SEX AND GENDER IN THE REFORMATION:
PROPHECY, CELIBACY, MYSTICISM, AND WITCHCRAFT

REL-A300  FALL 2013
Monday, Wednesday 2:30-3:45
Woodburn 002

Prof. Constance M. Furey
cfurey@indiana.edu
Office: Sycamore 226
Office hours: Tues. 1-2 and Weds. 4-5
and by appointment

DESCRIPTION
Religions often reinforce gender norms and police sexual behavior. Religious beliefs, practices, and institutions can also challenge these norms by affirming spiritual androgyny and highly erotic, even sexualized, devotion. This course will consider these contradictions by focusing on a moment in Christian history when existing assumptions about the spiritual value of virginity, celibacy, and marriage were directly challenged; when prophetic claims about the irrelevance of gender were hotly contested; when sexualized and homoerotic devotion could be both condemned and praised; and when small but deadly outbreaks of witchcraft accusations revealed an enduring misogyny. Participants will be required to do discussion questions, several short writing assignments, a report, and two papers (3-4 pages).

TEXTS
Note: all other readings listed in the reading schedule are available on Oncourse.

WORK
- In-class reading responses. 40 points.
- Weekly postings. 60 points. Each week you should identify one quote from the readings and write a post that explains to the class why the quote is worthy of our attention. What question does it raise? What controversial or counter-intuitive complicated point does it make? Why do you find it interesting? Post on Oncourse (http://oncourse.iu.edu/) by 9:00 a.m. the day of the class meeting where the reading will be discussed.
- Two exegetical papers (3-4 pages; 25 points each). Due 9/9 and according to sign-up.
- A final paper (4-5 pages; 50 points, due Dec. 13th, via Oncourse). Due dates for the first two papers will be assigned according to your interests, and detailed descriptions for all papers will be handed out in class.
POLICIES
Regular attendance and participation is expected. The basic rules of etiquette (fulfilling your commitment to the class, staying awake, treating others respectfully) and knowledge of the student code of conduct are assumed. Laptops, cellphones, and other electronic devices are not allowed.

I will not prod you to turn in missing assignments or warn you about the effect that absences—whether physical or mental—will have on your grade, but I welcome the opportunity to talk to you outside of class: please plan to come to see me at least once this semester regardless, and contact me immediately if you have any problems that might affect your ability to engage in the class.

SCHEDULE OF READINGS
Note: Dates and readings subject to change.

THEORY
Week 1 8/26
Course Introduction. Video clip: Futurama’s “Neutopia”
8/28 Denise Riley, “Does Sex have a History?” Am I that Name? Feminism And the Category of Woman in History, 1-17.

Week 2 9/2
9/4 Mary Daly, “After the Death of God the Father” and “Why Speak About God? In Womanspirit Rising: A Feminist Reader in Religion
Luce Irigaray, “When the Gods are Born” in Joy, French Feminists on Religion

Friday 9/6 5:00-6:30 RELIGIOUS STUDIES ALUMNI EVENT FOR CURRENT STUDENTS.

AUTHORITATIVE SOURCES
Week 3 9/9
Genesis 1-3
9/11 Phyllis Trible, “Eve and Adam: Genesis 2-3 Rread”

Week 4 9/16
1 Cor. 11:3-13; Eph. 5: 21-25; Gal. 3:25-28; 1 Tim. 2:9-15.
John Calvin, selections, in Aughterson, Renaissance Women
9/18 Martin Luther on marriage and sexuality in Luther on Women

ALTERNATIVE AUTHORITIES
Week 5 9/23
Eleanor Davies, “Everlasting Gospel”

Week 6 9/30
10/2 Field Trip to Kinsey Institute
**Complicated Examples**

1. **Virginity**
   
   **Week 7**  
   10/7 Marina Warner, “Alone of All Her Sex” chp. 4  
   Watch: Scenes from *Elizabeth*

   **Week 8**  
   10/14 Joan Scott, “Gender, a Useful Category of Historical Analysis?”  
   10/16 Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. Parshley, pp. 3-4, 32-37, 139-44.

2. **Celibacy**
   
   **Week 9**  
   10/21 Weber, *Teresa of Avila* chp. 1  

3. **Marriage**
   
   **Week 10**  
   10/28 Roper, “Sexual Utopianism in the German Reformation”  
   10/30 Atwood, “Sleeping in the Arms of Christ: Sanctifying Sexuality in the Eighteenth-Century Moravian Church”

4. **Queer Devotion**
   
   **Week 11**  
   11/6 Lanyer, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, Intro + pp. 3-50 (select and read four poems).  
   **Week 12**  
   11/11 Lanyer, *Salve Deus* read pp. 63-98 and 100-110  
   **Week 13**  
   11/18 Rambuss, *Closet Devotions*, chps. 1 & 3;  
   11/20 Select poems from John Donne

   11/25-27 Thanksgiving Break

5. **Satanic Sex**
   
   **Week 14**  
   12/2 Roper, *Witch Craze*, Part I (esp. pp 67-69, 82-125) and Part II  
   12/4 Discussion with Prof. Patricia Ingham  
   To prepare for class, watch: *Häxan, or Witchcraft Through the Ages*

   **Week 15**  
   12/11 Conclusion

   **12/13** Final papers due
A300 FALL 2013

PROMPT FOR FIRST EXEGETICAL PAPER.

3-4 pages (750-1000 words).
Due Monday, Sept. 9th, 2013, by 10:00 a.m. via Oncourse “Assignments”

An “exegetical paper” is a paper that focuses on a close reading of the text(s). It is not a research paper, and the grade is based not on your use of evidence but on your accurate account and assessment of relevant points in the text. An exegetical paper will necessarily include several quotes. Every time you quote a passage, you should also explain the quote in your own words. Don’t expect the reader to do the interpretation herself, but instead explain the interpretation of the passage to the reader.

For this paper, you should compare Mary Daly’s vision of a “transformed Christian consciousness” to Luce Irigaray’s by focusing on how each describes how the incarnation (the Christian doctrine that God became a human being in the person of Jesus Christ).

Mary Daly says that “women who are confronting the nothingness which emerges when one turns one’s back upon the pseudo-reality offered by patriarchy are by that very act saying “I am,” that is, confronting our own depth of being” (216). One thing that can aid this process, she argues, is a reinterpretation of the incarnation: “As a uniquely masculine divinity loses credibility, so also the idea of a unique divine incarnation in a human being of the male sex may give way in the religious consciousness to an increased awareness of the divine presence in all human beings, understood as expressing and in a real sense incarnating—although always inadequately—the power of being” (59).

Luce Irigaray writes that “a revolution in thought and ethics is needed if the world of sexual difference is to take place” (61). This requires understanding that “et incarnatus est” (meaning: God became flesh) could be transformed from “submission of the flesh to the Word” to a “different relationship between flesh and word”. She suggests this reinterpretation would restore Mary to a primary place in the story, and focus on bodies and sexuality rather than virtues of submission and passivity. “The word made flesh in Mary might mean—might it not?—the advent of a divine one who does not burst in violently…does not simply rule the world from a heaven of dreams, and does not remain closed in a text of law either” (55). What then would it mean?

Compare Daly’s descriptions of how Jesus should be understood in a Christianity that emphasizes “becoming” and “creative potential” rather than power and submission to Irigaray’s emphasis on the word made flesh as a model that “goes beyond the Father-Son relationship” (56).

These aren’t easy texts, so I recommend reading all the passages I quoted above, and then focusing on pp. 54-56 of Daly and pp 54-56 in Irigaray (strange coincidence that those are the same pages!). To write this paper, I also recommend that you start with your textual analysis. It can work well to pick three to four quotes and then devote a paragraph each to analyzing the quote. THEN write an introduction that explains what can be learned from this comparison. Then write a conclusion. You’re welcome to respond personally or argumentatively in the conclusion, but the introduction and the body of the paper should focus on textual analysis. Email me if you have any questions!
A300 Argument Paper Requirements and Rubric
3-4 pages (750-1000 words).
These papers are to be double-spaced, 12 point font, and are due on **Friday, May 17th** and **Tuesday, May 28th**.

All good papers address an interesting question. I recommend that you start with the questions you posed in your postings or those I or your classmates have posed in reading questions or postings.

Then go to the text and think about how it enables you to answer the question. A good thesis statement tends to follow this format: “You might think that x, but in fact y”. For example, Roper’s article makes something like the following claim: “you might think that the Reformation crisis in gender relations simply reinforced patriarchy, but in fact the crisis and its resolution was much more complicated”. If you watch for it, you’ll see this format in news stories and articles about almost everything. Your job is to figure out why what you’ve learned is interesting, and part of the reason it’s interesting will be that it’s not obvious, and that it’s different from what you or others might have assumed.

Then you need to find evidence to support your claim. Anchor your interpretations in the text you’re using, and provide parenthetical citations for all quotations and ideas you are paraphrasing from the text. For the purposes of this class, you may cite by providing the author’s name + plus page number. Example: (Weber, 34).

Be sure to describe all the main ideas in your own words, and to offer your own interpretations of the quoted material. Explain and defend your understanding of all quoted material.

Because of the short page limit, you will need to get right to the point. Instead of vague introductions, offer concise statement of your argument.

To apply sufficient textual evidence smoothly and quickly, it’s usually better to paraphrase and insert short, apt quotations rather than long block quotes.

Once you’ve figured out what to write about, done the analysis and provided supporting evidence, and written the paper, finalize it by a) providing a **descriptive title** and b) listing the question answered in the paper, after the title but before the introduction.
Grading Criteria for Papers

I evaluate your papers according to the following criteria: **Organization, Clarity, Accuracy, Argument.**

**Invaluable Tips:** Writing takes a lot of thought and a lot of time. There is no substitute for careful, thoughtful engagement with the material. The following strategies can, however, help you polish your work and dramatically improve the quality of your writing.

- **Proofread your paper before you hand it in.** Spelling mistakes and grammatical errors give the impression that the writer is sloppy and unmotivated, and the paper will be evaluated accordingly. A word to the wise: don’t rely on spellcheckers. By themselves, spellcheckers are never enough. Use previous papers to find personal patterns of grammatical mistakes: if you have questions about how to correct specific errors, contact me or the Writing Center.

- **Make an outline of your paper before you write it.** Your outline should include examples of the kind of evidence you are going to use and notes about how the evidence supports your argument. Outlines help you organize your thoughts in advance, but don’t feel like you have to stick to the outline: the process of writing often exposes flaws in your initial idea and may lead you to a better, more fully developed argument.

- **State your thesis clearly and organize your argument around the task of defending it.** A full thesis will explain succinctly what it is you are trying to persuade your readers to think. A thesis often includes references to a counter-argument or commonly-held belief that you are going to refute. Thus, a good thesis often implicitly or explicitly follows the following form: “Although it seems….actually….because” [e.g. “Although it is often assumed that poor students do badly in school because of their class background, actually they do badly because they are expected to do badly: in other words, academic shortcomings are not caused by economic background but by teachers’ assumptions about the effects of that background.”]

  **Remember: A Thesis statement is NOT**
  a) a statement of the topic [e.g. “This paper is about”]
  b) a statement of intention [e.g. “In this paper, I will look at”]

**D or F Papers**

An unsatisfactory paper is inadequate on all four counts. It has no thesis and describes the material in vague or uninteresting terms. There is little indication that the writer understands the material being presented. The paper jumps from one idea to another, and ideas are not developed from sentence to sentence. This essay usually repeats the same thoughts again and again, often in the same words. The essay is filled with mechanical and grammatical faults (subject-verb disagreement, faulty use of punctuation, obscure pronouns, sentence fragments and spelling errors).
The C Paper

The C essay has a thesis, but it is vague or obvious. It does not advance an argument that anyone might care enough about to debate: “Religion is an interesting topic to study.” The thesis is often based on a personal opinion. If the writer is a recognized authority, this expression of personal taste might be noteworthy, but writers gain authority by learning how to justify and support their opinions. Opinion by itself is never enough. It must be defended.

The paper is not well-organized: the transitions between sentences and paragraphs are often awkward and the logical connections between ideas are often vague or unclear. The C essay often has grammatical and typographical errors, but a paper without such flaws may still be a C essay.

The B Paper

The B essay offers a worthwhile and interesting idea. The writer offers evidence and explains clearly how the evidence supports the argument. Some paragraphs may be awkward, but they each develop a specific point. The writing, although not necessarily elegant, is clear and draws the leader along a logical progression from point to point. Together the paragraphs build an argument. The reader does not have to read a paragraph two or three times to get the idea the writer is trying to convey.

The B essay is, for the most part, mechanically correct. Spelling is good, punctuation is accurate, and the essay is, by and large, free of stylistic or grammatical problems. It does not digress in unexpected ways and the paper ends by keeping its promise to argue and inform the reader about the issue with which it began.

The A Paper

An “A” paper has a compelling and interesting argument which does more than restate the text or class discussion. Moreover, the essay has style. Ideas are carefully analyzed and examples used to support points are well chosen, persuasive, and directly applicable to the argument. The paper is well organized: ideas flow logically, the structure of the essay is smooth, transitions are handled well and paragraphs are fully developed. Sentences are sophisticated, words chosen aptly, and the grammar is correct. Overall the paper is lively, well paced, and interesting. The reader comes away convinced that the writer cares about his or her ideas and about the language used to convey them.
8-10 minute oral presentation
500-750 word essay about the material you’ve presented.

Like all good papers, a good presentation is usually the answer to an interesting question. In this case, the basic question is: How do people today think about issues of sex and/or gender in relation to religion? The secondary question is: How do these assumptions compare to Christian ideas about sex and gender in the Reformation?

To prepare your presentation you will first have to choose a “text” as your example. For our purposes, a “text” means a specific piece of evidence you can investigate. It can be a news story, a movie, a visual image, a life story, a ritual, or a religious document. It need not be explicitly “religious”. It could, for example, be a role playing game that imagines other worlds, or a text (like the U.S. Constitution or a movie with a cult following) that is treated “religiously”.

1. You should then **analyze** how sex and/or gender are presented in this text by asking and answering the following questions: what kinds of sexual behavior and/or gender roles are presented in the text? How are they presented? As good? Bad? Neutral? Are the judgments explicit or implicit? What are the implications of conforming to or violating these norms?

2. To think about this **in relation to religion**, ask the following question: Is there an ultimate goal (like salvation) presented or presumed in this text? Are there punishments or sanctions presented in this text? How are sexual behaviors and/or gender norms linked to these goals and punishments?

3. Once you’ve analyzed your text, prepare the presentation.

   a. The **introduction** should a) capture the attention of your audience with an interesting detail from your text, a surprising fact, or an intriguing story. It should then offer something like the following comparison: “In this class we’ve learned that Christians from earlier periods assumed (x). In my text, by contrast (or similarly), the assumption seems to be (y) (or also x).” Example: “There was a crisis in masculinity in the Reformation as the Reformers tried to promote marriage and patriarchal ideals of brotherhood as an alternative to Catholic ideas of celibacy. In the text I’ve chosen about a pastor who got in trouble for officiating a marriage between his son and another man, there seems to be a similar crisis for Christians who think that gay marriage violates the created order of things.

   b. The **body** of the presentation should **describe** the **relevant features** from your text in detail, with **specific quotes and/or visual examples** (clips or pictures). Do not provide a summary of your text: instead, describe only those details that are relevant and **give examples** rather than just expecting us to believe or understand your general claims.

   c. **Conclude** by describing what you think we should learn from the comparison between your text and something we’ve studied in this class.
Evaluation

24-25 points  Fantastic
21-23 points  Very good
17-20 points   Fine
Fewer than 17 points  Unsatisfactory

Fantastic presentations include are CLEAR, COMPREHENSIVE, INTERESTING, demonstrate UNDERSTANDING, and reveal that you have found a way to present the material IN YOUR OWN WORDS, with GOOD USE OF EVIDENCE from the SOURCES. These presentations will be compelling in some way, either because of a use of HUMOR, DRAMA, or ORIGINAL ways of framing the issue.

Very good presentations present ALL THE KEY POINTS, in a way that is easily UNDERSTANDABLE, and INTERESTING. They are not necessarily original or entertaining, but they demonstrate YOUR FULL COMPREHENSION of the material.

Fine presentations present only SOME of the KEY POINTS, perhaps in a way that simply reiterates what you’ve found in the sources OR focuses more on YOUR OWN OPINION than EVIDENCE from the sources. They are CLEAR and UNDERSTANDABLE but NOT COMPREHENSIVE and NOT especially PERSUASIVE. These presentations do NOT ADDRESS OPPOSING arguments, and may not add anything to the comprehension of those who have read the material.

Unsatisfactory presentations reflect minimal or mistaken understanding of the material.
Christianity is often described as a religion of the book, and many Christians believe that faith alone saves. Yet reformers often concentrate their attention on rituals and what Christians do with their bodies.

In this course we'll explore this paradox at its most intense, in sixteenth century Europe when Protestant Christianity challenged Catholic dominance. Protestants accused Catholics of idolatry, stripped churches bare, and imposed their own rituals. For their part, Catholics believed Protestants were overthrowing divinely established traditions, rejecting the importance of moral action, and subverting the authority of the Bible.

This conflict--opposing faith and action, ritual and belief, interior certainty versus external conformity--ushered in the modern era and remains significant today. In this course we'll analyze the strange, cataclysmic, and sometimes comic conflicts between Catholics and Protestants in sixteenth century Europe alongside the argument for the enduring importance of Christianity's paradoxical commitment to Bible and body, ritual and belief. Sources will include works from Protestant and Catholic opponents as well as theoretical work about ritual, belief, and modernity.

WORK

- Attendance and thoughtful participation.
- Discussion prompts (weeks 1-5). Each student is required to post one substantive discussion question or observation on Oncourse (http://oncourse.iu.edu/) by 9 p.m. on either M or W night. One post required per student, per week (10%).
- Reflection papers (weeks 7-15). Each student is required to write two short (300-500 word) reflection papers on assigned readings. Due dates will be selected well in advance of week 7. These, too, should be posted on Oncourse the night before the class discusses the assignment you’ve written about (15% each).
- One take-home midterm (due 10/5); one report on rituals (due 10/28) and a final (due 12/16 @ 5:00 p.m.). (20% each)

READING

You should buy the following books (available at the IU Bookstore/TIS)
Erasmus, The Essential Erasmus, ed. John Dolan
Luther, Martin, Three Treatises (Fortress, 1970)
Muir, Edward, Ritual in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, 1997)
Simpson, James, Burning to Read (Harvard, 2008)
Other readings will be available on ereserve. Please print out the selections and bring them with you to the appropriate class.
http://ereserves.indiana.edu/eres/coursepass.aspx?cid=2579
PASSWORD: morbid. (For full citations, see Oncourse version of syllabus).

Freedberg, David, The Power of Images, selections.
Nancy Jay, “Sacrifice as Remedy for Having Been Born a Woman.”
Luther, Martin, “Selected Biblical Prefaces.”
More, Thomas, Private Judgment and God’s Word.
O’Connor, Flannery, “Greenleaf”

SCHEDULE OF READINGS

INTRODUCTION

8/31 Introduction
9/2 Flannery O’Connor, “Greenleaf” (ereserves)

9/7 Muir, Ritual in Early Modern Europe, 1-18. Meet in Wells Library.
9/9 Muir 19-54

REFORMING THE BODY

9/14 Muir 81-116
9/16 Muir 117-146.

9/21 Muir 165-184; Erasmus “Enchiridion” (Essential Erasmus 28-71).
9/23 Luther “The Freedom of a Christian” (Three Treatises 261-316)

9/28 Luther “Babylonian Captivity” (pp113-top 178, and conclusion, 257-260).
9/30 Nancy Jay, “Sacrifice as Remedy for Having Been Born of Woman” ereserve

10/5 Midterm due.
10/7 Muir 185-212

10/12 Koerner, Reformation of the Image pp.94-136 (ereserve)
10/14 Koerner pp. 137-168

10/19 Freedberg, Power of the Image, 378-428 (ereserve)
10/21 Muir 212-275

10/26 Tour of Catholic and Protestant Art in the IU Art Museum
10/28 Ritual Paper Due.
REFORMING THE WORD

11/2  Luther, Biblical Prefaces (ereserve); Simpson, *Burning to Read* pp. 1-67.
11/4  Simpson pp. 68-141.

11/9  Simpson pp. 142-221;
11/11 Meet in the Lilly Library to view Books of Hours and *Acts and Monuments*.

11/16 Simpson pp. 222-259; Thomas More, Private Judgment and God’s Word (ereserves)
11/18 Simpson 260-282; Erasmus, “Praise of Folly” in *The Essential Erasmus*.

11/23 Keane, *Christian Moderns* 1-7 (ereserves)
11/25 THANKSGIVING

12/2  No class.

12/7  Screening: *Babette’s Feast*.
12/9  *Babette’s Feast* and Concluding discussion

POLICIES:

ATTENDANCE and PARTICIPATION:
You should assume that absences will negatively affect your performance. While I do not precisely define the significance of participation as a percentage of your final grade, I will base test questions on the discussions we have in class, and students in the past have found the discussions invaluable to understanding the often difficult readings. Unless you can supply a doctor’s note to excuse an absence, I will not devote time in office hours or via email to helping you catch up on material you missed due to an absence. Exams cannot be missed under any circumstances, short of emergency surgery.

Participation is vital. Class is more interesting when everyone has something to say, and liberal arts courses should enable you to speak as well as read and write more clearly. Achieving this goal requires a fair amount of work and preparation on your part. Successful participation consequently requires that you complete and think about the reading assignment before you come to class and that you listen and speak thoughtfully while you’re in class. When I provide reading questions (which I will do periodically), you should prepare by writing out answers so that you can refer to them when you are called on to contribute to the discussion. I may collect and check these answers if need be to encourage better preparation.

PUNCTUALITY:
Please arrive on time and show other forms of good manners (no cell phones or other electronic devices; no newspaper reading during class; no sleeping — if you are tired, coffee is encouraged).
LATE PAPERS:
Papers must be turned in on the date they are due. Late papers risk grade deductions.
Please inform me in advance if you are unable to meet the deadline.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
Before each class meeting, you need to post a substantive discussion question on
Oncourse. The deadline for these postings is 9:00 p.m. the day before class meets.
Instead of a question, you may identify a point that you think is (or should be)
controversial and make a brief argument about it. You may ask specific questions of
clarification as well, but your posting must include at least one question or
interpretation designed to spark discussion. The purpose of this assignment is to ensure
that we have good discussions: you should read all the postings before you come to class
so that you’re prepared not only to talk about the issue you’ve raised, but also to
respond to your classmates’ comments and questions.

Grading
10 points = thoughtful and thought-provoking response with good use of
textual evidence.
8 points = clear response with good use of textual evidence.
6 points = confusing response with no or poor use of textual evidence.
0 points = late assignment or no completed assignment
Write on Question #1 AND Question # 2a OR 2b. 2-3 pages per essay.

1. **Two cultures of reading:** Imagine that you’re either a Lutheran or a Calvinist pastor in some small town in northern Europe in 1560, trying to teach your flock how to read the Bible. You’ve got a big problem, however, because an influential elder in the town is still a committed Catholic, and he’s been reading Thomas More and delivering persuasive speeches about why More’s understanding of Scriptural exegesis is more compelling than either Calvin’s or Luther’s. How do you respond? Your answer should use textual evidence from either Luther’s Prefaces or Calvin’s Institutes, and engage the arguments in Burning to Read and the short ereserve selection from More’s Dialogue Concerning Heresies. You must give a fair account of the exegetical assumptions you’re rejecting as well as those you’re advocating. It may be easiest to write this as a debate or dialogue, but you’re free to do it in whatever way you like, so long as you make clear claims, accurately represent your sources, and use quotes to support your claims. (2-3 pages; 500-750 words).

2. Write on one of the following two questions
   a. Analyze Flannery O’Connor’s story, “Greenleaf,” or Babette’s Feast in light of Webb Keane’s argument about the (im)possibility of purification. He argues, on the one hand, that our modern semiotic ideology (influenced by Protestantism) views materiality as “a threat to freedom” (7), but also points out that the goal of purification cannot be achieved without “generating new semiotic forms” (79). Is materiality presented as a threat to freedom in the work you’re analyzing? If so, how? What are the compelling semiotic forms in the work you’re analyzing? How and why are they presented as compelling? How would you describe the view of materiality (or semiotic ideology) that prevails? Does this confirm or challenge Keane’s argument?
      
      NOTE: Two copies of the movie are available in the browsing section of the Wells Reading Room DVD collection, or you can watch the reserve copy there (PN1997 .B237 1989).

   b. Analyze one of the religious rituals we observed or read about (e.g. iconoclasm, rites of malevolence, baptism) in light of Webb Keane’s argument about the (im)possibility of purification. He argues, on the one hand, that our modern semiotic ideology (influenced by Protestantism) views materiality as “a threat to freedom” (7), but also points out that the goal of purification cannot be achieved without “generating new semiotic forms” (79). What seems to be the semiotic ideology behind the ritual? What, in other words, is the status of material things in the ritual? How are they interpreted? Used? Is there any tension between their interpretation and use? Does the semiotic ideology of the ritual confirm or challenge Keane’s argument?