

## Unscientific Survey 7 Sages Of Anarchism

Participants at the Second Anarchist Studies Network (Loughborough University, 3-5 September 2012) were asked to select seven sages of anarchism, those they would include in the anarchist canon (if they had to make a choice, following the tradition pioneered by Paul Eltzbacher in 1911). Respondents were also asked to explain their selection and ordering. After the conference, the request for help in this unscientific survey was posted on the ASN list-serv. The results, commentary, and data are below.

The participants were:

Alex Prichard, André de Raaj, Anthony Fiscella, Benjamin Franks, Bert Altana, Bob Black, Dana Ward, Dana Williams, Danny Nemu, David Graeber, Deric Shannon, Duane Roussele, Emily Charkin, Iain McKay, Jamie Heckert, Jason Adams,

Jesse Cohn, Jim Donaghey, John Clark, John Nightingale, Judy Greenway, Lewis Call, Lewis Mates, Lucien van der Walt, Mal function, Mario Bosincu, Matthew Wilson, Michael Harris, Nathan Fretwell, Peter Ryley, Roy Krøvel, Ruth Kinna, Saul Newman, Shannon Brincat, Sharif Gemie, Stegfried Bermhauser, Stephen Condit, Stevphen Shukaitis, Stuart Christie, Sureyyya Evren, Tuli, Uri Gordon, Zarathustra, Zn, and six others.



DATA

SAGES	EXTRA VOTES	AUTHOR-SPECIFIC EXPLANATIONS	LINKS
A philosopher I have known for most of my life, from my home town.			

Abolition of Work			Bob Black, "The Abolition of Work" (1980), in <i>The Abolition of Work and Other Essays, inspiration.com</i> : <a href="http://www.inspiration.com/black/abolition/abolitionofwork.html">http://www.inspiration.com/black/abolition/abolitionofwork.html</a>
Adorno, Theodor		<i>Dialectic of Enlightenment</i>	"Theodor W. Adorno," <i>Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy</i> , May 5, 2003 (rev. Oct. 10, 2011): <a href="http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/adorno/">http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/adorno/</a>
Africa, Ramona			Hans Bennett, "May 13, 1985: What the Corporate Media Didn't Tell You: An Interview with Ramona Africa," <i>Dissent Voice</i> , May 24, 2003: <a href="http://dissentvoice.org/Articles5/Bennett_Ramona-Africa.htm">http://dissentvoice.org/Articles5/Bennett_Ramona-Africa.htm</a>
Agamben, Giorgio			"Giorgio Agamben: Biography," <i>The European Graduate School</i> : <a href="http://www.egs.edu/faculty/giorgio-agamben/biography/">http://www.egs.edu/faculty/giorgio-agamben/biography/</a>
Anarcha-feminist anthology			Dark Star Collective, <i>Quiet Rumors: An Anarcha-Feminist Anthology</i> (AK Press/ Dark Star, 2002): <a href="http://www.anarcha.org/sallydarity/QuietRumoursIndex.htm">http://www.anarcha.org/sallydarity/QuietRumoursIndex.htm</a>

Anonymous (including pseudonyms)		Writes all the best things.	
Anzaldúa, Gloria			<i>Gloria Evangelina Anzaldúa Papers, 1942-2004</i> , Texas Archival Resources Online: <a href="http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00189/lac-00189p1.html">http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00189/lac-00189p1.html</a>
Appeal to the Young			Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921), "An Appeal to the Young," <i>The Anarchist Library</i> : <a href="http://flag.blackened.net/daver/anarchism/kropotkin/atty.html">http://flag.blackened.net/daver/anarchism/kropotkin/atty.html</a>
Ba Jin			"Ba Jin Archive," <i>Anarchy Archives</i> , <a href="http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bright/bajin/bajinarchive.html">http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bright/bajin/bajinarchive.html</a>
Badiou, Alain			"Alain Badiou: Biography," <i>The European Graduate School</i> : <a href="http://www.egs.edu/faculty/alain-badiou/biography/">http://www.egs.edu/faculty/alain-badiou/biography/</a>
Bakunin, Michael	18	(i) Original and best. (ii) Thinker, inspirer, activist, commitment, affection, exemplary.	"Mikhail Bakunin Reference Archive, 1817-1876," <i>Marxists Internet Archive</i> : <a href="http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/">http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/</a>
Bataille, Georges			Supervert, <i>Georges Bataille Electronic Library</i> : <a href="http://supervert.com/elibrary/georges">http://supervert.com/elibrary/georges</a>

				_bataille/
Berardi, Franco 'Bifo'				"Franco Berardi Bifo: Writer, Activist, Philosopher," <i>dOCUMENTA (13)</i> : <a href="http://d13.documenta.de/#/no_cache/participants/participants/franco-berardi-bifo/?sword_list[]=Berardi">http://d13.documenta.de/#/no_cache/participants/participants/franco-berardi-bifo/?sword_list[]=Berardi</a>
Berkman, Alexander	3		<i>ABCs of Anarchism</i> —Superb!	Alexander Berkman, <i>ABCs of Anarchism, Internet Archive.com</i> : <a href="http://archive.org/details/AlexanderBerkman-ABCofAnarchism">http://archive.org/details/AlexanderBerkman-ABCofAnarchism</a>
Berneri, Camillo			Clear-sighted and insightful.	"Berneri, Luigi Camillo (1897-1937), <i>LibCom</i> , Sep. 21, 2004: <a href="http://libcom.org/history/berneri-luigi-camillo-1897-1937">http://libcom.org/history/berneri-luigi-camillo-1897-1937</a>
Bey, Hakim*			For helping anarchism to make its 'postanarchist' turn.	"Hakim Bey and Ontological Anarchy: The Writings of Hakim Bey," <i>The Hermetic Library</i> : <a href="http://hermetic.com/bey/">http://hermetic.com/bey/</a>
Bhave, Vinobha				"Associates of Ghandi: Acharya Vinobha Bhave," <i>Mahatmi Ghandi</i> [website]: <a href="http://www.mkgandhi.org/vinoba/vinoba.htm">http://www.mkgandhi.org/vinoba/vinoba.htm</a>
Bookchin, Murray	12		(i) Still important as the one who made the link between	"Murray Bookchin," <i>Anarchy Archives</i> : <a href="http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_">http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_</a>

			green values and anarchism. (ii) For introducing anarchism to environmentalism (and vice versa).	Archives/bookchin/Bookchinarchive.html
Breton, Emilie				Cf., Chapter 13 of <i>Organize!: Building from the Local for Global Justice</i> (Brunswick Books, 2012): <a href="http://brunswickbooks.ca/Organize">http://brunswickbooks.ca/Organize</a>
Brown, Tom	2		Succinct exponent of anarcho-syndicalism.	Tom Brown, "Principles of Syndicalism," <i>LibCom</i> , Nov. 27, 2006: <a href="http://libcom.org/library/principles-of-syndicalism-tom-brown">http://libcom.org/library/principles-of-syndicalism-tom-brown</a>
Butler, Judith				"Judith Butler: Biography," <i>The European Graduate School</i> : <a href="http://www.egs.edu/faculty/judith-butler/biography/">http://www.egs.edu/faculty/judith-butler/biography/</a>
Cafiero, Carlo				"Carlo Cafiero: Biography," <i>The Anarchist Encyclopedia</i> : <a href="http://recollectionbooks.com/bleed/Encyclopedia/CafieroCarlo.htm">http://recollectionbooks.com/bleed/Encyclopedia/CafieroCarlo.htm</a>
Camus, Albert				"Camus," <i>BBC Radio 4: In Our Times</i> [podcast], Jan. 3, 2008: <a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b008kmpq">http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b008kmpq</a>
Chuang Tzu				"Chuan Tzu: Translations and Commen-

Chomsky, Noam	6	(i) More as an example of 'engaged' intellectual. Not always correct, but a marvellous model of 'speaking truth to power.' (ii) For being the most influential anarchist intellectual in the USA. (iii) Thinker, commentator, inspirer, commitment, respect, and affection.	<p>taries by Derek Lin," <i>Trutao.org</i>: <a href="http://www.truetao.org/chuang/home.htm">http://www.truetao.org/chuang/home.htm</a></p> <p><i>The Noam Chomsky Website</i>, 2011: <a href="http://www.chomsky.info/">http://www.chomsky.info/</a></p>
<i>Class War</i>			<p>Ian Bone, "Class War," <i>Ian Bone</i> [weblog], May 10, 2011: <a href="http://ianbone.wordpress.com/2011/05/10/class-war/">http://ianbone.wordpress.com/2011/05/10/class-war/</a></p>
<i>Collaborative Earth First!</i> Includes <i>Do or Die</i> magazine		Analysis and debate (UK mostly).	<p><i>Do or Die: Voices from the Ecological Resistance</i> [web archive], <i>Eco-action.org</i>: <a href="http://www.eco-action.org/dod/">http://www.eco-action.org/dod/</a></p>
Comfort, Alex			<p><i>Alex Comfort</i> [official website]: <a href="http://www.alexcomfort.com/">http://www.alexcomfort.com/</a></p>

Cornelissen, Christiaan			<p>“Christiaan Cornelissen,” <i>Wikipedia</i>: <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christiaan_Cornelissen">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christiaan_Cornelissen</a></p> <p><i>CrimethInc.</i> [website]: <a href="http://crimethinc.com/">http://crimethinc.com/</a></p> <p>“Dorothy Day Library,” <i>The Catholic Worker Movement</i>: <a href="http://www.catholicworker.org/dorothyday/">http://www.catholicworker.org/dorothyday/</a></p> <p><i>Voltaire de Cleyre: The Exquisite Rebel</i>: <a href="http://www.voltaire.org/">http://www.voltaire.org/</a></p> <p>“The Marquis de Sade,” <i>Wikipedia</i>: <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marquis_de_Sade">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marquis_de_Sade</a></p> <p>“Gilles Deleuze,” <i>Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy</i>, May 23, 2008 (rev. Sep. 24, 2011): <a href="http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/deleuze/">http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/deleuze/</a></p> <p>“Der Arbeiter Frain: The Worker’s Friend,” <i>Solidarity Federation</i>: <a href="http://www.solfed.org.uk/?q=taxonomy/term/483">http://www.solfed.org.uk/?q=taxonomy/term/483</a></p> <p>Peter Newell, “About Buenaventura Durruti,” <i>Modern American Poetry</i>: <a href="http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/scw/durruti">http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/scw/durruti</a></p>
<i>CrimethInc.</i>			
Day, Dorothy			
de Cleyre, Voltaire	2		
de Sade, Marquis			
Deleuze, Gilles	1		
<i>Der Arbeiter Frain</i>			
Durruti, Buenaventura			



			.html
education			
Ellul, Jacques			<i>The International Jacques Ellul Society:</i> <a href="http://www.ellul.org/">http://www.ellul.org/</a>
Emerson, Ralph Waldo	1		“The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson,” <i>RWE.org</i> : <a href="http://www.rwe.org/component/content/section/5.html">http://www.rwe.org/component/content/section/5.html</a>
escape			
explore			
<u>Federalism, Socialism,</u> <u>Anti-theologism</u>			Mikhail Bakunin, “Federalism, Socialism, Anti-Theologism” (1867), <i>Marxists Internet Archive</i> : <a href="http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/works/various/reasons-of-state.htm">http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/works/various/reasons-of-state.htm</a>
Federici, Silvia			“Silvia Federici: Wages Against Housework,” <i>LibCom</i> , Jan. 3, 2012: <a href="http://libcom.org/library/wages-against-housework-silvia-federici">http://libcom.org/library/wages-against-housework-silvia-federici</a>
Ferrer, Francisco			“Francisco Ferrer y Guardia (1859-1909),” <i>The Anarchist Encyclopedia</i> : <a href="http://">http://</a>

			recollecionbooks.com/bleed/Encyclopedia/FerrerFrancisco.htm
Flores Magón, Ricardo	2		“The Writings of Ricardo Ricardo Flores Magón (in English and Spanish),” <i>waste.org</i> : <a href="http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/writing/magon/main.htm">http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/writing/magon/main.htm</a>
<u>For Socialism</u>			Gustav Landauer, <i>For Socialism</i> (Telos Press, 1978): <a href="http://www.telospress.com/store/#!/~/product/id=17898073">http://www.telospress.com/store/#!/~/product/id=17898073</a>
Foucault, Michel	1	(Being a bit provocative here ...).	<i>Foucault Studies</i> [online journal]: <a href="http://rauli.cbs.dk/index.php/foucault-studies/">http://rauli.cbs.dk/index.php/foucault-studies/</a>
Fourier, Charles	1	Pleasure is the key to human life. Actually, a great satirist.	“Charles Fourier Archive (1772-1837),” <i>Marxists Internet Archive</i> : <a href="http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/fourier/index.htm">http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/fourier/index.htm</a>
<i>Freedom Group</i>			“A History of Freedom Press,” <i>Freedom: Anarchist News and Views</i> : <a href="http://www.freedompress.org.uk/news/about/history/">http://www.freedompress.org.uk/news/about/history/</a>
Freud, Sigmund			“Sigmund Freud,” <i>Wikipedia</i> : <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sigmund_Freud">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sigmund_Freud</a>
Galleani, Luigi	1	Commitment, commentator and inspirer, affection.	Raffaele Schiavina, “A Fragment of Luigi Galleani’s Life,” <i>Kate Sharpley Library</i> :

			<a href="http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/d51cvp">http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/d51cvp</a>
Geddes, Patrick			"Patrick Geddes," <i>Wikipedia</i> : <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patrick_Geddes">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patrick_Geddes</a>
Gilbert, David			"Authors: David Gilbert," <i>PM Press</i> : <a href="http://www.pmpress.org/content/article.php?story=DavidGilbert">http://www.pmpress.org/content/article.php?story=DavidGilbert</a>
Godwin, William	8		"William Godwin, 1756-1836," <i>The History Guide</i> : <a href="http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/godwin.html">http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/godwin.html</a>
Goldman, Emma	21		"The Emma Goldman Papers," <i>Berkeley Digital Library</i> : <a href="http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/goldman/">http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/goldman/</a>
Goodman, Paul	1		"Paul Goodman: Writing on the Web," <i>The Preservation Institute</i> : <a href="http://www.preservenet.com/theory/Goodman.html">http://www.preservenet.com/theory/Goodman.html</a>
Gordon, A.D.			"James Horrox on A.D. Gordon and Anarchism," <i>Anarchy Alive!</i> [weblog], Sep. 13, 2012: <a href="http://anarchyalive.com/2012/09/534/james-horrox-on-a-d-gordon-and-anarchism/">http://anarchyalive.com/2012/09/534/james-horrox-on-a-d-gordon-and-anarchism/</a>

Garborg, Arne			“Arne Garborg.” <i>Store Norsk Leksikon</i> : <a href="http://snl.no/Arne_Garborg">http://snl.no/Arne_Garborg</a>
Graeber, David	2		“Interview with David Graeber,” <i>The White Review</i> : <a href="http://www.thewhite-review.org/interviews/interview-with-david-graeber/">http://www.thewhite-review.org/interviews/interview-with-david-graeber/</a>
Heath, Nick		No Nick Heath, no fun!	“Nick Heath” [online radio show], <i>Anarchist Federation</i> , April 17, 2012: <a href="http://www.afed.org.uk/component/content/t/article/300.html">http://www.afed.org.uk/component/content/t/article/300.html</a>
Hegel, G.W.F			“Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel,” <i>Wikipedia</i> : <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_Wilhelm_Friedrich_Hegel">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_Wilhelm_Friedrich_Hegel</a>
Hiscocks, Mandy			<i>.bored but not broken</i> . [Mandy Hiscocks’ personal weblog]: <a href="http://boredbutnotbroken.tao.ca/">http://boredbutnotbroken.tao.ca/</a>
			“Hof, Jan” [online biography], <i>Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en den Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland</i> : <a href="http://www.iisg.nl/bwsa/bios/hof.html">http://www.iisg.nl/bwsa/bios/hof.html</a>
hooks, bell			bell hooks, “Cultural Criticism & Transformation” [video], <i>Challenging</i>

				<p><i>Media:</i> <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zQUuHFKP-9s">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zQUuHFKP-9s</a></p> <p>“Interview with Hegel Hudson from the Certain Days Collective: CKDU News Collective,” <i>National Campus and Community Radio Association</i>: <a href="http://previous.ncra.ca/exchange/dspProgramDetail.cfm?programID=80059">http://previous.ncra.ca/exchange/dspProgramDetail.cfm?programID=80059</a></p> <p><i>Industrial Workers of the World: A Union for All Workers:</i> <a href="http://www.iww.org/">http://www.iww.org/</a></p> <p>John King, <i>Ernst Jünger in Cyberspace</i> [unofficial website]: <a href="http://www.juenger.org/">http://www.juenger.org/</a></p> <p>“The Works and Life of Franz Kafka,” <i>Franz Kafka Online:</i> <a href="http://www.kafka-online.info/">http://www.kafka-online.info/</a></p> <p>“Anna Kanngieser,” <i>Transversal Geographies:</i> <a href="http://transversalgeographies.org/">http://transversalgeographies.org/</a></p> <p>“Peter Kropotkin” [web archive], <i>LibCom:</i> <a href="http://libcom.org/tags/peter-kropotkin">http://libcom.org/tags/peter-kropotkin</a></p>
Hudson, Helen				
<i>IWW</i>				
Jünger, Ernst				
Kafka, Franz				
Kanngieser, Anna				
Kropotkin, Peter	27	(i) A rational, articulate defence of humanitarian anarchism		

		based on cooperation. I still like the idea that biology is on our side. (ii) For establishing the philosophical foundations of anarchism in the 19th century. (iii) Thinker, inspirer, vision, commitment, respect.	
Lacan, Jacques	1		“Jacques Lacan (1901-1981),” <i>Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy</i> : <a href="http://www.iep.utm.edu/lacweb/">http://www.iep.utm.edu/lacweb/</a>
Lagalisse, Erica			Octavio Vélez Ascencio, “Amnesty for Loxicha People Will End Injustice: OPZ,” trans. Erica Lagalisse, <i>El Enemigo Común</i> , June 2 2011: <a href="http://elenemigocomun.net/2011/06/amnesty-loxicha-end-injustice/">http://elenemigocomun.net/2011/06/amnesty-loxicha-end-injustice/</a>
Landauer, Gustav	11		“Landauer, Gustav (1870-1919):” <i>LibCom</i> , Sep. 22, 2004: <a href="http://libcom.org/history/landauer-gustav-1870-1919">http://libcom.org/history/landauer-gustav-1870-1919</a>
Lao Tzu/Taoism	3	Difficult to follow, and there’s such a conceptual chasm to cross. But they seem to be	<i>Lao Tzu Page</i> [website]: <a href="http://www.tao-page.org/laotzu/">http://www.tao-page.org/laotzu/</a>

		saying something interesting about how to relate to the world.	
Le Guin, Ursula	2	For creating convincing, fully realized anarchist societies, as in <i>The Dispossessed</i> .	Ursula K. Le Guin [website]: <a href="http://www.ursulakleguin.com/">http://www.ursulakleguin.com/</a>
Lee, Richard B.		Very important source on hunter-gatherer life.	“Richard Borshay Lee,” <i>Wikipedia</i> : <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Borshay_Lee">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Borshay_Lee</a>
Makhno, Nestor	2		<i>The Nestor Makhno Archive</i> : <a href="http://www.nestormakhno.info/">http://www.nestormakhno.info/</a>
Malatesta, Errico	12	(i) Pragmatic, principled. (ii) Commitment, commentator, activist, inspirer, respect, and affection.	“Errico Malatesta,” <i>LibCom</i> : <a href="http://libcom.org/tags/errico-malatesta">http://libcom.org/tags/errico-malatesta</a>
Marx, Karl	1		<i>Marx and Engels Internet Archive</i> : <a href="http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/index.htm">http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/index.htm</a>
Mella, Ricardo			“Ricardo Mella,” <i>Wikipedia</i> : <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ricardo_Mella">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ricardo_Mella</a>
Meltzer, Albert	1	Untiring propagandist, thinker, commentator, activist, inspirer,	Stuart Christie, “Albert Meltzer, Anarchist,” <i>The Kate Sharpley Library</i> :

			commitment, respect and affection.	<a href="http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/w9gk1g">http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/w9gk1g</a>
Michel, Louise				“Louise Michel Biography,” <i>International Institute of Social History</i> : <a href="http://www.iisg.nl/collections/louisemichel/biography.php">http://www.iisg.nl/collections/louisemichel/biography.php</a>
Miller, Henry				Valentine Miller, <i>Henry Miller: Personal Collection</i> [website], 2005-2012: <a href="http://www.henrymiller.info/">http://www.henrymiller.info/</a>
Mirbeau, Octave				“Octave Mirbeau,” <i>Wikipedia</i> : <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Octave_Mirbeau">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Octave_Mirbeau</a>
Morris, William			(i) Still like those ideas of aesthetics as part of life. Not so keen on the medievalism. (ii) <i>News From Nowhere</i> , wonderful anti-industrial classic.	<i>William Morris Society, UK</i> [website]: <a href="http://www.williammorrisociety.org/">http://www.williammorrisociety.org/</a>
Müşam, Erich	1		Important but underrated.	Erich Müsham, <i>Wikipedia</i> : <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erich_M%C3%BChsam">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erich_M%C3%BChsam</a>
My anti-anarchist friend that I talk to at the local coffee shop				



Myself				
Naess, Arne				ReRun Productions, <i>The Call of the Mountain: Arne Naess</i> [video documentary excerpt]: <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=llvnEaL.UOac">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=llvnEaL.UOac</a>
Nettlau, Max				“Max Nettlau Papers,” <i>International Institute of Social History</i> : <a href="http://www.iisg.nl/archives/en/files/n/ARCH01001.php">http://www.iisg.nl/archives/en/files/n/ARCH01001.php</a>
Nguyen, Mimi Thi				“Mimi Thi Nguyen, Assoc. Professor of Asian American Studies,” <i>University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign</i> : <a href="http://www.aasp.illinois.edu/people/mimin">http://www.aasp.illinois.edu/people/mimin</a>
Nietzsche, Friedrich	1			<i>The Friedrich Nietzsche Society</i> [website]: <a href="https://fns.org.uk/">https://fns.org.uk/</a>
Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela				“Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis,” <i>Wikipedia</i> : <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferdinand_Domela_Nieuwenhuis">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferdinand_Domela_Nieuwenhuis</a>
Ortt, Felix				“A Brief Look at the Life of Felix Ortt: Prominent Dutch Christian Anarchist,” Portretgalerij [weblog], April 4, 2007: <a href="http://portretgalerij.blogspot.co.uk/2007">http://portretgalerij.blogspot.co.uk/2007</a>

			/04/brief-look-at-life-of-felix-ortt.html
Paasche, Hans			<i>Hans Paasche</i> [unofficial weblog]: <a href="http://en.hanspaasche.com/">http://en.hanspaasche.com/</a>
Pelloutier, Fernand			“Fernand Pelloutier,” <i>LibCom</i> : <a href="http://libcom.org/tags/fernand-pelloutier">http://libcom.org/tags/fernand-pelloutier</a>
Perlman, Fredy		<i>Against His-story, Against Leviathan</i>	Fredy Perlman, <i>Against His-story. Against Leviathan</i> (1983). <i>The Anarchist Library</i> , <a href="http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/fredy-perlman-against-his-story-against-leviathan">http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/fredy-perlman-against-his-story-against-leviathan</a>
Post Colonial Anarchism			Roger White, “Post Colonial Anarchism,” <i>Colours of Resistance</i> : <a href="http://www.colours ofresistance.org/344/post-colonial-anarchism/">http://www.colours ofresistance.org/344/post-colonial-anarchism/</a>
Proudhon, P-J	16		“Pierre-Joseph Proudhon,” <i>Anarchy Archives</i> : <a href="http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/proudhon/Proudhonarhive.html">http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/proudhon/Proudhonarhive.html</a>
Ramus, Pierre			“Pierre Ramus,” <i>Wikipedia</i> [German]: <a href="http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre_Ramus">http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre_Ramus</a>
Read, Herbert	1		“Herbert Read, (1893-1968),” <i>The Anarchist Encyclopedia</i> : <a href="http://recollectionbooks.com/">http://recollectionbooks.com/</a>

			bleed/Encyclopedia/ReadHerbert.htm
Reclus, Elisée	3		“Elisée Reclus,” <i>Anarchy Archives</i> : <a href="http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bright/reclus/reclus.html">http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bright/reclus/reclus.html</a>
Riot, Coco		queer Spanish artist	<a href="http://cocoriot.com/">Coco Riot [website]</a> : <a href="http://cocoriot.com/">http://cocoriot.com/</a>
Riste, Synnøve			“Summørsposten: Eternally Yours,” <i>Historieportal</i> : <a href="http://www.pergjendem.com/?p=151">http://www.pergjendem.com/?p=151</a>
Rocker, Rudolf	7	For <i>Nationalism and Culture</i> —thinker—commitment, respect.	<i>Rudolf Rocker</i> [website]: <a href="http://flag.blackened.net/rocker/">http://flag.blackened.net/rocker/</a>
Rousseau, J-J			<i>The Rousseau Association</i> [website]: <a href="http://rousseauassociation.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/">http://rousseauassociation.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/</a>
Sahlins, Marshall		<i>The Original Affluent Society</i> is indispensable.	Marshall Sahlins, “The Original Affluent Society” [abridged], in <i>The Politics of Egalitarianism: Theory and Practice</i> , ed. Jacqueline Solway (NY: Berghahn, 2006): <a href="http://www.vizkult.org/propositions/alineimature/pdfs/SahlinOriginalAffluentSociety-abridged.pdf">http://www.vizkult.org/propositions/alineimature/pdfs/SahlinOriginalAffluentSociety-abridged.pdf</a>
Sakae, Osugi			“Osugi Sakae, 1885-1923,” <i>LibCom</i> :

			<a href="http://libcom.org/library/osugi-sakae-biography">http://libcom.org/library/osugi-sakae-biography</a>
Schürmann, Reiner			<p>“Reiner Schürmann: A Shrine,” <i>presocratics.org</i>: <a href="http://www.presocratics.org/?page_id=588">http://www.presocratics.org/?page_id=588</a></p> <p>“The Life of Buddha,” <i>The Buddhist Society</i>: <a href="http://www.thebuddhistsociety.org/resources/Buddha.html">http://www.thebuddhistsociety.org/resources/Buddha.html</a></p>
Shakyamuni (Gautama Buddha)			<p><i>situationist international online</i> [website], Center for Digital Discourse and Culture, Virginia Tech University]: <a href="http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/">http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/</a></p>
<i>Situationist International</i>	1		<p><i>The Solidarity Federation</i> [website]: <a href="http://www.solfed.org.uk/">http://www.solfed.org.uk/</a></p>
<i>Solidarity Federation</i>			<p><i>Thomas Spence Society</i> [website]: <a href="http://thomas-spence-society.co.uk/">http://thomas-spence-society.co.uk/</a></p>
Spence, Thomas			<p>Steven Nadler, “Baruch Spinoza,” <i>Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy</i>: <a href="http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/spinoza/">http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/spinoza/</a></p>
Spinoza, Baruch			<p>Svein Olav Nyberg, <i>Max Stirner</i> [website]: <a href="http://i-studies.com/stirner/">http://i-studies.com/stirner/</a></p>
Stirner, Max	8		<p><i>Writings of Subcommander Marcos of the</i></p>
Subcomandante Marcos			

			<i>EZLN</i> [website]: <a href="http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/marcos_index.html">http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/marcos_index.html</a>
<i>The Bund</i>			“Bund,” <i>Jewish Virtual Library</i> ; <a href="http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0004_0_03730.html">http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0004_0_03730.html</a>
The emerging ‘para-academics’ publishers, within and without the university			
Thoreau, Henry David	1		“Henry David Thoreau,” <i>Wikipedia</i> : <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_David_Thoreau">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_David_Thoreau</a>
Tolstoy, Leo	2		<i>Alexandre Christoyannopoulos: Publications and Other Research Dissemination</i> [including works on Tolstoy]: <a href="https://sites.google.com/site/christoyannopoulos/publications">https://sites.google.com/site/christoyannopoulos/publications</a>
Traven, B			<i>B Traven</i> [unofficial website]: <a href="http://www.btraven.com/">http://www.btraven.com/</a>
Tucker, Benjamin			Wendy McElroy, “Benjamin Tucker and Liberty: A Bibliographical Essay” (1981),

				<p><i>The Forum: The Online Library of Liberty:</i>  <a href="http://oll.libertyfund.org/index.php?option=com_content&amp;task=view&amp;id=796&amp;Itemid=259">http://oll.libertyfund.org/index.php?option=com_content&amp;task=view&amp;id=796&amp;Itemid=259</a></p>
Tucker, Kevin			<i>Species Traitor</i> editor	<p>“Kevin Tucker: Essays from Species Traitor.” <i>The Anarchist Library:</i> <a href="http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/kevin-tucker-essays-from-species-traitor">http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/kevin-tucker-essays-from-species-traitor</a></p>
uprising				
Walia, Harsha				<p>“Harsha Walia,” <i>Rabble:</i> <a href="http://rabble.ca/taxonomy/term/1843">http://rabble.ca/taxonomy/term/1843</a></p>
Ward, Colin		11		<p>“Colin Ward,” <i>The Anarchist Library:</i> <a href="http://theanarchistlibrary.org/authors/Colin_Ward.html">http://theanarchistlibrary.org/authors/Colin_Ward.html</a></p>
Weil, Simone				<p><i>Simone Weil</i> [website archive]: <a href="http://simoneweil.net/home.htm">http://simoneweil.net/home.htm</a></p>
Werbe, Peter			<i>Fifth Estate</i> editor, many key insights in the ‘80s.	<p><i>Fifth Estate</i> [magazine]: <a href="http://www.peterwerbe.com/estate.htm">http://www.peterwerbe.com/estate.htm</a></p>
whoever set up <i>Adbusters</i>				<p><i>Adbusters</i> [website]: <a href="http://www.adbusters.org/">http://www.adbusters.org/</a></p>
Wilde, Oscar				<p><i>Oscar Wilde</i> [website]: <a href="http://www.cmgww.com/historic/wilde/">http://www.cmgww.com/historic/wilde/</a></p>

Williamson, Robin			Fig's Whisker Music: The Official Website of Robin and Bina Williamson: <a href="http://www.pigswiskermusic.co.uk">http://www.pigswiskermusic.co.uk</a>
Wilson, Peter Lamborn*			"Hakim Bey and Ontological Anarchy: The Writings of Hakim Bey," <i>The Hermetic Library</i> : <a href="http://hermetic.com/bey/">http://hermetic.com/bey/</a>
Woodcock, George			"George Woodcock," <i>The Anarchist Encyclopedia</i> : <a href="http://recollectionbooks.com/bleed/Encyclopedia/WoodcockGeorge.htm">http://recollectionbooks.com/bleed/Encyclopedia/WoodcockGeorge.htm</a>
work			
You Can't Blow Up a Social Relationship			Libertarian Socialist Collective, "You Can't Blow Up a Social Relationship," <i>LibCom</i> : <a href="http://libcom.org/library/you-cant-blow-up-social-relationship">http://libcom.org/library/you-cant-blow-up-social-relationship</a>
Zapata, Emiliano			"Emiliano Zapata," <i>Indigenous Peoples Literature</i> : <a href="http://www.indigenouspeople.net/zapata.htm">http://www.indigenouspeople.net/zapata.htm</a>
Zinn, Howard			<i>Howard Zinn, 1922-2010</i> [unofficial website]: <a href="http://www.howardzinn.org/">http://www.howardzinn.org/</a>

\* Hakim Bey and Peter Lamborn Wilson appear separately, as nominated.

	COMMENTS ON ORDERING
1	Personal preference, not necessarily only those who identify as anarchists but also including intellectuals/activists who escape labelling.
2	My favourite anarchists, inspired by my work with children and communities.
3	Basically, I ordered them in terms of their contribution to anarchist ideas and the movement as well as how much they impacted my own political development over the last 25 years. Also, if the list were for libertarians rather than just anarchists, I would have to have added Maurice Brinton and Cornelius Castoriadis. And, in terms of favourite anarchists and influence, I would list Makhno and Durruti—but do they count as ‘sages’? Anyway, I’ve included Makhno—he wrote a bit after all. As for Bookchin, well, the last few years of his life seemed to be about destroying his own legacy and annoying anarchists, but you cannot dismiss his decades of work because of that.
4	The ordering is more or less random, based perhaps on those to whom I have most often referred in my own work. It is not an order of preference, significance, or anything else systematic. Tomorrow I would probably draw up another list, so I am sending this before second, third, etc. thoughts make too much noise.
5	Order they came to me.
6	I guess it’s based on how much their writings and life stories touched and influenced me.
7	Chronological order.
8	I ordered them according to personal significance and preference. I started with Stirner, but later on I noticed that it is impossible to be a Stirnerian and start with Stirner. You have to start with yourself. So my most favourite sage is myself.
9	I excluded many people who are also influential in my thinking as an anarchist—Foucault, Castoriadis, Butler, Debord, Vaniegem, etc. Also excluded influential novelists—Piercy, LeGuin, Moorcock. Also excluded



	organisations/collectivities and those who are influential because of what they did, rather than what they wrote. The notion of a specifically ‘anarchist’ canon is highly suspect—most anarchists draw on a range of influences outside the main theorists.
10	Fairly random order.
11	Chosen by who I reckon is the most influential rather than those I personally prefer. Also ranks Rocker, Zinn, Ward, Parsons, Reclus.
12	I take a sage to be someone who has thought deeply and at length about a given topic and expresses an idiosyncratic view (‘wisdom’ is too subjective a category, and no one is truly original). The names above are not in any particular order, except for Proudhon’s, which could inevitably come first since his prolific output is both uniquely original and unlikely to be surpassed in range, depth, or sheer volume. The rest are essentially derivative.
13	Chapter plan.
14	I’m unfortunately very ignorant about anarchists but the order reflects the order in which I discovered them.
15	No real reason, but they are the ones that stand out for me, and [that] I have done the most work on.
16	Anti-colonialism, spirituality, nature. 1 & 2 [are] first order preferences; the others are random.
17	Largely chronological. Groups, not individuals, that produced significant works and theory.
18	Chronological, all emphasised that anarchism is ‘not Marxism.’
19	Chronological.
20	Stirner puts us on a higher pov [point-of-view] altogether and helps put man’s other brilliant thoughts in perspective.
21	Bakunin is barely an anarchist, but not to include him would immediately mark one out as a loon amongst

22	<p>anarchists. Graeber's work on debt places him in an exclusive group of anarchist political economists, but the rest of his output is fairly standard and inter-changeable with innumerable others.</p> <p>Historical order, loosely. It's tempting to want to jettison the triad of Proudhon-Bakunin-Kropotkin for the sake of novelty (and to avoid the pitfalls of a "canon" as such), but they're all three so indispensable for their interventions in actual living movements, for the differences they made in the tradition (delineating the differences between mutualist, collectivist, and communist economics, etc.), and for the sheer still-unexhausted novelty of their thought. Malatesta is useful to study as someone who is deeply involved in practice, someone for whom practice revises theory, a kind of pragmatist in the sense of Charles Peirce or William James. I significantly omit Stirner, not because he's uninteresting, but because I find the relations between his thought and the rest of the anarchist tradition to be somewhat thin, and because its practical uses are less apparent.</p> <p>Landauer, Goldman, and Goodman might be my three controversial inclusions—three astonishingly creative Jewish activist-thinkers. Landauer's work has never gotten the kind of uptake it deserves in the English-speaking world because of the translation barrier, but his peculiar blend of speculative philosophy and engaged praxis left us with a lot to think about (and work with). I think Kathy Ferguson makes a good case that Goldman's "political thinking in the streets" deserves more careful attention and thought than it usually gets, and it would be criminal not to have someone on this list represent the incredibly crucial opening of anarchism onto feminism and of feminism onto anarchism. She also stands for my wish to shrug at the very idea of a list of "seven sages" (why seven? And, more importantly, why conceptualize anarchism primarily in terms of a series of Great Thinkers, even if there's a dose of irony administered with it? It almost inevitably marginalizes the usually marginalized—both in terms of race/gender/sexuality/etc. and also in terms of genres of practice: syndicalism has many fine thinkers, from Émile Pouget to Judy Bari, but few really representative "sages"). Finally, Goodman did so much to bring anarchism into relation with a post-WWII world, to draw out its applications in fields ranging from sexuality to urbanism to anti-racism to culture, and to renew anarchism in the fallow "valley</p>
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	time” of the 1940s-1950s—well, it’s hard to find a more prolific and fruitful political imagination in any one person, period. Landauer and Goodman (as inheritors to Proudhon) also reflect my ideological biases toward what some have tried to call “practical anarchism,” emphasizing the patient, peaceful construction of alternative systems to meet everyday needs in existing communities over dramatic moments of insurrection or radical breaks with the totality of the past.
23	Texts that I’ve found provocative, insightful, and enduring in their concerns. If anyone asks me about anarchism, it’s texts I think of, not people. Though I’m very fond of a number of contemporary and historical figures (and have spent my adult life with a number of those in the latter group), it’s the ideas that matter to me. Texts can present some of the same problems as the ‘canon’—reification, abstraction etc.—but the recommendation to read 7 texts is probably less likely to result in these problems than one to examine the work of 7 individuals.
24	I’m not numbering . . . I suppose the list would be the thinkers who I’ve found most useful in elaborating an anarchist politics, one which is focused on questions of autonomy, cultural subversion, affect, and self-reproduction . . . or something like that.
25	1. Anarchism 2. is 3. not 4. about 5. great 6. men 7. (or women).
26	Commitment and intelligence were my criteria, but they are not in hierarchical order; they are all equally sage and awesome in a horizontal way.

27	I picked people who represent some of the main currents within communist anarchism, since it's the dominant category of anarchists active today. I suppose a list of 'seven sages' (surely a problematic notion to begin with) should reflect that. These folks, in their own ways also represent discrete poles within some of the major debates among anarchist communists, including ecology, organizationalism, the role of class struggle, questions around gender and sexuality, insurrection v. revolution, anarchism as a critique of structures/institutions v. daily life, etc.
28	My order is alphabetical; I learn from them all and I find them all stimulating sages.
29	Writers who I've read and influence my thought.
30	Personal preference, not necessarily only those who identify as anarchists but also including intellectuals/activists who escape labelling.
31	Order of significance and personal preference regarding links between environment, the social, and politics.
32	I began bottom up, as the ones I knew were not top were easier. It is an honest attempt. Not to chart intelligence, but guidance.
33	This is a list of classic figures anarchists should read as sources of anarchist <i>sagesse</i> . The greatest contributions to the anarchist project lie in the most radical and critical dimensions of Buddhist, Daoist, Hegelian-Marxist, and Freudian-Lacanian thought. This explains six of the seven. Reclus is included because he first synthesized the anarchist critique of domination and introduced the ecological dimension into radical social thought. The listing is chronological.
34	#1[Kropotkin] is the most 'central' to modern anarchists, #7 [Bakunin] less so. Of course, if I could go off-list, I'd also include Voltairine de Cleyre, Gustav Landauer, Ricardo Flores-Magon, Tolstoy, etc. I like Bakunin's biography, but I've always thought of him more as an activist than a unique thinker (which is surely not the case, though). Since a "canon" is socially constructed, anarchist sages are very Euro-centric. Malatesta and

	<p>Bakunin's impact upon the South is huge, and they deserve a place simply for their work in promoting anarchist thinking elsewhere. Kropotkin was the wisest (imho) thinker, who wrote the most, and still most relevant for people today. Goldman and Reclus were both good at acknowledging the multiple ways in which domination and inequality effect people (above and beyond capitalism and state domination), including race, gender, and sexuality (and animals, in Reclus's case). I'm not a big Proudhon fan (maybe as a result of writing-style, perceived scatteredness, non-anarchist nature, and other factors), but his impact has been huge and to leave him out would be like leaving out Comte from a discussion of Sociology's roots (although Comte matters very little for explaining social phenomenon today). My ideological commitment is towards thinkers who are more social in-nature (thus Stirner and individualists don't appeal to me), perhaps those who tend towards anarcho-communism (but, then again, that's probably the majority of the anarchist pantheon and movement, even today). Not sure if my rankings are very meaningful, since—like any social theory—it is always more useful to pick and choose based on the situation at hand (thus Kropotkin is not always going to be the best pick . . . sometimes Bakunin might be!).</p>
35	<p>Impact on movement globally. Insights on core issues.</p>
36	<p>The order is simply date of death—only one is still alive. The choices are a representative of the different periods of anarchist history. They were chosen (rather too quickly and with a lousy gender balance) as they are interesting thinkers in their own right, though they also challenged anarchist orthodoxies from a number of different perspectives. People like these are important if a tradition like anarchism is not to ossify into a dogma, especially as it becomes more fashionable. So, with the exception of Proudhon, they are not the founders of the tradition, but those who elaborated on it and took it in interesting directions.</p>
37	<p>Such fun, I feel like we could play with these names all night long. I imagine having cards with names on them and experimenting with numerous juxtapositions . . .</p>

38	No particular ranking and no particular explanation.
39	To be honest, I can't actually get to seven . . . not sure whether that says something about the state of anarchist thought, or the state of my thought . . . the only two I know I'd definitely add are Landauer and Ward . . . anyway, will get back to you when I can think of five more.
40	Names in no particular order, and Robin Williamson included to deliberately bugger up your classification system.
41	Order in which they came to my mind.
42	I chose Marx for number one because I believe his central contention with 'anarchism,' or what is called anarchism, has little to nothing to do with hierarchy, coercion, or authority. Many secondary texts claim that it has everything to do with that, but my own research, influenced by Maximilien Rubel and others, suggests this is not accurate. Rather, I believe he is, essentially, an anarchist, even if he calls himself a communist. Another way to describe what he "is", might be to say that he is a materialist anarchist. Marx's central contention had much more to idealism vs. materialism, rather than anti-authority vs. authority. Emma Goldman and Stirner are sages because they both resist the more subtle forms of hierarchy, coercion, and authority and make them much more explicit than most anarchist thinkers. Rudolf Rocker figures for me because he was a syndicalist who embraced Nietzsche and Nietzschean threads, which most anarchists haven't done historically. Schürmann, Deleuze, and Agamben are all well known radical philosophers who might not specifically identify as anarchist, but whose philosophies are nevertheless, amongst the most important for anarchism in the contemporary period.
43	This is a list of anarchists whose work I would recommend to others who wanted to know more about anarchism. All have influenced my own life and thinking in different ways at different times; the chronology is personal. Many others who have contributed to my own development as an anarchist would not necessarily call

<p>themselves/be called anarchists at all (e.g. bell hooks, Audre Lorde). I don't think anarchism has or needs 'sages,' nor a 'canon.' That's the other guys' game.</p>	<p>No Gods, no masters, no canons, no canons!</p>
<p>44</p>	<p>Chronological order.</p>