Notes

Introduction: Political Religions and Theo-Politics

2. Ibid., p. 367.
5. See Emilio Gentile, La Grande Italia: The Myth of the Nation in the 20th Century, University of Wisconsin Press, 2009. From the Italian Risorgere, ‘to rise again’, the Italian Risorgimento was the historical period of and the political movement for the liberation and national unification of Italy (1750–1870).
6. On this subject, see Emilio Gentile, Against Caesar: Christianity and Totalitarianism in the Epoch of Fascisms, Feltrinelli, 2010 (in Italian).
12. According to French sociologist Émile Durkheim, anomie (anomy) represents the unsettling breakdown of the established frameworks of meaning providing groups and individuals with sense, belonging and guidance.

## 1 Meaning at the End

2. The image of the ‘devouring’ Kronos is entirely borrowed from Griffin’s *Modernism and Fascism*, pp. 80–5.
3. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p. 53.
27. Löwith, *Meaning*, p. 188.
2  Millenarianism, Messianism and Absolute Politics

1. See Revelation 20:4–7. Millenarianism describes a religious belief that pertains to the ‘millennium’ – a term that itself derives from the Latin mille (thousand) and annus (year). The synonymous ‘chiliasm’, less common in the English usage, comes from the Greek numeral chilioi (one thousand). In the following pages, these terms will be used alternatively.
14. A period of time approximately from 220 BCE to 70 CE, which corresponds to the second half of the Second Temple period.
30. According to some postmillennial apologists, the Christ of Matthew 28: 18–20 would have commended the evangelization of the entire world as follows: ‘And Jesus came and spoke unto them, saying, all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen.’
38. See Wessinger, ‘Millennialism with and without Mayhem’.
45. According to French sociologist Émile Durkheim, anomie (anomy) represents the unsettling breakdown of the established frameworks of meaning providing groups and individuals with a sense of belonging and guidance.
56. See ibid., p. 15.

3 Jewish Religious Zionism


17. Quoted in Rabkin, A Threat from Within, p. 72.


24. Quoted in Rabkin, A Threat from Within, pp. 91–2.


27. Ratvitzky, Messianism, p. 19.


34. Beth McLeod, ‘Religious Row Holds up Israeli Hospital’, *BBC News*, 5 April 2010, available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/8597608.stm (accessed 9 April 2010). The Sephardim are West European and specifically Spanish Jewish communities originally from Islamic Mediterranean countries, as compared to the Ashkenazim (‘German’ in medieval Hebrew) who are members or descendants of Central and East European Jewry. Both stand as two major Jewish traditions and are represented in Israel by two Chief Rabbis.


46. Scholem, *The Messianic Idea*, p. 44.


53. Ibid., *The Messianic Idea*, p. 43.


57. See Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, pp. 38–42.


67. Ibid., p. 193.


74. See Ravitzky, Messianism, p. 97.

75. See Schwartz, Religious Zionism, pp. 29–45.

76. See Aran, ‘Jewish Zionist Fundamentalism’, pp. 309–11.


79. Quoted in Ravitzky, Messianism, p. 131.


82. See Aran, ‘Jewish Zionist Fundamentalism’, p. 292.


93. See Ratvitzky, *Messianism*, p. 89.


118. See John Gray, *Al Qaeda and What it Means to be Modern*, Faber and Faber, 2003, p. 76.
119. See Roger Griffin’s lecture notes, ‘The Way of the Terrorist: Reflections on Terrorism’s Relationship to Modernity’, Central European University, Budapest, 15 October 2010. I thank the author for letting me read his notes.
124. See Martin Seliger, *Ideology and Politics*, Free Press, 1976, p. 120.
139. This is the underlying hypothesis of Inbari’s new study, *Messianic Religious Zionism Confronts Israeli Territorial Compromises*, Cambridge, 2012.

4 US Christian Zionism

24. See Ruthven, *Fundamentalism*, p. 64.
47. Quoted in Fiege, *Settling in the Heart*, p. 120.


61. The controversial plan of Ateret Hacohanim is addressed by Louis Theroux in his reportage, ‘My Time among the Ultra-Zionists’, BBC 2, 3 February 2011.


63. Quote taken from the transcript of the PBS Frontline’s reportage, ‘Israel’s Next War’, 5 April 2005. Peace Now (in Hebrew ‘Shalom Achshav’) is a well-known Israeli progressive NGO that advocates a just peace and historic reconciliation with the Palestinians and neighbouring Arab nations, to be obtained through a territorial compromise based on the diplomatic formula of ‘land for peace’.

64. Ravitzky, ‘Roots of Kahanism’.


85. Quoted in Ravitzky, Messianism, p. 141.

86. Ibid., pp. 140–1.


88. See Phillips, ‘“We’ve Read the End of the Book”’, pp. 346–51.


90. See Boyer, When Time Shall Be No More, p. 41.


94. See Northcott, An Angel Directs the Storm, p. 67.


97. O’Leary, Arguing the Apocalypse, p. 178.


102. See Gentile, God’s Democracy, pp. 53–4.


106. Quoted in Goldman, Zeal for Zion, p. 305.
107. On 27 March 2002, a Hamas suicide bombing in the dining hall of a hotel in Netanya killed 30 civilians and seriously injured another 140. Nearly all the victims were elderly Jews. The Passover massacre is remembered as the deadliest terrorist attack of the Second Intifada.
112. See Grace Halsell, Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War, Hill, 1986.
114. See Goldman, Zeal for Zion, p. 271.
118. See O’Leary, Arguing the Apocalypse, pp. 184–9.
120. Quoted in O’Leary, Arguing the Apocalypse, p. 187.

130. Pettit, ‘Christian Zionism’.


140. See, ‘White House Blasts Robertson’s Sharon Remark’, MSNBC, 6 January 2006.


152. Ibid., 185.


5 Cultural Apocalypse

30. Fenn, Dreams of Glory, p. 77.
31. See Rozario, Culture of Calamity, pp. 175–208.
33. Weber, On the Road to Armageddon, p. 11.
34. See Boyer, When Time Shall Be No More, pp. 293–324.
38. See Griffin, Terrorist’s Creed, pp. 1–9.
40. See John Collins, ‘Eschatological Dynamics and Utopian Ideals in Early Judaism’, in Amanat and Bernhardsson (eds), Imagining the End, pp. 69–89.
43. See Gentile, God’s Democracy, pp. 79–84.
49. See Gentile, God’s Democracy, p. 59.
52. Ibid., pp. 116–17.
53. Ibid., p. 19.
54. See Gray, Black Mass, pp. 149–61.
Notes

60. See Kevin MacDonald, ‘Thinking about Neo-Conservatism’, in Malik (ed.), *With God on Our Side*, p. 171.

Conclusion: Two Parallel Lines

Select Bibliography


Aran, Gideon, ‘Jewish Zionist Fundamentalism: The Bloc of the Faithful in Israel (Gush Emunim)’, in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms Observed, Fundamentalism Project I*, University of Chicago Press, 1991


Ariel, Yaakov, *Evangelizing the Chosen People*, North Carolina University Press, 2000


Barr, James, *Fundamentalism*, SCM Press, 1991


Cohn, Norman, *The Pursuit of Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, Pimlico, 2004


Cook, David, *Contemporary Muslim Apocalyptic Literature*, Syracuse University Press, 2005

Davidson, James West, *The Logic of Millennial Thought*, Yale University Press, 1977

De Felice, Renzo, *Interpretations of Fascism*, Harvard University Press, 1977


Delbanco, Andrew, *The Death of Satan: how Americans have Lost their Sense of Evil*, Farrar, 1996

250
Evron, Boas, *Jewish State or Israeli Nation?*, Indiana University Press, 1995
Fenn, Richard, *Dreams of Glory: The Sources of Apocalyptic Terror*, Ashgate, 2005
Fiege, Michael, *Settling in the Hearts: Jewish Fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories*, Wayne State University Press, 2009
Griffin, Roger, *The Nature of Fascism*, Routledge, 1993
Johnson Frykholm, Amy, *Rapture Culture: Left Behind in Evangelical America*, Oxford University Press, 2004
Lincoln, Bruce, *Holy Terrors: Thinking about Religion after September 11*, University of Chicago Press, 2004
Lincoln, Bruce, *Religion, Empire and Torture: The Case of Achaemenian Persia with a Postscript on Abu Ghraib*, University of Chicago Press, 2007
Löwith, Karl, *Meaning in History: The Theological Implications of the Philosophy of History*, University of Chicago Press, 1949
Marsden, George, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, Oxford University Press, 1980
Ruthven, Malise, *Fundamentalism: The Search for Meaning*, Oxford University Press, 2004
Vondung, Klaus, *The Apocalypse in Germany*, University of Missouri Press, 2000
Index

Agudat Yisrael Party, 77, 78
Akenson, Donald H., 16, 229
anti-Semitism, 133, 145
dispensationalism, 181–91
replacement theology, 20, 142, 183–4
Antichrist, 28–9, 46, 60, 156–8,
163–3, 165, 176, 178, 185–6, 188,
191, 205, 215
Antiochus IV (Antiochus Epiphanus), 25
apocalypse, 36, 42, 52, 56–61, 135,
158, 160–2, 168–9, 176, 191
9/11 aftermath, 195–220
archetype of, 227
definition, 22–8
fictive character of, 22
Jewish and Christian apocalyptic thinking, 22–32
see also cultural apocalypse;
premillennialism; Zoroastrianism
Apocalypticism, 52, 55, 61, 131
definition, 30–5
dualistic thinking, 199, 209, 210
premillennialism, 46
see also forcing the End
apokatastasis or restitutio ad integrum,
32–5
kabbalistic tradition, 85–8
Aran, Gideon, 80, 81, 95, 97, 104,
117, 122, 125, 164
Armageddon theology, 160–7, 176,
179
Aronoff, Myron, 109
Augustine, Saint, 35, 57, 181
Axis of Evil, 206–17
Barr, James, 138
Begin, Menachem, 119, 174
Ben-Gurion, David, 65
Benjamin, Walter, 225–6
Berger, Peter, 41, 201
birth pangs, 29–32, 35, 46, 50, 156,
160, 191, 200
see also apocalypse; premillennialism
Boyer, Paul, 165, 182, 186, 215, 216
‘onion structure’ of dispensational consensus, 205–6
Bush, George W., 129, 130, 179,
214, 216
apocalyptic rhetoric of, 206–17
and evil, 208–10, 214–15
messianic leadership of, 211–12
neocons, 207, 213–17
September 11, 211–13
spiritual orientation of, 170–1
US Evangelicals, 171–3, 175
Chosen People see Covenant
Christians United for Israel (CUFI),
175, 177, 179, 189, 190,
218, 219, 225
Cohn, Norman, 24, 37
Collins, John J., 23, 207
Covenant, 32
America as a new covenantal nation, 212
Christian Church, 20–2
definition, 15–19
Religious Zionism, 74–0, 86–7, 92,
119, 132, 136, 137
US Christian Zionism, 142–50, 177,
183–4, 199
see also Land of Israel
Creative destruction, 32, 83, 124,
215–16
cultural apocalypse, 195–221
Daniel, Book of, 25, 26, 30, 141, 169
Darby, John N., 149, 158–9, 160, 161,
165, 167, 169, 173, 178, 182, 183,
185, 186, 192, 193, 204, 205
theological critiques of, 141–2, 164–7
theological doctrine of, 135–7,
140–8, 156–7
see also dispensationalism;
premillennialism; US Christian Zionists

253
De Martino, Ernesto, 195–6
see also cultural apocalypse
Delbanco, Andrew, 206
Devil, 16, 28, 169, 206, 207
Devji, Faisal, 4, 228
dispensationalism, 156, 157, 159, 160, 182, 185, 215, 227
anti-Semitism, 181–91
motives for the success of, 192–4, 201–6
politics, 167–81
routinization of, 175–81
theological critiques of, 141–2, 164–7
as a theological doctrine, 135–45
violence, 160–1
see also premillennialism; US Christian Zionists
Edah Haredit Party, 75–6
Eliade, Mircea, 6, 12, 33, 202, 211
End Time, 10, 26, 29, 32, 39, 41, 71, 85, 101, 123, 129–34, 141, 143, 156, 162, 164–5, 179, 182, 184–6, 190–1, 200, 205, 207, 215, 225
see also eschatology
Eretz Yisrael see Land of Israel
eschatology, 10, 15, 28, 41, 160, 161, 169, 167, 189, 210, 222, 225
and the apocalyptic, 23
Christianity, 19–22
covenental system, 18–19
dispensationalism, 135–7, 140–2, 160–1, 164–7
progressive and catastrophic, 45–9, 52–2
as a religious doctrine, 13–14, 32–5
War on Terror, 206–17
Etzion, Yehuda, 163
theocratic post-Zionist, 121–2, 123–8, 224–5
Evron, Boas, 155
Exile see Israel
Ezekiel, Book of, 13, 25, 30, 141, 162, 169, 220
Falkwell, Jerry, 169, 172, 175, 191, 199, 205
fascism, 1–6
see also political religion
Fenn, Richard, 158, 181, 202–3
Fiege, Michael, 66
Filiu, Jean-Pierre, 191–2
forcing the End, 55–8, 122
fundamentalism, 3, 7, 9, 222
biblical literalism/inerrancy, 139–42
definition, 139–40
modernity, 4–5, 61, 90, 111–15, 140, 198
politics, 169–75
Gaza Strip, 62, 127, 132, 150, 167, 174, 179
Gentile, Emilio, 1, 2, 5, 170, 196, 212, 213
Girard, René, 181–2
Gorellberg, Gershom, 105, 190
Gray, John, 115, 201, 213, 216
great tribulation see Jacob’s trouble
Griffin, Roger, 2, 6, 43, 44, 109, 111, 115, 197, 202, 228, 229
see also Jewish Religious Zionism; Kookism
Hagee, John, 132, 162, 175, 177, 178, 179, 184, 186, 188, 189, 190, 200, 205, 218
rhetoric between post- and premillennialism, 175–81
see also premillennialism; US Christian Zionists
Haredi Judaism see Jewish ultra-Orthodoxy
Higher Criticism of the Bible, 139–41
Hilltop Youth, 127, 153–4
Huckabee, Mike, 152–4
Inbar, Motti, 119
Iran, 63–4, 133, 161, 166, 219
Iraq War, 172, 190, 211, 213–15
Israel, 13–25, 30–3, 38–42, 49, 52
election of, 155–6
exile of, 17, 33–5, 40, 51, 71–6, 83, 85–7, 89, 93, 97, 136, 144–5, 148, 166
mimetic desire for, 181–2
modern State of, 62–128
restoration of, 18, 25, 32, 71, 75, 83, 85, 92, 99, 100, 120, 140, 143–5, 148–9, 155–6, 168
US Christian Zionism, 129–93
Israel lobby, 129–30
Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), 65, 76, 82, 128, 151, 172
Jabotinsky, Vladimir, 106, 174
Jacob's troubles (great tribulation), 156–7, 176, 200
see also birth pangs
Jerusalem, 24, 62–6, 72, 75, 79, 81, 94, 100, 112, 123, 149, 152, 153, 218
eschatological relevance of, 37, 46, 122–3, 129, 137, 140, 156–8, 161–2, 165, 167, 178
Jewish Home Party (HaBayit HaYehudi), 63–4, 114–17
Jewish people see Israel
Jewish Religious Zionism, 62–128
Christian Zionism, 143–56
crisis, 116–28
political activism, 105–11
theology, 80–105
see also Israel; Land of Israel; messianism
Jewish ultra-Orthodoxy, 108, 111, 119
messianism, 70–5
Palestinian issue, 72
Religious Zionism, 80–2, 93–6
secular Zionism, 70–80
Jewish Underground, 121–8, 220, 223–4
Joachim of Fiore, 59–61
Jung, Carl J., 137
apocalyptic archetype, 227
Kabbalah, 82–8
Kahane, Rabbi Meir (Kahanism), 153–4, 163
Kermode, Frank, 20, 60, 227
Kook, Rabbi Abraham Isaac, 70, 89, 183
kabbalistic messianic views, 82–4, 118–21, 124–5, 163
Land of Israel, 92–6
secular Zionism, 88–92, 10–15, 224
see also Kookism
Kook, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda, 88, 101, 107, 116,
Kookism, 80–2, 84, 89, 96, 105, 107, 118–20, 124–7, 147, 163
Land of Israel, 9, 14, 16–17, 25, 63, 106–9, 153, 163–4, 166, 174
eschatological significance for Christian Zionism, 132–7, 143–50, 173, 206, 219
eschatological significance for Jewish settlers, 63–81, 88–90, 92–9, 113, 119–24
eschatological significance for Judaism, 33–8, 51
idolatry, 145
non-Jewish populations, 145–55
see also dispensationalism; Israel; messianism; redemption
Levinger, Rabbi Moshe, 99, 107
Lieven, Anatol, 172–3, 244, 251
Lifton, Robert Jay, 161, 196, 201
Likud Party, 63, 67–8, 106, 114, 174, 188, 216
liminality, 58–60, 103, 116, 118, 168, 203
Lincoln, Bruce, 146, 199, 210–11, 218
Little Apocalypse of Mark, 13, 31
Luria, Yitzhak see Kabbalah
McGinn, Bernard, 58
McJihad paradox, 111–15
Merkaz HaRav Yeshiva, 81–2, 107, 121, 151, 223
Messiah, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 71, 73, 79, 92, 94, 97, 101, 118, 123, 125, 136, 143, 156, 158, 161, 165, 185, 220, 255
Christianity, 26–7, 40–2, 165
Judaism, 21–2, 39–42, 49–52, 56–7
see also messianism; redemption
messianism, 6, 9, 43, 44, 53, 58, 72, 85, 88, 97, 100, 105, 106, 118, 154, 163, 174, 211, 226
apocalyptic and naturalistic, 49–52, 125–7
a definition, 38–40, 80
see also Kookism; Religious Zionism
millenarianism, 6, 9, 44, 49, 54, 58, 174
a definition, 36–8
see also millennium
millennium, 36, 37, 46–8, 54, 57, 59, 123, 136, 143, 148, 156–7, 162, 179, 182, 188
Milton, John, 34
modernity, 4–5, 61, 90, 111–15, 140, 198
see also fundamentalism; Gush Emunim
neoconservatism, 130, 207, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217
Netanyahu, Benjamin, 63–4, 99, 114, 153, 175, 218–19, 234
Neturei Karta, 75–7
New Christian Right, 172–5, 178, 183, 190, 217–18
see also White South
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 217
Novak, David, 80
O’Leary, Stephen, 52, 141, 168, 176–8, 207
Obama, Barak, 62–3, 153, 217–18
Occupied Territories see West Bank
palingenesis, 108, 110, 124, 180, 201, 203, 209, 216, 221
born-again Christianity, 43
a definition, 6–8, 42–5
palingenetic community, 45, 84, 107, 109, 213
political religion, 1–10, 213
postmillennialism, 176
a definition, 47–54
premillennialism, 135, 165, 166–72, 179, 180, 183
a definition, 45–54
Protocols of Elders of Zion, 187–8, 191
Ram, Uri, 112–14
rapture, 144, 160, 162, 178, 185, 205
a definition, 156–8
politics, 158–9, 169
social and ethical implications, 164–7
theological critiques of, 159–60
Ravitzky, Aviezer, 51, 53, 146, 154, 155, 164, 223, 224
redemption, 14, 17, 20, 21–2, 29–30, 32–3, 35, 37–8, 49–8, 51–2, 54, 57, 64, 66, 70–1, 73, 75–8, 79–80, 82, 84–9, 92, 94–7, 100–1, 106–8, 118–27, 131, 136, 142, 145, 153–4, 163, 167, 182, 220, 223–4
replacement theology, 20, 142, 183–4
Revelation, Book of, 26, 27, 31, 33, 36, 37, 41, 42, 46, 48, 51, 57, 141, 165, 169, 204
revitalization movements, 116, 120
Gush Emunim, 108–11
Robertson, Pat, 149–50, 175, 176, 178, 184, 188, 191, 193, 205
Ruthven, Malise, 138
Scholem, Gershom, 32, 226
Schwartz, Dov, 88
Scofield, Cyrus (Reference Bible), 135–7, 140, 205
Second Coming of Jesus, 21, 36, 45, 47, 132, 133, 140, 157, 160, 161, 163, 168, 181, 185, 189
September 11 (9/11), 3–7, 130, 132, 170, 190, 194
apocalyptic understanding of, 193–4, 195–220
Settlers movement see Gush Emunim
Sharon, Ariel, 69, 119, 128, 150, 171, 172, 174, 184
Shas Party, 77–8
Shindler, Colin, 174
Six Day War, 64, 70, 79, 96, 107, 128, 129, 167, 226
messianic import, 79, 80, 105–6
US Christian Zionism, 158, 167–9, 174, 223
Sizer, Stephen, 130, 144
Spector, Stephen, 133
Sprinzak, Ehud, 154
Index

Talmud, 49, 54, 72, 76, 82, 90, 100, 104
Tau, Rabbi Zvi, 147–9
eschatological relevance, 122–3
Operation Temple Mount, 121–7
see also Jewish Underground
Terror Management Theory (TMT), 201
theocracy and theocratic regime, 101, 105, 118, 120, 220, 224, 226
three oaths, doctrine of, 72–3
Torah, 14, 20, 30, 33, 38, 42, 50–1, 57, 67, 73–5, 78–80, 85, 89–90, 93, 95–6, 145, 147, 151, 163
US Christian Zionists, 129–98
anti-Semitism, 181–91
Jewish Religious Zionism, 143–56
political activism, 167–80
theology of, 135–43, 146–66
see also apocalypse;
dispensationalism;
premillennialism
Wallis, Jim, 210
War on Terror, 63, 207–10, 213–14
Weber, Timothy, 132, 167–8, 182, 193, 204
Wessinger, Catherine, 54–5
West Bank, 9, 62–9, 78, 80, 82, 98, 106, 128, 130, 132, 145, 149, 152–3, 160, 167, 171–4, 177, 188, 216, 218–19, 221, 225
Western Wall, 79
White South, 172
Yom Kippur War, 107–8, 116, 174
Zevi, Sabbatai (Sabbatianism), 84, 127
Zoroastrianism, 9, 39, 83, 210
dualistic thinking, 27–8