

**„BABEȘ-BOLYAI” UNIVERSITY  
CLUJ-NAPOCA  
FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY  
DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY**

*POLITICS AND CULTURE.  
RECONSTRUCTING WALTER BENJAMIN'S CONCEPT OF THE POLITICAL*

**THESIS ABSTRACT**

**Doctoral supervisor:  
Professor Vasile Frăteanu, Ph.D**

**Doctoral student:  
George-Lorin Ghiman**

**2015**

## Cuprinsul lucrării

1. BENJAMIN'S LEGACY: WHAT POLITICS FOR AN UNREDEEMED HUMANITY?.....	6
1.1. CRITICAL INTELLECTUAL ICONOLOGY: AN EXCURSUS .....	6
2. BENJAMIN'S POLITICS AND THE POLITICISATION PHENOMENA .....	20
2.1. IN SEARCH OF BENJAMIN'S "TRUE POLITICS" (1): A BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH.....	20
2.2. IN SEARCH OF BENJAMIN'S "TRUE POLITICS" (2): FROM POLITICS TO THE POLITICISATION PHENOMENA .....	35
2.3. RECONSTRUCTING BENJAMIN CONCEPT OF THE POLITICAL: EXPERIENCE – MESSIANISM - POLITICAL .....	38
3. THE POLITICISATION OF HISTORY: BENJAMIN'S PROFANE MESSIANISM.....	41
3.1. MESSIANISM AND THE POLITICAL (1): CONFIRMING THE MODERN GERMAN-JEWISH MESSIANISM OF THE 1914 GENERATION .....	41
3.2. MESSIANISM AND THE POLITICAL (2): THE MESSIANIC IDEA IN JUDAISM AND THE LIMITS OF THE OCCIDENTAL ESCHATOLOGY .....	54
3.3. THE THEORETICAL SYSTEMS OF BENJAMIN'S MESSIANISM .....	73
4. THE POLITICISATION OF ART: BENJAMIN'S THEORY OF EXPERIENCE .....	152
4.1. VA-BANQUE SPIEL: THE STAKES OF THE EXPERIENCE PROBLEM .....	152
4.2. CRITICAL MOTIVES.....	157
4.3. A REPERTOIR OF CHIASMI: THE AURATIC EXPERIENCE .....	180
4.4. A HIGHER CONCEPT OF EXPERIENCE .....	200
5. THE FIZIOGNOMY OF POST-AURATIC CULTURE .....	214
INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION .....	223
ANNEXES .....	227
ANNEX 1: WALTER BENJAMIN, „CAPITALISMUL CA RELIGIE” .....	227
ANNEX 2: THEODOR W. ADORNO: „RESEMNARE” .....	230
ANNEXA 3: SCRISOAREA NR. 47, WIESENGRUND-ADORNO CĂTRE BENJAMIN.....	234

## **Key words**

Benjamin, political, messianism, experience, aura, political messianism, dialectics, violence, history, myth, revolution, technology, art, masses, va-banque-Spiel, distraction, hope, despair, Adorno, Scholem, Kafka, Weimar, critical theory, political theory, Geistesgeschichte

## **Chapter Synopsis**

### **The field of debates around Walter Benjamin's intellectual personality (Chapter One)**

Walter Benjamin's intellectual stature and prestige in the academic circles grew steadily from the 1960's onwards, leading to the point that he is now a cultural icon and the object of an impressive academic industry. But he was and remains a disputed figure: different generations and groups of the western intelligentsia have wrestled over his legacy, trying to appropriate it in order to bolster their own position in the struggles for recognition. This disputed legacy, in fact, is what made Benjamin, posthumously, a celebrity.

Our investigation in "critical intellectual iconology" (Greenberg) tackles the key issue of dispute: was Benjamin a politically engaged intellectual and a political thinker, or was he, in fact "the last (critical) intellectual", always aware of the dangers that loom over a philosopher stepping into the arena?

The first option belongs to the leftist intelligentsia of the '68 movement, while the second sums up the understanding of Benjamin's thought for the generation of exegetes in the 1980's. What both these generations seem to ignore is that the same issue, of the political engagement and of the necessity to assume a decision (political, philosophical, and personal) made Benjamin a contentious figure throughout his life. He hesitates, and, eventually, declines to embrace the Zionist cause (for which his friend Scholem stood) as well as the communist one (as he was asked by his Bolshevik muse, Asja Lacis) – this did not go well with his friends and fellows, who wished to make him clear in his commitment one way or another. For in the spirit of the generation between the wars, the issue of political action was much more acute than it might seem today. It was a matter of option, of choice, however precarious or damnable it might prove to be later.

We are, then, to conclude that these 75 years of quarrels over Benjamin's legacy have roots in the spirit of the man himself, the interests of the afore mentioned groups notwithstanding. We call this legacy (and spirit) "Benjamin's messianic ethos". Our hypothesis is that this messianic ethos informs the attitudes of the entire spiritual generation of which Benjamin was part, be it in its activist representations of the political praxis (Marxism, anarchism, Zionism) or in the rejection to participate in the (political) reality. The former and the latter both speak of the same messianic exigency. This messianic ethos, then, which can take either the form of political engagement or that of a

retreat or refusal of the reality makes Benjamin a source for the two main groups discussed above.

By following this messianic feeling in its “motrical” (Bloch) aspect in the life and thought of Walter Benjamin allows us to sketch the intellectual profile of the German-Jewish thinker and also to reconstruct his concept of the political that will be shielded from the sycophantic praise and deformation to which betake themselves unwillingly all the newer or older factions.

### **Where can one find Benjamin’s „Politics“? (Chapter Two)**

In this chapter we continue the preparations for the reconstruction of Benjamin’s concept of the political, only to be confronted with the somewhat unusual task of having to explain how one can consider the problem of the political to be central in the life and thought of Benjamin, while there is no body of literature dedicated to the matter. The lost texts from the 1920s can by no means be considered to have contributed all that much to this situation – even if these would have been available today we will still be faced with the task of reconstructing Benjamin’s concept of the political.

Our working hypothesis is that Benjamin’s preoccupation with the political is a constant of his thought. It begins with the observation and evaluation of two phenomena of “politicization” (the politicization of time / history and the politicization of art) which constitute the fundamental observation of many of his different projects. The ideation that stems from Benjamin’s messianic ethos takes thus the form of announcing and researching these two ways through which the culture enters into the realm of the political.

The reconstruction of the political problem depends on finding the intersection points between a profane messianic representation of time and reflections on the human experience laden in tension which might serve to recognize and produce a radical social change implied in Benjamin’s definition of the politic as the “*Erfüllung ungesteigerten Menschenhaftigkeit*”.

### **Benjamin’s profane messianism (Chapter Three)**

#### **Benjamin’s messianism in the context of the *Geistesgeschichte* of the Weimar era**

The hypothesis of the messianic immersion of Benjamin’s concept of the political can only have currency if the effort to bring it back to actuality refuses to see its messianism as a mere label. Benjamin’s messianism is a living exigency. The same can be stated about numerous of his fellows. For the entire German-Jewish interwar generation, the messianic is, in one way or another, recognized as such, secularized or repelled, a constant point of reference.

This observation of the spiritual kinship brings Anson Rabinbach to formulate and substantiate the idea of the existence of a generational messianic ethos of this generation, thus opening up a new chapter in the spiritual history of the period. The aim of this section

is to find means and ways to coherently sustain and explain Rabinbach's supposition in order to make it feasible for further historical and exegetic research.

In our analysis, the "modern messianism" is the term coined to describe a political and philosophical attitude that characterizes an important segment of the German-Jewish intelligentsia in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This attitude appears as the precipitate of the reflection on the social, political and cultural realities of the time, and serves the need to be positioned from the political, moral and philosophical options available. The proteic character of the German-Jewish profane messianism, which enables it to be subsequently invested in political ideologies and doctrines as diverse as anarchism, socialism, communism or Zionism, is grounded in the tension between its somewhat contradictory nuclear elements. However, these contradictions make up its specificity, and the German-Jewish messianic type resists, by default, the dissolution or liquidation of these tensions. This type of messianism is, at its core, a question of survival (of the messianic idea itself). The inner life of the messianic idea is, then, a management of the internal tensions that generate different theoretical decisions from the same paradoxes. By describing the ways to manage the paradoxes of the messianic idea, one can accede to the description of theoretical systems of the modern messianism, for which the messianic complex itself functions as an ontological and historical-philosophical reference system.

The decisions that lead to the realized form of these messianic philosophical systems depend on contingencies (i.e. on historical and societal context) and bring forward the most diverse, conceptual recoveries and innovations. We must accept, thus, that the German-Jewish messianism is pre-political – meaning that only these subsequent decisions that lead to a systematization allow for the discharge, in one form or another, of concrete political commitment or the motivated lack thereof. As already stated, not only the participation, but also the refusal of any connection with it stems from the same messianic conundrum. Moreover, it appears that the cases of dis-engagement are often the rule, and not the exception, while neither of these seems to be embraced in a definitive manner. The absence of certainty and the multitude of options orient (or disorient) the impulse of the intervention in reality, as demonstrated by numerous intellectual biographies.

Reduced to these traits, the messianic ethos seems to be still a philosophical tool. The complete description of it must therefore include the specific attitudes, its unique sense of reality, in its paradoxical structure. One must consider as part of this not only the full political engagement or the rejection of it, but also the utopian hope, the abysmal disillusion, the melancholy. Tarrying in the messianic tension creates specific attitudes and feelings, "messianic pathologies" of the spirit. The messianic ethos that oscillates between the urgency of the self-investment in the real and the refusal thereof describes a form of a resistance to reality that has a pronounced affinity with the concept of the political itself.

There is still necessary to explain and describe these "motor-fantastical dispositions" (*motrisch-fantastisch*) (Bloch). We find it in a commentary to the medieval Jewish poet, Jehuda Halevi, written by Rosenzweig:

“The false Messiah is as old as the hope for the true Messiah. He is the changing form of the changeless hope. He separates every Jewish generation into those whose faith is strong enough to give themselves up to an illusion, and those whose hope is so strong they do not allow themselves to be deluded. The former are the better, the latter the stronger. (Rosenzweig)<sup>1</sup>

In every generation of Jews there are some that have more faith than hope, and others that have more hope than faith. Those who believe will anxiously invest their faith in any false Messiah, while those who hope will always question and negate the advent. This dialectics of hope and faith, taken to the extremes, is the emotional field in which one can find the motor-fantastical attitudes of the Jewish intelligentsia in the Weimar Republic.

The analytics of the German-Jewish modern messianism must therefore include the presentation of the fundamental elements of the messianic idea in Judaism, in order to be able to recognize and discriminate the Jewish strand from other messianic constructions of that era (which finally leads us to the discussion of Taubes' critique of Scholem's layout thereof), and then, in the case of Walter Benjamin, the exegesis that identifies his theoretical systems of messianism and the correspondent motor-fantastical attitudes. An extension of this research to other German-Jewish intellectuals of the time would later prove the productivity of the hypothesis of the messianic ethos. But for now we confine to the exegesis of the works of Walter Benjamin and his biography, showing that he is a typical case, if not a model example of the profane messianic generation.

### **Walter Benjamin's theoretical systems of messianism**

We were able to identify three theoretical systems of messianism. Each of them stands under a different emotional constellation that we could document. The first one is an anarchism dominated by a “*strong messianic force*”. During World War I and until the early 1920's, the young Benjamin professes a flat refusal of any participation, motivated by his depiction of the real-world politics as nihilism. He seeks refuge in silence or intellectual and emotional commerce with only a few close friends as means to reject mythical, bloody violence (war), while the transcendent pure, divine violence, in no direct contact with the world, is expected to destruct it to the level of its first element, the pure and mute natural life.

The second theoretical organization of Benjamin's messianism is to be found especially in his *Barockbuch*, conceptually located alongside *incapacity to decide*. This new stage comes with a more refined and precise outline that significantly clarifies and extends the ideas that featured in the first system. As in the first period, the theoretical motor is the dialectics of violence which are seen at work in the realm of cultural forms of expression: as a dialectics of myth. Although he seems tempted to reevaluate the ontological

---

<sup>1</sup> Paul Mendes-Flohr, „«The Stronger and the Better Jews»: Jewish Theological Responses to Political Messianism in the Weimar Republic”, *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 7, 1991.

framework and the clear separation between the messianic advent and the world, the material taken into discussion in the *Origin of the German Tragic Drama* (that is: Christianity) doesn't allow it. The incapacity to decide, which is here inherent, leads to a theory of mourning (*Trauer*).

The third theoretical organization of messianism is the most complex and the most ambitious. It covers the entire mature period of Benjamin's work which we present alongside the concept of the *weak messianic force which* works in history. The weak messianic force indicates that Benjamin submits to the separation between the realms of salvation and of the profane which leads to a new impetus in considering anew the problem of the political. His theoretical efforts are to be found on different levels, with numerous different attempts and hypotheses, as it is best seen in the enormous work in the Arcades project, as well as other important works.

The new "activism", or, rather, this shift in the direction of Benjamin's radicalism stems from a reevaluation of the political as such, that now seems to be invested, emotionally, with a desperate faith or an unfaithful hope. In the emotional dynamic of the person Walter Benjamin, this attitude that fluctuates between faith and hope bears the signs of a troubled life: the Marxist turn and the modified constellation of his friendships, in which now Asja Lacis and Brecht grew to make an oppositional pair with Scholem and Adorno. Harrassed by the lack of means, exile, sentimental and professional failures, Benjamin leaps from moments of great and brilliant productivity to periods of acute depression, tempted by suicide. It does not surprise, thus, that his theoretical attempts are undermined by hesitations, retractions, and tedious reworking.

### **The problem of experience (Chapter Four)**

The fundamental assumption of the present work is that the term "experience" has in the Benjamin's thought a programmatic ambiguity which speaks to his intention to leave all problems open. The particular contexts which are discussed, for instance, Baudelaire's poetry, Proust's work, Leskov's fictions, the daguerreotypes, Chaplin's movies, the inner life of the cities and the ways to practice them are only so many pretexts, and are vehicles of a constant effort to construct a new general theory of modern experience.

Thus, the aesthetic experience is not to be misinterpreted as a mere reception of the artworks. Our reconstruction starts from the hypothesis that it will be better understood as a "political psychology of perception" that could offer, together with a theory of historical experience (depending on the existence of a collective historical consciousness), the scaffolding to the reformulation of the question of the political action in our times. Benjamin's theory of experience would be, then, the exaggeration notwithstanding, a fourth critique: that of the political action in modern times in which a transcendental aesthetics join with a diffuse historical consciousness, short-circuiting the mechanisms of concept formation, and articulate an *agens* of the radical transformation of the human society.

This tasks the Benjamin's philosophical project with the reconsideration of the modern experience in direct link with that of the Critical School, both sharing the same profane messianic background. The critical theory can only then function as a vehicle for a future praxis if it is able to identify *a new experience, a new pre-theoretical knowledge of the social reality*.

This fundamental intuition that the change comes already from an experience that takes shape and generates its effects in front of us, unseen, is all but safe. It contains the same kind of risks that follow the messianic pathology. The German-Jewish interwar intelligentsia animated by this messianic passion takes the form of a society of intellectual risk just as, on the other hand, it was exposed to the risks of political or moral failure.

The stakes of this game (the critique of experience), however, are very high, and too high to fail. This game is a „*va-banque-Spiel*“. The expression, used first by Kracauer, only to later pass to Adorno, who in turn uses it to characterize Benjamin's work, is not confined to the evaluation of the potential to completely reconfigure the relationship between man and reality which photography might bring with it. The fraternity of risk also turns his eye to the cinema, even lyrics or the surrealist movement.

Benjamin's polemical and philosophical interest in the problem of experience runs through his entire work. Before the World War I, a young Benjamin advocates for a rebellion against the authority that hides under the drapes of an adult's "experience". Then he wrestles with the concept of the experience of the enlightenment, finding it inappropriate in the space of the Kantian assemblage and, at the same time, for the philosophical necessities of the present day, therefore advocating for a future philosophy that will work out a new, "higher concept of experience". Benjamin's lasting interest in the problem of myth and narration will take the form of a critique of the *modi* in the 1920s and 1930s, in which the traditional experience constitutes itself, indebted to the narrative form. This form is shown to be unfit to account for the new types of confrontation between man and the world of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the world at war, the revolutions and the economic crises.

On the basis of all these critical motives, essays and observations in Benjamin's later text we see a risky theory of experience taking shape (though never unequivocal, complete, or conclusive). The reflection on the historical forms of transmission are doubled now by the indications toward a new (?) form of experience that is specific to the historical moment of the author's life. The traditional organization of experience, the auratic experience, has reached its historical limits, and the intervention of newly evolved technological means seem to contribute to shaping new ways of transmission. The technology was, of course, already part of Benjamin's dialectical theory of experience, but now he seems to suggest in some places that in his present, one can observe a "second technology" coming to the fore: photography and film which give way to a completely new way of relating with the reality of a new social and political entity, the masses. The effect of this shift might lead to a total transformation of the world that will put an end to the violent domination of the mythical forces. This is, then, the form of Benjamin's all out bet, in the words of Wiggershaus:



„Entweder wurde die Technik zum Mittel der Rettung, oder es gibt keine Rettung. Entweder konnte sie in den Dienst der Liquidierung der magischen Gewalten gestellt werden, oder es gab keine Befreiung von diesen Gewalten.“<sup>2</sup>

The experience of the masses, made possible by the media (including photography and film), would lead to a new construction of reality after a model that would not be the old auratic experience. Freed from the chains of servitude, liberated from its dependency on ritual, the art would enter in the zone of a new practice, it would become, for the first time, political/politics. The arts would then become an instrument to change the social reality – and not merely of its interpretation.

### **The fate of Benjamin's thought and the political meaning of culture (Chapter Five)**

The fate of Benjamin's political thought depends upon the evaluation of this new experience. Is it indeed a new type of experience, or at least different from the auratic experience? Is the new barbarity, or the culture of the masses indeed the very place of change or, on the contrary, just a new surface on which the domination will again violently exert itself? Can we really see a non-auratic culture, that is a completely new type of experience, or we must speak of a post-auratic one, maybe even a mere reconfiguration of the auratic experience?

In our critical analysis, Benjamin did not succeed in substantiating his claims on this decisive point. His theory of experience, spread through numerous texts, is contradictory and indecisive. Again the reason seems to lay in his own *pathologia messianica* which prevent him from properly conducting the dialectics between the “second technology” and the masses, to be found in the so-called “cooperation” (*Zusammenspiel*). The conclusion is that this relationship between the new technology and humanity does not lead to a new experience, but rather to the destruction of the last pockets of resistance against the status quo, by taking the form of a new industry of consciousness, a culture industry. Culture, then, is the place of the last battle for the concept of the political. But Benjamin's failure must be interpreted as a call to take up the fight for a better humanity: this time, be it less hopeful and more faithful.

---

<sup>2</sup> Rolf Wiggershaus, *Die Frankfurter Schule. Geschichte, Theoretische Entwicklung, Politische Bedeutung*, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München, 1997, pp. 227-228.

## Bibliography

BENJAMIN, WALTER, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. I: Abhandlungen; II: Aufsätze, Essays, Vorträge; III: Kritiken und Rezensionen; IV: Kleine Prosa, Baudelaire Übertragungen; V: Passagen-werk; VI: Fragmente, Autobiographische Schriften; VII: Nachträge, ediție de Rolf Tiedemann, Hermann Schweppenhauser, Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1991.

BENJAMIN, WALTER, *Gesammelte Briefe*, ediție de Christoph Gösde, Henri Lonitz, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1995.

ADORNO, THEODOR W. & BENJAMIN, WALTER. *Briefwechsel 1928-1940*. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1994

ARCHIV, WALTER BENJAMIN, *Walter Benjamins Archive: Bilder, Texte und Zeichen*, Auflage: 1, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 2006.

BENJAMIN, WALTER, *Iluminări*, traducere de Catrinel Pleșu, Idea Design&Print, Cluj-Napoca, 2002.

BENJAMIN, WALTER, *Originea dramei baroce germane*, traducere de Maria-Magdalena Anghelescu, Lorin Ghiman și George State, Tact, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.

BENJAMIN, WALTER; DERRIDA, JACQUES, *Despre violență*, traducere de George State și Bogdan Ghiu, Idea Design&Print, Cluj-Napoca, 2004.

BENJAMIN, WALTER, *Jurnalul moscovit. Ediție după manuscrisul autograf și note de Gary Smith. Cu o prefață de Gershom Scholem*, traducere de Alexandru Suter, Idea Design&Print, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.

BENJAMIN, WALTER, *Copilărie berlineză la 1900. Ultima versiune și fragmente din versiunile anterioare. Cu un studiu introductiv de Peter Szondi și o postfață de Theodor W. Adorno*, traducere de Andrei Anastasescu, Humanitas, București, 2010.

## Bibliografie secundară (selectivă)

ADORNO, THEODOR W.; HORKHEIMER, MAX, *Dialektik der Aufklärung: Philosophische Fragmente*, Fischer, Frankfurt am Main, 2006.

AGAMBEN, GIORGIO, *Enfance et histoire*, Payot, Paris, 2002.

AGAMBEN, GIORGIO, *État d'exception*, vol. 1, Seuil, 2003.

AGAMBEN, GIORGIO, *Homo sacer. Puterea suverană și viața nudă*, traducere de Alex Cistelean, Idea Design&Print, Cluj-Napoca, 2006.

AGAMBEN, GIORGIO, *Profanări*, traducere de Alex Cistelean, Tact, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.

AGAMBEN, GIORGIO, *Starea de excepție. Homo sacer II, I*, traducere de Alex Cistelean, Idea Design&Print, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.

ALLEN, RICHARD W., „The Aesthetic Experience of Modernity: Benjamin, Adorno, and Contemporary Film Theory”, *New German Critique*, 1987, pp. 225–240.

ANDERS, GÜNTHER, *Obsolescența omului*, vol. 1 Despre suflet în epoca celei de-a doua revoluții industriale, traducere de Lorin Ghiman, Tact, Cluj-Napoca, 2013.

ARENDT, HANNAH, *Men in Dark Times*, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968.

BABICH, B., „Ad Jacob Taubes”, *New Nietzsche Studies: Nietzsche and the Jews*, vol. 7, nr. 3-4, 2007, pp. v-x..

BEHRENS, ROGER, „Dialektik im Stillstand. Ein materialistischer Orientierungsversuch mit Walter Benjamin in der gegenwärtigen Krise”, [http://alt.rogerbehrens.net/07\\_Behrens.pdf](http://alt.rogerbehrens.net/07_Behrens.pdf), data accesării 25 august 2013.

BENJAMIN, ANDREW E., *Walter Benjamin and History*, Continuum, 2005.

BENSUSSAN, G., *Le temps messianique: temps historique et temps vécu*, Vrin, Paris, 2001.

BERNSTEIN, J. M., „Benjamin's speculative cultural history”, *Theory, culture & society*, vol. 16, nr. 3, 1999, pp. 141–150.

BERTSCH, CHARLIE, „The Aura and its Simulacral Double: Reconsidering Walter Benjamin's "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction"”, *Critical Sense. A Journal of Political and Cultural Theory*, vol. 4, nr. 4 (Fall), 1996, pp. 10-33.

BEUKEN, W.; FREYNE, S.; WEILER, T., *Concilium. Revue Internationale de Théologie.*, vol. No. 245: Le messianisme dans l'histoire, Beauchense, Paris, 1993.

BIELIK-ROBSON, AGATA, „Tarrying with the Apocalypse: The Wary Messianism of Rosenzweig and Levinas”, *Journal for Cultural Research*, vol. 13, iulie 2009, pp. 249-266.

BIENENSTOCK, MYRIAM, „Der Geschichtsbegriff: Eine theologische Erfindung? - Einleitung”, în *Der Geschichtsbegriff: Eine theologische Erfindung?*, Echter Verlag, Würzburg, 2007.

BLOCH, ERNST, *Geist der Utopie, Erste Fassung. Faksimile der Erstausgabe*, Werkausgabe Band 16, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1971.

BREDEKAMP, HORST, „From Walter Benjamin to Carl Schmitt, via Thomas Hobbes”, *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 25, nr. 2, 1999, pp. 247-266.

BUCK-MORSS, SUSAN, „Benjamin’s Passagen-Werk: Redeeming Mass Culture for the Revolution”, *New German Critique*, nr. 29, 1983, pp. 211–240.

BUCK-MORSS, SUSAN, *Dialektik des Sehens*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 2000.

CAYGILL, HOWARD, „Non-messianic Political Theology in Benjamin’s «On the Concept of History»”, în Andrew Benjamin (ed.), *Walter Benjamin and History*, Continuum, London and New York, 2005, pp. 215-226.

CAYGILL, HOWARD, „The Apostate Messiah: Scholem, Taubes and the Occlusions of Sabbatai Zevi”, *Journal for Cultural Research*, vol. 13, iulie 2009, pp. 191-205.

DERRIDA, JACQUES, *Marx & sons*, Presses universitaires de France, 2002.

DERRIDA, JACQUES, *Spectrele lui Marx*, Polirom, Iasi, 1999.

DEUBER-MANKOWSKI, ASTRID, *Der frühe Walter Benjamin und Hermann Cohen : jüdische Werte, kritische Philosophie, vergängliche Erfahrung*, Vorwerk 8, Berlin, 2000, <http://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/volltexte/2009/113951/>.

DUDEK, PETER, „Die Außenseiter: Jugendkulturbewegung / Jugendforschung / Psychoanalyse: Das Beispiel Siegfried Bernfeld”, în *Jugend als Objekt der Wissenschaften*, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 1990, pp. 323-374, [http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-322-97007-7\\_8](http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-322-97007-7_8), data accesării 22 august 2013.

EILAND, HOWARD, „Reception in Distraction”, *boundary 2*, vol. 30, nr. 1, 2003, pp. 51-66.

EILAND, HOWARD, *Walter Benjamin*, Harvard University Press, 2014.

ELO, MIKA, „Walter Benjamin on Photography: Towards Elemental Politics”, în *Transformations*, vol. 15, 2007, [http://www.transformationsjournal.org/journal/issue\\_15/article\\_01.shtml](http://www.transformationsjournal.org/journal/issue_15/article_01.shtml), data accesării 30 septembrie 2014.

FIETKAU, WOLFGANG, „Loss of Experience and Experience of Loss: Remarks on the Problem of the Lost Revolution in the Work of Benjamin and His Fellow Combatants”, *New German Critique*, 1986, pp. 169–178.

- GILLOCH, G., *Myth and metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the city*, Polity press Cambridge, 1996.
- GOLDISH, MATT, „New approaches to Jewish Messianism”, *AJS Review*, vol. 25, nr. 01, 2001, pp. 71–83.
- GRÄF, RÜDIGER, „Die Mentalisierung des Nirgendwo und die Transformation der Gesellschaft. Der theoretische Utopiediskurs in Deutschland 1900 - 1933“, în Wolfgang Hartwig (ed.), *Utopie und politische Herrschaft im Europa der Zwischenkriegszeit*, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München, 2003.
- GREBING, HELGA, „Jüdische Intellektuelle und ihre politische Identität in der Weimarer Republik”, *Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für soziale Bewegungen*, vol. Heft 34, 2005, pp. 11-23.
- GREENBERG, U.E., „Remembering Walter Benjamin: Benjamin and His Biographers”, *Biography*, vol. 30, nr. 2, 2007, pp. 194–212.
- GREENBERG, U.E., „The politics of the Walter Benjamin industry”, *Theory, culture & society*, vol. 25, nr. 3, 2008.
- HANSEN, MIRIAM, „Benjamin, Cinema and Experience. “The Blue Flower in the Land of Technology”, *New German Critique*, nr. 40, 1987, pp. 179 – 224.
- HANSEN, MIRIAM, „Decentric Perspectives: Kracauers early writings on film and mass culture”, *New German Critique*, nr. 54, Special Issue on Siegfried Kracauer, pp. 47-76.
- HANSEN, MIRIAM, „Room-for-Play: Benjamin’s Gamble with Cinema”, *October*, nr. 109, 2004, pp. 3-45.
- HANSEN, BEATRICE, „Portrait of Melancholy (Benjamin, Warburg, Panofsky)”, *MLN*, vol. 114, nr. 5, 1999, pp. 991-1013.
- HANSEN, BEATRICE, *Walter Benjamin’s Other History: Of Stones, Animals, Human Beings, and Angels*, vol. 15, Univ of California Pr, 2000.
- HAUG, WOLFGANG FRITZ, „Dialectics”, *Historical Materialism*, vol. 13, nr. 1, 2005, pp. 241–266.
- HONNERTH, AXEL, *Pathologien der Vernunft. Geschichte und Gegenwart der Kritischen Theorie*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 2007.
- HONNERTH, AXEL, *Das Andere der Gerechtigkeit: Aufsätze zur praktischen Philosophie*, vol. 1491, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 2000.
- HONNERTH, AXEL, *Verdinglichung: eine anerkennungstheoretische Studie*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 2005, <http://philpapers.org/rec/HONVEA>, data accesării 13 septembrie 2014.

HULL, GORDON, „Reduced to a Zero-Point”: Benjamin’s Critique of Kantian Historical Experience”, *The Philosophical Forum*, vol. 31, 2000, pp. 163–186.

IDEL, MOSHE, *Evreii lui Saturn. Despre sabbatul vrăjitoarelor și șabatianism*, traducere de Cornelia Radu, Polirom, Iași, 2013.

IDEL, MOSHE, *Fiul lui Dumnezeu și mistica evreiască*, Polirom, Iași, 2010.

JACOBSON, ERIC, *Metaphysics of the profane. The political theology of Walter Benjamin and Gershom Scholem*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2003.

JAY, MARTIN, *The dialectical imagination. A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923-1950*, California University Press, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 1996.

JENNINGS, MICHAEL WILLIAM, „On the Banks of a New Lethe: Commodification and Experience in Benjamin’s Baudelaire Book”, *boundary 2*, vol. 30, nr. 1, 2003, pp. 89–104.

KAMBAS, CHRYSOULA, „Wider den’Geist der Zeit’. Die antifaschistische Politik Fritz Liebs und Walter Benjamins”, *Jacob Taubes (Hrg.). Der Fürst dieser Welt. Carl Schmitt und die Folgen. München Paderborn Wien Zürich, Ferdinand Schöningh und Wilhelm Finck Verlag*, 1983.

KAMBAS, CHRYSOULA, *Walter Benjamin im Exil: zum Verhältnis von Literaturpolitik und Ästhetik*, vol. 11, Walter de Gruyter, 1983.

KAMBAS, CHRYSOULA; LOEFFLER, PAUL; DANIEL, JAMIE OWEN, „Politische Aktualität: Walter Benjamin’s Concept of History and the Failure of the French Popular Front”, *New German Critique*, 1986, pp. 87–98.

KAPLAN, LEONARD V.; KOSHAR, RUDY, *The Weimar Moment: Liberalism, Political Theology, and Law*, Lexington Books, 2012.

KAUFMAN, ROBERT, „Aura, Still”, *October*, vol. -, 1 ianuarie 2002, pp. 45-80.

KAUFMANN, DAVID, „Beyond Use, within Reason: Adorno, Benjamin and the Question of Theology”, *New German Critique*, nr. 83, 2001, p. 151.

KAUFMANN, ROBERT, „Lyric’s Constellation, Poetry’s Radical Privilege”, *Modernist Culture*, nr. 1 (2), 2010, pp. 209-234.

KHATIB, SAMI R., „Teleologie ohne Endzweck”: *Walter Benjamins Ent-stellung des Messianischen*, Tectum, 2013, [https://www.academia.edu/4933330/Teleologie\\_ohne\\_Endzweck.\\_Walter\\_Benjamins\\_Ent-stellung\\_des\\_Messianischen](https://www.academia.edu/4933330/Teleologie_ohne_Endzweck._Walter_Benjamins_Ent-stellung_des_Messianischen), data accesării 2 septembrie 2014. .

KOHLNBACH, MARGARETE; GILES, STEVE; OERKEL, MAIKE, „Walter Benjamin, Gustav Wyneken and the «Jugendkulturbewegung»”, 2003, <http://core.kmi.open.ac.uk/display/2719294>, data accesării 22 august 2013.

- KRACAUER, SIEGFRIED, *Das Ornament der Masse*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1977.
- KRACAUER, SIEGFRIED, *Werke Bd. 1. Soziologie als Wissenschaft. Der Detektiv-Roman. Die Angestellten*, 1, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 2006.
- KRAUS, KARL, *Die Fackel. Austrian Academy Corpus*, AAC Digital Edition Nr.1, 1899, <http://corpus1.aac.ac.at/fackel/>.
- LANTERNARI, V., „Messianism: Its Historical Origin and Morphology”, *History of Religions*, vol. 2, nr. 1, 1962, pp. 52–72.
- LARGE, WILLIAM, „The Messianic Idea, the Time of Capital and the Everyday”, *Journal for Cultural Research*, vol. 13, iulie 2009, pp. 267-279.
- LAVELLE, PATRICIA, *Religion et histoire. Sur le concept d'expérience chez Walter Benjamin*, Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 2008.
- LESLIE, ESTHER, „Revolutionary Potential and Walter Benjamin: A Postwar Reception History”, în J. Bidet, S. Kouvelakis (ed.), *Critical companion to contemporary Marxism*, vol. 16, Brill Academic Pub, Leiden, 2008, pp. 549-566.
- LEWANDOWSKI, JOSEPH D., „Street culture The dialectic of urbanism in Walter Benjamin's Passagen-werk”, *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, vol. 31, nr. 3, 1 mai 2005, pp. 293-308.
- LIEBES, YEHUDA, *Studies in Jewish Myth and Messianism*, SUNY Press, 1993, [http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Kbofvp3oPIsC&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Liebes,+Studies+in+Jewish+Myth+and+Jewish+Messianism+SUNY&ots=QwI83W-WV0&sig=--D8j8DEjZx9a6eviBHjly\\_dJoc](http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Kbofvp3oPIsC&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Liebes,+Studies+in+Jewish+Myth+and+Jewish+Messianism+SUNY&ots=QwI83W-WV0&sig=--D8j8DEjZx9a6eviBHjly_dJoc), data accesării 16 septembrie 2014.
- LINDNER, BURKHARDT, „Habitationsakte Benjamin. Über ein akademisches Trauerspiel und über ein Vorkapitel der Frankfurter Schule (Horkheimer, Adorno) in Histoire scientifique de la Philosophie.”, *Lili. Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik Göttingen*, vol. 14, nr. 53-54, 1984, pp. 147-165.
- LINSE, ULRICH, „Die Jugendkulturbewegung”, *Vondung, K.(Hg.): Das wilhelminische Bürgertum. Zur Sozialgeschichte seiner Ideen*, Göttingen, 1976, pp. 119–138.
- LINSE, ULRICH, *Barfußige Propheten: Erlöser der zwanziger Jahre*, Siedler Verlag, Berlin, 1983.
- LÖWY, MICHAEL, „Jewish Messianism and Libertarian Utopia in Central Europe (1900-1933)”, *New German Critique*, nr. 20, 1980, traducere de Renee B. Larrier, p. 105.
- LÖWY, MICHAEL, „L'évolution politique de Lukacs, 1909-1929: Contribution à une sociologie de l'intelligentsia révolutionnaire”.
- LÖWY, MICHEL, „Messianism in the Early Work of Gershom Scholem”, *New German Critique*, nr. 83, 2001, pp. 177–191..

- LUHR, GERET, *Was noch begraben lag*, Bostelmann & Siebenhaar, 2000.
- MANNHEIM, KARL, *Ideologie und Utopie. 4.Auflage*, G. Schulte-Bulmke, Frankfurt am Main, 1965.
- MARCUS, J., „Modern and ancient Jewish apocalypticism”, *The Journal of religion*, vol. 76, nr. 1, 1996, pp. 1–27.
- MARKNER, REINHARD, „Walter Benjamin nach der Moderne. Etwas zur Frage seiner Aktualität angesichts der Rezeption seit 1983”, *Schattenlinien (Berlin)*, nr. 8-9, 1994, pp. 37-47.
- MATTENKLOTT, GERT, „«Walter Benjamins Kritik ästhetischer Erfahrung».”, Colocviul "Walter Benjamin. Einige Motive", NEC, București, 04.12.2004.
- MCBRIDE, DOUGLAS BRENT, „Romantic Phantasms: Benjamin and Adorno on the Subject of Critique”, *Monatshefte*, vol. 90, nr. 4.
- MENDES-FLOHR, P.R., „“To Brush History Against the Grain”: The Eschatology of the Frankfurt School and Ernst Bloch”, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 51, nr. 4, 1983, p. 631.
- MENDES-FLOHR, PAUL, „«The Stronger and the Better Jews»: Jewish Theological Responses to Political Messianism in the Weimar Republic”, *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 7, 1991, pp. 159–85.
- MISSAC, PIERRE, *Walter Benjamins Passage*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1991.
- NEGRI, A.; OTHERS, „The Eclipse of Eschatology: Conversing with Taubes’s Messianism and the Common Body”, *Political Theology*, vol. 11, nr. 1, 2009, pp. 35–41.
- NIERAAD, JÜRGEN, „Walter Benjamins Glück im Untergang: Zum Verhältnis von Messianischem und Profanem”, *German Quarterly*, 1990, pp. 222–232.
- NILSSON, CHRISTIAN, „Messianicity without Messianism?”, Sodertorn University College, 2005, <http://thinklink.philosophy.se/#post3>, data accesării 1 iulie 2011.
- O’CONNOR, PATRICK, „Redemptive Remnants: Agamben’s Human Messianism”, *Journal for Cultural Research*, vol. 13, iulie 2009, pp. 335-352.
- PALONEN, KARI, *Redescriptions: Yearbook of Political Thought and Conceptual History*, LIT Verlag Münster, 2007.
- PAŠKEVICA, BEATA, *In der Stadt der Parolen: Asja Lacis, Walter Benjamin und Bertolt Brecht*, Klartext, 2006.
- RABINBACH, A., „Between enlightenment and apocalypse: Benjamin, Bloch and modern German Jewish messianism”, *New German Critique*, nr. 34, 1985, pp. 78–124.



- RAPAPORT, HERMAN, „Spectres of Benjamin”, *Textual Practice*, vol. 19, nr. 4, 2005, pp. 415–443.
- RENAUD, BENJAMIN, „L’aura et la trace: de Walter Benjamin à Jacques Derrida”, <http://www.tache-aveugle.net/>, 15 iunie 2010, <http://www.tache-aveugle.net/spip.php?article285>.
- REYNOLDS, R.M., „Moving targets: Political theatre in a post-political age”, 2006.
- ROBBINS, JEFFREY W., „Left Behind: The Messianic without Sovereignty”, *Journal for Cultural Research*, vol. 13, iulie 2009, pp. 323-333.
- ROCHLITZ, RAINER, *Le désenchantement de l’art: la philosophie de Walter Benjamin*, Gallimard, 1992.
- ROSENTHAL, GS, „Messianism Reconsidered”, *Judaism*, vol. 40, nr. 160, 1991, pp. 552–568.
- ROSENZWEIG, FRANZ, *Stern der Erlösung*, Kaufmann, 1921, ediție electronică: Frankfurt am Main: Univ.-Bibliothek, 2009, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hebis:30-181590002003>.
- SCHMITT, CARL, *Staat, Grossraum, Nomos: Arbeiten aus den Jahren 1916-1969*, Duncker & Humblot, 1995.
- SCHOLEM, GERSHOM, „Jewish messianism and the idea of progress. Exile and redemption in the cabbala”, *Commentary*, aprilie 1958, pp. 298-305.
- SCHOLEM, GERSHOM, „My Friend Walter Benjamin”, *Commentary*, nr. 72:6, 1981, pp. 58-69.
- SCHOLEM, GERSHOM, „Zum Verständnis der messianischen Idee im Judentum”, în, vol. Judaica I, *Judaica*, Suhrkamp, 1959, pp. 7-74.
- SCHOLEM, GERSHOM, *Erlösung durch Sünde*, Judaica V, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1992.
- SCHOLEM, GERSHOM, *Judaica*, IV, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1970.
- SCHOLEM, GERSHOM, *Von Berlin nach Jerusalem. Jugenderrinerungen. Erweiterte Fassung*, Jüdischer Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1994.
- SCHWARZSCHILD, STEVEN, „On Jewish Eschatology”, în *Der Geschichtsbegriff: Eine theologische Erfindung?*, Religion in der Moderne 17, Echter Verlag, Würzburg, 2007, pp. 13-41.
- SHERRATT, YVONNE, „Adorno’s aesthetic concept of aura”, *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, vol. 33, nr. 2, 1 martie 2007, pp. 155-177.
- SLOTERDIJK, PETER, *Zorn und Zeit*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 2006.

- SOREL, G., *Reflecții asupra violenței*, Zeitgeist, Humanitas, Bucuresti, 2012.
- STEINER, UWE, „The True Politician: Walter Benjamin’s Concept of the Political”, *New German Critique*, nr. 83 Special Issue on Walter Benjamin, spring-summer 2001, pp. 43-88.
- STEINER, UWE, *Walter Benjamin*, J.B. Metzler Verlag, Stuttgart-Weimar, 2004.
- TALMON, JACOB LEIB, *Political Messianism: the romantic phase*, Praeger, 1961.
- TAUBES, J., „Scholem’s theses on Messianism reconsidered”, *Social Science Information*, vol. 21, 1 iulie 1982, pp. 665-675.
- TAUBES, J., *Der Preis des Messianismus: Briefe von Jacob Taubes an Gershom Scholem und andere Materialien*, ediție de E. Stimilli, Königshausen & Neumann, 2006.
- TAUBES, JACOB, *Die politische Theologie des Paulus: Vorträge, gehalten an der Forschungsstätte der evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft in Heidelberg, 23.-27. Februar 1987*, ediție de Horst Folkers, Wolf-Daniel Hartwich, Christoph Schulte, Fink, München, 1993.
- TIEDEMANN, ROLF, „Zur’Beschlagnahme’Walter Benjamins oder Wie man mit der Philologie Schlitten fährt”, *Das Argument*, vol. 46, 1968, pp. 74-93.
- TIEDEMANN, ROLF, *Etudes sur la philosophie de Walter Benjamin avec une preface de Theodor Adorno.*, traducere de Rainer Rochlitz, Actes Sud, Arles, 1987.
- TOFAN, IOAN ALEXANDRU, *City Lights. Despre experiență la Walter Benjamin*, Humanitas, București, 2014.
- UNSELD, SIEGFRIED, *Zur Aktualität Walter Benjamins*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1972.
- VAN REIJEN, W.; VAN DOORN, H.H., *Aufenthalte und Passagen: Leben und Werk Walter Benjamins: eine Chronik*, Suhrkamp, 2001.
- WARE, OWEN, „Dialectic of the Past/Disjuncture of the Future: Derrida and Benjamin on the Concept of Messianism”, *Journal for Cultural and Religious Theory*, vol. 5, nr. 2, 2004, p. 99.
- WEBER, SAMUEL, „Taking Exception to Decision: Walter Benjamin and Carl Schmitt”, *diacritics*, vol. 22, nr. 3/4, 1992, pp. 5–18.
- WEIDNER, DANIEL, „‘Nichts der Offenbarung, ‘inverse’ und ‘Unanständige Theologie’”. Kafkaeske Figuren des Religiösen bei Adorno, Benjamin, Scholem und Agamben”, în M. Engel, R. Robertson (ed.), *Kafka und die Religion der Moderne / Kafka: Religion and Modernity*, Oxford Kafka Studies 3, Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg, 2014, pp. 155-176, [29.08.2014](#).

WEINGRAD, MICHAEL, „Benjamin or Bataille. Transgression, Redemption, and the Origins of Postmodern Thought”.

WEINGRAD, MICHAEL, „Parisian Messianism: Catholicism, Decadence, and the Transgressions of Georges Bataille”, *History & Memory*, vol. 13, nr. Number 2, fall/winter 2001, pp. 113-133.

WEINGRAD, MICHAEL, „The College of Sociology and the Institute for Social Research”, *New German Critique*, nr. 40, 2001, pp. 120-161.

WEISBERGER, ADAM M., „Marginality and Messianism: German Jews and Socialism, 1871-1918”, *Politics & Society*, vol. 20, nr. 2, 1992, pp. 225–256.

WIGGERSHAUS, ROLF, *Die Frankfurter Schule. Geschichte, Theoretische Entwicklung, Politische Bedeutung*, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München, 1997.

WITTE, BERND, *Benjamin und das Exil*, vol. 2, Benjamin-Blätter, Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg, 2006.

WITTE, BERND, *Walter Benjamin: An Intellectual Biography*, Wayne State University Press, 1997.

WITTE, BERND; WINNETT, SUSAN B., „Paris–Berlin–Paris: Personal, Literary, and Social Experience in Walter Benjamin’s Late Works”, *New German Critique*, 1986, pp. 49–60.

WIZISLA, ERDMUT, *Walter Benjamin and Bertolt Brecht: The Story of a Friendship*, Yale University Press, 2009.

WOHLFARTH, IRVING, „Critique of Violence: The Deposing of the Law Walter Benjamin and the Red Army Faction, Part 2”, *Radical Philosophy. A Journal of Socialist and Feminist Philosophy*, nr. 153, februarie 2009, pp. 13-26.

WOHLFARTH, IRVING, „Männer aus der Fremde»: Walter Benjamin and the »German-Jewish Parnassus”, *New German Critique*, nr. 70, 1997, pp. 3-85.

WOLIN, RICHARD, „Reflections on Jewish secular messianism”, în *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, vol. VII, Oxford University Press, New York / Oxford, 1991, pp. 186-197.