hope of a

realistic understanding of how most humans actually think, reason, and inquire. For example, finding answers to questions is a fundamental human activity that goes more or less well depending on the extent to which how we go about doing this is influenced by our epistemic vices. In Chapter 1 I give the example of the disastrous attempts by senior members of the Bush administration to figure out how many troops would be needed after the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Arrogance and overconfidence were two of the factors that caused Donald Rumsfeld and his colleagues to go so badly wrong in their thinking and planning. Arrogance and overconfidence are epistemic vices and the Iraq fiasco is an object lesson in how vices of the mind can obstruct our attempts to know things.

I call my view of epistemic vice 'obstructivism' to emphasize the fact that epistemic vices get in the way of knowledge. But not everything that gets in the way of knowledge is an epistemic vice. Epistemic vices are intellectual defects that get in the way of knowledge, and the point of calling them vices is to suggest that they are blameworthy or in some other sense reprehensible. In these terms, the intellectual arrogance that contributed to the Iraq fiasco was an epistemic vice but insomnia is not even if chronic lack of sleep makes us worse at gaining or retaining knowledge. Insomnia is neither an intellectual defect nor, at least in most cases, blameworthy. Even in the case of epistemic vices for which blame doesn't seem appropriate, there must be room for criticism. Intellectual flaws for which a person can be neither blamed nor criticized are mere defects rather than vices.

One of the dangers of using political examples to illustrate philosophical points is that it doesn't take long for these examples to become outdated. One of Stebbing's early examples is a speech given by the then British foreign secretary Austen Chamberlain in 1925. Reading Stebbing's account today, she might as well have been describing events on Mars. Politics is best avoided if one is writing for posterity but I'm not doing that any more than Stebbing was. Another concern about trying to explain political or historical events by reference to the epistemic vices of particular individuals is that such explanations are too personal and neglect more important structural factors. Structuralists think that people occupy places in complex networks of social relations and that this, rather than personal factors, explains their conduct. Another view is that flawed thinking has more to do with 'sub-personal' cognitive biases—the sort of thing described by Daniel Kahneman in his book Thinking, Fast and Slow—than with so-called epistemic vices.

I certainly don't want to downplay the explanatory significance of structural factors or cognitive biases. Nor is it my intention to suggest that the events described in this book can be adequately understood just by reference to epistemic vices. Satisfying explanations of our intellectual conduct are usually multidimensional, and structural and sub-personal factors are often a part of the explanatory story. But so, in many cases, are epistemic vices. There is more about this at the end of Chapter 1. As I argue there, when our thinking goes wrong or our inquiries fail to uncover obvious truths the explanation is sometimes personal. Having said that, I should also say that the examples I give are for illustrative purposes only, and that readers who disagree with my reading of them should still be able to see their philosophical point. I can well imagine some readers detecting in my discussion some of the very same vices that I attribute to others. I don't claim to be free of the epistemic vices described below.

The plan for this book is very simple. Chapter 1 sketches the fundamental tenets of obstructivism. Chapter 2 is a study of the vice of closedmindedness. I take this to be a character vice—an epistemic vice that takes the form of a character trait—and the example I give is the closedmindedness that led intelligence officers in Israel to dismiss evidence of an impending attack by Egypt and Syria in 1973.

Chapter 3 is about thinking vices, as illustrated by some judicial thinking in the case of the Birmingham Six, who were wrongly convicted for terrorist outrages in the 1970s. Chapter 4 focuses on epistemic vices that are attitudes rather than character traits. One such attitude, which was on display in the runup to Brexit, is epistemic insouciance, which is a kind of indifference to truth. Chapter 5 gives an account of knowledge and how epistemic vices get in the way of knowledge. A key question here is whether epistemic vices like dogmatism can protect our knowledge when it is under attack. I found it helpful to think about Holocaust denial in this connection. Chapter 6 asks whether our epistemic vices are blameworthy or otherwise reprehensible. Chapter 7 is about stealthy vices, epistemic vices that are inherently hard to detect. This stealthiness is what accounts for the difficulty that most of us have in knowing our epistemic vices. Finally, in Chapter 8, I conclude with a moderately optimistic account of the prospects of self-improvement in respect of our epistemic vices. <>

REFORMATION, REVOLUTION, RENOVATION: THE ROOTS AND RECEPTION OF THE ROSICRUCIAN CALL FOR GENERAL REFORM by Lyke de Vries [Series: Universal Reform, Brill, 9789004250222] Open Access

At the centre of the Rosicrucian manifestos was a call for 'general reformation'. In Reformation, Revolution, Renovation, the first book-length study of this topic, Lyke de Vries demonstrates the unique position of the Rosicrucian call for reform in the transformative context of the early seventeenth century. The manifestos, commonly interpreted as either Lutheran or esoteric, are here portrayed as revolutionary mission statements which broke dramatically with Luther's reform ideals. Their call for reform instead resembles a variety of late medieval and early modern dissenting traditions as well as the heterodox movement of Paracelsianism. Emphasising the universal character of the Rosicrucian proposal for change, this new genealogy of the core idea sheds fresh light on the vexed question of the manifestos' authorship and helps explain their tumultuous reception by both those who welcomed and those who deplored them.

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> Whence it is right that deceit, darkness, and slavery withdraw, which, by the gradually advancing instability of the great globe, crept into the sciences, actions, and human governments, by which these have been for the better part obscured […]. When finally all of this will be removed, as we trust, we shall see it instead substituted with a similar rule that will perpetually remain equal to itself. — Confessio Fraternitatis

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, three mysterious texts stirred up much debate in the intellectual world: The *Fama Fraternitatis* (Fame of the Fraternity, 1614), the *Confessio Fraternitatis* (Confession of the Fraternity, 1615), and, different from but related to both, the *Chymische Hochzeit: Christiani Rosencreutz* (Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz, 1616). While the *Chemical Wedding* presents a fictional autobiographical narrative, the first two texts are manifestos, mission statements. Their authors remained anonymous, but claimed to be members of a secret fraternity founded by a Christian Rosencreutz in the early fifteenth century. Written during the third generation of the Reformation, in the midst of early modern scientific transformations, and on the eve of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), these two provocative manifestos called for a general reformation of religious, scientific, and political life and announced the coming of a new era.

No sooner had the manifestos been published than their call received responses from all quarters of Europe. In the years immediately after their publication, hundreds of letters, pamphlets, and books were written by enthusiasts who wished to come into contact with this elusive brotherhood, and all over Northern Europe authors claimed to be members of that enigmatic fraternity. They penned their support and admiration for these revolutionary texts and hailed the harbingers of a new time of prosperity. In response, academic authors, shocked and outraged by these subversive writings, wrote harsh letters and tracts fulminating against the Rosicrucian brethren, their paradoxical mission statements, and the followers that wrote in their wake. The Rosicrucian manifestos stirred up so much controversy that for over a decade they were the focus of a large international and intellectually pervasive dispute. By 1625, the Rosicrucian controversy had been discussed in over four hundred texts.

The Rosicrucian response had begun in a somewhat clandestine manner already several years before the first manifesto, the *Fama*, was published in 1614. The German Paracelsian theosopher and first commentator on the manifestos, Adam Haslmayr (ca. 1562–ca. 1631), gained access to this mysterious material as early as 1610, and soon wrote an *Answer* to the *Fama*. Printed in 1612, two years before that manifesto itself would appear in print, he claimed in his audacious reply that he awaited with anticipation the emergence of the brethren from their hiding place. 1610 was also the year that his friend, the German alchemist and editor Benedictus Figulus (real name Benedict Töpfer, 1567-after 1619), acquired a copy of the *Fama*, presumably thanks to Haslmayr, and ensured its wider distribution. Such was the allure of this manifesto that before long the German ruling elite became involved. In 1611, Prince August von Anhalt-Plötzkau (1575–1653) expressed an interest in the *Fama*. In a letter dated that year, he asked both Haslmayr and the collector of Paracelsian and Weigelian manuscripts, Karl Widemann (1555–1637), to write a public response to the text. Haslmayr's *Answer* was his fulfilment of this request, and was soon printed numerous times, first by an unknown and presumably secret press, but in subsequent years it was often republished together with editions of the *Fama* and the *Confessio*.

Meanwhile to the west of Plötzkau, in Marburg, the Paracelsian physician Johann Hartmann (1558–1631) read the *Fama* in 1611, in a copy apparently given to him by Figulus. Soon the text reached an international readership as Hartmann gave it to the Danish physician and antiquarian Ole Worm (1588–1655). Whereas the former might have taken a favourable view on the text, the latter was quick to dismiss the Rosicrucian message. Not much later a second Dane, Erik Lange (1559–1643), brother-in-law of the famous astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), received a copy of this manuscript and rushed into writing a sympathetic letter in support, addressed to the "Lords and brothers of the fraternity and brotherhood of the admirable and everlasting Order of the Rose Cross" (1613).

After the publication of the Rosicrucian manifestos in 1614 and 1615, word of these inventive texts spread much more widely across Northern Europe. A large number of responses ensued to the Rosicrucians' call for reform and their appeal to readers "to examine their own arts precisely and keenly […] and reveal to us their thoughts in written form in print." Back in German lands, the anonymous author of the preface to a work entitled *About the Highest, Very Best and Most Expensive Treasures* (*Echo*, 1615), attributed to the alchemist Julius Sperber (ca. 1540–1610?), argued that the manifestos were echoes of Adamic and ancient wisdom recently voiced in the works of Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and Agrippa von Nettesheim. In the same year, 1615, Rosicrucian texts appeared under the pseudonym Julianus de Campis, while in 1617 and 1618 the famous alchemist Michael Maier (1568–1622) defended the brotherhood against various attacks. In the meantime, the court astronomer and later physician Daniel Mögling (pseudonyms Theophilus Schweighart and Florentinus de Valentia, 1596–1635) discussed, extolled, and defended the manifestos in several of his writings.

Simultaneously in England, the manifestos found an early apologist in the prominent physician and astrologer Robert Fludd (1574–1637), who defended them against fierce attacks by the German physician and putative author of the first chemistry textbook, Andreas Libavius (1555–1616). A few years later Fludd found himself defending Rosicrucianism again, this time against the attacks of the French mathematicians and friends of the famous philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650), Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) and Marin Mersenne (1588–1648).

Shortly after the written debate between Libavius and Fludd, the tutor and travelling Rosicrucian prophet Philipp Ziegler (ca. 1584-?) came into the picture back on German soil, as he claimed to be a member of the brotherhood. Inspired by the Rosicrucian texts, in March 1619 he announced his arrival in the Bavarian town of Fürth, calling himself "[…] King of Jerusalem, Shiloh, Joseph and David, crowned by the grace of God, foremost brother of the Rosicrucians and invincible Scepter of the King in Sion." Further north, in the town of Giessen just a few years later, in 1623, the physician Heinrich Nolle (Nollius, 1583–1630?) published a work entitled *Mirror of the Philosophical Parergon*, which was inspired by the Rosicrucian *Chemical Wedding* and informed by the brethren's reform plans. Also in 1623, posters appeared on church walls across the Rhine, in Paris, proclaiming that the Rosicrucian brethren had now established a presence in the French capital. This was the year that Descartes had returned to Paris, and the philosopher was somewhat perturbed by false accusations of his being one of the Rosicrucian brethren and of having brought the Rosicrucian furore with him to that city.

The manifestos generated also a great deal of excitement in the Dutch Republic, with followers in Amsterdam, The Hague, and Leiden. The movement was thought to be propagated by the enthusiast Peter Mormius (ca. 1580-after 1632), the painter Johannes Symonsz van der Beek, known as Johannes Torrentius (1589–1644), and the printer Govert Basson (d. 1643), who published many Rosicrucian

works and owned even more. Torrentius was arguably the best still-life painter of his age. His paintings puzzled all his colleagues and peers, none of whom could discover how they were made and which materials were used—qualities which combined to add to his allure as a mysterious Rosicrucian.

By 1626, the main Scandinavian advocate for the Rosicrucian cause was the Swedish antiquarian Johannes Bureus (1568–1652), who famously claimed that this new movement was in fact a new manifestation of ancient, divine wisdom. Bureus was in contact with the book collector and publisher Joachim Morsius (pseudonym Anastasius Philaretus Cosmopolita, 1593–1653), who must also have been acquainted with Torrentius, as a portrait of the latter in Morsius' *album amicorum* testifies. Morsius had tried to contact the top-secret brotherhood in a public letter to which, against all odds, he received a reply—a *unicum* since none other elicited a response.

The overwhelming flood of heterodox tracts and pamphlets written in support of the Rosicrucian movement was met by an equally prolific current of authors, like Libavius and Gassendi, who were shocked and outraged by these outlandish texts and condemned their authors and supporters alike. But the reaction to Rosicrucianism was not limited to words alone, and soon authorities took legal action against its supporters. Even as early as 1612, Rosicrucianism was perceived as dangerous: in that year, Haslmayr's support of the Rosicrucians got him sentenced to the galleys. He had sent a letter to Maximilian III (1558–1618), Regent of Tyrol (1602–1612) and later Archduke of Austria (1612–1618), to ask for money to travel to Montpellier in search of the mysterious brethren. In response, Maximilian did send him to travel, not to Montpellier, but to the galleys departing from Genoa instead, to work as a galley slave for four and a half years. On the day he was sent to the galleys, 31 October 1612, the authorities in Tyrol also issued a warrant for the arrest of his friend Figulus, who was subsequently imprisoned until November 1617.

A few years later, self-professed Rosicrucians were investigated and tried by Lutherans and Calvinists alike. In 1619 the German engineer and Rosicrucian follower Johannes Faulhaber (1580–1635) was placed under investigation by the Lutheran university in Tübingen. In the same year, Philipp Homagius and Georg Zimmermann (dates unknown) were condemned by Calvinist prosecutors by the order of Landgrave Moritz von Hesse-Kassel (1572–1632). No sooner had Homagius found refuge in Giessen than he was investigated again, together with Heinrich Nolle, this time by Lutheran investigators of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, Ludwig V (1577–1626).

Heterodox thinkers suspected of Rosicrucianism in the Dutch provinces were treated particularly harshly. Such was the fear of subversive views that when the Court of Holland examined the Rosicrucian matter, they made sure that Torrentius was also investigated, whereupon the artist was interrogated and brutally tortured. Shortly before the case against Torrentius, in 1625, Dutch translations of the *Fama* and *Confessio*, the *Echo* attributed to Julius Sperber, and other unnamed books were sent by the Court of Holland to Calvinist professors of Theology in Leiden for investigation of their "Rosicrucian teachings." In their report, the professors concluded that the Rosicrucian "sect" was an

error in doctrine […], possessed, superstitious and magical; in her philosophy she is a fabrication of an erratic mind and a monstrous spirit, vain, useless, and filled with deceit; lastly rebellious towards the state […].

Religiously, politically, and philosophically, the manifestos and their followers provoked the authorities and were to be condemned. For one reason or another, the Rosicrucian case truly became a Europe-wide controversy.

The Rosicrucian manifestos might easily have been overlooked or ignored, but instead their impact on early seventeenth-century Europe was enormous. What was the controversial message of these short texts that triggered such a passionate response? Literature on the Rosicrucian manifestos and the subsequent movement has largely been concerned with questions of authorship, the networks from which these pamphlets arose, and the early furore. While context is obviously important, the first place to look to understand these manifestos and their explosive aftermath are the contents of the manifestos themselves.

This book studies the manifestos' call for a general reformation in its historical context. This call emerged in a period, the early seventeenth century, that witnessed a large variety of calls for, and attempts at, change. Yet, the "key-markers" of change in the scientific and philosophical realms are still Francis Bacon and René Descartes. In the religious world they are most prominently Martin Luther and John Calvin. But any understanding of early modern projects of change which relies on the figures just mentioned would be anachronistic. It would also rule out of consideration concepts of reform beyond the strict boundaries of science and religion, respectively. The Rosicrucian manifestos—as well as other texts and movements that call for change, but that are much less known than the heroes just mentioned—fit much less comfortably in, and often challenge, the strict boundary between science and religion. They require fresh investigation in order to further develop our understanding of early modern concepts of change and projects of reform.
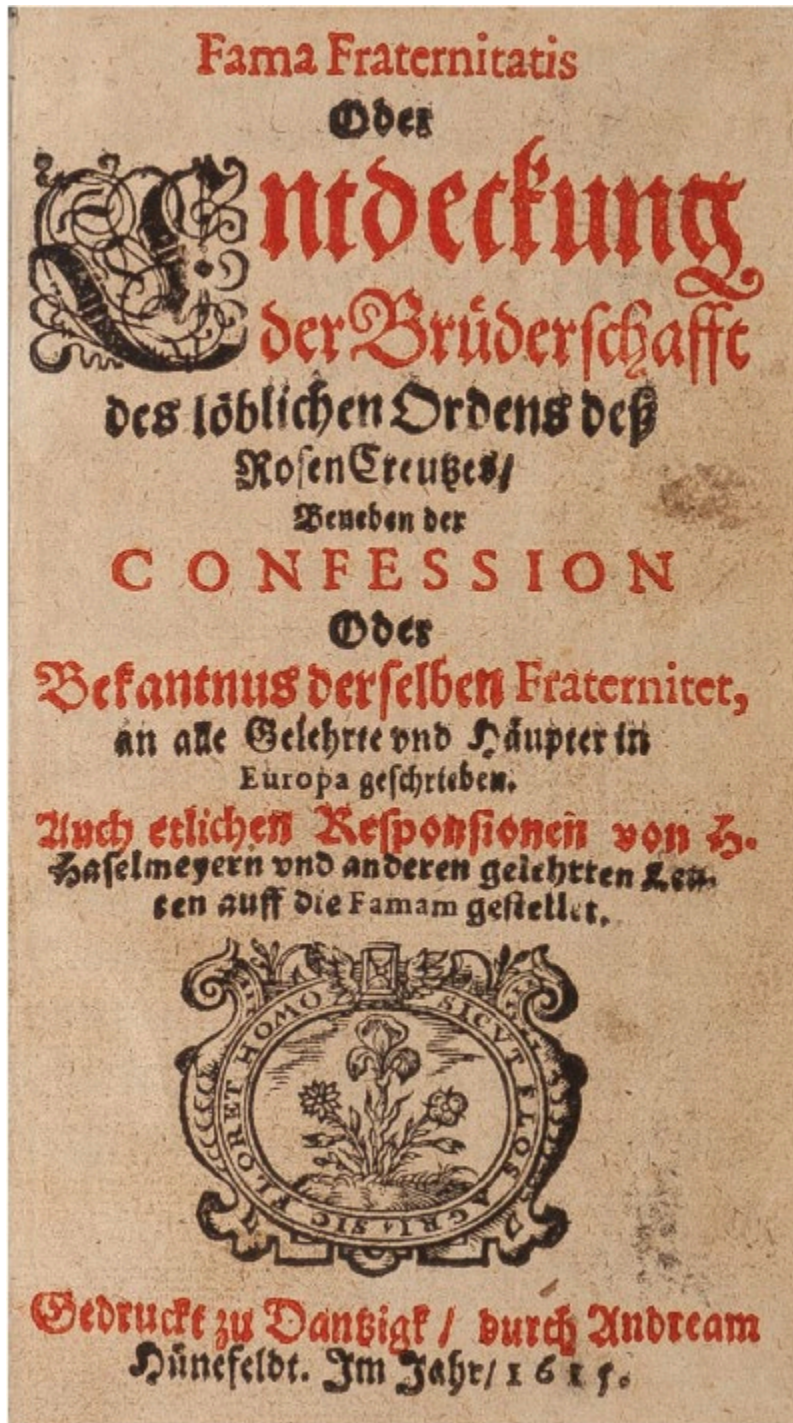
Fama fraternitatis and *Confessio fraternitatis* (1615), HAB Wolfenbüttel

The Rosicrucian Story

The Rosicrucian manifestos and the related *Chemical Wedding* give an account of the life of the well-travelled and highly-educated Christian Rosencreutz, who is described as the father of the Rosicrucian fraternity. Rosencreutz is said to have been born in 1378 and to have lived for 106 years, until his death in 1484. His message had been kept secret for 120 years until 1604 when, coinciding with the purported discovery of his vault, the Rosicrucian secrets would be revealed.

The *Fama* describes the life of the founder of the fraternity and the foundation of the Rosicrucian brotherhood. In his early years, Christian Rosencreutz travelled to the Arab world where he studied physics, mathematics, languages, magic, and Kabbalah. In the Arab cities Damcar and Fez he learned various secrets of nature and translated into Latin the mysterious "Liber M." After his travels in the East, Rosencreutz had become convinced of the necessity for a general reformation and felt compelled to teach others in Europe what he had learned in distant places. He visited several countries, but was disappointed at being unable to find anyone at the time willing to abandon their own teachings and philosophies, which Rosencreutz considered to be false. When he finally returned to Germany, he gathered around him three men who were to become the first brothers of the Rose Cross. Rosencreutz taught them the secrets of nature and worked with them in private in order to instigate the desired reformation. After four more companions had joined their cause, the eight brothers parted and went their separate ways throughout Europe to improve their knowledge. Once every year, on Rosencreutz's anniversary, they were to return to the house "Sanctus Spiritus," the house of the Holy Spirit, a building constructed by Christian Rosencreutz that was to become the Rosicrucians' sanctuary. They identified themselves as physicians, adapted to the style of dress of the country in which they worked, while each using as their secret mark "R.C." It was agreed that "none should practice any other profession than to cure the sick, without payment." The brethren were supposed to keep the brotherhood secret for 120 years after Rosencreutz's death, and to find a successor each so that the fraternity would continue to exist even after their own deaths.

In 1615, one year after the publication of the *Fama*, another provocative text issued from the printing presses, the *Confessio*. Christian Rosencreutz's hope for a general reformation was further developed in this closely related second manifesto, which had already been announced in the *Fama*. In this text, the authors discussed in more detail the philosophy of their fraternity. The brethren understood the workings of the world according to the hermetic analogy of microcosm and macrocosm, with humans as the microcosm of the universe. The macrocosm—the universe—was full of secrets that were to be revealed, and this revelation, the reader was told, would happen soon. The disclosure of secrets coincided with the dawn of the Rosicrucian philosophy, which was to replace traditional natural philosophy, to provide a new foundation for the sciences, and to form the basis of a broader reformation.

On the reverse side of the brethren's hope for a different future was their negative judgement on contemporary society. In their view, religion and philosophy were deeply rotten, and the contemporary state of affairs needed to be overhauled. At the time when the manifestos were drafted, the old worlds of Roman orthodoxy and of Aristotelian natural philosophy were irreversibly losing their foothold in the Western world. The Lutheran and Calvinist reformations had permanently changed the religious landscape, while the voices of so-called "novatores," challengers of Aristotelian natural philosophy and the medieval university curriculum in general, grew stronger. Religiously and scientifically, the world was

undergoing substantial transformations. The authors of the manifestos observed and encouraged these changes, and spread the hopeful prediction of "a general reformation of divine and human things," to which they would eagerly contribute. Soon, so went their message, the world would be thoroughly transformed for the better.

Religiously, the brethren defined themselves in opposition to the Turks and the Roman Church, condemning "the blasphemies against our Jesus of both East and West (that is, Mohammed and the pope)," and claiming that they acknowledge only Christ. The manifestos unmistakably originated from the Protestant world, but argued that still further religious changes were necessary.

Scientifically, the academic institutions and their educational programmes were to be reformed and replaced. University scholars ("Gelehrte") were accused of being guided by "pride and ambition" in their studies, which led them to misinterpret the world, spread lies, and sow destruction. The brethren's critique included not only Aristotelian (natural) philosophy, but also academic medicine. Their commitment to medicine as their main task, and one that should be practiced without reward, was contrary to the traditional procedure of ordinary Galenic physicians. Most alchemical practice, too, was considered "an offence to the glory of God." Alchemy was not meant for the making of gold, the brethren insisted, but should instead be used for the production of medicine and the acquisition of knowledge.

The Rosicrucian notion of reform was inherently general: All arts were to be reformed, religion was to be sanctified, philosophy to be changed, and medicine and alchemy to be purified. This transformation was to be initiated by the Rosicrucian brotherhood, and the reader of the *Fama* was encouraged to reflect upon the arts himself and was hoped to be "sincere and heartfelt towards us," so as to potentially contribute to their reformation. But this reformation implied changes within the divine realm as well, since God was involving himself in new ways in earthly matters.

While the *Fama* and *Confessio* were overtly optimistic manifestos, designed to inspire hope, they were also highly enigmatic, and without any attempt to provide a clear explanation of the brethren's philosophy or a detailed description of the changes announced. But their general reformation entailed more than an interpretation of the contemporary situation and a call for action. The language of the reform that was about to take place was infused with what might loosely be called millenarian expectations of a new age. The brethren believed themselves to be living in the last days prior to a new era, which was to precede the Last Judgement and the End Times. These days witnessed the first signs of a hopeful future which would soon be made manifest. The brethren believed that they "may soon rejoice in a happy time." The imminent changes were not only an effectuation of Rosicrucian designs, but were also part of God's plan. The central theme in the Rosicrucian manifestos, the general reformation, is intimately related to the expectation that the end of the present age was at hand and that a new, perfected time would soon be upon us.

While these philosophical and apocalyptic aspects are clearly visible in the *Fama* and *Confessio*, the third text, the *Chemical Wedding*, is very different. The *Chemical Wedding* is presented as an autobiographical story from the perspective of Christian Rosencreutz. There are neither references in this text to the manifestos, nor do the manifestos refer to the *Chemical Wedding*, and the central element is no longer a general reformation but a description of a journey culminating in an allegorical alchemical wedding of the

King and Queen. The story is divided into seven sections, each covering one day, over which the story plays out.

At the beginning of the story, the protagonist, Christian Rosencreutz, receives from an angel an invitation to the wedding of the King and Queen. He accepts, albeit hesitantly, and he sets out on his arduous journey the following morning. After a long and difficult walk on the second day and having overcome several hurdles, Rosencreutz arrives at the castle, his destination, only just in time. There, (the souls of) the guests will be weighed the next morning on a golden balance to determine whether they are allowed to enter the castle. To his merit, Rosencreutz passes the weighing test with such ease (he could carry eight weights instead of the requisite seven) that he is permitted the opportunity to bring with him into the castle a person of his own choosing. The person he chooses is described as an emperor, "keyser." Together, they are two of the very few worthy ones allowed to attend the wedding of the King and Queen and to receive the Golden Fleece.

Leonhard Thurneysser, *Quinta essentia* (1574), fol. xxxvii

The days which follow are taken up with festivities, dinners, tours in the castle, and, most importantly, preparations for the wedding, during which the select few further demonstrate their worth. They engage in work of an alchemical nature. When six royal persons ("Königliche Personen") present at the castle

are executed on the fourth day, as part of the wedding preparations, their heads are used for an alchemical preparation from which ultimately the King and Queen arise, brought to life through fire from heaven. On the fifth day, Rosencreutz secretly observes the sleeping Venus, who was also in the castle but whom he was forbidden to visit. Rosencreutz's spying on Venus is revealed on the final day, and the book ends with his punishment for having seen her: he is condemned to guard the first portal to the castle until someone else commits the same offence and will have to take his place as guard. The text concludes with the statement that two folios—purportedly dealing with Rosencreutz's return home—are missing, thereby rendering the story incomplete.

Overtly allegorical in character, the *Chemical Wedding* is even more abstruse than the *Fama* and *Confessio*. It does not discuss the brethren's philosophical claims and apocalyptic predictions, and rather than a general reformation it describes an alchemical process that can perhaps be best interpreted as an individual transformation. Unlike the *Fama* and *Confessio*, it is not a manifesto in the sense of a mission statement, and hence it does not discuss the mission of the brotherhood to reform the world. For this reason, this book will make only passing references to the *Chemical Wedding*, while the focus will be on the two manifestos.

The Historiography

The Rosicrucian manifestos provoked much debate in the decades after their publication, and were soon used as founding texts for the many Rosicrucian societies that were established following the purported Rosicrucian fraternity of Christian Rosencreutz. Owing partly to their immense popularity, and partly to their enigmatic contents, the manifestos have been the object of numerous investigations throughout the intervening centuries. As early as 1720, Daniel Colberg included them in *Das Platonisch-Hermetische Christenthum*, while in 1729 Gottfried Arnold discussed the manifestos in his *Unpartheyische Kirche- und Ketzer-Historie*. Many other studies of early Rosicrucianism have followed. Some historiographies offered interpretative accounts of the Rosicrucian mission statements, while other historians embarked on a more serious quest into the early history of Rosicrucianism. The works of Richard Kienast and Will-Erich Peuckert have proven to be important sources, but in the past century the work of Frances Yates has been particularly influential not only within the historiography on the manifestos, but also in other areas of research. These sources have by now become largely outdated, while the scholarship has benefitted enormously from the paramount work of the foremost authority on Rosicrucianism, Carlos Gilly, as well as from such scholars as Donald Dickson, Didier Kahn, and Martin Brecht.

The past historiography is characterised by many different approaches to the Rosicrucian manifestos. The texts themselves and the furore they aroused have both received in-depth analysis and attention. Yet, much of this scholarship remains dominated by the question of authorship. Who wrote these elusive texts? Over the past four centuries, scholars have provided diverse answers to this question, making it a highly contested topic in the historiography.

One way of answering this question is by investigating the context in which the Rosicrucian manifestos came about. Scholars have thoroughly described this context and traced the networks from which these texts may have originated. Brecht, for example, approached the question of authorship by studying the early connections of the possible authors with one another. Gilly has also meticulously examined the early context of Rosicrucianism, including the origin of the manifestos themselves, the printing presses

from which they were published, and the circles in which the manuscript versions of the manifestos, particularly the *Fama*, circulated.

A second way of dealing with this question, and the road most travelled, is to examine the contents of the manifestos and to compare these with the views of the presumed authors as expressed in other texts attributed to them. This method has been used both to point to certain possible authors and to eliminate suggestions proposed by others. Nearly a century ago, Peuckert discussed the manifestos in the beautiful prose of his *Die Rosenkreuzer* and concluded that the manifestos must have originated from a "pansophical circle." Having nominated a particular author, the hand of whom they believe to have been at work in the manifestos, scholars have furthermore often interpreted and explained the contents of the manifestos themselves.

Another thread of scholarship focuses on the contents of the manifestos without the side-tracking involved in questions of authorship. Partly thanks to their cryptic nature and occult elements, historians have sought to explain the three Rosicrucian founding texts in relation to esotericism and Hermeticism (*Fama* and *Confessio*) and to alchemy (*Chemical Wedding*). They have described the occult meaning of Rosencreutz's wanderings, noting the Rosicrucians' indebtedness to hermetic currents, alchemical traditions, and even Kabbalistic views. This has led to a disparate range of interpretations of the texts. For example, Yates links them to Dee's *Monas hieroglyphica*; Roland Edighoffer's *Rose-Croix et société idéale* analyses the manifestos from the perspective of theology, theosophy, and (alchemical) symbolism; Christopher McIntosh's *The Rosicrucians* situates the manifestos in the context of esoteric traditions; and Susanna Åkerman's *Rose Cross Over the Baltic* associates them with esoteric, hermetic, and runic thought. Edighoffer furthermore reads the manifestos through a Paracelsian lens. Volkhard Wels, finally, associates the manifestos with Lutheran views.

In order to understand the subsequent Rosicrucian furore, its diversity, and the hermetic, theosophical, and prophetic elements inherited from the manifestos, some historians have sought to provide an overview of the early response to the manifestos. Hans Schick, for example, besides studying the authorship and interpreting the manifestos, has also analysed the work of proponents and opponents of the Rosicrucians, such as Joachim Morsius and Friedrich Grick. Gilly has provided an overview of numerous Rosicrucian responses in several studies. Other scholars focused on Rosicrucianism in one specific region: Yates analysed Rosicrucianism in the German-speaking lands, France, and England; Åkerman studied the Scandinavian response; Kahn analysed the hoax in Paris; and Govert Snoek traced the Rosicrucian episode in the Dutch regions. Finally, some scholars have narrowed their focus to specific authors involved in the Rosicrucian debate. For example, Gilly devoted an entire book to the early Rosicrucian protagonist Adam Haslmayr; Richard van Dülmen studied another supporter of the Rosicrucians, Daniel Mögling; while Bruce Moran focused on one of their critics, Andreas Libavius.

A Fresh Approach

The present study will take a very different approach from those that have dominated the scholarship, and will provide a fresh analysis of the Rosicrucian manifestos and their early aftermath. The question of authorship will deliberately be postponed, and the contents of the manifestos will not be analysed and interpreted through the lens of authorship. Nor will this book focus on the esoteric elements in the manifestos, or map the Rosicrucian furore. Instead, it will focus directly on the contents of the texts in order to answer the question of their explosive impact: Why were these manifestos so controversial in

the decades after their publication? What did some readers find so attractive, and others so dangerous? The best way to answer these questions is to focus on what was most central to the Rosicrucian cause: the notion of a general reformation. This raises the key question to be pursued: Where did the call for a general reformation come from, and how was it interpreted in the early stages of the response?

The key concept contained in the manifestos—the general reformation—has remained virtually *terra incognita*. Its centrality has been acknowledged, and the manifestos have been associated with eschatology and apocalypticism, but an in-depth analysis of the texts in the context of the general reformation and of expectations of a new age has remained a *desideratum*. The call for a reformation, or a renovation, as the texts also phrase it, is not fully explored in the literature on the manifestos, but is more often mentioned either in the context of authorship or understood as part of the manifestos' esoteric inspiration. Conversely, numerous studies have been devoted to Jewish and Christian apocalyptic and millenarian prophecies, the place and role of eschatology or hopeful expectations within the main confessions, and medieval and early modern thoughts on a (universal) reformation. Yet, most references within these texts to the Rosicrucian appeals for a general reformation are made only *en passant*. Current scholarship does not discuss the set of apocalyptic and prophetic ideas in the manifestos and their connection to previous traditions in any detail, and an in-depth study of the Rosicrucian concept of general reformation, its meaning, its origin, its position within Judeo-Christian eschatology, and its relation to the Lutheran context or more generally to a confessional understanding of history has been missing. The same is true for scholarship on the early responses to the manifestos, in which the notion of reform and its related apocalyptic elements have yet to receive the attention they deserve.

The point of departure for this book is the conviction that we need to meticulously study the call for change, which played such a prominent role in the Rosicrucian manifestos. More specifically, we need to investigate where this call came from, what role it played in the early positive response, and why it aroused so much controversy in the period directly following the publication of the manifestos.

By shedding light on an important body of early seventeenth-century ideas of reformation and reform, we will try to arrive at an understanding of early modern concepts of change as it was promoted and carried out by actors who have not become the heroes of history. In doing so, this study will take into account attempts at reform beyond the strict boundaries of science and religion. It will attempt to escape the confines of disciplinary history through the study of texts that were not themselves restricted to, and cannot be understood through, one specific discipline. The aim is to take a multidisciplinary approach that goes well beyond current disciplinary boundaries and to embrace a range of specialist fields, including the history of alchemy and medicine, the history of science broadly conceived, religious studies, and the history of philosophy.

In the past historiography, scholars have sometimes referred to Luther's Reformation as the first reformation and have regarded Calvinism as a second reformation; but such numeration oversimplifies the constant yearning for reform which started to emerge in the late Middle Ages and continued to develop at least until the second half of the seventeenth century. At the time the manifestos were drafted, there was a widespread but subterranean current of dissenting views and anti-establishment reformative zeal that diverged from orthodoxy, of which the Rosicrucian episode was one example. Some of these currents resulted in religious groups which are commonly categorised by historians under the heading "Radical Reformation." This broad rubric however covers a large number of heterogeneous

groups, and even within the main Protestant confessions clusters of Lutherans and Calvinists endorsed a multiplicity of views in acute tension with the mainstream orthodoxies of their own confessions. The Reformation period therefore is increasingly seen not only from the perspective of the winners (Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin), but now includes those who have long been excluded from traditional accounts of "the Reformation." This involves also figures for whom religious reform was inextricably linked with the reform of alchemy, medicine, or spiritualism, for example, as can be observed in the cases of the Paracelsians, Weigelians, and Schwenckfeldians, and which may also be noted in relation to the Rosicrucians' general reformation. By acknowledging such a large range of reform plans, historians have shifted the meaning of the term "Reformation," as it has come to include figures preceding or opposing magisterial reformers as well as notions of academic, natural-philosophical, or political reform.

Notwithstanding this plurality of reformations, there were those who desired a general or all-embracing reformation, a striving that has come to be known as "universal reformation." Universal reformation is by definition all-embracing and encompasses a wide range of activities, including plans to reform, amongst others, religion, politics, philosophy, medicine, and education. Several figures who have been placed in that tradition include Theophrastus Paracelsus (1493/4–1541) and his successors, the theosopher Valentin Weigel (1533–1588), and the Lutheran theologian Johann Arndt (1555–1621). Additionally, figures as diverse as Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), Jan Baptista Van Helmont (1579–1644), and Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) have recently been put into this context; while also Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670) and Samuel Hartlib (ca. 1600–1662) and their circle of friends have been studied from the perspective of universal reformation. Historian Howard Hotson especially has contributed extensively to the study of universal reformation.

Like their contemporaries, the authors of the manifestos and their followers appealed for what they called a general reformation, which was highly heterogeneous and not restricted to, or informed by, any one confession. According to Reformation historians, "confessionalization" was a widespread process between 1550 and 1650, linking religion and confession to society and politics through social discipline. The formation of confessions, the transformation of the state, and the use of social discipline are seen as interrelated processes, while early modern religion and confession structured, influenced, and transformed social and political life through indoctrination, education, and rituals. This, in turn, created social groups defined and divided according to their confession. This book aims to show how the Rosicrucian manifestos attempted to circumvent this contemporary process of "confessionalization," and in fact opposed confessional doctrines in their proposal of universal change.

The Rosicrucian reformation and its immediate aftermath should be understood against the background of this enlarged perspective of reformation. In the following chapters, several aspects of the manifestos' call for change—in the form of a reformation, a revolution, or a renovation—will be retraced to medieval and early modern traditions up to the start of the Thirty Years' War. Part One (Chapters One and Two) is devoted to the sources of the manifestos. In order to understand the Rosicrucian call for a general reformation, it is essential to study first the origins of this idea. Medieval and early modern interpretations of, and prophecies about, the course of history will be analysed and compared in order to clarify the theme of a general reformation in the Rosicrucian texts. In the first chapter, the manifestos will be compared with related medieval Catholic and early modern traditions and studied from the perspective of the (radical) Reformation. Chapter Two is devoted to Paracelsian themes. Although the Paracelsian inspiration of several of the manifestos' tenets has been investigated previously, here the

Paracelsian impetus will be investigated specifically from the perspective of the notion of a general reformation and related apocalyptic expectations. The aim is to provide a fresh understanding of the Paracelsian influence on the manifestos. Likewise, not only genuine works of Paracelsus need to be reviewed but also early Paracelsian and pseudo-Paracelsian texts, which were published shortly before the manifestos were drafted and which are generally neglected in studies on Rosicrucianism.

Only after the origins of the *contents* of the manifestos have been sufficiently dealt with, is it appropriate to discuss the origins of the texts themselves and to return to the question of authorship. In Part Two (Chapter Three), we will first briefly review the question of authorship of the manifestos and, secondly, analyse the findings of Part One, and the key element of a general reformation in particular, in relation to the views expressed by the authors in other manuscript and printed texts. To what extent can the importance of the general reformation be observed in their other writings and what does this suggest about the manifestos' authorship and purpose?

Part Three (Chapters Four and Five) will in turn concentrate on the response to the manifestos. The aim of this part is not to trace the course of the Rosicrucian furore, but instead to analyse through several case studies specifically how the notion of a general reformation and related themes developed among the early readers of the manifestos. This approach will shed fresh light on the reasons for specific authors' support or dismissal of the Rosicrucian cause. To what extent was this theme appealing to Rosicrucian followers and controversial to those condemning the manifestos? Chapter Four will specifically concentrate on the early Rosicrucian furore, in order to describe in detail the role of the Rosicrucian call for reform in the early welcoming response. Chapter Five will then study debates between authors vehemently attacking the Rosicrucian movement and authors defending it, in order to examine what was at stake in the views of both proponents and opponents of that movement. These texts will also be compared with formal reactions to Rosicrucianism within universities and courts, in which scholars were sometimes investigated and prosecuted for their Rosicrucian sympathies.

In the Conclusion, the findings of the previous chapters will be reviewed, analysed, and compared, and some thoughts on further research will be provided. <>

End to An Antisemitism!
Five volume series by Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat, and Lawrence H. Schiffman
Introduction to the series and the first volume in the series:
Eighty years after the 1938 pogroms and more than seventy years after the liberation of the Nazi concentration and death camps, yet again, attacking and killing Jews, regularly slandering and denigrating them have become a sad reality in Europe and in other parts of the world. This, together with calls to boycott the Jewish state and denying its right even to exist, can have grave implications for both Jews and society in general.

The situation is not new. World history does not lack examples of Jew-hatred and persecution either. Consider Tacitus, Augustine, and Justinian, the expulsion of the Jews from Medina at the time of Mohammed, the Crusades, the Granada massacre, Martin Luther, the expulsion of the Jews from the

Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish Inquisition, the pogroms, Henry Ford, the Ku Klux Klan, the 1941 pogrom in Bagdad, Adolf Hitler and the Shoah. These are just a few names and events from only a few parts of the world. Today, Jew-hatred is no longer restricted to the extreme right and radical Islam but has spread across parts of the left and center of the political spectrum, as well as mainstream Christi and Muslim groups. Given this unacceptable reality, from February 18th through 22nd of 2018, approximately 1,000 scholars, activists, decision makers and influencers met in Vienna at the conference "An End to Antisemitism!"

The conference was jointly organized by the European Jewish Congress, New York University, Tel Aviv University, and the University of Vienna to study antisemitism with an unprecedented interdisciplinary breadth but also with historical depth. Over one-hundred and fifty presentations from all over the world engaged with all forms of antisemitism from antiquity until today from the perspective of numerous fields.

To each field, a separate panel was dedicated which was organized and headed by leading experts.

- Ancient History (Benjamin Isaac, Tel Aviv University)
- Medieval History (Simha Goldin, Tel Aviv University)
- Modern History (Klaus S. Davidowicz, Vienna University)
- Contemporary History (Dina Porat, Tel Aviv University)
- Bible, Christianity, and Antisemitism (Karin Finsterbusch, University of Koblenz-Landau and Armin Lange, Vienna University)
- Islam and Antisemitism (Esther Webman, Tel Aviv University)
- Judaism, Jewish Studies, and Antisemitism (Lawrence H. Schiffman, New York University)
- Israel Studies (Evyatar Friesel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
- Philosophy and Ethics (Julius H. Schoeps, Moses Mendelssohn Center for European Jewish Studies)
- Sociology and Social Sciences (Eliezer Ben-Rafael,Tel Aviv University)
- Psychology (Florette Cohen Abady,CUNY College of Staten Island)
- Pedagogy (Martin Rothgangel, University of Vienna)
- Media Studies,Journalism, and Visual Cultures (Frank Stern, University of Vienna)
- Internet and Antisemitism (Monika Schwarz-Friesel, Technical University of Berlin)
- Jurisprudence (Aleksandra Gliszczynska-Grabias, Institute of Law Studies Polish Academy of Sciences)
- Political Studies (Karin Stögner and Stephan Grigat, University of Vienna, Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

All of these scholars and two additional colleagues serve the editorial board of these proceedings ,aiding the editors in their work. For their work, suggestions, and support we are indebted to all of them.

The initial motivation for the conference "An End to Antisemitism!" was the need of Jewish organizations for strategic guidelines to combat antisemitism successfully. This is because the recent staggering increase of antisemitism has proven that existing strategies were limited in their success. The approach of the conference "An End to Antisemitism!" was to combine the practical experience of decision makers and stakeholders with the input of academic specialists. One approach might therefore be described as applied humanities and applied social sciences. This new approach to the fight against antisemitism resulted into two major outputs of the conference's research. Therefore, the first volume

of the conference proceedings publishes, on the one hand, keynote lectures based on practical experience and academic research as well as, on the other hand, policy recommendations regarding how to combat antisemitism distilled out of both practical and academic contributions to the conference. It is in the nature of academic research that new insights are gained by a contradictory discourse. Hence, some of the presentations published in the present volume might disagree in some aspects with its policy recommendations. The present volume of the conference proceedings is structured to mirror this initial motivation of the conference "An End to Antisemitism!" by grouping the academic research of the keynote lectures together with the corresponding recommended policies how to combat antisemitism.

1. A general audience, including decision makers and stakeholders in particular, is addressed by a catalogue of policy recommendations explaining how to combat antisemitism. Together, its policy recommendations are an original effort to take the fruits of our conference's scholarly research and turn them into a document of practical impact. While some of these policies are almost direct quotes of conference participants, others represent conclusions based on the combined research of the conference. We hope that the recommendations of this catalogue of policies combating antisemitism can be applied to help to eradicate and suppress antisemitism in all its forms globally. It is in the nature of research to gain new insights by constructive disagreement. Therefore, the policy recommendations this catalogue proposes will in some cases contradict the views of some presenters of the conference "An End to Antisemitism!" and will find the support of others. Even those with whom we disagree were of great help as their arguments helped us to improve the policies regarding how to combat antisemitism.

2. An academic audience is addressed by the present conference proceedings, which will include both the recommendations of the catalogue of policies combating antisemitism as well as the research leading to them. The presentations of the conference "An End to Antisemitism!" will be published in a total of five volumes. The first volume will include the published versions of all presentations and greetings by dignitaries, decision makers, and stake holders as well as all plenary presentations by scholars. The volumes following the present first volume will include the published versions of the presentations given at the sixteen panels of our conference.

1. Comprehending and Confronting Antisemitism: A Multi-Faceted Approach
2. Confronting Antisemitism from the Perspectives of Christianity, Islam and Judaism
3. Confronting Antisemitism through the Ages—A Historical Perspective
4. Confronting Antisemitism from Perspectives of Philosophy and Social Sciences
5. Confronting Antisemitism in Modern Media, the Legal and Political Worlds

The present first volume consists of five parts. An introduction reflecting the nature of antisemitism and strategies to combat it (I) is followed by the contributions of those political and religious decision makers who described their experiences in combating antisemitism at our conference.

II Leadership Talks by Decision Makers and Stakeholders

These practical experiences of decision makers and stakeholders form one important component of our endeavor to develop academically guided policy recommendations regarding how to combat antisemitism. The other component is the contributions of academics from a broad range of different specializations. At the conference, for each of the program units a keynote lecture was presented to set

the tone for the overall discussion. The keynote lectures of each of the sixteen panels published in this volume represent this academic component. Only the combined approach of both components allowed us to develop policy recommendations regarding how to combat antisemitism. The published versions of the keynote lectures are structured into three parts.

III Religion

IV Culture, Education, and Research

V Politics, Business, and Jurisprudence

In these three parts, each set of keynote lectures is followed by the policy recommendations that thematically correspond to them.

Antisemitism has a history of more than 2,000 years. Combating antisemitism is complicated, and there are no easy solutions to it. The complexity of antisemitism requires complex answers to combat it successfully. The contributions to this volume and the policy recommendations regarding how to combat antisemitism reflect this complexity and do not attempt to give easy answers. Only a combined approach as outlined above holds promise of successfully combating this age-old hatred.

The first volume of our conference proceedings as well its policy recommendations as to how to combat antisemitism not only aim at reaching the attention of decision and opinion makers as well as stakeholders in many fields worldwide but also address a general interested public. While the contributions and policy recommendations of the present volume concern only antisemitism, we as editors and authors are fully aware that antisemitism as a unique cultural and religious category exists alongside a host of other hatreds and phobias, directed against a long list of minorities and victimized groups. We are well aware that Jews are not the only target of hatred but that they are the tip of the iceberg. Therefore, we hope that beyond the fight against antisemitism, this present volume combining practical and academic contributions with policy recommendations might serve as a model of how to combat these other forms of hatred or even be a starting point from which the work to eradicate other wrongs will continue.

VOLUME I COMPREHENDING AND CONFRONTING ANTISEMITISM: A MULTI-FACETED APPROACH edited by Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat, and Lawrence H. Schiffman [An End to Antisemitism! De Gruyter, 9783110618594] Open Access

This volume provides a compendium of the history of and discourse about antisemitism - both as a unique cultural and religious category. Antisemitic stereotypes function as religious symbols that express and transmit a belief system of Jew-hatred, which are stored in the cultural and religious memories of the Western and Muslim worlds, migrating freely between Christian, Muslim and other religious symbolic systems.

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Excerpt: His Holiness, Pope Francis:

Dear friends,

I offer you a warm welcome and thank you for your presence here. I am grateful for the noble aim that brings you here: to reflect together, from varying points of view, on the responsibility of States, institutions and individuals in the struggle against antisemitism and crimes associated with antisemitic hatred. I would like to emphasize one word: responsibility. We are responsible when we are able to respond. It is not merely a question of analyzing the causes of violence and refuting their perverse reasoning, but of being actively prepared to respond to them. Thus, the enemy against which we fight is not only hatred in all of its forms, but even more fundamentally, indifference; for it is indifference that analyzes and impedes us from doing what is right even when we know that it is right.

I do not grow tired of repeating that indifference is a virus that is dangerously contagious in our time, a time when we are ever more connected with others but are increasingly less attentive to others. And yet the global context should help us understand that none of us is an island and none will have a future of peace without one that is worthy for all. The Book of Genesis helps us to understand that indifference is an insidious evil crouching at man's door (cf.Gen 4:7).Itis the subject of debate between the creature and his Creator at the beginning of history, as soon as the Creator asks Cain: "Where is your brother?" But Cain, who has just killed his brother, does not reply to the question, does not explain "where." On the contrary, he protests that he is autonomous: " Am I my brother's keeper?" (Gen 4:9). His brother does not interest him: here is the root of perversity, the root of death that produces desperation and silence. I recall the roar of the deafening silence I sensed two years ago in Auschwitz-Birkenau: a disturbing silence that leaves space only for tears, for prayer and for the begging of forgiveness.

Faced with the virus of indifference, the root of hatred, what vaccine can we administer? The Book of Deuteronomy comes to our aid. After a long journey through the desert, Moses addressed a basic counsel to the Chosen People: "Remember your whole journey" (Deut8:2). To the people longing for the promised future, wisdom was suggesting one look back, turning one's glance to the steps already completed. And Moses did not simply say, "think of the journey," but remember, orbing alive; do not let the past die. Remember, that is, "return with your heart:" do not only form the memory in your mind,

but in the depths of your soul, with your whole being. And do not forma memory only of what you like, but of "your whole journey." We have just celebrated International Holocaust Remembrance Day. In order to recover our humanity, to recover our human understanding of reality and to overcome so many deplorable forms of apathy towards our neighbor, we need this memory, this capacity to involve ourselves together in remembering. Memory is the key to accessing the future, an it is our responsibility to hand it on in a dignified way to young generations.

In this regard,I would like to mention a document of the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, whose twentieth anniversary of publication we celebrate this year. The title is eloquent: We Remember: a Reflection on the Shoah (16 March 1998).1 It was Saint John Paul II's fervent hope that it "would enable memory to play its necessary part in the process of shaping a future in which the unspeakable iniquity of the Shoah will never again be possible." The text speaks of this memory, which we Christians are called to safeguard, together with our elder Jewish brothers: "However, it is not only a question of recalling the past. The common future of Jews and Christians demands that we remember, for 'there is no future without memory.' History itself is memoria futuri."

To build our history, which will either be together or will not be at all, we need a common memory, living and faithful, that should not remain imprisoned in resentment but, though riven by the night of pain, should open up to the hop ofa new dawn. The Church desires to extend her hand. She wishes to remember and to walk together with our Jewish brothers and sisters. On this journey, "the Church, mindful of the patrimony she shares with the Jews and moved not by political reasons but by the Gospel's spiritual love, decries hatred, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone."

Dear friends, may we help one another in turn to growa culture of responsibility, of memory and of closeness, and to establish an alliance against indference, against every form of indifference. The potentialities of information will certainly be of assistance; even more important will be those of formation. We need urgently to educate young generations to become actively involved in the struggle against hatred and discrimination, but also in the over reaching of conflicting positions in the past, and never to grow tired of seeking the other Indeed, to prepare atruly human future, rejecting evil is not enough; we need to build the common good together. I thank you for your commitment in all of these matters. May the Lord of peace accompany you and bless every one of your good intentions. Thank you.

Pope Francis (Jorge Mario Bergoglio) was elected Pope of the Catholic Church in 2013. He took the name Francis after Saint Francis of Assisi, who was known for his embrace of poverty and chastity.

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VOLUME 2 CONFRONTING ANTISEMITISM FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF CHRISTIANITY, ISLAM, AND JUDAISM edited by Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat, Lawrence H. Schiffman [An End to Antisemitism! De Gruyter, 9783110671773] Open Access

This volume engages with antisemitic stereotypes as religious symbols that express and transmit a belief system of Jew-hatred. These religious symbols are stored in Christian, Muslim and even today's secular cultural and religious memories. This volume explores how antisemitic religious symbol systems can play a key role in the construction of group identities.

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Israel Shrenzel: Against the Mainstream: Muhammad Abduh 's Reading of Q1:7 and its Implications for Current Muslim-Jewish Relations

Antisemitism, the "longest hatred," still flourishes in our societies. Itis not restricted to extreme right-wing movements and social groups, but it also flourishes in the political center and on the left. Political, religious, and lay groups alike continue a tradition of discrimination against Jews, insults, and antisemitic hate crimes every day. Given this unacceptable reality, in February 2018, approximately one thousand scholars, activists, decision makers, and influencers met in Vienna at the conference "An End to Antisemitism! " The conference was jointly organized by the European Jewish Congress, New York University, Tel Aviv University, and the University of Vienna to study antisemitism with an unprecedented interdisciplinary breadth and historical depth. Over 150 presents from all over the world engaged with all forms of antisemitism from a variety of perspectives. The present series, "An End to Antisemitism!" documents the conference's output and research results from various fields. Leading experts in Religious Studies, History, Political Studies, Social Sciences, Philosophy, Psychology, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies shed light onto antisemitic traditions from all their respective viewpoints. Together, they help to shape a discourse of understanding, knowing, and recognizing various forms of antisemitism in order to confront and combat them.

One of the aims of the conference "An End to Antisemitism!" was, therefore, to create concrete policy recommendations regarding how to effectively combat antisemitism. These have been collected and published in a separate Catalogue of Policies, a document of practical impact. They also form one of the bases of the first volume of the present series. All subsequent volumes are addressed to an academic audience. They document the research leading to these policy recommendations.

The present volume is concerned with methods of confronting antisemitism in Christianity and Islam. As

some contributions from an earlier conference focusing on antisemitism in Islam. The conference "Islam and Antisemitism" was organized jointly by the University of Vienna and Tel Aviv University and held in Vienna, November 2016. We are grateful for the willingness of the participants in this conference to share their research results for publication in this volume.

The present volume consists of three parts. The first confronts Ancient and Medieval Religious Traditions of Antisemitism. The second part sheds light on Antisemitism in the Study of Holy Scriptures and Related Writings in the Modern Period. The third and final part confronts Antisemitic Traditions in Contemporary Christianity and Islam. The articles within the three sections follow a chronological order with regard to the time period with which they are concerned. A different sequence of articles was chosen whenever necessary to serve the overarching theme of the volume and its audience with regard to readability and accessibility. A general introduction to the volume tries to establish the notion of antisemitism as religion per se, as an integral component of self-definition for every religious and social group. ***

Introduction

To effectively counteract contemporary antisemitism, it is important to recognize the traditions that feed modern hatred of Jews. Manifestations of antisemitism in contemporary cultures and societies are manifold. They range from hate speech to actual physical violence and can be encountered in political or economic realms, in social discourses of nation and race, or on a meta-level both culturally and ideologically. Religious and theological antisemitism can be regarded as the source for most of the other forms of Jew-hatred, especially in its shaping of a canon of discriminatory images and perceptions of "the Jews" as essentially different from anyone not Jewish.

Many contributions to the conference "An End to Antisemitism!" confirmed that ancient and medieval religious traditions of Jew-hatred still have an impact today. Their canon of antisemitic traditions remains vivid, and it is necessary to first recognize the traditions in question to subsequently eradicate them from contemporary discourse.

Usage of Terms

The usage of the term antisemitism is as complex as the genesis of the term itself.[1] This is why some of the contributions in this volume dispute that the texts they study are "antisemitic" in nature. They rather wish to apply amore general term of "Jew-hatred" that subsumes all different forms of polemics against and persecutions of Jews. Focusing on theological concepts, especial in Christian religious history, some of the contributions also claim that specifically religious stereotypes confirm a notion of "anti-Judaism" that is not necessarily connected with other discriminatory allegations against Jews other than them accepting a system of beliefs and practices differing from and competing with Christianity. However, these traditions are also in fact clearly polemical and express negative images of and attitudes against Jews that reach far beyond the scope of religious alterity.

This seeming contradiction to the above claim of the ancient and medieval roots of modern antisemitism in some of the present volume's contributions can be explained in two ways. (1) Not all of the ancient and medieval roots of modern antisemitism are perceived by all authors to be antisemitic in nature themselves but are regarded as expressions of the rejection of Judaism for other reasons than Jew-hatred.[2] (2) Despite the conference being based on the IHRA's Working Definition of Antisemitism,[3]

several contributions employ different definitions of antisemitism. While some essays perceive all forms of Jew-hatred and anti-Jewish

discrimination as antisemitic, others are more restrictive in their use of the term antisemitism as mentioned above. The editors of the present volume have chosen not to unify the usage of the various terms mentioned above. However, each author has been asked to present a definition according to which they understand and usea respective term.

Symbols, Images, and Traditions in the Formation of (Religious) Group Identities

Both individual and group identities are constructed and maintained by way of distinction and differentiation. A child develops its identity by differentia self from its mother in a process of several years. The construction of a personal identity includes thus not only the recognition "I am I" but also the recognition "You are not me." Social and religious group identities are constructed and maintained in a similar way, that is, in differentiation from other social or religious groups implying thus the recognition "We are we but not you." Group identities are thus constructed by way of distinguishing an in-group from an outgroup, or—to say it in other words— a collective "I" from a collective "Other."

In the case of some religions, such a group identity is constructed by defining a unifying set of religious doctrines that distinguishes this religion from all other religions. In the case of other religions, the same goal is reached by a set of religious, moral, and ritual rules that achieve the same differentiation.

How religious identity is understood and constructed—both in terms of differentiating oneself from another ("I am not you") and understanding oneself as being part ofa distinct group ("We are not them")—is thus a process inextricably linked to how religions are shaped. In establishing a new system of beliefs, values, and moral codes, religions need an opposite against which to def these beliefs, values, and moral codes and to prove their validity. On the other hand, they help to form communal spirits, feelings of solidarity, and shared identity. When members of the same group are brought together and held responsible for by the same religious beliefs, values, and moral codes, a common sense of togetherness and identity is shaped. This is true for all major religions.

The construction of religious group identities in monotheistic religion qua definition is especially competitive. The claim that there would be only one god negates all other religions to a much larger extent than in the case of polytheistic religions. A polytheistic religion can differentiate itself from another polytheistic religion without rejection of their opposite religious group identity. As an example, the claim of a collective "We" to believe in Isis does not need to deny the veracity of veneration of Mithras in its differentiation from a collective "Them." The construction of the religious group identity of the Is mystery cult, therefore, did not depend solely on the differentiation from other mystery cults such as the Mithras cult. There is no need to fully negate another religious belief system in order to corroborate the very rationale of their own religious existence. Monotheism, however, beyond differentiation, implies rejection and condemnation of the religious "Other" against which its very own religious group identity is formed by default. If there can be only one god, then all other gods must be void.

This is even more so the case when a given monotheistic religion developed out of a preexisting one, that is, Christianity out of Judaism and Islam out of both Judaism and Christianity. Rejection,

condemnation, and dismissal of a monotheistic ancestor religion is, if not a necessity, at least an obvious choice in the formation of the religious group identity of a newly born monotheistic religious group.

For the purpose of forming and maintaining their religious group identity in differentiation from Judaism, both Christianity and Islam constructed a set of religious symbols that guide their recognition of the Jewish out-group as to the Christian and Islamic in-group, respectively. Such symbols include the demonization of Judaism as purported, for example, in John 8:44 in Christianity5 or the supposed violation of the covenant of Medina by the Jews of Medina in Islam. The incorporation of antisemitic symbols into the religious canon of symbolism and imagery is thus inherent in and characteristic for both Christianity and Islam.

VOLUME 3 COMPREHENDING ANTISEMITISM THROUGH THE AGES: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE edited by Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat, Lawrence H. Schiffman, [De Gruyter, 9783110671995] Open Access

This volume traces the history of antisemitism from antiquity through contemporary manifestations of the discrimination of Jews. It documents the religious, sociological, political and economic contexts in which antisemitism thrived and thrives and shows how such circumstances served as support and reinforcement for a curtailment of the Jews' social status. The volume sheds light on historical processes of discrimination and identifies them as a key factor in the contemporary and future fight against antisemitism.

CONTENTS

The present volume focuses on the history of antisemitism. Its contributions document historical traditions that have fed contemporary antisemitism and unearth different motivations for antisemitic persecution through the ages. As such, they scrutinize antisemitism's versatile nature and multiple transformations. Following a five-part chronological structure, the articles in the present volume trace antisemitism from antiquity to the Middle Ages, from the eighteenth century to the Nazi era and the Shoah, from the end of World War II to the founding of the State of Israel, and well into our present time where the internet and modern media have contributed beyond measure to the increase of Jew-hatred.

The contributors' theoretical approaches vary in accordance with the topics and research fields their articles engage with and come from. Some contributions follow a classical historiographical path, working with original sources to trace historical traditions of antisemitism or document historical events and incidences. Other articles, however, chose a more meta theoretical approach, going beyond a documentation alone. Rather, they investigate historical manifestations of antisemitismtofindanswerstoquestionsaboutpre-modernperceptionsofraceand racism as well as to learn about different motivations for antisemitic discrimination in order to establish means for combatting current day Jew-hatred. A general introduction to the volume brings together these different approaches as well as theoretical aspects of the history and historiography of antisemitism. ***

Comprehending Antisemitism through the Ages: Introduction

Robert Wistrich's definition of antisemitism as the "longest hatred" carries as much weight now as it did thirty years ago, when Wistrich published his landmark study. Today, in our contemporary societies and culture, antisemitism is on the rise, and its manifestations are manifold. Antisemitic hate crimes have spiked in recent decades, and antisemitic stereotypes, sentiments, and hate speech have permeated all

parts of the political spectrum. In order to effectively counteract the ever-growing Jew-hatred of our times, it is important to recognize the traditions that have fed antisemitism throughout history. Antisemitism is an age-old hatred deeply embedded in societies around the globe. While the internet and modern media have contributed beyond measure to the increase of Jew-hatred in all parts of the world, the transformation processes that antisemitism has been undergoing through the ages remain the same. A core condition of antisemitism is its versatile nature and adaptability, both of which can be traced through all periods of time. Current-day antisemitism is shaped and sustained not only by powerful precedents but also reflects common fears and anxieties that our societies are faced within a world that is ever changing and where the changes run even faster today than ever before. Historical awareness of the nature of antisemitism, therefore, is more important than ever. The present volume, thus, wants to help raise this awareness. Its articles trace the history of antisemitism and the tradition of antisemitic stereotypes through the ages. It documents various manifestations of antisemitism over time and reflects on the varying motivations for antisemitism. As such, these contributions shed light on socio-cultural and socio-psychological processes that have led to the spike of antisemitism in various periods of time and in varying intensity. In this way, they can help to establish methods and policies to not only to counter current antisemitic manifestations but also to combat them.

VOLUME 4 CONFRONTING ANTISEMITISM FROM PERSPECTIVES OF PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
edited by Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat, Lawrence H. Schiffman [An End to Antisemitism! De Gruyter, 9783110671971] Open Access

The five volumes provide a compendium of the history of and discourse about antisemitism - both as a unique cultural and religious category. Antisemitic stereotypes function as religious symbols that express and transmit a belief system of Jew-hatred, which are stored in the cultural and religious memories of the Western and Muslim worlds. This volume explores the phenomenon from the perspectives of Philosophy and Social Sciences.

CONTENTS
Armin Lange and Kerstin Mayerhofer: Confronting Antisemitism from the Perspectives of Philosophy and Social Sciences: Introduction
Assessment of Antisemitism
Sergio Della Pergola: Antisemitism: National or Transnational Constellation?
L. Daniel Staetsky: Quantifying Antisemitic Attitudes in Britain: The "Elastic" View of Antisemitism
Reinhold Boschki: The Contribution of Religious Education to the Prevention of Antisemitism: An International Empirical Study
Olaf Glöckner: The Circumcision Debate in Germany in 2012 and its Impacts on Europe
Monika Schwarz-Friesel and Evyatar Friesel: "To Make the World a Better Place": Giving Moral Advice to the Jewish State as a Manifestation of Self-Legitimized Antisemitism among Leftist Intellectuals

More than three years have passed since approximately one thousand scholars, activists, decision makers, and influencers met at the conference "An End to Antisemitism!" in February 2018, in Vienna. The conference was jointly organized by the European Jewish Congress, New York University, Tel Aviv University, and the University of Vienna to study antisemitism with an unprecedented interdisciplinary breadth and historical depth.Over150presentersfromalloverthe world engaged with all forms of antisemitism from a variety of perspectives. The present series, An End to Antisemitism!, documents the conference's output and research results from various fields. Leading experts in religious studies, history, political studies, social sciences, philosophy, psychology, pedagogy, and cultural studies shedl ight on antisemitic traditions from their respective viewpoints. Together, they help to shape a discourse of understanding, knowing, and recognizing various forms of antisemitism in order to confront and combat them.

Unfortunately, today, antisemitism is still on the rise. TheCovid-19 pandemic has not only led to a spiking high rate of deaths among all nations of the world. Also, it has given rise to a multitude of conspiracy theories surrounding various topics. Antisemitism is often an integral part of those conspiracy theories, regardless of their origin. In the previous volumes of our series, researchers from a variety of scholarly and scientific fields have demonstrated how antisemitism's versatile nature and

constant transformation throughout history has contributed to its unfathomable success. Sadly, this tradition continues even today. One of the aims of the conference "An End to Antisemitism!" was, therefore, to create concrete policy recommendations regarding how to effectively combatant antisemitism. These have been collected and published in a separate Catalogue of Policies,n a document of practical impact. They also form one of the bases of the first volume of the present series. All subsequent volumes are addressed to an academic audience. They document het research leading to these policy recommendations.

The present volume concludes the series An End to Antisemitism! It brings together contributions from fields of the social sciences, including philosophy, ethics, psychology, and pedagogy. Together, they form an empirical underpinning for the previous volumes that have helped to unearth the different motivations for antisemitic persecutionthroughouttheagesandhaveemployeddiffer-entmetatheoretical approaches to and answers to questions of perceptions of race, racism, identity, indifference's historiography of antisemitism and its current-day transformations, especially in the modern media, are also in volume, which reflected on various newforms of Jew-hatred in political and legal realms of society and in the media. The contributions to the present and concluding volume try to close the loop by demonstrating the importance of a three-fold scheme in investigating antisemitism. First, they demonstrate how the assessment of the level of antisemitism in society is an important prerequisite for recognizing and understanding various forms of Jew-hatred. Articles using classical social scientific approaches to collect data and specific case studies thus form the first part of the present volume. In the second part, scholars from a philosophical and ethical background use collected data and case studies to discuss the heterogeneous nature of antisemitism. They perceive antisemitisms as negative trope responding to specific socio-political processes that put society into a crisis. Finally, the results of both the empirical studies and the theoretical reflection point the way to their implementation in the form of pedagogical studies and a best practice example. The third and final part of the present volume draws special attention to pedagogy and its importance in the fight against antisemitism. Educating the following generations, not only about the history of Jew-hatred, but also about its multiple transformations and present manifestations, is of utmost importance in order to establish long-term means for combatting current-day Jew-hatred.

While the nature of many of this volume's contributions differs from articles in previous volumes as they present large quantities of scientifically collected data or develop concrete courses of action, they still forge links to the articles in the previous volumes. They address topics such as the BDS movement and anti-Zionism as contemporary and the most virulent new forms of antisemitism. Muslim antisemitism and antisemitism from the political left are discussed as dangerous chameleons, the mutability of which also fuels contemporary antisemitism. As such, these articles complement the topic of the "New Antisemitism" that volume focused on and, as such, pave the way for understanding it. The non-chronological order of the publication dates of volumes3, 4, and 5 is grounded in the research field itself: as antisemitism sever changing, findings from the modern media, too, can have a short life. This is why the editorial team chose to proceed first with the publication of volume 5, with its focus on antisemitism in the modern media and in the political and legal world, in order to avoid the obsolescence of these studies. However, the empirical articles of the present volume connect with the previous volumes. Contributions from the fields of philosophy, ethics and psychology, for example, refer back to earlier theoretical reflections presented in volumes 2 and 3.Most importantly, they engage with Critical Theory

of the Frankfurt School in order to establish critical political and ethical responses to contemporary antisemitism.

It is in the nature of academic research that new insights are gained by a contradictory discourse. Hence, the articles in the present volume might sometimes give the impression of a variety of different textual strands bound together only loosely. Indeed, contributions light even seem to disagree with each other. They all, however, contribute to the series' aim to reflect on antisemitism from a variety of scholarly fields, to uncover its traditions, intentions, and manifestations and to, ultimately, find ways to both understand antisemitism and combat it

VOLUME 5 CONFRONTING ANTISEMITISM IN MODERN MEDIA, THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL WORLDS edited by Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat, Lawrence H. Schiffman [An End to Antisemitism! De Gruyter, 9783110671964] Open Access

This volume documents the transformation of age-old antisemitic stereotypes into a new form of discrimination, often called "New Antisemitism" or "Antisemitism 2.0." Manifestations of antisemitism in political, legal, media and other contexts are reflected on theoretically and contemporary developments are analyzed with a special focus on online hatred. The volume points   to the need for a globally coordinated approach on the political and legal levels, as well as with regard to the modern media, to effectively combat modern antisemitism.

CONTENTS

The present volume focuses on the history of the so-called "New Antisemitism." Its contributions try to trace the history of transformation of antisemitism after World War II and the Shoah and its continuing reshaping. Opposition to Zionism and criticism of the Israeli government, especially from the Muslim world, are often now the most visible representations of this new form of antisemitism. They flourish worldwide and are not restricted to the margins of the political spectrum. The first part of the present volume thus engages with the sociopolitical, socio-cultural, and socio-economic processes that led to this transformation of Jew-hatred and, on the other hand, identifies antisemitic elements that have an age-old tradition and that are reiterated in new contexts and in a new form. Manifestations of this new form of antisemitism can be encountered first and foremost in modern media. The internet and its worldwide accessibility contributed vastly to the spread of global antisemitism in its various forms. The second part of the volume thus provides some examples of how modern media serve as outlets of social, political, and economic discontent that is reflected back upon the Jews and often conflated with age-old stereotypes, narratives, and conspiracy theories. The last part, finally, presents our readers with ideas and proposals to strategically confront and, possibly, counter act Jew-hatred, both on an individual and a global socio-political level supported by international and intergovernmental organizations. Each of these three parts is preceded by a short overview of its articles that brings together different strands of the overarching topic of the transformation of antisemitism and manifestations of its various new forms. A general introduction to the volume brings together theoretical aspects and historical theories of "New Antisemitism" that form the basis for the understanding of this new form of Jew-hatred and its subsequent manifestations both on-and offline, in both Muslim and Western societies. <>

THE "GOD OF ISRAEL" IN HISTORY AND TRADITION by Michael J. Stahl [Series: Vetus Testamentum, Supplements, Brill, 9789004447714]

Author:

In **THE "GOD OF ISRAEL" IN HISTORY AND TRADITION**, Michael Stahl provides a foundational study of the formulaic title "god of Israel" ('elohe yisra'el) in the Hebrew Bible. Employing critical theory on social power and identity, and through close literary and historical analysis, Dr. Stahl shows how the epithet "god of Israel" evolved to serve different social and political agendas throughout the course of ancient Israel and Judah's histories. Reaching beyond the field of Biblical Studies, Dr. Stahl's treatment of the historical and ideological significances of the title "god of Israel" in the Hebrew Bible offers a fruitful case study into the larger issue of the ways in which religion may shape—and be shaped by—social and political structures.

The cosmic, monotheistic God of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam has a history, one which reaches back to a particular ancient people—Israel. Although destroyed almost three millennia ago, Israel's name and the worship of its god continue to shape religious identity among, and interreligious dialogue between, contemporary Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities. Yet, how did Israel's god first come to be worshiped beyond the people of Israel?

As known from historical sources, Israel was a relatively small kingdom in the southern Levant during the early first millennium, when it coexisted alongside the even smaller, independent kingdom of Judah to its immediate south.[1] Nevertheless, while Israel and Judah were two separate polities historically, the Judahite scribes who produced the Hebrew Bible ultimately claimed much of Israel's cultural and religious heritage—including the worship of deity under Israel's name—as their own.[2] As a subset of the larger historical problem of Judah's cross-cultural appropriation of Israel's identity, this study directly raises the specific religious-historical problem of Judah's worship of deity under Israel's name by critically examining the formulaic title "god of Israel" (אלהי ישראל) as it appears in the Hebrew Bible, setting it in the larger context of Israel and Judah's social and political histories down into the Persian and early Hellenistic periods. Nearly 200 times, Judahite biblical writing defines divinity by the epithet "god of Israel," even as the title's very formulation explicitly links deity and people using a named identity that, from a historical perspective, was originally socially and politically distinct from Judah, namely Israel. In light of the epithet's ubiquitous yet anomalous presence in Judah's Bible, the title "god of Israel" thus warrants sustained critical attention, a desideratum in current scholarship.

In using the title "god of Israel" for the patron deity of Judah's most central political and religious institutions—the palace and temple at Jerusalem—the Hebrew Bible's Judahite authors engaged in an act

of religious appropriation that asserts, at least in ideal terms, a fundamental social-political and religious unity between Israel and Judah. This ideological claim essentially represents the perspective and political interests of the Hebrew Bible's primary authors and editors, whose interests lay with Judah, not Israel. The pervasiveness of this biblical claim notwithstanding, Israel and Judah historically were two separate kingdoms/peoples, and the nature of the "relationship between these two kingdoms, along with their individual histories, must be considered matters for investigation." While Israel and Judah's populations undoubtedly shared much in terms of language and local culture—including the worship of the deity yhwh and other deities—Israel and Judah display important differences in terms of their large-scale social, economic, and political structures. At a basic level, Israel's political culture, even in the time of kings, appears to have been more decentralized than Judah's. Such differences in social structure and political economy underscore Israel and Judah's separateness and necessarily impact any reconstruction of their political-religious landscapes. In this broader context, the religious-historical problem of Judahite use of the title "god of Israel" looms large, even as it has largely escaped critical scholarly scrutiny.

Judah's claim on the title "god of Israel" in the Hebrew Bible has had a lasting impact on scholarly reconstructions of Israel and Judah's political and religious histories, including some of the basic categories that modern scholars use to classify their work in broad terms. For instance, the scholarly study of "Israelite religion" in fact often deals with matters of Judahite religious history and practice. With respect to the title "god of Israel" itself, scholars regularly employ the appellation "god of Israel" as a kind of transhistorical or universalizing identity to refer to the god of the Hebrew Bible, ancient Israel and Judah, and/or early Judaism. At times, scholars use the designation "god of Israel" when examining particular biblical texts, even when those texts do not actually use the epithet "god of Israel" to define the deity. Through such shorthand practices, modern scholarship reproduces the Hebrew Bible's ideological claim of one God, one people, thereby marginalizing the larger historical problem of when and how Judah—and later Judaism—came to see its own religious identity in terms of the worship of the "god of Israel." Moreover, when scholars reflexively use the appellation "god of Israel" as an almost automatic identity for the Hebrew Bible's deity, the historical significance of the epithet often remains untethered to ancient Israel's distinct social-political reality, particularly its robust political tradition of collective governance. At the same time, Judahite appropriation of the title "god of Israel" entails a shift in the social and religious politics of this divine identity on account of Judah's distinctive political history and religious culture, centralized around David's royal house and the temple at Jerusalem. In short, the title "god of Israel" in its ancient expressions embeds particular political, social, and religious meaning linked to the author's historical and social location. Unlike divine epithets that identify divinity by sacred locations, cities, or divine capacities, the epithet "god of Israel" brands the deity in relation to "Israel" as a social-political and/or literary-ideological community, without reference to a single fixed center. While a named deity, such as El, Asherah, yhwh or Baal, could be worshiped by more than one people, the title "god of Israel" is particularizing, characterizing the (unnamed) deity in terms of a specific community. For this reason, the title "god of Israel" carries social and political significances, and its use by different communities across time and space demands the investigation of its social and religious politics at every turn.

Finally, the recognition that the title "god of Israel" refers back to the deity of a social-political community originally distinct from Judah brings to the fore the historical problem of Judah's appropriation of the worship of divinity under Israel's name as reflected in biblical writing. Scholarly reproduction of the Hebrew Bible's claim that the title "god of Israel" belongs to Judah has masked the

need to analyze biblical usage of the title "god of Israel" and its relationship to Israelite and Judahite religious history. This observation may partially explain why, apart from one contribution in the early 1900s, there have been no systematic scholarly studies on the textual locations and literary usages of the epithet "god of Israel" in the biblical materials, nor any analyses of this important title's historical development and its evolving social, political, and religious significances. This study seeks to redress these scholarly desiderata by analyzing the Hebrew Bible's use of the title "god of Israel" and providing a critical history of its social and religious politics, both for Israel and Judah. ***

The Scope of This Study

Critical consideration of the title "god of Israel" in the Hebrew Bible raises important historical questions in the study of ancient Israelite and Judahite religion. What were the social and religious politics of the title "god of Israel" in ancient Israel? When did yhwh come to be known by the specific title "god of Israel"—and under what political circumstances? When and how did the epithet enter into Judah's internal political-religious discourse? In what ways did the title contribute to the religious construction of "Israelite" identity in postexilic Yehud?

This study addresses these and other important questions in five chapters. Together, these five chapters trace the Hebrew Bible's usage of the title "god of Israel" and the history of its politics in roughly chronological sequence, from the title's use in ancient Israel proper, to its appropriation in the kingdom of Judah, to its transformation as Judaism began to emerge in the course of the Persian and early Hellenistic periods. Because of the complexity and unevenness of the biblical evidence, the present study's historical reconstruction of the epithet "god of Israel" in Israel, Judah, and postexilic Yehud consists only of momentary glimpses into a long and complicated historical process, most of which can no longer be reconstructed with precision. If the history of the title "god of Israel" were a puzzle, the majority of the pieces have been lost, probably never to be recovered. For this reason, the present study cannot be considered definitive, the last word on the matter, even as it aims for rigor and comprehensiveness. Undoubtedly, other scholars will wish to rearrange some of the puzzle pieces, or clusters of puzzle pieces, into different arrangements, providing somewhat different images. Be this as it may, the foundational aims of this study remain unaltered, namely to explicitly raise the religious-historical problem of when and how the title "god of Israel" entered into Judah's internal political and religious discourse, to collect all the relevant data on the epithet "god of Israel," and to ask fresh historical questions of the data in the light of current issues in biblical studies and the history of ancient Israelite—and Judahite—religion.

Chapter 2 begins the study's historical investigation into the title "god of Israel." On the basis of Genesis 33:20 and other pertinent biblical texts, this chapter argues that the epithet "god of Israel" first belonged to the old Levantine god El in connection with the ancient cult center of Shechem in the Israelite central hill country, and that Shechemite El's cultic role as the "god of Israel" was traditionally embedded within ancient Israel's decentralized political economy. The god yhwh, in turn, may only have come to be identified as the "god of Israel" in the service of a royal centralizing program during the ninth and eighth centuries. Specifically, I argue that the application of the title "god of Israel" to yhwh first blossomed in the ninth century, as Israel's Omride kings sought to consolidate their power at the new royal capital of Samaria and expand Israel's political control north of the Jezreel Valley and east of the Jordan River. In making this argument, I propose that Judges 5:2–11* + 12–23* reflects this important moment in Israel's political and religious history, and I situate the composition of this important biblical text in the broader

historical context of the ninth century. As evidenced by the archaeological and epigraphic records, particularly the Mesha Stele and Tel Dan Inscription, the ninth century was a watershed in the political and religious history of the southern Levant. A number of new minor kingdoms, backed by royal ideologies interlocking god, king, and people, come into view for the first time, if only dimly. For Israel, with its traditionally decentralized political culture, the centralizing institution of kingship likewise emerges as a defining force in a new way during this period. I contend in Chapter 2 that the Song of Deborah was composed in the service of kingship as part of this ninth-century shift in Israel's political economy. Among other strategies for consolidating political power, the Omrides sought to disembed ("differentiate") the title "god of Israel" from Israel's collective cultic and political life and place it in the service of royal politics. If this reconstruction is correct, then the Omrides' political program in the ninth century offers one crucial context for the gradual equation of the gods yhwh and El in ancient Israel, connected in part to the epithet "god of Israel."

Chapter 3 then turns to the question of when and how the title "god of Israel" may have entered into Judah's own political and religious discourse. Among other biblical materials that may reflect this transition, Chapter 3 especially explores three groups of biblical texts from the books of Kings that use the designation "god of Israel" in politically significant ways: Solomon's dedication of the Jerusalem temple in 1 Kgs 8:14–21*, various royal evaluations that use the title "god of Israel," and the prophetess Huldah's two oracles to Josiah in 2 Kgs 22:15–20*. Based on the biblical evidence, it does not appear that the appellation "god of Israel" was a significant feature of Judah's political-religious landscape in the period of the two kingdoms—let alone in the time of a supposed "United Monarchy" under kings David and Solomon in the tenth century. Instead, the title "god of Israel" evidently first appeared in Judahite religious discourse in the seventh century, in connection with the (re)assertion of the political claim that Judah's kings once ruled Israel. The introduction of the appellation "god of Israel" into Judah's politics therefore appears to have occurred as part of a larger set of processes designed to further appropriate and transform Israel's identity in support of Judahite royal ideology following the kingdom of Israel's collapse in 722/720. As a rule, then, Judahite use of the title "god of Israel" begins no earlier than the late eighth century.

Furthermore, I argue that the programmatic identification of the Jerusalem temple as the site of yhwh's "name" in his identity as the "god of Israel" in 1 Kings 8:14–21* may reflect a novel palace perspective on the Jerusalem temple and its ideological significance that served certain royal political interests in the late monarchic period. As mentioned above, the title "god of Israel" does not appear in connection with the Jerusalem temple in early Isaiah materials, Jerusalemite royal psalms, the old building blocks of the David story, or early (albeit post-monarchic) Priestly materials in the Pentateuch. Rather, "yhwh of hosts" (יהוה צבאות) appears to have been the god of the Jerusalem temple and David's royal house during the period of the late Judahite monarchy. Moreover, the identity "yhwh of hosts" seems to have carried with it a highly distinctive political theology, one not clearly articulated in 1 Kgs 8:14–21*. The identification of the title "god of Israel" with the god of the Jerusalem temple in 1 Kgs 8:14–21*, without reference to "yhwh of hosts," therefore looks to be a novel claim, at least in the way it is asserted programmatically, and it is not at all clear that the Jerusalem temple's priestly establishment during the late monarchic period promoted this identification. In its wholly positive portrayal of Solomon and unqualified celebration of David's royal house and the Jerusalem temple as ostensibly living realities, 1 Kgs 8:14–21* deliberately identifies the Jerusalem temple as the location of yhwh's "name" as the "god of Israel," without any sense that the text forms part of a larger narrative meant to explain Judah's loss

of monarchy and the temple. As a potentially late monarchic composition, I argue that 1 Kgs 8:14–21* rhetorically reaches back to the time of King Solomon, the legendary ancestor of Judah's kings, to assert a new political and religious reality, one in which yhwh as the "god of Israel" dwells in Jerusalem alongside David's royal house. In attaching the epithet "god of Israel" to the origins of Judah's central political-religious institutions—even as the first Jerusalem temple's cult historically does not appear to have venerated yhwh using the title "god of Israel"—1 Kgs 8:14–21* potentially functions as Judahite royal propaganda, appealing to older Israelite religious tradition to assert the Davidic monarchy's claim to Israel's name. If this reconstruction is correct, the use of the title "god of Israel" in 1 Kgs 8:14–21* can perhaps be seen as one ideological strategy to consolidate royal control over disparate populations in Jerusalem, some of whose social backgrounds and political interests likely lay with the former kingdom of Israel. In this way, the text's association of the title "god of Israel" with Solomon and the Jerusalem temple may have offered one religious-ideological means for Judah's kings to (re)assert their claim to Israel's name and its people(s), thereby serving the political needs of Judah's kings in the wake of Israel's collapse.

Chapter 4, in turn, explores the title "god of Israel" in clearly post-monarchic biblical writing, focusing especially on the books of Ezra and Chronicles, which together account for almost a quarter of all the occurrences of the epithet "god of Israel" in the Hebrew Bible. While the appellation "god of Israel" proliferates in late biblical texts—in my estimation, at least 80–85% of the Hebrew Bible's references to the title "god of Israel" come from post-monarchic biblical writing—it does not do so uniformly. Many, if not most, late biblical texts and literary strata do not use the designation "god of Israel" at all or do so only sparsely. Rather, the sustained usage of the epithet "god of Israel" is limited to specific post-monarchic biblical books and literary strata, particularly late "deuteronomistic" and "post-deuteronomistic" writing in the Former Prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Psalms, Ezra (but not Nehemiah), and Chronicles. Of these texts, Ezra and Chronicles particularly stand out on account of these books' use of this divine identity in their efforts to (re)define Jewish identity following the loss of Judah's monarchy.

For nearly a century, scholars have interrogated the uses and meanings of Israel's name in Ezra–Nehemiah and the books of Chronicles, yet the appellation "god of Israel" has typically received short shrift in these discussions. Chapter 4 therefore highlights the importance of this divine identity in Ezra and Chronicles, as well as its contribution for (re)constructing Jewish identity in the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods. In this era, the title "god of Israel" comes to be associated with the emerging twin pillars of later Jewish identity, namely Torah and Temple. Perhaps for the first time in history, the title "god of Israel" comes to be applied to the cultic worship of the god of the (second) Jerusalem temple, whose priests now occupied a primary place in Yehud's local political economy. Nevertheless, there is some evidence to suggest that the title "god of Israel" only came to be attached to the second Jerusalem temple cult and adopted by some segment(s) of the temple's priestly leadership at a secondary historical moment, which I connect with growing social-economic and political-religious competition between Yehud/the Jerusalem Temple and Samaria/the Mount Gerizim temple. In this way, collective "Israel's" worship of the "god of Israel," without reference to kings, reappears in the Second Temple period, even as its use still appears to have served centralizing political interests. Yet, because Chronicles and Ezra offer two different visions of what it means to be "Israel," these biblical books necessarily furnish two distinct conceptions of the "god of Israel" and what it means to be the "god of Israel's" people.

Finally, Chapter 5 considers how Jewish scribes in the late Persian and Hellenistic periods used the title "god of Israel" in the process of composing certain biblical books. In particular, later scribes responsible for the editing and transmission of certain books, such as Jeremiah and the Psalter, appear to have used this divine identity as part of their efforts to unify these biblical books as literary compositions. While this compositional activity likely served particular social and political agendas, which are briefly touched upon, Chapter 5 especially highlights the literary contribution of the title's use in these biblical compositions. In these biblical texts, the title "god of Israel" appears to function as a compositional link between disparate literary materials, a sort of *Leitwort* binding together large-scale biblical compositions into broader literary wholes. In this way, the title "god of Israel" comes to characterize the deity of particular biblical books and larger biblical corpora, an important step in the identification of the deity of the Hebrew Bible in its entirety as the "god of Israel."

The basic historical arguments of this study, then, are as follows: (1) the origins of the title "god of Israel" trace back to ancient Israel; (2) El was Israel's "original" or earliest god, and his role as the "god of Israel" was traditionally embedded in Israel's decentralized political economy as maintained at the venerable cultic site of Shechem in the Israelite central hill country; (3) yhwh especially came to be identified by the title "god of Israel" within Israel during the ninth and eighth centuries, in connection originally with the Omride dynasty's centralization of political authority at the new royal capital of Samaria; (4) the title "god of Israel" appears to have only entered into Judah's internal political and religious discourse following the kingdom of Israel's collapse in 722/720, as Judah's kings sought to consolidate political power and (re)assert their claim on Israel's name; (5) the appellation "god of Israel" was not used in the Jerusalem temple's cult during the late Judahite monarchy, even as it appears to have been appropriated in the service of royal politics by palace-affiliated scribes; (6) the epithet "god of Israel" proliferated in post-monarchic biblical writing; and (7) the title "god of Israel" first came to be used in the cult of the (second) Jerusalem temple during the postexilic period, although evidently only at a secondary historical moment, perhaps due to increasing social-economic and political-religious competition with the Samarian temple on Mount Gerizim. <>

LOST TRIBES FOUND: ISRAELITE INDIANS AND RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM IN EARLY AMERICA by Matthew W. Dougherty (University of Oklahoma Press)

The belief that Native Americans might belong to the fabled 'lost tribes of Israel' – Israelites driven from their homeland around 740 BCE – took hold among Anglo-Americans and Indigenous peoples in the United States during its first half century. In LOST TRIBES FOUND, Matthew W. Dougherty explores what this idea can tell readers about religious nationalism in early America.

Dougherty is Assistant Professor, Teaching Stream, in the history of Christianity at Emmanuel College of Victoria University in the University of Toronto.

Some white Protestants, Mormons, American Jews, and Indigenous people constructed nationalist narratives around the then-popular idea of 'Israelite Indians.' Although these were minority viewpoints, they reveal that the story of religion and nationalism in the early United States was more complicated and wide-ranging than studies of American 'chosen-ness' or 'manifest destiny' suggest. Telling stories about Israelite Indians, Dougherty argues, allowed members of specific communities to understand the

expanding United States, to envision its transformation, and to propose competing forms of sovereignty. In these stories both settler and Indigenous intellectuals found biblical explanations for the American empire and its stark racial hierarchy.

LOST TRIBES FOUND opens and closes with analyses of Israelite Indian stories in the context of national politics in the early United States. The first chapter analyzes how these stories emerged in and helped shape a national evangelical culture that supported missions to Indigenous peoples. The final chapter, similarly, discusses religious nationalism on a country-wide scale to explain the decline in use of Israelite Indian stories after 1830. In the intervening chapters, Dougherty explores more local and specific conversations that invoked Israelite Indian stories.

Chapter 1 discusses how the stories Levi introduced to Anglophone America went through a renaissance in the early United States. Working largely from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British sources, early American evangelicals from the 1790s through the 1820s transformed these stories and used them to support the idea that the United States must missionize Indigenous peoples in order to expand across the continent without losing the favor of God. With these stories, they sought to evoke sympathy for Indigenous people and anxiety lest God punish the nation for their persecution of his chosen people. At the same time, their versions of Israelite Indian stories depicted Indigenous people as inferiors to be pitied and suggested that, once Indigenous peoples converted to Christianity, they would joyfully leave the continent in White hands and 'return' to Palestine.

Early Mormons extended and elaborated these ideas. As Dougherty shows in chapter 2 of **LOST TRIBES FOUND**, between 1830 and 1847, Mormons understood themselves to be living in an age of millennial transformation, when God's purposes for the 'Lamanites,' or Israelite Indians, would be revealed. By encountering Lamanites in worship and recounting Lamanite histories, early Mormons cultivated the love for their new religion and wonder at living in an age of revelations that knit them together as a community. By discussing prophecies about an army of Israelite Indians or 'Lamanites' that would soon destroy the United States to make room for God's kingdom of Zion, they transferred their anger at the United States onto Lamanites and schooled themselves to patience. Because of this complex of feelings, the nationalism that bound Mormons together immediately before and after the death of Joseph Smith reached for both imagined Lamanites and actual Indigenous allies to help spark the creation of Zion.

Chapter 3 of **LOST TRIBES FOUND** analyzes two intellectuals who used Israelite Indian narratives to engage with the ascendant White supremacy and populist political rhetoric of the 1830s. One, the prominent Jewish newspaper editor Mordecai Noah, used these narratives to strengthen American Jews' claims to American citizenship and western territory. The other, the Pequot activist and preacher William Apess, used them to argue for the humanity of Indigenous people and to envision an 'Israel' of independent Indigenous Christians. For both men, these narratives allowed them to enlist the sympathy of evangelical reformers on behalf of their communities. They also attempted to use them, however, to evoke the pride and hope that might nurture new Jewish or Indigenous nationalisms.

The focus in chapter 4 is on a small group of Christian Cherokees who drew on missionary stories of Israelite Indians to identify their ancestors with the people described in the Bible. Their narratives argued that the Christian God had given the Cherokees their land, in part because they wanted to enlist missionary sympathies against the state and federal governments then pressuring the Cherokee Nation

to give up its territory. Although the Cherokees who told these stories had reason to hope that they would help start a broader reform in their society, the genocidal Trail of Tears and the disarray that followed prevented their narratives from being published and distributed in the new Cherokee Nation.

Finally, chapter 5 of **LOST TRIBES FOUND** returns to a national focus to analyze the eclipse of Israelite Indian stories in American life. Dougherty tracks the rise of American secularism, a then-new way of relating religion to the state, and its effects on the articulation of religious nationalisms, including the much-discussed concept of 'manifest destiny.' In the process, Dougherty shows how new versions of Israelite Indian stories arose in the 1830s and 1840s that muted their emotional appeals to blend more seamlessly with the practices of secularism. At the same time, a new literature arose that emphasized both the danger and the inevitability of frontier settlers' thirst for violence. Only the state and Christianity working in concord, they implied, could restrain this violence. By the beginning of the Civil War, these new ways of relating feelings about religion and about the American state had supplanted older Israelite Indian narratives.

> *Matthew W. Dougherty calls forth a range of voices and `Israelite Indian' stories and uses them to dethrone historians' previous assumptions about religious nationalism and challenge an overemphasis on `manifest destiny.' Compelling, well written, and well argued.* – Tisa Wenger, author of *Religious Freedom: The Contested History of an American Ideal*

LOST TRIBES FOUND goes beyond the legal and political structure of the nineteenth-century U.S. empire. In showing how the trope of the Israelite Indian appealed to the emotions that bound together both nations and religious groups, the book adds a new dimension and complexity to our understanding of the history and underlying narratives of early America. <>

A LIFE DEVOTED TO PLUTARCH: PHILOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND RECEPTION: SELECTED ESSAYS BY PAOLA VOLPE CACCIATORE by Paola Volpe Cacciatore, edited by Serena Citro and Fabio Tanga [Series: Brill's Plutarch Studies, Brill, 9789004448452

Philology, philosophy, commentary and reception in Plutarch's work are only some of the main topics discussed within a large academic output devoted to the writer of Chaeronea by Professor Paola Volpe Cacciatore. The volume is divided into four sections: Plutarchean Fragments, Quaestiones convivales, Religion & Philosophy, and Plutarch's Reception from Humanism to Modern Times. The eighteen studies collected in this volume, originally published in Italian and here translated into English, concern the Corpus Plutarcheum, including Table-Talks, De Iside et Osiride, the treatises against the Stoics, De genio Socratis, De liberis educandis, De musica, and some Plutarchean fragments. The volume is a tribute to celebrate the lifelong study of Plutarch's work by Professor Paola Volpe Cacciatore, one of the most remarkable Plutarchean scholars of the last decades.

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Preliminary Note

Σπουδαίων περὶ τῶν τοῦ Πλουτάρχου Ἠθικῶν συνταγμάτων συναγωγή

This volume in the prestigious "Brill's Plutarch Studies" series, contains a small but significant part, worthy of greater diffusion, of the *Scripta minor* dedicated by Paola Volpe Cacciatore over this century to the work of the Chaeronean. These eighteen studies, published previously as journal articles or joint book chapters, have been revised and updated and now translated into English, they are presented here with a bibliography prepared by her former student and now Professor at the University of Salerno, Giovanna Pace.

Before a more detailed description of the structure and content of the book, it must be said that these eighteen philological jewels are a valuable testimony to the scientific and human personality of Paola Volpe. In them we can see her depth of thought; her art in transmitting that thought thanks to her literary mastery of linguistic expression, in which creative warmth prevails over rhetorical artifice; and above all, in the way that Plutarch's sail as it were propels the boat of her viewpoint. This vista often feels like a calm sea but sometimes, as if agitated by an impetuous swell like the Tyrrhenian Sea that she

can see from the Amalfi slopes, her scholarship makes us vibrate with the reflections and tensions of her cognitive experience, moved by the literary winds of *Parallel Lives* and, especially in this case, of *Moralia*.

Her captivating and rich personality does not simplify the initial presentation of the author expected from the prologue of a book like this one. Nevertheless, Brill has entrusted me with this task, perhaps because of the friendship that I have had with her for some time, and I will try to respond to the expectations of the readers, describing the flowers of this anthology for the scientific community, especially for the Plutarchists. I asked Paola Volpe herself for help in this task and I think it is only right and proper that our reading should commence in her voice with her words following the route of the Homeric heroes proposed to Odysseus almost three millennia ago by the song of the Sirens, words with which our author inaugurated one of the many scientific meetings that she organized in her long academic career. So, with your permission, let the prologue of this prologue be the *Premessa* of the edition of the *Actas* from that seminar on the sea and the myth over which she presided in Positano more than ten years before:

Così cantavano, secondo il racconto di Omero, le sirene incantatrici che abitavano il tratto di mare tra Positano, Capri e Procida. E nelle parole che accompagnavano il loro canto si concentra mirabilmente la pluralità dei significati che si raccolgono nel mito, in ogni mito. È il mito della bellezza e delle sue manifestazioni fondative, il canto e la danza, è la tecnica della seduzione tra il dolce miele dell'attesa e l'amaro sapore dell'inganno. Infine è il mito del mare e la rappresentazione del suo duplice volto: quieto e rasserenante, terribile e tempestoso, segno di calma interiore, ma anche di turbolento spirito di avventura. La metafora della conoscenza, le incognite che si nascondono oltre i confini del mondo, ma anche l'inanità e la superbia di un sapere che si illude di possedere definitivamente le chiavi della realtà.

[Thus sang, according to Homer's story, the enchanting sirens who inhabited the stretch of sea between Positano, Capri and Procida. And in the words that accompanied their song is admirably concentrated the plurality of meanings that are gathered in the myth, in every myth. It is the myth of beauty and its founding manifestations, song and dance, it is the technique of seduction between the sweet honey of waiting and the bitter taste of deception. Finally, it is the myth of the sea and the representation of its double face: quiet and soothing, terrible and stormy, a sign of inner calm, but also of a turbulent spirit of adventure. The metaphor of knowledge, the unknowns that hide beyond the borders of the world, but also the inanity and pride of a knowledge that deludes itself into having the keys to reality definitively.]

Well, like Homer's Odysseus, Paola Volpe was seduced one day by the "Sirene incantatrici" of classical philology and took on the teachings—like those of Circe—of two great magicians of ancient culture: Antonio Garzya and Italo Gallo. Then she touched the fabric of the three Platonic Muses-Sirens to whom the author has entrusted herself at Plutarch's table with her most recent publication.[2] Finally, she cultivated all the meadows guarded by the nine Boeotian goddesses of Hesiod and Plutarch. Like the Byzantinist and the Plutarchist, Paola Volpe Cacciatore has sought the traces of the Graeco-Roman texts in the Eastern Empire: Agapetus Deacon, Agatias, John Mauropus, Nikephoros Basilakes, Nikephoros Chumnus, Thomas Magistros, and Makarios Chrysokephalos; and in modern culture: in European humanists such as Hadrianus Junius and, above all, in the Italians: Coluccio Salutati, Guarino Guarini, Pico della Mirandola, Torquato Tasso, Giambattista Vico, and Pietro Metastasio. Her classical philological activity also includes Latin authors: Seneca, Macrobius or Pacatus; but mainly she has edited, translated, analysed, commented and evaluated the works of tragic authors of the fifth century BC and of the poets

of the *Palatine Anthology*, the medical treatises of imperial time, and the pagan and Christian rhetoricians from Dion of Prusa and Aelius Aristides to John Chrysostom. In that long stroll through the paths of knowledge, as a Spaniard my surprise changed to satisfaction when I read her valuable contributions to the knowledge of relevant figures of contemporary Hispanic culture, namely Luis de Góngora, Lorenzo Villalonga, Miguel de Unamuno, Eugenio D'Ors and María Zambrano, whose personality and work (the latter's) constitute an important part of her family environment.

However, if anything stands out with special brilliance in Paola Volpe's long philological career, it is her dedication to the work of the Chaeronean, whose *International Plutarch Society* she has headed as President for the last three years (2017–2020). She has made an important contribution to the dissemination of this author by organizing national seminars and congresses—as Italo Gallo's successor at the head of the *Sezione italiana della International Plutarch Society*—and international ones, including the one in Ravello in 2011; but specifically, because she has continued the important work begun some time ago by Italo Gallo at the University of Salerno. She accepted the torch from him and has not only maintained but increased the Salerno community of Plutarch scholars at the same time as leading the Plutarchists of Italy and completing the *Corpus Plutarchi Moralium*, a project started in the 1990's by our beloved Italo Gallo and Renato Laurenti.

From the more than fifty works on Plutarch, Paola Volpe has selected eighteen for this volume. Among them, there are some of the first fruits of her varied approaches to the reading of Plutarch's *Moralia* which include translation and critical commentary of the text, literary, scientific or philosophical interpretation, and monitoring of the deep impact Plutarch has left on European culture from Byzantium to the present day. The reader will find here examples from all these categories of Paola Volpe's skill as a reader of *Moralia* in each of the four Parts into which the editors have organized those eighteen chapters.

In the first part (Plutarchean Fragments), five important contributions focus on the textual problems and content of some fragments of Plutarch. In them the author shows her expertise, which always transcends the simple understanding of the Plutarchean text. She proposes methodological principles concerning the identification of the fragments ("For the Understanding of a Lost Text"); she discusses religious, iconographic and medical issues concerning Christian apologetics in the face of heresies ("Plutarch's fr. 24 Sandbach"); explains details of meteorological physics ("Plutarch and the Commentary on *Phaenomena* of Aratus"); and draws our attention to metaphysical problems (" 'Whatever Your Destiny, to Work is Best:' Plutarch, fr. 44 Sandbach") or to human psychology as understood by Plutarch ("The μεταβολή of the Soul [Frags. 177–178 Sandbach]").

In the second part, we have four pieces related to the *Quaestiones convivales*. They have their origins in Plutarch's curiosity about scientific subjects dealt with in some of his other works ("Plutarchus in Plutarcho: *De primo frigido* and *Quaest. conv.* 6.4–5"); in matters more or less important to his religious culture ("Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 4.6: an Example of Religious Syncretism") and to the current life of his time (" 'Cicalata sul fascino volgarmente detto jettatura:' Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 5.7"); or they simply bring to the present some conversations—in this case about health—immortalised in his dialogues ("*Quaest. conv.* 6.8 on Bulimia: Plutarch's Explanation for a Current Problem").

With the exception of a chapter where Paola Volpe deals with Plutarch's conciliatory stance in the face of apparent incongruities between his religious thought and the reality of Greek myths ("Plutarch's *De*

Iside et Osiride, a Reconciliation between Religion and Myth"), the third part highlights studies devoted to the Platonic polemic against the Stoics. Two of them have to do with questions of social and political ethics ("Plutarch's δικαιοσύνη in the Writings against the Stoics" and "The Justice of the Sage: a Polemic of Plutarch against the Stoics"); another one is framed in the theological-providentialist field ("Is the God of the Stoics a Philanthropist?"); and the last one concerns the controversial anthropological topic of the conflict between destiny and freedom ("Fate and Luck in Plutarch's Works against the Stoics: an Unresolved Issue").

Finally, the fourth part features four works on the reading of concrete moral treatises in Humanism, a subject to which the author has dedicated not a few chapters of her philological life. In this case, she opts for themes of a mainly philological nature in whose critique she makes evident her attachment to the virtues and vices of the Latin translations of three Greek texts by Plutarch or attributed to him: *De liberis educandis* by Guarino Guarini ("Reflections on the Translation of *De liberis educandis* by Guarino Guarini") and others ("Poetic Quotations in *De liberis educandis* in Some Humanistic Translations") and *De Genio Socratis* by Naogeorgus ("The Latin Translation of *De Genio Socratis* by Naogeorgus").

This last part closes the book with an interesting essay original to this volume in which the author highlights, still from the perspective of Plutarch's reception, the chameleonic capacity of the Chaeronean's writings to adapt to the cultural currents of the seventeenth century with the same freshness with which he surprised his readers at the beginning of Humanism. Now this follow-up to Plutarch's themes introduces us, at the hand of Paola Volpe, to the epistolary exchange of two theorists (Pietro Metastasio and Saverio Mattei) who, with the help of *De musica*, a treatise attributed to Plutarch, debate the eternal problem of whether old music or avant-garde music is better (" 'What is the best music, ancient or modern?:' Pietro Metastasio and *De musica*").

In short, Paola Volpe's distinguished career as a Plutarchist is well known, as are the varied nuances with which she always confronts the reading of *Moralia*, armed with a broad cultural understanding and her philological scalpel to unravel the secrets of the dialogues, theoretical treatises, and intellectual diversions of the author of *Lives* and *Moralia*. But I do not want to close my Preface without adding to these qualities the passion that not only Plutarch, but all of Greek literature has always awakened in this Italian Plutarchist accustomed to the sieve of modern prose writers and poets. May she, the one who opened these pages with her description of the encounter between Odysseus and the Sirens, be the same one who closes them, confirming her love for the classical tradition. In this case, she talks about Polyphemus who searches in Theocritus for the keys that turned Homer and Euripides's wild monster into that melancholic lover of Galatea rescued for modernity by one of the main Spanish poets of the 20th century, Don Luis de Góngora y Argote:

La degradazione (dovuta alla passione amorosa) del mostro si conclude anche nel poeta spagnolo con un atto feroce: egli che aveva esaltato la bellezza di Galatea, che aveva in ogni modo catturato l'attenzione della ninfa, malinconico, respinto (exclusus amator, 'amante cacciato') dà sfogo alla sua gelosia, ma non per questo potrà più essere considerato il mostro omofago ed antropofago dei poemi omerici. Egli, nonostante le sue ricchezze, conosce la sconfitta in amore, quell'amore che egli aveva cantato nell'*Idillio* 11 di Teocrito.

[The degradation (due to the loving passion) of the monster also ends in the Spanish poet with a ferocious act: he who had exalted the beauty of Galatea, who had in every way captured the attention of

the nymph, melancholy, rejected (exclusus amateur, ' lover hunted ') gives vent to his jealousy, but for this reason he can no longer be considered the homophagous and anthropophagous monster of the Homeric poems. Despite his riches, he knows the defeat in love, that love that he had sung in Idyll 11 of Theocritus.]

So, in conclusion, I congratulate Brill Publishing for their accomplishment in collecting and making more accessible to the English-speaking public these eighteen works by Paola Volpe Cacciatore. I am sure I have done my part by putting this monograph in the hands of all readers interested in the thought, literary art, and tradition of Plutarch. This volume far exceeds the high standards already demonstrated in the earlier volumes of "Brill's Plutarch Studies", for which I predict a continued success with this eighth volume.— Aurelio Pérez Jiménez, Professor Emeritus of Greek Philology, University of Malaga <>

THE DYNAMICS OF INTERTEXTUALITY IN PLUTARCH
edited by Thomas S. Schmidt, Maria Vamvouri, and Rainer Hirsch-Luipold [Series: Brill's Plutarch Studies, Brill, 9789004421707]

THE DYNAMICS OF INTERTEXTUALITY in Plutarch explores the numerous aspects and functions of intertextual links both within the Plutarchan corpus itself (intratextuality) and in relation with other authors, works, genres or discourses of Ancient Greek literature (interdiscursivity, intergenericity) as well as non-textual sources (intermateriality). Thirty-six chapters by leading specialists set Plutarch within the framework of modern theories on intertextuality and its various practical applications in Plutarch's Moralia and Parallel Lives. Specific intertextual devices such as quotations, references, allusions, pastiches and other types of intertextual play are highlighted and examined in view of their significance for Plutarch's literary strategies, argumentative goals, educational program, and self-presentation.

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The volume is divided into six sections meant to illustrate the various aspects and functions of intertextuality in Plutarch's works, as explained by Maria Vamvouri in the introduction (see below). Part i sets the general framework of intertextuality in Plutarch, Part 2 discusses intertextual links between Plutarch's works and specific authors (such as Homer, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Epicurus), whereas the other sections focus on further types of intertextuality such as intratextuality (Part 3), interdiscursivity (Part 4), intergenericity (Part 5) and intermateriality (Part 6).

Plutarch and the Academic Reader by Maria Vamvouri

It is widely recognised that Plutarch's works aim to invite his readers to reflect upon and thus improve their own existence and way of life' It is also well known that this educational goal is brought about by a descriptive and exploratory moralism that relies on references or allusions to philosophers, to historical and mythical figures, to authors and traditions that Plutarch invites the reader to (re)discover. Insofar as they integrate this rich historical, literary, philosophical, religious, medical and more broadly scientific heritage, Plutarch's works are a mine of knowledge about the past. For this reason, intertextuality is an indispensable part of the study of his works. Proof of this may be found in the numerous publications that have focused on the intertextual links between specific Plutarchan works and those of other authors or even some of his own works. Furthermore, several of the previous editions of the IPS conference and other collective volumes have periodically tackled some of the many aspects of intertextuality in Plutarch.

The special contribution of this volume, and of the conference that inspired it, lies in its systematic and theoretically informed exploration of intertextuality in Plutarch, in terms of its many aspects and functions. Epistemological precision justifies the emphasis placed on terminology in this volume. The meaning of the term intertextuality here is twofold. The term as used in the title of the volume is inclusive and refers to a constellation of different types of links that a text creates with other texts, discourses, genres, social traditions or materials. It refers to a linguistic and literary phenomenon that leads to two types of encounters: first, to an encounter, or a 'dialogue' in the Bakhtinian sense, between two or more intersecting texts, written or oral discourses or genres; second, to an encounter between the text and the reader well acquainted with Greek literature, who identifies and distinguishes the text's intertextual layers and patterns by means of his or her personal 'library' /memory and interprets it accordingly. Intertextuality in this broad sense includes intertextuality, inter-discursiviry, intergenericity, and intermaterialiry but also intertextuality understood in a narrower sense and referring to the ways an utterance or part of an oral or written text is embedded, transformed or re-written by another text.

The term intratextuality refers to a particular form of auctorial rewriting and relates to the genesis of a specific text that is enriched by references, quotations or allusions to other texts of the Plutarchan corpus. This kind of intratextual link is a useful heuristic tool that improves our comprehension of anecdotes, exempla, arguments, episodes, or terminology in Plutarch's works. The study of intratextuality allows a better understanding of compositional techniques and the ways in which auctorial authority functions within the intertextual material, of the topics this authority considers meaningful and of the context in which these topics are deployed.' It may also enable the reader to resolve textual problems by searching for answers within the very works of the Plutarchan corpus.

In some places, Plutarch's texts neither refer nor allude to a specific text or author but imply different identifiable discourses. In such cases, it is preferable to speak of interdiscursivity, a term that refers to certain types of discourses (medical, religious, judicial, political, etc.) which infuse his texts. These discourses reveal themselves in the use of specific lexical fields, metaphors, comparisons and other literary devices.

Moreover, Plutarch's works make use of or refer to different literary genres that enrich these very works. The notion of intergenericity that we use in the present volume refers to the multiple generic aspects of a text and to the multiple discourses included in it. Intergenericity, in other words, does not imply genre determination (structure, topics, audience, purposes, etc.) of a given text. It rather implies examination of generic directions and coloring in the form and content of a text and, in our case, a close look at the ways in which Plutarch's texts integrate, manipulate or subvert features attributed to different literary genres. The notions of genericity and intergenericity are more flexible than the traditional concept of 'genre, as they enable us to be released from essentialist conceptions of literary texts which focus on typologies and taxonomies. As far as the term intermateriality is concerned, it refers to interactions of Plutarch's texts with the cosmos of material and social realities, historical and cultural remains that make up the texture of his thoughts and argumentations.

The special contribution of this volume also consists in the focus placed on intertextuality as something that produces, rather than on intertextuality as something that is. This is the reason why the title of the volume uses the term `dynamics' borrowed from the field of physics, where it originally refers to the branch of mechanics concerned with the effects of forces on the motion of a body or system of bodies. The term dynamics is used here in a literary context to indicate the effects or functions of different aspects of intertextuality and the meaning that they produce. Some of the contributors look for references, quotations from or allusions to specific texts, discourses or genres that allow us to better understand Plutarchan thought or that contribute to Plutarch's educational programme and argumentation. Used in this way, intertextual material not only constructs an image of the Plutarchan Self—as a person, an author, a priest, a philosopher and so forth—but also creates a certain vision of the intellectual and social community of the Imperial period. Further, as a result of the above, Plutarch's allusiveness may create an impression of the ideal reader that the real reader may feel flattered by or be inspired to emulate. Some contributors are interested in the ways intertextuality engages with the delight of the readers or confuses them and invites them to evaluate conflicting intertextual evidence. Others tackle intertextuality as an interpretative tool able to resolve critical problems concerning the textual transmission of the text of Plutarch's works.

The term dynamics is also used in the volume to shed light on the dynamic, two-way and meaningful relationship between the text and the academic reader who reads it in relation to other texts. The aim

of the volume is not only to highlight the scope of quotations, allusions and connotations of a controlling and conscious auctorial authority (either biographical or constructed within the text), or to identify the ways in which texts, discourses and genres are interwoven and transformed in Plutarch's works, but also to take into account the dynamics of the reading process itself. Intertextuality is seen as dialogical, given that the contributors to this volume both explore the explicit intertextual references of the auctorial authority and themselves participate in the creation of the intertextual network of Plutarch's works through their assumptions about the intertextual links they recognize.

The term intertextuality was coined by Julia Kristeva in her 1966 essay "Word, Dialogue and Novel," which was grounded on Mikhail Bakhtin's work and on the concept of dialogism that Valentin N. Voloshinov was probably the first to theorize. Since then, research has focused on the literary relations, on the intersecting texts and voices within a text as well as on transtextuality, rather than on source criticism and the influence of biographical authors on other authors. Roland Barthes' thought-provoking essay "La mort de l'auteur" epitomized the tendency to shift attention from the author to the reader, while Michael Riffaterre's works have shown the ways in which a hint or a sign noticed by the reader may shed light on the structure of a given text." According to Riffaterre, the intertextual link may become perceptible through an agrammaticalité, that is to say, a semantic, syntactic or stylistic ambivalence or anomaly that invites the reader to engage in further investigation.

Intertextuality has been increasingly perceived as a phenomenon of reception and a reading process, not only because the auctorial authority is himself/herself a reader who incorporates in various ways his/her hearings/readings into his/her writings, but also because the intertextual links between texts, discourses or genres need the reader in order to be identified and deciphered. In effect, in cases where these links are not explicit but latent, the readers, based both on textual clues and on their own library and literary recollections, read a text in relation to other texts and make assumptions seeking to unravel not necessarily the 'true' intertextual connections, but those that are likely and appear convincing. Such assumptions are sometimes the only way to engage with ancient intertextuality since a significant number of oral and written texts and traditions interwoven in ancient literary works are either not preserved or only known in fragments. In this respect, the interpretation of intertextuality is part of an on-going process that goes beyond any attempt to standardize and unify the meaning of a given text.

The present volume does not deny the importance of source criticism, given that Plutarch was an erudite author who, as many other authors of the so-called Second Sophistic, constantly quotes other authors and anchors his works in specific literary and philosophical traditions. In this regard, some contributors try to identify Plutarch's sources and examine the ways these sources are integrated and re-used in the Plutarchan texts. They also make assumptions as to the meaning and the impact of such intertextual links. But this volume also addresses intertextuality that is less explicit and more difficult to unravel. It looks at the different voices involved in the act of writing or in the act of reading a given Plutarchan text. In such cases, the need for efficient tools to unravel intertextuality that is not explicit but concealed may be described by a meaningful image that comes to us from Plutarch and is known as Plutarch's stick, or simply skytale. According to Plutarch's Life of Lysander (19), the Spartans used a dispatch-scroll whenever they wished to send a secret message. They made a scroll of parchment, long and narrow, and wound it around their skytale. They then wrote whatever message they wished on the parchment, removed the parchment and sent it to the addressee without the piece of wood. Unless the

addressee possessed his own skytale and wound the strip of parchment around it, he was unable to read the hidden message.

The skytale with which the academic readers are equipped is their own library, erudition and methodology, which enables them to unravel the multilayered intertextuality in Plutarch's works, to make assumptions about the compositional process of a specific work, to attempt to get in touch with the auctorial authority, and to slip into the very library that infuses a Plutarchan text and thus to better understand the lexical, syntactic, discursive, structural or other intertextual transformations. Contrary to the Laconic skytalae which were uniform, the tools of the academic readers vary, and so the message each reader will read is dependent on his/her own (different) equipment. As academic readers, armed with their own library and ideological commitments, the contributors to the volume dismantle and interpret the texts and their palimpsests, positioning themselves at the meeting point where the authorial creation ends and the reader's interpretation begins. Creativity is thus shared by both the auctorial authority and the reader. This sharing of the palimpsest was brilliantly described in 1822 by Thomas De Quincey, who equates the palimpsest with the human brain:

What else than a natural and mighty palimpsest is the human brain? Such a palimpsest is my brain; such a palimpsest, oh reader! is yours. Everlasting layers of ideas, images, feelings, have fallen upon your brain softly as light. Each succession has seemed to bury all that went before. And yet, in reality, not one has been extinguished ... Yes, reader, countless are the mysterious hand-writings of grief or joy which have inscribed themselves successively upon the palimpsest of your brain.

Intertextuality is undoubtedly a matter of memory, everlasting recollections and erudition, to which Plutarch's works bear witness. Indeed, the intertextual links with other texts that are quoted in Plutarch's works are often presented as the outcome of recollections and are introduced by the verb, together with its compounds and synonyms. In an analogous way, it is on our own library and memory that the (re)discovery of Plutarch's intertextuality relies.

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Aesopic Wisdom in Plutarch by Philip A. Stadter studies Plutarch's use of the life and fables of Aesop as an intertext in both his Moralia and Lives. The use of fables to make a point was recommended by ancient rhetoricians, and there seems to have been a revival of interest in Plutarch's time, as witnessed by the fables of Babrius and Phaedrus as well as by the fictional Life of Aesop. In his Banquet of the Seven Sages, Plutarch used the character Aesop to contrast with and debunk the sages. In other passages his intertextual references to Aesopic low discourse in the form of maxims and fables convey vividly simple truths concerning family life, politics, and tyranny. The use of these nuggets of the earthy and plebeian wisdom of Aesop allowed Plutarch to exploit the fruitful tension between high philosophy and popular insight. Moreover, by recalling fables familiar from childhood, Plutarch found an additional means of creating that easy dialogue with his readers which explains so much of his success.

Know Thyself

Fables often echo the Apollonian maxim, "Know thyself." A good example appears at the end of Crassus, after the Parthian commander, Surena, had defeated Crassus' invading army. As Surena returned triumphantly to Seleucia. he mocked the licentiousness of the Romans, one of whom had brought along in his baggage a collection of sexually explicit Milesian tales (Crass. 32.4-6).

> However (Plutarch writes), the people of Seleucia thought Aesop a wise man, seeing Surena wearing the knapsack of Milesian indecencies in front, and behind dragging along a Parthian Sybaris of so many wagons of concubines.

The reference is to the tale of the Two Packs, in which Prometheus gave men two knapsacks, one worn in front, full of other men's faults, the other worn behind, filled with one's own failings, so that men would see others' faults, but not their own. Surena could not see his own debauchery, but only that of the Romans. The fable was well known in Rome, found also in Phaedrus and Babrius, and alluded to by Catullus (22.21), Horace (S. 2.3.298-299), Persius (4.24), and Seneca (De ira 2.28.8). Plutarch's decision to mention it here diminishes the Parthians' victory. At the same time the fable leads the reader to consider Crassus' own lack of self-knowledge, which had led him to his reckless expedition and ultimate defeat.

In the *Banquet of the Seven Sages*, Aesop comments on another man's vanity by recounting the fable of the Mule, also found in Babrius: the mule, proud of the beauty and size of his body, began to run and toss his mane like a horse. Then the mule remembered that he was the offspring of an ass and abandoned his spirited whinnying.

Another fable urging self-knowledge appears as an anecdote recording Themistocles' snappy reply when his accomplishments were challenged. To a brash commander who boasted to be his equal, Themistocles told the fable of the Feast and the Day After, with its conclusion, "You would not exist without me." The fable reminds the boastful commander of his dependence on Themistocles' achievement. <>

PICASSO: PAINTING THE BLUE PERIOD edited by Kenneth Brummel and Susan Behrends Frank , Essays by Kenneth Brummel, Susan Behrends Frank, Patricia Favero and Sandra Webster-Cook, Marilyn McCully, and Eduard Vallès [DelMonico Books/Art Gallery of Ontario/The Phillips Collection, 9781942884927]

A catalogue to accompany Picasso: Painting the Blue Period, an exhibition of work by Pablo Picasso held at the Art Gallery of Ontario from October 9, 2021 to January 16, 2022 and at The Phillips Collection from February 26 to June 12, 2022.

New insights into Picasso's Blue Period, through innovative technology that reveals hidden compositions, motifs and alterations, plus hitherto unknown information on the artist's materials and process

This lavishly illustrated volume reexamines Pablo Picasso's famous Blue Period (1901–04) in paintings, works on paper and sculpture. Relying on new information gleaned from technical studies performed on *The Blue Room (Le Tub)* (1901), *Crouching Beggarwoman (La Miséreuse accroupie)* (1902) and *The Soup (La Soupe)* (1903), this multidisciplinary volume combines art history and advanced conservation science in order to show how the young Picasso fashioned a distinct style and a pronounced artistic identity as he adapted the artistic lessons of fin-de-siècle Paris to the social and political climate of an economically struggling Barcelona.

Essays, a chronology and a summary of conservation findings contextualize Picasso's experimental approach to painting during the Blue Period. A major contribution to the burgeoning field of technical art history, PICASSO: PAINTING THE BLUE PERIOD advances new scholarship on one of the most critical episodes in 20th-century modernism.

Excerpt: PICASSO: PAINTING THE BLUE PERIOD marks the first collaboration between The Phillips Collection and the Art Gallery of Ontario on a major international exhibition and scholarly publication. Together we have embarked on a groundbreaking project that provides new insight into the creative process of one of the twentieth century's greatest artists, just as he was beginning to define himself at the start of his long career. This exhibition is a unique combination of art historical scholarship and new information gleaned from advanced technical analyses of the three major Blue Period paintings in our respective collections: The Blue Room (Paris, 1901; The Phillips Collection); Crouching Beggarwoman (Barcelona, 1902; Art Gallery of Ontario), and The Soup (Barcelona, 1903; Art Gallery of Ontario). Picasso: Painting the Blue Period is the culmination of eight years of scientific and curatorial research that offers a significant reassessment of Picasso's working process during the years 1901–1904, with a new understanding of recurring motifs and their sources. It is the first exhibition to approach the Blue Period in this manner.

Concentrating on the years 1901–1904, Picasso: Painting the Blue Period shines new light on more than 100 objects from fifteen countries. The exhibition and the essays in this catalogue explore how Picasso developed his signature Blue Period style by engaging with the subject matter and motifs of the artists he encountered—Old Masters and contemporaneous artists alike—as he moved between Barcelona and Paris during the early part of his career. The Blue Period works also reveal Picasso's evolving and sometimes controversial approach to issues such as class and poverty. Picasso: Painting the Blue Period argues that the three Blue Period paintings in our respective collections mark pivotal moments in Picasso's artistic development during this critical stage of his career. Because these three paintings are foundational to the overall project, the exhibition's final section tracks how Picasso revisited and repurposed themes and motifs from these works into the late Blue Period and early Rose Period of 1905–1906.

In 1927, The Blue Room became one of the first Picasso paintings to enter an American museum when Duncan Phillips, founder of The Phillips Collection, acquired the work, which was sold to him as The Toilette. Phillips recognized the emotional power of this "succulent and sumptuous little picture" and retitled it The Blue Room in 1939, believing that the new title captured more clearly its "wistfully and poignantly blue interior." He saw a correspondence between Blue Period Picasso and the works of the sixteenth-century Spanish master El Greco, writing that "Greco and Picasso are of the same Gothic family." It seems fitting, then, that the exhibition includes two works by the great Spanish mannerist, including The Phillips Collection's The Repentant St. Peter (c. 1600–1605 or later; acquired in 1922), a version of which is in the collection of the Cau Ferrat in Sitges (Spain), where the young Picasso saw it and then, at some point, acquired a postcard of yet another version for the collection of reproductions he kept throughout his life.

The Art Gallery of Ontario is proud to highlight its two Blue Period masterworks. Bequeathed in 1963 to what was then the Art Gallery of Toronto, Crouching Beggarwoman was a gift by a woman who fled Europe during World War II. As Canada offered solace to the anonymous donor during a time of personal distress and international turmoil, she in turn intended her gift to provide a similar measure of calm and comfort to the residents of her place of refuge. Likewise, The Soup was donated to the Art Gallery of Ontario in 1983 by Margaret Dunlap Crang, who believed this small yet monumental picture of an individual act of charity should remain in Canada, specifically in Toronto. A gesture of civic generosity, Crang's gift encapsulates much of the painting's original meaning.

Toronto has a decades-long relationship with the work of Picasso, one that includes the landmark exhibition Picasso and Man (1964) organized by Jean Sutherland Boggs. That presentation included Crouching Beggarwoman and The Soup as well as other works in the current exhibition, among them Street Scene (Paris, 1900; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art), Nude with Cats (Paris, 1901; The Art Institute of Chicago), Woman with a Plumed Hat (Madrid, 1901; McNay Art Museum), Woman with Necklace (Paris, 1901; The Sam and Ayala Zacks Collection in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, on permanent loan from the Art Gallery of Ontario), Nude with Clasped Hands (Gósol, 1906; Art Gallery of Ontario) and The Toilette (Gósol, 1906; Albright-Knox Art Gallery). These paintings are reunited in Canada in an exhibition that aspires to the rigour of Sutherland Boggs's achievement and stands as a testament to the Art Gallery of Ontario's long-standing commitment to the critical legacy of this iconic twentieth-century artist.

As Picasso: Painting the Blue Period is the first monographic Picasso presentation at the Phillips, it is fitting that conservation should be the cornerstone of this exhibition. The museum established its first in-house conservation studio in 1989, which was expanded in 2006 into a state-of-the-art facility thanks to the continued support of and continued investment from the Sherman Fairchild Foundation. Over the past twenty-five years, technical studies of permanent collection works have informed and inspired exhibitions at the Phillips under the leadership of Elizabeth Steele, Head of Conservation. Picasso: Painting the Blue Period would not be possible without the work of Patricia Favero, Associate Conservator at The Phillips Collection, and Sandra Webster-Cook, Conservator Emerita, Paintings Historical and Modern, at the Art Gallery of Ontario.

Associate Conservator Favero undertook a new examination of The Blue Room in 2007. In 2012, with the support of the director's office and the curators, she initiated a multi-institutional collaboration that brought together scientists with expertise in physics and chemistry from Cornell University, the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and Winterthur Museum to employ not only pigment sampling analyses but a variety of cutting-edge technologies from the hard sciences and engineering newly adapted for use in museum painting conservation. A very small number of museums around the world have the capacity to embark on this sort of unique art-meets-science collaboration; the National Gallery of Art, our cross-city colleague, is one of those few. John Delaney, the National Gallery's senior imaging scientist, is internationally recognized as one of the leaders in this new field, having developed one-of-a kind multi-spectral imaging and reflectance imaging spectroscopy systems that can reveal in remarkable detail images that lie beneath a painted surface and illustrate pigment distribution in surface and underlying layers. Delaney, whom Favero initially consulted in 2008, returned to the Phillips four times between 2012 and 2019 to conduct additional imaging on The Blue Room, with increasingly detailed results. In addition, with the help of Jennifer Mass at Winterthur, Favero arranged for The Blue Room to travel to Cornell University in October 2012 to be scanned by an exceptionally sensitive prototype "Maia" X-ray detector at the Cornell High Energy Synchrotron Source (CHESS). Each of these studies has brought forward important new information.

ANTONI TORRES FUSTER, PHOTOGRAPH OF PABLO PICASSO WITH PERE MAÑACH, ENRIC DE FUENTES, AND MADAME TORRES IN THE STUDIO AT 130 TER BOULEVARD DE CLICHY, PARIS, IN 1901. GELATIN SILVER PRINT, 12 × 8.9 CM (4 3/4 × 3 1/2 INCHES). MUSÉE NATIONAL PICASSO-PARIS.

Picasso in the Studio

The remarkable transition in Picasso's work in his first years in Paris—from flamboyant scenes of city life to the monochrome or muted colours of the emotionally charged Blue Period— can be documented by the discoveries that have been made about his artistic procedures through a close study of the works themselves. While a biographical approach—naming the people, especially the women, identified in particular compositions1—has often predominated in exhibitions and writings about Picasso's art over the past twenty-five years, recent technical investigations have begun to shift the focus away from biography to a consideration of what we know about his practice: where and how he worked, and the methods and materials that he used.2 The following discussion focuses on Picasso's different studios and his exploration of new subjects, in order to understand, from a practical point of view, how he arrived at certain images and techniques. Evidence is drawn from contemporary photographs and descriptions as well as from the works of art themselves. This approach makes it clear that from the time he arrived in Paris Picasso was working toward recognition as an artist on the international stage, vying for leadership of the avant-garde.

In the spring of 1901, Picasso moved into a studio apartment in Paris on the Boulevard de Clichy, just below Montmartre. To help with the costs, he shared the place with the Catalan dealer Pere Mañach, who had acted on his behalf when he returned to Spain following his first brief visit to Paris the previous autumn. The top-floor apartment overlooked a courtyard in a complex of buildings where a number of artists had their studios. While Mañach occupied the smaller of the two rooms, Picasso took over the larger one, which served as both his atelier and his bedroom. This would feature, later in the year, as the

setting for The Blue Room (Le Tub), in which some of the artist's own paintings as well as an Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec poster hang on the wall above his bed. Light pours in from the window at the left, highlighting the nude model, who is shown bathing in a tub in the foreground.

A photograph taken of the artist in this studio in the summer shows him posing with some of his Spanish friends. Standing on the right is Mañach, while on the left are the painter Enric de Fuentes and the wife of Antoni Torres Fuster. Picasso is seated in a wicker chair in front of an unfinished canvas, with a palette and brush in his hand. A sizable canvas is on the easel, and although we cannot see the work in progress, the artist himself described the subject as "a kind of Holy Family."[3] In the foreground of the photograph is a small portrait of a man, thought to be the dealer Ambroise Vollard. In addition, other materials, including bottles (probably for turpentine and fixatives) and brushes, can be seen on the tabletop, while a box of paints and a second palette are piled up on the floor. The window at the upper left, which features prominently as a source of natural light in The Blue Room, is reflected in a mirror at the upper right. There would also have been gas light. As Picasso's friend Jaime Sabar tés noted, the artist often preferred to work at night.

In preparation for his show at Vollard's gallery, which Mañach had helped organize and which was scheduled to open in late June 1901, Picasso worked quickly, completing (it was reported in the press) up to three or four compositions a day. As far as materials were concerned, he worked principally in oils, and unlike many of his contemporaries, including Georges Braque, who prepared his own paints from pigments, he preferred to buy his paints in tubes. (Later he would also use ready-mixed non-artist's paints in cans.) Picasso's supplier was a nearby colour merchant in Montmartre called Léon Besnard. The fact that some of the paintings in the catalogue for Vollard's show are credited to the collection of Madame Besnard indicates that the artist may have exchanged works for paint supplies.

When he mixed his colours, Picasso usually started with white. As Sabartés observes:

> As a rule the palette was on the floor; white, heaped in the centre, constituted the basis of that type of mixture, which he prepared especially with blue. . . . I do not recall ever having seen Picasso holding the palette in his hand. He assures me that sometimes he does, just like everyone else. It may be so, but I have always seen him preparing his colours by leaning over a table, a chair or the floor.

Among the largest works in the Vollard show was the artist's confidently painted self-portrait, emphatically signed "I, Picasso". This dramatically conceived composition was intended as a kind of pictorial announcement of the 19-year-old artist's arrival on the Paris art scene. Here, the mustachioed painter is shown merged, as it were, with his broad palette (at the left), and both of his hands are obscured. The daubs of reds, yellows and a touch of white that appear on the palette reflect the colours that he used in other parts of the painting, especially for the face and the cravat that he wears. These contrast with the bravura strokes of white used in his shirt, the blue-black of his hair, and the dark, striated background. This painting did not sell from the show, and it can be seen framed and hanging on the wall of the Boulevard de Clichy studio in a photograph taken after the exhibition had closed. It was at this time, as if to signal a new stage of his career, that the artist now signed his work "– Picasso –", dropping both "Pablo" and his father's surname, Ruiz.
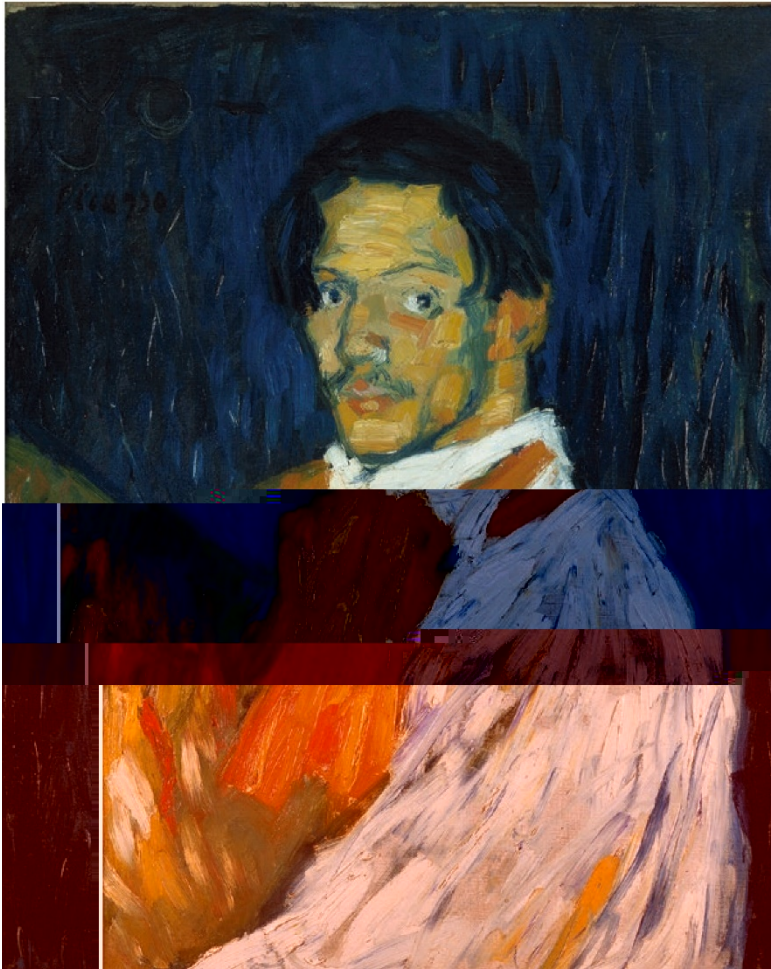
PABLO PICASSO, YO, PICASSO (SELF-PORTRAIT), PARIS, 1901. OIL ON CANVAS, 73.5 × 60.5 CM (29 × 23 7/8 INCHES). PRIVATE COLLECTION.

The bright range of hues and the freedom of paint application that characterized so many of the works that Picasso did in Paris for the show was certainly more "French" than the typically Spanish scenes of bullfights and majas that Vollard might have expected.7 Lively touches of crimsons, ochres, and viridians, as well as whites, Prussian blues, and ultramarines, animate Picasso's scenes of modern Parisian life, from street markets and race courses to children playing in the Luxembourg Gardens. While these paintings were carried out in his studio (and not outdoors), the subjects of many of them suggest that their inspiration came from direct observation. For example, in The Blond Tresses [Les Blondes chevelures], a work also known as Little Girls Dancing, which the critic Gustave Coquiot singled out in Le Journal for its "exquisite" colours, Picasso takes something he may well have actually seen—three children joined together in a wild dance—as a starting point for his composition. Although their heads are facing in different directions and they are not holding hands, each of the girls touches the next, and they are connected as a group by the thick and rhythmically applied paint that defines their red hair. The movement of the composition comes both from the posture of the girls, with their outstretched legs and arms, and from the sweep of paint-laden brushstrokes fanning out from the centre. In this way, Picasso captures the immediacy of a scene of Parisian children at play, achieving this effect through bold, painterly means.

While some of the paintings, such as Yo, Picasso and the portraits of Francisco Iturrino (who showed alongside Picasso at Vollard's) and Mañach (nos. 1–3 in the Vollard catalogue), were done on canvas, many others, including The Blond Tresses, were executed on cardboard. Given that the artist was working at speed and that he had limited financial resources, cardboard offered a cheaper alternative. In general, Picasso applied his paint directly on the support without a preliminary layer; in some cases, areas of the untouched board appear to have darkened over time, or subsequently applied varnish has changed the

colour. If he made any underlying marks at all to sketch out a particular composition, these were usually done with dark paint or sometimes charcoal.

Drawings also provided source material for Picasso's compositions, especially for the people who he observed in Montmartre. In two sketchbooks he made quick, graphic notations that provide a record of the dancers and singers as well as of the clientele in the dancehalls and cabarets that he the frenetic scene below. Nonetheless, she is painted with the same energy and colours as the dance itself. As Barnaby Wright has pointed out, the way in which the paint was applied varies on different parts of the cardboard surface: in certain areas, including the foreground, the brown and dark blue paint was thinned, providing a contrast to other elements, such as the woman's hat, which are rendered in rich and saturated touches of colour." This painterly approach also drew Coquiot's attention, leading him to describe the young artist as "a passionate, restless observer [who] exults in bringing out his most sumptuous yellows, magnificent greens and glowing rubies."

A shift in mood as well as in form characterizes Picasso's work after the Vollard show, and in many respects the paintings from this time anticipate the radical changes of the so-called Blue Period to come. This is especially evident in La Gommeuse, where the nude is enclosed by a defining outline to emphasize her self-containment within the composition. Her naked body, with its ochre and greenish hues, is set against a flat background divided between light and dark in a way that recalls a similar formal device used by Gauguin. In Gauguin's 1896 Portrait of a Young Woman, Vaite (Jeanne) Goupil (fig. 9), for example, the girl is shown frontally and her body is rendered primarily as a flat plane of yellow colour.

The background is divided into areas of blue and pink, with the random wallpaper pattern animating and, at the same time, unifying the compressed space. Picasso adopted a similar approach to figure and ground by including a painting on the wall behind his subject (showing the lower half of a woman in red stockings). Although that composition appears not to have survived, its presence behind the model suggests that La Gommeuse was painted in the Boulevard de Clichy studio."

The "Blue Period" began in the early autumn of 1901. The phrase is associated with Picasso's predominantly blue palette and less animated paint surface and also with a focus on subjects of isolation and misery; "art emanates from apartment) in Barcelona. Although most of the earlier painting is covered over, an X-ray of Dozing Absinthe Drinker reveals traces of an academic composition featuring a male nude.18 Picasso often recycled canvases during the Blue Period for a variety of reasons, including lack of money, the availability of used canvases, and, possibly, dissatisfaction with earlier compositions.19 Another curious aspect of the canvas itself in this case is its original shape: close examination reveals that the curve above the slouched figure follows an actual, curvilinear cut, and that a separate piece was at some point added to make the canvas rectangular. We do not know if the cut was made when Picasso resumed work on the canvas in 1902, but its curvilinear shape seems to suggest that he might have had an arched, architectural setting in mind.

Many of the works done in Barcelona at this time also evoke aspects of earlier Spanish art. Picasso was well aware of sixteenth-century conventions in the work of painters such as Luis de Morales, in which dark, monochromatic backgrounds draw attention to the drama and "realism" of the saints or Madonnas that were depicted. When he took up the subject of an itinerant family on the beach in The Tragedy, he used blue not only to convey sadness but also to reflect that Spanish tradition. The space that the figures occupy in the painting is defined by three essentially flat bands of blue that indicate the sky, sea, and shore. The figures themselves are cloaked primarily in darker blues, which give emphasis to the lightened areas of their faces, feet, and, in the case of the boy at the right, his self-conscious, El Greco-like gesturing hands. The mother and father, who face each other in Picasso's composition, fill almost all of the available space, and their impressive stature, taken together with the blue colour that connects them, transforms the figures into a kind of modern-day Holy Family.

For some of his more complex Blue Period compositions, Picasso often worked out his subjects in drawings. In the case of La Vie, the setting is the artist's studio and several related drawings show that Picasso first thought of depicting himself as the artist, with his model draped on his shoulder. The figure at the right in the painting recalls the mothers with children that he had recently depicted. In the centre are two canvases set against the wall, which al

Barcelona, it was probably kept by Picasso's father. Thus, when the artist decided to work on a new, vertical composition in 1903, he recycled the canvas, replacing the painting about death with an allegory of life—from birth to old age. When Picasso was asked about the symbolism of La Vie, he responded: "It isn't I who gave the painting that title. I did not intend to paint symbols: I simply painted images that arose in front of my eyes. It's for others to find a hidden meaning in them." He might have added: it's for others to find the hidden images beneath the final one.

PABLO PICASSO, LA VIE, BARCELONA 903. OIL ON CANVAS, 196.5 ×129.2 CM (77 3/8 × 50 7/8 INCHES). THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART. GIFT OF THE HANNA FUND. 1945

When Picasso returned to the French capital in the spring of 1904, he took over a studio, previously occupied by a sculptor, in the celebrated Bateau Lavoir in Montmartre. A shift in his palette from dark blues to lighter tonalities at this time signals not only a new optimistic phase of his work but also the beginning of the Rose Period, which would last until 1906. The woman whose image is most frequently associated with these years was an artist's model known as Fernande Olivier, who was also living at that time in the Bateau Lavoir. She remembered her first visit to Picasso's place:

I went with him to his studio, which is full of large unfinished canvases—he must work so hard, but what a mess! . . . His paintings are astonishing. I find something morbid in them, which is quite disturbing, but I also feel drawn to them.
The furniture in the studio is very meagre. . . . There's a wicker chair, some easels, canvases of every size, tubes of paint scattered all over the floor, paintbrushes, containers with turpentine, a bath of etching acid. . . . He's working on an etching showing an emaciated man and woman seated at a table in a wine shop, who convey an intense feeling of misery and alcoholism with terrifying realism.

In addition to giving important details about the studio and its contents, Fernande, who did not move in with Picasso until 1905, also recalled that from the moment they met (August 1904) he was urging her to live with him, and that he was constantly doing portraits of her.29 She goes on to describe the changes that she saw from one year to the next:

The paintings he's doing are quite different from those I saw when I first came to the studio last summer, and he's painting over many of those canvases. The blue figures, reminiscent of El Greco, that I loved so much have been covered with delicate, sensitive paintings of acrobats.

This change in subject matter and the fact that, according to Fernande, Picasso was painting out the Blue Period, can be associated with his preparations for another major exhibition, which was scheduled to open at the Galeries Serrurier in February 1905. Just as he had with the Vollard show, he embraced the project wholeheartedly and worked on numerous paintings, as well as on a series of prints. Only a few of the works listed in the catalogue can be identified with certainty, but many of them dealt with the theme

of saltimbanques— itinerant troupes of acrobats, sometimes dressed in Harlequin's costume. Picasso later said that the idea came from watching a group of saltimbanques performing near the Invalides in Paris, most likely taking part in Christmas festivities.

This recollection gives us a pretty good idea of when he began to focus on these popular entertainers. Not only did Picasso change his subject matter, but he also switched from oils to gouache on cardboard for many of the works that he planned to include in the Serrurier show. While his choice of tones of light blues and pinks can be associated with the acrobats' faded costumes, overall there is also a new poetic sensibility that can be found in much of the work of this period. Picasso's friendship with the poet Guillaume Apollinaire surely contributed to the mood in the saltimbanque compositions. Apollinaire wrote in his La Plume review (May 1905) of the Serrurier show: "The harlequins go in splendid rags, while the painting is gathering, warming or whitening its colours to express the strength and duration of the passions. . . . The colour has the flatness of frescoes; the lines are firm."

One of the large paintings that Apollinaire alluded to in his review was an impressive gouache (with added watercolour and India ink) on cardboard, known as Acrobat Family. Here, the artist's portrayal of an acrobat, his wife and child, and a performing animal, reflects the intimacy of their lives off-stage. The similarity of the long-fingered hands of the ape to those of the man and woman reinforces their familial ties. Judging from a related series of drawings, it is clear that Picasso used models and that he drew a mother and child from life. But in the final composition, none of the figures is intended as a portrait in the strictest sense. As far as the broader meaning of Acrobat Family is concerned, this depiction of a family group living on the margins of society is a well-balanced, almost Renaissance-like composition that has affinities with earlier Blue Period compositions, in which ordinary people are transformed into modern-day beggar-philosophers, Madonnas, or Holy Families.

Picasso never ceased to use sketchbooks to make observations, plan compositions, and experiment with variations, but his visual memory meant that, when he turned to the process of painting, he could internalize the physical features and likenesses of his "models" and sometimes merged them on the canvas. He also responded instinctively and spontaneously to what was on the picture surface, whether it was a new composition in progress or, when he used an old canvas, the marks, colours, or even subjects that he was hiding under the new paint. The events of his life, his friends, and his lovers always had a profound effect on Picasso, but an understanding of his working practices makes it possible to see how fully they were transformed in his art. <>

LITERATURE AS CULTURAL ECOLOGY: SUSTAINABLE TEXTS by Hubert Zapf [Bloomsbury Academic, 9781474274654]

Drawing on the latest debates in ecocritical theory and sustainability studies, LITERATURE AS CULTURAL ECOLOGY: SUSTAINABLE TEXTS outlines a new approach to the reading of literary texts. Hubert Zapf considers the ways in which literature operates as a form of cultural ecology, using language, imagination and critique to challenge and transform cultural narratives of humanity's relationship to nature. In this way, the book demonstrates the important role that literature plays in creating a more sustainable way of life. Applying this approach to works by writers such as Emily

Dickinson, Edgar Allan Poe, Herman Melville, William Faulkner, Toni Morrison, Zakes Mda, and Amitav Ghosh, **LITERATURE AS CULTURAL ECOLOGY** is an essential contribution to the contemporary environmental humanities.

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This book offers a theory of imaginative literature based on the paradigm of cultural ecology. Cultural ecology is a new direction in recent ecocriticism which has found considerable attention in Europe and the German-speaking world but which is also beginning to be discussed in English-language publications in the field. 1 A paradigm in the sense used in this study is no totalizing or all-explanatory system but an explorative perspective on its subject. In its dictionary definition, a paradigm is "an example, pattern or model" (OED); a "narrative, story with exemplary, model-like character" (Duden . My trans.). In this sense of an explorative model and meta-narrative, a cultural ecology of literature proposes a transdisciplinary approach to literary texts, in which the interaction and mutual interdependence between culture and nature is posited as a fundamental dimension of literary production and creativity. Between an anthropocentric cultural studies perspective, in which nature is dematerialized into a discursive human construct, and a radical ecocentrism, in which cultural processes are basically subsumed under naturalist assumptions, cultural ecology looks at the interaction and living interrelationship between culture and nature, without reducing one to the other. Literature is seen as a

cultural form in which this living interrelationship is explored in specifically productive ways, providing a site of critical self-reflection of modern civilization as well as a source of creative cultural self-renewal. This is not merely a question of thematic orientation or content but of the aesthetic processes staged in imaginative texts, which in this sense can be described as functioning like an ecological force within the larger system of cultural discourses.

A cultural ecology of literature is based on a functional-evolutionary view of cultural and literary history, in which literary texts as imaginative and artistic forms of textuality have acquired specific qualities, modes, and features of writing that are both interrelated with and different from other forms of writing. Literature is described as a transformative force of language and discourse, which combines civilizational critique with cultural self-renewal in ways that turn literary texts into forms of sustainable textuality. Literature uses the resources of language, imagination, and discourse for the creation of long-term, self-reflexive models of ecosemiotic complexity. If sustainability in a biological sense means the ways in which living systems remain alive and productive over time, then the cultural ecosystem of literature fulfills a similar function of sustainable productivity within cultural discourses. And if sustainability in a cultural sense means the ways in which the life of culture can be kept in "equilibrium with basic ecological support systems" (Stivers), then this criterion applies in a special degree to literary culture, which is characterized in its functional dynamics by maintaining a deep-rooted affinity between its modes of (re-)generation and the ecological processes of life that it both reflects and creatively transforms.

On the one hand, this approach is grounded in a general theory of cultural ecology as a field of transdisciplinary studies that has gained considerable visibility in recent ecological thought, bringing together the formerly separate epistemic domains of ecology and culture, biological life sciences and the sciences of mind, systems theory and textual theory, natural and cultural evolution in manifold and promising new ways. On the other hand, the book adapts, translates, and integrates these insights from various disciplines into a more specific theory of literature itself as a medium of cultural ecology. It focuses attention on the forms, modes, and functions of representation and communication that have evolved in literary history as a generative potential of texts. A guiding assumption of this approach is that imaginative literature deals with the basic relation between culture and nature in particularly multifaceted, self-reflexive, and transformative ways and that it produces an "ecological" dimension of discourse precisely on account of its semantic openness, imaginative intensity, and aesthetic complexity. As I hope to show in the examples from various genres and cultures that make up the textual corpus of the book, this focus on imaginative, artistically complex texts doesn't imply any presumption of cultural elitism but rather an exploration of the critical-creative potential of the aesthetic as a vital mode of ecological knowledge and transformation. It resonates with Derek Attridge's notion of the "singularity of literature" (Attridge), even while acknowledging the indissoluble interdependence and semiotic co-agency of individual texts with its intertextual and historical-cultural environments. My attention is therefore not on a strict separation between genres or between fictional and nonfictional modes of writing but on the imaginative and artistic procedures with which they activate what seems to be a transculturally effective ecological potency of texts.

One fascinating but also disturbing implication of the recent explosion of productivity in ecocritical thought and of its expansion into more and more disciplines across the environmental humanities and beyond is the enormous challenge that it poses for individual scholars to integrate the vast, transdisciplinary but also highly specialized and differentiated knowledge that is relevant to the field.

Ideally, a contemporary ecocritic would have to be conversant with the most recent state of knowledge in such diverse areas as scientific ecology, evolutionary biology, historical anthropology, social systems theory, environmental history, geography, geology, as well as phenomenology, history of philosophy, art history, media theory, gender studies, postcolonialism, globalization studies, and, of course, cultural and literary studies. The impossibility of coping as an individual with such a complex agglomerate of highly diversified forms of knowledge is self-evident. One consequence of this is that ecocritical scholarship must always be seen as part of an ongoing dialogue and cooperative form of work-in-progress between scholars rather than only an accumulation of singular isolated contributions of individual minds. Such a cooperative project corresponds to the idea of intersubjective communication circuits within an "ecology of mind" as proposed by Gregory Bateson, and it also underlies the cultural-ecological approach advocated here (Bateson 1973). The present book considers itself as part of such an ongoing dialogue. It is written from the awareness that its argument only lives from its constant exchange with other scholars, ideas, and, indeed, with the literary writers and texts that are the main source and inspiration of its cultural-ecological argument. Another response to the huge scope and complexity of the field is to narrow down the focus of investigation both in terms of discipline and of subject matter. This is what I am doing in the present study, whose focus is explicitly directed toward the ecological potential of literary culture , which comprises both the scholarly disciplines concerned with literary studies and the ecological knowledge provided by literary texts themselves. Even more specifically, I concentrate in my book on examples from American literature as my main field of specialization, even though texts from other literary cultures are included as well to indicate the transnational and transcultural horizon of a cultural ecology of literature. Of course, when zooming in on such a more concrete research agenda, it turns out in the end that the multidisciplinary questions that have temporarily been bracketed, open up again on a different scale, especially in the case of the culture of literature, which is itself the site of a constant crossing of discursive boundaries and a complex fusion of heterogeneous domains of knowledge.

The argument of the book does not simply proceed in a linear way. It follows neither a merely deductive method, which would derive concrete observations from general premises of thought, nor a merely inductive method, which would develop ascending scales of generalization from the observation of concrete phenomena. It rather practices an "abductive" procedure in the sense described by Charles Sanders Peirce, which involves intuitive guesses and methodological leaps across different, heterogeneous domains of knowledge in order to establish new, hitherto unseen connections and analogies between them—in this case between the domains of ecological and literary knowledge (Peirce 1998 ; Wheeler 2011). The book proceeds in such a way that theory is related to texts and texts to theory in evolving feedback loops and spirals of reflexivity, in which the aim of new knowledge is successively validated by the mutually illuminating evidence of discursive argument and aesthetic concretization. Theoretical discussions alternate throughout with text-oriented analyses in the attempt to bring out the argument of a cultural ecology of literature in an ongoing dialogue between theory and text.

Nevertheless, the book follows a general structure which is organized in successive methodological steps. The first part, "Cultural Ecology and Literary Studies," introduces the aims, conception, procedure, and thesis of the book. It contextualizes its main assumptions with a view to the ecocultural potential of imaginative literature on the one hand and the current debate on sustainability as a cultural phenomenon on the other, and it exemplifies these assumptions in three poems from different periods

of American literature. The second part, "Ecocriticism and Cultural Ecology," positions cultural ecology within the wider field of ecocriticism and ecological thought, relating it to the spectrum of ecocritical directions that have evolved between nature-oriented, culture-critical, and political forms of ecology. It argues that the initial antagonism between ecological thought and critical theory is currently opening up in favor of mutual dialogue and conceptual enrichment. The third part, "Literature as Cultural Ecology," presents the general approach of cultural ecology within bio-evolutionary, systems-theoretical, linguistic, and material-ecocritical frameworks. On its basis, it develops a specific theory of literature as cultural ecology and proposes a triadic functional model for describing the transformative role of imaginative texts within cultural systems and discourses.

The fourth part, "Transdisciplinary Contexts of a Cultural Ecology of Literature," discusses various transdisciplinary contexts, which are of relevance to a cultural ecology of literature and to the sustainable form of textuality that it provides for cultural criticism and self-renewal. It focuses not on isolated concepts but on patterns of relational polarities, in which the mutually defining movement between the constitutive terms, rather than any single semantic reference domains, are foregrounded. This will help to place the approach of a cultural ecology of literature within a number of widely discussed frameworks of ecocultural debates in order to demonstrate and further differentiate its transdisciplinary potential as a generative paradigm of literary and cultural studies. These relational polarities are "Text and Life," dealing with literature as a cultural-ecological form of "knowledge of life" that self-reflexively stages complex dynamical life processes, which are described in related but different ways in the life sciences; "Order and Chaos," discussing the necessary coagency of the forces of order and chaos in both ecology and in aesthetics; "Connecting Patterns and Creative Energies," exploring the interplay between "patterns which connect" (Bateson) and transgressive excess in creative processes; "Matter and Mind," examining the dynamic interactivity between matter and mind in literary texts as exemplified in the poetics of the four elements; "Solid and Fluid," focusing on the beach as a liminal space between land and sea, culture and nature, as a particularly productive site of literary creativity; "Wound and Voice," mapping the outlines of a cultural ecology of literary trauma narratives; "Absence and Presence," placing a cultural ecology of literature within postmodern debates on absence and presence as discursive modes of texts; and "Local and Global," tracing conflicting orientations between the local and the global, and between postcolonial and transcultural-ecocosmopolitan models of ecological thought in contemporary texts within the frameworks of climate change and the Anthropocene. In all of these chapters, different dimensions of transdisciplinarity are explored, in which the epistemological, ethical, and aesthetic functions of literature as cultural ecology are demonstrated both on a theoretical plane and in textual examples.

These textual examples are taken from different periods and genres of literary history, and they especially revolve around a number of core texts which I believe are not only milestones in American literary history but also represent particularly rich models of a cultural ecology of literature. Among these are, besides the obvious case of Henry David Thoreau's Walden, Nathaniel Hawthornes' Scarlet Letter , Melville's "Bartleby" and Moby-Dick, Edgar Allan Poe's "Masque of the Red Death," Kate Chopin's The Awakening, William Faulkner's The Sound and the Fury, Leslie Marmon Silko's Ceremony, and Toni Morrison's Beloved , along with poems by Emily Dickinson, Walt Whitman, Robert Frost, and more recent writers like Allen Ginsberg, Linda Hogan, Simon Ortiz, and A. R. Ammons. The book's argument circles back to some of these texts several times in order to establish a field of references in which various aspects and contexts of a cultural ecology of literature can be illuminated from within a

network of shifting angles and frames. This textual corpus is deliberately heterogeneous and includes such aesthetically and stylistically diverse artistic models as represented by the writings of Thoreau and Poe, Frost and Hogan, Chopin and Morrison; the aim here is to pay due attention to cultural and aesthetic differences while at the same time emphasizing a shared code of literary productivity which seems to indicate a deeper, ecosemiotic potential of literature across such cultural and aesthetic boundaries. Examples from African American and Native American literatures are part of this network of core texts to indicate the transcultural and, indeed, ecoglobal implications of a cultural ecology of literature, which are underlined by intermittent references to various texts beyond US literature, including Indian, South African, British, and German literature. However, the main focus remains on US literature, which is considered not an exclusionary national phenomenon but a multiply connected, exemplary field of literary production in which the theory and aesthetics of a cultural ecology of literature can be paradigmatically explored.

While the book deals with examples from literary art, other forms of art and imaginative production in different genres and media could equally be included in such a cultural-ecological analysis—such as film, painting, the visual arts, theater, music, opera, and so forth. While such an analysis would evidently require genre- and media-specific modifications, some of the fundamental characteristics of an aesthetic transformation of knowledge and experience as described by cultural ecology are shared across the boundaries of these genres and media—as is evidenced in the many examples of intermedial and cross-medial forms of artistic production that characterize the modern and contemporary art world. While such extensions are clearly desirable, I will confine myself in this book to an analysis of literature, even though much of what will be said about the critical-creative potential of texts can also productively be transferred to other art forms and media. <>

FICTIONAL PRACTICE: MAGIC, NARRATION, AND THE POWER OF IMAGINATION edited by Bernd-Christian Otto and Dirk Johannsen [Series: Aries Book Series, Brill, 9789004465992]

To what extent were practitioners of magic inspired by fictional accounts of their art? In how far did the daunting narratives surrounding legendary magicians such as Theophilus of Adana, Cyprianus of Antioch, Johann Georg Faust or Agrippa of Nettesheim rely on real-world events or practices? Fourteen original case studies present material from late antiquity to the twenty-first century and explore these questions in a systematic manner. By coining the notion of 'fictional practice', the editors discuss the emergence of novel, imaginative types of magic from the nineteenth century onwards when fiction and practice came to be more and more intertwined or even fully amalgamated. This is the first comparative study that systematically relates fiction and practice in the history of magic.

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There is no such thing as magic Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone 2001

Fiction, so we read in a contemporary etymological dictionary, is "that which is invented or imagined in the mind" (Harper 2020a). The word goes back to old French *ficcion* ("dissimulation, ruse; invention, fabrication") and from there to the Latin *fictio* (which implies two distinct meanings: (1) "the act of modeling something, of giving it a form"; and (2) "acts of pretending, supposing, or hypothesizing": Schaffer 2012), with its verb *fingere* ("to shape, form, devise, feign") which also means "to form out of clay." Practice, in turn, goes back to old French *practiser* and Latin *practicare*, with its root meaning of "to do, to perform." From the fifteenth century onwards, it also acquired the meaning of "to perform repeatedly to acquire skill, to learn by repeated performance" (Harper 2020b).

If we consider *fictional practice* to refer to a repeated performance which is based on, or strives towards, something that is invented or imagined in the mind, we might think of all sorts of things. Generally speaking, any fabrication of cultural symbols or artefacts may be interpreted as fictional practice in the sense that the symbols and artefacts originated in the human mind. For Ernst Cassirer, for instance, any type of cultural production was ultimately a fictional (or in his wording 'symbolic') enterprise (Cassirer 1944). Turning towards religion, 'new atheists' (who of course latch onto a much older debate) such as Richard Dawkins or Daniel Dennett consider basic religious tenets such as God/s, sin, karma, nirvana, or prophecy to be mere products of human fancy with no empirical correlate whatsoever (e.g., Dawkins

2006; Dennett 2006). From their perspective, many different types of religious behaviour might be interpreted as fictional practices, including prayer, sacrifice, baptism, funerals, the Eucharist, meditation, divination, or the carrying of religious cloth, symbols, amulets, or mojos. And then there is magic.

Magic has often been interpreted as one of the most stereotypical types of fictional practice, insofar as it seems to rely on weird combinations of essentially powerless ritual ingredients, actions, or principles, which purportedly cannot, either by themselves or in combination, produce any of the effects envisaged by its practitioners. In fact, one of the first basic connotations of the 'magician' in classical Greece (where the Western concept of 'magic' was originally shaped: Otto 2011, 143f) was that of a 'fraud': a private ritual entrepreneur who tricks and deludes naïve clients for the sake of his own enrichment. The notion of fraudulence is one of three basic anti-magical stereotypes present throughout Western cultural history, flanked on the one hand by blasphemy and on the other by immorality (see further Otto 2019a, 199–202). The idea that magical practices are inherently fraudulent gained particular impetus during the European Enlightenment, when magic gradually ceased to be interpreted as a crime against God and turned instead into a crime against reason. The assertion that believers in magic are prone to irrational and deluded (or ultimately delusive) thinking and behaviour had a lasting influence on the scholarly discourse from the nineteenth century onwards, and informed important early theorists such as Edward B. Tylor and James G. Frazer (see also Pasi 2006, 1134f.). Tylor, for instance, claimed that man, "having come to associate in thought those things which he found by experience to be connected in fact, proceeded erroneously to invert this action, and to conclude that association in thought must involve similar connexion in reality" (Tylor 1903, 112). Frazer followed in Tylor's footsteps by arguing that magic is based on a false "association of ideas" and thus depreciated it as "a false science as well as an abortive art" (Frazer 1922, 11).

Magic was thereby turned into 'fictional practice' *by definition*, and continued to function as a contrasting foil for the scholarly understanding of what may be considered true or false, modern or obsolete, what may count as accurate, trustworthy knowledge or what should rather belong to the realm of mere fancy (or fiction). The paradigmatic conviction of magic's fictionality built one of the normative foundations of academia as such in that it "served as a potent tool for the self-fashioning of modernity" (Styers 2004, 224). In fact, most twentieth-century scholars who participated in the exuberant debate on magic took its inherent fictionality for granted and focused almost exclusively on explaining its purported effects by positing socio-psychological or cognitive 'make-believe' processes. The only question that remained to be clarified was: why do practitioners of magic adhere to an apparently fictional enterprise?[1]

The present volume does not intend to follow along these argumentative paths. It moves beyond the question of whether magic is objectively or (only) subjectively real or efficacious, and approaches the matter instead from the perspective of cultural and discursive history, thus acknowledging magic as a complex, multifaceted, and powerful historical phenomenon that apparently had an enormous impact on Western history. Rather than engaging in the aforementioned debates on whether magic is factual or fictional, the volume instead poses a question that has occasionally been asked in the scholarly discourse but has never been explored in a systematic manner that encompasses a broad historical, geographical, and genealogical scope. We will pursue this goal by employing another meaning of *fiction* that is attested from the early nineteenth century onwards, namely that of "literature comprising novels and short stories based on imagined scenes or characters" (Harper 2020a; Schaffer 2012 speaks of 'fictional narrative'). We contrast this literary or narrative understanding of *fiction* with a notion of *practices* that

refers, first and foremost, to the performance of rituals by people who have labelled these practices as 'magic' and/or who have adopted the title 'magician' when referring to themselves (that is to say, we employ a discursive understanding of 'magic': see concisely Otto 2018b). One of the editors of this volume has suggested that such actors and their practices can be subsumed under the analytical notion of 'Western learned magic' and has analysed this textual-ritual tradition over the past years (see Otto 2016; Bellingradt/Otto 2017; Otto 2018a–c; Otto 2019b). Based on these premises, the present volume explores the inter-relationship between, on the one hand, fictional narratives on magic (as they appear in myth, poetry, and literature, as well as in theological or historical texts) and, on the other, the ritual performances of practitioners of learned magic (as they are preserved in ritual scripts, whether in manuscript or printed form, or ego-documents such as experience reports or ritual diaries). To what extent were practitioners of learned magic inspired by fictional accounts of their art, and to what extent were fictional accounts of magic inspired by real-world practice/s? Are there types of 'fictional practice' in which fiction and practice came to be intertwined or even fully amalgamated?

Western Learned Magic and the Entanglement of Fiction and Practice

The volume thus ties in with recent works on the literary dimensions of Western esotericism (see, exemplarily, Partridge 2004, esp. vol. 1, ch. 6; Graf 2015; Wallraven 2015; Cusack/Kosnác 2017; Ferguson/Radford 2018; Roukema 2018; Bauduin/Johnson 2018; Bogdan 2020). In doing so, we also seize on the recent debate about 'hyper-real', 'invented', or 'fiction-based' religion (Possamai 2005; Cusack 2010; Davidsen 2013) and apply the research questions and perspectives of this debate to the study and history of learned magic. All chapters in this volume deal with sources that, in one way or the other, belong to the textual-ritual tradition of Western learned magic, whereas the main prerequisite for the authors was to include both fiction and practice on equal terms in their contributions. The volume thus adds to works in literary studies that have mainly dealt with magic in the sense of a narrative trope or plot device (e.g., Bottigheimer 2014; Feldt 2016; Zipes 2017; Patterson 2019). By highlighting the practical—especially ritual—dimension of learned magic, it likewise expands upon research perspectives on Western esotericism that remain predominantly focused on 'knowledge', whether deemed 'higher' or 'rejected' (see Asprem 2016a). Essentially, the volume advocates a 'practical turn' in the study of both esotericism and literature.

The textual-ritual tradition of Western learned magic is eminently suited for this endeavour, as its theories and practices were highly heterogeneous, hybrid, and constantly in flux over the course of history (see Otto 2016, 189f), features that led to a tendency to appropriate a great quantity of fictional elements. In contrast to the debate on 'fiction-based' religion, which mostly focuses on developments of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (with Jedi and Tolkien spiritualities as prime examples: see Davidsen 2016, 2019), 'fiction-based' magic is significantly older: it goes back to the very roots of the concept. In fact, after 'magic' was detached from its Persian origins around 500 bce—where it had mainly referred to an Achaemenid priestly title (see Bremmer 2002)—the vast majority of sources that have discussed magic in the ancient Mediterranean world were authored by poets, lyricists, and satirists. Aesop, Sophocles, Euripides, Aischylos, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, or Lucian, to name only a select few, employed magical motifs in their works, thus significantly contributing to the concept's semantic—and especially polemic—foundations (see, exemplarily, Graf 1996; Dicki 2001; Ogden 2002; Stratton 2007; Otto 2011). It has also been argued that the world's very first 'novel' was Apuleius of Madaura's *The Golden Ass*, which, authored in the mid-second century ad (see Kenney 1998), is essentially a story about magic and a failed animal transformation spell.

The first fully-fledged corpus of texts written not from a philosophical, poetic, or literary perspective, but from the perspective of the practitioner—namely, the late ancient *Greek Magical Papyri*—emerged almost a millennium after magic had begun to circulate as a largely polemical concept in ancient discourses (Otto 2013, 338; see also Frankfurter 2019). Unsurprisingly, we find numerous fictional patterns and narratives interwoven into its ritual scripts. These include the instrumentalisation of fictional practitioners as pseudepigraphs (such as Solomon [pgm iv, 850f], Democritus [pgm vii, 168f], or Moses [pgm xiii, 1f]), or the use of so-called 'historiolae'—a ritual technique that implies the re-narration of a short mythical tale during the ritual (see, for instance, the love spell in pgm iv, 1471f). Kyle Fraser, in the first contribution to this volume, further demonstrates that the authors of the *Greek Magical Papyri* engaged not only in what he calls 'stereotype appropriation', but also in a 'strategic response' to fictional tropes that circulated in the ancient Mediterranean—by creatively re-interpreting (or even reversing) these stereotypes and adapting them to their own needs and beliefs.

Fraser's finding is representative of the history of Western learned magic at large. Fictional stereotypes, tropes, clichés, and narratives have—to a greater or lesser degree—influenced or inspired real-world practitioners from late antiquity up to the twenty-first century. Yet, the appropriation of fictional elements by practitioners of learned magic was usually highly strategic, in the sense that it served their self-protection (e.g., through pseudepigraphy), self-traditionalisation (e.g., through positing fictitious lineages), or self-legitimisation (e.g., through appropriating rhetorics of religious legitimacy and authenticity; see, for example, the case of John of Morigny, discussed by Claire Fanger in this volume). Eventually, fictional tropes or narratives make their way into ritual scripts, with the intention of heightening the perceived efficacy of the rituals. For instance, the early modern legendary practitioner 'Dr Faustus'—who became the prototype of a misguided demon-conjuror from the late sixteenth century onwards—turned into a spirit to be invoked in a Scandinavian invulnerability spell of the eighteenth century (see Owen Davies' contribution in this volume for further details). Wiccans of the twentieth century drew upon an ancient narrative trope about 'Thessalian witches' when referring to one of their most pivotal rites as 'drawing down the moon' (see Ethan Doyle White's contribution in this volume). Some modern 'Chaos magick' groups read the supernatural horror fiction of Howard P. Lovecraft before and during their ritual procedures, thus intending to invoke and embody the 'Great Old Ones' (see Justin Woodman's contribution in this volume). Clearly, Western learned magic has always resonated with fiction, a tendency that seems to reflect its century-long shady underground existence, as well as its constant challenging of the limits and boundaries of the human condition.

The flipside to such types of 'fiction-based magic' is to be found in fictional narratives about magic that have been inspired by real-world practices or practitioners: 'practice-based fiction', as it were. Yet, whereas fictional elements are rather easy to identify in practice-oriented texts of learned magic, the question of whether real-world practices or practitioners have inspired fictional narratives is often much harder to elucidate. There are cases where the reference is explicit—Hugh Urban, for instance, in his contribution to this volume, discusses English novels of the 1920s and 1930 that are directly modelled on Pierre Bernard and Aleister Crowley. However, there are numerous fictional or legendary accounts of practitioners who may never have existed. Sometimes it is simply impossible to verify their historicity (as in the cases of Theophilus of Adana or Cyprianus of Antioch; on the latter see Ane Ohrvik's chapter in this volume); sometimes legendary practitioners are modelled after real-world persons (consider the early modern polemics surrounding Johann Georg Faust or Agrippa of Nettesheim), evidently not with the goal of providing a historically accurate account, but rather to promote fear- and fascination-driven

stereotypes and clichés about magic (see Bernd-Christian Otto's chapter in this volume for further details). Finally, there is a vast corpus of legendary narratives about magical practices the historicity of which remains unclear. Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, for instance, in her contribution to this volume, discusses the degree to which Icelandic legendary (*fornaldarsögur*) literature, especially legends that revolve around the utterance of a spell (*álög*), function as a historical window onto medieval and early modern Icelandic conceptions—and practices—of spell-casting. It is worth pondering whether her critical questions and findings can be made relevant to the study of other legendary texts that display magical motifs.

The Rise of Fiction

While the premodern history of Western learned magic is already full of examples of 'fiction-based practice' and 'practice-based fiction' (as well as back-and-forth movements between the two), the relationship between fiction and magic has become ever more dynamic in the modern era. A crucial trigger for this development was the emergence of a large-scale international market for fictional literature in which the creation, promotion, and distribution of literary works was more and more professionalised. By the nineteenth century, the main product for this market had become genre fiction: works of fiction that were easy to promote because they catered to the expectations of audiences who were already familiar with similar works. In the realm of magic, it is, above all, the genre of the so-called Rosicrucian novel that attests to the increasingly complex web of fiction-practice relationships.

The foundational texts of the Rosicrucian movement—namely, the *Fama Fraternatis* (1614), the *Confessio Fraternatis* (1615), and the *Chymische Hochzeit* (1616), all authored, in all likelihood, by Johann Valentin Andrae (1586–1654)—combined legendary narrative about the life and deeds of Christianus Rosencreutz and his alleged fellowship with references to practical arts, such as alchemy, kabbalah, or natural magic (see van Dülmen 1973, 18f.; Otto 2011, 510f.). Even though these texts sparked an intense public debate throughout the seventeenth century, the existence of non-fictional Rosicrucian groupings at that time is disputed in present-day scholarship and considered to be a literary trope. Yet the Rosicrucian legend not only led to the foundation of Rosicrucian orders in the 18th and 19th centuries—the earliest and most prominent example being the *Orden der Gold- und Rosenkreuzer*, founded in 1757 in Frankfurt am Main—but also to novel literary representations.

One of the first representatives, or even the prototype, of the Rosicrucian novel was Pierre-Henri de Montfaucon de Villars' widely read *Comte de Gabalis*, first published (anonymously) in 1670. Connecting into the Rosicrucian excitement of the seventeenth century, *Comte de Gabalis* was composed as a conversation, spread across five dialogues, between a *Comte* and his student (the narrator) about the so-called 'secret sciences'. Curiously, the bulk of these dialogues are almost exclusively concerned with the Paracelsian concept of the four 'elemental spirits' (gnomes/earth; nymphs/air; sylphs/water; salamanders/fire). It was especially the idea of a spiritually beneficial marriage to elemental spirits, put forth in dialogue four, that left an enduring imprint on European literature, theatre, and art from the late seventeenth century onwards. As a method for receiving supreme wisdom or achieving spiritual rebirth, this type of 'marriage' was also put into practice. For instance, a detailed recipe of the practical necessities involved in attracting and marrying a sylph survives in a German manuscript that is today preserved in the Leipzig collection of 'codices magici' (Ms. Cod. Mag. 44; the recipe is outlined in detail in Bellingradt/Otto, 126–28). This text was written some time around 1700, that is, only a few decades after the first edition of *Comte de Gabalis*. From this first spark of 'fiction-based magic'—marriage with

elementals—the Rosicrucian legend began to reveal further multi-layered interrelations between fiction and practice.

By the late 18th century, the burgeoning literary market had facilitated mass production and an increased access to formerly exclusive writings. Underpinned by changes in legal regulations with regard to blasphemy and censorship, the international book market now allowed for the wide distribution of material that had, until then, belonged to esoteric manuscript cultures. We see the effects of these developments in a new intertextuality created by new publication formats. Selective editions of esoteric writings, such as Francis Barrett's *The Magus or Celestial Intelligencer* (1801), suggested, already by way of compilation, occult connections between different textual traditions. The modern novel had likewise become a highly intertextual format, borrowing widely from disparate storytelling traditions and exploring their literary "reality effects" (Barthes 1969). At the interface of both developments, the Rosicrucian novel now became a standardised literary format with a growing popularity. Conceived of as a sub-genre of the gothic novel, works such as Shelley's *St. Irvyne the Rosicrucian* (1810), Ainsworth's *Auriol* (1814), or Bulwer-Lytton's *Zanoni* (1842) gained their fascination from firmly anchoring the storyworld of the Rosicrucian legend to the recent esoteric compilations, casually mentioning the names of authors and writings that Barrett and others had publicly promoted as part of a clandestine tradition.

The persuasiveness of this novel intertextual format became strikingly apparent in its impact on the constitution of a large number of self-proclaimed Rosicrucian societies from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, such as the *Fraternitas Rosae Crucis* (founded in 1858), the *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia* (founded in 1865), the *Theosophical Society* (founded in 1875), the *Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor* (founded around 1884), the *Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn* (founded in 1888), or the *Ordre Martiniste* (founded in 1891). Many of these newly founded orders drew on the Rosicrucian novels for their backstories, and began to translate fiction into practice. The *Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor* and the *Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn*, for example, developed elaborate rituals for marrying elementals based on the *Comte de Gabalis* (see Godwin, Chanel, Deveney 1995, 107–120; Nagel 2007). In many strands of late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century occultism and learned magic, fiction became part of the curriculum (see, for example, Aleister Crowley's *A∴A∴ Curriculum*, Crowley 1919, 22–26).[2] With fictional literature actively promoted as a source of occult knowledge and inspiration, we also see an increasing number of practitioners engaged in writing fiction (see Marco Frenschkowski's chapter on Helena Petrovna Blavatsky in this volume, and the overview of practitioner-novelists in Bernd-Christian Otto's concluding chapter).

The Power of Imagination

The enhanced entanglement of practice and fiction in learned magic from the nineteenth century onwards was, however, not only due to an increased access to esoteric sources and a growing market for occult fiction. Conceptual shifts happening in this period also allowed for a more theoretical alignment of magic and fiction. This alignment gave rise to what we, in this volume, identify as 'fictional practice' in a narrow sense, in which acts of engaging with or creating fiction, on the one hand, and magical practices, on the other, are in some form equated and coalesced. This somewhat counterintuitive blending of different cultural domains became possible through fundamental reconfigurations in the discourse on religion.

Conceptual historian Lucian Hölscher has shown how in the European political discourse of the transitional "Sattelzeit" between 1750 and 1870, the shift from the complementary "spiritual vs. temporal" dichotomy to a more conflicted "religious vs. secular" dichotomy gave the concept of religion a "contradictory" character (Hölscher 2015, 73). With religion being criticised for being based on myth, notably by David Friedrich Strauss in his *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined* (1844 [1835–36]), and theorised as a human phenomenon, notably by Ludwig Feuerbach's *The Essence of Christianity* (1841), its object was denied relevance for the public discourse. However, religious belief remained a political factor to be accounted for, and religion's allegedly 'invented' (or fictional) character did not necessarily detract from its cultural and social role. The field of inquiry where this conceptual development had its most striking repercussions was the study of myth, the "remote reality" of which (Hölscher 2015, 87) became palpable in the nation-building endeavours of the nineteenth century—with the creation of political myths that connected modern nations to ancient cultural traditions. The theories proposed to explain the origin of myths in human minds and societies just added to their political relevance. Things declared to be based on 'objectively false' premises—such as religion, myth, or magic—could now be argued to be nonetheless of utmost cultural, social, and psychological efficacy.

These conceptual developments had a major impact on the general notion of fiction as well. By the early nineteenth century, fiction still simply denoted "something feigned or invented" or "the act of feigning or inventing" (Johnson 1805, "Fiction"). Over the course of the century, however, it became the core term of the literary craft, denoting "one of the fine arts", even the most ancient one (Besant 1884, 3). Fiction "suggests as well as narrates", Walter Besant (the brother-in-law of theosophist Annie Besant) famously declared in 1884; it is as creative as it is descriptive (Besant 1884, 16). Even if understood as pretence and make-believe, the art of fiction was of intrinsic value and had an important cultural impact (James 1888).

The specific ingredient that allowed for this conceptual alignment of the notion of fiction with the contradictory understanding of religion—as false, but effective—was the demarcation of fantasy and imagination. These terms had previously been widely treated as synonymous, deriving from the Greek *phantasía* and the Latin *imaginatio* respectively. Denoting an "interior sense" with an ambivalent function as a source of knowledge as well as illusions, both fantasy and imagination had been key terms in philosophical and religious discourses since antiquity (Traut & Wilke 2015, 23–32). In esoteric discourse, in particular, they gained a "functional role in magical practice" through the Neoplatonic theory of attraction that first emerged in Arabic traditions of learned magic (Doel & Hanegraaf 2006, 608), for instance in al-Kindī's treatise *De radiis stellarum*, which was also one of the foundational texts of the early modern discourse on 'magia naturalis' (Otto 2011, 442f.). From the twelfth century onwards, scholastic theories of imagination led to a proliferation of religious practices based on imagination in medieval Catholicism ('kataphatic spiritual practices' in Egil Asprem's wording: see Asprem 2016b). These have, however, been gradually "separated out by disjunctive strategies rooted in the policing of orthopraxy" over the following centuries (ibid., 29). As a consequence, the much-debated use of imagination in the Renaissance (see, e.g., Yates 1964), that is, "key practices that we now associate with Western esotericism," stand in direct historical continuity to "the kataphatic trend that has been dominant in Catholic spirituality" ever since the late Middle Ages and should thus rather be considered as "leaves on a major branch of European intellectual and religious history" (Asprem 2016b, 4–6). The association of the human faculty of *phantasia / imaginatio* with the creation of fictional literature, however, was mostly a later romanticist notion (Tarkka 2015, 19), and it was in the literary discourse of

the nineteenth century that their demarcation came to take on a crucial importance. Suggested by Albertus Magnus (Asprem 2016b, 14) and later also by Paracelsus (Doel & Hanegraaf 2006, 612), the distinction between fantasy and imagination as two separate mental faculties was installed as a lasting discursive demarcation by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1817):

> Repeated meditations led me first to suspect,—(and a more intimate analysis of the human faculties, their appropriate marks, functions, and effects matured my conjecture into full conviction,)—that Fancy and Imagination were two distinct and widely different faculties, instead of being, according to the general belief, either two names with one meaning, or, at furthest, the lower and higher degree of one and the same power. Coleridge 1817, 86–87

Coleridge disconnected fantasy from its etymology, stating that the "apposite translation of the Greek phantasia" needs to be the Latin *imaginatio* to allow for the differentiation between two distinct human faculties that produce formally similar results (notably: artistic expressions), but of fundamentally different quality. Whereas fantasy is merely associative, imagination is creative. The nature of this creation remained a subject of debate throughout the following decades, but the claim of an epistemological difference between fantasy and imagination remained a guiding principle. In the growing book market, assessing a literary trend as 'mere fancy' became a crushing blanket judgement. Claiming an 'imaginative' inspiration for a work of literary art, by contrast, valorised it. While still make-believe, 'imaginative fiction' could provide society with genuinely new ideas, tap into the soul of a nation, or express eternal truths.

The conceptual developments in various European countries of the time were not fully synchronised, which added additional layers of complexity to the theoretical blends of literature and religion that emerged in the nineteenth century. When Ludwig Feuerbach identified "die Phantasie" as "the original organ and essence of religion," he connected fantasy to Kant's "Einbildungskraft" and Hegel's "Vorstellung," all three of which, however, were translated as "imagination" in the first English edition of *The Essence of Christianity* (1854, 212). With religion thus being born from a romantically understood, genuinely creative and valuable notion of 'imagination', the prevalent critique of religion became religiously productive. By the end of the century, leading critics of religion such as Ernst Haeckel and leading evangelicals such as Henry Ward Beecher could agree, in a sense, that "the great schoolmaster of the soul, is the imagination, which the New Testament calls […] 'faith'" (Beecher 1904 [1873], 272), and that all faith was "a product of poetic imagination" (Haeckel 1905 [1899], 90). The imaginative artist had found a substantial theoretical foundation for claiming the status of a prophet, while the fanciful artist remained an entertainer, catering to the popular demand for distraction.

It is against the backdrop of such terminological repercussions that theories of imagination became core to the 'occult sciences' of the late nineteenth century as well. In the teachings of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, Coleridge's literary theory transformed into an underlying principle of all magic: "Imagination must be distinguished from Fancy—from mere roving thoughts, or empty visions […]. Imagination is the Creative Faculty of the human mind, the plastic energy—the Formative Power" (W. W. Westcott, *Flying Roll* v: King 1997, 51). Practitioners of learned magic were now able to resolve the inherent contradiction inscribed in the modern notion of religion, myth, and magic by advocating the "remote reality" of the imagination, with fiction being its "most ancient" manifestation: "The uninitiated interpret Imagination as something 'imaginary' […]. But Imagination is a reality" (E.W. Berridge, *Flying Roll* v, King 1997, 47).

Fictional Practice

With imagination re-interpreted as the creative faculty of the human mind—whereby the outer world was reduced to its mere 'canvas' (to use the famous wording of Henry Thoreau [1849, 306])—, with the Euro-American book markets thriving, and with an ever larger number of occult societies and fraternities blossoming, the relationship between fiction and practice took on a new dimension. Whereas until the nineteenth century this relationship was mostly one of mutual inspiration (with cases of both 'fiction-based magic' and 'magic-based fiction', as well as back-and-forth movements in varying degrees), fiction and practice now intertwined in such a way that the two could become more or less indistinguishable. In order to designate and analyse this novel development in the history of Western learned magic, we suggest the use of the term 'fictional practice'.

Going through the case studies in this volume, it seems that different types of fictional practices have emerged since the nineteenth century. The most obvious type pertains to the idea that the writing of fiction now came to be interpreted as a magical act in and of itself. Unsurprisingly, it was a well-known poet and practicing magician who first advocated this idea, namely William Butler Yeats. Yeats not only implemented Golden Dawn symbolism in his poetry of the 1890s, he also crafted it with the explicit intention of invoking certain 'moods' in his readers, and thereby affecting and literally enchanting them, creating nothing less than 'talismanic poetry' (see Johannsen's chapter for further details). Similar approaches were advocated by several practitioners of the twentieth century, among them pivotal figures such as Dion Fortune, Kenneth Grant (on whom see Christian Giudice's chapter in this volume), or Alan Moore.

From the interpretation of the creation of fiction as a magical practice, it was only a small step to interpreting the reading of fiction in a similar way, thus tying to the (now) stereotypical notion of fiction as 'a place for wonder', as a possibly enchanting process that may transform its readers or miraculously take them into another world. The contributions of Katheryna Zorya and Justin Woodman in this volume show, with examples drawn from post-Soviet practitioner milieus as well as contemporary London-based 'Chaos magick', that perceiving writing *and* reading of fiction as magical practices has become a standard trope in modern practitioner discourses. Both contributions also demonstrate that fictional practices may go so far as to affect the perception of one's everyday surroundings, as in the case of the Lovecraftian group *The Haunters of the Dark*. Its members not only strive towards 'Cthulhu gnosis' through invocations taken verbatim from Lovecraft's works, but also projectively re-imagine Lovecraftian themes within the urban cityscapes of London (see Woodman's contribution for further details). In such cases, fictional practices are not merely immersive, but can be discussed as attempts to create an 'augmented reality' constituted by blends of imagined storyworlds and the external world (Johannsen & Kirsch 2019).

Making a distinction between a mundane outer world and a hidden magical world has been a common strategy in the history of Western learned magic, but it was only during the late nineteenth century that the idea of blends or overlaps between the two worlds became a popular trope in fictional literature. During the late Victorian age, in particular, cross-world fantasy novels in which the protagonist discovers a portal to another realm or gains the ability to sense an alternative, underlying reality gained widespread popularity (in addition to the examples mentioned in Frenschkowski's contribution, see, for example, Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (1865), William Morris' *The Wood Beyond the World* (1894), George MacDonald's *Lilith* (1895), Edith Nesbit's *The Story of the Amulet* (1906), or Arthur Machen's *The*

Hill of Dreams (1907)). In occult practitioner milieus, such novels were read—as well as produced—as a form of instructive fiction that illustrated the imaginative practice of 'astral projection' (or 'astral vision') as a means of travelling on the 'astral plane'. It remains an open question as to whether the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn's 'tattwa' meditations, for example, in which painted symbols are used as portals to the respective element's 'astral plane' (see Otto 2011, 581f.), were partly inspired by fictional literature. The concepts of an 'astral plane' and 'astral projection' had become crucial elements within the practitioner discourse of the late nineteenth century, often with reference to the publications of Alphonse Louis Constant, alias Éliphas Lévi. In his widely read *Dogme et Rituel de la haute Magie* (first publ. in two volumes in 1854 and 1856), Lévi had popularised the notion of the 'astral light' ('lumière astrale') as the 'great magical agent' ('grand agent magique') which may be accessed and controlled by the magician's imagination. Indeed, the imagination was, for Lévi, an 'inherent property of our soul' (Lévi 1930, 167; see further Otto 2011, 520–21; Strube 2016, 527f.). Even though the formulation 'astral plane' was a later and somewhat curious theosophical amalgamation (given that Lat. 'astrum' literally means 'star' or 'celestial body') of a range of different concepts—among them Lévi's 'astral light'; Neoplatonic and Paracelsian notions of 'natural magic'; the Mesmerist concept of the magnetic 'fluidum'; and the Hindu doctrine of the three bodies ('Sharira Traya')—it created a lasting connection between magical practice and fantasy literature. This is captured in the cover illustration of our volume, taken from one of the many publications of Gérard Encausse (Papus), who was an avid reader of Lévi and a former member of the Theosophical Society (Papus 1906 [1893], 429). The image, drawn by Louis Delfosse, displays a conjuration procedure in which the 'physical' and the 'astral' planes are portrayed as two complementary realms, making the magician a mediator between the worlds.

This is also mirrored in the most recent example covered in our volume, the *Grey School of Wizardry* (discussed by Carole Cusack), a case in which an amalgamation of Golden Dawn and Neopagan (Wiccan) practices is re-accessed through the lens of the *Harry Potter* novels and movies. The founder of the school, Oberon Zell-Ravenheart (born 1942), claimed in a vice interview in 2014 that the colourful energy-bursts that spout the wands of the protagonists of the *Harry Potter* movies reflect the imaginative reality of practicing magicians. There are surely contemporary practitioners who might consider the idea of energy-bursts spouting from their wands to be unrealistic and non-efficacious. For Zell-Ravenheart, however, it is nothing but a logical step towards resolving the boundaries between the 'fantasy' magic of the *Harry Potter* movies and the 'real' (that is, imaginative) magic of his kin, arguing that "we have always drawn from story to enhance our lives. […] Man's first magick was fire, but his second magick was story". The aesthetic of the Potter movies indeed mirror an aesthetic of magic that goes back to the aforementioned notion—and imaginative practice—of late nineteenth-century 'astral vision'. The foundation of the *Grey School of Wizardry* thus perfectly illustrates our understanding of fictional practice: here, magic, narration, and the power of imagination fully converge.

The Scope of the Volume

It goes without saying that the contributions to this anthology serve largely as examples. While the volume does include chapters from antiquity to the twenty-first century, there are huge gaps with regard to the premodern history of Western learned magic (e.g., with regard to Jewish or Islamicate discourses), but also pertaining to the potential—practical—roots of imaginaries of magic in modern fantasy literature (which could easily fill up several additional volumes). Nonetheless, the chosen case studies are telling insofar as they reveal basic types of magical tropes and fiction-practice relationships that have pervaded Western discourses of magic from antiquity to today. They also illustrate a specific

development in the history of Western learned magic—and thus also of Western esotericism as its overarching category—that is tied to fundamental changes in the relationship between fiction and practice: namely the emergence of novel types of 'fictional practice' from the nineteenth century onwards through a re-interpretation of the human imagination. To further illustrate this significant shift, about half of the chapters deal with pre-modern material, whereas the other half deal with case studies from the nineteenth century onwards.

Instead of providing brief summaries of the contributions in this introduction, we have opted for a different strategy, namely to outline the general idea and rationale of the volume here while saving a more thorough survey and synthesis of all the chapters for Bernd-Christian Otto's concluding essay. This final chapter will attempt to weave red threads through the multifarious materials discussed in the individual chapters, to identify and trace specific developments in the history of Western learned magic in general, and to develop a synthetic narrative that transcends the individual chapters. Furthermore, all authors cross-reference other chapters in the volume, especially in cases where there are obvious historical connections or similarities, thus making visible hitherto unrecognised patterns in the history of Western learned magic. Fictional practices abound in modern magic(k) and esotericism, and we hope that the present volume provides a useful conceptual framework that may facilitate the future analysis of their many-faced manifestations.

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1 To name just four recent explanatory frameworks: for 'immunity to falsification', see, for example, Horton 1967 and Lehrich 2013; for an 'interpretive drift', see Luhrmann 1989; for 'conceptual integration', see Sørensen 2013; for 'predictive coding' in 'kataphatic practices' see Asprem 2017

2 The curriculum included a section on fiction "of a generally suggestive kind," ranging from Apuleius' The Golden Ass, through The Arabian Nights and works of Shakespeare, to contemporary French and English Rosicrucian and fantasy fiction, such as George MacDonald's Lilith, Bram Stoker's Dracula, Lewis Carroll's Alice in Wonderland, or the works of Arthur Machen. Of course, Crowley also included "the Bible" in the fiction section, right after W. Somerset Maugham's The Magician, in which Crowley himself served as the protagonist.

3 Browsing through digital archives of the nineteenth century, it is possible to trace the consolidation of the concept of an 'astral plane' on which it is possible to travel. This process appears to have taken place initially in the theosophical literature, starting from the early 1880s, with the first steps being taken in Anna B. Kingsford's and Edward Maitland's The Perfect Way (1882). The 'astral plane' was popularised in a fictional format shortly afterwards, notably in Alfred Percy Sinnett's novel Karma (1885). The term 'astral projection', denoting travels on this plane, also gained prominence in fiction during this time, e.g., in Perdicaris' Mohammed Benani (1887). It thus seems that both concepts were creative products of the

theosophical discourse and from there inspired magical groupings of the time, such as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or the Ordre Martiniste. <>

IMAGINATION AND FANTASY IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN TIME: PROJECTIONS, DREAMS, MONSTERS, AND ILLUSIONS edited by Albrecht Classen [Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, De Gruyter, 9783110692945]

The notions of other peoples, cultures, and natural conditions have always been determined by the epistemology of imagination and fantasy, providing much freedom and creativity, and yet have also created much fear, anxiety, and horror. In this regard, the pre-modern world demonstrates striking parallels with our own insofar as the projections of alterity might be different by degrees, but they are fundamentally the same by content. Dreams, illusions, projections, concepts, hopes, utopias/dystopias, desires, and emotional attachments are as specific and impactful as the physical environment. This volume thus sheds important light on the various lenses used by people in the Middle Ages and the early modern age as to how they came to terms with their perceptions, images, and notions. Previous scholarship focused heavily on the history of mentality and history of emotions, whereas here the history of pre-modern imagination, and fantasy assumes center position. Imaginary things are taken seriously because medieval and early modern writers and artists clearly reveal their great significance in their works and their daily lives. This approach facilitates a new deep-structure analysis of pre-modern culture.

CONTENTS

Excerpt:

Imagination, Fantasy, Otherness, and Monstrosity in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern World:

New Approaches to Cultural-Historical and Anthropological Epistemology. Also an Introduction by Albrecht Classen

The following is more than a mere introduction; instead, it represents a comprehensive analysis of what imagination and fantasy might have meant in the Middle Ages and beyond, touching on many different literary texts, art works, religious concepts, and philosophical notions past and present. As the issue at stake is so comprehensive, research has already been very active in coming to terms with it. Below I will provide an extensive literature review and present detailed and extensive discussions of many different relevant sources. To help the reader, I start with a table of content for this contribution only.

***

"Because you try to penetrate the shadows," he said to me, "from much too far away, you confuse the truth with your imagination." (Dante, Inferno, XXXI, vv. 22-24)

"Prove true, imagination!

That I, dear brother, be now tak'en for you!" (Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, Act 3, Scene 4).

Theseus: "More strange than true. I never may believe These antique fables nor these fairy toys. Lovers and madmen have such seething brains, Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend More than cool reason ever comprehends. The lunatic, the lover, and the poet Are of imagination all compact. One sees more devils than vast hell can hold" (Shakespeare, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act 5, Scene 1).

Outline and Structure

In this 'introductory' study, in a way a little book by itself, I will create a mental roadmap for the entire volume by examining a wide range of documents, art works, theological reflections, and philosophical ruminations that allow us to examine critically the meaning of imagination, fantasy, otherness, and monstrosity as we can observe those aspects in the Middle Ages and the early modem age. As much as possible, I will also attempt to lay the foundation for theoretical reflections on those phenomena and to identify them as important elements for many scholars working in the pre-modern era. After all, human life is the result both of the material conditions we live in and of the projections of our own selves upon the world stage. Mind and matter are intricately intertwined with each other, which cultural historians have always to keep in mind when they look at the phenomena of their investigation. We create our own lives and are the products of life itself, however we might want to define it (God, nature, life as an independent entity, the political system, the local community, school, etc.). We could hence postulate that imagination and fantasy represent the dimension behind the public stage where we normally operate, consciously and unconsciously, and yet we all know that it takes only a small step behind the scene to recognize the full scope of all existence comprising both the material and the immaterial aspect.

Most editors of other similar volumes containing the studies collected from a pool of papers presented at a conference or a symposium are normally content with outlining briefly the theoretical and cultural-

historical framework relevant for the central topic, but then they step aside and give all the room to the contributors. My intention here, by contrast, as in all previous volumes in our series, is to go into detail, to stake out the entire field, to provide insights into the widest range possible of the critical documents and sources, to reflect thoroughly on the current state of research, and to outline how the subsequent contributions can be embedded in this framework. In a way, this is a broadly conceived attempt to establish the foundation for the investigation of this fundamental topic. A complete coverage of everything ever published on imagination and fantasy in the pre-modern world cannot, of course, be expected, but I hope to lead us deeply into this field by engaging with a vast gamut of relevant texts and images from that time period and by reflecting on the relevant international research literature from past and present.

To reflect on the workings of ideology and its mental grounding, it does not really matter what a politician, or even the pope, says in specific terms, but how the words resonate with the audience's fantasy and imagination. Throughout time, major leaders, kings, emperors, generals, dictators, or other types of rulers have been so successful in gaining control and command over their people not necessarily because of their physical might, intellectual ruse, or operational skills, as important as all those aspects might have been, but because of their charisma and thus their ability to reach out to people's sense of identity or lack thereof, whether we think of Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, or the fictional King Arthur. All those figures continue to evoke even modern fantasies and are the foundation of much historical imagination.

If a leader knows how to address deeply hidden desires, fears, or hopes, or understands how to stoke those artificially, then the masses have always willingly followed him/her, such as the Crusader knights or the absolutely loyal troops under the Mongol ruler Genghis Khan. Even though there is no room here to pursue this psychological-historical perspective at length, we can easily recognize the profound relevance of human imagination and fantasy which often drive cultural and political developments more extensively than rationality, mechanical processes, and physical objects, such as money.

Fear of immigrants, asylum seekers, new settlers, or outsiders/minorities, especially of Jews, has always been driven by nationalistic, in-group fantasies, both in the Middle Ages and today, as most dramatically illustrated currently by the fanaticism of the conservatives in the United States, especially under President Donald Trump, to 'defend' their country from that ominous 'wave' of `brown people' that seems to threaten the national identity or the existence of the entire country; and hence the desperate desire to build a wall that would stop all 'pathogenic' dangers arising from the south, a rhetoric we are, unfortunately, so familiar with from the time of the Hitler regime in Germany.

The masses, as Gustave le Bon had already observed a long time ago, have always been manipulable because they are dangerously subject to their own and alien emotions and dreams and need a leader who promises to actualize those for them if they only follow him/her. The pre-modern era was not an exception to this phenomenon, although we cannot simply equate the modern masses with the people living in the Middle Ages within a feudal system. After all, every type of society depends on a strong leader who knows how to instrumentalize people's dreams and desires and to transform them into some kind of reality. Nevertheless, this is, basically, the stuff myths are made of, and they have worked just as well in antiquity as well as in the Middle Ages, not even to talk of the twentieth or twenty-first century. Both mass enthusiasm and mass panic (Crusades, anti-Judaism, Hussite wars, etc.) as well as political movements of many different kinds prove to be based to a large extent on emotions and

imagination, which a ruthless and calculating leader knows exceedingly well how to utilize for his/her own purposes.

[Even though mostly self-published, Richard A. Koenigsberg various studies prove to be highly insightful in this regard; see his Hitler's Ideology: A Study in Psychoanalytic Sociology (New York: The Library of Social Science, 1975); id., The Psychoanalysis of Racism, Revolution and Nationalism (New York: The Library of Social Science, 1977); id., Nations Have the Right to Kill: Hitler, the Holocaust, and War (Elmhurst, NY: Library of Social Science, 2009). Cf. also Norman Oliver Brown, Life Against Death: The Psychoanalytic Meaning of History (London: Sphere Books, 1970), who argues that all of human culture is a manifestation of the human subconsciousness, a process which he calls 'transference.' See also Caudia Koonz, The Nazi Conscience (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003). See now my own attempt to come to terms with this phenomenon, "Populismus, Nationalismus, Xenophobie und Rassismus: Das Massenproblem aus historischer Sicht. Von Walther von der Vogelweide und Heinrich Wittenwiler zu Thomas Mann und Gustave le Bon," Thalloris 3 (2018/appeared in 2019): 19-36. For a more political and postmodern perspective, see Serge Moscovici, The Age of the Crowd: A Historical Treatise on Mass Psychology (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1985); Michael Gunther, Masse und Charisma: soziale Ursachen des politischen und religiösen Fanatismus (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Peter Lang, 2005); Dan Hassler-Forest, Science Fiction, Fantasy, and Politics: Transmedia World-Building Beyond Capitalism. Radical Cultural Studies (London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016). As to the operation of myths in history, see Albrecht Classen, "The Ambiguity of Charlemagne in Late Medieval German Literature: The De- and Reconstruction of a Mythical Figure," Medievalia et Humanistica, New Series, 45 (2019): 1-26. As to the role of a leader in the medieval context, see Albrecht Classen, "The Principles of Honor, Virtue, Leadership, and Ethics: Medieval Epics Speak Out against the Political Malaise in the Twenty-First Century. The Nibelungenlied and El Poema de Mio Cid," Amsterdamer Beitrage zur älteren Germanistik 79 (2019): 388-409. As to the negative role which Jews have always played in Christian fantasies, see the contribution to this volume by Birgit Wiedl.]

Once again, as in all previous volumes of our series "Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture," while the focus here rests on the premodern age, the issues at stake prove to be of universal significance. By focusing on the specific documents chosen by myself and the contributors, we hope to open up a new chapter within the broad discourse of two of the most critical issues in human life.

Although these two terms, imagination and fantasy, have been discussed already from many different perspectives, involving philosophical and religious approaches, among many other schools of thought, here I will not distinguish between them strictly and will attempt to bring the various facets together for a collective whole, providing a variety of materials to illustrate the specific use of those concepts in their relevant contexts. For our purposes, it might suffice to observe that these two terms are not exactly the same, yet they function (or simply exist) in very similar fashions and deeply determine human existence collectively. For some thinkers, imagination is connected with divine inspiration (mysticism, Rosicrucianism, Romanticism, religious spirituality), whereas fantasy proves to be the product of the human mind, but I will leave all this deliberately vague because it would not be possible to draw clear-cut distinctions in face of a myriad of cultural manifestations of both forces, including the imaginary (as seen by Wolfgang Iser, among others; cf. below). [See the contribution to this volume by Thomas Willard,

focused on the works of Thomas Vaughan, a remarkable English Rosicrucian deeply invested in the meaning of imagination for spiritual purposes. The term 'imagination' has been used quite often in a variety of relevant studies, but then mostly in a rather vague, almost meaningless sense, referring to the phenomenon of literature and art as such, to paganism, superstition, faith in saints, daily rituals, ceremonies, etc.; see, for instance, Philippe Walter, Pam una arqueologia del imaginario medieval: Mitos y ritos pa-ganos en el calendario cristiano y en la literatura del medioevo (Seminaries en Mexico), ed. and trans. Cristina Azuela. Ediciciones Especiales, 68 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 2013); Michael A. Vargas, Constructing Catalan Identity: Memory, Imagination, and the Medieval (Chain, Switzerland: Paigrave Macmillan, 2018).]

Modern research has tended to give considerable credit to the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle in their discussion of human mentality and then to dismiss the role of both forces (imagination and fantasy) in the pre-modern era, as if those issues had not been relevant in the Middle Ages. Instead, scholars have then regularly highlighted the efforts of thinkers and poets from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries only who were allegedly the first ones to develop specific aesthetic categories to describe these phenomena, such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) (reproductive fancy, primary imagination, secondary imagination). We must always accept that imagination matters in almost every human dimension, whether in the arts or in the sciences, in philosophy or in medicine, in literature or in music, music or religion. [H. Mainusch, "Imagination," Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie, ed. Joachim Ritter and Karlfried Grander. Completely new ed. by Rudolf Eisler. Vol. 4 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976), 217-20; Philipp Wolf, "Einbildungskraft," Metzler Lexikon: Literatur-und Kulturtheorie. Ansätze - Personen - Grundbegriffe, ed. Ansgar Nanning. 5th updated and expanded ed. (Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2013), 160-61. See also the contributions to Inventions of the Imagination: Romanticism and Beyond, ed. Richard T. Gray, Nicholas Halmi, and Gary J. Handwerk (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011); and to The Imagination in German Idealism and Romanticism, ed. Gerad Gentry and Konstantin Pollok (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). See also the contributions to Romantic Rapports: New Essays on Romanticism Across the Disciplines, ed. Larry H. Peer and Christopher R. Clason (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2017). Thomas Willard, in his contribution to this volume, offers a detailed examination of the meaning of imagination in the work of Thomas Vaughan, especially his Lumen de Lumine: Or a new Magical! Light discovered and Communicated to the World from 1651, but he clearly endeavors to keep in mind the origins of the philosophical discourse on this phenomenon. For a corrective view regarding the critical approaches to dreams, imagination, and fantasy in the early Middle Ages, see the contribution to this volume by David Bennett and Filip Radovic.

—Imagination: Cross-Cultural Philosophical Analyses, ed. Hans-Georg Moeller and Andrew Whitehead (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018). The contributors consider the role of imagination both in the East and in the West and study philosophers such as Zhuangzi, Plato, Confucius, Heidegger, and Nietzsche, along with imagination in Buddhistic thought and in Daoism.]

The Case of the Wunderer
However, we will observe further down that by the late Middle Ages already a stronger rift developed separating imagination as something powerful and real, from fantasy as something fanciful, playful, maybe even dismissible, such as in the case of the various stages of presenting dragons and other monstrous crea-tures.5 One interesting, heretofore hardly studied example would be the rather curious, maybe

disjointed and illogical heroic epic, Der Wunderer (ca. 1550), where the monster/outsider, the Wonderer (or Wondrous Being), pursues a maid who had been promised to him as his future wife. Since she refuses now to grant him her hand, he intends to eat her up, a clear case of cannibalism, a rare case for the Middle Ages (see, however, Grendel in Beowulf), but she is ultimately saved by the hero Dietrich of Bern who can overcome and kill the grotesque creature.

Ironically, the maid then turns out to be nothing but an ideal, an allegorical figure representing fundamental courtly values, who commands over three strengths or functions; first, she has the capability to perceive immediately the true character of an individual; second, to grant blessing to anyone and to guarantee his safety; and third, to transport herself to any location wherever she might want to be. It remains entirely unclear why she hence would not rescue herself from the Wonderer by teleporting herself to safety, but there are many other problems with that text anyway which would allow us to identify it as a literary failure of grand proportions.

Nevertheless, in our context, we only need to keep in mind that here we face an intriguing example of truly fanciful imagination, with all the elements of pure fictionality present because even the maid is nothing but an allegory, "fraw Seld" (stanza 5208, v.1; Lady Happiness).

For the subsequent investigations, however, all we need to know at this point is that these two elements are fundamental in creating human culture and are essential in areas of human life such as spirituality, the arts, but also in the sciences and medicine, whether we can identify theoretical discussions about them or not. As Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann notes:

> The worlds of spirituality are fantastical, deriving from revelations that cannot be critically investigated. Yet they must nonetheless be taken for real because of their impact on human behaviour, even if there is no other proof of their existence than the belief in their revelation. Their existence can only be proven in a logical circle: They are held to be real since they are believed to have effects. This belief may be the particular effect they have, and this is indeed precisely what believers attribute to the spiritual world. Thus there is no possible critical or emancipatory access to the world of spirituality. [Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, Philosophia perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought. International Archives of the History of Ideas, 189 (1998; Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 3. See also Thomas Willard's comments about Schmidt-Biggemann's observations in his contribution to this volume. Cf. also the profound insights into the role of the human soul with respect to the material existence and to God by Thomas Merton, No Man is an Island (New York: Harcourt, Brace World, 1955).]

In fact, medieval and early modern philosophers were deeply involved in the discussion about the origin of the world, the question regarding time and its limitation, and the relationship between God and creation. Scientific evidence was not available, and it is absent today as well.

Medieval Philosophy and Imagination

Philosophy, as practiced by Henry of Ghent (1217-1293), Duns Scotus (ca. 1266-Nov. 8, 1308), and William of Occam (ca. 1287-1347) focused deeply on issues pertaining to free will, contingency, and the conditions of the material existence, and much of this draws fundamental insights from imagination as

the only possible source to draw some solid conclusions about the meaning of this life and about the relationship between the human individual and the Godhead.

The debate regarding the infinity of this world, necessity, and causation, as it raged throughout the Middle Ages, actually laid the foundation for similar probes of the mathematical theories of our own time. The severe condemnation of two hundred and nineteen theses or propositions allegedly developed by members of the Paris university, issued by Bishop Etienne Tempier in 1277, clearly indicates the extent to which the Church perceived the threat resulting from free imagination and open-ended philosophical discourse, all of which could no longer be clearly controlled by the clerical authorities, deeply afraid of unorthodox thinking and revolutionary ideas developed by the rebellious philosophers. As the contribution by David Bennett and Filip Radovic will demonstrate, imagination mattered deeply for ancient, early medieval Arabic, and high medieval Christian philosophers, who regularly regarded it as a bridge to the divine.

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While many medieval writers simply dove into imagination and played with their fantasy, projecting those images as real onto their literary stage (romances, heroic epics, short verse narratives, etc.), seventeenth-century authors, such as Thomas Vaughan (1621-1666), more or less an apologist for the Rosicrucians originating in Germany, examined much more theoretically the meaning of the other dimension of human mentality in the abstract aspects of their works. However, as Thomas Willard indicates in his contribution to this volume, when Vaughan resorted to the genres of dream vision and commentaries, he certainly continued with a strong medieval tradition, best represented by the highly popular Roman de la rose (thirteenth century). Nevertheless, as Willard also hastens to alert us, Vaughan discriminated carefully between imagination and fantasy, the latter being a kind of delusion of significant danger for the human soul. Following the medical teachings of Paracelsus, Vaughan was keenly aware that false concepts in the mind could lead to physical or spiritual sickness. At the same time, he also accepted a higher form of imagination, that is, the vision that connects the imagination of the created human being to the imagination of God in creating the world. Here he followed the mystical tradition of biblical interpretation from the high Middle Ages.

In his *Lumen de Lumine: Or a new Magicall Light discovered and Communicated to the World* (1651), Vaughan endeavored to build a whole theory of imagination from a religious point of view - after all, he was an ordained priest of the Church of England - and to apply it to the magic and alchemy on which he wrote in earlier books. He argued that people gain divine illumination through God's grace and that even magic would have to be seen in that light, as divine inspiration through the natural world. People's pathway through life aimed ultimately at the final brilliance of the entire creation, and the steps toward that epiphany could be guided by magic, alchemy, astrology, and cabala.

God's secrets would be there for all to see by means of human imagination if the mind would be open enough to accept the individual approaches to a spiritual epistemology. In other words, the greatness of God's creation (the macrocosm) can be recognized here in the individual (the microcosm) by means of human imagination. As Willard then elucidates, Vaughan turned to much Rosicrucian and Paracelsian thinking when he elaborated his concepts of imagination as a key to divine illumination, and he drew heavily from the alchemical discourse to explain his ideas. The mystical visions developed by Vaughan, with the light of nature illuminating the darkness, thus prove to be significant forerunners of much

psychological research by C. G. Jung and others because his notion of imagination as a stepping stone toward the ultimate level of understanding of God's view of the creation (anagogically) proves to be of universal value, echoing much late medieval theology (especially mysticism; see my comments about Hildegard of Bingen above) and magical thought, while foreshadowing dream analysis in the twentieth century. In many ways, then, Vaughan can be identified as a major path breaker who brought Rosicrucian ideas to early modern England. To gain understanding, according to Vaughan, it was necessary first to wander into the world of fantasy and dreams and there to search for guidance from above. In essence, every poet, composer, painter, or sculptor both then and today would agree with this observation because the material existence is only one aspect of the complete whole of life.

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There is no existence without ideas, images, concepts, or dreams, and those need, of course, the factual dimension to translate into something concrete. Every scientific discovery, for instance, is mostly preceded by an idea, a concept, a vague notion, a flash of what could be possible, which subsequently is rendered into concrete reality. There is individual imagination and there is collective imagination, and both seem to work in tandem with each other. The cultural and material framework for this operation has certainly changed, but the actual findings by neuroscientists confirm that the processes in our brains have always functioned the same way.

Unfortunately, politicians and publicists have also realized the enormous potentials of imagination that can so easily be utilized for evoking fears, creating stereotypes, and producing hence aggression and hostility. The medieval and early modern examples reflecting imagination and fantasy have thus much to tell us today. The imaginary continues to rest at or in the borderlands, as contemporary comments about the alleged need to build walls to keep out illegals, migrants, asylum seekers, or generally foreigners have amply demonstrated. Monsters keep living with us because they illustrate and incorporate our mental concepts. <>

UNVEILING THE HIDDEN—ANTICIPATING THE FUTURE: DIVINATORY PRACTICES AMONG JEWS BETWEEN QUMRAN AND THE MODERN PERIOD edited by Josefina Rodríguez-Arribas and Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum [Series: Prognostication in History, Brill, 9789004445062]

In UNVEILING THE HIDDEN—ANTICIPATING THE FUTURE: DIVINATORY PRACTICES AMONG JEWS BETWEEN QUMRAN AND THE MODERN PERIOD, Josefina Rodríguez-Arribas and Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum collect ten studies based on primary sources ranging from Qumran to the modern period and covering Europe and the Mediterranean basin. The studies show Jews practising divination (astrology, bibliomancy, physiognomy, dream requests, astral magic, etc.) and implementing the study and practice of the prognostic arts in ways that allowed Jews to make them "Jewish," by avoiding any conflict with Jewish law or halakhah. These studies focus on the Jewish components of this divination, providing specific firsthand details about the practices and their practitioners within their

cultural and intellectual contexts—as well as their fears, wishes, and anxieties—using ancient scrolls and medieval manuscripts in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Judaeo-Arabic.

Contributors are Michael D. Swartz, Helen R. Jacobus, Alessia Bellusci, Blanca Villuendas Sabaté, Shraga Bar-On, Josefina Rodríguez-Arribas, Amos Geula, Dov Schwartz, Joseph Ziegler, and Charles Burnett.

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Excerpt: Divination in Jewish Cultures—Some Reflections on the Subject of This Book by Josefina Rodríguez-Arribas

The Inevitable Presence of Divination in Culture

This monograph opens with a quotation from a Spanish contemporary poet in which the poetic *persona* complains about his inability to get good peaches from a market stall. He has never cared about distinguishing peaches by their visible colors—yellow and red—, so how will he be able to distinguish good from bad, these qualities being even less apparent to the eye? This inability to be mindful of visible details in order to discern hidden qualities—he confesses—is the root of all his misfortunes, but it does not prevent him from continuing to demand good peaches from other people, namely, the fruit seller. Is he wise in deeming the fruit seller an expert in distinguishing good from bad (fruit), or is he just leaving his decision to someone else? Whichever the case, is it not perhaps his

attitude and corresponding assumption the root of all his misfortunes—namely, his dependence on the knowledge of others? The subject of this book, inquiring—from others or by means that are not entirely within one's reach—about what is hidden or unknown (whether these be the future, secrets, or far away things), reminded me of this poem and the paradoxical circumstances of its poetic *persona*.

Divination was a controversial subject in some religions and societies, but a careful eye cannot fail to detect the persistence of this phenomenon in most cultures. Why do people want to anticipate the future or uncover what is hidden? The answer is apparent: to avoid errors in the important decisions of life, to have some advantage over chance and the unexpected, to improve a given situation with reliable decisions, to make easy money, to keep only trustworthy friends, to choose the right partner, etc. Not all of those who practice divination or believe in omens and portents have the same understanding about the state of things in the world and the result of individual actions, what one might call fate. The divinatory phenomenon seems to work within different mental attitudes regarding past, present, and future events, for instance a *hard* or a *soft* version of fate as regards the future (using modern terminology and leaving room for a spectrum between the two). In the *hard* version nothing can be changed, while in the *soft* version there is a possibility of changing the outcome or of adapting or preparing oneself for whatever is anticipated. These different understandings of fate are usually not referred to explicitly or discussed in the context of the divinatory performance and are likelier to emerge in theological and philosophical discussions disconnected from actual practices. However, careful analysis of the specific divinatory practice and the use of the language and terminology of the practitioner and his/her client can reveal underlying beliefs and assumptions regarding fate and the role of human choices. The ancient *heimarmene* of the early Stoics—"the compulsion/necessity" of the stars or "interdependence of causes" in the universe—left room mainly for a *hard* version, while the interrogational astrology outlined by Dorotheus Sidonius implied that individual fate is not completely determined and divination can help to mold it. This is not the place to discuss these long and contradictory traditions, which do not concern only Judaism or divination, but also other cultures and other human endeavors. Nevertheless, we can say that most Jewish divinatory practices presented and discussed in this book seem to work in a more or less *hard* understanding of fate, although—as several examples mentioned in its chapters show—the belief was that Jews can tip the balance to a *softer* version when they live within the path indicated by their religion.

MS London British Library Or. 10878, fol. 17v (Hebrew fortune wheel). Collection of brief texts on astronomy, mathematics, music, and astrology (parchment, fifteenth century, Ashkenazi semi-cursive script).

In the Middle Ages, astrology was classified among the empirical and mathematical sciences, although it was also frequently considered an art rather than a science. Along these lines, the Iberian astronomer Abraham bar Ḥiyya (twelfth century), considered astrology an art based on experience whose results are not always accurate. But astrology was also considered as one of the highest forms of divinatory technique, because it deals with signs coming from the highest levels of the universe (stars and planets).

Similar classifications of divination are used in Christian Latin sources; for example, the twelfth-century Iberian translator Dominicus Gundisalinus defined divination as conjectural knowledge of the future based on human opinion (i.e., probable knowledge), and the Dominican Albertus Magnus (thirteenth century) interpreted prognostic knowledge as knowledge based on conjecture (conjectural knowledge). Fidora reflects on this classification in his interesting introduction to a monograph on the epistemology of medieval divination. As interesting as Fidora's study is, its understanding concerns a limited selection of Christian Latin authors, disciplines (astrology, medicine, and meteorology), and a very specific definition of divination (as only knowledge of the future).

Even a superficial glance at divinatory practices among medieval Jews reveals that not all practitioners and clients of divination undertook the divinatory performance with the same assumptions of what they were doing and why it might work. There are important differences in terms of the epistemology that underlies the different divinatory practices that were in use, an assertion that also applies to divinatory practices in other cultures and religions. Those practices based on randomness (bibliomancy), those based on technical knowledge (astrology, physiognomy, palmistry), and those based on a combination of both (for instance, astrological geomancy) evidently operated within different epistemological frameworks that need further study beyond the specific cases that have received scholarly attention so far. Differences also emerge in the gap between learned or sophisticated forms of practices (any of those previously mentioned) and folk or popular forms of them (e.g., onomancy, omens, etc.). Gundisalinus' and Albertus Magnus' understandings of divination do not do justice to the complex and multicultural phenomenon of divination and the different forms in which it was practiced in the medieval period. Their approach excludes inspired divination and divination based on randomness, as well as mixed forms of divination—all practices that were in use in the Middle Ages. These definitions also exclude a divination that is intended not to know the future, but rather what is hidden or unknown, whether it be something in the past, the present, or the future.

As for the specific nature of the divinatory signs, which are the stuff of all divination, technical or inspired—a sign or a message has to be interpreted not just in technical, but also in inspired divination when the message is not directly given. Depending on their understanding, signs determine whether divination is considered a non-science (in the Aristotelian understanding), or a conjectural or non-Aristotelian science (in Gundisalinus' view) in which the practitioners consider that divinatory/prognostic signs indicate but do not cause what they indicate. Nonetheless, divinatory signs deserve careful study, for their role in Jewish and non-Jewish sources is complex and at times even contradictory. It is clear that some signs are just signs (e.g., any geomantic figure) or symptoms (as in medicine), while others seem to have some causal role depending on the authors and the disciplines (e.g., stars can work as secondary or intermediate causes in astrology). Furthermore divinatory signs are more often than not perceived as unequivocal, unequivocal, and infallible in their roles either as signs or as causes, and thus human interpretation is considered the main reason for mistakes in judgments related to divination. It is possible to classify divinatory practices according to the sign that is observed or perceived and then interpreted. The sign can be natural, spontaneous, or constructed or sought (as in lecanomancy, referred to in Chapter Seven of this book). It can be normal (the regular periodical movements of the stars, or non-periodical like the croaking of a raven) or abnormal (like monsters, comets, etc.). It can be established as a sign *a priori* (a pre-coded sign), *a posteriori* (one decides that something is a sign after perceiving it), or simultaneously. The semiology of divination is a topic that

rarely emerges in scholarship, except in the form of case studies, which gives a very partial and biased insight into their nature and status.

We need more sources to be edited and published and more case studies analyzed before we can obtain a more accurate general picture of this intriguing human inclination to fathom the unknown by pushing the limits of human knowledge, especially now that divination and other *dark* disciplines have become a licit (if not *respected*) scholarly subject.

Criteria and Limitations of the Approaches in This Book

At the end of the long process that is reading, properly understanding, organizing, and creating a common structure from the different subjects collected in this book, we realized two paradoxes: first of all, it is not at all easier to be a historian than a diviner; and secondly, somehow it is a less complicated task to write a book than to edit one. We can predict with a high degree of accuracy that not everybody (authors, editors, and readers) will find what they are expecting here, but let us hope that ultimately we are better historians than diviners!

As previously said, this monograph emerged from a workshop, with most of its chapters stemming from the papers presented at it; other papers were requested and added later during the collection of the contributions in an effort to reflect as much as possible the catalogue of divinatory practices available and used in Jewish cultures. We were more interested in actual divinatory practices, both the variety of ways used to unveil what is hidden and unknown, and with how Jews understood their divinatory pratices within the frame of contemporary religion, philosophy, and science. I think both aspects are well (though partially) reflected in this book (the former in Chapters Two, Three, Four, Five, Eight, and Nine, the latter in Chapters One, Six, and Seven). It is, however, apparent that further research in both dimensions must be pursued in order to get a more comprehensive and accurate understanding of the divinatory phenomenon in pre-modern societies, cultures, and mentalities.

Given that divination seems to be a human phenomenon in all periods and cultures, the choice of the papers was determined—following the workshop—by the focus on what might be specifically Jewish about the forms of divination that Jews practiced, some of which are still in use. Divination, prognostication, and manticism are used in this book as synonyms. Bar-On (Chapter Five) and Ziegler (Chapter Nine) are the only ones to use the term "manticism" to denote divination, perhaps because the authors of these chapters are aware of certain connotations in the root of the word "divination" that they prefer to avoid. Prognostication, as Ziegler uses it (Chapter Nine), is a term more connected to medicine and related to physiognomy and its non-divinatory aspects.

The field of Jewish divination has inherent limits but also a huge scope, and is still barely explored, as Villuendas Sabaté (Chapter Four) makes clear in relation to dream divination: her account implies that between the Babylonian Talmud, the first example of a Jewish dream book, and the last, most famous, dream handbook by Solomon Almoli (1516), the study of Jewish medieval dream books remains virtually unexplored. She concludes that more critical editions and further study are necessary to understand the transmission and connections of dream divination in medieval Arabic and related cultures. A similar conclusion can be applied to the remaining forms of divination described or mentioned in this book: we need to collect and analyze more case studies in order to understand how, why, and what for.

In this monograph, two necessary self-restrictions are evident in the table of contents and the titles of the different chapters. One restriction is temporal and relates to the decision to exclude the Biblical period and its contexts, which are so rich in this respect. Divinatory practices in the Bible have long been discussed in the context of Biblical scholarship, as well as in books and articles dealing with ancient Near Eastern religions, though this should not imply that there is nothing left to refute, confirm, or discover: for instance, the highly relevant connection of prophecy with divination, and especially with inspired divination might need further research. Notwithstanding the stated omission of Biblical divination, forms of divination mentioned in the Hebrew Bible are still present everywhere in this monograph within the context of discussions about the legitimacy of divination in Jewish religion, and Biblical sources are quoted, cited, and used with this purpose in several chapters of this book (notably, Chapters Three and Seven). The convenor of the workshop is a medievalist, and medieval divinatory practices, underexplored in Jewish culture, were her main interest, though some latitude was allowed for studies dealing with antiquity (Chapters One and Two) and the modern period (Chapter Five). Readers should keep in mind that this is the first book in the field of Jewish studies dealing exclusively with divination among Jews, as its title makes clear, and only for that it is already an important contribution.

The other self-restriction is methodological, resulting from the absence in this book of any discussion about the definition of divination and its relation to magic. Magic is a popular subject in the field of Jewish studies, perhaps due to the long historical association of Jews with it. Possibly divination's neglect in general scholarship is exacerbated by its overlapping with magic, which in some cases is clearly indistinguishable, and not only in Jewish sources. The end of Chapter One discusses this overlap of magic and divination, which might have been customary in ancient and medieval times (see also Chapter Eight), but the fact is that some medieval Jewish authors saw them as very different fields (see Chapters Six and Seven), at least in the intention of the practitioner and the forces being put to work. Bellusci, following Gideon Bohak and others, considers dream-requests and divination in general to be a branch of magic (she calls dream-requests a "magical technique" several times in her chapter). The relationships of divination and magic need further clarification, especially regarding certain forms of divination in which non-human or angelic revelation plays no role at all (for example, astrology as in Chapters Six and Seven, physiognomy as in Chapter Nine, geomancy, etc.), though divination always operates in Jewish cultures within a more or less theocentric understanding of the universe. Did ancient and medieval practitioners consider both kinds of practices—magical and divinatory—as identical, similar, or just related? This is a highly complex question that indirectly emerges in this book and awaits further research.

A few excellent monographs dealing with magic in Judaism have been cited in this book (these can be found in the general bibliography); however, none of these books extensively discusses the relationship between magic and divination, considering both as one single category, magic. Though this assumption could be questioned, most authors wrote their chapters with the understanding that there is no separation between magic and divinatory practices, but the author of the twelfth-century Hebrew text translated in Chapter Seven was very concerned with this separation.

In theory, magic and divination might look like closely related fields separated only by their goals. On a simplistic level, one might say that knowledge is the purpose of divination, even if its acquisition is frequently intended to change things in the world, while action/change/control of the world and its

beings would be the main purpose of magic. However, magic and divination historically frequently overlapped in practice, for instance in astral magic or in the knowledge of the hidden and the future attained by revelatory means (for instance, in dream-requests and bibliomancy). Magic and divination can both be considered forms of technology; some form of control is the intended purpose in both and their knowledge is built upon experience and tradition, though also upon divine inspiration. Hence, they are both technical knowledge in different degrees, depending on the specific form of the practice and the expectations of the practitioners and their clients. They can also be understood, in certain cases, as forms of science, especially considering that in ancient and medieval times *science* denoted just *knowledge*, any knowledge, contrary to the very specific meaning of the modern concept, based in mathematics (measure) and the experimental method (repeatability of the same phenomena under the same conditions).

Many of the chapters let us glimpse how intrinsic the assistance of non-human or spiritual beings might be to the diviner in attaining the desired knowledge about the future or the hidden. All the divinatory techniques explained in this book are either forms of technical or deductive (also known as artificial or mechanical) divination, and natural or emotive (also known as inspired) divination (for example, divination by possession or oracles), or a combination of both. What separates technical from natural is the training required by the performer of technical divination, who needs the tools of deductive thought to attain a result and, above all, his/her independence from non-human beings and means to achieve the intended knowledge. Nevertheless, inspired or natural divination also requires some sort of technique or experience in order to get an answer (as in Chapter Three). These questions should be considered in more depth in future research, for they concern not only Jewish divinatory practices but the phenomenon of divination in general in all cultures and periods. Diviners are technicians, just like magicians.

The diviner who forecasts when possessed by the god has no possibility of being wrong (only of being misunderstood, as many examples in ancient sources show), while technicians of any sort can always make mistakes either in the procedure or in the interpretation, so that they need a long training period to become experts through study and experience. Diviners perform their art and display their expertise and knowledge before clients but also before their peers, other fellow diviners, who confirm or refute their expertise. Certain divinatory performances (like astrology, geomancy, dream interpretation, etc.) imply some sort of negotiation of meaning, just as in any dialogic situation between people. If the speech of the diviner turns out to be unrelated to the circumstances of the client, it is always possible to work retrospectively and correct previous inaccurate or wrong answers in the light of the new information provided by both, or by changing the questions, for wrong questions can invalidate the whole process. It is unfortunate (but significant) that most of the time this dialogical process, and, in general, the process of interpretation is neither written nor described in manuscripts or printed texts. We frequently are given just a few sentences that do not help much in reconstructing the actual scenario and dialogue of the divinatory seance. The dialogic character of technical divination allows us to consider it a form of rationality, just as Marcel Sigrist holds for magic.

It is also pertinent to keep in mind that there is an important body of material culture that illuminates different and unexpected aspects of divination that do not emerge in textual sources and frequently escape the attention of scholars. An attentive reader will notice the explicit mention or the silent necessary presence of divinatory artifacts in some of the chapters, though almost all the studies take a

textual approach to their respective subjects. As Chapter One (Swartz) enunciates it, divination is "a quest of meaning" and it looks for signification in everyday objects and events, but most material aspects of divinatory practices are not to be found in texts. Notwithstanding, the physicality of the divinatory act is, in some practices, very clear, for instance in the handling of books in bibliomantic contexts (Chapter Five) or in the use of specific materials and their handling in magical performances (Chapter Ten), in horoscopes calculated and frequently drawn on paper or parchment for astrology (Chapters Six and Seven); as well as, in other senses, in the facial and corporeal signs that have to be interpreted in physiognomy (Chapter Nine), or the lists of specific signs and their corresponding specific meanings in dream handbooks and lottery books (Chapters Three and Five, respectively). Chapter Ten focuses directly on the materiality of its topic, with a complete immersion in the most material aspects of the kind of magic that relies on writing names (using skins, inks, writing tools, etc), a practice which seems to be especially associated with Jews or Jewish figures (notably, King Solomon).

Comparative approaches are frequent, especially with Christian and Islamic cultures. Chapter Three gives keys for understanding the historical background of dream-requests in antiquity (notably the Greek and Demotic magical papyri) and in the Middle Ages in both Jewish and non-Jewish sources (Arabic *istiḵāra* in *ḥadīth* literature and dream requests in magical Latin texts). Dream-requests can be studied not only in the long tradition of dream divination in ancient and medieval Near-Eastern and Mediterranean civilizations, but in the context of an extensive tradition of interrogational systems for decision-making, in which the Arabic *masāʾil* and the Hebrew *šeʾilot* (both of which deal with different systems to get an answer) are clearly placed. Further research could explore this approach, with possible roots in Babylonian sources of the second millenium BCE: one of the Akkadian words denoting a diviner is *šaʾilu* ("one who asks or questions"), which suggests that *the art of divining* might have started and developed as *the art of inquiring*, the art of "framing a question" in such a way that the given answer would be clear and unambiguous. With this in mind, a clear difference should also be made among divinatory practices according to the kind of answer they can provide: a yes or no answer to a definite question resulting from a procedure based on revelation or randomness, or a more complex answer resulting from a more or less long and complex interpretational process performed by a specific diviner. As Guillaume put it: the former can only answer the question *shall*, while the latter can answer the question *what*. It was not infrequent in medieval divination for the client to ask the diviner to provide not only the answer to a question, but sometimes also the question itself, often with the intention of testing the expertise of the diviner, as Judah al-Ḥarizi's *maqama* shows.

Physical books and written words are read or heard in different divinatory contexts (Chapters One, Three, and Five), and these could be combined. Thus it is possible to find bibliomancy at the heart of an oneirocritic episode, so that the forecast would be given by a Biblical verse heard during a dream (examples in Chapters Three and Five). Astrology is present in our volume under different aspects (Chapters Two, Five, Six, Seven, and Eight), and a physical artifact associated with its practice (an astrolabe) is briefly mentioned in Chapter Six. Chapter Two gives an idea of how astrological anticipation was dependent on tables and written calculations, which are, in the end, artifacts of a written variety. Chapter Six mentions the use of astronomical data in Bar Ḥiyya's *Letter*, which must have been available in the form of tables or through the use of an astronomical instrument. Furthermore, instruments in Chapter Two are mentioned as evidence. Qumran scrolls 4Q208–4Q209 present "gates" numbered 1 to 6 that Jacobus contends are here synonymous with the zodiac signs. She completes the fragmentary calendar in these scrolls and proposes that it synchronizes a lunar year of 354 days with a

solar year of 360 days. The gates of this calendar refer to twelve points of a local horizon where the sun rises, which—using the astrological notion of the ascendant—she makes equivalent to the twelve zodiac signs, i.e., the horizon-based zodiac system of Babylonian MUL.APIN astronomy. Jacobus underpins her hypothesis with evidence found in astronomical Greco-Roman instruments. One of the editors is working on medieval scientific instruments and is familiar with the use of different devices in prognostication and divination contexts. The use of instruments in these contexts can give us an insight into the actual practice that very frequently is not in texts and can confirm how *real* the actual practice was, as well as providing daily-life details about the specific performances.

This book cannot and did not intend to examine all the forms of divination practiced among Jews, so that some widespread practices are mentioned only briefly (palmistry, geomancy, scrying, etc.). However, the second part of Bar Ḥiyya's *Letter* translated in Chapter Seven constitutes a treasure of divinatory practices certainly known if not practiced by many of Bar Ḥiyya's contemporaries (both Jews and non-Jews). Some of these missing practices are shown in images as they appear in Hebrew manuscripts (notably, geomancy and palmistry, see Figures in pp. 260 and 332, respectively).

It is possible to find underlying epistemological connections among different prognostication practices. In Chapter One Swartz, who follows Richard Gordon's four characteristics for building the authority of a practitioner in a healing event—namely, empirical knowledge, prestige of traditional knowledge, ritual actions, and verbal utterances or charms—finds an identity between the states of the person consulting a healer and the person consulting a diviner. Furthermore, the Jewish text translated in Chapter Seven compares the practice of astrologers choosing the right moment to perform an activity with that of physicians who choose the right drug to treat an illness. It is relevant to remember that medicine was likewise considered a prognostic art or science.

Swartz, who approaches ancient and early medieval Jewish divination within the larger framework of ancient divination, underscores our reliance on textual sources to know and understand divination in the ancient world (Chapter One). The exclusively textual approach of this book allows readers to realize some linguistic aspects of Jewish divinatory texts (though not exclusive to Jews). Chapter One opens with the frequently under-acknowledged fact that divination is also "a field of literature," which Swartz confirms with examples taken from Qumran to the medieval period, notably through the introductions and preliminary prayers distinctive of magic and divinatory texts, which root them in a long and legitimate Jewish tradition. The language and style of these texts and what they might have in common with similar texts in other cultural and lingüistic traditions are sources about the nature, scope, and roles of these practices in Jewish societies.

Chapters Three and Four, dealing with dream divination, are, consequently, focused on the philological: they include the edition and translation of several Genizah fragments in Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic, respectively, but they also analyse the language and the structure of these specific divinatory texts. Chapter Three (Bellusci) considers Hebrew recipes (instructions) and finished products (part of the ritual) of the dream-request, which are equally based on ritual sleep (the necessary condition for experiencing the ritual dream) and linguistic magic (adjurations, invocations, magical formulae, and prayers, many of them consisting of clusters of Biblical verses). This linguistic aspect of dream-requests allows Bellusci to make an illuminating analysis of the language, verbal constructions, and prayers that are distinctive of these Genizah texts, pinpointing their proximity to the language of mysticism, liturgy, and

magic. Chapter Four (Villuendas Sabaté) presents the topic in the context of a "cross-cultural written legacy of dream symbol codification" dating back to 2000 BCE, which also shares the linguistic expression of dream *omina* in the form of conditional sentences ("if you see x, y will happen"), also noticed by Bellusci in the expression of dream-requests. Villuendas Sabaté disinguishes between earlier dream books (lists of symbols and their meanings in conditional form) and later dream treatises (expanded versions of the former that include more materials related to the interpretation of the dream). Villuendas Sabaté perceptively notes that dreambooks are composed of "units that can be easily isolated and then relocated elsewhere within the text or transferred to others," which is explained by their formulaic language, the recurrence of lists, and the weakness or absence of textual coherence that characterizes this literary genre. This structure might be applicable to most kinds of divinatory texts and their formulae, but this remains the subject of future research.

Finally, is there something specifically Jewish in the divinatory practices described and analysed in this book? Chapter One (Swartz) is quite right in not placing any emphasis on differences between cultures and religions regarding divinatory practices, although he points out that, in contrast to other ancient civilizations that institutionalized divination, Jewish divination (except for a short period with the ʾurim and *tummim* of the high priest) was always a private business. It remained a private business throughout the Middle Ages, even when divination was performed in courtly contexts for the sake of rulers and princes. Bar-On forthrightly acknowledges "the inevitable presence of manticism in the Jewish tradition" in Chapter Five: divination and prognostication are an ubiquitous phenomenon in Jewish cultures, from Biblical times up to the present, albeit with bans, discussions, nuances, and conflicts that depend on the author and the period. However, it is still clearly a Jewish phenomenon, too, because it happens among Jews and in distinctive Jewish contexts. Bar-On, Bellusci, and Villuendas Sabaté underscore the persistence of these divinatory techniques even up to present times. Are there specific Jewish forms of divination? This is another topic needing further research.

Some chapters (One, Three, Five, and Nine) suggest that certain divinatory practices have a long tradition among Jews and might have an origin in Biblical times, but most practices seem to be Jewish adaptations or Jewish developments of divinatory practices that were not originally Jewish; more research would clarify their history. These adaptations or developments took on a Jewish flavor to fit Jewish religious and customs, possibly to escape religious and social polemics and elude halakhic bans. Bar Ḥiyya (Chapter Seven) echoes the Jewish belief that Abraham was an astrologer, which certainly presents astrology as a distinctively Jewish science and art. The patriarch Joseph and the prophet Daniel practiced dream divination (Chapters Three and Four), which also presents this practice as genuinely Jewish. The *Book of Daniel* seems to be of paramount importance in the Jewish tradition (Chapters Three and Seven) and is frequently quoted in the context of dream-requests, though it remains uncertain whether there was a established Second Temple period tradition of Jewish oneiric divination.

Preliminary prayers and invocations (Chapters Three and Five) addressed to the God of Israel somehow made the practices *Jewish* and licit and certainly gave them a Jewish flavor. What is more concretely Jewish is the introduction of certain sources (Hebrew Bible, Talmud, Rabbinic literature) and figures (Moses, Abraham, King Solomon, etc. and later figures like Ḥai ben Sherira Gaon and Elijah Gaon of Vilna) in the discussion and the practice of divination. Another intriguing and distinctive feature of Jewish divination is the belief that Israel is entitled to a special comunication with God, which separates it from

the other nations of the world, as mentioned in Chapter One. This topic also figures prominently in Chapter Seven regarding the talmudic question about whether Israel has a star. As Bar Ḥiyya states in his *Letter*: "*Israel does not have a star*. This means that the righteous ones of Israel can nullify the stellar decrees that act upon them, by their righteousness and their prayers. The other nations of the world cannot do this." Specifically Jewish ritual aspects are also fundamental in establishing the Jewish character of the practice (Chapters One, Three, and Five), even if ritualistic aspects in divinatory performances generally are present in all cultures and religions. These established ways of performing and validating the practice usually include preliminary prayers and serve to legitimate it. Bar-On (Chapter Five) classifies the ritual as "magical pietism" following a expression coined by Swartz (Chapter One), which Bellusci (Chapter Three, "magical piety") also uses to denote the religious attitude of the practitioner of divination. It should be noted that prayer is especially important in the preparatory rituals preceding those forms of divination that rely more on revelation and randomness than on the technical and professional expertise of a diviner, though it can be found everywhere.

Arrangement of the Chapters and Overview of Their Contents

As for the arrangement of the chapters, the order is roughly chronological according to their contents. Chapters One (Swartz) and Two (Jacobus) discuss the oldest forms of divination in Judaism presented in this book, namely Second Temple practices dating before or around the turn of the eras—leaving aside references to divinatory practices in the Hebrew Bible that surface many times in different chapters (notably, Chapter Seven and Bar Ḥiyya's discussion on Biblical terms related to divination and magic). Chapter One takes a theoretical and general approach which justifies its introductory position and gives context for the topics that follow. Chapter Two discusses Aramaic calendars in the fragmentary scrolls of Qumran. These calendars (which Jacobus has reconstructed) are based on a luni-solar cycle that considers the days of the lunar month that the sun and the moon entered the different signs of the zodiac and constitute a schematic zodiac ephemeris that can be easily adjusted for any date for all time. Jacobus' proposal is that this ephemeris was used by the sectarians of Qumran to construct simple horoscopes using just the positions of the sun and the moon in the zodiac across a year of three-hundred and sixty days with twelve months of thirty days each. Most of the remaining chapters deal with the description of specific divinatory practices.

Thus Chapters Three and Four deal with dream divination. Bellusci (Chapter Three) studies Hebrew dream-requests in fragments of the Cairo Genizah, in which the client, after performing certain preparatory rituals (concerning the body of the sleeper and the sleeping place), inquires about a subject with an answer expected during the dream. This answer may come from a divine or angelic source, or from the interpretation of certain codified signs perceived in dreams. Villuendas Sabaté's study (Chapter Four) focuses on a fragmentary dream handbook attributed to Ḥai ben Sherira Gaon in its Hebrew versions (Pseudo-Ḥai's *Pitron ḥalomot*), which she reconstructs from eleven Judaeo-Arabic Genizah fragments, providing the edition, Hebrew parallel version, and English translation of the chapter dealing with bloodletting.

Chapter Five (Shraga Bar-On) discusses the divinatory practice known in Hebrew as *goralot*, an ambiguous Hebrew term that here denotes, specifically, bibliomancy, in the form that was most widespread among Jews, namely the use of the Hebrew Bible for decision-making.[25] Bar-On (quoting Van der Horst) shows that some form of bibliomancy might have been used in Qumran, but it remains

unexplored how and why Jews passed from a specific and limited "Lot of the Torah" to broader and unspecific "lottery books" that seem to be a whole literary genre, expanding the use of Biblical texts to include other literary pieces of different (and perhaps non-Jewish) provenances. Though Bar-On states that bibliomancy was the most accepted form of divination among Jews, this is perhaps something to be discussed and explored in more detail given, for instance, the frequent occurrences of dream divination (Chapters Three and Four) and astrology (Chapters Two, Six, Seven, and Eight) in Jewish cultures.

Chapter Six (Josefina Rodríguez-Arribas) presents an introduction to the *Letter* (a *responsum*) that Abraham bar Ḥiyya addressed to Judah bar Barzillai, with the personal purpose of defending himself from an accusation of "consultation of Chaldeans" for supporting the use of electional astrology to choose the hour of a wedding. The broader and more ambitious purpose of the *Letter* is to defend astrology as a legitimate, beneficial, and required knowledge and practice for Jews. Because it uses halakhic language and arguments, this *Letter* becomes a very important document in the history of divination among Jews. Judah ben Barzillai is doubtless the addressee of the Letter, but he has been also identified as the objector by most scholars. Rodríguez-Arribas refutes this identity and concludes that the objector must have been a foreigner who attended the wedding.

Chapter Seven (Josefina Rodríguez-Arribas and Amos Geula) presents an English translation of Abraham bar Ḥiyya's *Letter* to Judah bar Barzillai, whose basic features the previous chapter has already introduced. This *Letter* is an essential document to understand the halakhic strategies that allowed medieval Jews to learn and practice astrology.

Chapter Eight (Dov Schwartz) is a good companion piece to Chapters Six and Seven. While Chapters Six and Seven deal with the defense of astrology and the illicit character of other divinatory practices for Jews (those related to magic and some forms of *qesamim*), Chapter Eight deals with Maimonides' refutation of any form of divination and magic based in stellar knowledge. According to scholars, Maimonides forbade all kinds of magic in his halakhic works and in the *Guide of the Perplexed*, but Schwartz argues for some nuance in this position. Maimonides differentiated between professional (astral magic) and popular magic (non-astral magic); the former was the only one targeted in Maimonides' condemnation, but he did accept experiential science (*segullot*), whose knowledge can only be attained by experience, as long as it was unrelated to astral magic. The double classification of magic extends to idolatry, which also presents two forms, one learned (which involves astral magic) and the other popular (with no knowledge of astrology and relying only on the tradition or authority of others). The former is actual true idolatry while the latter is not, only resembling true idolatry. In Schwartz' view, Maimonides' major challenge was refuting the first form. Maimonides made a separation between *segullot* (true and halakhically permitted) and "the ways of the Amorite" (imaginary and banned) in the efficacious character of *segullot* confirmed by experience and unrelated to astrology with respect to Amorite practices.

Chapter Nine (Joseph Ziegler) deals with physiognomy in medieval Jewish and non-Jewish sources and discusses the increasing non-mantic character of this discipline, which places this practice closer to the fields of medicine, natural philosophy, and psychology than to divination. There is textual evidence that the Second Temple community at Qumran imported physiognomical knowledge which was clearly divinatory from Babylonia, and used it together with the zodiac sign of the person to determine the adequacy of candidates for membership in the sect. Similar practices, as well as chiromancy and

metoposcopy, were also used among Merkavah and Hekhalot mystics to determine the qualities of applicants, in the Zohar and later kabbalistic movements, and among the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* to determine not only a man's character but also his future. These practices relied on mastering the techniques of the art but also on religious intuition and union with the divine intellect. Ziegler notes the "skewed understanding of Hebrew physiognomy by modern historians of Jewish thought and science, who stressed its mantic character and transposed it entirely to the realm of esoteric magic."

Chapter Ten (Charles Burnett) introduces the consideration of the material aspects of books of magic, namely the different skins and writing supports, inks, writing instruments, and bindings used in the making of these books and the ways in which these materials were selected and handled. The focus is on Latin books of magic dealing with those practices that the *Magister speculi* in the *Speculum astronomiae* considers "detestable," i.e., "spirits, demons, or jinns are summoned with these names." King Solomon appears especially associated with this category of talismanic magic that relies on "the writing of characters which have to be exorcised through certain names," i.e. magic that works through "writing names" rather than "speaking names out loud," which links this chapter with Jewish culture, as well as the use of magic to foretell future. The chapter closes with an Appendix by Nicholas Pickwoad on the making of a grimoire as described in *The Four Rings of Solomon*, pinpointing the very specific material steps that underlay the process of making the grimoire. Burnett concludes that "the emphasis on writing … is likely to reflect the character of the works originally written in Hebrew."

In conclusion, in spite of necessary omissions of content, what is covered in this book makes an intriguing and variegated display of what divination meant and implied in Jewish cultures (though not all Jewish cultures are equally represented here). With this volume we hope to open a window on some illuminating views, even if partial, of this enticing and neglected landscape of Jewish culture.

MORE THAN A WOMB: CHILDFREE WOMEN IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AS AGENTS OF THE HOLY by Lisa Wilson Davison [Cascade Books, 9781498285513]

This book lifts up women of the Hebrew Bible who, working with the Divine, play amazing roles in the stories of Israel—prophet, judge, worship leader, warrior, scholar, scribe. They helped people celebrate the Divine's triumph over oppression. They spoke boldly to those in power. They went into battle to secure their people's safety. They gave wise judgments in important legal matters. They authenticated sacred texts and inspired a reform to help Israel return to the way of Torah. In roles that were not tied to their wombs or fertility, these women made Israel's story possible and helped it to continue to future generations.

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A Story

While it may not seem that not being a mother should be a big deal in our postmodern twenty-first century world, you would be surprised at the negative reactions I receive from folks when they learn that I do not have children: they range from pity to outright disgust. Certainly, the church is one of the realms where I receive the most negative responses from well-meaning people who indicate what a shame it is that I will never know the joy (and the pain) of being a parent. However, even in the secular and scientific world my decision is viewed as selfish or even unnatural. When my companion and I decided to finalize our decision not to have children, he spoke to his doctor about getting a vasectomy. The physician responded that he was much too young (under forty) to make such a permanent choice. My doctor, likewise, advised me to wait because I could (or perhaps would) change my mind. Eventually, when he was thirty-eight, my husband found a urologist who would perform the procedure. We have never regretted our choice.

When the local paper in the town where we lived ran a story about our decision to be what it called "childless by choice," the reporter sent to interview us asked how we could reconcile our choice with the Bible's teaching that children are a blessing from God, referencing Ps 127:3. She didn't acknowledge verse 4, where the psalmist describes sons as arrows in their father's quiver—an image evoking the fragility of life in the ancient world. Obviously the newspaper reporter did not realize or remember that I teach the Hebrew Bible for a living. The reporter went on to inquire about whether we were worried that without children we would not have anyone to take care of us in our old age. And I am the one who is considered selfish? Not to pick on an unknowing newspaper reporter, some of my friends who would consider themselves enlightened and feminist, and who have children of their own, indicate that I have missed out on some necessary experience for me to be a fulfilled woman. Clearly there is something wrong with me. But as Betty Rollins puts it, "Women have child-bearing equipment. For them to choose not to use the equipment is no more blocking what is instinctive than it is for a man who, muscles or no, chooses not to be a weightlifter."

My experience is not unique. I have heard similar stories from other women who are not mothers about being judged harshly for not having known the "joy" and "fulfillment" of being a mom. The association of "true womanhood" with motherhood is prevalent in the United States even with our twenty-first-century "wokeness" about sexuality and gender. Even I have been influenced by the presumption that whatever I do accomplish must fit within the broad category of "reproduction." In the preface to my first book, Preaching Women of the Bible, I wrote these words, "While writing the book has felt like birthing a beloved child, the book's completion does not mean the end of this phase of study. There are too many women whose stories have yet to be studied and preached. This book is but my firstborn." When I wrote the book, my companion and I had already decided not to have children, yet the only vocabulary I had for describing the writing process evoked the birthing of children. With these words, I had unintentionally "motherized" myself. "Motherize" is a word that I use (and probably coined) to describe the process by which a woman who is not a mother is made to become like a mother so that others feel more comfortable. This has happened to me numerous times in churches, where on

Mother's Day "all mothers" are recognized (usually by receiving a flower), and I'm included because no one knows what to do with me and others like me. While those who recognize "all mothers" have good intentions for the most part, I am not a mother and have no desire to be treated like a mother.

Studying and Teaching Women of the Hebrew Bible

One of the difficulties in studying the women of the Hebrew Bible with a feminist perspective (seeing women as equal with men) is the male focus within the ancient texts. Most female characters in the stories are identified by their relationships to males. They are mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, and concubines. While I am intentional in focusing on the women, the spotlighting of men in the biblical stories, along with the sexism of the twenty-first century, has shaped me in ways that for quite some time I did not recognize. The first few times I taught a course on women in the Hebrew Bible, the syllabus was arranged by grouping women as mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, and other women. When I finally saw how my course was reinforcing this male bias, I was shocked and disappointed. The next syllabus was completely revised to present the stories of the Hebrew Bible by following a female chronology.

Sexism and stereotypes continued to show up in unexpected ways as I taught about women. My practice has been to ask students to name their favorite female character from the Hebrew Bible. After recognition by some that they really didn't know the names of female characters, their answers usually included some of the more obvious women: Ruth, Naomi, Miriam, Sarah, Rachel, Rebekah, and so forth. I remember one time when a student said their favorite character was Deborah, and my first response was to say that I really did not like Deborah. When I was asked for a reason, I said I do not really like her because she acts "like a man." As the words came out of my mouth, I could not believe what I was hearing. Where did I, a proud feminist, get the idea that fighting or engaging in violence, or both are male behaviors and not appropriate for females?

The purpose of sharing these stories is to make clear that everyone is shaped by cultural ideals and stereotypes about women and men, despite their best intentions not to be. Identifying incidents within my life and scholarship is to assure readers that I am not judging others' interpretations of female characters in the Hebrew Bible without admitting my own shortcomings. As all biblical interpreters do, each scholar brings a perspective shaped by their reading location and contributes in new ways to our understanding of texts. What I offer in this book is another possible lens through which we can read the stories of women in the Hebrew Bible, with particular attention to female characters who are not framed by their reproductive potential or failure. By no means is this the only or even best interpretation of the texts; however, this angle does contribute to our ongoing conversations about the Hebrew Bible and issues of biological sex and gender identity. Hopefully, it is a new and helpful offering.

This book lifts up women who, working with the Divine, play amazing roles in the stories of Israel: they are prophets, judges, worship leaders, warriors, scholars, and scribes; they help people celebrate their God's triumph over oppression; they speak boldly to those in power; they go into battle to secure their people's safety; they give wise judgments in important legal matters; they authenticate texts and inspire reform to help Israel return to the way of Torah. In ways that were not tied to their wombs/fertility, they make Israel's story possible and help it to continue to future generations.

For Whom Is This Book Intended?

The most obvious answer would be that this book is for those who wish to study the women in the Hebrew Bible. Particularly, though, the gleanings from the study that follows are for women, who by choice or circumstance, are not mothers and are seeking a way to claim a place in the stories of their faith. Perhaps, like me, they are tired of being judged by others for what is seen as a lack or of being "motherized" so that their lives align with others' concepts of womanhood. This book is also for anyone frustrated by having their identity defined by whether or not they put their reproductive organs to use and have children. Ultimately, what I present here is for everyone who holds the stories of the Hebrew Bible as important to their faith and wishes to expand their own ideas about sexuality and gender identity. Whatever your reason for reading the book may be, my wish is that you will find the material enlightening and the time you invest in it well spent. <>

THE END(S) OF TIME(S): APOCALYPTICISM, MESSIANISM, AND UTOPIANISM THROUGH THE AGES
edited by Hans-Christian Lehner [Series: Prognostication in History, Brill, ISBN: 9789004461024]

In times of crises, be it about climate change, the pandemic corona virus, or democratic struggles, there is an unwaning interest worldwide in the end of times and related themes such as apocalypticism, messianism, and utopianism. This concerns scholarship and society alike, and is by no means limited to the religious field.

The present volume collates essays from specialists in the study of apocalyptic and eschatological subjects. With its interdisciplinary approach, it is designed to overcome the existing Euro-centrism and incorporate a broader perspective to the topic of end time expectations in the Christian Middle Ages as well as in East Asia and Africa.

Contributors include: Gaelle Bosseman, Wolfram Brandes, Matthias Gebauer, Jürgen Gebhardt, Vincent Goossaert, Klaus Herbers, Matthias Kaup, Bernardo Bertholin Kerr, Thomas Krümpel, Richard Landes, Zhao Lu, Rolf Scheuermann, and Julia Eva Wannenmacher.

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Excerpt: An interesting failed concretization of the end times can be found in a Latin chronicle that was compiled at the Alsatian abbey of Marbach, probably during the 1230s. This document reports that, in 1185, a Toledan astronomer named John sent out letters to the world claiming that, in the following year, around September, the planets would all gather together into one house, and a wind would arise that would destroy almost all human structures. In addition, death, famine, and many more calamities were predicted, together with the end of the world and the arrival of the Antichrist. Regarding this, all astronomers, other philosophers, and magicians were agreed, whether Christians, Gentiles, or Jews. This led to a great fear among many, such that some built a shelter underground while, in many churches, fasting, processions, and litanies were held. At the predicted time, however, there was good cheer and calm in the air, as none of the prophesies had come true, thereby proving, according to the chronicler, that the wisdom of this world was foolishness before God, as stated in 1 Cor 3:19. This rejection encompassed Christian, Jewish, and pagan predictions, whether based on astronomy, philosophy, or magic. However, speculation about the end of times is not merely a medieval issue. In early 2003, US President George W. Bush reportedly asked his French counterpart Jacques Chirac to support his campaign in the Middle East, using one argument in particular that struck Chirac as odd. War is inevitable, Bush allegedly said, because a prophecy is being fulfilled: Gog and Magog are at work in the Middle East. This bewildered Chirac: *Is this guy for real?* Chirac's staff called on Thomas Römer to provide Chirac with a brief exposé on the biblical roots of Bush's allusion. While this anecdote has been challenged recently, and despite being widely repeated, it must be admitted that this is usually with the intention of making Bush appear ridiculous. Nevertheless, the story also confirms that the apocalyptical motifs, here in the form of the evil empires or individuals Gog and Magog, best known from Ez 38–39 and Rev 20, remain with us and, through them, a certain fascination for speculations, theories, and interpretations concerning the end times also persists.

Much work on apocalyptic beliefs and the end of times has been undertaken in recent years. Groundbreaking monographs by Bernard McGinn, Richard K. Emerson, and Robert E. Lerner have had

an immense impact on the study of the European Middle Ages. The advent of the new millennium provided the occasion for a number of academic events on this theme, and many proceedings of these conferences were subsequently published. This led to the well-deserved acknowledgement of individuals or collectives regarding the influence of their thoughts on the end of times, and continues to inspire academic discourse in more recent studies, such as the publications in the *Cultural History of Apocalyptic Thought* series, the proceedings of the workshop *Forming the Future Facing the End of the World*, the *Companion to the Premodern Apocalypse*, the interesting and inventive examination of the gender aspect within the context of the apocalypse presented in the collected volume *The End of the World in Medieval Thought and Spirituality*, and *Geschichte vom Ende her denken: Endzeitentwürfe und ihre Historisierung im Mittelalter*. In addition, large-scale studies have provided the impetus for further detailed analysis, such as the monograph *Heaven on Earth* by Richard Landes, *Weltuntergangsphantasie und ihre Funktion in der europäischen Geschichte* by Peter Dinzelbacher, and the essay "Dies irae" by Johannes Fried. Stephen J. Shoemaker's excellent book, *The Apocalypse of Empire*, examines the development of eschatological anticipation among the followers of early Islam, placing it in continuity with the other main late ancient Near East religious traditions; namely, the Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian. Special attention has been paid to aspects like apocalypticism and messianism. Research on the end of times has mainly dealt with Jewish-Christian ideas, whilst the traditions lying outside the monotheistic religions have been assessed comparatively rarely.

A conference was held at the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities (ICRH) at the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg on December 11–13, 2017 to overcome the existing Euro-centrism and incorporate a broader approach to the topic. The majority of contributions provided here originated from this conference. The titular focus of the ICRH conference on "Fate, Freedom and Prognostication: Strategies for Coping with the Future in East Asia and Europe" has shaped the selection of articles presented here, which concentrate mainly on East Asian religions and Christianity, while being enriched by investigations into Old Norse Religion, Sufism, and the Bahá'í Faith. Still, there remain gaps in the range of possible cultural background contributions. Unfortunately, the papers on the end of times in the Islamic traditions that were presented at the conference were not written out—which is the reason why Islam is not addressed in general but picked up by one of the contemporary themes. Likewise, this volume cannot offer an article on the end of times according to Jewish belief. Even within the cultural traditions assembled here, however, gaps remain, such as regarding the apocalyptic notions that appeared in Shangqing Daoism. Those were further developed by the Lingbao School and also shaped by the interchange with other religious traditions, especially Buddhism. In these texts, the end of the world was motivated both cosmologically and morally. It was preceded by catastrophes, such as wars, fires, floods, and numerous diseases, with only a small number of people being chosen as survivors and "seed people" to live in the renewed world.

Terminology proved to be an issue during the conference. Like any current research that investigates differences and similarities between cultures, the participants faced the dilemma that, on the one hand, the examined subject can sometimes only be described by using the terminology and conceptions of its own tradition, whilst on the other hand it is clear that the thought patterns put forward for this purpose are shaped by historically contingent images and metaphors that are at times no longer recognisable as such. Richard Landes outlined a number of key terms, but it was agreed that the authors of the single contributions were not obliged to employ these definitions. Hence, for instance, the central term "apocalyptic" is not used consistently throughout the volume. Besides cultural differences, it is especially

when we approach modern times that it drops its original denotation (the Greek word for "revelation", basically meaning "uncovering") and becomes charged with the meaning of (final) terror and destruction in a more general way.

While it makes no claim to be comprehensive, this volume reflects the current state of research on the end of times in the represented fields, at least to the extent of providing an impetus for further exploration.

The volume is divided into three parts. The first presents a broad overview of the concepts related to the end of times in different cultural traditions. The second offers detailed, in-depth analyses of more specific issues found in medieval Latin Christian eschatological contemplations. The three contributions that form the third part of this volume all address modern themes in different ways, whilst the concluding chapter provides a summary of the whole by zooming in on apocalyptic millennialism.

Part One begins by presenting a survey of Christian perspectives on history, eschatology, and transcendence by Klaus Herbers and Wolfram Brandes. Herbers' recapitulation of the relevant Biblical sources concludes that the words of the Old Testament, the Gospels, and Revelation on the end of times cannot be reconciled. Then, the medieval concepts of the end of times are discussed. Commentaries on Revelation are assessed chronologically. By the 12th century, the idea that Revelation was structured in a recapitulative manner had been established. Subsequently, the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore, the principal medieval theologian of history (d. 1202), interpreted the Book of Revelation as a continuous prophecy of the entire history of the church, and apocalyptic personnel and events became historicized. The article concludes by reviewing the practical consequences of the concepts of the end of times for individuals. This was considered especially important for the salvation of the soul.

Brandes sketches three waves of characterizations of the end of times in Byzantine literature. Some calculations date the end of the world to around 500, but Brandes shows that these apocalyptic expectations were not general. As the end of the first millennium approached, a multitude of texts that were deeply concerned with the end of times appeared. A third wave emerged after a series of disasters struck the Byzantine Empire in the 15th century.

The following articles by Zhao Lu and Rolf Scheuermann turn the debate to concepts related to the end of times in Asia. Lu considers the pre-Buddhist Chinese conceptualizations of time in a very fundamental way, by focusing the debate on the seemingly dichotomic cyclical and linear conceptualizations of time. He identifies the perception of political time, the succession of dynasties, as an essential way to present the simultaneous functioning of cyclical and linear time. The dynasties succeed each other in a cyclical way, each having a linear lifespan with the overall theme of a deteriorating world. The end of political time is marked by heavenly portents in the form of natural disasters and social breakdown. The focus lies on Han apocryphal texts from the first two centuries CE. Lu shows how the utopian concept of a Great Peace (*taiping*) emerged in the first century CE as a powerful tool for legitimizing political rule and as a flexible answer to the contemporary crises. Rather than a state, the Great Peace was imagined to be in the process of gradual achievement, accommodating the political fears of radicalism while offering an appealing vision of social harmony and political stability.

Scheuermann presents insights into Tibetan Buddhism, a syncretic form of Indian Mahayana Buddhism. Here, the conceptions of different eons and the devolution of the Buddhist dharma are closely intertwined. Scheuermann points to the pedagogical use of the threat of a dystopic society to force reform while also demonstrating how the devolution of Buddhist doctrines sparked translation projects to preserve the Buddhist faith. The idea of the end of times is also found to surface in everyday contemplative practices, such as meditation on the precariousness and impermanence of human existence. Scheuermann underlines that, although Tibetan Buddhism can be classified as an apocalyptic movement, there has never been a reaction to failed prophecies about the end of time. In that sense, Tibetan Buddhists find themselves in continuous periods of apocalyptic ascent.

Two most welcome additions to the volume are the articles by Thomas Krümpel and Bernardo Bortolin Kerr. Krümpel investigates Old Norse ideas of *Ragnarök*, which can be understood, in a broader sense, as the end of the world. In a narrower sense, pointing to the actual demise of the world, the *Ragnarök* myth contains three motif-cycles: cosmic catastrophes, the collapse of social order, and the struggle of the gods. The theme is mainly outlined in the 10th century text "Prophecy of the Seeress" from the *Poetic Edda* as well as in the so-called *Snorra Edda*, presumably compiled by the Icelandic poet Snorri Sturluson in the early 13th century. This latter text is best known from its adaptation by the composer Richard Wagner (d. 1883) in his *Götterdämmerung*. Krümpel presents a variety of interpretations of these texts, concluding that a fate-determined understanding might best reflect the Old Norse beliefs. In a second step, the *Ragnarök* traditions are described in the context of a deduced Indo-European myth-complex of the downfall and renewal of the world. The hints at the cyclical character of the Old Norse notions of the world's end and renewal remain controversial, since one passage suggests that the renewed world is subjected to new destruction.

Kerr addresses the (chronologically) young Bahá'í Faith and offers a broad overview of its conception of the apocalypse. Although the term "apocalypse" itself is rarely found in texts of the Bahá'í Faith, the notion of unveiling is important for the Bahá'í conception of a continual process of divine revelation. Kerr substantiates an active component in all forms of teaching by highlighting five strands that form the conception of the Apocalypse, combining historical and theological-mystical interpretations. The first strand is the eternal apocalypse, referring to God's eternal presence. From this follows the eternal presence of revelation, which is constantly happening in all things. This ties in with the manifestations of God, each of which reveals God's eternal presence. The fourth strand is more progressive—here, it is asserted that each new manifestation of God marks the day of judgement for the preceding dispensation. Finally, the fifth strand describes the manifestations of God's revelation in historical events and their result in either salvation or calamity, which is connected to a strong admonition to the faithful actively to prosecute the noble duty in order to achieve ultimate peace. It is noteworthy that we find another pedagogical-didactical aspect here: The descriptions of the Apocalypse, referencing the Bible and the Qur'án, encompass both: calamity—in the shape of an earth-shattering, catastrophic event—and salvation. Ultimately, they can be regarded as a call for an active response—individually as well as collectively—to serve humanity and channel the salvific character of Revelation.

Part Two provides three conceptualizations of the end of times from the Latin Middle Ages, picking up themes that had been addressed in Herbers' survey. Gaelle Bosseman reviews the case of Béatus of Liébana, whose allegorical understanding of the apocalypse formed a moral discourse of penitence. In his commentary from 776–786 CE, Béatus provided numerous calculations, including a discussion of the

symbolic value of numbers, which are intended to prove both that the end of times will come and that its advent cannot be predicted precisely. Still, as Bosseman demonstrates, Béatus insinuates that these calculations were somewhat superfluous, with the aim of inciting the faithful to repent before it is too late. Through this, Béatus maintained a positive—almost utopian—mentality concerning the end, as Bosseman observes. The commentary remained very popular in monastic contexts on the Iberian Peninsula until the tenth century.

Julia Eva Wannenmacher discusses the role of Muslims in the (apocalyptic) writings of Joachim of Fiore. Joachim's perception of history was based on his profound studies of the Bible and the rule of *recapitulation*. Whilst this was in line with previous authors, Joachim was unique in incorporating Islam and the apostate Christian empire into his historical scheme. Mohammed was primarily presented not as a military leader but rather as the deviser of a heresy and as one of the persecutors of Christians within the system of recapitulating persecutions. Joachim was wary, however, of demonizing Mohammed or Muslims in general, or using them in a political manner. Here, Wannenmacher draws an arc to the contemporary political use of eschatological personnel. This is not only present in the Christian traditions, but also has a place in the Islamic culture.

Matthias Kaup introduces two tracts from the little-known *Anonymus Bambergensis*, who, at the beginning of the 13th century, made the most influential German contribution to the development of the high and late medieval theology of history; it was received in large parts of Europe, and in fact attributed to Joachim of Fiore. Up to this point, the Bamberg Anonymous, still unedited and therefore only known superficially, has been renowned only for his singular letter mysticism, which for the first time led to the subdivision of history into centuries. Matthias Kaup now shows the extraordinary importance of Satanology in *Anonymus*' historical thought, especially his remarkably inventive diabolotrinitarianism. This takes Satan's guiding principle of *perversa imitatio Dei* to its extreme, which leads to a unique historical periodization according to the changing grade of passivity of the three persons of the Devilhood.

Part Three addresses specific aspects of the end of times in the modern era. Vincent Goossaert uses the term apocalypse in a rather modern way with the meaning of catastrophic events. He investigates eschatological production during the time of the Taiping War, a massive rebellion that occurred in China from 1850 to 1864. He stresses that the belief that disasters such as war could end a cosmic cycle was dominant among eschatological beliefs in the Chinese traditions. During the Taiping war (and the various other brutal conflicts that broke out all around the Chinese Empire), people attempted to make sense of the chaos surrounding them, expressing their eschatological ideas in essays, diaries, poetry, and, most articulately, divine spirit-writing revelations. These texts were reprinted after the war, showing that this eschatological thinking persisted. The apocalypse of the Taiping war came to be conceived of as a herald of even worse apocalyptic events. Like many of the texts presented in this volume, the didactical function is important: the respective authors proclaimed that a moral reform could reverse the end of the world or, at least, save the righteous individual.

The final two articles as well as the concluding chapter decisively deal with a special aspect of the end of time; namely, millennialism.

Jürgen Gebhardt proposes a comparative analysis of the ideas and semantics of modern millennialism, which he describes as being marked by a combination of typical features: a teleological reading of history

incorporating a belief in a progressive movement of time toward an ultimate goal of perfection, linked with a utopian image of an idealized final state of humanity.

Matthias Gebauer turns the focus to the African continent and the presence of conceptions of the end of times within Murabitun Sufism. The Murabitun, under their spiritual leader Abdalquadir as-Sufi, are one of the new, contemporary mystic Islamic orders. Gebauer bases his assumption on field studies as well as on the writings of as-Sufi. He proposes the category of *indigenous millennialism* to describe the concurrence of the end of times with hope for a new social order. This is influenced by the ideology of Black Consciousness and, hence, this millennialism is ultimately seen as bringing an end to the longing for stability to the "African self" and establishing a Black and Muslim society. Political change, according to as-Sufi, will not happen due to religious practice alone, but is seen as being rooted in political action.

In the concluding chapter, Richard Landes draws on the results of his long-standing engagement with

Deutz, Hildegard of Bingen, Joachim of Fiore, and others. Also, the suggestively cyclical character of the Old Norse notions of the world's end is broached in the corresponding article.

Clearly, on a synchronic and systematical level, patterns exist within the narrative structures of the end of time. As noted, these narratives often react to the perception of crises. Due to the different cultural contexts and historical observation periods of the subprojects, the term 'crisis' seems to be an extremely useful point of reference on which to base a comparative analysis without having prematurely to hypostatize a certain crisis or experience as the cause. It seems worthwhile to elaborate further on the connection between the emergence of apocalyptic ideas and social crises. On the other hand, end of time phenomena can also be regarded as prefiguration, which only reveals a crisis within a specific interpretive framework.

Another issue is the moral-didactical-pedagogical aspect that is connected with the end of times. Across cultures, this aspect is inherent to most of the sources presented here. The impending doom and allegedly undefined end form a good basis for calling for amendment and (moral) reform.

These similarities and differences might prove fruitful ground for further comparison. Future endeavors may add greater detail and systematization to the debate. Since the climate debate, the corona virus crisis, or the struggles of democracy at the latest, it has been shown that end of time semantics is by no means limited to the religious field of action—although religious interpretative models predominate. The relationship between religious and secular end of time modulations could be another candidate for drawing further contrasts.

Also, an integration of the specific theme of the end of time into the scientific discourse on the concepts of time appears potentially rewarding: a theoretical framework has been provided by research on the philosophy and psychology of time, with special reference to the works of Paul Ricoeur. Likewise, narratological analyses in the field of literature show great promise regarding further investigations of the end of time. <>

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