IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE MASTERS
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JULIA A. B. HEGEWALD
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IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE MASTERS

Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean Art
IN MEMORY OF
FALK REITZ
(1959–2014)
AND
DINA BANGDEL
(1964–2017)
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Preface

It was an enormous pleasure for me, as organiser of the conference “In the Footsteps of the Masters: Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in the Arts of Asia”, to welcome to Bonn in April 2018 a large group of international scholars. All of them engaged actively with a variety of depictions of feet in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean art. All but one of the papers given at the conference have been compiled in this volume, as have a number of additional contributions by colleagues who were unable to present their ideas at the time. All speakers presented material from their own specialist areas and engaged enthusiastically in the vigorous debates following each paper, in the lecture theatre of the Akademisches Kunstmuseum and over lunches and dinners in the Department of Asian and Islamic Art History (AIK) and various local restaurants. The chapters printed here are extended and revised versions of these original expositions.

This publication unites contributions by authors from a variety of subject areas. Most are historians of art and architecture or archaeologists, but others are photo specialists, or come from a language or religious studies background. Some are based at universities, while others work in museums. Reflecting the conventions of their respective disciplines, they adopt various spellings of specialist terms. In order to retain the individuality of the texts, the chapters have been adapted to the SAAC house style but have not been standardised otherwise. As the papers compiled here combine expertise from a wide range of different geographic and linguistic zones as well as from a wide field of disciplines, a comprehensive glossary has been provided towards the end of the volume to explain terms and concepts which might be unfamiliar to readers from outside the various regional, religious or disciplinal backgrounds. The publication concludes with a compilation of short biographical notes on individual contributors.

A number of people have contributed to the realisation of this publication in diverse ways. The financing of the three-day international conference and the ensuing publication was made possible through start-up funding provided to me by the University when I took up my chair in Bonn. In terms of academic debate, I am particularly grateful to Prof. Dr. Susan L. Huntington, who delivered the conference keynote address in the Senatssaal of the University of Bonn on 19.
April 2018, which set us up with fascinating insights and numerous questions to ponder over the following days. Furthermore, I would like to thank all the other speakers on our conference (in alphabetical order): Iman R. Abdulfattah, Karin Adrian von Roques, Waheeda Baloch, Nick Barnard, Prof. Dr. Gudrun Bühnemann, Dr. des. Deniz Erduman-Calis, Dr. Elisabeth Haderer, Dr. Jutta Jain-Neubauer, Prof. Dr. Lorenz Korn, Prof. Dr. Tiziana Lorenzetti, Dr. Sarah Shaw\(^1\) and Dr. Claudia Wenzel for the extensive scientific findings and deep insight they provided into their respective areas of expertise. Special thanks go also to the very responsive audience in Bonn in April 2018, who contributed so positively and in so many stimulating ways to the debates during the symposium. I am grateful to the following colleagues who wrote additional chapters for the edited volume, although they were unable to attend or present their papers at the conference: Prof. Dr. Ralf Krumeich, Prof. Dr. Ludwig Morenz in collaboration with Dr. Frank Förster and David Sabel, Oliver Kessler, PD Dr. Gia Toussaint and Dr. Ayelet Zohar.

In addition, I would like to take the opportunity to thank my team in the Department of Asian and Islamic Art History for their assistance in coordinating this conference. At the time of the conference, the team included Nicola Dischert, Julia Holz, Rebekka Welker, Markus Schoenenborn, Sandra Schlage, Demet Cetin, Laura Drinck, Antonia Fuchs, Karina Linke and Oliver Kessler. Without their impressive personal engagement and initiative, the conference would not have run so smoothly. I am particularly grateful to Julia Holz for her active cooperation in organising this event.

At the Akademisches Kunstmuseum Bonn I am further in debt to the Director, Prof. Dr. Frank Rumscheid, Prof. Dr. Martin Bentz, Gabriele Alou, Farid Yaghoubi and the student helper Sarah Manz, for welcoming us so warmly in the historical settings of the museum and for magically solving all problems that occurred during the days of the conference.

The publication of the conference volume would not have been possible without the assistance of Rebekka Welker. I am grateful to her for her enormous patience in endlessly checking through the chapters to guarantee the greatest possible level of consistency. During the later stages of the editing process, she was kindly and actively assisted by Laura Drinck and Sandra Schlage, to whom I would like to express my sincere thanks. I would like to thank my father, Prof.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Unfortunately, Deniz Erduman-Calis and Sarah Shaw were prevented at the last moment from attending the conference. We played an audio file which Sarah Shaw had recorded for us and Julia Holz from the Department of Asian and Islamic Art History read the paper sent by Deniz Erduman-Calis. Unfortunately, the latter paper was not submitted for publication.
Dr. Ulf Hegewald, for preparing a number of the illustrations for publication and Abigail Graham for proofreading the English in a selection of chapters.

My final thanks go to Rainer Kuhl and his team at EB-Verlag in Berlin for doing such a wonderful job in producing this publication, which is the seventh volume of the SAAC (Studies in Asian Art and Culture) publication series.

The conference was held in 2018, the anniversary year of the founding (1967/1968) of the forerunner institution of the Department of Asian and Islamic Art History by Prof. Dr. Heinrich Lützeler (1902–1988). Lützeler, who started his academic career at the University of Bonn in the 1930s, was vigorously outspoken against National Socialist politics and in consequence was banned from practising his profession as a University Professor from 1940 onwards. After the end of the war, he returned to academia and was actively involved in rebuilding the University. With his own personal funds, he initiated the Forschungsstelle für Orientalische Kunstgeschichte (Research Centre for Oriental Art History), stressing the importance of studying non-European as well as European art.

This volume is dedicated to our colleagues Falk Reitz (1959–2014) from Berlin and Dina Bangdel (1964–2017) from Richmond, Virginia, who were both highly esteemed and respected colleagues as well as good friends to many of us in the academic community. Falk and Dina both died of cancer in their early fifties, far too young to accomplish their academic dreams and plans and much too early for their beloved families and friends.

May we take this opportunity to remember Heinrich Lützeler, Falk Reitz and Dina Bangdel, to honour the ‘footsteps’ they left, to continue walking their courageous paths and leaving our own foot imprints throughout the world in many varied ways.

Julia A. B. Hegewald
Bonn, September 2019
INTRODUCTION
Footprints and depictions of the soles or dorsums of feet as well as renderings of entire feet can be found in the art of all regions of the world. There appears to be hardly any culture or religious group whose visual and material repertoire does not include visual or literary foot-related imagery. This volume brings together nineteen individual chapters written by experts from the Mediterranean region, North Africa and the whole of Asia, including South Asia, Southeast Asia and East Asia.

This foreword provides a brief overview and summary of the content of the regional and cultural-specific contributions collected in this publication and explains the logic behind the sequence of the individual chapters.

Further details are adduced and parallels drawn between the material from the discrete regions and different cultural and religious contexts in Chapter 1, by Julia A. B. Hegewald, which provides an introduction to the manifold dimensions of foot depictions in world art and makes many references to the chapters by the specialist authors, listed below. It examines coincidental imprints left by dinosaurs and early humans as well as artificially created foot images representing the imprints of ordinary mortals, enlightened saints and divine creatures. It also refers to the imprints of animal carriers and other paraphernalia belonging to mythological beings. Besides sacred associations, it also alludes to non-religious—such as political, erotic, medical and legal—issues pertaining to feet and briefly touches on the significance of hand and other body imprints.

EARLY EGYPT, CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY AND CHRISTIANITY
Following the general introduction to the topic in Chapter 1, the first regional chapter, jointly presented by Ludwig Morenz, David Sabel and Frank Förster, focuses on material from North Africa, providing a description of the oldest records of foot- and shoe prints and depictions of feet and sandals examined in this collection of edited papers. The earliest foot images in this region come from the central Libyan Desert and are prehistoric, dating from the seventh to the fifth
millennium BCE. Also discussed are hieroglyphic and pictorial signs, especially in rock art, from the Pharaonic period in Egypt.

There are many links to the following chapter, by Ralf Krumeich, who explores footprints and depictions of entire feet, or parts thereof, from ancient Greek and Roman cultures. Many of the vestiges in the wider Mediterranean region are linked to Egyptian divinities. The diversity of the foot-related artistic material from Classical Antiquity is truly enormous, relating to human, heroic and above all to divine beings and their epiphanies. There are surprisingly many parallels to the Asian material explored later in this publication.

Remaining in the region of Europe and the Mediterranean, Chapter 4 by Gia Toussaint centres on actual corporal remains—mummified feet and bone relics—and on the footprints of Christ and other saintly beings, venerated in a Christian context. Discussed here are relic containers, sculptural representations of Christ’s feet and the imprints he is said to have left in sand and stone, as well as manuscript paintings depicting feet, footprints and the ascent of Christ into heaven after his resurrection.

HINDU, LIṄGĀYAT AND JAINA FOOT RENDERINGS
Moving east, into the region of South Asia, which forms the main focus of this publication, the chapter by Jutta Jain-Neubauer examines the complex meanings of depictions, usages and veneration of feet and footprints in Indian cultures. Concentrating on Hindu material, she stresses the tension between the aversion felt towards this ‘polluted’ and scorned body part and the readiness to grant it the status of a sacred object. She explores topics such as repulsion, reverence, iconisation, submission and particularly the sensual and erotic connotations of feet.

Chapter 6, by Nick Barnard, further investigates Hindu foot images but focuses on those embellishing Indian jewellery. The adornments are made of various metals, including gold and silver. Whilst larger foot sculptures, housed in temples, can only be visited occasionally, the representations in jewellery are worn immediately on the body, close to the heart of the worshipper, and can be with them permanently. They serve as objects of devotion as well as protective amulets. Particular attention is paid to the gold enamelled pendants adorned with depictions of the feet of Śrīnāthjī, a form of Kṛṣṇa, from Rajasthan.

Although there are many similarities to the Hindu material discussed earlier, the cult of the veneration of feet and footwear in the Liṅgāyat tradition, outlined by Tiziana Lorenzetti, is quite distinct. In her contribution, she shows that the feet of Liṅgāyat teachers or other saintly persons, their footprints and the shoes
Foot images in World Art

Worn by such characters are all equally revered. In particular, after the death of a revered teacher, the slippers he wore are placed on his funerary memorial (samādhi) and venerated by his devotees.

Chapter 8, by Julia A. B. Hegewald, introduces foot representations from a Jaina background. Amongst the Jainas, the foot images are almost always positive depictions of the soles and more rarely of the dorsums of the feet. In rarer examples, entire foot renderings have been fashioned. Whereas iconographic differences between statues often prevent members of one Jaina group venerating icons associated with another, the foot depictions are abstract enough to be worshipped by all Jainas alike, even by those belonging to groups which do not usually permit the veneration of objects and images.

MATERIAL FROM BUDDHIST ASIA

Another religious group which has created a large number of renderings of feet are the Buddhists. Susan L. Huntington introduces us to the earliest engraved impressions of feet from India, dating from the Maurya period. Her chapter focuses on the meaning of the imprints and suggests that the majority of them should not be viewed as symbols or aniconic replacements of the Buddha but rather as traces or vestiges which the Buddha is meant to have left during his lifetime or as markers of the earlier presence of the Buddha at a site.

Continuing the theme of Buddhism, Gudrun Bühnemann’s contribution centres on material from the Himalayan region of Nepal and on foot representations of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in particular. His feet are easily recognisable by the eye displayed on each foot. The author explains the reasons for this special feature and introduces the reader to the wide variation in forms of feet. These can be depicted with or without ankles and lower legs and can be displayed in the open or placed in niches of Buddhist monuments, such as caityas, or pavilions.

Chapter 11, by Elisabeth Haderer, which follows, takes us further north from Nepal into Tibet. Her text discusses foot-, finger- and handprints which were first stamped and then often over-painted on the front or back of Buddhist painted scrolls (thangka). The images of a teacher’s hands and feet, applied to the front of a thangka, are used for devotional and educational purposes. Palm prints, pressed in wet colour onto the back of paintings, are applied during the consecration rituals of sacred scrolls. Haderer also discusses a number of contemporary plaster casts, displaying the hand- and footprints of modern Tibetan Buddhist teachers in the diaspora.

In the following chapter, Oliver Kessler shows how the tradition of foot depictions was transferred to Sri Lanka. The famous markings on Adam’s Peak,
or Śrī Pāda, in Sri Lanka are unclear and can only with difficulty be recognised as foot representations. Although they were probably considered sacred before many of the world religions emerged, they are today venerated by Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and Christians alike, who consider them to be the footprints of the Buddha Śākyamuni, Śīva, Adam and the Apostle Peter respectively. Kessler discusses the changes the site underwent throughout the centuries.

Moving into Southeast Asia, the chapter by Sarah Shaw focuses on the veneration of the actual feet, not footprints, of the Buddha from Thailand. The temple of Wat Pho houses one of the largest Buddha statues in the country. The extending feet of this recumbent, nineteenth-century icon, depicting the Buddha in parinirvāṇa, are 4.5 metres long and 3 metres high and form the focus of veneration at the site. As is common in a Buddhist context, the feet—in this instance, however, attached to a body—are adorned with auspicious symbols, signifying cosmological meanings.

Moving even further east, the chapter by Claudia Wenzel introduces footprints of the Buddha and of Bodhisattvas from China. These can be grouped into two main categories: so-called memento footprints and miraculously appearing imprints. In addition, imprints in stone, those apparently left in mud and sculpted footprints are also found. Wenzel stresses the interconnectedness of footprint sites in China with those in India, Sri Lanka and other Buddhist regions, through legends, pilgrimage travelogues and trade in mementos. Of importance here are detailed transmission records, which serve as proof of descent and authenticate a faithful copy of an original footprint.

The final chapter in the section on Buddhist material comes from Ayelet Zohar. In regional terms, it concentrates on the art of Japan, discussing footprints of the Buddha imprinted into rough blocks of stone and enormous straw sandals housed in Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines, analysing Zenga ink paintings from the Zen tradition, which are also referred to as ‘ink footprints’, and examining photography and performance art such as Foot Painting. In her theoretical deliberations, Zohar debates the concept of image, icon, symbol, index and arche-writing with regard to the footprints.

TRACES IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD AND MODERNITY
Chapter 16 returns to the wider geographical area of the Mediterranean and the Islamic World, from which we began our journey at the start of the book. Lorenz Korn introduces the form and function of footprints and images of them as well as depictions of feet and sandals in the art of Islamic cultures. His examples have
been drawn from across the entire region and show an astonishing variety of forms, context, associations and meanings in an Islamic sacred context.

Iman R. Abdulfattah in her chapter continues the topic of Islamic relics, focusing on the footprints of the Prophet Muḥammad in Egypt during the Mamluk-Ottoman transitional period. She stresses that footprints are often represented or kept together with other sacred objects of the Prophet and that these complement one another. She further reminds us that the stone footprints should be regarded not only as sacred objects but also as emblems of power, just like shrines and mosques.

This is followed by another regional study of Islamic footprints, namely the ancient region of Sindh, today in Pakistan. In Chapter 18, Waheeda Baloch characterises the region as one of mixed religious influences. Although she concentrates on Shi‘ite pilgrimage sites at which foot or hand imprints of ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (601–661 CE) have been installed, she shows that these are frequented by followers of different religious orientations and that a number of diverse ritual practices and beliefs have been connected with these Islamic foot relics over time.

The final chapter, by Karin Adrian von Roques, continues the theme of Islamic art and introduces the topic of modernity into the footprint debate, by contributing a first survey of the role which depictions of feet play in the works of contemporary Muslim artists. The examples include art works by artists from Turkey, Morocco, Iran, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Iraq, Egypt, Uzbekistan and Palestine. While some artists clearly refer to religious and philosophical topics, already encountered in earlier chapters, others employ the images of feet and footprints to visualise aspects of the emotional life, such as pain, loss and displacement.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS
In this publication, we start with very early material from the Mediterranean—and later Islamic—World and end with contemporary examples from the same region. In between, the authors take us on excursions throughout most of the regions of the world and show that representations of footprints, the soles of feet, entire sculpted feet, feet with or without shoes as well as sacred slippers are found worldwide and that despite different cultural and religious contexts, there are many unexpected parallels and similarities.

Various papers in this collection express differing viewpoints and interpretations of the material. All views and interpretations put forward here
are solely those of the individual authors and do not represent the view of the editor or the publishers.

Footprints, renderings of feet and shoes represent a vast area of enquiry, which so far has been largely neglected in art-historical studies. It is hoped that the papers included here will stimulate debate and encourage others to conduct and publish further specialised studies on specific areas and contexts in the future.
Notes on contributors

The scope of Iman R. Abdulfattah’s research focuses on medieval Egypt. Currently, she is pursuing a doctoral degree in Islamic Art and Archaeology at Universität Bonn. Her dissertation is on the urban complex commissioned by the Mamluk Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 678–689/1279–1290) in 684/1284–1285, addressing previously understudied aspects of the building—the construction narrative(s), its longevity, and later restorations—vis-a-vis the institution of _waqf_ (endowment). Separately, she also works on the network of antiquarians who were active in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century, looking at their relationship with the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe and contributions to building important Islamic Art collections in Egypt, Europe and the USA.

Karin Adrian von Roques studied painting, stage and costume design at the Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin and later on history of Islamic Art at the University of Bonn. At an early stage she specialised in contemporary Arab and Iranian art. She curated numerous exhibitions for various establishments and museums amongst others in Germany, France, Spain, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, Hong Kong as well as in the USA. She worked as a consultant for Sotheby’s and in the purchase of contemporary Arabic art for Deutsche Bank’s collection. She delivers lectures and regularly publishes articles for art magazines.

Waheeda Baloch is a researcher, educator, artist and curator based in Pakistan. She is the Director of the Institute of Art and Design University of Sindh Jamshoro in Pakistan, where she works as Associate Professor of Fine Arts. Waheeda Baloch holds an M.A. degree in fine arts and another M.A. in Curating from Stockholm University, Sweden. She is currently pursuing her Ph.D. degree at the Department of Asian and Islamic Art History at the University of Bonn in Germany. She is engaged in research and writing, and her research focuses on the contemporary art history of Pakistan.

Nick Barnard is a Curator of South Asian Art in the Asian Department, Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), specialising in jewellery, sculpture and the arts of the Jain religion. Publications include _Indian Jewellery_ (2008) and numerous articles and book contributions on jewellery and a wide range of other aspects of South Asian art. He has curated various displays, such as _Jain Manuscript Pages and Paintings_ (2010), and carried out a re-display of the V&A’s South Asian Sculpture gallery in 2011. Other interests include musical instruments and he co-curated the ‘Musical Wonders of India’ digital project and display in 2015.
Gudrun Bühnemann is a Professor in the Department of Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA. After receiving her Ph.D. in Buddhist Studies and Indology from the University of Vienna she spent extended periods of time as a post-doctoral researcher at Pune University in India and Nagoya University and Kyoto University in Japan. She has published extensively on South Asian iconography and ritual. Her recent books include Buddhist Iconography and Ritual in Paintings and Line Drawings from Nepal (2008), The Life of the Buddha: Buddhist and Śaiva Iconography and Visual Narratives in Artists’ Sketchbooks from Nepal (2012) and Śākyamuni’s Return Journey to Lumbini (lumbinīyātrā): A Study of a Popular Theme in Newar Buddhist Art and Literature (2015).

Dr Frank Förster studied Egyptology, Classical Archaeology and Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Cologne (M.A. 1998, Ph.D. 2011). He participated in various excavation and survey campaigns in Egypt since 1995 (Nile Delta, Western Desert, Aswan region) and was research assistant in the CRC 389 ACACIA (2002–2007) and Wadi Sura Project (2009–2015). His research interests have focused on Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt, Pharaonic trade and economy, rock art of various periods, sports in ancient Egypt, and the archaeology of desert roads. Since 2016 he is curator of the Egyptian Museum at the University of Bonn.

Elisabeth Haderer is a post-doctoral researcher in Asian Art History at the Department of Asian and Islamic Art History at the University of Bonn, Germany. She is a specialist for Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist art. Currently she works on her post-doctoral project, which deals with the transmission of traditional Tibetan Buddhist art to the West and its stylistic development in the twenty-first century. Haderer holds a Ph.D. in Art History from the University of Vienna, Austria (2008). From 2007 to 2017 she was a freelance researcher at the Numata Center of Buddhist Studies at the Asian Africa Institute at the University of Hamburg, Germany. Since 2011 she also worked as a lecturer of Buddhist art at the Department of Art History and the Department of Thai Studies at the University of Hamburg.

Susan L. Huntington is Distinguished University Professor, Emerita, at The Ohio State University. Her main publications include *The “Pāla-Sena” Schools of Sculpture; The Art of Ancient India; Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (eight-twelfth centuries) and Its International Legacy*; and various works on the early Buddhist art of India. These include *Lay Ritual in the Early Buddhist Art of India* and numerous articles. Dr Huntington’s many recognitions include awards from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, the Fulbright Award program, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Smithsonian Institution. From Ohio State, Dr Huntington has received the Distinguished Scholar Award, the Distinguished University Professorship, and two awards for outstanding teaching. In 1998, she was the Numata Distinguished Visiting Professor at Bailliol College at Oxford University, in 2005 she was the Mary Jane Crowe Visiting Professor at Northwestern University, and from 2011 to 2012, she was a Member at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Jutta Jain-Neubauer studied Indian art history at Heidelberg (M.A.) and Bonn Universities (Ph.D.) in Germany. Her pioneering work on water architecture in Western India most recently resulted in the book edited by her *Water Design: Environment and Histories* (Marg Publications, Mumbai, 2016). Other areas of her specialisation include research on German travellers to India during the nineteenth century and their aesthetic and cultural perceptions of India, for which she was awarded the Feodor-Lynen Research grant under the aegis of the Alexander-von-Humboldt Foundation in affiliation with JNU to continue her research on this subject. Her publications include: *The Stepwells of Gujarat in art-historical perspective* (New Delhi, 1981), *The Ramayana in Pahari Painting* (L. D. Series 80, Ahmedabad, 1981), and *Feet and Footwear in Indian Culture* (Toronto/ Ahmedabad, 2000).

Oliver Kessler is an archaeologist, historian, librarian and research associate at the Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies (IOA), Department of Asian and Islamic Art History (AIK), Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, Germany. His research interests are South Asian and European archaeology, history, art and architecture, and ancient seafaring in the Indian Ocean. He was former field director of the excavations at the ancient seaport of Godavaya, Sri Lanka and carried out extensive archaeological fieldwork throughout the southern coastlines of that island. He has also authored numerous articles on ancient Indian Ocean Trade, the excavations at Godavaya and the archaeology and history of Sri Lanka and beyond in general. Email: o.kessler@uni-bonn.de.

Lorenz Korn is professor of Islamic Art and Archaeology at the University of Bamberg (since 2003). After obtaining his Ph.D. in Islamic Studies from the University of Tübingen, he continued his research as Aga Khan postdoctoral fellow at Harvard University and in various research projects on Islamic architecture, on Iranian metalwork, and on the archaeology of oases in Oman. His recent research focuses on architecture, architectural decoration and urbanism in the central Islamic lands between the tenth and the sixteenth
centuries. This has implied extensive fieldwork in Iran and Uzbekistan. His publications include *Ayyubidische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien* (2004), *Islamic Art in Oman* (with A. al-Salimi and Heinz Gaube; 2008), and the brief surveys *Geschichte der Islamischen Kunst* (2008) and *Die Moschee* (2012), as well as numerous articles and book chapters.

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