

CREATORS, CREATURES AND VICTIM-SURVIVORS:
WORD, SILENCE AND SOME HUMANE VOICES OF SELF-DETERMINATION
IN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE FROM THE WYCLIFFE BIBLE OF 1388 TO
THE UNITED NATIONS WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF 1993

Penelope Susan Keable

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THE TITLE

Creators, Creatures And Victim-Survivors:
Word, Silence And Some Humane Voices Of Self-Determination In Apocalyptic
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THE THESIS

In contemporary apocalyptic rhetoric, polyvalent figures of victim-survivors augment creator-creature dualism, ancient and current. Particular attention is paid to a shift in the creator-creature motif which was foreshadowed in the writings of Giambattista Vico and has been carried forward into contemporary criticism by Northrop Frye. This pursuit attempts to make available to contemporary concern an appreciation of a variety of concepts of humanity, all of which may contribute to an enhanced toleration of diversity.

THE ARGUMENT

A very simple argument is pursued against the acceptance of one-eyed visions and univocal utterances in interpretation of apocalyptic rhetoric. It is an argument for paying attention to miscellaneous images and polyvalent utterances. This entails an accommodation in thought of convergent and divergent horizons of imagery. So it is an argument for thoughtful tolerance.

ABSTRACT

This analysis of apocalyptic rhetoric brings nine generations of the written text of the Johannine Apocalypse into a contemporary (1989-1994) framework which includes phenomena such as self-determination, mutual interdependence and psychoterror. The discussion is mediated by disciplines and backgrounds of Religion and Literature. The critical method is religio-literary.

Literary themes from the Johannine Apocalypse, especially themes of annihilation, torment, blessedness and rapture, structure the discussion. These themes are related to ideas of self-determination such as were proclaimed at the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights (UNWCHR), Vienna, 1993.

The discussion questions the axioms of self-determination, especially the matter of indivisibility which came to issue during UNWCHR, Vienna, 1993. Some policies and practises of the Australian government's human rights activities are discussed. Attention is then redirected to the Johannine Apocalypse as a polyvalent source of apocalyptic ideation and a source of social empowerment.

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INTRODUCTION

I owe thanks to the School of Studies in Religion, formerly the Department of Religious Studies, at the University of Sydney. *Creators, Creatures and Victim-Survivors* found kind accommodation among the students and staff there. The religio-literary method which I shall describe and demonstrate throughout this thesis is founded on guidelines provided by that School and by the Department of English Literature where I gained my earlier education in method.

Founding Professor Eric J. Sharpe has written that a scholar considers, at the outset, her material, motive and method.¹ The material is contemporary apocalyptic rhetoric and the apocalyptic literature from which it takes most of its terms. The motive is to investigate the material. The method is innovative. I have called it religio-literary criticism.

About religio I have learned at the Sydney School to be circumspect. One of the most valuable facilities I have encountered is the non-confessional approach. Mine is not a hermeneutic of faith and hope is not a method. Given a non-confessional sanction, the subject of religion can be approached from the perspectives of any faith or none. As my subject led me to an interest in religious pluralism, that accommodation was essential.

Sharpe tells us that Schleiermacher, Coleridge and Emerson stand behind the emerging tradition of comparative religion. He describes this tradition as liberal and 'Hellenic' rather than 'Hebraic': religious studies is witnessing a shift in theological emphases from transcendent doctrines to immanentist doctrines. In the foreground of comparative religion according to Sharpe stands Nathan Soderblom (1866-1931). Soderblom's thought indirectly informs the non-confessional approach of Sharpe's Sydney School. It is ecumenical, spanning many religions; phenomenological, 'taking all religions seriously... as religions'; and immanentist, 'Religious is the man to whom something is holy'.²

Now, in 1994, the non-confessional approach is in jeopardy as a rise of fundamentalist devotionism insists that there can be no understanding of religion from the outside.³ I concur with Sharpe: 'The numinous is... not to be inferred from man's contemplation of sense data.'⁴

As a consequence of the rising fundamentalism, affiliation is becoming more important and dialogue is becoming less so. Moreover, certitude is being valorised and literalism is becoming fashionable. For example, in a recent discussion of Higher School Certificate Examinations, an interviewer for the Australian Broadcasting Commission asked a

¹ Eric J. Sharpe, *Comparative Religion a History*, Duckworth, London, 1975, p. 2.

² Soderblom, Nathan, *Tre livsformer* (1922) p. 117, in Sharpe, 1975, p. 160.

³ Sharpe, Eric J., *Professorial Address to the Postgraduate Seminar, School of Studies in Religion, University of Sydney*, March 3, 1993.

⁴ Sharpe, 1975, p. 164.

member of the Board of Studies, 'How do you test real interpretation?'⁵ The question is worrisome; that it received an answer is more so.

There is therefore a pressing need to articulate a method which might satisfy a working compromise between some of the devotionism and open dialogue. Religio-literary criticism attempts that. It works with a lower ceiling and wider horizons than theology. It differs from literary criticism by sustaining a metaphysical interest as well as a comprehensive purview.

In this matter, we can follow David Lawton, asking of Biblical and scriptural material, not what it means but what it can be taken to mean.⁶ This approach is supported by Mark Ledbetter; 'No methodologies have claim to the interpretation, but only an interpretation (his emphases).'⁷ The religio-literary method maintains diversity in the interests of pluralism, seeking encounter rather than certainty.

The study entitled *Creators, Creatures and Victim-Survivors* is composed of one primary element; apocalyptic rhetoric. There are three secondary elements; humane voices, silence, and divine word. There is also a fifth element, brought to bear by interpretative intent; the victim-survivors constitute the fifth element.

How are figures of victim-survivors related to apocalypses? Is victimization nurtured by apocalypse? Or by certain kinds of apocalypse? Those are questions which this study proposes to investigate.

The hypothesis is that there are kinds of apocalypse which do foster victimization and other kinds which point beyond victimization. The gist is this: if some apocalypses foster victimization while others do not, people may find it useful to be able to differentiate kinds of apocalypse; and to explore apocalypses comparatively, multiculturally, that is pluralistically.

Why hypothesise a connection between apocalypses and victimization? To answer this question it is necessary to refer to my earlier study of apocalypses, *Figments of Armageddon*. That there is a relationship between phenomena of apocalypse and figures of victims, especially victims of genocide, emerged as a fact of that work but the nature of the relationship remained unexplored. *Creators, Creatures and Victim-Survivors* contains the heretofore neglected exploration.

Figments of Armageddon examined the rhetoric of apocalypses in English by reference to the popular concern about the uses and abuses of nuclear technologies which was

⁵ Australian Broadcasting Commission Radio National, 3 March, 1993.

⁶ David Lawton, *Faith, Text and History: The Bible in English*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, New York, 1990, p. 1.

⁷ Mark Ledbetter, 'Telling the Other Story: A Literary Response to Socio-Rhetorical Criticism in the New Testament' in *Semeia 64: The Rhetoric of Pronouncement*, Vernon K. Robbins (ed.), Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, Georgia, 1994, pp. 289-290.

expressed in literature and popular culture during the 1980s. Textual analyses showed that so-called nuclear apocalypses confront readers and writers with many ethical and hermeneutical questions which refer, implicitly and explicitly, to problems of victimization. Three of the many questions are reiterated below. They are sufficient to demonstrate the rationale which informs our interest in figures of victims.

The questions which follow emerged at the conclusion of the lengthy argument contained in *Figments of Armageddon*. Consequently, their terms may be somewhat cryptic here. I have, however preserved the language of their original expression so as to render them accessible to further scrutiny, if required.

The first question:

Do the transformations and empowerments which ensue from the development of nuclear technologies serve well the goal of collective survival?⁸

The answer to that is negative and failure of collective survival constitutes genocide. So this question implies directly the problem of victimization by genocide. The second question follows:

How, if the principles of Buddhism, Shinto and Christianity do not suffice (to give form and meaning to the holocausts of Hiroshima and Nagasaki), might form and meaning be given to the experience of both the deliverers and the receivers of nuclear holocaust?⁹

This question addresses a central problem of victimization by genocidal pogroms. The third question addresses the pragmatics of extermination; victimization by assault is an axiom of extermination:

If one enacts indefensible assault on others, has one not demonstrated the means by which such assault may be enacted upon oneself?¹⁰

We found that victims of genocide, of holocaust, of assault, exist among the figures of nuclear apocalypses. Further questions arose. Do such figures inform other apocalypses? How? How not? To what effect? These questions might be viewed as pretexts to Creators, Creatures and Victims.

Who are the creatures and creators who stand at the head of our subject? They are better known as a duo: Creator-creature, commonly recognised by apocalypticists as a dualism

⁸ See Penelope S. Keable, *Figments of Armageddon*, Thesis M.A. (Hons), University of Sydney, Sydney, 1991, p. 390. This question is asked in discussion of collective continuity, with particular reference to works of Robert Jay Lifton and F.H. Knelman.

⁹ Keable, 1991. p. 398.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 403.

or duality. Our method (developed in *Figments of Armageddon* and being tested in *Creators, Creatures and Victims*), however, is not dualistic but pluralistic. Religio-literary criticism asks of these commonly accepted forms of expression, Who or what else might be present?

One might query the necessity of confronting one's readers with a title which challenges the conventional, singular usage, 'Creator'. That query indicates a prejudice against pluralism. That prejudice resides within the English language itself. As William Blake pointed out, the Bible (with its God-Creator) codifies our art and, as Northrop Frye has demonstrated, the Biblical code is structural to English literature. The prejudice for pluralism implicit in our title is not intended to challenge the precepts of monotheism nor even to raise a theistic question. It is intended as affirmative action for the preservation and extension of elasticity in any of the codes by which we communicate.

Of course, the less conventional an interpretation is, the more it is difficult to read and write. In Chapter Three we will observe some of the problems of simultaneity and atemporality which Giambattista Vico's unconventional hermeneutics provoke. In Chapter Four we will observe Northrop Frye's ameliorative techniques by which he generalises an intuition which must otherwise remain idiosyncratic. Needs must defend the extra effort.

Contemporary apocalypses provide an agenda of questions to address to Biblical material. We proceed from religio-literary considerations to social concern, finding a background in the Bible and a foreground in contemporary victimization. Ruairidh (Rory) Boid calls this an 'environment of concepts'¹¹ In an environment of apocalyptic concepts, victim-survivors are not new; they are the invisible authors of much of it. It is their present attempt, through contemporary apocalyptic rhetoric, to gain visibility, credibility and recognition that is new.

There is, however, a trend in ethical questioning known as the humanist tradition, to which their efforts toward self-identification belong. There are many definitions of humanism but the sense implied here is that put forward by Alan Bullock; an emphatic interest in things human rather than things non human.¹² This is no denial of divinity, gods or of other non human entities, merely a preoccupation with humanity. This view contrasts with, for example, that of Corliss Lamont who asserts that humanism admits of no supernatural entities or conditions.¹³

Humanistic absolutism such as Lamont's collapses into nonsense because people identify themselves and recognise one another in terms of what we are not. Bullock, Vico, Frye and Sharpe all acknowledge this necessity. Sharpe, for example, maintains that religion

¹¹ Ruairidh (Rory) Boid, 'A New Era in the Study of the New Testament' in *Australian Religion Studies Review*, Journal of the Australian Association for the Study of Religions, Vol. 6, No. 1, Autumn 1993, pp. 80.

¹² Alan Bullock and Oliver Stallybrass, *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, Fontana Collins, London, 1977.

¹³ Corliss Lamont, *Humanism as a Philosophy*, Watts & Co, London, 1952, p. 52.

cannot exist without a sense of human limitation vis a vis a transcendent order of being but it is the scholars task to set the study of religion free from submission to any transcendent authority. Sharpe points out that religio signifies being obedient to an order and asserts that, in religion, the supernatural is normative. The student must, he tells us, accept the assumption of the transcendent as integral to the source, so religion cannot be an all-inclusive miscellanea of experiences: 'Religion therefore cannot become the playground of random subjectivities'.¹⁴ Thus Sharpe disposes of humanistic absolutism (and absolutism in general). In Chapters Three and Four we will observe that Vico and Frye follow similar precepts.

Our humanism, then, is attenuated. No 'God-is-dead' argument is entered into here. The argument of this religio-literary analysis is more in accord with that of Church Father Irenaeus, observing a two-phase development of humanity. First as respondent creatures, second as free creatures. Or, as John Hick describes it: 'drawn through their own freedom towards an individual and corporate perfection'.¹⁵

Our attenuated humanism shows us that victim-survivors are proclaiming themselves; emerging from their virtual annihilation effected by common ignorance of their conditions and circumstances. As Jose Ortega y Gasset puts it, humans have no choice but to be always doing something to keep ourselves in existence.¹⁶ In contemporary apocalypses, as we shall observe, people emerging from abysmal experiences proclaim to the rest of the world that they are still among us.

Part One of this study is entitled 'Words and Silence in Apocalyptic Rhetoric'. It explores texts and methods by which apocalypses can be investigated. The term 'apocalyptic rhetoric' begs its own questions, though. What is apocalyptic? Chapter One puts forward a working definition. With Chapter Two there begins an exposition of apocalyptic literature aimed to answer the question, What, in this context, is apocalyptic rhetoric? This exposition continues throughout the dissertation. Chapters Three to Five, taking rhetoric as a peculiar resonance which supports a truth put forward by speaking or writing, explores interpretative methods. In Chapter Six some broad contexts of apocalyptic rhetoric are discussed. Chapters Seven and Eight comprise analyses of the Johannine Apocalypse, by which a paradigm for the interpretation of contemporary apocalypses (essayed in Part Two) is drawn. Chapter Nine concludes Part One with a retrospective overview.

Part Two of the study, entitled 'Some Humane Voices of Self-Determination' demonstrates and discusses some applications of the religio-literary method which is wrought through Part One. The whole work is primarily engaged with the metatexts of apocalypse. Our preliminary observations showed that it has a metatextual association

¹⁴ Eric J. Sharpe, 'Religious Studies, the Humanities and the History of Ideas' in *Soundings*, Vol. LXXI No. 2-3, Summer/Fall 1988, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, pp. 248-249.

¹⁵ John Hick, *An Interpretation of Religion: Human Responses to the Transcendent*, Macmillan, London, 1989, p. 119.

¹⁶ Jose Ortega y Gasset, *History as a System*, Greenwood, Westport Connecticut, 1981, p. 165.

with genocide. A methodological problem exists in the fact that genocide is a concept of modernity and postmodernity not antiquity but apocalypse takes all three eras into its scope. Chapters Eleven to Thirteen mirror the anatomy of the Johannine Apocalypse followed in Chapter Ten. This is to show the relationship of the particular (Johannine) apocalypse to the more generalised apocalyptic rhetoric which is addressed in Part Two.

Through words, pictures and signs which symbolise a coeval association of creation and eschaton, traditions of apocalyptic literature have accumulated. They are not exclusively Christian but the New Testament Apocalypse is their primary referent. Nevertheless, in their context we will encounter, for example, Altizer's call for an immersion of Christianity in Buddhism, as well as references to the Hindu Wheel of Life, and the Romani Star Magic. They all have significance as symbols of apocalypse; the dancing Siva, or the crucified Christ, or a solar eclipse, each may serve as a metaphor in the literature of apocalypse. And there can be apocalyptic significance without symbolic representation; Buddhism can entertain a silent apocalypse in every breath.

Little needs be said here about what constitutes things literary, except to acknowledge that Northrop Frye's work, as I have read it, provides the vehicle by which literary form is described in this thesis. Frye writes:

One of the first things I noticed about literature was the stability of its structural units: the fact that certain themes, situations, and character types, in comedy let us say, have persisted with very little change from Aristophanes to our own time.¹⁷

Frye describes a literary universe. Its geography can be discerned as movement, through time, of themes, narratives and constellations of symbols. We can imagine it in terms of peaks and troughs, like the waves of the sea, or the earth's waves which are mountains. The waves of literature move slowly, like the coming and going of mountains. Apocalypses are like that. The Johannine text is one example of this.

It is well to mention here that controversy exists over the use of the term Johannine, especially with reference to the Biblical Revelation. The New Testament book entitled Apocalypse, otherwise known as Revelation, is called herein the Johannine Apocalypse. The first person narrator of the Johannine Apocalypse uses the name John but whether that name is a fiction or whether it refers to the disciple John, exiled to the isle of Patmos, or the author of the Gospel of John, or John the Divine, or another, is uncertain. The text, however, is commonly known as the Apocalypse or Revelation of John, and Johannine is an already accepted by some as a descriptor of it.

It is possible that the text is the product of the shared efforts of a group, or circle, of like-minded thinkers; a Johannine circle. Institutional convocations can maintain such a literary circle over centuries, especially when the scholars canonise texts. Oscar Cullman's book *The Johannine Circle* makes a strong case for this possibility.¹⁸ To

¹⁷ Northrop Frye, *The Great Code*, Ark, 1983, p. 48.

¹⁸ Oscar Cullman, *The Johannine Circle*, SCM, London, 1976, pp. 54-55.

acknowledge the possibility of collective authorship and the pluralism inherent therein, the term Johannine is preferred here.

Ideas of literary unity and authorial unity attend much of the discussion of the Johannine Apocalypse. To add to this, history intrudes upon literature, imposing a metonymy of proper names and 'real' persons which is not pertinent to the poetics. Take, for example, Austin Farrer's interpretation. He understands the author of the Johannine text as an individual and, writing of the difficulties of discovering an interpretative method appropriate to the Apocalypse, writes: He (John) must be allowed to be his own interpreter and build up his symbolic background as he proceeds.¹⁹ Here is the well known fallacy of authorial intent. Or is it something else? Henry Barclay Swete, questions the value of pursuing the question of authorship. He suggests that the discourse amounts to little more than the assertions of writers who have found in the analysis of the book a fascinating field for intellectual exercise.²⁰

Mention should be made in this connection of the words kerygma and kerygmata. They comprise terms of reference by which discussion proceeds throughout this study, so a brief note on their usage is required here. In the Greek, kerygma is singular and neuter; kerygmata is the plural. According to OED, the word 'kerygma' comes from the Greek noun denoting proclamation and the verb to proclaim. We see from this noun/verb connection that kerygma refers not only to an event which has been accomplished as proclamation but also to the act of accomplishing it. In English, the plural form, kerygmata, seems hardly to have survived. The atrophy of the plural form reflects an influence of Christian dogma on English language.²¹

In Christian monotheism, kerygma is singular, being the always unique Word of the supreme God. A religious belief in words as agents of creation informs such concepts of kerygma. In literary and religio-literary criticism, however, monotheism has no monopoly on terms. Nevertheless, literary discourse on proclamation has roots in Christian thought and the singular usage is current. This, however, is a precarious usage, functioning in English with the same ambivalence between singular and plural senses as does the word 'media'.

Self-proclamation and self-determination are linked in apocalyptic rhetoric by kerygma. Of particular interest to this study is the appropriation of some and not other forms and symbols of traditional apocalyptic rhetoric to contemporary discourse of self-determination. Note that English is employed as lingua franca to an international community of readers and listeners, so the intricacies of the English language must interest us here.

¹⁹ Farrer, Austin, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1964, p. 55.

²⁰ Henry, Barclay Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John*, Macmillan, London, 1922, p. lii.

²¹ For my more detailed discussion of singularity and pluralism with regard to kerygma, see Keable, 1991, pp. 351-370.

Self-determination was coined to denote the right of all subjects of a state to choose their government (as in the American Declaration of Independence, 1776 and French Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1793). Later it indicated the right of states to secede from multinational states and empires (as in the Charter of United Nations).²² OED tells us that since 1924 the term 'self-determination' has had legalistic applications, denoting the independent determination, or definition, by a state of its own polity.

The discourse of self-determination, however, is bifurcated. Since 1683, the common usage of the term has denoted determination by one's mind or will by oneself or itself. The second, legalistic denotation will come under discussion in Part Two of this thesis but the more common usage is employed throughout.

The question of self is the more pressing. This archaic, Old English word for 'same' was used for emphasis, as in *he self* [sic]. During the Seventeenth Century, under ecclesiastical influence, this emphasis was displaced; self came to mean 'the same'.²³ The definite article here imports transcendence where none was before. Consequently, an implicit ambiguity attends the word self; is it a transcendent or an immanent entity which constitutes the self? Is it both? Neither? Both and neither?

It is not necessary to pursue this question in depth here. A summary account of the emergence of contemporary, common usage will suffice. The popular usage of 'self' according to the Australian Macquarie Dictionary, denotes a person or thing referred to with respect to individuality; or it stands as a prefix, expressing reflexive action, as in self-control, self-help, self-conscious or self-centred.²⁴ Note the assumption of individuality. There are 139 words listed whose prefix is 'self' In addition there are 191 further listings, making a total of 330; all of them words which, by reference to 'self', take individuality as given.

If selfhood assumes individuality, what is that? The Macquarie Dictionary tells us that 'individual' denotes single, particular or separate; existing as a distinct, individual entity, or considered as such. Notice the reiteration of the subject in its own denotation here; to be individual is to be individual, according to the second entry. Despite this paucity of terms, the denotations run to eleven entries. The ninth:

a distinct, indivisible entity; a single thing, being, instance or item, is particularly noteworthy.

The entry of the concept of indivisibility into the scope of selfhood indicates an enigma of individuality. It is the enigma which attends the Old English 'he self'; if emphasis is required, then the question arises, Who might be 'he not self'? This enigma has motivated, since the Seventeenth Century, the import of the definite article, rendering 'self' not as a

²² Bullock and Stallybrass, 1977, p. 565.

²³ C.T. Onions, G.W.S. Friedrichsen, and R.W. Burchfield, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1966.

²⁴ *Macquarie Dictionary*, Macquarie Library, Sydney Australia, 1982.

synonym 'same' but as a proposition 'the same'; the same as what? From whom and what are we ourselves indivisible?

Dictionaries alone cannot render up an answer to that question. Nor will this study attempt to make any conclusive answer to it. What is attempted is an examination of some of the assumptions which attend the matter of self-determination. The first Macquarie Dictionary denotation, 'determination by oneself, without outside influence', will serve to focus the issue; can any entity known to humanity exist 'without outside influence'? If so, how so; how might this be known? In other words, Is self-determination conceivable, obtainable, and desirable?

At the Nuremburg Trial, in 1945 it was decided that individuals have responsibility for their participation in collective action.²⁵ So, since the Nazi Holocaust, there has been an ethical dimension to the problem of genocide which impinges on individuals. It is a dimension where tolerance and equity become matters of survival; where the attitudes which humans adopt toward one another determine collective viability.

As the discussion of human rights in Chapter Twelve will show, the assumptions of individualism have pervaded the English language as mass communications have been developed. So the medium betrays the message. This tends covertly to put idealism in service of discrimination. That is compatible with what Nazi and neo Nazi fascism attempts to do by overt means. It compels speech.²⁶ That is because silence is readily taken to be consent to atrocity.

This problem of language has been illustrated recently with regard to the cryptofascism of Derrida, whose mentor, Heidegger, joined 960 prominent educators in signing a vow to support Hitler and the National Socialist regime.²⁷ The point at issue is not so much that Heidegger signed the agreement but that he did not retract it when opportunity allowed. It is the silence which is significant. Likewise Derrida's silence with regard to this matter is tantamount to denial. A very strong example of this kind of cryptofascism is Francis Fukuyama's 'The End of History? After the Battle of Jena'.²⁸ Fukuyama utterly denies fascism, insisting that it no longer exists. His argument, however is supremacist,

²⁵ The individuals in question at Nuremburg on 2 November 1945 were Nazis, including Borman and Goering. Russian, American, British and French delegates, one per country, tried twenty-four of their German peers on four counts: the conspiracy of Nazism; wars of aggression; war crimes; crimes against humanity. Twelve were condemned to hanging, three were acquitted, one suicided and one escaped; the rest received varying terms of imprisonment. *Pears Encyclopaedia*, Book Club Associates, London, 1982.

²⁶ Barthes, Roland, from _____ quoted in Umberto Eco, 'Language, Power, Force', *Travels in Hyperreality: Essays*, William Weaver (Trans.), Picador, London, 1987, p. 240.

²⁷ Robert Jay Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: A Study in the Psychology of Evil*, Macmillan, London, 1986, p. 37. See also Sheehan, Thomas, 'A Normal Nazi' in *New York Review of Books*, Jan 14, 1993, pp. 30-35. Sheehan pursues discussion of the case of Heidegger and Derrida.

²⁸ Francis Fukuyama, 'The End of History? After the Battle of Jena' in *Quadrant*, Melbourne, Australia, August, 1989, pp. 15-23.

exclusivist, individualist and adversarial; in short, fascist. The point is that what is not said is at least as important as what is said.

How might one escape from the treacherous ignorance which makes cryptofascism possible and, as consequence, makes people into victims or perpetrators while denying them other alternatives? Like Robert Jay Lifton, we might pay attention to Albert Camus: 'I had been aware for decades of Albert Camus' insistence that we be neither victims nor executioners.'²⁹ Camus writes: 'all I ask is that, in the midst of a murderous world, we agree to reflect on murder and make a choice.'³⁰ How might one live in a world of executioners and victims without being the one or the other? That is the question which has motivated the research upon which this thesis is based. The chapters of the thesis will unfold that argument.

It is necessary here to explain some matters of editorial style. I have used the Australian Government Style Manual.³¹ This style is current and facilitates the inclusion of clear references to archival materials and special-purpose documents, United Nations documents, for example. As this thesis includes references to a variety of informing materials and is addressed to a variety of readers, the abovementioned style has been preferred because of its reader-accessibility.

I have followed this manual in all matters except one which relates to my Chapter Fifteen where both footnotes and endnotes are used to separate notes on the Romani Porrajmos and the Jewish Sho'ah. This is to enlighten the similarities and differences between these two aspects of the Nazi Holocaust. Footnotes are numbered throughout the text and the endnotes, occurring in this one chapter only, are alphabetically identified.

I have quoted extensively from sources. Quotations are particularly prolific in the discussion of Vico's poetics in Chapter Three, because Vico's thought is convoluted and his grammar is complicated. The quotations are to illustrate precisely the issues to which I address discussion.

There are some slight anomalies among the Biblical line numbers, especially with regard to the Wycliffe version of 1388 in relation to later generations. They are not major. For example Apocalypse 6:8 in the Wycliffe is Apocalypse 5:7 in many others.

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document. In the Bibliography, United Nations documents are listed chronologically.

²⁹ Lifton, 1986, p. xiii.

³⁰ Albert Camus, 'Neither Victims Nor Executioners' in Peter Mayer (ed.), *The Pacifist Conscience*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1966, p. 438.

³¹ Australian Government Publishing Service, *Style Manual for Authors, Editors and Printers* fifth edition, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1994.

There are topic statements following most of the chapter headings. They are presented in bold type to separate them from the rest of the text. They are intended as a guide to the essential points of the argument.

Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen follow slight variations in formulation. The former is a special case study and the latter a field report. The types of data which they contain have determined their form. Chapter Seventeen comprises a discussion of the document as a whole. Chapter Eighteen contains the conclusions.

This religio-literary interpretation of apocalyptic rhetoric, being non confessional, does not seek specifically to affirm or deny any existent, denominational interpretations. So religious doctrines or orthodoxies are suspended or bracketed from consideration in this thesis. This may result in claims which are, from orthodox perspectives, outlandish, but I do not believe that any orthodoxy can be damaged by being asked to consider them.

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