6. Seeing, Hearing and Narrating Salome. Modernist Sensual Aesthetics and the Role of Narrative Blanks

Guiding Questions

Since fin de siècle paintings, Oscar Wilde's play and Richard Strauss's opera, the figure of Salome has been embedded in modern visual regimes so centrally that she can be defined as "a sign of the visual as such" (Bucknell 1993: 503). Yet the name Salome is not mentioned in the biblical stories of the death of John the Baptist; her dance is without narrative description and is as yet unembellished by the seven veils. The name of the young woman, however, the stepdaughter of Herod Antipas, is found in Antiquities of the Jews (Greek 93-94), a work by the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (born 37 in Jerusalem, died after 100 in Rome). His Salome had nothing to do with the dance and never demanded the Baptist's head. It is precisely these kind of narrative blanks and uncertainties in the canonical biblical stories and in ancient historical documents that have been filled in by the imagination, first by religious commentators in the Patristic literature and then by the arts (cf. Inowlocki 2016: 356-67). The figure of Salome became a religious and artistic icon of luxuriant interpretations in the nominally authoritative commentaries of early Christianity and later in Renaissance and Baroque art. In the nineteenth century her revival was increasingly effected through narrative media, folk stories and literature; around the fin de siècle, dance, paintings and opera made her into an intermedia popular icon. Only Wilde's play, and then Richard Strauss however, aestheticizes visual desire, producing an aesthetic spectacle of Symbolist and biblical metaphors. In the opening scene of Strauss's opera, Salome's visual-physical attraction is contrasted with the fascination of the disembodied

'holy' voice of the prophet, proclaiming God's message from the depths of the cistern.

This chapter proposes the hypothesis that it is from the absence, the blank space within the biblical narratives that modern, multi-media aesthetics draws its formula of self-reflection as 'purely aesthetic' and a sacralization of the aesthetic. The guiding questions will be: How have narrative gaps and specific narrative strategies opened a virtual space of imagination in the process of aesthetic response? How have they helped to transfer the imaginary of this response into a picture, image and iconic body? And how, if at all, has this synergetic transmission between different media and art forms been 'reflected upon'? Building on Becker-Leckrone's research, the chapter further asks if Salome's fetishized body has silenced her biblical and family story and rendered "its intertextuality virtually invisible" (1995: 242)? The case study at the end of the chapter refers to Strauss's opera as the Salome figure's most powerful and resilient global medium of presentation. The discussion focuses on the "work on myth" (Blumenberg 1985) done by Claus Guth in his production of Salome, performed at the Deutsche Oper in Berlin in January 2016. Guth uses empty spaces without singing and 'gaps' in the libretto to insinuate an interpretation that radically reverse the traditional one and triggers confusion, new 'mental images' and critical thoughts in the viewer (see also Høgasen-Hallesby 2014: 195). By stepping into the blind spots and revitalizing storytelling on stage, Guth's production makes it possible to break with a stereotypically repeated Orientalist opera plot and to retrieve Salome's hidden story.

Fragmented Storytelling and the *Pathos Formula*

The story of Herodias, her daughter, and their part in the gospel narrative of the death of John the Baptist in Matthew and Mark, ranks among the most influential of "fascination stories" in the Bible, to use Klaus Heinrich's (1995) term. From the very start, its narrative constitution is based on narrative gaps, parallel narratives and intertextuality, the last particularly with references to the biblical canon and Josephus' version of the story, which supplied the name of Salome. Its long durée and the transformation of the gospel story into the Salome myth are a consequence partly of the polysemy of the mythical and early patristic narrations, and partly of the affective impact of the figure of Salome as a Pathos formula. In Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas, Salome plays

a significant role as an emotionally charged figure of cultural memory (for further information see Brunotte 2013) and in chapter eight of this book.

Megan Becker-Leckrone (1995) has analysed "the intertextual and 'fetishist' obsessions with the fin de siècle Salome figure." (Dierkes-Thrun 2011: 15) She asks how "a narrative has become a woman, how the gospel story has become the Salome myth, has become Salome?" (Becker-Leckrone 1995: 242) "The dancer got the name Salome for the first time from Isidore of Pelusium, who combined the story of the canonical gospels with the Josephus' report." (Rohde, 2000: 267) Certainly, as Barbara Baert (2014) has demonstrated, the influence of the early patristic commentaries on the imputations of Salome's moral corruption and the idea of her 'evil' dance should not be underestimated. In these narratives Salome was already an icon of the perennial interconnection between death, dance and (female) attraction. It was first Wilde, however, and after him Strauss, who gave the girl Salome a voice of her own and let her say that she wants the head of John to satisfy her own desire. Against this background, the question of how the many Salome narratives have become the story of a modern femme fatale and a fetishist body gains even more importance (Baert 2014: 251).

The name Salome is not mentioned in the bible; her dance is not described until the patristic interpretations; nor is there any biblical reference to the seven veils. It is precisely these kinds of "narrative blanks" or gaps in the biblical stories, to use a central term of Wolfgang Iser's (1978) theory of aesthetic response, that have been supplied by the imagination, first by religious commentators and then, mainly in the nineteenth century, by literature, opera and the other arts. As Helmut Pfeiffer has emphasized: "It is precisely out of the biblical 'blank' of the nameless narrative function that modern aestheticism acquires its formula of self-reflection that is the 'purely aesthetic.' And it is the 'void' of this 'purely aesthetic' which, around 1900, is filled by an epochal imaginary."[1] At the peak of its fascination, "the body of Salome was the obsession of late nineteenth-century European, especially French culture." (Hutcheon/Hutcheon 1998:206) Referring to Friedrich Nietzsche's aesthetic theory, encapsulated in his dictum "It is only as an aesthetic phenomenon that existence and the world are eternally justified." (1993: 32) Dierkes-Thrun notes that "Wilde realized the potency of vivid literary representations of eroticism

1 "Gerade aus der biblischen Leerstelle der namenlosen narrativen Funktion gewinnt der Ästhetizismus die Selbstreflexionsformel des 'rein Ästhetischen', um in dessen Leere ein epochales Imaginäres einströmen zu lassen" (Pfeiffer 2006: 310).

couched in terms of metaphysical longing, creating imagery that fused sexual lust with a desire for the divine and vice versa." (2011: 25) Thus, what occurred was an aestheticization of the sacred or a sacralization of the aesthetic; a process of reversal, in which the figure of Salome became the icon of decadence and in which aestheticism played an essential role. Dierkes-Thrun even goes a step further and claims: "In Oscar Wilde's Salome, it is religion for aesthetics' sake, not the other way round." (30)

Biblical Intertextuality

The following brief analysis of the style, intertextual relations and narrative function of the story of Salome/Herodias and the death of John the Baptist in the Bible focuses on the gospel of Mark, because, compared with its parallel in Mathew, Mark reported the story in an extensive, highly vivid and detailed fashion. In contrast to Matthew, who clearly integrates his much shorter version of the story into his narrative of Jesus activities, Mark, by referring to this past event, even interrupts the gospel's linear narrative flow, with its focus on Jesus' passion. I use the NRSV (1998), Mark VI, 17-29:

> For Herod himself had sent men who arrested John, bound him, and put him in prison on account of Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, because Herod; had married her. For John had been telling Herod, "It is not lawful for you to have your brother's wife." And Herodias had a grudge against him, and wanted to kill him. But she could not, for Herod feared John, knowing that he was a righteous and holy man, and he protected him. When he heard him, he was greatly perplexed; and yet he liked to listen to him. But an opportunity came when Herod on his birthday gave a banquet for his courtiers and officers and for the leaders of Galilee. When Herodia's daughter came in and danced, she pleased Herod and his guests; and the king said to the girl, "Ask me for whatever you wish, and I will give it." And he solemnly swore to her, "Whatever you ask me, I will give you, even half of my kingdom." She went out and said to her mother, "What should I ask for?" She replied, "The head of John the baptizer." Immediately she rushed back to the king and requested, "I want you to give me at once the head of John the Baptist on a platter." The king was deeply grieved; yet out of regard for his oaths and for the guests, he did not want to refuse her. Immediately the king sent a soldier of the guard with orders to bring John's head. He went and beheaded him in the prison,

> brought his head on a platter, and gave it to the girl. Then the girl gave it to her mother. When his disciples heard about it, they came and took his body, and laid it in a tomb.

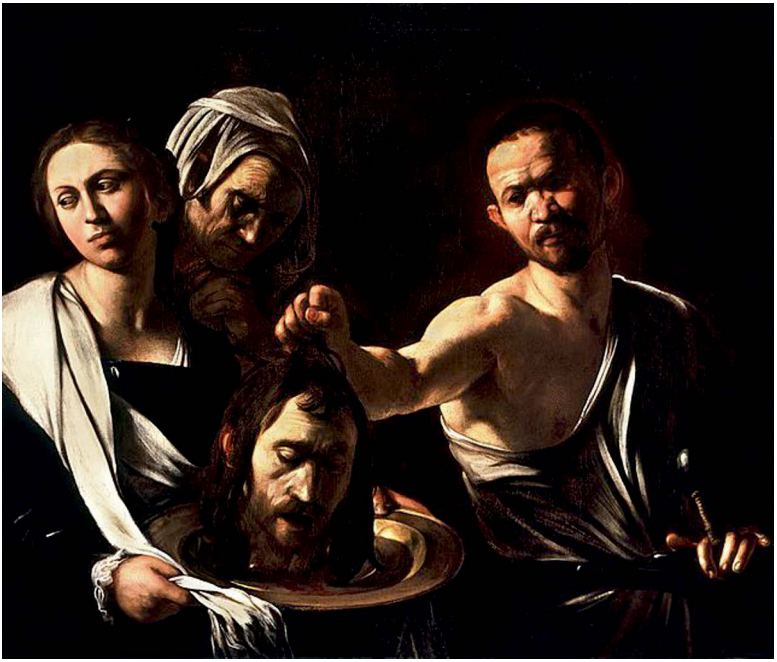
The story is clear enough: the nameless daughter of Herodias, the "girl" in the Greek text, is a mere "instrument" in the hands of her hating and power-hungry mother. She and her dance are still undescribed. It is obvious that for the narrator the dance, which is only mentioned in passing, is not of great importance. He focuses his narrative skills on the description of the wily mother and the misuse of her daughter. Moreover, the biblical commentaries are unanimous that this narrative is not a historical report of John the Baptist's death. The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, who gave Herod's daughter the Hebrew name 'Salome' (Ant. 18.135-36), omits mentioning her in connection with the beheading of John the Baptist (Ant. 18.116-19). Of particular relevance to the narrative style of the story is its reduced but finely developed language. The narration is economical in the extreme, refrains from taking sides and yet describes the key emotions – Herodias' hatred and Herod's ambivalence. Nevertheless, the story relates not only the events but depicts the whole atmosphere of the scene and, in the second half, even constructs a quasi-dramatic pace hastening to the beheading.

Following the commentators, the detached and impartial narrative perspective resembles the concise style of a Hellenistic novella, a literary genre that uses fragments of folklore poetry (see Wellhausen [1923] 2010: 121; Pesch 1997: 337-44, 339; for more recent research on the Hellenistic novella and the Salome story, see also Baert 2014). These ancient novellas can be described, as Tolbert has observed, as "literature composed in such a way as to be accessible to a wide spectrum of society, both literate and illiterate" (1978: 70; see also Hägg 2012 and Neginsky 2013: 15). In Mark's introduction, however, the Christological message and function of John's death as the advance notice of Jesus' death are clearly mentioned. Moreover, there are some obvious intertextual relations to the Hebrew Bible: Herodias resembles Queen Jezebel, who tried to kill the prophet Elia, and Herod resembles King Ahab. The display of Herodias own daughter, however, a Judaic princess, before a male audience, and her misuse for political reasons, are without precedent. As many commentators have pointed out, even in Greco-Roman culture only prostitutes could attend the second part of a banquet, with its various notorious entertainments (Neginsky 2013: 12). Further, the spare and impartial narrative style stresses the cruelty of the events. The action reaches its dramatic peak in the

scene where the girl presents the head of the prophet to her mother, like a precious gift on a platter.

In the biblical stories, Herodias' daughter is innocent. She has no independent relationship to, let alone, desire for the prophet. She is a young virgin and there is nothing about a desire for Baptist's death. In the long visual tradition of Salome paintings, it was the Italian Baroque painter Caravaggio who most intensely expressed her deep sadness in a painting of 1607/10 entitled: Salome with the Head of John Baptist.

Fig. 10: Caravaggio: Salome with the Head of John the Baptist (1610), National Gallery, Washington.



Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons

The first hint of the girl's independent significance in the early story can be seen in Herod's oath: "Whatsoever you shall ask of me, I will give it thee, unto the half of my kingdom." Here an intertextual approach, using the biblical concordance, uncovers an interesting layer of meaning. Some commentators

have remarked that, by Herod's time, the expression "you can have even half of my kingdom" had become a "proverbial saying" without real meaning (Neginsky 2013: 21). Yet it is worth mentioning that the oath is a quotation from the book of Esther (Est. 5:3, 6; 7:2) of the Hebrew Bible, referring to the time of the Persian Diaspora. Esther, the Jewess behind the throne who could save her people, became the prototype for the "Beautiful Jewess" in the history of European-Christian reception:

> The Christian reading of biblical woman prefiguring the Virgin Mary, particularly Rachel and Esther (a figure at once redemptive and erotic), is familiar, and literary adaptations of the Book of Esther have a long history. Early modern depictions of Esther the queen intercessor set up a proactive woman who uses her beauty to effect salvation. […] By nineteenth century, Esther, more than any other book of the Bible, had become a household reference and was invoked or adapted in numerous novels and plays. (Sicher 2017: 5)

Admittedly, the constellation of figures in the two stories, that of Esther and that of Salome, is very different: on the one hand the Jewish princess and girl Salome, upon whom a name is first conferred by Josephus, the stepdaughter of the Tetrarch of Galilee and a pawn in the hands of Herodias, her mother; on the other hand the young Jewess Esther, who resolutely represents and saves her people, in spite of being – and because – she is in the position of the Persian queen. In the first story a Jewish prophet and holy herald of Christ is killed by Herod; in the second, the head of a conspiracy against the Jews is executed by the Persian King. Yet by quoting the Persian king's oath in Mark's gospel story, the narrator creates an intertextual relationship between the two narratives: even though Mark's denomination of Herod as "king" is not without irony, both "kings are willing to give the power over half a kingdom…" to a young and beautiful Jewish woman. Moreover, both stories are characterized by an orientalized or, in Herod's case, hellenized setting, a banquet or a feast. Last but not least, the beauty of a young Jewess, woman or girl, becomes the decisive turning point of the narration.

Liminal Figures and Transgression

Taking into account the long-durée of the story up to modernity, these biblical narratives might be interpreted as already foreshadowing the figure of what has become known as the "Beautiful Jewess". The orientalization of fe-

male Jews even in the nineteenth century often refers to biblical figures. Anna Dorothea Ludewig (2014: 222-23) has emphasized the biblical precedent of the ambivalent figure of the "Beautiful Jewess":

> Eve, first woman and therefore first Jewish woman, is both the mother of humanity and the mother of sin. […] The story of Abraham's wife, Sara, taken to the Pharaoh's harem on their journey to Egypt, can be viewed as representative. […] Although he has already gathered a number of beautiful women in his harem, it is the Jewish woman, a 'stranger', who most captivates him. […]. Also Ester, as many other Jewish women beside her, acts as a bridge, as an intermediary between the Jewish and the non-Jewish world.

Nevertheless, in nineteenth century literature and opera, the "Beautiful Jewess" was a liminal figure, which marked and crossed borders of gender norms, religion and culture (Valman 2007: 2). Whereas Esther is an unambiguous positive example, it was the Jewish heroine Judith whose ambivalent fascination best represents the possible ambivalence within the figure of the "Beautiful Jewess". In an extremely threatening situation for her people, Judith uses her beauty to seduce and then behead the Assyrian military commander, Holofernes, thus saving her village and her people from the aggressor. Even Judith, however, as a heroine of her people, could be interpreted within the traditional canon of patriotic and moral conduct; Salome's deed, however, transgresses against the religious core and, at least in Wilde's and Strauss's versions, could no longer be 'saved' by inclusion in a religious universe. Dierkes-Thrun writes: "In Wilde's hands, the legend of Salome hence becomes a thought experiment of taking the pursuit of beauty to its utmost extreme, following it literally into murder and death, while distorting the moral and religious dimensions into aesthetic surfaces, divesting them of their guiding and regulating functions." (2011: 29)

The depiction of Herodias and Salome as, "archetypical, corrupting women and relatives of Eve," in the words of Rosina Neginsky (2013: 3, 18), started very early. Christian commentators used the Salome story as a cautionary tale for educational purposes and to shape the view of woman in society. They creatively filled in the 'narrative gaps' and unsaid dimension of the biblical stories by producing the vivid picture of the self-assured and evil daughter in league with the wily mother. The central narrative blank within the biblical stories, as Barbara Baert (2014) maintains, was the dance. Focusing their imagination on Salome's dance, early commentators already employed graphic terms to describe and simultaneously demonize it. For

John Chrysostom, writing in the fourth century, Herodias and Salome are pure evil: "the feast is a satanic performance […] with a dance that, in its shamelessness, overshadows even the performances of prostitutes."[2] (see also Levine 2008) Chrysostom concludes his denunciation thus: "Where there is dance, there too is the devil." (70) A Christian commentator of the twelfth century places Salome's dance in the pagan, Dionysian sphere and depicts it as an expression of wild bacchantic frenzy: "she was dancing 'shamelessly' and in the way of the maenads and corybants, jerking her hair through the air and exposing her body bit by bit to the audience." (Cermameus n.d.: 70-2) These early descriptions already demonized, paganized and so transformed Salome's dance into a scandalous image. In nineteenth-century Salomania, the pagan, mainly Dionysian subcode of the dance will remain, but now somewhat extended into the "oriental." Because Orientalism has been closely connected to visual culture, it was likely that opera, the monumental Gesamtkunstwerk, would become the most successful medium for presenting Salome. Here performance approaches image and the exotic is most strongly highlighted (Høgasen-Hallesby 2014: 187). Especially in Arnold Schönberg's opera Moses und Aaron (composed 1930-1932; premiered 1952), it is the "Dance around the Golden Calf" that presents not only the "almost overwhelming power of the graven image (pessel-temunah) […], but […] also central 'exotic' features of pagan rites and their bodily-sensual character…." (Assman n.d.: 19)

Transfigurations: the Visual and the Spiritual

The second part of this chapter focuses on the historical peak of European Salomania, the fin de siècle. During this time, the figure of Salome stepped out of the religious story of John the Baptist. According to Sicher (2017: 16) "In the second half of the 19th century, the Jewess [in general, U.B] leaves her farther behind and becomes an independent agent of vengeance, a femme fatale who threatens European manhood." The 19th century, a century in which women tried to re-enter the workforce and fought for political rights, "produced some 2,789 works of art and literature in which Salome was the central figure. This

2 John Chrysostom: "'Wo eben ein Tanz ist…' (…) O welch ein teuflisches Gastmahl! Welch ein satanisches Schauspiel! Welch sündhafter Tanz und noch sündhafterer Tanzlohn! (…) Wo eben ein Tanz ist, da ist auch der Teufel dabei." ([350-407] 2000: 68, 70)

image played a crucial role in creating the myth of women in the period." (Neginsky 2013: 74) During this phase of European art and popular culture Salome became iconic. At the same historical moment, when first literature seemed to assume the lead in her representation, the story was also transfigured (see Auerbach in Meyer and Largier 2015a: 155-6) into a highly popularized image and, finally, the fetishized and commercialized body of the dancing Salome.

> She is first of all an icon in western visual culture, in the many depictions of her holding or kissing the Baptist's severed head in various positions, as represented either in the vivid pictures of Gustave Moreau or in the refined black-and white lines of Audrey Beardsley. […] Salome has [also, U.B.] come to demonstrate what western culture anxiously has to control: women, children, bodies, sexuality and the orient. (Høgasen-Hallesby 2014: 179)

In Wilde's play Salomé (1891), the act of looking, gazing and seeing is fundamental in two ways: as the dominant activity of the main characters, as well as the audience, and as a recurring theme of reflection and desire. Salome's story "is embedded in our visual imagination so effectively that, in a way, she […] can be thought of as a sign of the visual as such." (Bucknell 1993: 503-26) The play explores the desire to 'unveil' the body, and it places this desire in a series of visual metaphors and visions that connects the sensual with the aesthetic and the sacred. Wilde's presentation of the Judean princess as desiring Jokanaan's ideal body and as searching in his new 'pure' religion for "spiritual rebirth," (see also Koritz 1994: 62). Anne L. Seshadri (2006: 24-25) even argues that in Wilde's play and even Strauss' opera "Salome served as a metaphor for the Jewish Question. Between the Jewishness of Herod's court, where the Jew was constructed as the unchanging racialized Other, and the Christ-like figure of Jokanaan stood Salome, signifier of transformable cultural Hebraism." Wilde connects her further with the tradition of the Carthaginian priestess Salammbô in Flaubert's eponymous novel, and also with that of Salome's dance in Flaubert's "Hérodias." In this highly sensualized story, published in 1877, "the young dancer mimics the searching, yearning movements of a lost soul for God." (Dierkes-Thrun 2011: 26) In a letter, Wilde himself compared his Salome to the virgin priestess and the mystic Santa Teresa of Avila: "My Salome is a mystic, the sister of Salammbô, a Sainte Thérèse who worships the moon." (quoted in Ellmann 1988: 376) During the second half of the play, however, her yearning becomes purely sensual. After Jokanaan's death, Salome at last kisses the lips of the severed head.

As is not unusual in Symbolism, the realm of aestheticized beauty and 'ideal art' abounds in spiritual and mythical references. Moreover, the play "thematizes a stark contrast between the verbal and the visual." (Wallen 1992: 124) The visual is connected with the ambivalent status of Salome as an 'acting icon': she is the one who is 'looked upon,' worshipped and desired, and who desires to see the body of Jokanaan. For her, 'seeing' is a bodily and sensual act. Holding the severed head of John the Baptist in her hands at the end of the play, she exclaims: "If you had looked at me you would have loved me." Jokanaan, on the other hand, represents the new (Christian) religion in a very puritan fashion: he refuses to look upon Salome, whom he condemns as "daughter of Babylon," and covers his eyes at the seductive beauty of her body. In an invisible, disembodied voice, rising out of the cistern, he praises the new religion and desires to hear only the words of his God. The modernist artistic "work on the myth" (Blumenberg 1985) reinvents and retells the biblical story, unearthing and elaborating the myth within its own cultural and historical context. In Wilde's "remaking of the iconic myth, a story about the death of John the Baptist [is] turned into the story of the dancing girl." (Høgasen-Hallesby 2014) It should be noted, however, that in the gospel stories of Matthew and Mark, the narrative flow is also interrupted as the 'girl' stages her body in dance.

In Western culture the dominance of the visual sense has been connected with the idea of a distancing, powerful gaze. This oft-gendered idea of the "gaze" (see Mulvey 1975/1999) is considered "superior to the other senses, in part because it was defined as being detached from what it observes." (Hutcheon/Hutcheon 1998: 15) When in 1905 Richard Strauss turned Wilde's play into an opera, Salome was given a singing voice, cast as a dramatic soprano, and merged with the figure of the diva. Opera as such is an embodied art form in which the voice cannot be imagined as disembodied. "Indeed," as Hutcheon and Hutcheon point out, "opera owes its undeniable affective power to the overdetermination of the verbal, the visual and the aural – not to the aural alone." (Hutcheon/Hutcheon 2000: 206) In Strauss's Salome, the body on stage gains even greater importance because, for nearly ten minutes, the singer does not sing at all, but only fills visual space with her dance.

Considering the late nineteenth-century self-reflective versions of the Salome story, it is possible to develop a more general theory about the relation between narration and imagination, the visible and the invisible, the body and the disembodied voice. All these opposites are connected to the question of how the biblical story, which in itself is already intertextually constituted, can

be mediated and figured in modern art works and how artistic "work on the myth" has elaborated and developed new facets of sense in retelling and re-enacting myth. This chapter works with the hypothesis that the 'blank spaces' within the biblical narratives, in interplay with an increasingly colourful presentation of Salome and her dance in the authorized patristic commentaries and her mnemonic role as a pathos formula, have helped to create her fascination and the flourishing line of re-inventions and variations. It is out of these traumatic, unsaid and overdetermined tensions that modern aesthetics draws "its formula of self-expression as the – often sacralised – 'purely aesthetic.'" (Pfeiffer 2006: 310)

Aesthetic Response Theory and Mental Images

Wolfgang Iser's ground-breaking and influential theory of aesthetic response describes the interactive dynamics between text and reader. It asks how the "negations" or "gaps" in a narrative leave a virtual space for the imagination of the reader to produce (new) meaning. In the preface to his book The Act of Reading of 1978 (German edition: 1976), Iser wrote: "Effects and the responses are properties neither of the text nor of the reader; the text represents a potential effect that is realized in the reading process." (Iser 1978: ix) The act of reading becomes, not unlike the performative speech act in Austin's theory, a creative and transformative process. The reader-driven concretization and fictional actualization of the art work is described as an "affective" and "aesthetic effect" that "marks a gap in defining qualities of language. […]. Thus, the meaning of a literary text is not a definable entity but, if anything, a dynamic happening." (22) This theory of "creative blanks" was influenced by Roman Ingarden's theory of literary indeterminacy. It also originated in collaboration and discussion with the philosopher Hans Blumenberg in the debates of the Constance group "Poetics and Hermeneutics." The theory of aesthetic response and Iser's later work on Literary Anthropology (1993) are closely connected with Blumenberg's considerations on the polysemy of mythical narration, as may be seen in Blumenberg's famous book Work on Myth (1985). There he maintains that mythical narrations circulate continuously and are constantly being re-told and re-invented in folk traditions, in art works and even in their academic interpretations. As Ben de Bruyn has observed: "The importance of Blumenberg's work for Iser's thinking on topics such as montage, metaphor, myth, reality, productivity and modernity cannot be stressed

enough." (2012: 47) Iser focuses on the unsaid, invisible, undetermined or only implied meanings in literary narration, which, in the process of reading, trigger our imagination and can sometimes even induce the effect of shock (131). As a kind of productive "negativity" (225), these "blanks can function as a dynamic factor to bring forth – at least potentially – infinite possibilities" of remembrance, imagination and actualization. Narrative gaps or "empty spaces" allow the reader to reconsider their expectations and produce mental images: "it stimulates communicative […] activities within us by showing us that something is being withheld and by challenging us to discover what it is with the help of 'processes of imagination.'" (Iser 1989: 140-1) "Blanks" are for Iser phenomena of tilting or tipping, in which a sudden shift of perspective occurs (1978: 212).

Since the 1980s, Iser's theory of aesthetic response has been applied to other media such as film (as he himself had already done), art works, visual culture and opera (see de Bruyn 2021). In his book An Anthropology of Images, Hans Belting (2011) demonstrates that Iser's anthropological reflections also apply to the analysis of visual culture. The art historian Christiane Kruse has also begun to develop Iser's theory of "narrative blanks" into a general theory of media (Kruse 2003: 291).

As pointed out previously in this chapter, there are already narrative gaps in the biblical story. In his book Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash, Daniel Boyarin connects a narratological approach and ideas of narrative gaps to the interpretative re-telling and re-writing of the midrash: "The gaps are those silences in the text which call for interpretation if the reader is to 'make sense' of what happened, to fill out the plot and the characters in a meaningful way." (1990: 41) The midrash is very different from modern exegesis, but perhaps it can be connected to what we find in patristic literature and to artistic and narrative "work on myth" in Blumenberg's sense. The striking intertextuality of the Salome corpus in the gospel story, let alone its re-telling and re-invention up to modernity, is already a good example of the imaginative effect of its narrative "blanks." But the theory of the imaginative effect of narrative "blanks" can also help to understand the transformation and transfiguration of the textual corpus, first into an image and then into a dancing body.

Sensuality and Religion

The Church Fathers' narrative inventions of Salome and her dance were already full of visual, graphic and sexual imaginations. Thus, it is not surprising that, at least since 1000 AD, Salome, as a pathos formula (Brunotte 2013:), has been an icon of the visual arts and depicted first and foremost as a beautiful woman and a dancing body. The nineteenth century revived the sexualizing and demonizing patristic commentaries and transformed them, producing modern Salomania. The figure of Salome was popularized as the embodiment of the femme fatale and became the icon of the Symbolist movement, which sought to attain the 'divine' through art. At the peak of its cultural impact in Europe, Salomania embraced painting, photography and, in addition to the opera, various performances of the 'Dance of the Seven Veils' by female burlesque and barefoot dancers. It was above all the Canadian dancer Maud Allan who embodied Salome in Europe (see Chapter Seven). Even when Allan, in her "Vision of Salome," impersonated the oriental princess wearing only a daringly scanty costume, she meant to present Salome as an innocent girl fascinated by John the Baptist's religious message. As Amy Koritz notes, quoting Allan's autobiography, Allan tried "to express the 'ecstasy mingled with dread' that signalled her [Salome's] impending spiritual awakening." (1996: 67)

Wilde's presentation of the Judean princess as desiring Jokanaan's ideal body, and as searching for spirituality, introduces her as an icon of aestheticism. However, even when Salome's yearning for the Baptist's body becomes purely sensual, Wilde has her use variations of the erotic-spiritual language of Salomon's Song of Songs. After Jokanaan's death, Salome at last kisses the lips of the severed head. In the novel À Rebours (Against Nature), published in 1884, in which one of Gustave Moreau's famous pictures of Salome functions as symbol of decadence, Joris-Karl Huysman humanizes the "essential modernist crisis of faith […] and inscribes empathy for the human condition into Moreau's Salome figures as well as into Des Esseintes's character …" (Dierkes-Thrun 2011: 40) As in Flaubert's and Huysman's narrations, it was Salome's dance which became central in the multimedia re-inventions of Salome. It was also the nineteenth century in which narrative media entered into direct cooperation with the visual arts to re-tell Salome's story. In this connection it should be emphasized again that the famous "Dance of the Seven Veils," which even scholars have often projected onto the biblical story, was Wilde's invention. Wilde, however, created a dramatic blank and left the mental imagination of the dance to the reader and the theatre director. In his play there was

no specific stage direction as to how the dance should be envisioned. On the other hand, Wilde's French version of the play, published in 1891, was inspired by Gustave Moreau's painting Salome Dancing before Herod (1876). Wilde was also inspired by the description of the painting that he encountered as an enthusiastic reader of the fifth chapter of Huysmans's novel. Midway through a description of the picture, the narrator Des Esseintes changes tense, steps out of the narrative past and creates the impression of the "absolute presence" of Salome's apparition: "She is almost naked! In the heat of the dance her veils have become loosened, the brocaded robes have fallen away, and only the jewels protect her naked body." (Huysmans [1884] 2008: 103-4 quoted in Neginsky 2013: 168)

Pictorial Narrativity and the Creation of an "Apparition"

As this example demonstrates, in Huysmans's novel there is already a tension between the narration and the visual, the said and the seen, narrative temporality and the "frozen image" of Salome. This tension becomes even more relevant in Wilde's play, where it functions as a medium to reflect on the relation between Salome and Jokanaan. Wilde's play is:

> built around a series of visual metaphors and explores the obsessive desire to gaze upon the body […], the central tension of the play, between Iokanaan and Salome, revolves around his refusal to look at Salome and his desire to "listen but to the voice of the Lord God", whereas she demands to see and to touch Iokanaan. The play aligns the field of vision with the body and with sexual desire, in contrast to the verbal field, which is aligned with the immaterial and the suprasensual. (Wallen 1992: 124)

In this context, metaphors and processes of veiling and unveiling, secrecy and truth gain momentum. Here Iser's idea of "mental image" and Belting's use of this concept in his "anthropology of images" can be rendered productive. What is important for the analysis is that Iser's aesthetics of "narrative blanks" is itself full of visual metaphors. Iser even emphasizes "the picture character of the imagination (*Bildcharakter der Vorstellung*), which emerges in the reader out of the unsaid." (1994: 220) A few lines later he even goes so far as to say that "'[i]maging' depends upon the absence of that which appears in the image" (1978: 137). In fact, though it was Wilde's play that gave Salome's dance the famous name of the "Dance of the Seven Veils," it "leaves the dance

undescribed" (Hutcheon/Hutcheon 1998: 215). Thus, Marjorie Garber rightly argues that "[i]n its non-description, in its indescribability, lies its power, and its availability for cultural inscription and appropriation" (1993: 341).

In modern literary tradition, it was Gustave Flaubert who first filled in this central "blank" of the biblical story. In his narrative *Herodias* (1877) he invented a highly sensual, orientalized description of Salome's dance. Neginsky maintains that this "description arouses the senses of all spectators present at the banquet […]" and was also meant to "overwhelm the reader." (2013: 162) Drawing on iconographic traditions, Flaubert's narrative is a literary example of writing the visual, in which "the ways of plastic and literary expressions mutually enhance each other" (150, 164). According to James Heffernan, the modern use of *ekphrasis* focuses not on a simple description, but on a "verbal representation of a visual representation" (1993: 3-4); picturalism "is the generation in language of effects similar to those created by pictures." (Neginsky 2013: 150; see also Heffernan 1993 and Tooke 2000: 3) To increase the affective intensity of the scene, the chronological narration of events ceases. The "mode of representing temporal events as action stopped at its climatic moment […]. It gave rise to the literary topos of *ekphrasis*, in which a poem aspires to the atemporal 'eternity' of the stopped-acting (…)." (Steiner 2004: 150) As in Huysmans's famous description of Salome's dance through the mouth of his protagonist Des Esseintes, a transfer of tense from past to present reinforces the impression of "eternity" and a nearly epiphanic immediacy. This creates the impression of frozen time. Especially the break in narrative flow produces an instantaneous experience of the instant, which takes on the form of a mental image and a living picture. In an article entitled 'The Fetishization of a Textural Corpus,' Becker-Leckrone (1995) argues that it is precisely through modern literature's use of theses narrative tools that the story of Salome has been transformed into an icon, body and fetish. "Des Esseintes' 'Salome'," she writes, "is, obviously, the woman rather than the story, a body rather than a text. 'She' is the object of his fascination, […] his fetish." (240)

In sum, this section started with the idea that it is from the unsaid, the "blanks" within the biblical narratives, that modern aestheticism, in interplay with the imaginative patristic commentaries, draws its formula of self-reflection as the "purely aesthetic" (Pfeiffer 2006: 310). And it is exactly the epoch of fin de siècle aestheticism that used this biblical episode and its blank female figure to focus its reflection on the sensual and transgressive impact of aesthetic media. It was Wilde who invented the "Dance of the Seven Veils," but who, at the same time, played with the imaginary power of the blanks by

leaving Salome's dance undescribed in his drama. Not without connections to the modern crisis of faith in the way it is represented in Wilde's play and in Huysmans's novel, the figure and the dance of Salome became an icon of Symbolism and of *decadence* (Brunotte 2012). Petra Dierkes-Thrun argues that Wilde's modern Salome embodied a "transformation of the religious aspect into a tool of seduction – and hence the fusion of the spiritual and the sexual." (2011: 31) The Symbolists also believed that art was a "'theurgical activity' [...], a vehicle for bringing the divine on earth through the soul." (Nezhinskaia 2010: 11) The creation of the *femme fatale* within Symbolist art and literature had therefore an ambivalent structure. Majorie Garber also maintains that "the Salome myth provides a much more equivocal narrative than the essentializing exaltation of 'the exotic, feminized Eastern Other.'" (Garber 1993: 340) It connects the sensual with the spiritual, the erotized female body with religion.

Strauss's Opera, Narrative Blanks and the Fetishizing of a Body

It was Richard Strauss's opera of 1905, the first modernist music drama, which completed and fixed the modern transformation of the Salome story in the orientalized fetish of the dancing femme fatale. The opera filled in the narrative blank of the "Dance of the Seven Veils," and by shortening Wilde's text in the libretto, silenced crucial parts of Salome's story. As Strauss confided to his diary in 1942, he wanted to write an oriental and a "Jewish opera" (Judenoper): "I've long found fault with oriental and Jewish operas because they lack an Eastern atmosphere and blazing sun. This lack inspired in me (for my own opera) really exotic harmonies, which shimmered in strange cadences, like shot silk." (Strauss 1949: 224)[3]

In her ground-breaking interpretation of 2008, Karla Hoven-Buchholz (356, title) asks the following question: "What veiled the unveiling of Salome?" Comparing Strauss's libretto and Oscar Wilde's play, which was used by Strauss in its German translation, she searches for the suppressed history and the untold narratives that were concealed and made invisible behind

3 Richard Strauss (1949: 224): "Ich hatte schon lange an den Orient- und Judenopern auszusetzen, daß ihnen wirklich östliches Kolorit und glühende Sonne fehlt. Das Bedürfnis gab mir (für meine eigene Oper) wirklich exotische Harmonik ein, die besonders in fremdartigen Kadenzen schillerte, wie Changeant-Seide."

the dance of the *femme fatale*. Her conclusion is that Strauss invented not only the orientalized "Dance of the Seven Veils" in his nearly ten minutes of dance-music, but also that, by cutting out important narrative parts of the play, he himself created narrative blanks which trigger a specific affective imagination in the audience (363-5). Hoven-Buchholz claims that it was these blanks together with Strauss's creation of an orientalized "Dance of the Seven Veils" that powerfully influenced the cultural imagination of the ancient and modern orientalized Jewish 'Other' and cast the figure of Salome as the sexualized, murderous *femme fatale* (see Seshadri 2006 and Brunotte 2014).

In contrast to the opera, Wilde's play does not omit Salome's story from the scene. It is at the same time an example of stylized Symbolist language *and* a reflection upon and parody of it. The author performs *and* presents the *habitus* of aestheticism. As we have seen, Wilde refuses to focus on the dance. For him Salome is a mystic and even tragic heroine. The opera, by contrast, focuses on the dance and Salome's final monologue addressed to the severed head. As Helmut Pfeiffer has stressed:

> Approximately a quarter of the entire opera of one hundred minutes is filled with the Dance of the Seven Veils […] and the final monologue. This is a very great difference and shift in comparison with the text of Wilde's play, which was in any case a play to be read […]. Especially the monologue with the head, which uses Wagnerian lyrical time extension, focuses on the exhibition of a woman whose […] body has become a voyeuristic object: "[…]what the audience encounters is less a character singing than a woman, *as* woman, acting out a multiple debasement: scopic, erotic, artistic, linguistic." (Pfeiffer 2006: 334-5, Kramer in Pfeiffer 1990, pp.281)

For Hoven-Buchholz, by cutting out important parts of her story, Strauss did even more to intensify the creation of Salome as the body-icon of the *femme fatale*. Even in recent opera productions, these narrative blanks still have an affective impact on the audience by rendering her story unheard. For example, Strauss omits all narrative information about Salome's tragic and even incestuous position within the Herod-Herodias family. Wilde's play, Hoven-Buchholz emphasises, informs the reader that Salome knows how and where her father was murdered. Herod's brother, Herodias' former husband, was killed by Herod in exactly the same cistern in which John the Baptist is later imprisoned. Against this backdrop, her interest and 'love' for Jokanaan, his voice and message, acquires a different, a more childlike and *spiritual meaning* beyond the purely *sensual* one. Wilde invented a Salome in the image of a

tragic heroine, a young girl torn between murderous and unresolved family dynamics, very much like Orestes or Hamlet (2008: 365, 366-70). In Strauss's opera *Elektra*, which was premiered two years after *Salome*, one has the strong impression that Hofmannsthal and Strauss were creating a continuation of Salome's story.

Fig. 11 and 12: Interpretation of Richard Strauss's opera "Salome" by Claus Guth, Deutsche Oper Berlin, January 2016.


Photos: Monika Ritterhaus, courtesy of the photographer.

Fig. 13: Interpretation of Richard Strauss's opera "Salome" by Claus Guth, Deutsche Oper Berlin, January 2016.

Photo: Monika Ritterhaus, courtesy of the photographer.

A very recent interpretation of Strauss's *Salome* (premiered January 2016) by Claus Guth, at the Deutsche Oper in Berlin, confirms Hoven-Buchholz analysis. Guth liberates the opera from all its oriental and sexualized readings and places Salome again in the thick of the fatal dynamics of family relations, especially the struggle between her mother and Herod. In his interpretation, Salome's behaviour is the result of trauma, abuse and failed communication. The audience must relinquish what generations of opera directors have made them believe about Salome the *femme fatale*. Guth used silent stretches within the singing and 'gaps' in the libretto for a radically reversed critical interpretation, which triggers new 'mental images' and thoughts in the audience. In particular, Guth's interpretation avails itself of the ten minutes of music normally reserved for the dance to narrate Salome's long history of abuse and suffering at the hands of her stepfather Herod.

He tells these stories by having them performed as in a puppet show by six children who are Salome's doubles. Dressed in the same costume as Salome, they range from a little girl of six to a young girl of approximately eighteen. They all have to 'dance' with Herod, and this dance immediately loses its seductive, 'erotic' meaning. Here the narrative is heard again behind and through the formerly fetishized body. In the retrieval of the suppressed story of a family and the untold narrative of Salome's abuse, the audience can discover even in Strauss's *Salome* a tragic heroine reminiscent of Orestes and Hamlet. Salome suddenly becomes a *pathos formula* not only of violence, perversity and passion, but also of trauma, suffering and the search for spiritual healing.

Bibliography

Assman, Jan (n.d.): Die Mosaische Unterscheidung in Arnold Schönberg's Oper Moses und Aaron. Available online: http://www.aroumah.net/agora/assmann03-schoenbergEF.pdf (accessed 2 January 2018).

Baert, Barbara (2014): "The Dancing Daughter and the Head of John the Baptist (Mark 6:14 29) Revisited. An Interdisciplinary Approach." In: Louvain Studies 38, pp. 5-29.

Bauman, Zygmunt (1991): Modernity and Ambivalence. Ithaka: Connell University Press.

Becker-Leckrone, Megan (1995): "Salome: The Fetichization of a Textual Corpus." In: New Literary History 26/2, pp. 239-60.

Belting, Hans ([2001; 2011] 2014): An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bucknell, Brad (1993): "On 'Seeing' Salome." In: English Literary History 2, pp. 503-26.

Blumberg, Hans (1985): Work on the Myth, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Boyarin, Daniel (1990): Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Brunotte, Ulrike (2012): "Unveiling Salome 1900 – Entschleierungen zwischen Sexualität, Pathosformel und Oriental Dance." In: Elke Frietsch/Bettina Dennerlein/Therese Steffen (eds.), Verschleierter Orient – Entschleierter Okzident?, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, pp. 93-116.

Brunotte, Ulrike (2013): "Salome and the head of John the Baptist." In: Ulrike Brunotte, Dämonen des Wissens. Gender, Performativity und materielle Kultur im Werk von Jane Ellen Harrison, Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 217-44.

Brunotte, Ulrike (2015): "'All Jews are womanly, but no woman is a Jew'. The 'Femininity' Game of Deception: Female Jew, femme fatale Orientale, and Belle Jew." In: Ulrike Brunotte/Anna-Dorothea Ludewig/Axel Stähler (eds.), Orientalism, Gender and the Jews, Oldenburg: de Gruyter, pp. 195-220.

Ceramaeus, Theophanes ([12. Jh.] 2000): "Über die Enthauptung des ehrwürdigen Künders." In: Thomas Rohde (ed.), Mythos Salome. Vom Markusevangelium bis Djuna Barnes, Leipzig: Reclam, pp. 70-2.

Chrysostomos, Johannes ([350-407] 2000): "Wo eben ein Tanz ist…" In: Thomas Rohde (ed.), Mythos Salome. Vom Markusevangelium bis Djuna Barnes, Leipzig: Reclam, pp. 68-70.

de Bruyn, Ben (2012): Wolfgang Iser. A Companion, Boston and Berlin: de Gruyter.

Dierkes-Thrun, Petra (2011): Salome's Modernity. Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetics of Transgression, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Ellmann, Richard (1988): Oscar Wilde, New York: Knopf.

Garber, Marjorie (1993): Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety, New York: Harper Perennial.

Hägg, Tomas (2012): The Art of Biography in Antiquity, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Heffernan, James A. W. (1993): The Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Heinrich, Klaus (1995): Floß der Medusa. 3 Studien zur Faszinationsgeschichte, Frankfurt/M.: Stroemfeld.

Høgasen-Hallesby, Hedda (2014): "Performing the Icon: The Body on Stage and the Staged Body in Salome's 'Dance of the Seven Veils'." In: Hyunseon Lee and Naomi D. Segal (eds.), Opera, Exoticism and Visual Culture, Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 179-202.

Høgasen-Hallesby, Hedda (2015): "Salome's Silent Spaces: Canonicity, Creativity, and Critique." In: The Opera Quaterly 31/4, pp. 223-41.

Hoven-Buchholz, Karla (2008): "Was verschleiert Salmes Tanz? Eine psychoanalytische Interpretation jenseits des Femme-fatale Klischees." In: Psyche –Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse 62, pp. 356-80.

Hutcheon, Linda/Hutcheon, Michael (1998): "'Here's Lookin' at You, Kid': The Empowering Gaze in 'Salome'." In: Profession, pp. 11-22.

Hutcheon, Linda/Hutcheon, Michael (2000): "Staging the Female Body. Richard Strauss's Salome." In: Mary Ann Smart (ed.), Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 204-21.

Huysmans, Joris-Karl ([1884] 2008): Against Nature, trans. by Brendan King, Cambs: Dedalus.

Inowlocki, Sabrina (2016): "Josephus and Patristic Literature." In: Honora Howell Chapman/Zuleika Rodgers (eds.), A Campagnion to Josephus, Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 356-67.

Iser, Wolfgang (1978): The Act of Reading. A Theory of Aesthetic Response, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Iser, Wolfgang (1994): Der Akt des Lesens. Theorie ästhetischer Wirkung, München: W. Fink.

Iser, Wolfgang (1989): Prospecting. From Reader Response to Literary Anthropology, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Iser, Wolfgang (1993): The Fictive and the Imaginary. Charting Literary Anthropology, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Koritz, Amy (1994): "Dancing the Orient for England. Maus Allan's 'Vision of Salome'." In: Theatre Journal 46, pp. 63-78.

Kramer, Lawrence (1990): "Culture and Musical Hermeneutics. The Salome Complex." In: Cambridge Opera Journal 2/3, pp. 269-94.

Kruse, Christiane (2003): Wozu Menschen malen. Historische Begründungen des Bildmediums, München: Fink Verlag.

Levine, Amy-Jill (ed.) (2008): A Feminist Companion to Patristic Literature, London: T&T Clark International.

Lohmeyer, Ernst (1967): Kirchlich-exegetischer Kommentar über das neue Testament, Das Evangelium des Markus, übersetzt und erklärt von Ernst Lohmeyer, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Ludewig, Anna-Dorothea (2014): "Between Orientalization and Self-Orientalization. Remarks on the Image of the "'Beautiful Jewess"'in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century European Literature." In: Ulrike Brunotte, Anna-Dorothea Ludewig, and Axel Stähler (eds), Orientalism, Gender, and the Jews. Literary and Artistic Transformations of European National Discourses, Oldenburg: De Gruyter, pp. 221-29.

Meyer, Birgit (2015a): Sensational Movies. Video, Vision, and Christianity in Ghana, Oakland: University of California Press.

Meyer, Birgit (2015b): "Picturing the Invisible. Visual Culture and the Study of Religion." In: Method and Theory in the Study of Religion 27, pp. 333-60.

Mulvey, Laura ([1975] 1999): "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." In: Leo Braudy/Marshall Cohen (eds.), Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings, Oxford: Oxord University Press, pp. 833-44.

Neginsky, Rosina (2010): Symbolism, its Origins and its Consequences, Newca upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Neginsky, Rosina (2013): Salome: The Image of a Woman who Never Was, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholarly Publishing.

Nietzsche, Friedrich ([1872] 1993): The Birth of Tragedy, trans. by Shaun Whiteside, London: Penguin Books.

Pesch, Rudolf (1976): Das Markus Evangelium. Einführung und Kommentar, Freiburg/Basel: Herder.

Pfeiffer, Hans (2006): "Salome im Fin de Siècle. Ästhetisierung des Sakralen, Sakralisierung des Ästhetischen. " In: Steffen Martus/Aandrea Polaschegg (eds.), Das Buch der Bücher – gelesen. Lesarten der Bibel in den Wissenschaften und Künsten, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles etc.: Peter Lang, pp. 303-36.

Rohde, Thomas (ed.) (2000): Mythos Salome. Vom Markusevangelium bis Djuna Barnes, Leipzig: Reclam Verlag.

Seshadri, Anne L. (2006): "The Taste of Love: Salome's Transfiguration." In: Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture 10, pp. 24-44.

Sicher, Efraim (2017): The Jew's Daughter. A Cultural History of a Conversion Narrative. Lanhm/Boulder/New York/London: Lexington Books.

Steiner, Wendy (2004): "Pictorial Narrativity." In: Marie-Laure Ryan/John W. Bernet (eds.), Narrative across Media. The Language of Storytelling, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 145-74.

Strauss, Richard (1949): Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen, hg. v. Willi Schuh, Mainz: Schott.

The NRSV (1998): Bible New Standard Version. Available online: http://www.devotions.net/bible/00bible.htm (accessed 2 January 2018).

Tolbert, Mary Ann (1989): Sowing the Gospel: Mark's World in Literary-Historical Perspective, Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Tooke, Adrianne (2000): Flaubert and the Pictorial Arts. From Image to Text, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Uehlinger, Christoph (2005): "Medien in der Lebenswelt des Antiken Palästina?." In: Christian Frevel (ed.), Medien im antiken Palästina: Materielle Kommunikation und Medialität als Thema der Palästinaarchäologie, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 31-61.

Valman, Nadia (2007): The Jewess in Nineteenth-Century British Literary Culture, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wallen, Jeffrey (1992): "Illustrating Salome: perverting the text?." In: Word & Image 8/2, pp. 124 -32.

Warburg, Aby (2010): "Mnemosyne Eileitung. " In: Martin Treml/Sigrid Weigel/Perdita Ladwig (eds.), Aby Warburg. Werke in einem Band, Berlin: Suhrkamp, pp. 629-39.

Wellhausen, Julius ([1923] 2010): Das Evangelium Marci, United States: Nabu Press.