

Rozália Klára Bakó, Gizela Horváth (eds.)

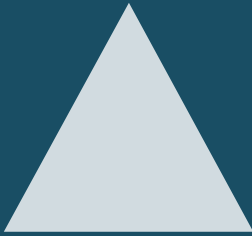


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ARGUMENTOR

MENS SANA

RETHINKING THE ROLE OF EMOTIONS



PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH ARGUMENTOR CONFERENCE

PARTIUM PRESS, Oradea
DEBRECEN UNIVERSITY PRESS, Debrecen
2016



ARGUMENTOR 4

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Mens Sana:
Rethinking the Role of Emotions

*Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference
on Argumentation and Rhetoric,
held in Oradea / Nagyvárad, Romania,
7–8 October 2016*

Editors:

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Partium Press
Debrecen University Press
2016

@ The editors and the authors

Partium Press – Oradea [Nagyvárad], Romania
ISSN 2285 – 682X
Debrecen University Press – Debrecen, Hungary
ISBN 978-963-318-589-6

Graphic design: Botond-Zoltán BURUS-SIKLÓDI, Ágnes Evelin KISPÁL
Page and Layout: István HORVÁTH

The publication of this volume was funded by
Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Social Sciences Department Miercurea Ciuc.

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ARGUMENTOR 2016: A TRANS-DISCIPLINARY INQUIRY

The *Argumentor* initiative has emerged as a community of scholars from Romania interested in teaching and researching argumentation, rhetoric and debate issues. Since 2010, we organize international conferences every second year, with a focus on multi-disciplinary academic audiences. In 2016, drawing on Mary Douglas' concepts of 'purity' and 'dirt' as cultural metaphors [1966], we proposed a trans-disciplinary approach to the relationship between rationality and emotions. Cultural theory, philosophy, visual studies and sociology have had a say in repositioning the role of emotions in contemporary scholarly dialogue. Papers presented in this volume are structured in three main chapters: *Reason at work* is dealing with argumentation theory issues, *Emotions in social context* is focused on rhetorical and sociological analyses, while the third one, *Expressing emotions*, is an inquiry into the field of visual studies. The conference was organized by the Fine Arts Department of the Partium Christian University from Oradea, Romania, and the Social Sciences Department of the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania from Miercurea Ciuc, Romania. Our partner was the Institute of Philosophy from the University of Debrecen, Hungary.

Keynote speeches of the conference were delivered by Gábor Boros – *Identity, Reasons, and the Language of Emotions: the Case of Finite Individuals*, and Tihamér Margitay – *Various Forms of Persuasion*.

REASON AT WORK

STATEMENTS OF FACTS V. STATEMENTS OF OPINION: AN ARGUMENTATION-THEORETIC PERSPECTIVE*

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Court decisions on defamation cases often hinge on the question whether the utterances the plaintiff finds damaging to his or her reputation qualify as statements of facts or statements of opinion. Generally speaking, statements of opinion enjoy a much higher level of legal protection [notwithstanding the significant differences between different jurisdictions]. False allegations of a factual nature which bring the plaintiff into disrepute are sanctioned by compensatory or even punitive damages, whereas false opinions, however disparaging they may be, are immune to sanctions [unless special conditions obtain].

The distinction raises two kinds of concerns. One is the more philosophical issue is whether the discrimination is indeed a reasonable one, for it does not correspond to any of the well-established dichotomies of classes of statements, e.g. the fact-value dichotomy. The

second one is a practical issue of how one may argue that a particular utterance falls into one category rather than the other. Judges, trial lawyers and legal theorists all agree that the distinction is extremely difficult to apply in practice.

As to the first issue, I will argue that the distinction makes sense as it is based on a plausible normative model of how our opinions of others should be formed in light of what is said about them. This idea will be spelled out in argumentative terms: in a dialogue concerning the moral standing of a particular person a statement of fact limits the choice of arguments the defender of the person's moral character may utilize.

As to the second issue, I will show that there are certain types of good but defeasible arguments pointing towards one or the other conclusion. Having a look at these argument types also explains why the distinction is so difficult to apply.

KEYWORDS: *fact, opinion, legal reasoning, strategic maneuvering, defamation*

* The research leading to this paper was supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund grant no. 109456.

1. Introduction

The distinction between statements of facts and statements of opinion has enormous significance in the defamation law of modern liberal-democratic states. Opinions enjoy a much higher level of legal protection than statement of facts. If someone holding that statements published in a newspaper or on the internet or pronounced on TV or in front of an audience violate his right to good reputation and seeks justice at court, the ruling will very often depend on whether the statements in question are classified as factual statements or as opinions. If the court finds that the defendant has asserted something as a fact and the assertion is false, it is likely that the court will rule against him. If, on the other hand, the statements are construed as opinions, the defendant is likely to be exonerated, however disparaging the statements may have been.¹

Nevertheless, the fact-opinion distinction is quite unlike other legal distinctions such as the distinction between premeditated murder and other sorts of homicide. A layman understands perfectly well what premeditated murder is and why it carries more serious punishment but will be perplexed by the fact-opinion distinction and will see little justification for the differential treatment. What makes murder trials difficult is establishing the facts of the case; in a defamation trial the facts are always well-known: the article, the video recording, etc. are readily available; what is difficult to determine is whether the statements challenged are facts or opinions.

In this paper I will attempt to analyze the distinction in argumentation-theoretic terms by constructing an abstract two-person game in which the task of one player is to defend a claim and the task of the other is to attack it. I will suggest that this game is a model for how we should take the recipient of a message to decide whether he should believe it; in particular, the recipient should believe if he loses the game against the author of the message. Factual statements will be interpreted roughly as the ones which the recipient cannot challenge. False factual statements are impermissible because they exploit the recipient's argumentative defenselessness. I believe this approach has the following merits: it is sufficiently clear, provides a rationale for the differential legal treatment of statement of facts and opinions and agrees

¹ Of course, things are not as simple as that: it is not the case that all false statements of fact are actionable and no opinion statements are.

pretty well with legal practice. I would like to warn, however, that I will not provide anything like a complete explanation of the distinction. The argument-theoretic perspective is a limited perspective and the issue of facts and opinions has highly important aspects which do not fall within its purview. One important limitation should be explicitly noted: it does not explain at all why public figures should tolerate more criticism than private individuals.

In section 2 I sketch the legal background of the distinction and explain why it is problematic. In section 3 I describe the abstract game. In section 4 I use the game to give a partial explanation of sense of the distinction. In section 5 I show that the account agrees quite well with the criteria used by courts. Section 6 summarizes the argument. [Readers are advised to take a peek.]

2. The legal distinction and its unclarities

The legal distinction between fact and opinion has to be understood against the background of the endeavor to strike a balance between the freedom of speech and the right to good reputation. It is one of the foundations of modern liberal state that free discussion is of fundamental value, yet a robust and unconstrained debate may involve strong or even scathing criticism which may damage one's reputation. Reputation, whether it is construed as an asset one may rely on improving one's lot or as an inalienable aspect of human dignity (Post 1986), is something the state has a duty to protect. However, it would be obviously wrong to find the balance by having the courts to decide whether or not someone's actions deserve to be censured. First, there are many questions which should be left for the people to decide for themselves. For instance, is multilevel marketing an inherently immoral business practice? It would be perverse to have the courts to tell us what to think. Second, there are many questions, such as the previous one, which the courts are not better qualified to answer than the average citizen. Third, punishing all unjustified criticisms would make people overly cautious and they would end up not saying certain things which should indeed be said.

So courts cannot be entrusted with the material evaluation of criticism. Erring on the side of freedom of speech will lead to people occasionally suffering humiliation and even material loss without being at fault, whereas erring on the side of right to good reputation would stifle public discussion. What is needed is a formula which renders certain

kinds of statements protected against legal action irrespectively of the harm they may possibly cause to someone's reputation.

The fact-opinion distinction has become an ingredient of the formula very early [Carman 1980: 12] as part of the fair comment doctrine, which granted immunity from libel action to critical statements provided that they are of legitimate public interest, are based on facts either stated or otherwise known to the audience, represent the actual opinion of the critic and are not put forward solely for the purpose of causing harm to the person criticized. [American Law Institute 1965: Sec. 606] The immunity did not extend to the statements of facts underlying the critical comments, and the statements thus protected were understood as statements of opinion. Formulas like the fair comment doctrine get reinterpreted, transformed and even replaced in the course of time, but the distinction has remained part of the formula for over two-hundred years.

Nevertheless, it is generally acknowledged that the distinction is rather unclear. It seems convenient to distinguish three aspects of clarity. *Conceptual* clarity is understanding what the concept involves. Even if we cannot define it explicitly, we should be able to explain it in terms which are sufficiently clear. The second aspect is the possession of *operational* criteria – which are called 'tests' in law – which provide reasonably good guidance for the application of the concept. Even if one has the right criteria it may be extremely difficult to apply them in actual instances. So there is third aspect of clarity: *practical* applicability.

It is the last issue which gives rise by far to most of the worries among practicing lawyers [Ott 1990: 761-762]. To determine the status of a statement we must first understand it, but the meanings of words are often vague and context-dependent, and the communicative intentions of speakers are often difficult to judge. For example, qualifications like 'in my opinion' or 'I am inclined to think' usually signal that one puts forward a personal and fallible opinion, but such expressions may be used purely formally and accompany a factual claim advanced without the slightest reservation. It may be very difficult to say which is the case. The precise interpretation of the operational criteria or tests is also a subject of vivid discussion among especially legal theorists and lawyers of theoretical interest.

Conceptual clarity receives much less attention, even though the distinction is clearly wanting in that domain as well. Just consider how little help the lexical meaning of 'fact' and 'opinion' offers. By 'fact' we normally mean something that is known to be true, which suggests

that a statement of fact is a statement of something we know. The idea of a false statement of fact would then border on contradiction, since we cannot know anything that is false. Calling something an 'opinion' often signals an epistemic status weaker than knowledge. Statements of opinion would include on the one hand claims with insufficient justification, like conjectures and risky inferences, on the other hand statements concerning controversial issues where the presence of controversy suggests lack of knowledge, such as moral evaluations. Statements of facts would then be statements which are not statements of opinion. That is not a bad point to start, but it does not take us very far. First, it just does not seem possible to establish anything like a clear distinction along these lines.² Secondly, and more importantly, it is not easy to see why such a distinction should be relevant to balancing the right to good reputation against freedom of speech.

In this paper I will be concerned mainly with the conceptual clarification of the distinction. I will also argue that my account does a good job explaining the tests currently applied by courts. I will have nearly nothing to say on practical application. Another limitation is that I will not discuss the formulae involving the distinction, not even those aspects which are accepted in all liberal-democratic societies, such as the idea that the reputation of public officials and public individuals should be given less protection than that of private individuals.

3. A limited justification game

I am going to introduce now a dialogue game similar to the ones in formal dialectics [Walton, Krabbe 1995]. It resembles some of the dialogues we actually conduct, except that it does not include non-argumentative elements and it is subject to some apparently artificial restrictions the significance of which is going to emerge only in the following section.

There are two players, each with a distinctive role: J [standing for justifier] and R [standing for refuter]. J's task is to put forward a claim and justify it, R's task is to refute the justifications offered by J. Note that it is not R's task to refute the claim itself [indeed, the rules of the game preclude him from doing that]. J wins by justifying the claim, R by showing that J could not justify it. The rules are as follows.

² Compare Weddle's [1985] discussion of various attempts made in the critical thinking tradition.

Duty to justify: one is only allowed to put forward a claim together with a justification. For instance, when J makes the opening move by asserting a statement, he must at the same time offer a reason for accepting it. Of course, the duty to justify does not apply recursively. If J asserts *p* and justifies it in terms of *q*, he does not have a duty to justify *q* right away. He might have to justify *q* later, but not in the opening move.

Validity: the justifications must be valid arguments, where validity is understood in the broad sense in which non-conclusive arguments can also be valid. The latter include both inductive arguments, which make the conclusion highly probable and, more importantly, presumptive [Walton et al 2008] or third way [Woods 2013] arguments, which make the conclusion plausible or reasonable to believe.

We sometimes justify a claim by evidence rather than arguments, e.g. one may justify the claim that X was threatening Y by showing a letter [or a photocopy thereof] signed by X and containing threats to Y. In such cases one produces an item, the evidence, which is supposed to be the causal product of what the justifier claims to be the case. One may suggest that in such instances it is the item itself which conveys the justification, which would make justification by evidence very different from justification by argument: arguments possess the force to justify in virtue of the truth of the premises, whereas evidence would do so merely by virtue of its existence. Whatever the case may be, I am going to assimilate evidential justification to justification by argument. In the case of the letter the justifying argument would start from a premise like 'This is a letter signed by X and containing threats to Y,' in which the reference of the demonstrative 'this' is secured by actually producing this letter. Questioning the authenticity of the evidence like saying that the letter is a forgery amounts to challenging the premise of the argument.

R can only attack justifications. If one is presented with a claim together with an argument for it, one can do three things: attack the conclusion [Y denies having ever been threatened by X], attack a premise of the argument [the letter is a forgery] or assert a defeater showing that the truth of the premise does not establish the truth of the conclusion [X has indeed written the letter but promptly discarded it and it was fished out of the garbage bin.]³ R is allowed only the latter

³ 'Defeater' stands here for undermining defeater rather than rebutting or overriding defeater which serves to defeat the conclusion [Pollock, Cruz 1999: 196; Casullo 2003: 44-45].

two options. As a result, R can never show that J's claim is false, he can only show that it is unjustified. So it is really J who controls the agenda and R is limited finding the weak spots in J's arguments.

Attacks must be constructive: one cannot merely say that he finds the argument dubious and leave it at that. He must either say that a given premise is false and give an argument to that effect or formulate a defeater and support it with an argument. Consequently, all moves in the game are alike: they consist of a claim and an argument for it.

Depth of 3: no line of attacks and responses can consist of more than 3 steps by each player. The idea is that two players' moves produce a branching tree structure. J makes the opening move, to which R may respond in different ways, to which J can also respond in different ways, etc. The rule means that no branch of the tree consists of more than three moves by J and three moves by R. Consider Table 1.

Table 1.

Step 1	1. J			
	2. R ₁ J		8. R ₂ J	
Step2	3. JR ₁ J		9. J ₁ R ₂ J	12. J ₂ R ₂ J
	4. R ₁ JR ₁ J	6. R ₂ JR ₁ J	10. RJ ₁ R ₂ J	13. RJ ₂ R ₂ J
Step 3	5. JR ₁ JR ₁ J	7. JR ₂ JR ₁ J	11. JRJ ₁ R ₂ J	14. JRJ ₂ R ₂ J
				15. RJRJ ₂ R ₂ J

The number is always the ordinal number of the given move. The first character of a move shows whether it is a move by J or R. What follows the initial character is the move the particular move is directed against, thus JX is J's response to [R's] move X. If one response fails, one may try another one. Different responses to the same move are distinguished by the index, so R₁X and R₂X are different responses R makes to [J's] move X. The depth of 3 rule means this with respect to this game: J is not allowed to respond to R's move 15., since 15. is a terminating step, being the third and final step of a particular branch. However, R would be allowed to respond to what is J's 5., 7. and 11. move.

Win-loss rule: R wins if and only if he makes a move J cannot respond to. In the game in Table 1. R is the winner, since his move 15. cannot be answered by J. If the rightmost column were chopped off and thus the game ended with move 11., J would be the winner.

Assumption: R plays in good faith. By playing in good faith I mean not putting forward a justification one does not believe. If we do not

make this assumption, R has a winning strategy: when J has exhausted his possibilities by reaching step 3, R can easily launch a final attack to which J is not allowed to respond any more. The validity rule alone does not eliminate spurious attacks, since one may easily construct a valid argument which can be defeated or has false premises. The assumption serves to prevent that by prescribing that R should only offer what he himself believes to be good reasons. Notice that no similar assumption applies to J.

Having laid out the game, let us see what strategy the players are advised to follow if they are to win. R cannot have much of a strategy, since all he is allowed to do is to attack J's justifications. Since he is allowed to try different countermoves against any particular move, the order of moves may only affect the length of the game not its outcome. If R has a line of attack J cannot block, he will win anyway, it does not matter whether he deploys this line right away or only later on.

It is really J whose choices matter. J has to choose the initial move in such a way that R should run out of objections before reaching the depth of 3. If R is allowed to raise a third objection in a particular line of attack, i.e. on a given branch of the tree, J will lose, since the depth of 3 rule bars him from answering even if he could respond. J has to rely on the assumption that R plays in good faith and will not raise an objection he himself believes to be spurious. There are two ways he can make use of this assumption. The first is to *appeal to R's beliefs*. If R believes the premises of the justification offered by J and does not believe any particular defeaters, he cannot respond. The second is to *appeal to R's ignorance*. If J succeeds in navigating into a field R is ignorant about, that deprives R from the possibility of raising an objection, for R is supposed to put forward arguments he himself believes to be right, so if he does not have beliefs in a certain domain he cannot offer arguments either.

Whether J succeeds in deploying either of these two strategies depends on his knowledge about R's beliefs. Suppose, however, that J has no special knowledge about R. In this case he must presume that R is an average member of the relevant community who believes what most people believe and does not believe what most people do not. In deploying the appeal to belief strategy he must take care to employ only premises which are generally accepted. It is, however, the appeal to ignorance strategy which will be more important for our concerns. There are two ways to implement this strategy. One is to appeal to *expert knowledge*. Expert knowledge, by definition, is limited to experts, and the average person can be reasonably expected to lack beliefs in

that area. The other way is to rely on *evidence*. Evidence, as it was explained above, is an item which is supposed to be the causal consequence of what it is employed to prove. Evidence can be attacked by showing that it did not come about in the right way: the signature was forged, the tape was doctored, etc. Since R is assumed to play in good faith, he can only mount such an attack if he is in the right position to form beliefs which can serve as premises. He must have witnessed how the signature got on the letter or must have monitored the action of the person whose signature it is alleged to be or must have access to a reliable witness who can tell him such things. He must have watched how the tape has been manipulated or must have heard and now remembers clearly the conversation which was allegedly recorded or, once again, he must have access to a reliable witness. The average person is normally not in such a position.

One might think that the availability of the appeal to ignorance strategy does not give J much advantage, since J might not possess the expert knowledge or be in the right position to provide evidence. This is right, but, in contrast with R, J is not assumed to play in good faith: there is nothing to prevent him from deploying fake expert knowledge or fake evidence, like a testimony he knows to be false. So the game described above is heavily biased in J's favor. It is this last observation I will rely on in explaining the fact-opinion distinction.

4. Clarifying the distinction in terms of the game

Here is the idea in brief. Take J to stand for the journalist [or whoever communicates the potentially harmful damage] and R to stand for the reader [or whoever is the recipient of the message] and assume that R believes the message if and only if he loses the game as described. It follows then that the journalist may easily exploit the reader's ignorance and manipulate him to believe the potentially harmful message. Making false factual statements actionable is the way the legal system secures that the readers' ignorance is not maliciously exploited, i.e. they are not manipulated to believe something damaging on false grounds.

To make this explanation work some gaps need to be filled. First of all, the reader does not actually conduct a dialogue with the journalist, so how could the game be relevant for his decision whether to believe him? Well, the reader may proceed as follows. He takes the journalist's claims, looks for supporting reasons in the article, then seeks to raise

objections in keeping with his prior beliefs. If he finds that all his objections are answered or that the objections which are not actually answered are such that the journalist is very likely able to answer them in a satisfying manner, then he will believe the claims. It is this procedure the game is designed to model. Even though the reader and the journalist do not take turns, some parts of the article and some of the thoughts entertained by the reader upon reading the piece can be interpreted as moves and countermoves. Moreover, the outcome of the game does not depend on taking turns: what matters is whether R has a move J cannot respond to. If you go back to Table 1. and rearrange the ordinals showing the order of moves but leave the structure of moves and countermoves in place, that does not change a thing. In fact, the game may be played as consisting only of two moves: J presenting his claim and responses to the attacks he anticipates and R putting forth his attacks.

The second and more serious issue is that it is plainly false that readers follow the procedure the game models. There may be readers who do, but even then they constitute a small minority. Agreed. Let us, however, keep in mind that our task is not to construct an empirical theory of why readers do or do not accept journalists' claims but to explain a distinction that figures balancing the right to good reputation and the right to freedom of speech.

The idea we should start from is that a message can only harm one's reputation if it is believed by the readers. The courts, of course, cannot be expected to develop an empirically well-confirmed theory concerning how many people have read the message and what percentage of them came to accept it. In fact, courts are not in the habit of considering that question at all. All the same, it would not be unreasonable for courts to set up a standard as to how readers are expected to determine the credibility of the article, and see whether the reader corresponding to the standard would be likely to believe the article. This would be very much like the procedures courts use in cases of false advertising. This leads us to the question of what sort of reader courts should choose as the standard.

Neither a credulous nor an utterly skeptical and dismissive reader would do for this purpose. A credulous reader, who accepts all of the journalist's claims without hesitation, can certainly be misled by false claims. Assuming a credulous reader would, therefore, involve the court in evaluating the truth of the journalist's claims, i.e. forming an authoritative opinion of the interpretation and evaluation of the plaintiff's action, but we have seen in Section 2 that this is not what a court is sup-

posed to do. A completely dismissive reader does not accept anything the journalist writes, and cannot be misled. Assuming such a reader would result in dismissing all defamation cases, since such a reader would not form an unfavorable view of the plaintiff as a result of accepting the journalist's claims. Many readers are guided by their biases and prejudices, but, as I said, the court cannot be expected to conduct a survey and develop an empirical theory about how those biases and prejudices influence their willingness to accept the journalist's claims. So the court must operate on the assumption that the reader decides by some reasonable procedure.

There are lots of reasonable procedures, but I want to suggest that the one that should be chosen as a standard is the one which is modelled by the limited justification. Deciding whether to believe the journalist is to anticipate on the basis of the article whether the journalist would win the game against the reader. I will now go through the rules and explain why it would make good sense for courts to assume that this is the way the reader can be expected to make up his mind.

The *win-loss* rule simply links the outcome of the procedure with the result of the game. Finding that all of the reader's objections are answered corresponds to J making the final move and thus winning the game; conversely, finding that at least one objection remains standing corresponds to R making the final move and thus beating J.

The *duty to justify* rule does not describe the behavior of actual readers, who often rest content with pointing out what they perceive as an error in the journalist's reasoning and do not bother to show that it is indeed an error. So why impose this rule on them? Suppose that the journalist relies on an unsupported premise which the reader has a bad feeling about but cannot undermine. If the courts took the standard procedure to include the rejection of such a premise, that would make potentially harmful messages relatively easy to reject. Reputation would then actually be damaged in fewer cases. Consequently, fewer of the potentially harmful messages would be found defamatory. So by conceiving the standard procedure in this way courts would not do a good job defending the right to good reputation. To put it differently, in deciding about the standard procedure we should pick the option which makes it easier for the reader to go along with the journalist, for that provides a stronger defense of the right to good reputation.

The same reasoning applies to the *validity* rule. Allowing the reader to refute the journalist by invalid arguments would allow the reader to dismiss the disparaging claim way too easily, so the plaintiff's reputa-

tion would not be dented. Making the claim harder to disbelieve provides better defense for the right to good reputation.

The *R can only attack justification* rule makes sure that the journalist's claims are judged solely on the basis of the arguments he has actually put forward. Actual readers are certainly not prevented from attacking the journalist's claims rather than his justifications, but only well-informed readers are able to do that. Courts, however, should not assume that readers are well-informed, since many of them are not. Once again, courts would be provided insufficient defense of the right to good reputation if they assumed that a disparaging claim cannot harm the plaintiff's reputation if well-informed readers can challenge it. Thus choosing the well-informed reader as benchmark would make the standard of defamation too high. It makes better sense to assume that the reader has only got the journalist's arguments to go on.

The *attacks must be constructive* rule disqualifies pure doubt as a reason for rejection, and requires one to point out the error. True as it is that actual readers sometimes reject the journalist's arguments even if they cannot say where it falters, but choosing them as the standard would make it harder to damage one's reputation, which in turn would make it harder to commit defamation, which would result in weaker protection of the right to good reputation.

The *depth of 3 rule* keeps the journalists' and the reader's task manageable. An article is not a scientific treatise: it cannot be expected to defend each claim which is needed to support a claim which is needed to support a claim, ...etc. Likewise, readers cannot be expected to act as scholarly critics and keep digging until they expose the very foundations. It is also important to allow the reader to have the last say. The journalist can anticipate the objections and build as strong a case as he can within the limits of the genre, but that is all he can do: he cannot respond to the objections he has not anticipated. The reader, on the other hand, may well have objections the journalist has not anticipated, and this is why he is entitled to make the last move.

But why depth 3, one may ask, why not 2 or 4? I must admit, 3 is somewhat arbitrary, and different journalistic genres are characterized by different depth. Pure opinion pieces have less depth whereas investigative journalism has greater. However, depth does not influence the overall shape of the game. It merely influences how a game will end, if the opening move of the journalist and set of justifications available to the journalist and the reader are fixed: some depth of 3

games won by the journalist would be won by the reader if the last step is omitted.⁴

Finally, the assumption that *R plays in good faith* is unavoidable. A reader who is willing to reject the journalist's claims on the basis of arguments he himself does not believe is like the dismissive reader who just cannot be convinced. But if readers cannot be convinced of the truth of the disparaging claim, the plaintiff's reputation cannot be harmed and all defamation cases should be dismissed.

There is only one more gap to be filled. Given that courts would do well to expect the reader to decide on the credibility of the article by anticipating whether he would win the limited justification against the journalist, how exactly are we to make sense of the distinction between statements of facts and opinions? The clue is provided by the strategies by which the journalist can secure his victory. In the previous section we have seen two such strategies: appealing to R's beliefs or by appealing R's ignorance. The former involves no deception. If the journalist succeeds in showing that in light of what the reader already believes he should have a low opinion of someone's actions or character, that is just fine. Such a case happens, for instance, when it is common knowledge how a company reacted to the consumers' complaints and the journalist argues that it is inadmissible. *Appealing to ignorance*, on the other hand, is not so innocent. Suppose the journalist provides information about the company's doings, which is not what readers can be supposed to know, and then argues that they are intolerable. If the information is correct, the journalist has done service to the public. Readers are now in the right position to decide for themselves if the company's practice is intolerable as the journalist alleges. That is good journalism. If the information is incorrect, he has exploited the readers' ignorance in a way that is more likely to reflect unfavorably on the company. The company would then be right to complain that the readers judge it more harshly than they would if they were given the correct information, i.e. its right to good reputation has been damaged. So appealing to ignorance in itself is not objectionable, but misleading the readers about things they do not know amounts to violating the right to good reputation.

These considerations already point us towards a demarcation of factual statements, but in order to tie the loose ends we must also

⁴ As I will point out in Section 5, this is a reason why in opinion pieces we are likelier to find opinions than statements of fact.

compare the situation of readers with that of the courts. Courts cannot be so easily misled as the readers. First, they are not bound by at least two of the rules of the justification game. The *attack only justifications* rule does not apply: if they have independent arguments showing that a statement which the reader cannot challenge is false, they are free to deploy it. They are not subject to the *attacks must be constructive* rules either. By merely expressing doubts about the statement they may shift the burden of proof on the journalist. [Note that we still expect courts to be bound by the validity rule and by playing in good faith!]

Second, they do not share the readers' *epistemological limitations*. They can conduct in depth inquiries: review documents, hear witnesses, consult experts. They can thus gain knowledge not available to the reader and can actually find out whether a statement the reader cannot challenge is true.⁵

Notice, however, that there are statements with respect to which the courts are not in an epistemologically superior position. Suppose a company replaces an environment-friendly product with another one which is not that friendly to the environment. The court is certainly in a better position to determine the properties of the old and the new product, but suppose that it is not the properties of the products at issue, but whether the company has acted in an irresponsible and selfish way by placing profit above environmental considerations. That statement is not one the court is in a better position to judge. One may cite various reasons in defense of the company, but these are not of the kind which demands the special investigative powers courts have but readers do not. They are drawn from an inventory of considerations which are available to all members of the community.

We have finally arrived at how the fact-value distinction should be construed. *Statements of facts* are those which a reader who is [a] subject to the rules imposed on the refuter in the limited justification game – the attack only justifications rule and the attacks must be constructive rule, in particular – and [b] is lacking the special investigative powers of the court is unable to attack. *Statements of opinion* are those which one may attack even if [a] and [b] is true of him.

⁵ Of course, the procedural rules of different legal systems constrain what the judge can and cannot do. But it is still a fair generalization that courts are in a better situation both epistemologically and dialectically than the reader.

5. *The argumentation-theoretic account and the Ollman-test*

The account just presented would be seriously wrong if it turned out that the tests by which courts decide whether a particular statement is a statement of fact or a statement of opinion would give very different results. I want to show now that it is not the case by considering an influential [albeit not universally accepted] way of drawing the distinction, the test developed by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit in *Ollman v. Evans* [1984].

The majority opinion presents the problem as follows. We have paradigmatic examples both of statements of fact and statements of opinion. The former are “assertions describing past and present conditions which are capable of being known through sense perception,” the latter are “evaluative statements reflecting the author’s political, moral or aesthetic views.” Here are the court’s examples: “Mr. Jones had ten drinks at his office party and sideswiped two vehicles on his way home” and “Mr. Jones is a despicable politician.” In between, however, there are a number of “statements which seem to be based upon perceptions of events, but are not themselves simply a record of those perceptions. Such statements may imply in some contexts the existence of facts not disclosed by the author.” The example the court provides is “Mr. Jones is an alcoholic”. If it is merely a characterization of facts actually stated by the author, then it is protected opinion, if the basis is not explicitly stated then it counts as a statement of fact. So, if the author describes Mr. Jones’s behavior and then concludes that he is an alcoholic, he is putting forward his opinion, but if the basis of the statement is left in the dark it qualifies as statement of fact.

These ideas agree with the ones emerging from the argumentation-theoretic account. In argumentation-theoretic terms a statement of fact is a move by the journalist the justification of which the reader, lacking the requisite knowledge and being subject to dialectical constraints, cannot attack. Statements that can be known through sense perceptions obviously qualify as factual. Reading that “Mr. Jones had ten drinks at his office party and sideswiped two vehicles on his way home,” the reader predicts that the journalist would justify it by evidence: sensory evidence, witness testimony, police report. Bound by the rules that all attacks must be constructive and the duty to justify, a reader who is assumed to play in good faith has no way to launch an attack. Things are different with pure value judgments. Reading that “Mr. Jones is a despicable politician,” the reader expects that the justification the journalist would bring does

not consist of evidence, but an argument of this form: Mr. Jones did so and so and that makes him a despicable politician. But arguments of this form are easy to challenge. One might propose a defeater: doing so and so does not make Mr. Jones a despicable politician, because he also did this and that; i.e. the actions described in the premise do not license an inference to an overall negative evaluation of him as a politician. Moreover the premise – he did so and so – might also be challenged on the grounds that it is not the correct characterization of Mr. Jones actions – e.g. he did not deceive the voters but backed away from his campaign promises, which the changing economic conditions have rendered unrealistic. So the reader would not see himself as badly equipped to counter the justification if he were offered one. So from the argumentation-theoretic point of view value judgments end up as opinions.

It is the third category of statements where the distinction becomes difficult to draw. The majority opinion makes it clear that in this category being a statement of fact or of opinion is not an intrinsic property, which can be decided by simply looking at the statement, but a contextual feature. The same assertion may imply the existence of undisclosed facts in one context but not in others. This idea is readily captured by the argumentation-theoretic approach. Consider the court's example in two different contexts.

[a] Mr. Jones should not have been appointed the head of the committee, for he is an alcoholic.

[b] Mr. Jones gets drunk on all social occasions where alcohol is served. So he is an alcoholic. It was a grave mistake to appoint him the head of the committee.

In [a] there is no justification for Jones's alcoholism, in [b] there is. Assume the reader considers playing the justification game against the journalist. In reading [a] he would predict that the journalist has some justification for the claim which he cannot hope to refute because he has no knowledge of Jones's drinking habits; therefore, he predicts that he is going to lose the game. With [b] the result of the game is the same, but the winning move is different: it is the statement about Jones's getting drunk on social occasions which the reader finds himself unable to challenge. As a result, asserting Jones's alcoholism counts as factual in [a], but not in [b]. Put in the court's terms, in [a] the statement implies undisclosed facts, but in [b] the facts are disclosed: Jones is an alcoholic because he gets drunk at parties.

What courts have to decide is whether the statement in question has such undisclosed factual implications. The test proposed consists of four questions:

[1] Is the meaning of the words sufficiently precise in common usage?

[2] Is the statement verifiable?

[3] What is the immediate context?

[4] What is the broader social context?

The idea behind [1] is that statements containing words without precise meaning are incapable of expressing facts. The majority opinion in *Ollman* explains this by contrasting accusing someone of criminal conduct with calling one a 'fascist'. Criminal conducts, like armed robbery, have precise definitions, so accusing someone of such conduct gives a very specific idea of what the person in question is supposed to have committed; as it were, there is just one way to commit armed robbery. Calling someone a fascist, on the other hand, does not convey anything clear about the person so described. It is impossible to say what sort of things the person so described must have done, or what views he has; if you wish, there are lots of different ways one may expose himself to this charge.

The idea behind [2] is that "a reader cannot rationally view an unverifiable statement as conveying actual facts." In fact, the criterion of precision is reducible to that of verifiability: vague statements cannot be verified because one cannot know what evidence one should look for, i.e. what verification procedure one should apply.

[3] calls for acknowledging the impact of the linguistic context. One issue here is the use of cautionary language mentioned in section 2, another is that the very meaning of what is said is often influenced by the context. For instance, saying that a real estate developer blackmailed the city council, taken in itself is best understood as making a factual claim; However, occurring in an article of a local newspaper reporting on the negotiations between the developer and the local council it is taken as expressing strong disapproval of the tactic the developer followed rather than an accusation of criminal conduct (*Greenbelt Cooperative Publishing Association v. Bresler* 1970, cited in *Ollman v. Evans*).

[4] acknowledges the role our expectations about the genre, the occasion and the topic play in our understanding of what we read or hear. A trade union newsletter once characterized the non-members as

'scabs', but when they took legal action the court dismissed the case arguing that strong language and rhetorical exaggeration is quite usual in labor disputes and there is no reason to take it in the literal sense of traitor [National Association of Letter Carriers v. Austin 1974, cited in Ollman v. Evans].

Some of the questions making up the test can be explained in argumentation-theoretic terms, some are not, or at least not fully. [1], the idea that vague statements are not factual presents no difficulties. A vague statement may be understood as any one of an indefinite number of precise statements. The precise statements the vague one may be taken to express can be justified in very different ways. Being a fascist in the sense of having a sympathetic view of Hitler's regime calls for different justification than being a fascist in the sense of supporting discriminative measures against ethnic or religious minorities or being a fascist in the sense of being anti-Semitic. The reader of an accusation that someone is a fascist may then pick any reading he wants, and he is sure to find a reading on which he can successfully challenge the justification the journalist might offer. Vague statements, therefore, are extremely vulnerable, so they cannot serve as moves whose justification the reader cannot undermine due to lack of knowledge and his being subject to dialectical constraints;

[2], the concept that only verifiable statements are factual is implied by the argumentation-theoretic approach. What verifiability means here is decidability by the sort of evidence courts may appeal to. Factual statements were construed earlier as ones which someone constrained by the rules the limited justification and who does not have the investigative powers of courts cannot attack. Since the court is not subject to these limitations, it can refute a factual statement if it is false, which means that it can verify it. This point is important, because it shows that the verifiability test is not simply consistent with the argumentation-theoretic approach but can actually be *derived* from it. The same holds for [2], since it reduces to [1].

The essential content of [3] and [4] cannot be captured by the account proposed, but this does not mean that it does not capture anything of them. As for [3], the consideration of linguistic context is invoked as a means of finding out the author's intentions and the precise meaning of his words, i.e. to answer such questions whether the author is definitely asserting something to be the case or proposes his own personal, fallible interpretation of the case or how an ambiguous expression is to be understood. The argumentation-theoretic framework

cannot accommodate such considerations, because it assumes that the text has been fully interpreted and the claims and their justifications have been identified. It does not tell us how to identify meanings, claims and justifications. However, at least *some* of the insights gained from the textual analysis can be represented in argumentation-theoretic terms and the way they are represented reveals what status the particular statement has. Consider the example of the real-estate developer 'blackmailing' the city. The contextual analysis shows that term is a pejorative evaluation of the developer's aggressive negotiation tactics. In argumentation-theoretic terms this is rendered as follows: the journalist justifies the claim that the developer blackmailed the city by reference to how he behaved during the negotiations. It turns out then the assertion of blackmail is not a move the reader has no resource to challenge, so it is a statement of opinion not a statement of fact.

Something similar holds for [4]. The argumentation-theoretic framework is not sensitive to readers' expectations about genre and topic. It does not tell us anything as in certain genres or in discussions of certain topics we are more likely to find opinions than statements of facts. But once again, the characteristics of genres and discussions find expression in the argumentation-theoretic representation. Consider opinion pieces like editorials or opinion columns. What characterizes these writings is that they do not offer long chains of justifications and the central claims are quite a long distance from evidence.⁶ It follows then that the last move the journalist makes is unlikely to be one that can be justified by evidence. If that is the case, the reader's lack of resources to challenge evidence does not make him defenseless against the journalist's moves, which would then count as statements of opinion. In fact, opinion pieces are better modelled by choosing depth of 2 instead of 3, and we have seen in the previous section that abbreviating a given depth of 3 game to depth of 2 by eliminating the final moves increases the chance of victory for R.

So what we found is this. Some elements of the Ollman-test clearly coincide with what the argumentation-theoretic approach proposes. Other elements are missing, because the argumentation-theoretic account is blind to certain features which matter for the fact-opinion status of a statement. However, in so far as those features affect the

⁶ In fact, they can be better modelled by choosing depth of 2 instead of 3. We have seen in the previous section that abbreviating a given depth of 3 game to depth of 2 by eliminating the final moves increases the chance of victory for R.

claim-justification structure of the text, the argumentation-theoretic account yields the same results as the Ollman-test. So the account offers only a partial explanation of the distinction but it is not wrong-headed.

6. Conclusion

Let me sum up the argument following a somewhat different order. The purpose of the distinction between statements of facts and opinions is to strike a balance between the right to good reputation and the right to free speech. The distinction works in this way: false factual statements are actionable, false opinions are not. So the task to clarify the distinction is the following: set up a distinction in terms sufficiently clear so that it makes sense of why the statements on the two sides are treated differently.

I started from the idea that a potentially harmful message only does actual harm if it is accepted. As a result, the task takes a specific shape: identify how one may get the recipient to accept his message in a way we would regard as impermissible. In order to find the impermissible way [which will serve to clarify false statement of fact] we need to settle on a picture of a how the recipient, i.e. the reader, arrives at the decision to believe or not to believe the message. The picture I suggested is this. Having read the message, the reader predicts whether he, playing the role of R, would win the limited justification game with the author, playing the role of J. If he predicts that he would lose, he is going to believe the message, if he predicts that he would not win, he will not believe it.

I argued that even though the limited justification game would do poorly as an empirical theory of how readers actually come to believe or not to believe messages, courts would do well to assume that readers make up their mind in this way. The core of the argument was that readers applying this procedure could relatively easily come to believe potentially harmful messages, so it would not be too difficult to do actual harm to one's reputation. By supposing that actual harm can easily occur, the standard for defamation would not be too high, so courts can secure a strong defense of the right to good reputation.

Next I analyzed the strategies available to J by which he can win the game and identified one which can be used in a deceitful way, the strategy of appealing to ignorance. There is nothing intrinsically wrong in arguing from grounds which the recipient of the message cannot

evaluate, but arguing from false grounds and exploiting the recipient's inability to reveal that the grounds are false is deception and is impermissible. This gives a clue to draw the distinction between factual statements and opinions in a way that corresponds to their differential treatment in law. Statements of facts are those which a reader who is subject to certain rules of the limited justification game – the R can only attack justification and the attacks must be constructive rules – and is lacking the investigative powers of the court is unable attack. Opinions are statements which one may attack even if he is subject to dialectical and epistemological constraints. False factual statements violate the right to good reputation because they exploit the readers' argumentative defenselessness to make them think ill of someone.

Finally I compared the result of the investigation with the Ollman-test and have found that two questions of the test can actually be derived from the argumentation-theoretic clarification of the distinction. The other two questions cannot be derived because they call on courts to consider issues which the argumentation-theoretic consideration is not sensitive to; nonetheless, some of the relevant circumstances these questions direct the courts' attention can be explained in argumentation-theoretic terms.

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ARGUMENT OF RECIPROCITY: A UNIQUE SCHEME OR NOT? PRAGMA-DIALECTICAL INVESTIGATION INTO QUASI-LOGICAL ARGUMENTS

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In their famous *The New Rhetoric* Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca presented a category of quasi-logical arguments as persuasive because of their similarity with mathematical and logical demonstrations. In this article, the persuasiveness of the quasi-logical argument is viewed from the perspective of pragma-dialectics. The first part of the article deals with the possibilities of transformation of the concept of quasi-logical arguments presented by the new rhetoric in accordance with meta-theoretical principles of pragma-dialectics. The crucial problem seems to be the identification of the function of quasi-logical arguments in solving a conflict of opinion. The second part compares the options of functionaliza-

tion of quasi-logical arguments in a case study of their subtype, arguments of reciprocity. This paper presents a functionalization submitted by Bart Garssen that identifies quasi-logical reciprocity as one argument scheme appealing to the principle of "giving in return." A competing functionalization is then presented based on the reconstruction of illustrations in *The New Rhetoric* that correspond to the type of reciprocal relationships as "give-give" that are also considered by Garssen. It is shown that reciprocal arguments in *The New Rhetoric* are not limited to one scheme in a pragma-dialectical sense, but the arguments with this type of reciprocal relationship can implement three different schemes.

KEYWORDS: *Argument scheme, pragma-dialectics, reciprocity, the new rhetoric*

Introduction

A presentation of arguments in a way that they resemble logical and mathematical demonstrations is the strategy contributing to convincing the audience – this original and, as it may seem, intuitively quite acceptable thesis was proposed in the sixties by the Belgian scholars Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca in an argumentation model of the new rhetoric [1958/1969]. The authors called arguments resembling formal demonstration “quasi-logical” and identified thirteen types based on imitated logical and mathematical principles.

The new rhetoric serves modern theorists of argumentation as a source of inspiration and object of critical reflection in many areas [cf. van Eemeren 2009, van Eemeren et al. 2014: 284-289]. It is quite surprising that the claim of persuasiveness of quasi-logical arguments stands outside their attention: it is neither developed nor significantly criticized. I consider it in this paper as a general theoretical challenge: is the thesis of persuasiveness of arguments imitating formal demonstration sustainable also in other argumentative approaches? If the quasi-logical form really is a strategy contributing to the persuasiveness of an argument, it is in the interest of theorists of argumentation to identify and analyze what technique[s] it is from their point of view.

The thesis on the persuasiveness of quasi-logical arguments is examined here from the position of the pragma-dialectical approach to argumentation that began to be formed in the seventies by Frans H. van Eemeren and his colleagues in Amsterdam. Specifically, I focus on the function of the quasi-logical arguments with respect to the solution of the conflict of opinion: *Can quasi-logical arguments contribute to the solution of a conflict of opinion in a critical dialogue? How?*¹

The paper is divided into two parts. The first part provides a general theoretical reflection on the possibility of a pragma-dialectical treat-

¹ The impulse for the research of the persuasiveness of quasi-logical arguments in pragma-dialectics for me was a comment made by van Eemeren: “Perelman offers, together with Olbrechts-Tyteca, an overview of elements that play a part in the process of convincing or persuading an audience. Rather than for immediate application, Perelman’s new rhetoric lends itself for stimulating further reflection on the phenomena that are being analysed.” [van Eemeren 2009: 124] An inspiring response to this impulse in pragma-dialectics was given by Agnes van Rees in her analysis of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s concept of dissociation [cf. van Rees 2009].

ment of quasi-logical arguments and explains why it is necessary to reject a part of the explanation of persuasiveness of quasi-logical arguments proposed by the new rhetoric. After a brief introduction into the concept of quasi-logical arguments in the new rhetoric, possibilities for the treatment of this concept in the pragma-dialectical approach are examined. The meta-theoretical principles of pragma-dialectics are presented as a starting point for the transformation of this concept so as to be in accordance with the principles of pragma-dialectics. A key element seems to be the principle of functionalization: the identification of the way in which quasi-logical arguments can contribute to the solution of a conflict of opinion. Finding adequate functionalization, however, depends on the way in which we approach the material [definitions, illustrations] provided by authors of the new rhetoric. The proposal is to establish the functionalization of quasi-logical argument not on interpreting the definitions but rather on the reconstruction of the illustrations.

The second part demonstrates the advantages of this approach on a case analysis of a subtype of quasi-logical arguments: arguments of reciprocity. This part compares the argument scheme of reciprocity identified by Bart Garssen [1997], formulated on the basis of interpretation of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's definitions of quasi-logical reciprocity, and a competitive approach based on a reconstruction of the illustrations. It is demonstrated that the second approach provides a more comprehensive description of the variability of reciprocal techniques and their function in the solution of a conflict of opinion.

1. What are the quasi-logical arguments and why are they persuasive? Response of the new rhetoric

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's model of argumentation is primarily directed at the audience: the aim of submitting an argument is to bring the audience to acceptance or to strengthen their confidence in the standpoint [cf. Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 4]. The category of quasi-logical arguments is an *argument scheme* whose persuasiveness is explicitly linked to the similarity of arguments and formal demonstrations. In the model of the new rhetoric, quasi-logical arguments fall under the broader category of associative schemes in which separated elements are brought together [cf. Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 190]. In quasi-logical arguments, elements are brought together in a manner that we already know from mathematical or logical operations.

The authors emphasize that the quasi-logical arguments are not identical with logical or mathematical demonstrations. There are differences between them: quasi-logical arguments are formulated in a natural language, whereas formal demonstration is in an artificial one, they occur in a domain associated with persuasion and values rather than preserving the truth [cf. Perelman 1989]. However, these arguments are formulated in such a way that the impression is given that the relation between the elements in informal arguments is equally compelling as the relationship between the premises and conclusion in the logical demonstration. The speaker can achieve this impression according to authors by manipulating the argument in two ways. Arguments can be assimilated to demonstrations *lexically*, by homogenizing the terms that can give the impression of simplicity and clarity; and *structurally*, by assimilating an argumentative structure to the structure of a particular formal demonstration that can give the reader the impression that it is the realization of a particular procedure of inference [cf. Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 194].

Authors provide a relatively brief description of the conditions ensuring the persuasiveness of quasi-logical arguments on the part of the audience. They repeatedly link persuasiveness to the degree of similarity between arguments and formal demonstrations. Quasi-logical arguments, according to them, “[...] lay claim to a certain power of conviction, in the degree that they claim to be similar to the formal reasoning of logic or mathematics” or “since there are formal proofs of recognized validity, quasi-logical arguments derive their persuasive strength from their similarity with these well-established modes of reasoning.” [Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 193]

Scholars dealing with Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s work have explained the effectiveness of quasi-logical arguments by an emphasis on the high cultural prestige enjoyed by formal reasoning in our culture that prefers certainty, simplicity, and efficiency. The prestige associated with formal demonstrations is also transferred to informal arguments that share some of their characteristics [cf. Gross, Dearin 2002: 43; van Eemeren et al. 1996: 107; Warnick, Kline 1992: 6]. The authors talk about *creating an illusion* [van Eemeren] or *compelling air and certain inherent appeal* of arguments [Warnick, Kline] which is drawn from this similarity, or label them as *psychologically compelling* arguments [Gross, Dearin].

Neither Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca nor their interpreters offer a more detailed analysis of the persuasiveness of quasi-logical arguments. Their concept, however, is implicitly associated with the as-

sumption of the existence of a certain internal psychological process on the part of the listener, which is triggered by the speaker's presentation of a quasi-logical argument, and which can be broken down into the following steps:

Table 1: Persuasiveness of quasi-logical arguments

Speaker	Listener
<p>0. The speaker [intentionally/unintentionally] submits an argument in support of the standpoint, which is quasi-logically manipulated, i.e. <i>lexically</i> by homogenized expressions, and <i>structurally</i> by the structural elements of the argument imitating the layout of a formal demonstration.</p>	
	<p>1. The listener receives the argument containing certain lexical and structural elements that he knows from formal demonstrations.</p> <p>2. The listener [consciously/unconsciously] recognizes/perceives the lexical and structural elements of the argument.</p> <p>3. In the listener's mind the identification of the informal argument with the formal demonstration takes place [at least partially].</p> <p>4. The listener attributes some characteristics of formal demonstration to the argument, e.g. high persuasiveness.</p> <p>4a A precondition of this step is a high prestige of formal demonstrations in our culture and embeddedness of the listener in this cultural context, which makes it possible to associate a logical demonstration with high persuasiveness.</p> <p>4b A precondition of this step is also the listener's recognition of formal demonstration as highly convincing.</p> <p>5. The listener considers/tends to consider the argument as highly persuasive for the acceptance of a standpoint.</p>

1.1 Quasi-logical arguments from the perspective of pragma-dialectics

To deal with the concept of quasi-logical arguments from a pragma-dialectical perspective, they should be defined in a manner consistent with its methodological perspective. It is not possible to simply take over the concept “all-in” as is represented by the new rhetoric. The answer to the question of how quasi-logical arguments contribute to the solution of a conflict of opinion is dependent on a particular issue relating to their identification. So, *what are quasi-logical arguments?* We can expect that an answer from the pragma-dialectical perspective can differ from the Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s answer because of an incompatible conceptual basis and the meta-theoretical principles. It is necessary to revise certain elements of their definition, leaving aside those elements which are inconsistent with meta-theoretical principles of pragma-dialectics.

Pragma-dialectics bases its approach on four meta-theoretical principles: socialization, externalization, functionalization, and dialectification. According to van Eemeren, these four principles refer to the systematic combination of the pragmatic and dialectical angle in developing pragma-dialectics: the parallel development of research of communication and interaction together with the normative study of argumentative steps in rule-governed critical exchanges [cf. van Eemeren et al. 2014: 523]. Argumentation is considered to arise in response to or in anticipation of disagreement with another language user [*socialization*] and is to be regarded as a purposive activity [*functionalization*] that is aimed at solving the disagreement through a rule-governed critical discussion [*dialectification*], by explicitly or implicitly performing speech acts that bring along specific commitments to which the discussants can be held [*externalization*]. [cf. van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1984, van Poppel 2013: 42]

The question is, what transformation of the concept of quasi-logical arguments is required in order to be integrated into the pragma-dialectics as part of its conceptualization of argumentation? In other words, we need to elaborate the concept of quasi-logical arguments to be externalized, functionalized, socialized, and dialectified. Revisions are required especially when explaining the role of the audience [socialization], effects of quasi-logical arguments [externalization], their function [functionalization], and soundness [dialectification].

1.1.1 Socialization of quasi-logical arguments

An important feature of the pragma-dialectical approach is the focus on the argument as a communication and interaction phenomenon; the argumentation is viewed as a bilateral process. It always assumes two distinct roles in the argumentative exchange [cf. van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1984: 9]. Socialization of argumentation is achieved in pragma-dialectics by the distinction between the roles of parties included in the argumentative exchange and by considering the speech acts performed in this exchange as part of the argumentative dialogue between two parties. Roles that the parties hold in dialogue are associated with positions they have adopted with regard to the conflict of opinion. Parties accept the roles of *protagonist* and *antagonist*, and along with the roles they accept commitments. The protagonist commits himself to defend the standpoint, respond to potential criticism and submit additional arguments if requested. The antagonist commits himself to raise doubts and critically test the sustainability of the standpoint and arguments. Together, they attempt to reach the solution of a conflict of opinion.

At first sight, we may say that Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's model distinguishing the role of the speaker and the audience is approaching socialization, and translation between approaches at this level should not be difficult. But the similarity is only apparent: in the new rhetoric, the process of dialogue does not actually occur. Perelman's audience is not conceived as an active and critical antagonist that is committed to critically test the acceptability of the standpoint or argument. A speaker submits an argument (in step O), and the audience is persuaded or not. As van Eemeren and Grootendorst observe, Perelman's audience² is composed of "a sometimes imaginary company of passive listeners *offering no verbal opposition at all.*" [van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1984: 13, italics I.S.] Such a role, however, does not trigger the process of dialogue or contribute to its development towards a common solution of a conflict of opinion [cf. van Eemeren et al. 1996: 277, fn. 7, van Eemeren, Grootendorst 2004: 55-56, fn. 34]. All activity is attributed to the speaker submitting the argument in the new rhetoric.

² Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca distinguish particular audiences with sums of particular value assumptions and a universal audience that is an idealized group of rational people [cf. Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 30].

The socialized concept of the quasi-logical argument has to be developed with regard to the potential verbal reaction of the audience: the protagonist presents quasi-logical arguments that can be critically tested by the antagonist, and he is obliged to defend it if the antagonist raises criticism. In other words in a socialized model, the protagonist's task is not finished by the presentation of lexically and structurally manipulated argument. Likewise, the role of the antagonist consists in a response to the presented argument: raising criticism and testing the acceptability of argumentation. Even an immediate antagonist's acceptance or rejection of the argument is modeled as (implicitly) assuming the process of testing its sustainability.

1.1.2 The externalization of quasi-logical arguments

The principle of externalization is adopted in the pragma-dialectics, according to van Eemeren and Grootendorst, in order to avoid "unnecessary guesswork about the motives" and "speculating about what [language users] think or believe." [van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1992: 10] According to this principle, an analyst should leave aside the internal states of mind of discussants. He should begin the investigation from public commitments arising from language behavior, i.e. from "the obligations that are created [explicitly or implicitly] performing certain speech acts in a specific context of an argumentative discourse or text." [van Eemeren, Grootendorst 2004: 54] The principle of externalization is directed against approaches explaining the argumentation and its effects by means of speculation about the internal processes in the minds of those who are arguing and therefore against the new rhetoric.³

The concept of quasi-logical arguments can be considered as a typical example of what van Eemeren rejects in his approach: Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's explanation of persuasiveness basically refers to the internal process in the mind of the listener. In making the concept of quasi-logical arguments relevant to the pragma-dialectics, we have to put aside precisely those elements that refer to the internal states of mind of the discussants, and focus on the exploration of the nature of public commitments that are connected with the use of quasi-logical arguments.

In Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's concept of quasi-logical arguments we can consider as non-externalized those elements that are

³ Van Eemeren refers to the new rhetoric as an example of non-externalized and psychologizing approach [cf. Eemeren van et al. 2014: 525, fn. 11].

based on speculation about the psychology of the listener and his internal states [steps 3-5]. According to this speculation, an equation of argument and logical demonstration takes place in the mind of the listener, attributing quasi-logical arguments with higher persuasiveness, and subsequently a higher tendency to accept such an argument. But exactly the assumption of this process running in the listener's mind is crucial for a *compelling air* of these arguments in an explanation of the new rhetoric. Pragma-dialectics prefers to focus rather on their externalized elements constituted for them: their structural and lexical features that are part of speech acts [steps 0-2].

The principle of externalization does not make it possible to work with the concept of "psychological persuasiveness" but we can apply an externalized version of persuasive argumentation utilizing public commitments arising from language behavior, i.e. performed speech acts. We can externalize the property of persuasiveness [of the argument] as leading to the acceptance of a positive commitment to the speech act by the person who was initially opposed to that speech act [cf. van Eemeren 2004: 55]. However, the person has to come to the acceptance of the speech act - in the spirit of externalization - also based on externalized reasons: by the process of public submission of the arguments that stand up to criticism raised by this person as an antagonist.

1.1.3 The functionalization of quasi-logical arguments

An important moment of the transformation of quasi-logical arguments is their functionalization. After the externalization in which the psychological explanation of their effects was rejected, a concept of quasi-logical arguments is limited to their structural and lexical description. According to the pragma-dialectical approach, however, such a description is not sufficient because it ignores the functional reasons for the structural design of argument in the solution of a conflict of opinion [cf. van Eemeren et al. 1996: 277]. To achieve the functionalized concept of quasi-logical arguments, it is desirable to consider them as elements playing a particular role in the argumentative exchange, and contributing to the resolution of a conflict of opinion. The methodological requirement of pragma-dialectics is the identification of the function of particular argumentative steps in terms of a speech act theory: ideally, we should specify their identity and correctness conditions.

It turns out that the functionalization is a relatively problematic moment of transformation. The reasons that make it difficult are in the first

place embedded in the incompatible conceptual apparatus of the new rhetoric, and secondly, in its vagueness [cf. van Eemeren et al. 1996: 122].

Besides the psychological effects that Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca attribute to quasi-logical arguments, it is necessary to provisionally refuse the function assigned to them in the new rhetoric. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca conceive quasi-logical arguments as an *argument scheme* that helps to bring the audience to accept the proposition. The term of the argument scheme is also introduced in pragma-dialectics, where it is, however, adequately functionalized with respect to the solution of a conflict of opinion. Pragma-dialectics conceives it as “a more or less conventionalised way of representing the relation between what is stated in the argument and what is stated in the standpoint.” [van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1992: 96] It is, therefore, a general representation of the specific justifying relation between argument and standpoint.

However, the externalized version of the concept of quasi-logical arguments can be rather identified with a set of lexical and structural elements that appear in the formulation of the argument; we cannot easily identify it with such a scheme under consideration. It is significantly different from the concept of the argument scheme as a justifying relation between the argument and the standpoint. The concepts of the argument scheme in the new rhetoric and pragma-dialectics simply do not overlap. But it is not excluded that the structural and lexical elements may figure in the argumentative scheme [in the pragma-dialectical sense]. However, this claim cannot be made *a priori*, but has to be preceded by an analysis of quasi-logical arguments and specification of the function of these elements in it. Therefore, I propose to use a more general term of “argumentative techniques” for them instead of “argument scheme” [cf. van Eemeren 2010: 46, fn. 43].

If we decide not to automatically consider quasi-logical arguments as an implementation of the argument scheme, it seems that we have no positive response regarding their function. The proper functionalization thus appears to be a crucial task allowing subsequent pragma-dialectical exploration of the concept.

1.1.4 Dialectification of quasi-logical arguments

According to the principle of dialectification, the language activities expressed in argumentative texts and discussions should be seen as “part of an attempt to resolve a difference of opinion in accordance

with critical norms of reasonableness.” [van Eemeren, Grootendorst 2004: 53] Pragma-dialectics accepts as its starting point the *critical concept* of reasonableness inspired by Popperian critical rationalism, which takes into account the fallibility of the human mind and elevates the concept of systematic critical testing in all areas of human thought and action to the guiding principle of problem solving [cf. van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1988: 279]. From this position, the soundness of an argument is also conceived: the argument is sound if it succeeds in the procedure of systematic critical testing by the antagonist. This procedure must be governed by rules to ensure that there are no argument mistakes [fallacies] which would defeat the aim of discussion, i.e. solving a conflict of opinion. Pragma-dialectics proposes ten rules for conducting a critical dialogue that guarantees achieving this aim [cf. van Eemeren, Grootendorst 2004].

If we want to conceptualize quasi-logical arguments from the pragma-dialectical perspective, it is necessary to define them as a means that can contribute to the solution of a conflict of opinion in accordance with the rules for conducting a critical dialogue. The transformation of the concept of quasi-logical arguments, however, requires some revision with regard to the rules of critical discussion. The new rhetoric is tied to the *anthropological concept* of reasonableness that connects soundness of argument with the degree of its acceptability for an audience. This means that the soundness of the argument is always related to an audience and is *equated* with effectiveness [cf. Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 1; van Eemeren, Grootendorst 1988: 277]. The quasi-logical argument is therefore sound/effective if it is accepted by an audience.

Dialectification of quasi-logical arguments involves primarily the rejection of the concept of the soundness as identified with effectiveness. Pragma-dialectics distinguishes between soundness and effectiveness. Soundness of an argument containing quasi-logical elements is primarily dependent on whether it is submitted in accordance with the rules of critical discussion and whether it can succeed in the procedure of critical testing conducted in accordance with these rules. The effectiveness of an argument can be taken into account in a dialectified model in connection with the so-called strategic maneuvering that is developed in the extended model of pragma-dialectics designed for the research of the rhetorical effectiveness of argumentation. However, rhetorical strengthening of argumentation cannot “derail” the boundaries that are set out by the rules of critical discussion [cf. van Eemeren 2010].

1.2 How to functionalize the quasi-logical arguments?

Let us summarize the necessary elements of the transformation of quasi-logical arguments. The principle of *socialization* requires us to understand quasi-logical arguments as part of a dialogue in which another party (antagonist) is included who can respond to the presented arguments. The principle of *externalization* requires us to understand the use of quasi-logical arguments as a discursive act which creates well-defined commitments for which the parties can be held responsible. The principle of *functionalization* requires us to understand them as a step in the argumentative exchange designed as a discussion in which standpoints are defended and rejected. The use of quasi-logical arguments should be considered as playing a functional role in defending the standpoint before the [potential] doubts and criticism of the antagonist. The principle of *dialectification* requires us to understand the use of quasi-logical arguments as a step that may be a relevant contribution made in accordance with the rules of critical dialogue.

A crucial step in the transformation of quasi-logical arguments is their functionalization. After we rule out [for the purpose of externalization] psychologizing elements of the explanation of quasi-logical arguments and then also [for the purpose of functionalization] refuse to consider them provisionally as a particular argumentation scheme, we have no positive answer to the question of what quasi-logical arguments are and how they work. The answer [in terms of their function in solving a conflict of opinion] must be based on externalized elements provided by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca in their descriptions of quasi-logical arguments.

The authors offer in *The New Rhetoric* two types of sources from which we can draw externalized elements: *definitions*⁴ that are completed with *illustrations* of arguments taken from specific discourses [literary, philosophical, legal, etc.]. However, as was pointed out by several critics, the provided definitions and illustrations suffer from weaknesses that complicate the identification of the function of quasi-logical arguments. According to van Eemeren, “[c]lear definitions are often lacking, the explanations given are not always equally lucid, and the examples sometimes require a careful analysis before they can serve

⁴We can talk rather about comments because the descriptive passages in *The New Rhetoric* often do not meet the requirements for clear definitions.

their purpose.” [van Eemeren et al. 2014: 291; cf. 1996: 123; Kienpointner 1993: 420] These problems need to be dealt with in a proper way.

Based on the two sources, we can identify two possible approaches to the functionalization of quasi-logical arguments: the “view from above” that attempts to define quasi-logical arguments primarily based on interpretation of general definitions and comments (and uses particular illustrations as a secondary source). The success of this approach depends on how the interpretation can deal with unclear definitions and is complicated by an unclear relationship between definitions and illustrations. The second option is the “view from below,” an attempt to define quasi-logical arguments based primarily on the analysis of individual illustrations (when the definitions are used as auxiliary guides). The success of this approach, on the other hand, relies primarily on the implementation of adequate reconstruction of the illustrations and bringing them into an agreement with more general definitions.

2. Options of functionalization: a case study of “arguments of reciprocity”

In this chapter, I offer a case study of a particular subtype of quasi-logical techniques, called arguments of reciprocity.⁵ Based on a comparison of existing functionalization “from above” with my own analysis based on the view “from below,” I demonstrate the advantages of the second approach, given the objective of the identification of the function of quasi-logical argumentative techniques.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca define arguments of reciprocity generally as imitating the relationship of logical symmetry:

The argument of reciprocity equates two beings or situations, by showing that correlative expressions in a relation ought to be treated in the same fashion. In formal logic, terms A and B, antecedent and consequent of a relationship, R, can be inverted without difficulty if the relationship is symmetrical. [Perelman 1982: 67, cf. Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 221]

⁵ The case study of arguments of reciprocity is chosen deliberately: it is the only quasi-logical scheme that has been conceptualized in the context of pragmatodialectics [cf. Garssen 1997, van Eemeren et al. 2007]. Based on a comparison of two approaches to the same material, we can better demonstrate the advantages of the suggested approach.

We can raise an objection to the definition: to define something based on a certain degree of similarity with something else contributes to the vagueness of a definition – we do not know exactly which elements of similarity are found crucial for belonging to a category, what degree of similarity and in what domains it is permissible. The second problematic aspect is the fact that the quasi-logical arguments are not, according to the authors, identical to logical and mathematical demonstrations, therefore, some elements of formal demonstrations are not binding on them. The key for identification of arguments of reciprocity is not only what characteristics of logical symmetry they resemble but also *in what characteristics they differ from it*.

The relationship of symmetry is defined in predicate logic of first order as follows:

$$\text{Sym}[R] =_{df} \forall xy [R\{x,y\} \rightarrow R\{y,x\}]$$

Thus, if the relationship R is symmetric, then for every x , y is true, that if x has a relationship R to y , then it logically follows that y has relation R to x . In predicate logic, the symmetrical relationship is typically illustrated by the relationship “to be a sibling of”: if Xenia is a sibling of Yannis, then it logically follows that Yannis is a sibling of Xenia too.

For reciprocal techniques it should therefore be characteristic that they have a structural arrangement of elements in accordance with an arrangement of logical symmetry. However, even a superficial reading of §53 shows that for the argument of reciprocity neither the identity of relationship R [and we can thus rather consider a couple of relationships R, R'], nor the relation of logical implication between the complexes of $R\{x,y\}$ and $R'\{y,x\}$ is binding. It seems that reciprocal techniques can fulfill the structural arrangement of the elements in respect to the relationship of symmetry, but they differ at two levels identifiable *by content*:

[a] the relationship between R, R' is not a relation of identity; in reciprocity techniques, it can also be *another type of semantic relationship*.

[b] the relationship of logical implication between $R\{x,y\}$ and $R'\{y,x\}$, which is by definition associated with the symmetrical relationship, is not of the character of logical necessity in reciprocal techniques; it can be *a different type of relationship*.⁶

⁶ Interestingly, some illustrations within reciprocal arguments ignore the struc-

To identify what types of means can be quasi-logical reciprocal argumentative techniques [henceforth: reciprocal techniques], it is necessary to analyze accurately the allowable variability of possibilities at these two levels: [a] What type of semantic relationships between R, R' is realized in reciprocal techniques? [b] What type of the relationship between the complexes of R[x,y] and R'[y,x] is realized in the reciprocal techniques? To achieve the identification of phenomena that can fall under the category of reciprocal techniques, it is necessary to examine the material of *The New Rhetoric* and identify the relevant answer on the basis of information provided by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca. In §53 of *The New Rhetoric* there are ten definitions/comments of different types of reciprocity or its use ["antecedent-consequent," "transposition of points of view," "the same effect," "a necessary condition," "inversion," etc.] and twenty illustrations that can serve as a source [cf. Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 221-227].

2.1 The functionalization "from above": Garssen's interpretation of reciprocity as giving in return

Only one conceptualization of quasi-logical reciprocal techniques in pragma-dialectics was done by Bart Garssen. He discussed Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's typology of argument schemes in his dissertation [cf. Garssen 1997: 77], in which he compared the existing typologies of argument schemes in various argumentation theories and checked whether they are potentially transferable to the pragma-dialectical typology [cf. Garssen 1999].⁷ One of the partial results of this research is the explicit conceptualization of reciprocal arguments as variants of analogical reasoning:

tural arrangement of the elements of R[x,y], R'[y,x]. So it seems that for Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca not even the structural arrangement is a crucial condition for falling into the category and thus they allow a certain degree of differing from a symmetric relationship at this level.

⁷ Garssen's identification of quasi-logical reciprocal techniques is not the main aim of his project and it is therefore only partially identical with mine: he does not undertake a comprehensive description of various techniques potentially realized by one "argument scheme" [because he deals with a huge amount of argument schemes across argumentation theories]. However, he deals with definitions provided by *The New Rhetoric* and his identification of argumentation based on the principle of reciprocity is explicitly based on dealing with this material. I therefore use Garssen's functionalization as instrumental for comparison.

Another subtype [...] is analogy argumentation in which an appeal is made to the *principle of reciprocity*. Garssen [...] classifies it as part of the similitude relationship [1997: 77]. In his *Dictionary of Philosophy*, Angeles defines 'reciprocity' as 'The giving in return of equal good [rights, benefits] for the good received' [1981: 241]. This principle particularly applies to people (and countries), and implies that one person should act towards another person in the same way the other person act towards him. Expressions such as 'you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours' and 'one good turn deserves another' are colloquial phrasings of this principle. There is also a negative variant of this principle that seems to be less acceptable. This entails giving someone a taste of his own medicine or repaying evil with evil. [van Eemeren et al. 2007: 139]

According to Garssen, we can identify reciprocal techniques as a specific argument scheme in the pragma-dialectical sense. From the functional point of view, therefore, it is part of the protagonist's strategy in the so-called argumentation stage⁸ of dialogue and it is used to transfer the acceptability of the premise to the standpoint. The argument scheme is in pragma-dialectics associated with a *set of critical questions* that enable the protagonist and antagonist to jointly examine the sustainability of the argument: the antagonist raises critical questions and the protagonist answers them. If the protagonist is able to answer satisfactorily all the questions raised by the antagonist, then he defended his argument as sustainable and the antagonist should accept his standpoint, otherwise it should be withdrawn by the protagonist.

Garssen specifically identifies reciprocal techniques introduced by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca as an argument scheme which appeals to the so-called *principle of reciprocity*, i.e. an obligation to give equal good in return for the good received. A typical example of such an argu-

⁸ In pragma-dialectics, a difference of opinion is reconstructed as a model of critical dialogue which involves four stages during which the conflict of opinion is identified [confrontational stage], the roles are chosen [the protagonist commits himself to the defense of a standpoint and the antagonist to test it critically] and common [material and procedural] starting points are negotiated [opening stage], arguments are put forward and critically tested [argumentation stage] and finally valuated [concluding stage] [cf. van Eemeren and Grootendorst 2004].

ment could be the following: You should help me wash the dishes today, because I helped you with that last night.

We can say that Garssen deals with the problem of a lack of clarity in Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's definitions by giving an interpretation of quasi-logical reciprocity as the particular type of relationship. He offers the following interpretation:

[a] the relationship between R, R' is exemplified by two [numerically distinct] acts of the same type ["give-give"]

[b] the relation of logical implication is substituted by the relation of an arising obligation: a realization of R[x,y] leads to the obligation to implement R'[y,x]

Garssen offers a particular interpretation of reciprocal relationships as couples of the same acts, one of which is required in return. If we understand this interpretation as an attempt to functionalize the quasi-logic reciprocal techniques, then we would have to reject it as reductionist, for two reasons.

Firstly, it is clear that Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca consider the reciprocal in the quasi-logical sense of there being more possible relationships than this one. It can be deduced already from their list of subtypes of reciprocal relationships ["antecedent-consequent," "transposition of points of view," "inversion," "argument by contraries," etc.]. These subtypes differ in the type of relationship realized in them. For instance, the type "antecedent-consequent" is exemplified by one act named from two perspectives [type "give-get"], it is a relation of the so-called *relational antonyms* from a semantical point of view [cf. Cruse 1986: 233]. This relationship cannot be meaningfully converted to a relationship of giving in return with which the pragma-dialectical argument scheme operates on the basis of the principle of reciprocity. And so it goes for other subtypes.

Secondly, in the sample of twenty illustrations we can identify only six fragments in which the relationship between R, R' is a relationship of two numerically distinct but similar acts [type "give-give"]. They overlap with Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's subtype "transposition of points of view." However, if we focus attention on illustrations of this subtype, giving in return is not realized in all cases. In other words, we can consider that the implication between $R[x,y] \rightarrow R'[y,x]$ can be substituted in different ways than only giving in return. Identification of

the subtype “transposition of points of view” as the realization of pragma-dialectical argument scheme based on the principle of reciprocity would be therefore reductionist, too.

So if we want to offer a less reductionist answer to what quasi-logical reciprocal techniques are and how they work, it seems more promising to base the answer on a reconstruction of illustrations of specific uses of these techniques instead of an interpretation of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s weak definitions depending on which of the aspects of the definition or comment we as analysts choose as the key one. The “from below” approach offers a more comprehensive view of the variability of the considered options and reduces the risk that we will overlook subtle nuances that the “from above” approach does not capture.

2.2 The “from below” approach: the reconstruction of illustrations of reciprocal techniques

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the benefits of the “bottom-up” approach. I will try to show that even when focusing attention on a single type of reciprocal relations [R, R’ in relation of the type “give-give”] and their mutuality [R{x,y}→R’{y,x}], it is possible within Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s sample to identify argumentative uses other than a reference to the obligation of giving in return. The bottom-up approach allows us to detect a greater variability of quasi-logical argumentative techniques and their function.

For a comparison with Garssen’s functionalization I carried out the reconstruction of fragments that correspond to the understanding of reciprocity of the type “give-give” in a structural arrangement similar to a symmetric relationship. Of the twenty illustrations in §53 this criterion is fulfilled by six fragments falling under the “transposition of points of view” subtype.⁹ To allow adequate comparison with Garssen’s

⁹ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s comment on the transposition of points of view is following: “Arguments based on reciprocity can also result from the transposition of points of view, which makes it possible through their symmetry to recognize the identity of certain situations. The possibility of making such transpositions is regarded by Piaget and, following him, by certain psychiatrists, as one of the basic human aptitudes. It makes it possible to consider as relative situations which had previously been thought to be privileged if not unique.” [Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 222]

answer I limit my analysis to those cases relevant for the argumentation stage of a dialogue. The sample is limited to four fragments.¹⁰

2.2.1 Method of reconstruction

To reconstruct the various arguments I use a pragma-dialectical analytical overview that makes it possible to reconstruct the argument according to the model of a critical dialogue, in other words, to represent a fragment “*as if it were* a critical discussion.” [van Eemeren et al. 1993: 38] According to the analytical overview, it is necessary first to identify the standpoints that are adopted in the difference of opinion, discussion roles assumed by the parties and their points of departure, the arguments that the parties explicitly or implicitly put forward in support of their standpoints, the structure of argumentation and argument schemes that are used in the various individual arguments [cf. van Eemeren, Grootendorst 2004: 118]. Given that in all fragments it is the strategy of the protagonist in the argumentation stage [submission of standpoint and its defense], I concentrate in the reconstruction on the identification of standpoints and arguments, an explication of implicit elements and argumentative structures. The main emphasis is placed on identifying argument schemes.

2.2.2 Explicitization procedure and the principle of charity

The assessment of argumentation is in pragma-dialectics based on the identification of argument schemes. The argument scheme, however, is usually left as implicit by speakers. According to the pragma-dialectics, the protagonist and antagonist reconstruct the used argument scheme jointly in i.e. *intersubjective explicitization procedure*: discussants must reach an agreement on the kind of argument scheme that is used in the argumentation. Van Eemeren and Grootendorst [2004: 148-149] pointed out that when the reasoning in the argumentation

¹⁰ Out of the sample were excluded cases of ethical maxims, which probably could be identified as standpoints, but are not supported in the fragment, and tracing their primary [argumentative] context is problematic. For instance, the fragment: “Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.” [Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 222] We are limited, therefore, to those cases in which their argumentative use is unproblematically traceable and their interpretation unproblematic.

of the protagonist is incomplete (and thus cannot be valid), it is in the interest of the protagonist to carry out the explicitization procedure and on his request it must be done. The explication of the argument scheme is crucial for assessing whether the arguments have a sufficient justifying force, therefore, whether the arguments presented by the protagonist are sufficient for accepting the standpoint. The explication of argument scheme is in fact a necessary condition for the inquiry which went through a process of the so-called *intersubjective testing procedure* in which the protagonist and antagonist jointly test whether the argument scheme is *admissible*, i.e. whether it belongs to shared starting points, and whether it is *correctly applied* i.e., whether the speaker is able to defend its sustainability against critical questions raised by the antagonist [cf. van Eemeren, Grootendorst 2004: 149-150]. If the explication of the argument scheme is not relevant, it has implications for the testing of the correct application: some questions can be irrelevant, the scheme proves to be incorrectly applied and the argument thus unsustainable.

When we approach a fragment from the position of the analyst, it is our task to access the reconstruction in the most charitable way, i.e. to be guided by the *principle of charity*. This means that our reconstruction should be charitable in the sense that if there is more than one interpretation possible, we should choose the one that would most likely be defended successfully by the speaker in the discussion [cf. Snoeck Henkemans 1997: 104]. From this perspective, I try to reconstruct the argumentative fragments in such a way as to make explicit the argument schemes that could be correctly applied, i.e. those in which it is relevant to ask all the critical questions associated with the scheme during the intersubjective testing procedure, and none of them prove to be irrelevant.

2.3 Reciprocal techniques as the argumentation based on the principle of reciprocity

The argument scheme based on the principle of reciprocity is a scheme identified by Garssen [1997], which was briefly introduced above.¹¹ This is an argument in which the protagonist presents a normative, suggestive or prescriptive standpoint, particularly he asserts that x should

¹¹ In the pragma-dialectical theory it is considered a subtype of analogical argumentation, particularly the normative analogy.

do an act R toward y . Such a position is defended on the basis of the submitted argument that x was the addressee of a similar act R' from y , and the implementation of this act gave rise to an obligation of giving in return. If there is such an obligation, then we can regard the acts as *reciprocal acts*. For an argument scheme based on the principle of reciprocity, I propose the following formalization:¹²

1 $R[x,y]$ should be implemented.

1.1a $R'[y,x]$ was implemented.

1.1b $R'[y,x]$ and $R[x,y]$ are *reciprocal acts*.

1.1a-b' Reciprocal act should be implemented consistently.

The concept of an argumentation scheme is associated in pragma-dialectics with a set of critical questions. Critical questions relevant to this argument scheme were formulated by van Eemeren et al. (2007: 140-141) in the following way:

P. Should the one act towards the other exactly the same way the other did towards him in this case?

1. Is that which the one is expected to return, in fact, in proportion with what the other did for him?

2. Are there any differences between the two situations that render the need for doing the same in return unnecessary?

Only one fragment that serves as an illustration of quasi-logical reciprocity can be unproblematically reconstructed as a realization of the argument scheme of an argument based on the principle of reciprocity:

"[...] he who has been generous in his wealth and merciful in his power has the right, so it seems, to appeal for generosity and mercy when fortune is unfavorable to him" [Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 222]

This argument can be reconstructed as follows:

¹² Adequate formalization of the argument scheme of reciprocity has not yet been submitted. It was only briefly noted by Hitchcock and Wagemans (cf. Hitchcock, Wagemans 2011: 199).

1 X should be generous and merciful to Y when the fortune is unfavorable to him.

1.1a Y was generous and merciful to X.

[1.1b Y's act of generosity and mercy to X and X's act of generosity and mercy to Y *are reciprocal acts.*]

[1.1a-b' Reciprocal acts should be implemented consistently.]

The intersubjective testing procedure involves testing the argument via critical questions. In this case the key element of sustainability appears to be the [implicit] premise 1.1b, whether performing an act of mercy indeed gives rise to an obligation to act mercifully too, which is the basis for the request of giving in return. Consequently, we can test whether the required act is sufficiently similar, or whether the situations are different enough to nullify the request of giving in return.

2.4 Reciprocal techniques as the normative analogy

Another type of argument scheme implemented in illustrations is a scheme of the normative analogy. The analogy is normative [as in the case of the scheme of argument based on the principle of reciprocity] if it advocates a prescriptive, suggestive or prescriptive standpoint, generally in the form "X should be treated as Y." This standpoint is advocated by combining the fact that Z is treated as Y and the so-called principle of consistency [or "rules of justice"]: elements belonging to the same category should be treated in a similar way. Note that in this case there is no appeal to the emergence of obligation between the agents, because no obligation arises. The key issue is only whether the elements actually belong to the same category [cf. van Eemeren, Garsen 2014: 50]. The general argument scheme of normative analogy can be formalized as follows:

1 X should be treated as Y.

1.1a Z is treated as Y.

1.1b Z and Y *belong to the same category.*

1.1a-b' Elements belonging to the same category should be treated in a similar way.

Pragma-dialectics proposes the following set of critical questions that are relevant to the testing procedure [cf. van Eemeren et al. 2007: 140]:

P. Should people in the same situation be treated equally in this case?

1. Do the compared things show sufficient similarities to justify the proposed equal treatment?
2. Are there any relevant differences between the compared things that stand in the way?

In Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s fragments there is a noticeable similarity of arguments using the scheme of normative analogy with the scheme of argument based on the principle of reciprocity. It is because the general form of normative analogy is modified specifically:

Table 2: Normative analogy: General and modified scheme

General scheme of normative analogy	Normative analogy with reciprocal arrangement of elements
<p>1 X should be treated as Y. 1.1a Z is treated as Y. 1.1b Z and Y <i>belong to the same category</i>. 1.1a-b’ Elements belonging to the same category should be treated in a similar way.</p>	<p>1 R[x,y] should be implemented/treated as Y. 1.1a R’[y,x] was implemented/treated as Y. 1.1b R’[y,x] and R[x,y] <i>belong to the same category</i>. 1.1a-b’ Elements belonging to the same category should be treated in a similar way.</p>

The standpoint suggests an implementation of an act having a similar form as in the reciprocal scheme: “R[x,y] should be implemented/treated as Y.” The argument presented as its support also resembles this scheme: R’[y,x] was implemented/treated as Y.” In both cases, in an argument based on the principle of reciprocity and in a normative analogy modified by a reciprocal arrangement of elements, it concerns two similar acts that are first directed from x to y and then from y to x. This is, however, where the similarity ends.

In the normative analogy, the structural arrangement of complexes R[x,y] and R’[y,x] is not crucial for assessment. Complexes R[x,y] and R’[y,x] are conceived just as X, Z, their internal structure is not relevant to the testing procedure. The second difference is that for an assessment of the normative analogy the rise of an obligation is not relevant, in this scheme it is not referred to and in a testing procedure

such an element is not tested. What is important is only the fact that both acts fall within the same category of acts.

Let me demonstrate it on a reconstruction of a fragment that was taken by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca from Demosthenes's judicial speech:¹³ Demosthenes appeals to the jury not to accept vilifying statements which were raised by his rival Aeschines:

"Or again, look at it in this light, gentlemen of the jury. Suppose that I were on trial, with Aeschines for my accuser, and Philip for my judge, and suppose that, being unable to deny my guilt, I were to vilify Aeschines and throw mud at him; do you not think that that is just what would move Philip's indignation, his own benefactors calumniated before his own tribunal? Do not be less rigorous than Philip, but compel him to address his defence to the real issues of this controversy."¹⁴

We can reconstruct this fragment in the following way:

1 Aeschines's vilification of Demosthenes should not be tolerated by the jury.

1.1a Demosthenes's vilification of Aeschines would not be tolerated by the judge Philip.

1.1b Demosthenes's vilification of Aeschines and Aeschines's vilification of Demosthenes *belong to the same category*.

1.1a-b' Acts belonging to the same category should be treated in a similar way.

¹³ The second fragment can be reconstructed as a normative analogy: "In this way Demosthenes, urging the Athenians to take action against Philip, pictures what the latter would have done against them if he had been in their place: ... wouldn't it be shameful for you, having the opportunity but not the courage, not to inflict on him the harm that he would inflict on you if he could." [Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 223]

¹⁴ In this case, I took into account the context of the fragment. The text fragment as presented in the new rhetoric is too brief and provides a range of interpretations, cf. "Elsewhere he asks the Athenians to consider the hypothesis that, if Aeschines were the accuser and Philip the judge, he, Demosthenes, would do as Aeschines did and judge Aeschines as he himself would have been judged by Philip." [cf. Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 223] In such cases, it is appropriate according to the pragma-dialectics to supplement the immediate verbal context of utterances, which can contribute to finding an adequate interpretation [cf. van Eemeren, Grootendorst 2002: 41].

This argument does not appeal to the reciprocity of mutual vilification, it is not a “vilification in return.” It is an appeal only to the similarity of the two acts: acts are in the same category, for instance, a category of impermissible behavior in court, and for such a category of acts generally applies that they should not be tolerated. The point is that someone [jury] should treat the act $R[x,y]$ as having a trait Y , not that an individual should realize the act of vilification in return because of an obligation that (potentially) arose from the fact that he was vilified. There is no appeal to a reciprocal obligation, and if we had explicated it like an argument based on the principle of reciprocity, it would not have been possible to give a relevant answer to the question P : “Should the one act towards the other exactly the same way the other did towards him in this case?”

2.5 Reciprocal techniques as a descriptive analogy

The third type of argument scheme that can be detected among the illustrations of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s reciprocal techniques is a scheme of descriptive analogy, or “analogy with extrapolation of characteristics” [cf. Garssen 2009: 135]. In this case, it is the argument in favor of a descriptive, not normative standpoint, generally of the form “ X is Y . It is supported by the statement of Z having the same property. Unlike the previous two schemes, in this case, there is no appeal to the consistent implementation or similar treatment of similar cases, but the presence of property Y is in the standpoint “extrapolated” from comparability of X and Z , i.e. from properties that X and Z already share. The general form of argument scheme was designed as follows:

1 X is Y .

1.1 Z is Y .

1.1’ Z and X are comparable.

Cases of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s reciprocal techniques that implement this scheme are again superficially similar to the argument based on the principle of reciprocity: the standpoint claims the implementation of an act $R[x,y]$ based on the statement of $R'[y,x]$ in the argument:

Table 3: Descriptive analogy: General and modified scheme

General scheme of descriptive analogy	Descriptive analogy with reciprocal arrangement of elements
<p>1 X is Y.</p> <p>1.1 Z is Y.</p> <p>1.1' Z and X <i>are comparable</i>.</p>	<p>1 R[x,y] is Y.</p> <p>1.1 R'[y,x] is Y.</p> <p>1.1' R'[y,x] and R[x,y] <i>are comparable</i>.</p>

It is, however, important to note that even in this case internal structural characteristics of complexes $R[x,y]$, $R'[y,x]$ are not relevant for the evaluation of the argument and (as in the case of the normative analogy) they are ignored in the testing procedure: they are treated simply as X, Z. The crucial aspect for testing the descriptive analogy is whether the protagonist is able to adequately demonstrate the comparability of the acts which will allow him to extrapolate a similarity regarding the property Y.

A descriptive variant of the analogy with a reciprocal arrangement of elements is found in a fragment which captures Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's commentary of Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*:

"Since we find the customs of the Persians strange, shouldn't they be surprised at ours?" [Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 222]

Although the standpoint is formulated as a seemingly normative "*shouldn't they be surprised,*" it seems to be adequate to interpret it as a predictive standpoint meaning "*[it is predictable that] Persians will find the customs of Europeans strange.*" The argument can be reconstructed as follows:

- 1 Persians will find the customs of Europeans strange.
 - 1.1 Europeans find the customs of the Persians strange.
 - [1.1' Europeans' assessment of customs of Persians and Persians' assessment of customs of Europeans *are comparable*.]

The adequate testing procedure, in this case, would aim at a listing of relevant similarities in considering Europeans' and Persians' assessment: the protagonist could [if he was challenged] e.g. demonstrate that in both cases it is the assessment of a foreign culture from the position of one's own culture, or that both cultures are very suspicious of things they did not know, etc. It does not seem charitable to inter-

pret the argument as an appeal to an obligation that arises to Persians based on the fact that their customs are somehow assessed by Europeans. Nor does it seem to be relevant to ask the question P: "Should the one act towards the other exactly same way the other did towards him in this case?"

3. Conclusion and prospects

The general aim of this text is to examine the sustainability of the thesis of the persuasiveness of quasi-logical arguments within the pragma-dialectical approach to argumentation. As has been shown, the realization of this objective requires several transformations of the concept of quasi-logical arguments to bring it into accordance with the meta-theoretical principles of pragma-dialectics: pragma-dialectics understands quasi-logical arguments as techniques that trigger a process of dialogue, create public commitments, have a function in resolving conflict of reason and can be considered as steps in accordance with the rules of critical discussion. The crucial issue with respect to the transformation proved to be their functionalization. Of the two approaches proposed on the basis of the externalized elements in the available material of the new rhetoric, it was argued in favor of identification based on a reconstruction of illustrations.

The presented case study of quasi-logical reciprocal techniques allows us to provide at least a partial answer to the questions: *Can quasi-logical arguments contribute to the solution of a conflict of opinion in a critical dialogue? How?*

Quasi-logical arguments, namely reciprocal techniques (specifically, a sample covering the subtype of "transposition of points of view") can contribute to the solution of conflicts of opinion. From the functional point of view, it is the implementation of various argument schemes: it is, therefore, a tool that can be used by a protagonist in the argumentation stage of the dialogue, in which a submission of argumentation in favor of the standpoint and its critical testing by the antagonist takes place. Quasi-logical reciprocal techniques of the type of transposition of points of view are implementing three types of argument schemes: the argument based on the principle of reciprocity, normative and descriptive analogy. Three different schemes can be compared in the following table:

Table 4: Argument schemes implemented by quasi-logical reciprocal techniques

Argument based on principle of reciprocity	Normative analogy with reciprocal arrangement of elements	Descriptive analogy with reciprocal arrangement of elements
<p>1 R[x,y] should be implemented.</p> <p>1.1a R'[y,x] was implemented.</p> <p>1.1b R'[y,x] and R[x,y] are <i>reciprocal acts</i>.</p> <p>1.1a-b' Reciprocal act should be implemented consistently.</p>	<p>1 R[x,y] should be implemented/treated as Y.</p> <p>1.1a R'[y,x] was implemented/treated as Y.</p> <p>1.1b R'[y,x] and R[x,y] <i>belong to the same category</i>.</p> <p>1.1a-b' Elements belonging to the same category should be treated in a similar way.</p>	<p>1 R[x,y] is Y.</p> <p>1.1 R'[y,x] is Y.</p> <p>1.1' R'[y,x] and R[x,y] <i>are comparable</i>.</p>

The superficial similarity of arguments – if we take into account the usual implicitness of argument schemes – is striking and it is obviously a reason for overlooking the fact that they implement different argument schemes being subject to various conditions of correct application. These schemes contribute to solving a conflict of opinion based on testing the sustainability of different argument principles during the dialogue: arising obligation, belonging to the same category and comparability.

As was mentioned, the structural arrangement of complexes R[x,y] and R'[y,x] plays a particular role only in testing the argument based on the principle of reciprocity; when testing the normative and descriptive analogy the testing procedure ignores this internal structure. Nevertheless, we can speculate whether this arrangement may in some way contribute to resolving the conflict of opinion on the level of rhetorical strengthening. In other words, the specific choice of just such X and Z having the structural arrangement of R[x,y] and R'[y,x] may be in pragma-dialectics considered as a specific topical choice having under certain circumstances rhetorical effect in facilitating the process of critical testing. These questions following the research carried out can be dealt with in the pragma-dialectical model extended by the concept of *strategic maneuvering* (cf. van Eemeren 2010). The question of the persuasiveness of quasi-logical arguments can be further extended: the question of whether and how quasi-logical arguments contribute to the solution of a conflict of opinion can be extended to the question of whether and how they contribute to an *effective* solution of a conflict of opinion.

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'DISRUPTION BY WORD USAGE' AS RATIONALLY EMOTIONAL ARGUMENTATION*

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In this paper I shall argue that in certain cases, it is rational to argue emotionally. Though emotional arguments are traditionally considered as fallacies, recent developments in Argumentation Theory suggest that emotions can and do play an important (and often legitimate) role in argumentation. Though emotions mostly contribute to rhetorical (rather than dialectical) aspects of argumentation, a growing body of evidence shows that logos can be just as fulfilled with emotional character as ethos and pathos.

The claim that emotional arguments are rational in a weak sense that they serve persuasive goals would be undoubtedly uninteresting. I shall, however, argue for a

stronger sense of their rationality (in certain cases). Based on van Eemeren and Houtlosser's idea of strategic maneuvering between rhetorical and dialectical aspects of argumentation, I shall develop a threefold account of rationality, arguing that rhetorical rationality, if it satisfies epistemic goals, can 'weakly overwrite' dialectical criteria without hurting epistemic rationality. For demonstration, I shall take an example for 'disruption via word usage' as a (rationally) emotional aspect of argumentation from a strictly argumentative philosophical text, investigating how some of its rhetorical aspects can serve epistemic goals, even though they violate some elementary norms of dialectical rationality.

KEYWORDS: *argumentation, disruption, emotions, rationality, strategic maneuvering*

* Support from the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund is acknowledged [OTKA-109456, OTKA-116191].

Introduction

It is widely held that appeals to emotion are generally avoidable in argumentation. In this paper I shall argue that it is permissible to appeal to emotions in argumentation if doing so serves rational purposes (in a strong sense of rationality defined below; weak forms of rationality should not be taken into account since in some weak sense, it is rational to make any movement that serves self-interests). The basic idea behind my arguments is that if the other party goes irrational, disrupting them by making an emotional impact can be regarded as rational. Disruption, aiming at an emotional impact on its target, disallows for them to continue their line of argumentation in the same way they previously did due to an emotional effect. Since they went emotional, this seems to be required in order to get back to a rational line of the debate.

Following Gilbert [1997] and Carozza [2011], I shall take argumentation to be a social interaction based on a disagreement between parties; and emotional argumentation to be one in which the dissent is of emotional nature. As a consequence, the emphasis is on the interactive, processual character of argumentation (rather than the logical structure or verbal content of arguments) on one hand, and the social recognition of emotional content (rather than inner psychological states of individuals) on the other. This approach is hence a dialectical one, according to which emotions should not be understood as internal psychological states of individuals taking part in the debate but rather externally accessible public speech acts being expressed in accordance with certain dialectical rules and being apparent in the dialectical success of argumentative lines. Rather than supposing what goes on in the individual emotionally, the focus is external, being on the social/cultural context in which a particular speech act can or cannot be taken to be emotional.

I shall restrict my focus on disruption by word usage in particular, disregarding other possible ways of disruption like interruption, intonation, physical threat, etc. as they are presumably less acceptable forms of disruption (though I would not intend to imply that all these forms are, or should be, considered as unacceptable). Everyone is aware of situations in debates where speech acts as follows seem to be legitimate: -*“Both of us know it’s not true.”*, -*“Return to reason!”* or -*“Wise up!”*. By speech acts like these, an emotional impact is usually made in order to counter-balance the opponent’s emotional derailment (or

other irrational movement done by them] so that the line of debate could at least possibly get back into its normal, emotionally unheated way. That is the reason why it can be considered to be rational in some sense [that shall be specified below].

But it is often the case that similar forms are applied in situations where no former unbalance has been realised. These movements are normally considered as illegitimate. From this, the following question arises: in what cases does emotional argumentation serve [strongly] rational purposes? In other words: in what contexts are emotional arguments permissible? The example I shall discuss in the final section of this paper will provide some clue as to the cases in which emotional argumentation is permissible even in emotionally unheated dialectical situations.

Arguments and emotions

According to the standard approach to the relation between emotions and arguments, an appeal to emotions cannot be permitted because it hurts the rules of reasonability *per definitionem*. Emotional arguments are often *ad hominem*; they sometimes argue from [positive or negative] consequences; they appeal to fear, guilt, anger, pride, relief, popular opinion, group pressure, etc. They are generally considered as fallacies because they lack reasonability and aim at persuasion purely on emotional grounds. In the traditional approach, argumentative movements [taken to be reasonable, rational and hence “logical”] are normally contrasted to emotional movements [unreasonable, irrational and hence “illogical”]. The two categories are taken to be mutually exclusive and to contradict one another.

There is, however, a growing literature on the role of emotions in argumentation that seems to suggest that such preconceptions about emotions in argumentative contexts are going to be outmoded [see esp. Walton 1992, Ben-Ze’ev 1995, Gilbert 1997, Plantin 1999, Micheli 2010 and Carozza 2011]. Along with a general turn from formal to informal approaches to logic and argumentation, a growing number of aspects of *ethos* and *pathos* [in contrast with *logos*] are considered as subject to an analysis from Argumentation Theory. Pragma-dialectics, in particular, consider fallacies as functionally degenerate argumentative movements, and hence their fallacious character can be identified only with respect to contextual elements like the aim of the debate. Insofar as a movement serves that aim, it would be taken as functionally

valid, even if it were considered as fallacious in the traditional framework which disregards contextual elements and rather take propositional content of argumentative movements at its face value.

The main reasons why it seems better to give up the traditional approach are as follows. First, the traditional approach presents a normative [or, more precisely, idealistic] view about argumentation. It does not reflect on how arguers actually argue; it prescribes how they should, would they be always reasonable enough to do so. While having idealistic aims of argumentative practices in mind might be beneficial for making those practices better, they are not always suitable for analysing actual ways of argumentation [unless it is accepted that almost any actual argumentation is full of fallacies as being far from ideal]. In order to better understand actually working practices, a more permissive approach is preferable.

Second, even for an idealistic approach, it is required that a *theoretical* possibility should be provided for the case if practice could satisfy the idealistic expectations. But it seems that an argumentative practice strongly committed to strict logical/dialectical rules is irrational in some sense. Following Eemeren and Houtlosser [2002]'s idea of strategic maneuvering, in an argumentative discourse, rhetorical aims are equally targeted as dialectical aims. In such a framework, rational behaviour does not suppose a full commitment to strict rules. On the contrary: it is rational to make use of as many loopholes and detours as possible. The reason is that giving up one's position too easily is not a rational move; it is dictated by her commitment to her standpoint [a movement essential for being involved in a debate] that she must aim at a resolution of disagreement in the most favourable way for the standpoint she defends.

Third, even if it were possible to argue "ideally" in accordance with logical/dialectical rules, no unique normative framework could be developed in order to evaluate them. Argumentative practices are just too diverge for fitting into a unique framework and a decision which practices are taken to be as paradigmatic and which are taken to be as borderline cases always supposes preliminary commitments to preferences between different forms of argumentation aiming at different dialectical purposes. Such previous commitments may or may not be reasonable; but in either case, once again they do not seem to serve an understanding of actually working argumentative practices. Even if there were anything common in a business negotiation, a scientific debate, a judicial process and a quarrel, identifying this common ground

would hardly be helpful for an explanation of these distinct sorts of argumentative practice in their great variety.

Finally, if the latest argument is accepted, it seems reasonable to claim that to different practices aiming at different purposes there belong different means, and it largely depends on the purposes as to what means are to be found as permissible and favourable. For all these reasons, context-sensitivity of the criteria of validity/fallacy seems a factor that cannot be reduced from argument analysis but only for the price of being overly normative, one-sided and blind to particular dissimilarities among different sorts of argumentative practice.

Emotional arguments: some examples

Emotional arguments are often claimed to be permissible recently, due to the role attributed to the context of their occurrence. In Carozza [2011]’s taxonomy, legitimate emotional arguments take place in all aspects of argumentation: she recalls Ben-Ze’ev [1995]’s point about the role of emotions in reasons and consequences; Gilbert [1997]’s point about expressing emotions in a debate; and legitimate uses of an appeal to pity or fear in Walton [1992]. These three points cover the aspects of *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos* respectively. Emotions can also be the subject of debates [Micheli 2010], not to speak about mutual effects and interaction between arguments and emotions [Groarke 2010].

Let us see a number of examples. Gilbert [1997] takes a proper opposite of emotional argumentation to be “clinical” argumentation in which the arguer does not take any emotional factors into account but argues with a “cool head”. In some contexts, doing so seems to be undesirable. A military leader arguing that an operation would take “calculable losses” in human lives seems to be cool-headed enough but also unacceptable for many from a moral point of view. Gilbert thinks that a middle ground rather than an extremely cool-headed stance is the best on the emotional-clinical scale, so, contrary to the traditional approach, being at least partly emotional is not illegitimate but on the contrary: it is often necessary for proper argumentation.

Walton [1992]’s point is also worth considering when he claims *ad hominem* arguments often to be valid, depending on the context. Credibility, commitment and character are about the arguer rather than the argument but they are often taken to be warranties for the acceptability of an argumentation [e.g. in legal contexts, *ad hominem* arguments can often be of great value about a beholder’s credibility]. An appeal

to pity or fear may also be reasonable in some contexts. A lawyer can validly argue that her client has serious psychological problems leading him towards committing a crime [though it would be much less acceptable if she simply argued that he had a difficult childhood]. An appeal to fear can also be valid, e.g. in sex education for teenagers, arguing that irresponsible sexual relations can lead to unwanted pregnancy or venereal disease. In cases like these, an emotional impact on the audience is part of the strength of the argumentation; they would not be taken to be illegitimate moves though. The reason is that in these cases, the standpoints for the support of which emotional arguments are applied seem somehow *reasonable*, be they emotional or not; and in order to develop the argument for those reasonable standpoints, emotional components seem to be irreducible.

Popular opinion or group pressure can also be an example. Though they are normally considered as fallacious, following social norms [e.g. cultural traditions, dress codes, etc.] usually lack any further argumentation than it is generally accepted by others. The reason why left-hand traffic is to be followed in the UK and right-hand traffic on the continent is that there is a social agreement about it. Though this argumentation appeals to group pressure, it would be extremely unreasonable to ignore it on the ground that it is not a proper reasoning.

Debates and purposes

As seen, emotions often play an important part in argumentation and it is always the context that defines whether an emotional argument is taken to be legitimate or fallacious. The context provides the rules to which a commitment is necessary in order to make legitimate movements in the debate. Central to the context, the purpose[s] of a debate are of great importance. Imagine that at a conference, after her talk the speaker intends to finish the debate and go for a dinner. Given this personal goal of her, her argumentative moves should be considered in a framework different from the one that could be applied to a situation in which her purpose is defending her standpoint by all means, regardless of dinner time. Formally, both frameworks are applicable to the situation but their application would result in quite different interpretations of what happens in the debate. A blindness to purposes of participants is a reason why pragma-dialecticians decidedly disregard non-external factors like one's personal purposes in their reconstruction of arguments. But disregarding the *possibility* of these internal states also

implies that their potential impact on the debate is also, willy-nilly, disregarded. It seems that the preconception that all debates are to be seen as aiming at a resolution of difference in opinion [usually taken to be *the* purpose of debates] is a theoretical commitment that often can be doubtful or even misleading if at least *potential* personal purposes are acknowledged due to which different lines of reconstruction can be provided.

Debates are to be seen as social interactions that *ideally* aim at a resolution of a difference of opinion. Despite this ideal goal, debates *de facto* do rarely end in that way [Goodwin 2007]. The reason behind this fact is most probably the phenomenon described by van Eemeren and Houtlosser [2002] as strategic maneuvering: debaters always have more than one purpose to aim at. While aiming at a dialectical purpose of resolving the dispute, they also aim at a rhetorical purpose of persuading the other party (or the audience) in order to win the debate. In a rational debate, everyone aims at resolving the dispute; but in fact, everyone aims at resolving it so that her own standpoint would come out on top. It is not only a rhetorical or psychological factor though but also a dialectical one: it is most reasonable to keep committed to one's standpoint from a dialectical perspective insofar as this commitment provides the basis for the dialectical success of pro and contra arguments proper. The arguer does not have to believe in her standpoint: think of legal situations where a belief of an attorney in the innocence of her client is unnecessary. But a strong commitment to defend her view as far as possible is a requisite for finding the best line of arguments available for the standpoint. This is not only in the interest of one party or the other; it is in the interest of the debate if it is supposed to aim at agreement for a reasonable price. Otherwise giving up standpoints at the beginning of a debate would be the proper way of debating.

To explain this, in addition to rhetorical and dialectical goals, a third is to be introduced, which van Eemeren and Houtlosser seem to ignore due to their epistemological commitments towards an anti-realist notion of truth. The goal in question may be called an epistemic purpose of [certain kinds of] debates. An epistemic purpose of the debate aims at truth, regardless of interests [rhetorical goals] and agreement or even reasonability [dialectical goals]. An epistemic purpose is necessary to suppose in the context of scientific or philosophical debates [the context of which will serve as a basis for my example towards the end of this paper]. Two possible objections shall be responded regarding this point though. First, most debates do not even *seem to* aim at

truth. Second, even the ones that seem to aim at truth may not succeed in doing so. Taking epistemic purposes to be essential for reconstructing [at least certain types of] debates seems to be grounded in an ill-founded basis.

For the first, my response is as follows. I do not wish to develop [or even contribute to] a general theory of purposes of argumentative situations. The context which defines my focus of interests implies, however, the necessity of taking truth as an aim of the debate into account. However a reconstructor takes stand in epistemological debates on truth, participants of scientific and philosophical debates are often committed towards aiming at truth. Disregarding this factor would distort a reconstruction of their argumentation. For the second, the answer is as follows. Debates often unsuccessfully aim at a resolution of disagreement; they often unsuccessfully aim at truth. But the aims themselves define the direction of progress in a debate to a great extent. That is the reason why they must be considered as important factors even if they are underachieved or even unachievable in some cases. Aiming at unachievable goals is often very fruitful. Aiming at world peace is a goal underachieved yet and it can well be the case that it is unachievable ever due to human nature; but if no one ever aimed at it, the situation would be much worse.

The importance of different purposes of a debate can be understood if having a glance at the relation between a purpose of an activity and the rules that define rational movements within the framework of that activity. In accordance with different purposes, different sorts of rationality can be identified. Having three different focuses of purposes introduced above, three respective senses of rationality will be distinguished. [1] According to rhetorical rationality, a movement in the debate is rational if it serves persuasion. [2] Dialectical rationality characterises movements that are done in accordance with dialectical and logical rules, aiming at a resolution of disagreement. Finally, [3] epistemic rationality covers movements that intend to lead to having an access to truth.

These three notions can sometimes support one another but they can also interfere or straightforwardly contradict each other to some extent. Agreement and truth [i.e., dialectical and epistemic purposes] are supposed to go hand in hand, especially in accounts with an anti-realist focus towards concepts of truth beyond an intersubjective agreement. But scientists and philosophers are often interested in [i.e., having a rhetorical goal of] *maintaining* disagreement because they are

convinced that their rhetorical goals are in accordance with epistemic goals and reaching an agreement by making concessions would not only hurt their rhetorical goals but the criterion of aiming at truth as well.

This shall be crucial later because a central claim of mine is that disregarding dialectical rules by introducing emotional arguments is to be taken as a valid movement in a scientific/philosophical debate if that movement can somehow serve epistemic goals. To put it simply: while rhetorical goals are normally overwritten by dialectical goals [winning a debate is less important than unhurting its rules], dialectical goals can also be overwritten by an even higher principle: the idea that a scientific/philosophical debate is [reasonably or not - that is another issue] supposed to aim at truth rather than a pure agreement between parties on an issue.

Breaking rules rationally

It seems therefore that at least three [often conflicting] purposes are aimed at in a scientific or philosophical debate and to each there belongs a different notion of rationality. Let me briefly summarise them:

- [1] Rhetorical rationality: An argument is rational if it serves persuasion [i.e., self-interest].
- [2] Dialectical rationality: An argument is rational if it unharms dialectical/logical rules.
- [3] Epistemic rationality: An argument is rational if it serves as a means for achieving epistemic purposes like truth.

In accordance with van Eemeren and Houtlosser [2002]'s idea, strategic maneuvering typically takes place in the form of [[1] & [2]]: rhetorical rationality and dialectical rationality must be aimed at at the same time. Though not explicitly, but their account is undecided about the role of [3] in argument evaluation. All the same, emotional arguments [at least in the form discussed in this paper] are of a type of [[1] & [~2] & [3]] - i.e., aiming at persuasion *and* truth, whereas disregarding dialectical aims. In a two-pole scenario, a denial of [2] would be seen as invalid, taken to be a 'derailment' as an arguer is simply not allowed to ignore dialectical rationality in favour of rhetorical rationality. But once a third pole is introduced, a denial of [2] is not to be seen as ignoring social criteria of acceptance in favour of one's self-interests but on the contrary: it can be explained as ignoring criteria that are

only social in favour of something more valuable than pure agreement [whether achievable or not]. Dialectical rationality is perhaps one of the most effective tools we can have in order to aim at truth but as a consequence, it is [or at least can be taken to be] a means for supposedly higher purposes rather than seeing it as a purpose in and for itself. Hence, serving those higher purposes more properly, criteria other than dialectical rationality can occasionally overwrite dialectical rules.

Note that a *strong* disregard of rules is not allowed in this sort of movement: *most* logical and dialectical rules are normally held unhurt. A slight ignorance of them [breaking a limited number of rules] is allowable, though, if the movement serves epistemic goals in addition to rhetorical ones. This is important because it shows that each dialectical rule can be presumably broken [or at least most of them] but only if a high enough number of other rules are kept unhurt. A radical break with rules is unacceptable but there is some place for breaking a small number of rules at one time if that break is justified by other, more important means than satisfying dialectical goals.

Occasional derailments can be effective tools for aiming at truth e.g. by disrupting the audience from a state in which they feel extremely secure in holding some of their so-called 'fundamental beliefs' (i.e., beliefs about which doubts are rarely raised because they serve as one's basis for all of her further beliefs, including grounds for raising doubts about anything). These beliefs are normally *not* taken to be negotiable or subject to reasonable criticism because they constitute [along with logical/dialectical rules] the very ground of the believer for all sorts of reasonable criticism. But from the fact that a belief cannot be reasonably criticised [from a certain point of view from which that belief is taken to be 'fundamental'], it does not follow that the belief in question is true. In a framework in which no extra-dialectical aims of a debate are considered, these beliefs cannot be refuted though. Hence, debaters are forced to be interested in *maintaining* disagreement, insofar as their rhetorical purposes lead them towards holding their view at all price, whereas dialectical rules are often suitable only for explaining but not dissolving fundamental roots of a disagreement. Having allowed that extra-dialectical criteria can also take place in a debate, taking [dialectically] non-rational movements can possibly help in overcoming at least some of the disagreements that seem to be irresolvable anyway.

Hence, it is possible, and sometimes even desirable, to break dialectical rules [and hence being dialectically irrational] *and* being nonetheless rational in a sense stronger than serving one's self-interests [as

in the case of rhetorical rationality) if disregarding dialectical rules is a means for serving epistemic purposes (and hence having an access to truth first of all). The public criteria for someone's aiming at truth are very vague though. The opponent/audience might try to infer from the proponent's speech acts to her intentions but this seems to be somewhat naïve on one hand, and it hurts pragma-dialectician's principle of externalisation on the other. Keeping committed to rules of logic and dialectics might be a better indicator but still not sufficient: the very distinction between dialectical and epistemic rationality has been drawn precisely on the supposition that epistemic purposes might be different from the dialectical purposes of a debate. Though it happens that an audience experienced enough somehow *feels* it (due to intonation, body language, word usage, etc.), or, more precisely, a neutral audience consisting of epistemic peers of, and/or superiors to, the speaker can and sometimes does ignore dialectical criteria in favour of the speaker's supposed contribution to our common knowledge and understanding of a certain topic. Since there seems to me that there is no general explanation for this phenomenon, let me present an example that might better illuminate my point than further abstract considerations.

Disruption by word usage: an example

I have chosen my example to be rather well-known in the philosophical literature, though having rhetorical dimensions typically undiscussed by its reception. It is a *par excellence* masterpiece of analytic philosophy, instances of which are often thought to be free from rhetorical elements and prioritising reasons and arguments to emotional effects. In my example, though, an important rhetorical element plays its role in increasing emotional pressure on the readers in order to persuade them about the unacceptability of a widely held view - something that can be hardly achieved by logically valid reasoning, precisely due their being widely held, 'fundamental' beliefs.

W.V.O. Quine in his famous *Two Dogmas of Empiricism* claims two of that sort of beliefs of empiricists to be 'dogmas'. It is important to see why this word usage must be understood as a rhetorical maneuver. Appearing first in the title, the word 'dogma' occurs on three further occasions in the 100-word long abstract. 'Dogma' is repeated almost *ad nauseam* before a single word is mentioned about *why* the beliefs in question are taken to be dogmatic. The reader, before getting to know what the paper is about, gets indoctrinated that she is reading about two 'dogmas'.

Taking their face value, Quine could have called the views he attacked as “beliefs”, “statements”, “points of view”, etc. None of them has, however, the negative connotations that the word ‘dogma’ has. An effect relevant for persuading the audience takes place that is unapparent in a propositional reconstruction of the argument - this is hence a textbook example of how to affect *pathos* without aiming at convincing *logos*. That is why a purely logical/propositional reconstruction is unsuitable for understanding its persuasive power in full.

The main statement of the paper, in accordance with its abstract, is that the two dogmas “are ill-founded” [Quine 1951: 20]. But being “ill-founded” is a definitive mark of *all* dogmas [or at least a direct consequence of their definition].¹ Is the central thesis of a philosophical masterpiece a pure *tautology*? Certainly not; but then it cannot be taken at its face value. It is better to see this statement as a further indoctrination of the same charge [dogma, dogma, dogma...] rather than a proper claim arguing that two dogmas, like any other, are ill-founded. Being ill-founded, finally, would not be as big a problem with the views in question as being dogmatic. An ill-founded view can possibly be founded in more suitable ways but who would be willing to look for foundations of a dogma? Once the reader starts reading the paper and the real arguments behind Quine’s point, her mind is full with the untenability of the views under attack.

The rhetorical purpose of the word usage seems obvious: distracting the reader from any possible emotional identification with the views in question. Hence, a possible reconstruction for Quine’s main point is as follows:

[P1] D_1 and d_2 are two widely held beliefs that you the reader most probably also hold.

[P2] If someone agrees with d_1 and/or d_2 then she is a dogmatic.

[P3] No reasonable philosopher intends to be a dogmatic.

[C] Hence, it is better for you to unhold d_1 and d_2 .

¹ A few dictionary definitions: a dogma is “a principle or set of principles laid down by an authority as incontrovertibly true” [Oxford English Dictionary]; “a fixed, especially religious, belief or set of beliefs that people are expected to accept without any doubts” [Cambridge English Dictionary]; “a belief or set of beliefs that is accepted by the members of a group without being questioned or doubted” [Merriam-Webster]; a belief or set of beliefs that people are expected to accept without asking questions about them [Macmillan Dictionary] etc.

[Note that even providing reasons for holding d_1 and d_2 makes no difference; it is the beliefs themselves that are dogmatic, not the way of accepting them. Your providing good reasons for a dogmatic belief only makes you a dogmatic who tries to explain herself.]

Further examples could be taken from the text but the present aim is not analysing Quine but providing an illustrative example of characteristic rhetorical movements in an argumentative text that has not been considered as fallacious due to an appeal to emotions by the most rigorous analytic philosophers either. This fact seems to imply that the dialectical rules accepted in analytic philosophy were unhurt by Quine's maneuvering: his rhetorical moves were placed within the elbow room provided by logics and dialectics. But what sort of dialectics would allow *disqualifying* the opponent's view as dogmatic and hence seen as not even worth further discussion? Is there any reasonable reconstruction of general dialectical rules of analytic philosophy [manifested e.g. in textbooks or publication acceptance criteria] that would allow this? I hardly think so since the claim that the opponent's view is illegitimate is not an *argumentative* movement. It is a meta-level argumentation, aiming to *overwrite the dialectical rules* of the debate: it aims at defining what is acceptable as reasonable in a debate and what is not. If the community of analytic philosophers had accepted that the "dogmas" lacked any basis for valid reasoning, no one would ever have intended to defend the claims Quine had attacked.

But how could then Quine's argumentation be rationally acceptable in any sense? The above-mentioned threefold distinction among different senses of rationality may offer an answer to this question. Quine's attack satisfies $\{[1] \ \& \ [\sim 2] \ \& \ [3]\}$ that I have taken to be a sufficient criterion for being rationally acceptable in a sufficiently strong sense of rationality. Let us see why the formula is satisfied in this particular case:

[1] Rhetorical rationality: the word usage 'dogma' disrupts the reader from his [assumed] preliminary identification with the dogma accepted by everyone;

[~ 2] Dialectical rationality: it [slightly] hurts discussion rules by appealing to the emotions of the reader [but does no big harm like formal error in reasoning];

[3] Epistemic rationality: it offers a revision of some otherwise un-discussed views for the scientific community that serves epistemic criteria of being constantly critical with fundamental assumptions.

[1], along with [3], is sufficient for satisfying criteria of rationality [in a sense stronger than serving self-interest], even if [~2] is taken. Given that it is hard to think that the most rigorous analytic philosophers were just persuaded by his rhetorics, the reason for a general celebration of Quine's paper was probably that he applied emotional arguments in a[n epistemically] rational way.

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“IF MY VIRTUE BE A DANCER’S VIRTUE...” – NIETZSCHE’S TRANSFORMATION OF THE CICERONIAN RHETORIC

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In 1874 Friedrich Nietzsche as a professor of classical studies gave lectures on rhetoric at the University of Basel. In his own notes the most referred authors were Aristotle, Quintilian and Cicero. Nietzsche thoroughly followed the arguments of Cicero in the lectures, but he passed ironic or critical remarks on the notions of Cicero from time to time. Nietzsche rejected the Ciceronian concept on the origin of metaphors and the “decorative” aesthetical ideas of the antic author. Nietzsche considered Cicero an important historical figure of the Roman culture and a symptomatic thinker of the retrogressive antic philosophy. In some fragments Nietzsche debated with Luther about the significance of Cicero, and he agreed with Mommsen that Cicero had been a philosophical journalist of his time. What are the causes of this negative attitude except for the different rhetorical ideas? In the oration of Cicero in defence of

Lucius Murena he showed the activity of dancing as the “the last of all vices”, because “no man [...] ever dances when sober, unless perhaps he be a madman”. Cicero frequently used the metaphor of the “dancer” or the “dancing” as a pejorative attribute, contrarily Nietzsche considered the dance-metaphor as a symbol of thinking. This opposition is not only a contrary in the metaphors, but an essential difference in the attitude to philosophy. In my paper I would like to demonstrate that the critical comments on Cicero represent the individual style and emotional character of Nietzsche’s rhetoric. The German philosopher transformed the antic concept of metaphor and he affirmed the non-rational potential of the rhetoric and the risk of madness as Dionysian activity. Because of some changes in the epistemological foundations Nietzsche could regard the vice of the dancing as a virtue of Zarathustra.

KEYWORDS: *Friedrich Nietzsche, Marcus Tullius Cicero, dance, rhetoric, sober*

Introduction: Nietzsche's early rhetorical concept

"There is obviously no unrheterical 'naturalness' of language to which one could appeal; the language itself is the result of audible rhetorical arts" [Nietzsche 1983: 106].¹ In *Lecture Notes on Rhetoric* Nietzsche argues that the rhetorical character of language is equivalent to the essence of language [Nietzsche 1983: 107]. Similar conclusions can be found in his famous essay *Ueber Wahrheit und Lüge im aussermoralischen Sinne*, but Nietzsche in this posthumous writing makes a more radical statement: our expressions, even the most abstract terms, originate in an action of transfer or error. The metaphoric nature of language does not mean only the question of rhetoric, but the question of epistemology too; when we prove to recognise something, we refer the individual to the general, so we suppose the equation of unequal things [KSA 1: 879-880]. Although Nietzsche wrote directly rhetorical works only in his early period, the effect of this conception can be detected in his late works as well.

Nietzsche gave his lectures on rhetoric as a Professor of classical studies at the University of Basel. His primary duty was to demonstrate the rhetorical ideas of the Greek and Roman authors; therefore, the relevant statements were written in the context of the ancient concepts. Nietzsche reviews several notions from the antiquity [e.g. ideas of Plato, Anaximenes, Quintilian, etc.] – while he shows the main topics and terms of rhetoric following a thematic system – but perhaps the most important authors for him are Aristotle and Cicero. The choice of these references could be said to be untypical in Nietzsche's oeuvre. He does not often allude to the works and theories of these philosophers; why does he prefer Aristotle and Cicero in this case, if generally they did not appeal to him?

Nietzsche forms his own original theory of language while debating with the ancient authors—although he does not agree with Aristotle, the pan-metaphorism of the Greek philosopher seemed to be a suitably transformable foundation [Nietzsche 1983: 106-107]. Permuting some of his ideas, Nietzsche can eliminate the difference between rhetoric and logic. Actually he constitutes the enthymeme [the trun-

¹In this paper I cite all works of Nietzsche from *Kritische Studienausgabe* [KSA, KSB] except for *Lecture Notes on Rhetoric* [the original German title: *Darstellung der antiken Rhetorik, Vorlesung Sommer 1874*], because the text is missing from this critical edition.

cated syllogism] to be the only option for argumentation. Nietzsche transforms only some elements of Aristotle's concept, but this transfiguration changes the meaning of the whole theory. This subversive action gives a new domain to rhetoric: it is no longer the practice of the polite or the community only, but an individual option for thinking too. Rhetoric loses its special social aspects, so it is suitable to devalue the traditional communal values and to establish Nietzsche's new individual virtues. This subversion enlightens the question: why did Nietzsche need the concept of Aristotle?²

Cicero is the other main reference of *Lecture Notes on Rhetoric*; this relation has a similarly paradoxical importance. Hereinafter I aim at presenting Nietzsche's interpretation of Cicero and his critical reflexions on the stylistics of the ancient rhetorician. Finally, I demonstrate the difference among the relevant thinkers by using the metaphor of "dance."

The role of Cicero in Nietzsche's oeuvre

Apart from the early rhetoric texts, Nietzsche mentions Cicero rarely as compared to other authors from the antiquity. The great majority of references to Cicero originate in his interest in the problems of classical studies. There is little textual evidence about the philosophical aspects of Cicero's works. Cicero's name is usually presented in his booklists and enumerations of his correspondence.

In an early letter from his schooldays in Schulpforta Nietzsche wrote to one of his fellow students that they should read Cicero with due diligence, because Cicero was classical Latin author [KSB 1: 55-56]. Soon after Nietzsche sent a "shopping list" to his mother in which the Cicero's correspondence was mentioned among works of other ancient authors, e. g. Homer and Livy [KSB 1: 122]. Nietzsche also sent several lists of books which he wanted to bind—including some of Cicero's works [KSB 1: 175, 258, 284] – and he marked the Roman orator on the list of important Latin authors [KSB 1:187]. Moreover, once Nietzsche wrote to his mother that he had to work on an essay on Cicero's proscription [KSB 1: 209]. As a graduate classical philologist he would sometimes allude to Cicero, for example, when he was Professor in Basel, he wrote twice in his letters that he had given a seminar on Cicero's *Academica* [KSB 3: 119, 174].

² I study Nietzsche's interpretation of Aristotle in another paper; see Tánčzos 2014.

Although the commonest Cicero references are on these various types of lists, there is another non-philosophical category of places about Cicero in Nietzsche's works. In the second half of Nietzsche's oeuvre we can find some fragments in which Nietzsche cites affirmatively a couple of witty phrases from Cicero. He annotates the famous IX.4 letter from *Epistolae ad Familiares* in Latin with a small amendment: "si hortum cum bibliotheca habes, nihil deerit" [KSA 13: 14]. Nietzsche changes the original "in" to "cum," so the meaning of the sentence is no more "if you have a garden *in* your library, you have everything you need," but "if you have a garden *and* a library, you have everything you need." Perhaps it is only an erratum, perhaps he tries to modernize the phrase, because the Hellenistic architectural custom [to build a little garden in the library] is no longer actual. This citation appears next to the maxims of Virgil, Napoleon and others; so it is not proper to derive huge implications from this type of citations. In another fragment Nietzsche cites one Cicero's insults which would be appropriate for an "argument" against the enemy of antiquity [KSA 8: 12].

There are some places in Nietzsche's oeuvre where he approves or disapproves of Cicero's acts and thoughts. In one of his posthumous notes Nietzsche calls Cicero a great benefactor of mankind [KSA 8: 66], somewhere else he cites French texts which glorify Cicero [KSA 11: 268]. Nietzsche says in a fragment that the didactic laudation of philosophy [by Cicero and Seneca] is disgusting; he wants to dissuade anybody from philosophizing, since the philosopher is a "rare plant" [KSA 11: 271].

An important [and perhaps the richest] type of notes on Cicero are those in which Nietzsche thematises rhetoric, linguistic and stylistic problems and alludes to Cicero among other authors. This textual evidence helps us recognise Nietzsche's relation to Cicero's concept of rhetoric. In this respect the most relevant document are his early lectures on rhetoric.

The interpretation of the Ciceronian rhetoric in the Basel era

As I mentioned, Nietzsche recapitulated and construed the basic questions and notions of ancient rhetoric in *Lecture Notes on Rhetoric*. He describes the main attributes of rhetoric, demonstrated with many examples from Greek and Roman theoreticians; these detailed notes were made for oral presentation. At first sight the lectures are precise and impartial works; Nietzsche reviews the ancient conceptions

properly and accurately indeed, but he does not recognise them in a decidedly impartial tone. If we read between the lines, we can notice Nietzsche's agreement with or aversion to certain theories. He sometimes provides keys for interpreting his own indirect reflexions, for Nietzsche occasionally writes about questions of rhetoric in an ahistorical way. In this case he leans on his own notions and ideas about some modern philosophers or writers (e.g. Kant, Schopenhauer, Goethe, etc.).

In *Lecture Notes* Nietzsche often alludes to Cicero, although the ancient orator is often a source of rhetorical examples. Sometimes Cicero's concepts gain significant functions in Nietzsche's work. It is important to mention that Nietzsche keeps an ironic distance from Cicero in every case. For example, he writes about the Latin rhetoric textbooks: "Cicero's *De Inventione* [two books] is a youthful work, entirely following Greek sources: the *Auctor ad Herennium* is used extensively here; yet generally speaking, Cicero usually is worse than the former" [Nietzsche 1983: 102]. Nietzsche emphasizes Cicero's intellectual achievement even if he does not really share his opinion.

Cicero's role becomes remarkable when Nietzsche starts considering the significance of characteristic speech. Nietzsche recognises the non-artificial seductive eloquence in the characteristic (or 'typical') style. This form of speech functions as an "original," quasi-natural productive principle. Although Nietzsche has reservations about the artificial-natural distinction, he uses the "naturalness" in quotation marks so as to demonstrate the function of the term.

"The characteristic style is the proper domain of the art of the orator: here he practices a free *plastic* art; the language is his material which has already been prepared. Here, he is an imitative artist; he speaks similarly to the actor, out of a strange person, or to him, a strange object: here, the belief that each manages his object best in his own manner is basic, viz., that it works in the most convincing manner. It is in this way that the listener perceives the naturalness, viz., the absolute appropriateness and uniformity, whereas with each deviation from the natural, he perceives the artificiality and becomes distrustful about the pattern presented. The art of the orator is to never allow artificiality to become noticeable: hence, the characteristic style which, however, is all the more a product of the highest art, just like the 'naturalness' of the good actor." [Nietzsche 1983: 113-114]

This mimetic principle is certainly not natural in ontological meaning, but it stands for the unsophisticated lingual manifestation. This is an erudite parlance which tries to make the audience believe that it is a natural manner without any kind of performative attributes. Nietzsche thinks this conception is a form of egoism, since we would have to presuppose the equivalence of truth and intrinsic based on this conceptualization [Nietzsche 1983: 114]. This approach cannot be satisfying, so we have to suppose a controlling force which he describes in the following lines:

“Therefore, in rhetoric, there is also an ‘imitation of nature’ as a basic means to persuade. The listener will believe in the *earnestness* of the speaker and the *truth* of the thing advocated only if the speaker and the language are adequately suited to one another: he takes a lively interest in the speaker and believes in him—that is, that the speaker himself believes in the thing, and thus is *sincere*. Therefore, ‘appropriateness’ aims at a moral effect, clarity (and purity) at an intellectual one: one will want to be understood, and one wishes to be considered sincere. ‘Purity’ already is a half-artistic delineation of what is typical; for in the mouth of many, solecism and barbarism also would be necessary for a full illusion [...]” [Nietzsche 1983: 114].

Instead of representation of naturalness Nietzsche promotes a new form of truthfulness: this is the expectation of frankness of ourselves. Nietzsche’s important term ‘Redlichkeit’ is not easy to translate into any other language [White 2001]; in English we can use ‘honesty’, ‘truthfulness’, ‘frankness’, and perhaps ‘honour’ or ‘manfulness’. It has a moral and an intellectual aspect at the same time. If the orator would like to appear to be ‘redlich’ for the audience, he or she should control the characteristic naturalness with the artistic purity. Nietzsche emphasizes that the ideal of purity is a late development in the life of a language [Nietzsche 1983: 109], so its origin cannot be the natural purity of language.

According to Nietzsche, Cicero completely subverts this approach. Nietzsche dwells long upon a citation from *De oratore*, where Cicero writes about the fact that the pure and proper speech does not meet with rhetorical success. Proper speaking is expected of an orator, so he or she has to aim at declaiming in a characteristic way. The limit of the characteristic style is the dignity of an orator and the described things or persons. Nietzsche leaves a comment on Cicero’s argumentation:

“Here what is *typical* appears almost as a restriction on the beautiful: although the beautiful is usually considered as a restriction of what is typical” [Nietzsche 1983: 116]. Nietzsche thinks that the original order of the typical [characteristic] and the pure beauty turns, almost totally turns over.

According to Nietzsche, what would be near naturalness, that will be a late restriction in Cicero’s work, and what would be an artificial intervention, that will be a productive activity. Nietzsche reveals a similar process in the character of Socrates in *Die Geburt der Tragödie*: in Socrates’ case, instinct becomes the critic and consciousness of the creator, but in the case of the normal productive people instinct is the creative-affirmative principle and consciousness makes critical gestures [KSA 1: 90]. Cicero’s aesthetic-rhetoric conception can be interpreted as an empty form of the apollonian principle from a Nietzschean view, because he sees an obsessionist spokesman of dignity, restriction and decorative appearance. Cicero thinks the delight and *surfeitare* phenomena close to each other, , the one can change into the other easily, so the orator has to adopt the instruments of delight in moderation [Nietzsche 1983: 116]. In Nietzsche’s interpretation, Cicero is the most important propagator of decorativeness.

Nietzsche also cites Cicero when he considers the dawn of metaphors. Cicero states that metaphors were engendered from necessity. Since something could not be said, it should have been told by transforms [Nietzsche 1983: 122]. Later the speakers found these phrases beautiful, so they used them henceforward [but in order to delight]. Nietzsche does not comment this statement here, but reading the *Lecture Notes* we find out that he shares Cicero’s opinion. Nietzsche identifies the tropic phrasing with the essence of language [Nietzsche 1983: 106-107]. Originally every expression was metaphoric-metonymic, but usage abolished the trace of the transfer. Actually language was engendered from contrivance, not from poverty, since metaphors represent the richness and productiveness of language. The function of metaphors is not only delight, because metaphors are the most typical versions of the lingual expression.

Although Cicero conspicuously uses tropic expressions, he thinks of them as a decorative instrument of persuasion. In his value judgment he sets the abstraction before the metaphor. Not unexpectedly, Nietzsche notices that “Cicero was considered to be the originator to damage genuine *latinitas*” by his contemporaries [Nietzsche 1983: 119], and he played a huge role in the Latinising of the Greek terms [Ni-

etzsche 1983: 120]. Generally Nietzsche values the Roman culture, its republican virtues and the structure of the empire, basically he regards Latin literature and philosophy as a decay when compared with Greek culture. In *Die Geburt der Tragödie* the cause of the decay-narrative is the dominance of aesthetic socratism, abstract and moral intellectualism. This process is not independent of the dominance of the abstractions at the expense of metaphors [KSA 1: 882]. Perhaps it is not an audacious interpretation, if we think that Nietzsche—similarly to Heidegger [Heidegger 1977: 8]—regards the Latinising of Greek terms as a problematic procedure; leastwise Nietzsche considers the Latin philosophy less valuable than the Greek texts [e.g. KSA 1: 811], he has reservations about abstractions, he detects semantic differences between the Greek and Latin terms [Nietzsche 1983: 120–121]. Nietzsche emphasizes Cicero’s merit in Latinising; but it is a strange compliment from him [Nietzsche 1983: 119].

Luther and Mommsen about Cicero

Nietzsche regards Cicero as a significant and representative man of late antiquity, but, according to Nietzsche, it does not mean that Cicero was a great thinker and author in his time. The German philosopher does not agree with Cicero, but he acknowledged the Roman thinker’s values, as he did in the case of Socrates, St. Paul and Luther. Although Nietzsche deprecates these religious and philosophical theoreticians [in certain periods of his life], he considers their paradigm shift to pattern. Contrarily Cicero was a great actor of history, he could play his role, he could represent the tendencies of his age; but he was not a real agent: effectively he was not a great inventor.

Nietzsche writes several more notes about Cicero’s historical relevance apropos of another debate. Nietzsche follows the career of Theodor Mommsen, who was one of the most important historians in his own time. He does not really like Mommsen, but he values the historian’s works. In one of his letters from 1880 Nietzsche tells the story about Mommsen’s burning house to Peter Gast. He writes that Mommsen kept on rushing back into the flames, he attempted to save his notes. Nietzsche calls Mommsen a rare type of witty scholar with retentive memory [KSB 6: 29].

Nietzsche relies on Mommsen’s standpoint on Cicero [KSA 7: 266]. He accepts Mommsen’s statement that Cicero was not a great thinker and orator of his own time, but rather a political poseur, a demagogic

and manipulative actor whose philosophical writings were eclectic and poor patchworks (Pizan 2010: 194). In his posthumous fragments Nietzsche cites Luther's verdict. The father of the protestant reformation describes Cicero as a wise and active man whose life was full of suffering (KSA 7: 644). In this place Nietzsche does not comment this citation, but he copies the sentence once more and explains the significance of the verdict. Nietzsche compares Mommsen's standpoint with Luther's verdict and he declares that everybody interprets history on the basis of his or her talent. It is the cause of Luther's positive verdict and the reason why Mommsen regards Cicero as a journalist (KSA 7: 706). Nietzsche—in opposition to Luther—does not think Luther to be an active person.

Decorative man of a world empire

Nietzsche took Cicero's representative role so seriously that in 1874 he planned to write an essay about him entitled "Cicero und der romanische Begriff der Cultur" (KSB 4: 200). In his posthumous fragments we can find some relevant texts, perhaps these were made for the Cicero essay. On these pages there are short reflections and a longer train of thought too. Cicero is shown as a representative figure of decorative culture. He has moral and aesthetical imperfections for the same reason: the absence of honesty (Ehrlichkeit) (KSA 7: 753). Nietzsche calls Cicero "the decorative man of a world empire" (KSA 7: 758). Nietzsche also describes the characteristic of Roman culture and rhetoric: Romans distinguished too sharply between content and form, and they preferred the integration of the outlander accomplishments (KSA 7: 754).

Nietzsche does not identify Cicero's decorativeness with the poetic-rhetorical notion of 'decorum': he deprecates the rootless decorative or ornamental principle. Actually Nietzsche's main problem with Cicero is that the concepts of the ancient author miss the 'Redlichkeit' and its "moral" and aesthetical aspects too. It seems that Nietzsche shares Mommsen's moral objection (Mommsen 1941: 626). On the other hand, Nietzsche's starting point is a rhetorical-linguistic problem: Cicero's decorativeness depends on his subversive thought, in which he changes the principles of the characteristic/typical and purity/beauty. By his theory the basic requirement for lingual productivity is the decorative expression.

Reading aloud and silently

Nietzsche regularly writes about the difference between silent and oral reading, with its stylistic implications. The fact that loud reading was rare in antiquity, he clarifies the difference between the ancient and modern stylistic concepts. He writes in his *Lecture Notes on Rhetoric*:

“In general, all ancient literature, above all the Roman literature, appears to be somewhat artificial and rhetorical to us, who are unrefined speech empiricists. This has a deeper reason also, in the fact that the true prose of antiquity is an echo of public *speech* and is built upon its law, whereas our prose is always to be explained more from *writing*, and our style presents itself as something to be perceived through reading. He who reads, and the one who hears, desire wholly different presentation form, and this is the reason that ancient literature seems ‘rhetorical’ to us; viz., it appeals chiefly to the ear, in order to bribe it.” (Nietzsche 1983: 106.)

In an aphorism of *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* Nietzsche states that the laws of written and oral style were the same, and the training of the ear and larynx enabled the complex and long periods with one breath for orators [KSA 5: 190]. Since the audience had a competency in the art of elocution, the orator—who would like to have excelled—had to speak in an amazing way. In the second book of *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* Nietzsche also writes about the difference between the written and oral style [KSA 2: 600]. Since the written text is more complex and brief than oral presentation, the author has to complement the possibilities of the orator, for example gesticulation and tone. According to Nietzsche, Demosthenes gave his oral presentation firstly, then he adapted it to written form, but Cicero fixed the oral presentation directly in written form. Nietzsche formulates his own stylistic conception by considering this difference. In a letter to Lou von Salomé Nietzsche sent a short text [*Zum Lehre vom Still*] which contained ten aphorisms about his views [KSB 6: 243-245]. He commits himself to the organic style, and he provides principles in opposition to Ciceronian practice; for example, in his view we have to forbear the periods and try for the illustrative style. First of all, in this collection of principles he circumscribes the phenomenon of ‘Redlichkeit’ which is absent from the Ciceronian conception.

The opposition between Nietzsche and Cicero reflected in a metaphor

Nietzsche's problems with Cicero's linguistic and rhetorical conception can be summarized in few sentences. [1] Cicero changes the role of characteristic mimesis and pure beauty, so actually [2] he changes the functional order of the natural and artificial style. Therefore [3] he radically intellectualises language, and this is reflected in his conception about the origin of metaphors. [4] His theory's foundation is decorativeness, which means firstly the empty form of beauty, [5] secondly the absence of 'Redlichkeit' and thirdly the importance of measure and dignity [the surrogates of the real ethic attribute].

In this paper I do not aim to examine the question as to what extent Nietzsche is right, for I focus solely on Nietzsche's interpretation. To finish the paper, I take a short excursion into the metaphor, which represents the difference between Nietzsche's and Cicero's rhetoric. The metaphor of 'dancing' or the 'dancer' is important for both of them, but while Cicero condemns the dancers, Nietzsche considers dancing as a positive activity.

Cicero writes about dance in a passage of his famous pleading, *For Lucius Murena*:

"Cato calls Lucius Murena a dancer. If this be imputed to him truly, it is the reproach of a violent accuser; but if falsely, it is the abuse of a scurrilous railer. Wherefore, as you are a person of such influence, you ought not, O Marcus Cato, to pick up abusive expressions out of the streets, or out of some quarrel of buffoons; you ought not rashly to call a consul of the Roman people a dancer; but to consider with what other vices besides that man must be tainted to whom that can with truth be imputed. For no man, one may almost say, ever dances when sober, unless perhaps he be a madman, nor in solitude, nor in a moderate and sober party; dancing is the last companion of prolonged feasting, of luxurious situation, and of many refinements. You charge me with that which must necessarily be the last of all vices, you say nothing of those things without which this vice absolutely cannot exist [...]" [Cic. Mur. 6.]

It would be an error to think of this citation as a wantonly chosen detail, because Cicero consistently writes about the 'dancer' in a pejo-

rative way.³ He uses the ‘dancer’ as an insult (Alexander 2005: 125), he calls it the last of all vices. Dancing eliminates self-control, the dancer loses the normal measures of behaviour and his or her dignity. Generally speaking, Cicero considers that dancing derogates the male person, and sometimes he euphemises pederasty with this metaphor (Corbeil 1996: 167), particularly in relation to naked dance (Cic. Ver. 2.3.23).

On the contrary, we cannot find any other absolutely affirmative metaphor in Nietzsche’s oeuvre like ‘dancing.’ The activity of dancing means jauntiness in the most frequent case, but it means freedom from resentment as well. It can symbolise the attitude to braveness (KSA 3: 356) or it can refer to the presence of Dionysian rapture. In *Thus spoke Zarathustra* Nietzsche calls Zarathustra definitely to a dancer (KSA 4: 366). In one place Zarathustra speaks about himself: “If my virtue is a dancer’s virtue, and I have often leaped with both feet into golden-emerald rapture [...]” (Nietzsche 1896: 337; KSA 4: 290). Nietzsche regards dancing as a symbol of a new way of thinking which affirms the body and gives back the innocence of life (Kofman 1993: 185).

The different approaches to the metaphor of dance can represent the difference between the two rhetorical, linguistic and stylistic theories. While Cicero sees an unworthy, instinctual behaviour and the absence of moderate appearance in dancing, according to Nietzsche, the dance is the beauty of instinctual behaviour, the appearance of the Dionysian-natural style. Cicero thinks it to be a vice, Nietzsche regards the dance as a virtue. If Cicero had seen the nakedly dancing Nietzsche in his sacred madness, indubitably he would have been shocked by the scene.

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WIKIPEDIA AND THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORSHIP: AARON SWARTZ'S HYPOTHESIS

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A traditional approach to the question of who is responsible for the most of the content of the Wikipedia, as represented by Jimmy Wales, one of the founders of the project, points out to the core of Wikipedia community — most active and most frequent users with the longest Wikipedia experience. However, an alternative proposal was formulated by Aaron Swartz who analyzed the amount of contribution to an article in terms of words added. He came to a conclusion that most of the content has been produced by occasional, fortuitous users that deliver long pieces of a text or even entire, developed entries.

The paper discusses some methods that could allow to an empirical verifi-

cation of the Swartz's thesis, continuing the line of research he elaborated. In the final, theoretical part of the paper the conflict between two opposite authorship models, the Wales' and the Swartz's, will be interpreted in frame of communication theory. Wales's point will be confronted with James W. Carey's ritual view of communication, whereas Swartz's approach will lead to a new communication model. It will be called a conflict view of communication, following results of investigations of Dariusz Jemielniak who utters that the main motivation to contribute to the Wikipedia is a conflict between our beliefs and what we read in the Wikipedia.

KEYWORDS: *articipatory culture, Wikipedia, authorship, new media, communication theory, ritual view of communication*

A traditional model of communication contains three elements: a sender, a message, and a receiver. The message this paper is talking about is Wikipedia, an internet encyclopedia, controversial, but popular and widely used as a source of information. The receiver then is us, Wikipedia users. This includes not only occasional users accessing it during their free time for entertainment, but also professionals dealing in their job with information processing, such as journalists or researchers, from private companies, as well as state owned institutions. What about the third element of this communication process? Who is a sender?

An answer to this question may seem very simple to someone who has some knowledge about the mechanism of Wikipedia functioning. Wikipedia is created by thousands of internet users, since this site, as it declares, is "the free encyclopedia that anyone can edit." It is what we can read on the front page.

The Wiki-text is a logical consequence of the palimpsest technology, which develops it almost to perfection. It allows adding supplements, removing old content, inputting a new one, and at the same time preserving all the past versions of an article. Nothing is lost in Wikipedia, all the interventions of every contributor are saved. As one can read in the Wikipedia tutorials, you cannot change the content of Wikipedia, you can only supply a new one.

Nevertheless, a small percentage of Wikipedia readers have ever edited Wikipedia, or even know someone who has done it. Where are they? Who is writing Wikipedia?

The Gang of 500 versus the Anonymous Horde

This question attracted the attention of Aaron Swartz, an Internet activist and a devoted Wikipedian. He contrasted two theories. The first one, called "The Gang of 500" theory is supported by a lot of Wikipedians, among them Jimmy Wales, one of the founders of Wikipedia. Swartz quotes passages from Wales' researches stating that

„over 50% of all the edits are done by just 0.7% of the users ... 524 people. ... And in fact the most active 2%, which is 1400 people, have done 73.4% of all the edits.“ [Swartz 2006]

One edit is equal to one click of „Save“ button, what makes sending to Wikipedia servers a new version of an article. The interventions of

an editor, however, can be of various sorts. We can divide them all into two fairly well separated types:

1. uploading textual content;
2. „wikisation“ of a content already uploaded. The term of wikisation refers to every edit that is aimed at making a content already present in the article comply in a possible strict way with all the standards of the Wikipedia project.

An actual intervention can be the mix of the two types above mentioned. Still, it is always possible to determine a precise amount of both types of interventions in one edit submitted by a Wikipedia editor. One can add some new facts to an existing entry, but at the same time make some grammatical and editorial corrections. Then, if she clicks “Save,” all the input provided during this session is sent to servers as a one edit, independently of its being a 10 000 chars text or an action of removing one coma. One click on the “Save” button counts as one edit.

Following this line of thought Swartz advanced an alternative way to determine the contribution of users in a more precise and adequate way. He decided to count the amount of text each user contributed to the final version of an entry. He examined a random article, which happened to be an entry about Alan Alda, an American actor. Swartz compared the results obtained in both ways: Wales’ and his own. When he counted the edits, he found that in top 10 of users contributing to this article 7 were registered users, 2 of them very active Wikipedians. Nevertheless, when he took as a unit of added value a letter in the final version of an entry, the ranking list has dramatically changed: only 2 of 10 top users were registered ones, all the others were occasional users who didn’t contribute to the project much, apart from the entry in question. Therefore, a hypothesis arose suggesting that the real authors of Wikipedia are an anonymous mass of fortuitous, occasional editors. Swartz names this hypothesis “The Anonymous Horde” theory.

An analysis of one arbitrarily chosen entry cannot prove or disprove any thesis. Swartz executed the algorithm on 200 articles [Swartz]. The thesis expressed above got confirmed, save for a few exceptions, which, as it sometimes happens, finally, at a closer look, proved the rule as well. Nonetheless, it would be useful to describe them, since they seem to illustrate general tendencies. To put it briefly, he came across a few cases that apparently contradicted the thesis of the anonymous horde, but all of them fell into one of the two groups:

1. translations
2. plagiarism

In the case of translation an article happened to be a translated version of an article from another language version of Wikipedia. Plagiarism includes cases where an article is compiled out of the copy-and-pasted content of third-part websites. Whereas a translation from other language Wikipedia versions is accepted, even if not appreciated [and must always be clearly stated in the history of articles], plagiarism is illegal, unless the works belong to the public domain.

In his research sample Swartz hasn't found any article that was created mostly by one user. The 'horde' means that the authors are not only occasional and anonymous, but also very numerous, that every article, even a very long and complicated one, is the result of the work of dozens of people supplying few sentences each. Here we can apply the notion of crowdsourcing, a wisdom of crowds, a smart mob, swarm intelligence [SI], or collective intelligence [Lévy 1994], as far as a kind of organizational aspect is concerned, or a long tail [Anderson 2006], so as to grasp the phenomenon from the point of view of economy and organization. Contrarily, according to Jimbo Wales' view, Wikipedia would function in a much more traditional way, as a centralized organization, with a core team producing most of the added value of the site — these are the conclusions Swartz is drawing in his publication.

In my opinion, the difference between Wales' and Swartz's results derives from the very definition of authorship. According to Swartz, counting should be done by the letters/words added to the final version of the text. Wales is counting all the interventions. One could probably lean towards Swartz's definition, as far as authorship is concerned, understood as a value added by a user. However, one may suppose that occasional authors of texts wouldn't be encouraged to deliver their contribution unless articles are kept clean, readable, and encyclopedic by the Wikipedia editors.

Alternatives: Persistent Word View and Persistent Word Revision

The difference between the value of incidental authors' and editors' input becomes less evident when one takes into consideration Reid Priedhorsky and his team's research. As a unit of value added by a user they propose the persistent word view [PWV]. This notion is based on the idea of a web site view, but it is more precise and it concerns not the whole site, but each single word separately. The contribution of an editor is measured not just by the number of letters she inputs, but also by the popularity of its content [Priedhorsky 2007]. This methodologi-

cal approach is more sophisticated than Swartz's, based only on the amount of the text introduced. Priedhorsky's parameter exemplifies the perspective of a reader, since the value of a content is proportional to their use for the audience. The more popular and viewed the word is, the bigger its value grows, according to Priedhorsky's approach.

Priedhorsky's results confirmed the thesis of Jimmy Wales about The Gang of 500. As of February 2006, top 10% most active editors generated 86% of Persistent Word Views. Nonetheless, one must remember that it doesn't mean they contributed to 86% of the whole textual content. Their textual input was probably smaller, but it covered the most popular topics.

A similar logic stands behind another wiki research methodological proposal, which is aimed at measuring the quality of a content. Persistent Word Revision [PWR]:

The sum total of subsequent revisions persisted by the words
in a revision. [Research: Content persistence]

In this case the value of a word is increasing after every edition of an entry, providing the word hasn't been removed. This approach was inspired by examinations that showed that low-quality input doesn't last much time and is always sooner or later removed. The whole idea is implied by one of the principles of Wikipedia, which is a maxim: "publish first, edit later."

While the Persistent Word View concept stresses the role of a reader, since the value of a content is based on its popularity with the public, the Persistent Word Revision factor appeals to the importance of editors' interventions, and it is their activity that determines and corroborates the value of a contribution. View approach and Revision approach make a perfect symmetry in exactly the same way as a reader and an author.

However, both of these methodological tools do not seem to hit the point of our research problem. There is no doubt that Persistent Word View and Persistent Word Revision are more precise as far as the estimation of the general use and quality of a content is concerned. Nevertheless, the topic of our investigation is a question of authorship, which is the simple formulation of an expression, or a sentence, and storing it in a written form. The question of quality or popularity of a content must be distinguished from the question of its authorship.

There are several other works on the model of authorship that we confront in the case of Wikipedia, explaining it with a notion of an ag-

gregate author [Jordan 2007] or situating it against the background of the European literary tradition of a romantic author figure [Chon 2012].

Jordan starts his analysis with a description of the Seigenthaler controversy. A Wikipedia article on an American journalist contained almost only false information and actually was a libel created by a Wiki vandal. However, it stayed online four months, despite Seigenthaler's efforts to remove it. In spite of that Jordan is not blaming Wikipedia for irresponsibly circulating false information. He takes this controversy as the cost for the unprecedented opportunity that Wikipedia provides to us. The online encyclopedia allows for tracing processes of meaning construction that theorists of semiotics and deconstruction have been describing for the last few decades. The electronic platform makes it more visible and accessible to empirical verification. It proposes a new model of authorship, an aggregate author that consists of

„the interaction between writer and reader“ [Jordan 2007: 165]

Margaret Chon describes “the author effect,” which consists of two aspects of authorship: a genius creating new ideas, and an arbiter, an authority, who is able to translate the individual experience of a genius to the mass, “authorizing” them to participate in it. She investigates how a collective type of authorship inscribes itself into a romantic model. One should remark that in Wikipedia we deal with exactly the same two types of contributors: creators [authors] and editors [arbiters].

Verification of Swartz's thesis and Problems Arising

Swartz formulated his thesis 10 years ago and since then it has got neither confirmation, nor refutation. It may seem surprising, however, as I am going to show, it is not so much, given the complexity of the problem.

As we have already seen, it is not clear what authorship is at all. We don't agree whether we should found it on the amount of editions, a textual contribution, or a view of contribution. One shouldn't forget that Wikipedia is not only a text, but also links, bibliography, data formatted in tables, sound files, images and other sorts of graphical materials, like diagrams and schemes. When talking about the authorship of Wikipedia, one shouldn't be confined to textual bias, ignoring other kinds of creation. Therefore, my research proposal is to count contribution to Wikipedia not just with the bare text added, thus following in

Swartz' footsteps, or simply regressing to Wales' "brutal edits" metrics, but to try to take into consideration both the authors' and editors' activities. The idea is very simple and it is supported by the Wikipedia interface, providing the value of the size of every article and every user contribution in bytes. This is definitely not the perfect way of measuring article value for a reader, since there are several "invisible" chars. Most of them are aimed at formatting a layout: adding styles, creating headings, lists, tables, etc. Some serve for including interlinks, images, or other audiovisual content. There is also a templates system, some of them only temporary, serving as an annotation for future editors. Actually, the template caused a serious problem as regards the question of counting user contribution. It is based on the idea of transclusion, i. e. inclusion of the content of one site [a template site] to another site [for instance, a Wikipedia entry; see Wikipedia: Transclusion]. It means that an editor writes just the name of a template along with some parameters in the input box and this text is substituted by the whole content of a template. Therefore a software amplifies the input of the editor by way of a mechanism of macro-definition.

Shortly, every Wiki entry contains a smaller or bigger quantity of Wiki Markup language designed not for a human reader of Wikipedia, but for the internal engine of MediaWiki, the software every language version of Wikipedia is based on. In my opinion, the Wiki Markup syntax should also be counted as a contribution, for it helps a human reader to read and better understand the article. Taking into consideration a contribution of the editors, I still differ from Wales in that he counts not the size of input provided by way of entry edits, but the number of edits. The difference is like that between calculating the total weight of all the parcels or counting the number of parcels.

The Double Face of Wiki Text

For the need of this paper I put together a sample of 30 entries from the Polish Wikipedia [by using an option "Random article" from the site navigation]. For each entry I noted its total size in the Wikipedia data base such as it is displayed in the history of an entry. This figure should comprise the raw code of an article in the Wiki Markup syntax. This is an author/editor contribution in the original form, before it is parsed by the Media Wiki engine. Throughout this paper I will call it an input version of the Wikipedia article [IVA]. The volume of this output was also recorded. The output is the final form of an input having

undergone parsing according to the Wiki syntax rules. This is what a Wikipedia reader sees. I will refer to this entity as an output version of article [OVA]¹. They are the two faces of a Wiki-text and they resemble a couple of notions from IT terminology: back-end and front-end. Back-end is the side of a site editor while front-end is the end user side, the final effect of editor work.

It is worth mentioning that this situation is unusual in human language communication. In oral speech, in writing or in print, what the sender of a message is creating as material correlate of the message is an entity perceived directly by the receiver of the message, This is due to a fact that all language communication before the age of automatic computing was intended for a human listener/reader, while in Computer Mediated Communication [CMC] there is some language content directed to a non-personal receiver, which is a Turing machine, popularly known as a computer. This is why some interfaces of CMC are now WYSIWYG type. WYSIWYG is an abbreviation of the sentence "What you see is what you get" and characterizes such media as writing and the printing press. What a writer writes is what a reader sees. There is no writer version that is separate from the reader version of a message. The same idea stays behind such text processors as Open Office, Libre Office, or Microsoft Office. They all are WYSIWYG, since what a user sees on the screen she will see on the printed form of a document as well. WYSIWYG interfaces are much easier to operate than those that are not WYSIWYG, but they are limited in functionalities. The Wiki-text, like HTML and LaTeX, is not WYSIWYG, and that is why it has both IVA and OVA².

The whole thing is, however, more complex. A lot of Wikipedia entries enclose pictures and other multimedia content. This is mentioned in IVA in the form of a link to a file, whereas in OVA we basically see or hear the content of the multimedia file. Consequently, we count it in IVA not as a content, but as a link to a content³. In the case of OVA, we ignore it for the sake of simplicity. On the one hand, there is no doubt that

¹ For the need of this paper, I presumed that OVA doesn't include the title of a Wikipedia article, nor a categorisation list, nor an automatically generated table of contents. It contains captions of images and bibliography.

² Even though a visual editor that allows editing in the WYSIWYG mode appeared in 2013 in the Polish Wikipedia [Kronika polskojęzycznej Wikipedii]. Still, it is only a friendly graphical editor of a code which is not WYSIWYG by itself.

³ A link to an image is about 100 bytes, while an image can easily be a thousand times bigger in terms of bytes.

if a photo is used in an article, the author of the photo is a co-author of the article, even though she doesn't have any idea about this fact. But, on the other hand, it would be difficult to compare a textual contribution and a visual contribution. For this reason I have decided to ignore the audiovisual contribution and to stick to a strictly textual one.

But even with this constraint, it is often not obvious what should be counted to OVA, among others, because of a text generated by templates. Every Wikipedia template was created by a human being, but every template can be and is applied many times. On the other hand, the text generated by a template makes integral part of OVA from the point of view of a Wikipedia reader — its receiver. For the sake of this experiment, I take for granted any text produced in this way.

Concise as a Wikipedia Article

The first surprise was related to the question of entries size. They seemed unexpectedly tiny in comparison to what we figure out as the size of a typical Wikipedia article. Most of them were smaller than four lines in a standard full-screen browser window. It was sure then that there was really not much space for several authors. The average volume of an entry [IVA] was 3960 characters, but as for clean textual content [OVA], it was only about 1961 chars, which is about 50% of IVA. It is not a lot, as it may seem, since OVA still contains a lot of 'empty' or almost 'empty' words like table labels [present in the form of infobox in a great bulk of Wikipedia articles], chapter titles [eg. "Bibliography"] and other kinds of metatextuality, to use Gérard Genette's term [Genette 1997].

As for the actual size of articles I have identified three stages of the article volume, according to the amount of lines in a standard, full-screen window size:

Table 1. The size of articles from a research sample

Size of articles		Number of articles	Percentage of articles
I. developed	more than 10 lines	6	20%
II. somehow developed	4-10 lines	12	40%
III. not developed	less than 4 lines	12	40%

The average [IVA] size of the Polish Wikipedia article was, as of February 2014, 2718 bytes. 2718 chars is about 1 kB less than our result, 3960. Accordingly, the average number of edits for a Polish Wikipedia article was 28.2. The average article size has been growing steadily since the beginning of the Polish Wikipedia, starting from 537 bytes in October 2001 [Wikipedia Statistics Polish]. Current statistics are not accessible yet, but it is very probable that this research sample mirrors the real Wikipedia characteristics to a fairly accurate degree.

The Authors

Only 1 out of 5 articles [6 of them] from the sample exceeded four lines of text [in default screen resolution, default browsers settings]. The modest length of an article from the sample implied a limited number of contributors. In most of the cases the list of authors didn't exceed two. I then distinguished two groups of authors insofar as the size of their contribution in OVA is concerned.

The 1st Author

11 articles, that is more than 1/3 of the whole sample, have a short history of editions and only 1 human author responsible for the whole content of the article, amplified in 9 of the 11 cases by a bot, a software that edits Wikipedia pages in automated way, making standard, repetitive corrections or supplements.

In two other cases [“*Anthaxia attenuata*”, “*Klaffer am Hochficht*”] the entry history consisted exactly of 1 edition, and the creator of the entry was at the same time its only editor. In both cases there were registered active, keen Wikipedians. The latter entry, however, consisted of just one line [179 chars], if we do not count the info-box that added 372 chars to the whole size of OVA. By coincidence, the author of this one-line entry, Cojan, happened to be responsible for another article in the research sample.

The set of all 1st authors in our sample of 30 articles has only 29 members, since one of them happened to be the author of 2 articles. Apart from “*Klaffer am Hochficht*” Cojan created “*Oberwiera*”, also a one-line entry that he was the only human contributor of. Cojan is one of the most active Polish Wikipedians and he is ranked among Wikipedians on the 21st position insofar as the amount of edits is concerned [Wikipedia: Najpłodniejsi wikipedyści/2016-01-01/bajty].

At a first glance one must admit that, contrary to the Anonymous Horde hypothesis, only two of the most prolific contributors to the articles of the sample happened to be anonymous, what in Wikipedia software is signed with an IP number.

Also, two of the 1st authors happened to be a bot. Tzca.bot was the author of two sentences entry “Wyganki,” referring to a village in Poland. This entry was generated in an automated way by a user operating Tzca.bot. This kind of bot imports data from an external database, for instance, that provided by the Central Statistical Office, and in a mechanical way, and, according to a specific template, it creates a series of entries. Tzca.bot is specialized in geographical content and it has already generated series of articles, such as the municipalities in Denmark or the cities in Italy. The results articles created by bot are called stubs — small entries, containing few basic facts. Another one was MalarzBOT, the most active Polish Wikipedian, as for the number of editions. MalarzBOT happened to be the 2nd author too in a few cases.

The practice of creating new entries with the help of a bot have become popular in Wikipedia. One of the Wikibots, Lsjbot, operated by Swedish Wikipedian Sverker Johansson, brought about 2.7 million entries as of 2014 [Lsjbot]. Two thirds of these entries belong to Cebuano Wikipedia, one third to a Swedish one, making them, respectively, rank 3 and 2 of world Wikipedias’ ranking based on the number of articles [List of Wikipedias 2016]. The Lsjbot, according to his operator, is devoted to creating articles on all living beings, especially birds and fungal species.

The 2nd Author

Only in 8 out of 30 articles the second author and the other ones added some factual content or bibliographical sources. All the other 20 cases involved only redaction and/or wikisation, such as attributing categories, including info-boxes, etc., with no textual contribution.

Of 8 factual contributions 2 were due to unregistered, anonymous users, 6 to registered Wikipedians.

Of these 20 cases of contributions half was made by bots, mostly by MalarzBOT.

Among the 2nd authors one human user appeared twice — Low-down, also one of the most active Polish Wikipedians. One of his contributions was just a wikisation, but another one involved a factual amplification.

Table 2. The characteristics of 1st and 2nd authors of articles from the research sample

	all	registered	anonymous	bot
1 st authors	29	25 [86%]	2 [7%]	2 [7%]
2 nd authors	21	14 [67%]	4 [19%]	3 [14%]

Copied Content Problem

Several problems arise when trying to examine the authorship of a Wikipedia entry. In particular, we cannot display the contribution of a user in a simple way. We have to infer about it on the basis of other facts. That is not always evident. What we can access directly is a list of succeeding versions or revisions of an article and the nick of a person who saved each of them. There is also the option of comparing every couple of revisions in two columns showing differences on the level of a single paragraph. But even when we finally attribute a contribution to a user, that is not the end of the job. As we know from Swartz, a text input by a Wikipedian is not always her or his own original content. Swartz enumerated two exceptions from this case. The first one was a translation from another language version of Wikipedia. This is completely legal and in accordance with the rules of the project as long as it is overtly stated in the history of an article. The second exception was a copied content, which mostly involves plagiarism, sometimes unwitting and involuntary, and it is off course illegal.

During the examination of the research sample another class of exception emerged. This was a case of copying content from a Wikipedia article whose content was split into two articles or served as the basis for a new article. Let us take a look at this option in the following example. The entry, "Powstanie Kantonalistów" ["Cantonal Revolution"] seemed to be created by a user, Diogenes2007, who made it out at 19:02 on 14 Feb 2008 as a simple redirection to another entry, "Rewolucja naftowa" ["Petrol Revolution"]. Nonetheless, when we follow the history of "Rewolucja naftowa", we realize that the whole thing looks somewhat different. The entry entitled "Powstanie Kantonalistów" was brought about by a user Seksa on 17 July 2005. Three years later, on 14 Feb 2008, at 19:02, the user Diogenes2007 basically changed its name to "Rewolucja naftowa" and created another brand-new article "Powstanie Kantonalistów" and put into it a redirection to the old entry. So the article "Powstanie Kantonalistów" simply forked into two new articles, which started their own, independent life. Thus, the question

about the identity of a Wikipedia article arises. We cannot rely simply on the name of an article, since it can undergo changes.

As we have seen in the case of "Powstanie Kantonalistów," almost the whole content seems to be created by a single user, Diogenes2007. However, one can figure out a case when the content of an old entry is used for the creation of a new one, and a user that creates the new entry and copies the content from the old one will appear as the creator of this content. Hence, to the list of situations enumerated by Swartz, which apparently contradicts the Anonymous Horde thesis, such as translation or plagiarism, one must add a case of a text copied from an older version of a Wikipedia entry, when changing the name of an entry and moving its content [partly or wholly] to a new one.

Such was the fascinating story of an entry "Krupy [powiat sokołowski]," referring to a village in Sokolow county. This entry was originally created at 8:51am, on September 11, 2002, most probably under the title "Krupy." A common noun *krupy* refers in Polish to the weather phenomenon of a graupel [soft hail, snow pellets]. In its first version, created integrally by Sławojar, this entry contained a two line definition of what graupel is and a list of other similar phenomena, such as rain, drizzle, snow, or hail. When following the history of the entry, we see at a moment that one revision amplifies this entry with a new, parasitic entry in the same article. At 1:20 pm, Jan 16 2006, below the definition of a graupel, an anonymous user included a four sentence description of Krupy, a village in Sokolow powiat. In the next revision, 6 minutes later, she/he removed the definition of Krupy as a weather phenomenon. This content is now lost forever, because six days later, at 1:26 am, Jan 22, 2006, a new entry was brought about by Kimbar under the title "Krupy [opad atmosferyczny]" [Graupel [atmospheric precipitation]]. The entry contained the content added by Kimbar, and he would be gratified as the author of a content by a research software. We saw, however, that this text was the contribution of Sławojar.

Another similar exception is probably common, namely it happens when an editor B paraphrases a sentence added by a previous editor A, correcting style or reordering an article. In such a case the contribution of the editor A will not be counted to his account, but all his work will be attributed to the editor B, whose role was just proofreading. Let's take an example. At 10:34 am, on 5 August 2005, an anonymous user A added a sentence to the entry "Wojna z terroryzmem" ["War on terror"]. The sentence was:

“The so-called ‘war on terrorism’ caused 25 000 civilian deaths”⁴
[Wojna z terroryzmem]

Two weeks later, at 6:01pm, on 29 August 2005 another anonymous user B removed this whole sentence from the entry, and in another place of the article added a sentence:

“They [opponents of USA policy] also point out the numerous civilian casualties [several thousands] due to military operations.”⁵

User B described her/his contribution as NPOV-sation, which means making it follow the rule of Neutral Point of View. User B removed an undocumented figure and put a more general expression [“several thousands” instead of 25 000]. B also left a note with a request for a source for the figure quoted. How did both edits contribute to the final version of the entry in terms of a text belonging to the latest version of an entry? Well, user A will be excluded from the group of authors. It doesn’t, however, make much sense, since B will be counted with the contribution of a sentence of which she/he was only a redactor, a co-author at best.

This is one of the reasons why the authorship problem is not easy to solve with automated software and it needs human control.

Conclusions. Ritual vs. Conflict View of Communication

The results of the investigation undertaken have not confirmed Aaron Swartz’s hypothesis, that is, finding the authors of Wikipedia content in a “long tail” of dispersed, anonymous users. On the contrary, among the main authors of articles from the research sample only 2 out of 29 [7%] happened to be anonymous. Limiting statistics to main authors, the contribution of registered users in terms of OVA exceeded 90%, whereas anonymous contributions was about 7% [the rest was the work of bots].

In my opinion, these conclusions by no means contradict Swartz’ hypothesis. The main limit of the research undertaken is the small size

⁴ „Tak rozumiana “wojna z terroryzmem” pochłoneła już ponad 25 000 ofiar cywilnych.”

⁵ „Zwracają oni [krytycy polityki USA] także uwagę na liczne ofiary cywilne [kilkanaście tysięcy] spowodowane działaniami wojennymi.”

of the research sample. This is due to the amount of human work that is necessary to precisely follow the history of a Wikipedia article revisions. As I have shown, this examination cannot be fully automatized and human intervention is often necessary. Then, the answer to the question of authorship of Wikipedia is not resolvable by way of the “brutal force” of quick calculations. Probably the solution lies in researching larger and more developed articles, with a longer history, leaving place for more intensive creative contribution. Only 4 [13%] articles from the research sample had more than 50 revisions. Most probably in the case of thousands of uniform articles, like the ones referring to cities, sportsmen, or biological species, the cooperation model is more centralized than in articles that, thanks to their volume, allow for more advanced contributors cooperation.

The Anonymous Horde theory inscribes itself into the popular knowledge about crowdsourcing or wikinomy: a new network organization that lacks a central management and reveals self-organizational capabilities. Quite the contrary, Gang of 500 theory seems to come back to the traditional concept of a centralized system and the neoliberal Pareto principle. We can find an analogy to this opposition in the theory of communication, Jimmy Wales Gang of 500 theory stresses community values. Participants share the results of their unpaid job in exchange of all the profits they can have out of participating in the community they identify with. This picture reveals some similarities to James Carey’s ritual model of communication:

“In a ritual definition, communication is linked to terms such as ‘sharing,’ ‘participation,’ ‘association,’ ‘fellowship,’ and ‘the possession of a common faith.’ This definition exploits the ancient identity and common roots of the terms ‘commonness,’ ‘communion,’ ‘community,’ and ‘communication.’ A ritual view of communication is directed not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs.” [Carey 2009: 15]

Swartz’s hypothesis of the Anonymous Horde doesn’t fit to this vision, since an anonymous, occasional user who doesn’t belong to the Wikipedia community will not identify with it and will not be looking for community values. The motivation of this kind of participant seems to be better described by the proposal of Dariusz Jemielniak, who advocates a view one could call a conflict model of communication. According

to him, one of the strongest impulses to add and edit the content of Wikipedia is a disagreement between what one can read on Wikipedia and what one thinks [Jemielniak 2006: 124]. A fundamental rule of human life in the epoch of social networks is: I cannot go to bed because someone is wrong on the Internet.

Research Sample

Alex MacDowall⁶
Andrzej Ekiert
Anthaxia attenuata
Aurora [telenowela]
Bitwa pod Olszanicą
Bradford [Ohio]
Chelmsley Wood
Droga krajowa B5 [Niemcy]
Droga krajowa nr 471 [Węgry]
FSO Polonez Analog
[Get A] Grip [On Yourself]
Gmina Czarnylas
Hrabstwo White [Tennessee]
Jerzy Panek [polityk]
Klaffer am Hochficht
Kościół św. Mikołaja w Wilnie
Krupy [powiat sokołowski]
Most Królowej Jadwigi w Poznaniu
Oberwiera
Park Narodowy Ałtaj-Tawanbogd
Podróż na Tajemniczą Wyspę
Powstanie Kantonalistów
Praszywe [Dolina Łątańa]
Rodrigo Oliveira de Bittencourt
San Roque [Mariany Północne]
Scottish Premier League [2002/2003]
Strange Frontier
Walenty Forys
Wojna z terroryzmem
Wyganki

⁶ All the articles have been researched in their versions of May 30, 2016.

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EMOTION IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

PITY, FEAR AND 'ADMIRATION' FOR DISABLED PEOPLE: THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF EMOTIONS IN ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN DISABLED AND NON- DISABLED PEOPLE

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Disabled people tend to be seen as weak and in need of help because of their conditions and impairments or they are 'admired' because they 'have overcome' their disabilities. This contribution seeks to show that emotions matter a great deal in encounters between disabled and non-disabled people and potentially affect social integration and societal participation of disabled citizens.

Based on ethnographic research with congenital visibly physical disabled people in the Netherlands and disability life writing this paper focuses on how emotions like pity, fear and 'admiration' in encounters between disabled and non-disabled people help to [1] reproduce hegemonic sociocultural conceptualizations about what is normal and acceptable, and [2] make it

difficult for disabled people to be recognized and treated as 'persons who have but aren't their impairments'. Additionally, it is discussed how disabled people intentionally and unintentionally seek to manage the pity, fear and 'admiration' they encounter in social interaction with non-disabled people. Disabled people tend to use normalization strategies to avoid or weaken negative responses to their visible disabilities, e.g. mask the visibility of their physical vulnerability and by deploying the strategies: reassurance, explanation and confrontation. This generally increases their social acceptance but may, simultaneously, undermine their physical independence and, ultimately, body-image and acceptance of self. Implications of the study are discussed.

KEYWORDS: *hegemony of normality, awkward encounters, emotions, reciprocity, critical emotion studies, ethnography*

1. Introduction

In chance encounters in the public sphere the bodies of people with visible physical impairments tend to evoke emotional responses from able-bodied passers-by accompanied by a plethora of anti-social behaviors; people with visible physical impairments get stared at, are asked without preamble questions that invade their privacy and that go against prevailing norms, have unsolicited help forced upon them or are regularly shunned, patronized, pitied, seen and treated as defective, passive and needy; made fun of or 'admired' in chance encounters in public space [Garland-Thomson 2009; Gorter 1983; Mogendorff 2003]. Put differently, dominant social norms are being regularly violated in chance encounters between disabled and non-disabled people.

This type of anti-social behavior or social barriers may have far reaching consequences for disabled people's well-being and aspirations in life. It is more difficult to get a job when employers see disabled people in general as needy, less competent and less independent as their able-bodied counterparts. Emotions that visibly impaired bodies evoke may also reinforce the cultural hegemony of normality [see also Shakespeare 1994].

Based on ethnographic research with people with congenital visible neuro-motor impairments and disability life writing, this paper investigates the emotions people with visible atypical bodies elicit in chance encounters between disabled and non-disabled citizens, how disabled people try to negate emotional responses to their visible otherness and the implications thereof for the role and function of disabled people in society. The focus is on emotions that explicitly or implicitly strain encounters between able-bodied and visibly disabled people: pity, fear and 'admiration'.

Society and research tend to value cognition over emotion and disregard emotions as irrational and inconvenient. Combined with dominant notions of emotions as natural and virtually unchangeable, this valuation of emotions does not invite research on the role emotions play implicitly or explicitly in how disabled people relate to society. By analyzing emotions as sociocultural forces that reproduce culture, we may gain a better understanding of how emotions help to perpetuate stereotypical images of disabled people and the hegemony of normality [Ahmed 2004]. Additionally, explication of how emotions manage action in encounters may increase people's emotional literacy.

I will first discuss various assumptions that underlie the study and conceptualization of emotion in relation to disability and I will introduce the approach to emotion deployed in this paper. After that, pity, fear and 'admiration' in encounters between disabled and non-disabled citizens will be investigated on the basis of disability life writing and ethnographic research with fifteen congenital impaired people in the Netherlands¹.

2. Research on emotion and disability

In disability studies, there is a wealth of research that focuses on the oppression of disabled people by and in society. But negative emotional responses to disability – fear, hate, pity, disgust and 'admiration' – although frequently mentioned, are generally not the central focus of study. However, disability scholars such as Reeves [2006] and Goodley [2011] have argued in favour of more research on the psycho-emotional oppression of disabled people informed by the social model of disability.

Generally, research on emotion and disability is informed by the hegemonic emotion-cognition binary – emotions and cognition are implicitly or explicitly treated as mutual exclusive categories. Emotions also tend to be treated as subordinate to cognition [Jaggar 1989; Nussbaum 2001]; they have their uses but need to be controlled. Consequently, much research focuses on emotion regulation mechanisms and how they operate under various conditions [e.g. see Gross 1998]. Research on emotional problems experienced by disabled people tends to be implicitly attributed to their chronic condition and less readily to other factors [e.g. see Dekker et al. 2002].

Emotions are commonly seen as primal, intrapersonal and resistant to change; people experience emotions as part of their nature and have relatively little control over what emotions they feel under various circumstances [Ahmed 2004; Loewen 2013]. However, it is widely acknowledged that the expression of emotions is to a greater or lesser extent subject to socialization or enculturation [Chiao 2015; Park et al. 2003].

¹ This paper is partly based on the Dutch publication Mogendorff, K.G. [2003]. Paradoxen van lichamelijke kwetsbaarheid. Wanneer 'hebben' 'zijn' wordt: angst, medelijden en 'bewondering' voor mensen met een zichtbare, aangeboren motorische handicap in Nederland. *Medische Antropologie* 15[1], 9-26. References to this article are made when relevant.

All emotions are considered to be functional and basic emotions are considered necessary for survival. For instance, the basic emotion 'fear' is assumed to signify danger of some sort which triggers action: fight or flight. In the latter sense emotions are resources and sources of knowledge. Research that favours such an evolutionary understanding of the nature and function of emotions tends to explain persistent prejudice towards and avoidance of people with physical disabilities as imprecise functioning of human disease-avoidance tendencies that are innate but that are modifiable to some extent (Park et al. 2003).

Anthropologists hold different views on emotions and prejudice. Particularly, they question the presumed naturalness and universality of emotions – stressing that in different cultures notions of what phenomena can be termed emotions differ (Jaggar 1989; Lutz 1986). They also focus on the interpersonal and sociocultural dimension of emotions by pointing out that how emotions are experienced, expressed, interpreted and valued may be mediated along the lines of gender, age, ethnicity and disability (Ahmed 2004). For instance, emotions as expressed by female politicians in the USA tend to be differently evaluated and valued than when the same emotion is expressed by male politicians in similar settings (Brooks 2011). The latter implies that the study of emotions in context may further insight into sexism and gender-stereotyping and how and when emotions are respectively positively and negatively valued. The latter may also apply to stereotyping and discrimination based on age, race or disability.

Additionally, in anthropology and critical emotion studies the cognition-emotion binary is questioned as a cultural and socio-political construct and as a false binary (Ahmed 2004; Lutz 1986). Cognition and emotion may act in tandem. Influential philosopher Martha Nussbaum [2001] maintains that emotions can be considered thoughts in their own right, further blurring the boundary between cognition and emotion/affect.

I follow Ahmed (2004) by focusing on what emotions do and accomplish; emotions have functions in managing action in the public sphere. Emotions are also relational and intentional in the sense that they involve an orientation or direction towards an object. Certain people, animals and objects are not terrifying by themselves but terrifying to someone (Ahmed 2004: 7-8).

I will look at how pity, fear and 'admiration' manage action in encounters between disabled and non-disabled citizens and affect disabled people's role in hegemonic ableist society. This paper

is informed by the understanding that emotions are sociocultural and political practices naturalized to the extent that they may be experienced as coming from within. And that emotions may serve various purposes such as supporting hegemonic notions of normality [Ahmed 2004; Jaggar 1989; Loewen 2013]. This contribution focuses on three emotions that are strongly associated with disability: pity, fear and 'admiration' [see also Mogendorff 2003].

3. Fear, pity and 'admiration' in encounters between disabled and non-disabled people

Visibly physically impaired people tend to elicit seemingly contradictory emotional responses from able-bodied strangers and sometimes also from disabled peers in chance encounters: fear, pity and 'admiration'². Generally, one does not pity and admire or fear and pity someone at the same time [see also Mogendorff 2003]. Fear, pity and 'admiration' of disabled people all highlight that disabled people deviate from the norm of normality: the unremarkable and mundane as a rule do not evoke strong emotions.

Fear, pity and 'admiration' may shape people's verbal and non-verbal actions in particular ways. Fear and pity may inspire avoidance or aid. Aid or support is not exclusively offered out of fear or pity, but help offered out of gallantry is bound to generate different effects than aid inspired by fear or pity. Additionally, emotions may be differently evaluated depending on one's perspective. Negative emotions towards the Other imply positive emotions or warm feelings towards the group or social category one identifies with or belongs to [see also Ahmed, 2004, on hate].

Moreover, in disability studies fear, pity and 'admiration' tend to be negatively evaluated whereas in other research traditions pity and 'admiration' or inspiration may be more positively regarded [e.g. see Chrisman 2011; Park et al. 2003]. Here, I focus on pity, fear and 'admiration' from the perspective of disabled people.

² Disabled people growing up in an ableist society may in part internalize disability prejudices and stereotypes; For instance, physically impaired people may be prejudiced towards people with learning disabilities [Deal, 2003].

3.1 Fear and aid provided without consent

Disabled people vary widely in their backgrounds and circumstances largely because illness and impairment may happen to anyone irrespective of race, age, class and gender. In contrast, [emotional] responses to disabled people in a cultural community are relatively homogenous. Impaired bodies tend to be feared as they are associated with loss and suffering: loss of health, prospects, beauty, employment and income. Disability is also associated with vulnerability: people are seen as wounded or damaged and at risk for further impairment or misfortune. Vulnerability may also evoke pity and fear although people do not necessarily experience these emotions as feelings welling up from deep inside themselves. According to Driessen [2002: 164], visible impaired bodies elicit fear because they act as a reminder that the human condition is inherently fragile and finite: disability can happen to anyone. According to disability scholars such as Shakespeare [1994], non-disabled people tend to objectify disabled people. They function as cultural bearers of negative feelings inherent to the human condition [Shakespeare 1994: 287-288]:

Disabled people enable non-disabled people to feel good about themselves: by demeaning disabled people, non-disabled people can feel both powerful and generous. Disabled people, on the other hand, are viewed as passive and incapable people, objects of pity and aid.

Actions inspired by fear of vulnerability may be overt or subtle. Overt avoidance of disabled people is exemplified in the practice of segregation of disabled people in special institutions supported with the all-present argument that 'it is done for their own good'. Distancing tends to be a more subtle response. People may literally maintain a greater distance to physically impaired people who are unambiguously disabled, as the following excerpt from *Joni* shows [Eareckson & Musser 1976: 144-145]:

Someone carried me to the sofa and Diana [a non-disabled friend] sat in my wheelchair. 'You know, that is strange', she said, when she pretended to be me. 'It almost seems that you are afraid of the wheelchair. Everyone keeps a distance to the wheelchair. There appears to be space around the wheelchair nobody wants to penetrate. That is interesting, I responded. I was thinking, people seem to be

more at ease with me when I am seated at the couch [translated by the author]³.

The fragment from *Joni* demonstrates that disabled people try to normalize relations with able-bodied people by transferring themselves from the wheelchair to the couch even though sitting on the couch restricts wheelchair users' range of movement and increases their physical vulnerability [see also Mogendorff 2003].

People may not only fear to become ill or vulnerable themselves, they may also fear *for* disabled people. Disabled people who are seen as vulnerable are shielded or taken care of. As such, fear may in part explain the persistence of the social barriers over-protection, ascription of incompetency and condescension [see also Gorter, 1983, on the interrelationships between social barriers]. Irving Kenneth Zola, the founding father of disability studies, points out why fear for disabled people is generally a disservice to disabled people (ibid, 1982: 224):

For one of the greatest put-downs one person can inflict on another is contained in the phrase, "I'm afraid that you won't be able to take it." Since all of us have done things to upset others, to be denied their resentment is to be taken unseriously and to be deemed unworthy of response, to make the provoking action almost unreal.

The 'fear' mentioned in the fragment deprives disabled people of the opportunity to act as full members of a community: to discover and explore their likes, dislikes, limits and abilities. It may also unnecessarily increase disabled people's dependence on and indebtedness to non-disabled others. Non-disabled people place themselves in a superordinate position by providing help to disabled people. The dynamics of provision of aid to disabled people appears similar to how gift giving operates in archaic societies.

³Original text in Dutch: iemand droeg me naar de sofa en Diana [een niet-gehandicapte vriendin] zat in de rolstoel. Weet je, dit is vreemd, merkte Diana op, terwijl ze mij speelde. Het lijkt wel of jullie bang zijn voor de rolstoel. Iedereen schijnt afstand te bewaren. Er schijnt een ruimte om de stoel te zijn waar niemand wil binnendringen.. Dat is interessant, voegde ik eraan toe. Ik zat net te denken, dat mensen beter op hun gemak schijnen te zijn bij mij, als ik op de bank zit. [Eareckson & Musser 1976: 144-45].

Marcel Mauss' (1954) classic *The Gift* demonstrates how gift exchange in archaic societies may affect hierarchy and power in inter-group relations. In societies that rely heavily on a gift exchange system, failure to reciprocate with a counter-gift or refusal of a gift may negatively affect the relationship with the other party. Inability to reciprocate a gift indicates that one is less generous, less affluent and less powerful than the provider of the gift, or that one does not want to develop a good relationship with the other party. Failure to reciprocate positions the recipient of a gift in a subordinate position. Refusal to accept a gift may suggest inability to return the favour or unwillingness to establish or continue a relationship with another societal group. One may ruin someone by bestowing extravagant gifts knowing that the other party cannot reciprocate. The latter is called negative reciprocity [see also Mogendorff 2002a: 75]. Against a background of fear, anxiety or mistrust – e.g. rivaling groups – gift exchange is designed to build positive relations and to assuage negative feelings. However, in case of negative reciprocity this is bound to fail.

Aid disabled people receive from non-disabled people functions like a gift, irrespective of whether the help is asked or needed. Help provided ascertains the helper's superiority over the recipient of help at least until the help is returned with payment or in another fashion. Help provided to disabled people in chance encounters is also unlike gift exchange. In chance encounters there is little opportunity to return 'the gift of help' if only because one is unlikely to see the provider of aid again. In those instances that the opportunity for reciprocity is not provided in the encounter expressing one's gratitude becomes the only option. And gratitude is required regardless whether the help fits the needs of the recipient of help as the following narrative from a visibly disabled informant demonstrates:

After I finished my coffee in the museum café I asked the waiter where the toilet was. He told me and I walked to the WC. When I came back I collected my things including the wheelchair I had borrowed from the museum, one I could operate myself. That way my feet wouldn't tire too much.

I was debating what would be best: leave the café in the wheelchair or walk the wheelchair out of the café with my things in it, when the waiter reappeared. He grabbed the chair gestured to me. And, I thought: why not? I smiled and sat down in the chair. The waiter wheeled me out of the café. To my surprise, he rolled me to the toi-

lets. I decided not to tell him that I already had been there. I just thanked him and said I would take it from here. He responded with: you are welcome. I hope someone will aid me in the future if I require it. We all wish to be helped when we become wheelchair bound...

The fragment explicates something non-disabled people who help disabled strangers tend to have in common: they have pre-set ideas about what help a visibly impaired person needs even if they know nothing about the condition or wishes of the person involved. They generally do not ask the disabled person how they can help, they just start doing what they think best. By foregoing consent, they reproduce the ableist stereotype that disabled people are passive recipients of care and services. They also act implicitly from a position of superiority. The latter impression is strengthened by the fact that disabled people are not treated as individuals but representatives who embody socio-cultural notions of disability. Non-disabled helpers appear to project on random disabled individuals the aid they imagine they would like to receive when they become disabled.

Help provided without consent and motivated by fear for disability tells us something about how reciprocity functions or not in chance encounters between disabled and non-disabled people. Non-disabled people provide aid to disabled people in the hope or expectation that other non-disabled people will do the same for them in the future if needed. Disabled recipients of aid are not given the opportunity to reciprocate or to act as equal members in the encounter. What remains to them is to enact the role of the grateful and passive recipient of aid. In doing so, they enforce the hegemony of normalcy.

3.2 Pity towards disabled people

Pity is a common response towards disabled people. Disabled people generally do not like to be pitied, to be pitied is to be evaluated as less: less fortunate, less competent and less attractive. Pity may lead to avoidance of contact as is evidenced by covert looks and whispering behind one's back [Mogendorff 2002a, 2002b] and the provision of help that negatively relates to the positive self-image of self. Pity may feed non-disabled people's sense of contentment with or acceptance of their own circumstances and imbue them with a sense of superiority.

Pity may inspire particular actions. Disabled people may find that they get a discount because they are disabled when they seek to pay for

a service or a meal unasked and without needing it, as many informants at one time or another have found. Or people act friendly towards them out of charity. Sometimes disabled study participants get 'compliments' such as 'you are not as pitiable as I first thought...'

A problem with pity in chance encounters between disabled and non-disabled people is that 'the aid' provided is not informed by knowledge of the concrete needs, beliefs and circumstances of disabled individuals but inspired by demeaning stereotypical images forced upon them. Disabled people in general and disabled informants in particular resist without exception 'aid' motivated by pity. They want to be treated as real persons not as exemplars of disability on which able-bodied people may project their fear for misfortune and bodily decay. They want to be valued for who they are and what they mean to others.

Acts of pity or compassion towards disabled people are occasionally motivated by religious beliefs. Sometimes informants are approached in public by members of a religious community who propose to cure their impaired body with prayer. One encounter with pious and religious non-disabled people:

Sometimes Christians approach me in the street for a prayer session. They say they want to demonstrate God's power and compassion, that Jesus can cure the blind and the lame. I try to stay friendly and polite. My response is usually that I do not need to be cured, that I do not mind my impairments and that I am good as I am. Sometimes I am so bold as to say that I am not religious. My arguments tend to be politely ignored. Some say it doesn't matter that I don't believe, that they think that they can cure me with prayer because their belief is strong, or they simply say that they want to try. Usually I refuse. Once, I let someone who asked nicely pray for me. As I expected, it didn't work. The person who prayed for me seemed undaunted. Perhaps because he had acted the pious and responsible Christian?

A notable feature of this account is that strangers approach a disabled person because they want to demonstrate the power of prayer but that subsequently the person's statement that 'she does not need to be cured, that she does not mind her impairments and that she thinks herself good as she is', is ignored. Believers still seek to heal her.

The fact that consent is not treated as relevant in the encounter highlights that help or relief is not primarily offered for the benefit of disabled individuals but that disabled people as a sociocultural icon

serve to fortify and enact hegemonic sociocultural beliefs about what is right. In this case: disabled people should be cured, regardless of what individual disabled people may think of it.

To sum up, disabled individuals' needs are not investigated and consent not sought in chance encounters between disabled and non-disabled people. This supports the conclusion that help motivated by fear or pity is not provided primarily for the benefit of disabled people. Disabled people are being treated as imagined others which may satisfy various needs. As imagined others they help non-disabled people to manage the fear of becoming disabled. Aid without consent in chance encounters treats disabled citizens as passive receivers of care who do not know what they need or want. This reinforces negative stereotypes of disabled people as needy and passive. They also help to uphold the norm or ideal of normality that, apparently, everyone should ardently pursue.

3.3 'Admiration' for disabled people

Disabled people are admired in part because they 'have overcome their disabilities'. Non-disabled people tell them that they are brave or an inspiration when they observe that a disabled person leads a life not unlike their able-bodied counterparts. Being normal is treated as exceptional when the person is visibly impaired. This particular type of 'admiration' highlights the low expectations and low regard ableist society has for disabled people. The late Stella Young – a disabled comedian and activist – coined this phenomenon in her well-received Ted Talk 'inspiration porn'⁴. She argues that disabled people are objectified as sources of inspiration to help non-disabled people cope with their everyday troubles. And that being an inspiration does not make disabled people's lives easier. Turning disabled citizens into objects of inspiration does not stimulate action to increase the accessibility of society but affirms the status quo. When people try hard enough, they can overcome barriers by themselves, or that appears to be the message.

In the following fragment, P and I, who have both a form of cerebral palsy [CP], are talking about experiences in which P – the informant – is 'admired' for studying at an university [Mogendorff 2003: 14]:

⁴ https://www.ted.com/talks/stella_young_i_m_not_your_inspiration_thank_you_very_much?language=en

P: People say very often to me that they think it great or special what I do.

I: Yes, I recognize that, yeah. Great that you do all that.

P: But I say: "But he [a non-disabled person] does it too, isn't it? Yes, but you, I think, put more time and effort in it".

It costs more energy and this or that. And maybe that is true.

Sometimes I am flattered, I must admit. It would be naïve of me to say now that it does not affect me. Or that it only annoys me, because sometimes I enjoy it and play into it. That is how I am, I like it when people compliment me. But sometimes it is also awkward, painful when people say: "it is ok, really, it is quite all right".

I: It is also so unsubtle. Great that you do all that and that you do not let it affect you [negative prejudice]. When people say that, I am thinking: "What is the alternative, sitting the whole day on the couch at home or something?"

P: Exactly! I feel the same. If I would let it affect me [prejudice] what do you get? It means that you are going to close yourself off from other people and whatever people do else in that situation. I believe nothing good is ever to come from that.

[P= informant, I= interviewer and author, fragment translated by author]⁵

⁵ Original fragment in Dutch:

I: Ik krijg wel heel vaak te horen van dat ze het wel knap vinden wat ik doe.

O: Ja, dat ken ik, ja. Knap dat je het allemaal doet.

I: Ik zeg: .Maar hij doet het toch ook?., .Ja, maar jij steekt er volgens mij veel tijd in. Het kost allemaal meer energie en dit of dat. En misschien is dat ook wel zo. Soms streelt het me ook wel dat moet ik toegeven. Het zou naïef van me zijn om nu te zeggen dat het me totaal niets doet. En dat ik het alleen maar vervelend vind, want soms vind ik het best wel leuk en speel ik er wel op in. Zo ben ik ook weer, ik vind het leuk als men me complimentjes geeft. Maar het kan ook wel eens vervelend zijn als ze alleen maar zeggen: .is wel goed, joh, is wel goed..

O: Zo ongenueanceerd ook. Bij knap dat je het allemaal doet en je er niet zoveel van aan trekt [negatieve bejegening]. Dan heb ik zoiets van: Wat moet ik anders, de hele dag thuis zitten achter de geraniums of zo?

I: Precies! Dat heb ik ook, als ik me er wel wat van aantrek wat krijg je dan? Dat betekent dat je je dus gaat afsluiten en weet ik wat je gaat doen en dat is geloof ik alleen maar negatief

[O: onderzoeker, I: informant].

This fragment highlights that ‘admiration’ by non-disabled people can be confusing, awkward and painful. Painful and awkward because the ‘admiration’ serves as a reminder that societal expectations of disabled people are low. Admiration in this context may feel like pity. A specific problem with admiration is that it is not always explicated in encounters why a disabled person is admired and therefore whether admiration is genuine – one would also be admired if disability was taken out of the equation – or not – the ‘admiration’ is more akin to pity and it says more about dominant prejudices than about the qualities or accomplishments of the admired person. The ambiguity experienced with regard to admiration may undermine disabled people’s self-confidence and self-worth.

To summarize, disabled people in general and informants in particular tend to be wary of fear, pity and ‘admiration’. Fear and pity may both inspire unsolicited aid and ‘admiration’ may feel like pity. The three emotions are similar in what they accomplish; they reinforce the notion that disabled people are the Other. For non-disabled people fear, pity and ‘admiration’ seem a way of fending off illness and disability on a psychological level.

4. Managing fear, pity and ‘admiration’ in encounters with non-disabled people

Disabled people are aware that negative stereotypes inform non-disabled strangers’ responses to them. They stress that stereotypes say very little about their lived experience of disability and their identity as a disabled person [see also Olney & Brockelman 2010]. Generally, informants have grown a thick skin and manage to mostly ignore the negative responses their a-normal bodies appear to evoke. Or as an informant put it [Mogendorff 2003: 18]:

I am mostly not aware of ... I rarely ever think about it. Sometimes you are confronted with it, and then it is difficult. But, generally, I do not think about it how people regard, look at me... [...]. Yeah, sometimes you notice it, but mostly I am not oblivious to it. I do have acquaintances who get angry. Then they say like: “all those people are watching you!” Surely, that is nothing special [translated by author from Dutch to English]⁶.

⁶ Original excerpt in Dutch: Ik ben me er heel weinig van bewust wat andere

Occasionally, however, informants seek to counter negative responses to their impairments and show that negative images do not apply to them. They generally do this by masking their physical vulnerability and by managing verbal and non-verbal actions from non-disabled strangers and their own responses to fear, pity and 'admiration'.

4.1 Masking physical vulnerability that triggers the emotional response

A common strategy of disabled informants is to lessen the visibility of their disability status in order to reduce emotional responses to their visibly impaired bodies. Usually, informants minimize the use of auxiliary aids in the company of non-disabled people to put them at ease. This is particularly true for auxiliary aids that are not only aids but also strong symbols of invalidity and disability such as wheelchairs. Earlier in this paper, it was discussed that disabled people and informants get out of their wheelchair to lessen the distance between themselves and others. When asked why they do this, they say that social acceptance is more important to them than physical independence (see also Mogendorff 2003).

Another way in which informants try to mask their physical vulnerability is by foregrounding other social identities. For instance, they emphasize their identity as a professional by dressing and acting like one. The following excerpt shows that disability need not always overshadow other social identities (Mogendorff 2003: 19):

During my internship I had to interview people, I worked for an accountancy firm, you know, where everyone wears suits. It was really nice to discover that wearing a suit seemed to neutralize the wheelchair. When you wear a suit in a wheelchair you are taken more seriously than if you don't [translated by the author from Dutch]⁷.

mensen. Ik denk er ook nauwelijks over na. Af en toe word je er wel mee geconfronteerd en is het wel hard, maar ik denk er nauwelijks over na hoe mensen tegenover mij. naar mij kijken. [...] Ja, soms merk je het, maar ik ben er niet vaak van bewust. Ik heb ook kennissen of vrienden die worden dan boos. Zo van: 'Al die mensen kijken zo naar je!'. Dat is toch helemaal niets bijzonders.

⁷ Original transcript in Dutch: Bij mijn afstudeerstage op het hbo moest ik ook interviews houden en toen werkte ik voor een accountancybureau, zo'n hele pak-kencultuur. En het was wel heel leuk om te merken dat zo ongeveer het pak de

Disabled people use different strategies to render their vulnerability less visible. They do this to minimize negative responses and actions such as pity and aid forced upon them. Other strategies deployed to manage their own and others' emotions are: reassurance, explanation and confrontation.

4.2 Disabled people's management of fear, pity and 'admiration' of non-disabled people and their own responses to it: reassurance, explanation and confrontation

Informants often try to reassure, confront or provide explanations to non-disabled people so as to manage able-bodied people's fear, pity and 'admiration', and their own in responses to it. They actively try to retain their personal positive self-image as a disabled person in a culture that tends to negatively value disability [see also Olney & Brockelman 2010].

Reassurance is reported to work as a disability management strategy in instances that non-disabled people do not try to force help upon them. Non-disabled people respond well to remarks that they are ok or doing fine if they inquire after disabled informants' well-being. Reassurance, however, does not assuage negative stereotypes of disability and may even reinforce them.

As we have seen in the cited fragments in this contribution, explanation generally does not have the desired outcome although non-disabled people may offer their sympathy as things are explained to them from the viewpoint of disability. If anything, explanations highlight that non-disabled people's actions in response to fear, pity and 'admiration' are not directed at real people but primarily serve to manage deeply ingrained sociocultural fears and anxieties regarding the loss of normality and able-bodiedness.

Confrontation informants find to be a more satisfying strategy. The strategy appears particularly successful in raising informants' spirits, as the following fragment demonstrates [Mogendorff 2010: 333]:

People often stare at me and yes I find that... You have people who turn their heads 360

Degrees. Then I think: is that necessary? Of course I stare back at them. When they look at me I look back. That does unsettle them.

rolstoel opheft omdat je als je in pak rijdt, word je toch eerder serieus genomen.

And that I like very much. I also yell at them:
“Can you see it!?” That people stare occurs frequently.

Confrontation as a strategy is not without risk. Non-disabled people may not respond well to it. In the episode described in the fragment confrontation may work well because the disabled person is not the first to violate the social norm ‘it is impolite to stare’. It is allowed ‘to return the favour’ because the non-disabled person violates the norm first [see also Mogendorff 2010]. Whether confrontation is a good strategy to weaken negative stereotypes of disabled people cannot be determined based on the excerpt. However, research on counter-stereotypical behaviour by members of a lower status group indicates that confrontation as a strategy may also have negative consequences. For instance, women who exhibit so-called masculine behaviour in the workplace may not get promoted because they do not act in accordance with dominant gender stereotypes [Amanatullah & Morris 2010]. They experience backlash because they do not conform to dominant gender roles and threaten with that established gender relations in hegemonic society.

Disabled people who engage in confrontation exhibit counter-stereotypical behaviour and may experience backlash. With counter-stereotypical behaviour they may render themselves less clearly disabled in a sociocultural sense and undermine stereotypes that reinforce the hegemony of the normal. Gorter [1983] already found that people who are not clearly either disabled or non-disabled receive less aid and support than their disabled *and* able-bodied counterparts. He, however, did not investigate ambiguity of disability status in relation to counter-stereotypical behaviour.

5. Concluding remarks

In this contribution I explored the role and function of the emotions pity, fear and ‘admiration’ in encounters between disabled and non-disabled people. I was particularly interested in how emotions as sociocultural practices manage action and support the hegemony of normality. Fear, pity and ‘admiration’ are seemingly contradictory emotions but turn out to be remarkably similar in what they do and accomplish in chance encounters. All three manage to reproduce the notion that disabled people are Other. Additionally, fear, pity and ‘admiration’ are projected on and not directed at disabled individuals. Fear and pity

inspire and shape aid to the disabled. This aid is, however, not tailored to individual needs and wishes: disabled people are not asked whether they need or want help. The aid provided in chance encounters appears to be informed by stereotypical images of disability. Images that appear to inspire and shape the provision of aid in encounters between disabled people and passers-by are:

- disability is one of the worst things that can happen to you,
- every disabled person wants to be helped, and
- disabled people are passive, needy care-recipients for whom normal accomplishments are an extraordinary feat.

Additionally, the way in which aid tends to be provided – without consent from aid recipients and with no knowledge of their particular help needs and preferences– enacts and reinforces hegemonic negative images of the disabled.

Disabled people are not helped by perpetuating disability stereotypes. Provided aid, regardless of the helper's intentions, is motivated by fear, pity and 'admiration' frequently no help at all. Moreover, the reproduction of stereotypical images in encounters seems to serve the hegemony of normality best. This is, of course, not to say that aid cannot be beneficial, but that disabled people and disability culture may best be served when help is provided on disabled people's own terms.

For disabled people chance encounters may pose an extra challenge. As we have seen, it is hard to reciprocate provided aid simply because there is no time to return the favour. Still, disabled informants use different strategies to manage the fear, pity and 'admiration' of disabled people. They seek to reduce emotional responses their physical impaired bodies evoke by minimizing the use of auxiliary aids and disability symbols such as wheelchairs. Lower visibility of impairments may, however, mean greater physical dependence on others. Additionally, informants try to reassure non-disabled people that living with impairments may not be as bad as they appear to think. They also try to reason with the strangers they encounter, which mainly seems to highlight that disabled people in encounters are not treated as individuals. Confrontation appears to be the strategy that is the most enjoyed, it is potentially effective but risky.

To conclude, this paper has made abundantly clear that emotions matter a great deal in encounters between disabled and non-disabled citizens and, therefore, deserve more research attention.

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RHETORIC OF HEALING IN CONTEMPORARY HUNGARIAN ETHNO-RELIGIOUS MYTHS IN SZEKLERLAND, TRANSYLVANIA

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The object of this article is to present rhetorical considerations derived from an ongoing research project aiming to map and describe some of the narratives focusing on community healing, the “healing of the nation,” in contemporary new Hungarian national mythology known in the Szekler/Székely region [Romania], and to discover their specific local variants. The article focuses on the argumentative and persuasive aspects of the

healing narratives under study in the new Hungarian mythologies. The religious, historical and national alternative discourses regarding visions of the Hungarian nation’s transcendental and mundane mission will be approached by rhetorical analysis as they appear in dedicated print publications, on-line media, in narrative [or ritual] variants popularized by key figures or told by interviewed adepts of contemporary Ethno-Pagan spirituality.

KEYWORDS: *rhetoric of healing, linguistic mysticism, community healing, symbolic re-integration, new national mythology*

"They didn't know, that we were seeds"

[anonymous internet comment]

"I can see and I live that the transformed, prevention-based medicine system healing on every levels of the body-soul-and-spirit can cure all known diseases, if the patient also wants it. The era of the illnesses has passed. [...] I can see and I can live a radiation emanating from the general wellbeing and healthy lifestyle and conscious existence, a beautiful energy sensing the joys of liberated life and rejoicing over this state of mind that fills the entire space of the Carpathian-basin, and tunes in the whole Carpathian homeland. / I can see and I live that everybody looks at the Hungarian Holy Crown and at its manifest energy filled with the sentiment of love, and gives thanks to the Creator, that in these highly important times he/she had the chance to be born as a member of the Hungarian Soul Family, or being born in another ethnic group but living in the country of the Holy Crown, identifying with it through his/her individual evolution he/she could eventually become Hungarian. / I can see and I live that a generally characteristic increase in resonance level is reached, that obstructs the appearance of low frequency behavior models. Such acts are transformed already at the level of mental manifestation. / A general feeling of liberation and happiness fills us, and as we radiate of it we show the way for other nations. I can see its realization, I can hear the sounds, I can feel the smells and tastes! / Living, experiencing a healthy proud sentiment of joy we live our beautiful life. / And so this is! / Let us be blessed, let our creation be blessed! Blessed is the one who has read this rite."

[Teréz Elina Tar: Rite of Creation – prayer of Advent, fragment]

"God of Hungarians!

I summon You to make an oath before You:

I consecrate my remaining life to the homefinding of the Hungarian nation,

I teach my environment with true word, and raise it with good example,

I heal my fellow people to heal the Earth together with them,

my life serves Life, so that the heritage of my forebears shall rise in me,

I keep my spirit clean, so that the Creative Word shall not get warped on my lips,

I exclude the fear from my soul, I do not hate, so that I can live for others,

I live and I die in such way that when I return home I can proudly stand before my Creator Father.

Please help me in keeping my oath, do live in me and through me!"

[Oath of the MAG ["SEED"] healers]

Healing discourses – Hungarian-ness and wholeness in our new mythologies

We have been studying the Hungarian new national [ethno-religious] mythologies for several years in the framework of two successful dedicated research projects¹ – in order to map the local variants of these mythical discourses in Transylvania and more specifically in Szeklerland. We have concluded that the myths show a much more varied picture than we presumed, and they represent a distinct trend within the new national mythology. In these mythic discourses we have found that the traditional, folkloric ethnogenesis narratives about the Hun descent of the Szeklers [backed by the historical chronicles] as people of Attila and prince Csaba, and their [semi-canonical] consciousness as Turkic military nation are rendered secondary. A new and rather mystical paradigm is more prominent, seeking the place of the Szeklers within a sacral Hungarian messianism, and telling of the role of Szeklers as “cotyledon” [“SZIK”] in the “seed” [“MAG”] people of Magyars. These latter narratives of mythic history, these mythical self-reflections of national identity are non-interpretable in terms of modern social and historical sciences.

Summing up our results, we have come to the conclusion that the new national mythology – both as a religious phenomenon of ethnopagan spirituality [Hubbes 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014] and as national-political ideology [with the strong intertwining of the two aspects] – is organically embedded in the general spiritual re-mythologization of post-Communist Central-Eastern Europe. Together with the radical right and other marginal organizations, the new national mythology can significantly impact the movements of the society, while it strongly contributes to the transformation and spreading of the new transfigured national-social sense of identity – so on the level of the entire Hungarian community, as on the local level of Szekler society living in a special minority condition, and striving to identify itself not only as opposed to the majority Romanian nation, but also versus the Hungarian nation.

¹ DOMUS Research project 2014-2015: „Az új magyar [nemzeti] mitológia változatai és képviselői Székelyföldön” DOMUS szülőföldi kutatócsoportos ösztöndíj, DOMUS Research project 2015-2016: „A közösséggyógyítás diskurzusai és rítusai az új nemzeti mitológia székelyföldi változataiban” DOMUS szülőföldi kutatócsoportos ösztöndíj

From these two recent investigations [but also from previous researches]² it was conspicuous that in the primary written sources media-representations giving the basis of the new national mythology, as in the personal narratives or even practice of the interviewed informants there often occurred the concept of restoration, curing, healing. We could observe a certain shift and distribution of emphasis in rhetoric from irredentism towards discourses of restoration, renewal: besides [and increasingly instead of] the glorious past, the ideal of a noble mission of healing had become important, which can be interpreted as an indication of a paradigm shift in the idea of nation. In parallel with this even the national character seemed to dissolve under the influence of the contemporary, post-modern eastern and western spiritual and religious currents, New Age and ecologism, often to the extreme of organic integration into the universal humanness.

So alongside the discourses of warlike glory voiced by the more traditional national doctrines of Turanism, Scythianism or Sumerology representing a heated anti-Finno-Ugrism [and general anti-academism], there are more and more narratives of peaceful and creative spirit [classifiable within feminine spirituality] – in both the ethnogenesis stories of alternative history and the doctrines of a religious aspect, but foremost in the ideologies of messianic mission pertaining to the present and future of the nation.

This shift in emphasis may be observed from several aspects in a number of examples. On one hand, in the realm of the ethnogenesis myths the concept of descendance from a mysterious *peaceful* Carpatho-Danubian Neolithic high culture [see inter alia Cser and Darai 2005, 2007] becomes more prominent against the legendary tradition of the warlike steppe-people. On the other hand the [New Age inspired, rather feminine] imaginary of *light-love-harmony-health-wholeness* becomes ever more emphasized in the [ethno-pagan] religious spirituality. This latter trend can already be sensed in the light religion of the “Parthian Jesus” propagated by József Badiny Jós [1998] and his followers, Imre Máté’s Yotengrit [2004-2007] religion [“Do not harm, do not hurt; heal, help!”], the “An[y]ahita-Golden Lady” movements stemming from the *Arvisura* books [Paál 1972/1998], or the MAG³ doc-

² Presented in studies like Hubbes 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014.

³ “MAG” = “seed” – a word play hinting at the ethnic name “Magyar.” As in many cases, the words are invested with hidden and mystical “original” meaning, based on the idea that the Hungarian is a prehistoric root [radix] language, it

trine [and project]: a spiritual, healing and permaculture-ecovillage movement based on the mystical Magyar-consciousness. It is also reflected in the practice of Táltos/shaman healers, medicine women; in the importance attributed to the healing, sustaining, restoring power of mystical objects [the Hungarian Holy Crown, the Chalice of the *Rabonbáns*⁴], places [sacred geographic formations and regions like the so-called heart-chakra in the Pilis-mountains in Hungary, or the holy pilgrimage site of Csíksomlyó in Transylvania]. Thirdly, some threads of these former described spiritual trends naturally mingle with ecologist ideas turning towards the environment, building on the concepts of organic culture, and together they create lifestyle models and working communities oriented towards both traditions and the future [self-sustainable farming, “MAG” communities, ecovillages]. Some other trends, like the revitalization [and inventing] of various arts and crafts folkway traditions, the community building processes stemming from the older movement of Hungarian “folk dance houses,” but also the newer lines of Hungarian “*baranta*” martial arts and horseback arching groups, and *Kurultaj* festivals of the steppe horse riding peoples – all point to the same direction: to reconstruct a lost, ideal archaic national identity. These movements, spiritual currents, religious phenomena were born as reactions to the recent identity crisis of Hungarians, and they represent an attempt to solve it. This process is part of the more general, universal phenomenon of resacralization or re-enchantment; its primary aim is the restoration, reparation, and recovery of moral and spiritual integrity, the reinforcement of national identity, the healing of the nation’s real or pretended wounds.

Healing ideas – contexts and examples

The new mythologies may be interpreted as the social reactions of the imaginary to the historical national traumas of the last century. We can say that in the context of a general process of self-recognition and parallel sacralization of the national idea, every ethnic group or formation of Central-Eastern and South-Eastern Europe has had to suffer traumas in various degrees caused by fragmentation, dismemberment,

is the sacred nostratic language of humanity, from which the other languages evolved. [see among others Kiss 1999, 2004; Marácz 2002]

⁴ “rabonbán” = legendary military leader function according to the *Csíki Székely Krónika* [Szekler Chronicle of Csík]

destruction, deportation, humiliation or forced assimilation in the wake of the two world wars, peace treaties, ideological totalitarianisms and regime changes. Partly because of the delayed process of national identity forming and the traumas coming in at early and vulnerable phases of [national] state formation, these Eastern European nations – and among them the Hungarians – developed a rather religious type of nationalism. [cf. Szakolczai 2002] Under the long decades of Communism, just like the old traditional religions, ethnic nationalisms had been suppressed as obsolete and reactionary, and although the change of regime ended the restraint, still the strong trends of globalization and the supranational orientation of the EU are running counter the re-normalization of national identity building. Perceived by many as an induced alienation, threatening the very identity [and thus the existence] of the ethnic community, a continual state of crisis persists – characterized by frustration, resentment towards other nations, mistrust in their own elites. The prolonged [sensed] identity crisis creates a generalized crisis mentality that easily associates itself with the conceptual metaphor of disease. [cf. Sontag 1983]

The synthesis of the national identity crisis, frustration, resentment, mistrust and a sense of disease can surface in various currents of alternative spirituality, religion, or sciences promoted by many sub-cultural communities or, rather, countercultural movements. This mindset, represented by ethno-religious communities or movements is characterized not only by alternativity but even more by subversiveness: they usually negate and refuse everything that is stated by the canonical history, science, religion and generally mainstream culture. In this respect they typically resemble the liminal community [Szakolczai, 2015]: stripped of or rather rejecting their officially [academically] determined historical-national identity they are in a liminal sub-/countercultural state, and it is exactly the new mythology that offers the possibility of reaching the incorporation into the real community through the re-sacralization of the nation – often interpreted as a process of reintegration and healing.

In this context of general identity alienation and sense of crisis many alternative models emerge – on the spiritual level, in scientific views and in life strategies alike [see Kapitány and Kapitány, 2014], often interconnected in all aspects, but not necessarily creating unitary groups or movements. Among the various alternative spiritualities and lifestyles medicine occupies an important place. In this respect, just as in the case of religion [as shown by the contemporary ethno-pagan

movements], alternativity means primarily a kind of resistance to and subversion against the official, the status quo, the mainline modern biomedicine. Alternative healing brings a search for authenticity, which is thought to be achieved by a return to the traditional ways: the autochthonous, the natural-organic and archaic [see Baji Lázár and Pikó, 2012]. Traditional ethnic [folk] medicine and organic therapy involve a holistic view of the human and nature, which on the other hand is closely intertwined with the ecological spirit. This environmentalism in turn is the main driving force behind many contemporary organic [permaculture] farming and ecovillage movements, often bearing strong utopian ideologies and religious connotations – as in the various cases of eco-Gaianism or the more recent Russia-rooted Anastasia movement [Pranskevičiūte, 2014]. Again, the central idea in these spiritualities and movements is soundness and wholeness – the restoration of the health of the Earth through a return to nature. Research has shown the many interconnections between eco-spirituality [often of New Age inspiration] and the religious movements of Ethno-Paganism, with a strong nationalistic orientation – especially in Central-Eastern Europe [Ivakhiv 2005; Ferlat 2003; Farkas 2014, 2015].

The circle is closed: we can find the idea of healing in the alternative history discourses of cultural memory, in the syncretistic religious spirituality of Ethno-Paganism, in the practices of neo-folkloric naturalist therapies and the organic lifestyle of eco-village movements – all of them representing a basic wish to return to nature, to the authentic traditions, to the archaic origins, to the Golden Age. This is a striving to revive an idealized past, viewed as the perfect integrity, and to project it into the future as a sacred mission of the nation – a quest to restore national identity sensed as being broken, and regain dignity, sensed as being denied.

During our researches we have found in the Szeklerland variants of the new Hungarian mythologies all the elements and aspects described above: the concept of healing, treating, restoring was prominent in several environs and interviews. We observed it on various levels too. It is present in the flourishing phenomenon of alternative ways of *individual physical, psychical and spiritual healing* [Táltos/shamans, medicine men, natural therapists].⁵ Of yet more importance are the ideas of *community healing* [identifiable in the aims of various traditionalist

⁵ e.g. Világ Virága Egészség Ház – <http://www.fenyvirag.com/>

groups,⁶ *baranta* clubs,⁷ open courses or free universities,⁸ eco-village and permaculture initiatives⁹), and similarly, of “*nation healing*” and re-integrating [pilgrimages,¹⁰ camps,¹¹ ritual gatherings¹²]. On an even higher level the principle of *universal healing* [that is, healing nature, healing humanity, healing the Earth – healing the entire world] plays a central role in the MAG [“seed”] mythology¹³ in which the Hungarians, the Magyars are seen as a sacred nation with an apocalyptic-messianic mission¹⁴ to save humanity [from itself], and assure its future in a renewed world.

⁶ e.g. Csillagőrző Hagymányápoló Csoport - www.csillagorzo.ro [unavailable at the moment of writing the study]

⁷ Baranta: reconstructionist – traditionalist Hungarian martial arts and horse-back arching – with many local organizations in Transylvania, especially Szeklerland: <http://www.baranta.ro/> or <https://www.facebook.com/baranta.szik>

⁸ e.g. MAG – Az Egy Tudás Egyeteme - <http://artediem.org/egy tudasegyeteme/>

⁹ e.g. Székely Ökofalu - <http://m7design.hu/kaszonszek/kaszonszek/node>

¹⁰ Besides the traditional Roman Catholic, but today all-national Hungarian pilgrimage of Csíksomlyó, a newer and more specific spiritual pilgrimage was recently [re-]created at Széphavas: <http://szephas.hu/>

¹¹ Especially the “re-imported” MAG Healer Training Camps: <http://www.magtar.hu/article/magyar-nep-gyogygyasz-kepzes>

¹² Holy rituals organized around sacral objects [or their substitutes] – for the unity of the nation. Such rituals are the Holy Crown Rituals held in Szeklerland [e.g. <http://naput.hu/index.php/hatk-nainmenu-29/284-szent-korona-szertarterdben> or more recently on the occasion of the pentecost pilgrimage to Csíksomlyó: <http://www.szekelyhon.ro/aktualis/ahazamat-szolgaloma>], or the ritual presentation of the “Rabonbán” chalice of the Szeklers at a national assembly: http://erdely.ma/autonomia.php?id=18027&cim=szekely_nemzetgyules_szeptemberi_hatarid%C4%B9%E2%80%98_bukarestnek]

¹³ An older idea, already present in the writings of Badiny Jós [1966], but completed and reformulated recently in the public lectures of Gábor Pap and even more specifically Gábor Géczy [e.g. <http://ahimre.blogspot.ro/2015/09/geczy-gabor-eloadasa-kep-jovorol.html>]

¹⁴ An essential synthesis of the messianic-apocalyptic ideas may be found in this article: <http://www.nimrod-nepe.eoldal.hu/cikkek/magyarsagtudat/>. Although not explicitly propagated, these ideas often occur in Hungarian ethno-pagan, national-religious or conspiracist environments [see Hubbes, 2010].

Healing words – argumentative and persuasive aspects

We can approach our mythic discourses of healing from several aspects of rhetorical analysis. From the view of the three basic elements of Aristotelian rhetoric: the *ethos* of the promoters and of the myths themselves – which is an issue of authority; then the appeal to the heart, the *pathos* – the emotional ways of persuading the adepts and criticize the opposers; and the appeal to the mind, the *logos* – the use of sciences, of scientific argumentation, the call to simple reason and old [folk] wisdom, and the logic of the language itself.

Ethos is one of the central issues in our studied mythology, the more so in the narratives of healing. The question revolves not only around the issue of credibility, which of course is essential, but also – or rather primarily – the issue of authority. In previous studies [Hubbes 2013, 2014] I have shown that various discourses of the new Hungarian mythology extensively used authority as argument – either by the authority of the source [the absolute authority of a charismatic person or an unquestionable ancient text]¹⁵ or by using authoritative language. The recently studied material has provided newer insights in this respect: the authority relied first of all on the promoters of the healing discourses. Among the significant examples we can list not only trained practicing healers, Táltos/shamans, alternative therapists¹⁶ who professionally deal with individual health problems, but also from non-specific fields, who either did extensive research in folk-medicine ethnography,¹⁷ traditional farming, contemporary ecological domains

¹⁵ These uses of authoritative rhetoric were exemplified through the animation film entitled *Az Ég fiaí* [The Sons of Heaven] inspired by a new national mythology, whilst its counterpart, the animation *Ének a csodaszarvasról*, was more self-ironical and less leaning on the use of authority as argument.

¹⁶ Some of them central figures, even religious [shaman] leaders in Hungary, like András Táltos, Magyar [see his website: <http://www.szellemvilag.hu/kovacs-magyar-andras>] or Zoltán Súlyomfi Nagy [see his website: <http://www.tengri.hu/index.php/hu/solyomfi-nagy-zoltan>] with published books, musical albums, well maintained websites; others “more traditional” alternative healers, like our interviewees Dr. Erzsébet Ferenczi or SE [see Hubbes, Fejes and Mihály 2016].

¹⁷ Here, among others, we can name two of the main ideologists of the new Hungarian mythology – Gábor Pap art historian and ethnographer, and especially Gábor Géczy, physicist by formation, who initiated the MAG-project based on eco-village networks, traditional lifestyle and folk medicine trainings.

or studied other special literatures.¹⁸ Authority is also to be found in the sources: folk traditions [ethno-pharmacological treatments, herbal knowledge] and ancient wisdom – written or oral – are considered of absolute credibility, and superior to modern biomedicine. The MAG [“seed”] mythology uses folk tradition as the voice of authenticity.

In terms of *pathos* we observed a general strong emotionality of the narratives. Subjective attitude often prevails over logical argumentation, especially in apologetic or critical discourses – *ad hominem* and other emotional-informal fallacies are usually invoked in rejecting and discrediting academic, canonical or other mainstream positions and their representatives. A concomitantly menacing and consoling revelatory tone – typical for prophetic, and even more characteristic for apocalyptic writings – prevails in narratives related to the future, but also in ritual texts like the prayer quoted in the motto of this study.

Obviously, when we refer to the investigated narratives as new “mythologies” – it should not be understood as mere fables or fantastic fabrications. The *logos* of the new mythology – perceived by its adepts, but also objectively, from the point of view of discourse analysis – is as valid as the mainstream sciences. While calling it “alternative” [history, religion, spirituality, medicine, etc.] they emphasize the alterity of their epistemological grounds or cognitive attitude towards their investigation. But their research methods, the logical construction of their argumentation, the amount of collected data, ways of analysis do not differ too much from the mainline sciences – with some essential exceptions, like for instance, the biased selection of data, neglecting correlations in favor of others emphasized, taking elements out of their context in order to prove their point [plus the added emotional stance]. As in our later mentioned studies [Hubbes 2013, 2014], we can reaffirm that both paradigms – scientific and the “mythic” borrowing reciprocally – though not acknowledgedly – certain empirical and narrative approaches from the other. The healing discourses of the new Hungarian mythology often use apparently the same scientific apparatus and publishing rigor, and organize scientific forums as the mainstream counterparts.

Apart from the classical triad, we must consider some elements of style, like the highly metaphorical language and use of analogies in both the mythical narratives and the ritual or healing practices; and also the revelatory [or apocalyptic] tone identified in several narratives

¹⁸ For these latter we can refer to our interviewees SB, CsL, SÁ [see Hubbes, Fejes and Mihály 2016].

and sacred ritual texts. In the studied texts and lectures we often noticed the deliberate use of logical fallacies, which made us wonder if we were witnessing intentional equivocating serving ideological propaganda. Is this new mythology of healing using rhetoric or manipulation [which in turn serves as their main accusation against all mainstream discourses]? Finally, beyond observing the overall critical and apologetic stance of the healing idea in these new myths, we may ask the question whether these discourses are in [enable] dialogue or they are infinite monologues.

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THE USAGE OF METAPHORS OF HEALTH AND ILLNESS DURING THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SCHOLAR PUBLIC SPHERE IN 19TH-CENTURY HUNGARIAN CULTURE

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This paper analyzes the transformation of the structure of scholar public sphere in 19th century Hungarian culture, and the contemporary reflections on that transformation, fulfilled by the usage of metaphors of health and illness. The analysis focuses on the new structure of public sphere after the establishment of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences [1825] as a counter-institution of the university, and the changes in mentality of the Hungarian intelligentsia. At the time the critique of the modernised "new brave world" often emerged as a description of bodily symptoms of the characteristic figures in the new circumstances. Metaphors of illness were

being used as tools of a cultural critique of modernity. This metaphorical language can be analysed from a gender perspective: females' sphere was often be used as a healthy counterpart to the males' illnesses. The discourses of both the Hungarian philosophical terminology and the concept of reality, facts, especially historical facts, are infused with metaphors of health and illness. The cultural use of metaphors of illness is the root of the political application of these patterns. The importance of the usage of metaphors of illness is underlined by the fact that it is the age of the emergence of nations as modern entities in East-Central Europe.

KEYWORDS: *historical facts, metaphors of illness, public sphere, reality, scholar community*

The first part of this paper is a historical introduction, focused on a number of details regarding the transition of Hungarian Feudal institutions and their ethos within the modernisation process of Hungarian politics. In the analysis offered here, the 19th century slogan of the Hungarian liberal opposition, “extension of rights” refers to an alternative model of equal rights for the members of a modern political nation; it is a generalisation of the noblemen’s political privileges and ethos for the whole nation. After a general overview of the problem in the first section of the first part, the second section outlines the transformation of philosophy’s public sphere at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, with its consequence, called *national philosophy*, and its role in the modernised Hungarian culture. The third section discusses the adaptation of the transformed philosophical public sphere to the modernisation of the old-fashioned institutions of political sphere.

The second part of my essay addresses a special consequence of the transformation of public sphere in everyday life and the theoretical reflections of the 19th century *intelligentsia*, that is, the appearance of the *metaphor of illness*. After a general overview of the problem raised in the first section, my essay discusses the first reflections on the changed intellectual environment in the first half of the 19th century. The third, fourth, and fifth sections analyze the earliest appearances of the metaphor of illness in 19th century Hungarian intellectual life, and their consequences for the philosophical and political discourses, with a special regard for their gender aspects.

1. The Extension of Rights as a Key of the Political Thought of the Hungarian Age of Reforms [1825–1848]

1.1. Introduction

For the establishment of a modern political community, a narrow path was offered between the centralist imperial modernisation of the Hapsburg court in Vienna and the resistance of feudal institutions in 19th century Hungary. It was the usage of the ancient political structures for modern ideas in the daily political practice, with important consequences for the structure and culture of the modern Hungarian nation to this day. The endeavour of the Hungarian noblemen to defend and, if possible, extend the power of their local and nation-level political institutions, mainly institutionalised assemblies for the self-government of both the *county* and the *country*, gradually changed its

function and argumentation in Hungarian political thinking. What was a collision of interests between king and noblemen, in its usual forms in East-Central-Europe, before the collapse of the mediaeval Hungarian Kingdom in the Turkish wars, became a part of the ideology of national resistance against the Hapsburg court in the early modern and modern periods. The controversies between the Vienna court and the Hungarian noblemen were rooted in the differences of the political institutions of Austria and Hungary. In the Hungarian's view, a Hapsburg king is a monarch in his Hungarian Kingdom who has pledged to abide by the unwritten constitution of the country, which contains a so-called equality of every Hungarian nobleman as the element of a political nation, the rights of their main political institutions, including several special protections of the assemblies and their participants as political actors. The same ruler is at the same time a tyrant in his Austrian provinces, where the laws and rights of the Hungarian constitution are unknown. Controversies emerged when the king wanted to govern Hungary in Austrian fashion, which was, from the Hungarian point of view, an attempt at foreign and illegitimate tyranny. From that time on the main dilemma of Hungarian political thinking would be the tension between the conservative defence of Hungary's old political institutions and the rational reforms enforced by the bureaucracy of the Vienna court. The network of traditional political institutions and the forms of acting within its frame, for example, managing the elections in the county assembly by traditional methods and customs, had become part and parcel of the national characteristics. It was also the sign of hopeless provincialism, a check on any needed modernisation of the country.

By the vocabulary of 19th century Hungarian political discourse, it was the impossible choice between *homeland* and *progress*. The novelty of the political program of the Hungarian age of reform is a consensus about the possibility of a political program based on the slogan of homeland *and* progress, instead of the dilemma of homeland *or* progress. In the following I will discuss some aspects regarding the history of the process of constructing a modern political community based on the transformed vocabulary of the early modern body politic of noble men under conditions of foreign rule. As a historian of philosophy I will focus on the role of philosophy in the Hungarian nation-building process.

1.2. Modern Nation as a Philosophical Project: the Role of *National Philosophy* in the 19th century Nation-Building

At the outset I shall speak about the transformation of the public sphere of European philosophical life, with a special regard to Hungary, including its role in the cultural nation-building and political thought. [For a recent and more detailed interpretation of this problem see Mester 2012.] A classic, well-known interpretation of this transformation was repeatedly offered by Immanuel Kant in several *loci* of his works. When Kant distinguishes between the private and public usage of reason on one hand, and the *philosophia more scholastico* and *more cosmopolitico*, on the other, he speaks about his own position as a German intellectual under the new circumstances of modern media, that is, the world of the scholars' regular periodicals as well. Any philosophy, by its cosmopolitan meaning, is possible for Professor Kant, if there is for it a new and free public sphere, out of the classrooms. Contrary to the institutional and cultural environment of his Latin works, motivated by the achievement of the needed academic degrees, the author of the writings pertaining to this new world finds himself automatically in the large, democratic, but geographically narrower, realm of a national language, instead of the international élite network of the scholars who write in Latin.

In Kant's case, the significance of the German language in the intellectual life of the Continent was enough to disregard the consequences of the usage of a national language in philosophy, creating the illusion that German must be the single language of the philosophy of the new epoch, contrary to the Hungarian participant in the same transformation of public sphere and the language of philosophy. It is the time of the first Hungarian philosophical debate outside the walls of universities, in the public realm shaped by modern media. An accidental event in the history of our philosophy was that the topic of that debate was Kantianism itself, a philosophy which contained the analysis of the new situation of philosophy under the conditions of modern media. The Hungarian debate on Kant [1792–1822] was the direct predecessor of the age of Hungarian reforms [1825–1848] in the field of philosophy's public sphere. [For a detailed analysis see Mester 2010, 2010a, 2011.] The Kantian philosophical background behind the creation of the modern Hungarian political nation clearly appeared in an official discussion at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in the summer of 1847, less than a year before the revolution, on the topic of *national philosophy*

[Szilasy 1847]. In this academic proposal we should distinguish between the categories of *school philosophy* and *cosmopolitan philosophy*, according to Kant's ideas, but there are between them two additional forms of human philosophical activity, that is, the individual and the national philosophies. The individual philosophy is more than acting as a schoolmaster, but less than the creation of a new philosophical system. For instance, to make a conference contribution is a typical example of this form of philosophy today. The national philosophy is here on the same level of generalisation as the cosmopolitan one, but it is formulated in the Hungarian language and it often uses elements from the economic, political, and cultural life of the nation as an example or a subject of its analysis. In this academic proposal the theoretical basis of the modern nation is a philosophical analysis of features pertaining to a new public sphere in the newly-built modern Hungarian nation.

This new public sphere is identical with the modernised nation itself in the 19th century Hungarian cultural reflections. The cultural discourse is highly sensitive to the structure of the public realm, including cases that were traditionally analyzed as examples of other cultural phenomena. Mention should be made of the long and vivid debates in the Hungarian intellectual life on the genres of literature in the first half of the 19th century. They were based on the arguments of the contemporary European theoretical aesthetics; the Hungarian discourse was focused on a modern audience's possibilities for *autopoiēsis* as offered by the development of the paradigmatic genres of literature. The most famous intellectual debate developed around drama and the epic. At the root of the old-fashioned problem of Aristotle's aesthetics were the cultural movements of the time, such as *Scandinavism* in Sweden, calling for the creation of a national epic from the collected *disiecta membra* of an archaic tradition which had existed before the Christianization of Finland on one hand and for the development of drama, on the other.

In the Hungarian view, such cultural projects appeared as possible models for making modern audiences part of the cultural nation-building program. The Hungarian question regarding the new trends in European literature was whether we should create ourselves as an audience of a national epic on the model of the *Fritjof-saga* and *Kalevala*, or as an audience of the Hungarian plays. Of course, the winner of the fight over possible models for the structure of a modern national audience was the community of readers of novels in what would be called the new Hungarian national romanticism, as well as readers of scientific and lit-

erary periodicals and magazines. The triumph of *homo typographicus* on the scene of national culture was followed by the transition to the model of political community. Its ending point was expressed in Sándor Petőfi's poetical picture in his notes on the first day of the revolution, published promptly, in the same revolutionary atmosphere for the poet and his readers. Petőfi identifies the Hungarian nation with the people who are reading the first products of a liberated press, the political program of the revolution, and his own political poem in the square, in front of the publishing house, in small groups, silently. Between this realised typographical utopia and the archaic structure of the political public realms of the Feudal Hungarian Kingdom there had been a long work of specific modernisation of the realms during the decades before the revolution. In this section I discuss the features of this great transition in its general characteristics, which will then be exemplified by paradigmatic instances of political activity at that time.

1.3. Modernisation of the Political Discourse on the Model of Modernisation in the Sphere of Culture and Philosophy

The work of modernisation in the political public realm cannot be interpreted without an examination of the dominant political discourses at the beginning of the epoch under discussion. The dominant political language of the traditional resistance against the centralisation of Vienna was a form of republicanism with ancient nostalgias, rooted in the culture of late Humanism. This discourse interpreted Hungary as a republic with freely elected kings, which was a *fiction made of law* in the Hapsburg period of the Hungarian Kingdom. The republican language was able to maintain the identity of the political community as a community of political values, the obligation of service to the country, and the engagement for the maintenance of the rights [*privileges*] of the *equal* noblemen in their activities within the framework of the privileged institutions of political life, constituting relatively free public realms, and considered as part of the national identity by the language of the Hungarian history of political ideas. At the same time, because of its fixed oppositional role, it was unable to incorporate the elements of the ideas pertaining to the modernisation of the body politic. The languages of modernisation, connected with the ideas of the establishment of a modern, rational bureaucracy, and the *raison d'état* were captured in the role of the servants of the court, and that of the enemies of the moral values of the imagined republic of the Hungarians. The

figures of the bureaucratic-minded, always Catholic, often germanised representative of the enforced reforms of the rationalisation and centralisation, planned by the Royal Court, and that of the conservative gentleman from the Hungarian countryside, with his Latin culture, far from the customs of the modern world, are emblematic caricatures of the Hungarian political discourse of the 19th century.

Between these hopeless positions there is the language of the public realm, which is able to fulfil both the requirements of the national engagement of ancient republicanism and the commitment to modernisation of the court reformers. It is the language of *refinement* of the society, on the model of Scottish Enlightenment, where *refinement* and *politeness* emerged as terms of social philosophy in the 18th century. This discourse was highly popular in the intellectual circles, especially amongst writers and artists, and it really made a serious impact on the modernisation of the social space between the public and private, on the world of cultural periodicals, on the sub-political life of the society in the saloons, and on the space of societal events. It was able to develop complete programs about the gradual development of different spheres of social life, such as the education of women, the desirable structure of the theatres, periodicals, or the preferable system of literary genres; but it was unable to touch the *political questions* themselves in their strict meaning. There was a narrow path for developing a political language that could maintain the identity of the political community on the basis of the common values incarnated in the national political institutions and the public realm offered by them, a language that could formulate a political program for the modernisation of these ancient institutions at the same time. It was the first escape from the Hungarian dilemma of the Vienna reforms versus the conservative national opposition, by the formulation of a reform made through the decision of the institutions of Hungarian politics against the Vienna court; which was considered as a representative of conservatism, instead of the tyrannical, illegitimate reforms.

The vocabulary, rhetoric and argumentation of this new political language could be successful through the transformation of the legitimation and *ethos* of the political institutions, which were used both as scenes of political debates and as the argument for the pure existence of the Hungarian political community under the centuries-old history as part of the Hapsburg Empire. The great innovation was the conceptual change of nation and citizenship. According to the old thesis, personal liberties and freedom used as part of the body politic, in the

legitimate political activity within the public realm of the recognised political institutions of the country are the privileges of the noblemen, who are the sole heirs of citizenship, and they are equal with each other in this respect. In the new political language, the creation of a republic of noblemen in the Hungarian history, similar to several other nations in Central Europe, developed a political form which could be the model for a modern political nation. To make a nation in Europe's democratic age, it is not necessary to destroy the old local and nation-level public realms of political decision-making by the French method; it is better to keep and use them, and consider them as possible prerequisites of a future representative government. The program of modernisation was equivalent to the planned and gradual extension of the right of noblemen's participation in the electorate as limited by the financial census, and an extension for the whole people in the distant future. By extension, the institutions conserving the noblemen's privileges changed into institutions of representation of the whole nation, in a special form, which in its customs and morality conserved several elements of the archaic roots of modern political liberty.

The success of this transition of values, formulated in this political language, and assessed during vivid political debates, depended on the transition of the following values. By the old idea, a certain degree of immunity is a privilege of the noblemen as members of the recognised political institutions that of the county and country assemblies, concerning their political speech. By the transformed idea, the same privilege can be the root of the new values of freedom of speech and the press. The task of a national *and* progressive politician is double in this regard; it is that of defending the existing form, restricted to the noblemen, against Vienna, and fighting for the extension of the existing form to the large strata of the nation at the same time.

2. Academy as a Diet of Spirit within the Framework of the 19th century Nation-Building

2.1. Introduction

Within this special process of modernisation, discussed above, we should analyse the transition of several elements of the traditional societal role of the nobility to the lifestyle of the *intelligentsia* as a new elite of 19th century cultural nation-building, and the transition of the corporal *ethos* of several feudal institutions to the new national insti-

tutions of the new elite. The first section will discuss the intellectual and emotional reflexions of the new intellectual elite in the changed public sphere – the topic of the second section. This situation can be often described as a fruitful personal crisis of the authors of the age. A sudden emergence of the *metaphors of illness* is connected with emotional and intellectual reflections, which will be detailed in the third section. The usage and function of the metaphors of illness in the 19th century intellectual history will be the topic of the third section of this part. The fourth and last part will focus on the gender aspects of the 19th century metaphors of illness, and their consequences for the 20th century discourse.

2.2. The First Intellectual and Emotional Reflections to the New System of the Public Sphere

As was mentioned in the first part of my essay, in the Hungarian case, the foundation of the institutional basis of the new public sphere, after the Hungarian debate on Kant [1792–1822], was the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, established in 1825, with a network of book publications and periodicals sponsored by it. The Academy was at the same time a model-institution in what regards the extension of rights in intellectual life. It had worked as an ideal-typical, meritocratic form of the House of Commons of the Feudal Diet for the new elite called *intelligentsia*, instead of the *nobility*.

“In Hungary the political movement has risen from literature. [...] The battle of pens, which had established the standard of Hungarian grammar, written language and prose, stirred the Hungarian spirit. It would then veer towards the field of sciences [...] with the foundation of the Academy, and later towards society.” [Szontagh 1849–1850]¹

The next topic of our investigations concerns the emotional and intellectual reflections of the first generations of the new national elite under the new circumstances. [For more detailed analyses see Messter 2011, 2012a.] In this respect, at first we should recognise the survival of elements of the Feudal customs in the new, democratic public sphere, rooted in the writers’ education. The first negative symptom

¹ Due to the sometimes inconsistent numbering of the manuscript pages by a different hand, I will refer to this text without page numbers.

is the need for anonymity of the new genres in the new periodicals, review articles and criticism, so as to avoid the issue of the different Feudal ranks of both critic and criticised author [Szontagh 1827]. The second significant phenomenon is the interpretation of criticism, replies to criticism, and any intellectual debate in the public sphere as a symbolic *duel* on the model of gentlemen's real duels in their *semi-private sphere* [Szontagh-Kiss 1826]. This model of behaviour is most characteristic in cases when the topic of debate is a female writer's work. The topics are quite modern: the values of literature written by female writers, the rights of female issues in the public sphere, etc. At the same time, the most progressive male participants in the debates usually play an old-fashioned role; they interpret their writings as a gallantry for a lady who is worthy of their gallant service. From the point of view of the present paper, the emotional and intellectual reflections on the new technologized environment are more important. The sphere of publication had changed from a literary gentlemen's passion to the livelihood of intellectual professionals on one hand, and had become an impersonal proto-capitalist machinery, on the other. The representatives of the first generation of authors who emerged in this new sphere were by their system of values literary gentlemen, yet intellectual professionals by the circumstances of their everyday life.

2.3. The Emergence of the Metaphor of Illness

This double transition, from the role of a Feudal literary gentleman to the professional intellectual, and from the world of the rural mansions to the world of the urban publishing houses and editorial offices shocked the 19th century *intelligentsia*. The timeframes of intellectual work had changed radically; the system of the gentry's independent life or that of the "eternal" order of lectures in the higher education was challenged by the system of deadlines, proof readings and ordered sizes. People expressed the shock at their changed lifestyle by metaphors of their bodily symptoms, as a disorder of their organisms, as a disease, or an illness caused by an artificial environment, which was the main requirement of their scope: the establishment of a modern and enlightened national culture. It is important to see here that the early reflections of the new situation in the literature of the age concern the changes in the authors' *own lives*.

“There emerged gigantically the love of science, and the literary life in my soul. [...] I immediately [...] travelled to Pest in winter, in the worst weather, with a swollen face. My literary friends were waiting for me, and I moved into the third floor of a new building, which had not dried up yet. I could only see the roofs of the neighbouring houses from my window. I started writing my *Propylaea*,² and I felt happier than in Croesus’s treasury. In my happiness I could not control myself; my nerves suffered because of the continuous work, and I had to travel [...] to rebuild my corrupted health in the air of the mountains, moving in nature, and with the therapy of cold-water baths.” (Szontagh 1849–1850)

Intellectuals often regard themselves as someone fallen in a trap; their vocations are scientific, belletrist and philosophical reflection, the interpretation of reality in all fields of national life, and they find themselves caught up in the alienated machinery for producing printed texts in standard forms, *separate from the desired reality*. From our point of view, it is surprising to see the large amount and scale of bodily reflections, for example, in the diaries of intellectuals, full of records of detailed physiological phenomena, from the functioning of the stomach to sexuality, interspersed with quotes and reflections from the abundant and popular literature on dietetics. The memoirs often contain a list of the author’s actual bodily symptoms as an introduction. The most frequent topic of such reflections is the idea of auto-therapy on a personal level or a recipe for the Hungarian *intelligentsia* as an identity-group. Auto-therapy as provided by the methods of dietetics was hardly a medical solution, yet it had important consequences for the whole culture where it was applied.

2.4. Metaphor of Illness in the Philosophical Life

The desired scope of auto-therapy was not the health of the observers of reality, as was the case with members of the *intelligentsia* who described their cultural shock by metaphors of illness; their personal wellness was of secondary importance. The main aim was to develop a therapy against the wrong description of reality, against the wrong plans that were based on false diagnoses by the therapy of the observers of the present and the builders of the future. The need for a

² Szontagh 1839.

complex auto-therapy of the whole nation had developed from personal auto-therapies until the middle of the 19th century. The usage of the metaphor of illness had become a widespread topic of review articles and historical overviews of the age; their elements cropped up in the fields of literary and fine arts, science, philosophy, and politics, as well.

“A part of the nation always works and cannot emerge from its vulgarity. At the same time, the bureaucracy, and the scientists are killing themselves in their study-rooms, sitting behind their desks. They always lament because of their sick soul, and this lamentation clearly appears in their life, and in their art, everywhere. Let us look at these men of the study-rooms! You can recognise them everywhere by their pale, long faces. Look at this scientist whose all knowledge was not enough to preserve his body in health. What shape is that? No life or vividness in him, his body is almost dwarfed by piles. He sees the world through the dark eyeglasses of hypochondria, with his feeble nerves, born from the blood of Scythian heroes; he is terrified of every noise.” [Szontagh 1849-1850]

The most often mentioned bodily symptoms of the criticised authors are *piles*, *disorder of the nervous system*, and *hypochondria* as a sign of their sick self-image. All these symptoms are caused by the work within the alienated machinery and the urban environment of the modern publishing industry, based on continuous sitting in the study-rooms, reading-rooms of the libraries, and archives, and on the deprivation of the open air and natural light. The rhetoric of the metaphors of illness turns to an epistemological description in the overview of the wrong description of reality by the criticised authors. According to the critics, their description is as ill as their authors because they live in an alienated virtual world of letters; and they change the reality with this imagination. The political consequences of a false diagnosis of reality are false, baseless political conceptions and actions. The contrast between the alienated world of printed letters and the external reality with the usage of the metaphor of illness in the 19th century literature appeared in its most complex form within the framework of the so-called “trial on Hegel,” on the anti-Hegelian side.

“Pupils and students are suffering in the benches of the schools; while they develop their spirits, they do not care for their bodies. After their education, scientists will move to the libraries and study-

rooms, separated from the real world. In that situation, the nervous system must be in a diseased, affected condition. In the minds of these people, ideas that are not confined and guided by life experiences must be at first predominant; and later their own ideas will usurp the hegemony over their minds. German speculative philosophy has become a science of study-rooms, instead of being wisdom of life. It has constructed the Human Being, God, and the World by the dialectical process of the concept, only. This constructed world is contrary to life and reality; and it is not a better interpretation of the universe than the *Tales from the Thousand and One Nights*.” [Szontagh 1849-1850]

In these texts the system of the Hungarian Hegelians are alienated in the special, closed universe of Hegelian terminology, and because of their alienated thought, they cannot observe the real world through their corrupted sensors, and misinterpret the reality. This negative picture is not restricted to the sphere of philosophy, only; in a characteristic pamphlet of this epoch, a Hegelian philosopher, a Romantic poet, and an enthusiastic political speaker are three faces of the habitants of the same world of dreams, derived from the virtual universe of letters [Szontagh 1845].

2. 5. Political and Gender Aspects of the Metaphor of Illness

There has remained an important aspect regarding the usage of metaphors of illness, that is, their gender. At first it appeared as the connection, sometimes an identification of the reality out of the alienated universe of letters with the female world, both in the meaning of reality from a woman’s perspective, and in the meaning of the societal world as a complex of female words, activities, sentiments, and endeavours. The indicator of the relationship with the reality of a writer is the method to describe the different aspects of the female world. The appearance of non-realistic female characters is an often cited element of literary criticism, linked with the alienated, virtual paper-world of the criticised author. For example, in an article about the Hungarian production of a play by Schiller, the critic mentions that it is not possible to imagine the real behaviour of a female character in a dramatic situation merely by dreams and speculations in the dormitory of a military school. The aspect of the female writers appeared as a rare but hopeful control of the alienated aspect of the professional male writers

in the literature of the Hungarian Reform Era [1825–1848]. Another relatively new kind of gender usage of the metaphor of illness is the labeling of the behaviour or work of the criticised writer or politician as *female*, or *female-style*.

“[The Hungarian writers of the Reform Era [1825–1848]] have not any temperance in their studies, have neglected their bodies; the continuous thinking, sitting and the air of the study-room have corrupted their nerves, consequently opinions of hypochondria have emerged in the poetry and philosophy of this age. [Szontagh 1849–1850]

In these texts there is an interesting historical change of values and evaluations. Gestures, words, rhetorical elements and dress-styles, which had male characters in the age of Romanticism, changed into a sign of *female weakness* several decades later. When the usage of the metaphor of *female hysteria* for males was established in the political discourse, the discourse of the metaphor of illness totally departed from its initial roots in the industrialised world of the *intelligentsia*.

“Idealism, credulity, vanity and nervousness; these feminine features had characterised the so-called ‘politicians of sentiments’ who were followed by the European liberals in the 1840s.” [Asbóth 1875: 40.]

A need for the auto-therapy of the collective hysteria became the new task of the Hungarian political community in the 20th century as well. In my opinion, it is not an accidental element in István Bibó’s political thought that his proposal for rethinking the roots of the identity of the Hungarian political community has its beginning in the epoch and discourse represented by János Asbóth’s generation, and has an intrinsic, albeit hidden sensitivity for the *metaphor of illness* with its gender aspects.

3. Instead of a Conclusion

The scope of my paper has been to show the roots and various functions of the *metaphor of illness* in 19th century Hungarian public speech, with major consequences for the next century and for our age. In the first part of my paper I gave an overview of the historical background and the reasons for the emergence of the metaphor of illness.

The historical aspects of the usage of this metaphor in the suddenly changed and modernised structure of both the political and intellectual public sphere were found to be connected with such keywords as *extension of rights* in politics and *national philosophy* in the intellectual life. In the second part I discussed in detail the intellectual reflections on the changed circumstances of the structure of the public sphere and everyday life of the 19th century Hungarian *intelligentsia*. I considered the first emergence of the *metaphor of illness* as an analysis of a new situation; and I referred to the change of its function in the philosophical and political rhetoric in the last sections of my paper, with an emphasis on its actuality in contemporary discourse.

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FEMALE ROLES - BEYOND HUMOR

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Among the Hungarians from Szeklerland there is a saying: "Woman is not human." Although everybody says that this is only a joke, they still use it. And usually everybody is laughing about it. Rationally, everyone agrees, of course, that women are human beings as well, they have the same rights, they are equal to men. But still the joke is "good," since "everybody laughs."

The world of humor has always been a space for criticism, sarcasm, irony, often helplessness, indignation, anger – often apropos of a current social fact, social phenomenon or habit. Caricature offers a way for visual humor, a short and funny cartoon with a strong and obvious mes-

sage. Understanding this message depends on the collective sense, collective conscious. Our analysis is based on caricatures: we have chosen to analyze the cartoons created by the graphic artist István Para in the Harghita Népe daily's column in the last five years. Those are the selected caricatures on which there actually appears a woman character or there is an obvious indication of a female person. Our research questions are: How does Woman appear in these cartoons? What kind of female roles can be identified in these cartoons? What are the rational and emotional domains for "understanding" humor? And why can one laugh?

KEYWORDS: *humor, gender role, content analysis, caricature*

1. Theoretical frame

Humor is a universal phenomenon, in every culture there appears a form of it. But every community and every context may vary in what frames humor, in which context can it be accepted [Sen 2012: 1]. Social norms have an influence even on what might be the responses to a joke, what kind of tease is fair. Humor first and foremost consists of verbal or written jokes and actions which induce laughter or provoke mirth. [Critchley 2002; Ritchie, 2004, cit.: Sen 2012: 1]. Humor is an amusing communication process, [1.] which generates a positive cognitive or affective response from listeners [readers] [Crawford 1994: 57]; [2.] or produces positive “emotions and cognitions in the individual, group or organization” [Romero – Cruthirds 2006: 59]. According to Radcliffe-Brown [1940], humor can even be an imperative, a must: between two persons it may be permitted, or even required – by custom – to make fun of the other [Radcliffe-Brown, 1940: 196]. The “joking relationship” labels this kind of relation between two persons in which one can [or should] tease the other, who is not supposed to take in [Radcliffe-Brown, 1940: 196]. This joking relationship can be symmetrical [each of the two persons teases or makes fun of the other] or asymmetrical [one jokes at the expense of the other one, who accepts it without retaliating or only with minor response [Radcliffe-Brown, 1940: 196]. Gender appears through a diversity of self-presentational strategies, not to forget the attire, the nonverbal behavior, and of course the role enactment. All these helps in success because they fit the others’ pre-existing expectations [Kessler and McKenna, 1978, cit. Crawford 2003]. The power of conversational humor in constructing and presenting a self is related to its flexibility, indirectness, and ambiguity [Mulkay 1988, cit. Crawford 2003]. According to Biró [1997], our region has a traditionally coded custom as to who with whom and how one can joke. This is neither “fair,” nor symmetrical; it is asymmetrical regarding mainly the female population and partly the younger generation. Only a man is allowed to tease somebody: a younger, married man is in the best “potential teaser situation,” and a younger boy, a young and married woman who is a relative, a very old man are in the worst situation [Biró 1997: 29]. Those who are being teased cannot respond in the same way, they usually have to put up with it. Especially those who have made an unfortunate mistake, no matter how long ago [Biró 1997: 67]. These people are the subject of collective entertainment.

As we know, qualitative research in the social sciences is characterized by an important dependence on data that are word-based: humor analysis has potential as an investigative qualitative research tool [Sen 2012: 2]. Through humor we can get a more subtle picture about the norms and rules that dominate contemporary society, actual social practices. Caricatures, as a well-devised satire, should be analyzed more deeply [Kutch 2012:141]. The world of caricatures, especially the world of political caricatures, is dominated by men: the artists are men, it is about men, and male values rule over it [Argejő 2003]. Women are present too, but they are only extras, supporting cast, as in the Hungarian political life of the nineties as well [Argejő 2003]. According to Bota [2007], the humorous commercial radio spots' humor – by reflecting on everyday life situations of people living in the Szekler region, customs, language use, values, mentality – is basically built on self-recognition, on the self eureka-effect. Through these humorous spots everyday people get into the media publicity. But not as an apropos of an exceptional life event or incident, but through an everyday life situation. These radio spots [“pamphlets”] are built on the assumption that people can laugh at the expense of others, especially if they feel that the situation is or could be about them as well [Bota 2007: 74]. These spots and their humor are not meant to indicate how stupid the people from the region are, but how they think and how they express themselves. Even if these humorous situations are exaggerated, it is important that radio listeners [receiver] feel that even he or his neighbor would have said that phrase. Everyday language use, language situations and life situations inspire the creators of the spots, their characters do not say more “stupid” things than what one would hear or might have heard in the street [Bota 2007: 74]. We assume that our caricatures have the same source of inspiration and their popularity have the same key: since we can laugh, it means that we understand what the joke is about, we know somebody in that very situation, we have heard about something just like that. And it is funny, because it is impersonal: the jokes' character is somebody just like me and you, but he is not me or you. And we can identify beliefs, even stereotypes and prejudices about everyday things. For example: marriage, relationships, division of housework, gender roles, social expectations. By means of a newspaper we may encounter the myth of the ideal woman [Sütő-Egeressy 2007]. Or – in the case of caricatures – the satirical myth of the non-ideal woman.

2. Methodology

The designer of these caricatures is Para István¹, a graphic artist who has drawn caricatures for the *Hargita Népe* newspaper for twenty two years. His caricatures are very popular among the population of all ages, even among the younger people who do not usually read the newspaper but are interested in Para István's humor. We have chosen his caricatures to be analyzed. Since there is a very large² stock of drawings, we have not analyzed all of them. We have selected those that have been available on-line on the newspaper's website³ for the last twelve months. We have looked systematically at all of them and have chosen for analysis those in which there appears a main female character or the subject of communication between the male characters is a female person. We have found 175 caricatures [out of 230] in which the presence of a female character or a topic about a female person can be defined. First we compiled a database in which we tried to label and classify each caricature along some aspects. Then we tried, by using this database, to find similarities and differences. We used the content analysis in several steps: analyzing the joke [the sense of the verbal phrase], analyzing the characters, and analyzing the communication process.

3. Data

In only 20% of these 175 caricatures there is no female character [but even here the communication is about or is related to a female person]. We can say that mainly in these caricatures there appear a man and a woman [51%].

¹ Para István is a well-known and very popular caricaturist in Transylvania, especially in Miercurea Ciuc and Harghita County. He has already drawn caricatures for more than 50 newspapers and magazines, but he also designs book covers, posters, flyers, creates T-shirts, illustrates books. Since 1994 he has been the employee of the first and main important daily newspaper of Harghita County, the "Hargita Népe." [www.parapista.com and https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Para_István]

² Every week there appear 5 caricatures [one every weekday]. There are 260 caricatures for every year of the newspaper, so more than 5720 caricatures in 22 years. Since 90% of them are not digitally purchasable, for the readers' "comfort" we have done this first analysis by using those caricatures which are reachable on-line.

³ The caricatures were downloaded from here: <http://hargitanepe.eu/para/#prettyPhoto>

Table 1. Caricatures' characters by gender

			%
Female character	One	4	2.3
	Two	29	16.5
	More	6	3.4
Male character	One	33	18.8
	Two	3	1.7
	More	2	1.1
Female and male character	One man one woman	90	51.1
	Men and a woman	7	4.0
	A man and women	1	.6
	Total	175	100.00

As far as representations of communication is these caricatures is concerned, there are formal communication situations, e.g. at the doctor's, on the street, at the grocer's. However, representations of informal relations [husband-wife, parent-child, friends, neighbor, etc.] dominate these pieces. The most frequent is a short communication between strangers [30.7% of the analyzed caricatures]. The second most frequent is a dialogue between married couples: every fifth caricature's humor is based on a communication between a husband and a wife.

Table 2. The actors of the communication process

		%
Husband - wife	39	22.3
Parent - child	17	9.7
Daughter in law/Son in law - Mother in law	4	2.3
Friends	28	16.0
Neighbors, acquaintances	19	10.9
Strangers - Formal communication [ex. Doctor - patient] or informal	54	30.9
Other	14	8.0
Total	175	100.00

4. Visual appearance

The female characters that appear in these caricatures are very feminine, the visual portrayal emphasizes their femininity. They have long hair, rotund shapes, mellow breasts, expressive eyes, full lips. Almost all the women who appear in these caricatures wear high heels and mostly mini dresses, sometimes carrying a handbag or reticule. Rarely can we see rural, older women wearing kerchief, Hungarian national dress. They smile or speak, sometimes yell. Their mouth is always big. Their emotions are easier to face read than the male characters'. Regarding age: female characters are ageless, one might say, or middle-aged. They are not very skinny, and only very seldom plump.

5. Characteristics

The main characteristics of the caricatures' female character is that she is a dictator – dominates her husband, her children, her family, everybody is afraid of her. Also she speaks too much, is very indecisive, she is not very good at driving, she is a wicked witch, she likes to be pretty and to get compliments, she is cheating on her husband, or she is too naïve to realize that her husband is cheating on her, she is not so clever, she works as a secretary [if she does].

Picture 1. Father and son talk⁴



⁴ – Son! Your mother says you do not hear when she speaks to you! – Well, Dad,... – Don't apologize, son! Please tell me how you do it!!!???

We have tried to identify the main characteristic of the female character on the basis of the caricature's text. We have analyzed and have grouped 17 characteristic categories. If we look at the categories, we realize that the female characters are not very likeable. They are better only in the "mother thing." As a wife, she is a virago, a dictator, or cheats on her husband. She is too naïve or too greedy. She likes to gossip, to shop, to spend money, she is superficial, she speaks too much and cannot drive a car or park a car [see Table].

Female characters are nameless, anonymous. The male character's name is often Jenő, the young boy's name is Kázmérka, but women have no specific name.

Table 3: Main characteristic of the caricatures' female character

		%			%
virago ⁵ , dictator ⁶	36	20.6	bad driver	4	2.3
silly, clumsy, weak-headed ⁷	27	15.4	overweight	4	2.3
adulteress ⁸	18	10.3	rule violator	3	1.6
greedy ⁹ , materialistic ¹⁰	11	6.3	superficial	3	1.6
naïve, credulous ¹¹	11	6.3	speaks too much ¹²	3	1.6
good mother/good wife	10	5.6	very indecisive ¹³	2	1.1
evil witch	6	3.4	ugly ¹⁴	2	1.1

⁵ How is your wife? – She's sick. – Dangerous? – No, only when she's healthy.

⁶ Dad, what is the echo? – Well, it is the only thing witch dare to answer back to your mother.

⁷ – What is a lottery? – You need to hit 5 numbers. – I understand. And from how far?

⁸ My dear wife, if our baby will look like you, she will be miraculous! – And if she will look like you, it will be a miracle...

⁹ It's not fair! Before we got married, you used to buy me a lot of jewelry! –Have you ever seen a fisherman who feeds the fish once caught?

¹⁰ When I got married, my wife got my name. When we divorced, she got my car and my house, too!

¹¹ Even the Post Office isn't trustworthy anymore! – Why? –Imagine, my husband is in Sovata for healing, and his postal card has a stamp from Paris!

¹² – My dear husband, this landscape leaves me speechless! – Great! Let's camp here!

¹³ See picture 1.

¹⁴ – Honestly, Mr. Szabo, your wife does not look good... – Yes, I think the same. But how rich his father is...

ironic, gossipy	6	3.4	other	12	6.8
money spender ¹⁵ , compulsive shopper ¹⁶	4	2.3	no obvious characteristic ¹⁷	14	8

The characteristics are not always self-evident: sometimes they are drawn as opposite to men's characteristics: there is no indication as to how a woman really is, but rather how a man is, and woman is not like man, so her characteristics are the opposite of man's.¹⁸ In a lot of cases the male character is not really a likeable character [for example he drinks too much, spends a lot of money on liquor, arrives home dead drunk, his wife is frolicking with her lover in bed, etc.], but the wife is so "cruel," she is yelling and quarreling, so, after all, drinking and cheating are minor problems for the virago wife.

Picture 2: She is just not capable to decide...



¹⁵ Doctor, I think I have problems with my eyes! – Why do you think that? – Well, since I got married, I haven't seen a dime in the house ...

¹⁶ Officer, how did you realize that he was the wanted man, when he was dressed like a woman? – Because he did not stop in front of any shop window.

¹⁷ It wasn't possible in every case [8% of the analyzed caricatures] to identify a characteristic: when the female character is only a listener, or the joke is not related to the gender issue.

¹⁸ – You, men, you would rather die than ask for the right direction! We have gone crazy for two hours. We've been driving in the wrong direction for hours! – It could be so, but we men make up for lost time with back parking.

6. Female types, female roles

By analyzing all the female roles that can be found in the 175 caricatures, we have labeled 27 roles. These are not exclusive roles, for they can be and are indeed cumulated even in some caricatures [for example a woman is mother-in-law in a caricature, but at the same time mother as well, or a pregnant woman is a wife as well]. A polarized conclusion would be that woman in these caricatures is a *wife* first of all, and/or *mother*. But everything else only in very few cases. We can see that the female characters' of the caricatures do not work: only very few women have a job. They are either shop vendors, or secretaries, or pedagogues, or medical assistants, or strippers. Only in one case have we identified a prostitute woman and a politician woman.

Table 4: Female roles in caricatures

wife	81	teenage girl	4	Stripper	2
mother	23	secretary	4	Pregnant	2
friend	14	car driver	4	single woman	1
mother-in-law	6	pedagogue	3	Housekeeper	1
lover	6	bride	3	Colleague	1
girlfriend	6	costumer	3	medical assistant	1
shop vendor	5	model	2	Politician	1
daughter	4	witch	2	Prostitute	1
acquaintance, neighbour	4	daughter in law	2	Grandmother	1

As we can see in the caricatures, the *ideal wife* “would be” one who washes the dishes,¹⁹ stays at home, doesn’t spend a dime, doesn’t have a mother, doesn’t yell, doesn’t cheat on her husband. She should be good at driving, should never leave her husband, or if she divorces she should leave the house and everything²⁰ to her husband [except maybe for the children]. She should always be nice, and clever, and tolerant, and empathetic. But unfortunately “our” wife is exactly the opposite

¹⁹ – Are you married or you’re still washing the dishes alone? – Yes. – Yes what? Yes, I am married and I am still washing the dishes alone

²⁰ My wife is a virago. But unfortunately it’s like a hand grenade. If I take off the ring, my house would fly off.

of all these: she is materialistic,²¹ evil, the scariest²² and worst thing, the destroyer of the husband's [man's] life. Sexuality does not play an important role in the marriage: sexuality almost always²³ comes into the picture only when the wife [three times less than the husband] or the husband is committing adultery. Or in the case of a non married woman, of course.²⁴

Even the role of wife can be complex. Mainly the *virgo* role appears. But there are some caricatures in which we will run into the *desperate housewife*, who is not so good at cooking, housekeeping, or anything else. But she is doing her best.

Picture 3: Desperate housewife²⁵



Besides the wife as a dragon and the left-handed wife there is the *cheater*, the wife who misleads her husband and has an affair with another man. There are two main topics regarding the adulterous wife. In the first situation the husband [almost] finds the lover under the bed

²¹ A wife's duty, my dear daughter, is to spend as much as she can, not to leave to her husband's mistress.

²² – Dear Sir, are you afraid of the new year's price increase? – Me? After 40 years of marriage, I'm not afraid of anything!

²³ One exception: – We are more and more synchronized with my wife even regarding sex. – Really? – Yes. Yesterday for example, both of us had a headache exactly at the same time.

²⁴ Miss, have you lost your virginity yet? – Why? Have you found it?

²⁵ Look my darling, I baked this soup all by myself!

or in the closet. In the other situation we [the readers] become aware about the affair thanks to the child, who is from the other man, not from her husband. And, of course, the husband has no clue whatsoever about it.²⁶ In both situations the wife is the negative character and we feel sorry for the husband.

The relationship between husband and wife seems to be in subordination: even if the wife cheats on her husband – fewer times than the man –, the wife has very few occasions when she can make fun of her husband.

Picture 4. Man about women²⁷



Besides the wife role, the role of *mother-in-law* is very highlighted. Only in two cases is it about the husband's mother, in most of the cases the mother-in-law is the wife's mother. And she is evil and the only purpose in her life is to be viperous with her son-in-law, to make his life miserable and to help her daughter ruin his life. In a few cases this relationship between mother and son in-law, even if conflicting, is also syndetic: woman and man can make fun of each other.²⁸ We must notice that the role of father-in-law does not appear in the caricatures.

²⁶ – Mom, who is this curly-haired, muscular man who hugs you in this old picture?
–Kázmérka, he is your dad! – Then who is this fat, bald guy, who lives with us???

²⁷ Make-up, artificial nails, silicone breast ... And you want a real man?!

²⁸ Mama! You look great! You could be a model for a Chinese painter! – Why for a Chinese? –Because they paint dragoons ...

Picture 5. Mother-in-law²⁹



7. Conclusions

As we know, a caricature usually highlights something in an exaggerated way. But beyond the joke and the social sarcasm there can be found social beliefs, social habits, idealized relations, gender expectations. These expectations and stereotypes cannot be attributed to the artist who draws these pictures, since the artist tries to give the readers what they like. In this sense the artist seeks to understand the readers' [the people from the region] field of interest and to find the possible "territory" where the joke finds a recipient. Regarding the female characters, we can say that caricature makes one laugh if it tells a story about an evil and hysterical wife who is only capable of spending money, yelling, having the same virago mother, and totally destroying a man's life. One example: *Every woman needs a husband because there are a lot of things for which you simply cannot blame the government!* – this means that wives are cruel and unfair with their partners. The male-female relations are asymmetrical in the caricatures. The female character is often a dictator, but there are no caricatures when we can take the wife's side. We can say that there are a lot of preconceptions and stereotypes about woman in these caricatures. They can often be seen as insults to the female population, but since it is "only a joke,"

²⁹ What a beautiful gray hair your son-in-law has! -Well ... you see, he owes me even this!

nobody should feel offended. And yes, it should not be forgotten that caricatures overstate the characteristics, the real “facts.” This could be the reason why it is socially accepted. But we must add that the female population is not sensitive enough, or has no courage to be more sensitive. If so, there would be a little bit more symmetry in these caricatures, more jokes at the men’s expense as well. And, of course, caricatures are always the manifestation of criticism, a way of highlighting the actual social problems as well. In this sense, we can conclude that the asymmetric expectations regarding men and women, husband and wife, girl and boy are part of the contemporary society as well.

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IN .GOV WE TRUST: ASSESSING E-GOVERNANCE PERFORMANCE IN ROMANIA

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The present analysis highlights two frameworks for evaluating e-governance: the one developed for municipalities by the National Center for Public Performance and Rutgers University (Holzer 2014), and the European Com-

mission survey on Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI), with e-governance indices. Romania performed well at user centricity, but failed to meet e-governance criteria for transparency and e-safety in 2016.

KEYWORDS: *e-governance assessment framework, Romania lagging behind EU countries*

"E-government is more than simply establishing a website."¹

Defining key terms: e-government and e-governance

Several definitions were given to e-government, e-governance and the difference between the two terms. There is a broad consensus that e-government refers mainly to electronic service delivery provided by governmental organizations to its stakeholders (citizen, civil society organizations, other governmental agencies and businesses), while e-governance implies citizen participation in decision making processes, or e-democracy (Roman and Miller 2013). Scholars distinguish between the technological, socio-cultural and political layers of e-governance: in fact, e-government might be defined as the technological and socio-cultural layers of online service provisions to governmental stakeholders, whereas e-governance encompasses all three layers, including the political level of citizen participation, civic culture and policy making processes.

A bold definition of e-governance highlights "the use of information and communication technologies [ICTs] to support public services, government administration, democratic processes, and relationships among citizens, civil society, the private sector, and the state" (Dawes 2008: 86). Citizen participation in decision making is a crucial element of e-governance with the benefit of increased legitimacy and better decisions. "The use of ICTs can indeed motivate fundamental changes in the manner in which ordinary citizens participate in rulemaking. Individuals can interact with the agency by tracking the writing of the rule, proposing modifications, debating assumptions or challenging the rationale behind certain claims" (Johnson and Roman 2015: 48). Meanwhile, the authors warn us not to have unrealistic expectations when it comes to quality and efficiency of public participation without a deeply routed civic culture.

While central government e-service delivery is pivotal in assessing e-governance and government performance, the local administration level still remains an uncharted territory, lacking proper resources, management and a standardized framework of evaluation (Rahman 2010: 23). Local resources are also subject of the digital divides, leaving those vulnerable behind (Bakó 2012, 2013).

¹ Holzer et al. 2014: 20.

Table 1. A concept of local e-government and e-governance
[based on Rahman 2010: 39]

Balanced and value-driven e-government Combination of electronic and participatory service delivery	
<i>E-Administration</i> Transaction of user-oriented and value driven services offered by local government, based on ICTs	<i>E-Democracy</i> Digitally conveyed information and participation of citizens and businesses in the deliberative processes

Key areas of e-governance include not only services but also democratic processes concerning the relationships among citizens, civil society, the private sector, and the state. Dawes (2008: 87) has defined five key areas for assessing such processes:

a) *A policy framework*: Information-related rules and regulations essential for legitimizing foundation of e-governance.

b) *Enhanced public services* with a customer orientation, providing access and choice to citizens and businesses seeking information or services from government.

c) *High quality and cost-effective government operations*: A wide array of managerial and technical goals addressing infrastructure investments, information use, organizational innovation, procurement reform, and performance assessment.

d) *Citizen engagement in democratic processes*: “e-participation” including accessibility and usability of technologies and information content, public interaction with the government, public debate on policy topics, public consultation, and engaging people in agenda-setting.

e) *Administrative reform*, with an emphasis on accountability, transparency, trust, and on delegating responsibilities from governmental agencies to business and civil society organisations for carrying out public functions.

These key features have evolved in tight connection with ICT development from the static world of personal computers of the early nineties to the sophistication and mobility of the wireless networks’ enabled smart phones. Dawes (2008: 88) encompasses e-governance related policies and themes during the stages of technological development.

1. *In the early 1990s*, local networks, desktop computers and web browsers brought about the issue of paperwork reduction, freedom of information principle and computer security, with the goal of reducing taxpayers’ burden.

II. *In the mid 1990s*, commercially available internet and the ubiquity of e-mail enabled online information and service delivery, and mainstreamed digital divide as an important social and economic issue.

III. *In the late 1990s*, wireless networks, mobile computing and data mining tools led to online privacy protection and e-commerce regulations, with enterprise IT management and the need to bridge the digital divide brought onto the public agenda.

IV. *The post 2000s era*, with its Web 2.0 tools, extensible markup language [XML] and comprehensive e-government laws has developed new e-government/ e-governance themes: information sharing and integration, cross-agency systems development, user generated content, and data archiving issues.

When assessing e-governance performance, internal focus has to be complemented with contextual analysis, by looking beyond infrastructural and policy framework in order to understand broader social and cultural factors [Porumbescu et al. 2012]. Even if a certain analysis is internally focused, when we interpret results we should contextualize them against a broader economic, socio-cultural and political background. Meanwhile, users' attitudes are also worth assessing, given the importance of the human factor when it comes to adopting new technologies, applications and services: online trust, propensity to use ICTs, intention to use electronic services and tools, and openness towards innovation [Wirth et al. 2016]. In the case of those left behind, intermediaries such as outreach workers and educators can mediate between governmental organizations and end-users to build trust [Dombrowski et al. 2014].

The focus on local e-governance enables a closer look at particular socio-cultural contexts across the world. The *Digital Governance in Municipalities Worldwide Survey* assesses large municipalities by replicating a standardized survey in 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011-12, and 2013-14. "Simply stated, digital governance is comprised of both digital government [delivery of public services] and digital democracy [citizen participation in governance]" [Holzer et al. 2014: 7]. Bucharest ranked 53th out of 100 municipalities assessed across the world, with no EU municipality among the world top five, but ten European e-cities among the world top 20: Yerevan, Bratislava, Prague, Vilnius, Vienna, Oslo, Stockholm, London, Helsinki and Zürich. The top three e-governance municipalities in the world as of 2013 were Seoul, New York and Hong Kong [Holzer et al. 2014: 31]. Meanwhile, there were significant differences between OECD and non-OECD-countries concerning the e-governance dimensions assessed, as shown in table 2.

Table 2. Average scores of e-governance for OECD- and non-OECD country municipalities

	Privacy/ security	Usability	Content	Service	Citizen engagement
OECD	7.62	13.17	10.30	7.70	4.54
Overall average	4.88	12.04	7.62	5.49	3.34
Non-OECD	3.53	11.48	6.34	4.40	2.75

Source: Holzer et al. 2014: 43

E-governance in Romania: Regional disparities

E-governance in Romania has been pulled by European Union (EU) rules and regulations and pushed by a strong IT business community, both in terms of creating a proper policy environment and by investing in infrastructural development. An extensive study on Romanian local e-government conducted by Stoica and Ilas (2009) has assessed digital services and e-democracy delivered by 165 Romanian towns' and cities' websites, using the framework developed by the National Center for Public Performance (Holzer et al. 2014). The most striking conclusion was the significant disparity across developmental regions in Romania concerning online presence of local authorities, as shown in table 3.

Table 3: Romanian towns and cities with a website
(based on Stoica and Ilas 2009: 179)

Development region	Number of urban local authorities	Number of urban local authorities with a website	Percentage of urban local authorities with a website
Bucharest	9	9	100
Centre	53	29	54.7
North-East	32	18	56.2
North-West	32	23	71.8
South	43	24	55.8
South-East	33	23	69.6
South-West	33	14	42.4
West	37	25	67.5

Average percentage of urban local authorities with a website in 2009			64.75
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Although local governmental online presence has a dynamic development and 2009 scores are outdated in 2016, the assessment shows striking regional disparities. The five dimensions assessed according to the model developed by Holzer et al. (2014: 21) are shown in table 4.

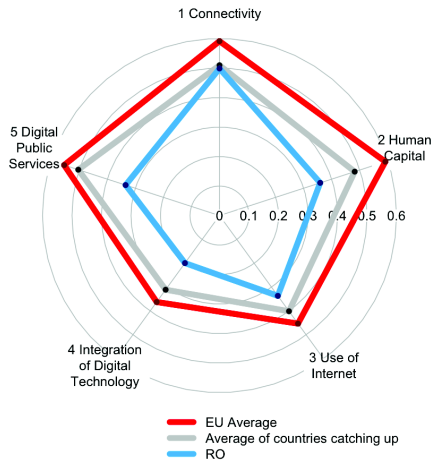
Table 4: E-governance performance measures for Romanian municipalities

E-governance category	Keywords describing e-governance category
Privacy/ Security	Privacy policies, authentication, encryption, data management, cookies
Usability	User-friendly design, branding, length of homepage, targeted audience links or channels, and site search capabilities
Content	Access to current accurate information, public documents, reports, publications, and multimedia materials
Services	Transactional services – purchase or register, interaction between citizens, businesses and government
Citizen engagement	Online civic engagement/ policy deliberation, social media applications, citizen based performance measurement

Digital agenda for Europe: Is Romania catching up?

As broadband internet represents “digital oxygen” for us all (EC 2014: 6), access to ICT infrastructure, services and education is key in the digital economy. Despite significant progress both in terms of infrastructural development and policy environment, the Romanian digital landscape remains fragmented and lags behind most EU countries. Romania ranks 28th out of the 28 EU Member States (EC 2016) for the 2016 Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI), measuring the state of connectivity, human capital, use of internet, integration of digital technology, and digital public services. Romania falls behind EU average for each dimension assessed, as shown in figure 1. Relative to 2015, “more people subscribe to broadband networks also thanks to its good qual-

ity, but low levels of digital skills and trust seem to be holding back the



development of its digital economy” [EC 2016: 1].

Figure 1: DESI scores for Romania in 2016 [EC 2016: 1]

Connectivity scores for Romania are the best as compared to other DESI indicators due to fast broadband internet uptake, but the increase of internet use is mainly due to social networking. When it comes to digital skills, less than half [46%] of the workforce possesses basic or above digital skills [vs 72% in the EU].

Digital public services provision is the DESI-indicator showing the level of e-government in the country, with four indices: percentage of e-government service users, pre-filled forms, online service completion and promotion of open data. The most significant progress is con-

	Romania				EU DESI 2015 value
	DESI 2015 value	rank	DESI 2014 value	rank	
5a1 eGovernment Users % individuals returning filled forms, out of Internet users in the last year (aged 16-74)	8% (2015)	↑ 28	5.8% (2014)	28	33% (2015)
5a2 Pre-filled Forms Score (0 to 100)	5.5 (2015)	↓ 28	6.6 (2014)	27	49 (2015)
5a3 Online Service Completion Score (0 to 100)	54 (2015)	↑ 28	51 (2014)	25	81 (2015)
5a4 Open Data Score (0 to 700)	435 (2015)	↑ 9	270 (2014)	21	351 (2015)

cerned with open data: from rank 21 of 28 Romania reached rank 9 of

28, as shown in figure 2.

Figure 2: DESI 2016 scores for digital public services in Romania [EC 2016: 6]

When it comes to e-government performance assessment across policy priorities, four key indicators are taken into consideration: user centricity, transparent government, cross border mobility and key enablers, as shown in table 4.

Table 5: Romanian e-government performance assessment across EU policy priorities

Scores for 2014		EU 28+ ²	Denmark	Estonia	Romania
User centricity	<i>Overall scores</i>	73	84	89	48
	Online availability	75	87	94	51
	Usability	80	85	90	43
	Ease of use	60	69	72	41
	Speed of use	56	66	73	36
Transparent government	<i>Overall scores</i>	51	65	77	19
	Service delivery	41	56	78	9
	Public organisations	60	51	88	37
	Personal data	52	89	67	11
Cross border mobility	<i>Overall scores</i>	58	62	85	19
	Online availability	56	63	91	16
	Usability	71	72	89	33
	Ease of use	49	53	57	21
	Speed of use	44	49	52	18
Key enablers	<i>Overall scores</i>	50	82	91	12
	eID	63	100	100	48
	eDocuments	57	71	94	24
	Authentic sources	46	77	93	8
	eSafe	39	71	86	0
	Single Sign On	58	100	86	14

Benchmarks: Insufficient [0-25], Moderate [26-50], Fair [51-75], Good [76-100].
Source: EC 2015.

Except for *user centricity*, Romania has failed to reach at least a moderate score for the government performance indicators in 2014.

² EU 28+ stands for the 28 EU countries plus Norway.

Indices of key enablers seem to be the most problematic: esafenet with an alarming null score, and authentic sources with only 8 points. By contrast, Estonia succeeded in reaching the highest scores for 2014 across the EU, even above the role-model Denmark.

Trust is a very important element of e-government, and it is driven by users' belief in safe e-services. Moreover, citizens need to believe that their opinions are taken into consideration in the decision-making process. A thorough analysis on factors influencing trust in e-government conducted in Romania has shown that a younger age, internet experience, lack of privacy concerns and perceived usefulness will increase trust in online services delivered by the government (Colesca 2009). Meanwhile, the use of Web 2.0 interactive applications and features such as blogs, videos, social networking sites, geolocation tools enable a more user friendly interface for governmental portals (Georgescu and Popescul 2014).

The process of planning, organizing, implementing and evaluating e-government projects and programmes requires a managerial perspective. Although most Romanian public authorities (87%) have a strategic plan, among the least emphasis of planning effort is in the field of e-government (Hințea et al. 2015: 36). Managerial skills and competencies necessary for an e-government manager are to be clearly defined, but a pilot study highlighted the following requirements: leadership, communication, information management and project management skills (Hunnius and Schuppan 2013). E-governance has a strong human capital component, highlighted by the DESI assessment equally.

Conclusions and way forward

E-governance is an encompassing term, including both technological, socio-cultural and political layers of services, applications and features provided by governmental organizations to its stakeholders: citizen, other governmental agencies, businesses and civil society organizations.

There are several assessment tools and frameworks when it comes to monitoring and evaluating egovernance, both on a national and a subnational level. We have highlighted two such frameworks: the one developed for municipalities by the National Center for Public Performance and Rutgers University (Holzer 2014), and the European Commission survey on Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI), with

highlights on e-governance. Romania performed well at user centricity, but failed to meet e-governance criteria for transparency and e-safety. These elements, complemented with developing competencies and online trust, should be on the ICT policy makers' agenda.

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LOCAL FOOD AS SENSORY APPEAL: IS IT WORTH THE PRICE?

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The literature on local food shows that this type of consumption implies not only cold cost-benefit rationalities which emphasize the importance of price, the healthiness of the ingredients or the ethics of production. Local food is also an experience full of emotions and sensations: taste, smell, visual appearance, nostalgia, deception, frustration etc. are important quality cues of this type of food. Based on this dichotomy, the presentation summarizes those results of a qualitative investigation [focus groups] taken in Romanian urban contexts which outline the emotional and sensorial ingredients of local food consumption. The results show that local food consumption does not represent a dominant consumption choice, and rejection of consumption takes place on the basis of both extrinsic financial constraints [too expensive] or

intrinsic quality cues, e.g., when the chosen product 'does not appeal to consumers' five senses'. The research revealed a salient emotional discourse [e.g., taste, nostalgia, topophilia, well-being, happiness, etc.] which influences both the ways in which respondents define local food and the experience of consumption. Such emotions are nearly always involved in the discourse about local food, and are important determinants of the process of searching for the genuine local food. Emotions and senses are, however, not enough to determine a continuous attachment to this type of food. The emotional and sensorial encounter with local foods can lead to various scenarios depending on how the advanced positive or negative feelings are supported or disproved by corresponding sensations or other types of product cues.

KEYWORDS: *local food, extrinsic cues, intrinsic cues, emotions, focus group*

Introduction

In the context of today's consumption society, food becomes a complex issue: individuals are not only bombarded with food-related advertising in connection with the so-called conventional products, but they are also receiving messages about food-related risks. Choosing the most adequate food is thus a huge challenge; individuals need to find a balance between convenience [e.g., price, time, availability], individual sensory preferences, and broader moral issues like environmental or social ethics. The complexity of the food topic is well summarized by Lien [2004], who outlines four major approaches: 1] the governmentality approach follows the Foucauldian concept and positions food at the crossroad of the individual and the state; it contends that our food choices, i.e. our diet, is not a purely individual matter, since macro-level regulations highly influence which types of food are available and how certain foods need to be in terms of composition, presentation, etc.; 2] the reflexivity approach is inherent in the risk society and links food to trust; 3] food as a sensory approach contends that food goes well beyond nutrition, as far as it implies memories, emotions and other subjective perceptions; 4] food as nature is the approach in which food targets broader environmental and moral issues, e.g. the case of organic or local food products, etc.

In the following I will discuss mostly the case of the above mentioned latter three approaches. By the case of local food products I intend to present a summary on the ways in which Romanian citizens relate to and discuss about local food in terms of sensory and emotional aspects like taste, nostalgia, place-attachment, etc. In other words, my purpose is to understand those reflexive approaches of this specific type of food which put the accent on the sensory qualities of local food products. Which are the most commonly used attributes when citizens describe local food in terms of its sensory intrinsic qualities? How certain emotional experiences in connection with local food are augmented by the interviewees? How place attachment and traditions are linked to these emotional definitions? These are a few questions I intend to answer.

The research material is represented by the transcripts of a qualitative research which implied focus group discussions with the general public in five Romanian urban settings in 2014. Before presenting the method and the results in detail, I turn towards summarizing some approaches in connection with food and specifically alternative food consumption and the role of food's intrinsic aspects in shaping food-related choices.

1. Food as social practice and sensory appeal: attachment, memories and pleasures

Those approaches which emphasize the social nature of food consumption start their argumentation from the traditional societies when and where food consumption was linked to and limited by the geography of a specific location. The local availability of specific raw materials and foods resulted in specific 'foodways' or 'alimentalities' [i.e. specific diets of what, when and how to eat] which acted as a kind of normative communitarian bound over a community [see Bildtgaard 2008].

Later, in the course of modernity communities became less bounded together, but food still played an important role in defining them; cultures of eating, national cuisines, traditional food products, etc. are all illustrations for specific foodways and indicate how cultural practices, traditions and memories are perpetuated through food. In late-modernity, searching for the local food or for the so-called genuine food products means attempts at rediscovering those lost connections between food, communities and places. This attempt is as much important as nowadays food production and consumption is mediated by retailer chains and the wide gap between producers and consumers implies various forms of anxieties, risks and [mis]trust [Wilska 2002; Bildtgaard 2008]. In the late-modern societies individuals are loosely connected to places and communities and they need to make individual choices; in order to reduce the risk of failure, they are relying on secondary agencies and institutions when making the food choice or try to affiliate to specific lifestyle groups which promote several forms of alternative food consumption, i.e. 'neo-tribes' [Bauman 1992; Wilska 2002].

A typical way in which individuals attempt to reduce food-related risks and to anchor their selves in terms of foodways and/or morals is the case of alternative food consumptions. According to Miller [1995 – quoted by Connelly and Prothero 2008: 135], alternative food choices are either motivated "by fear of consequences for the consumer's body," or by more general concerns regarding the environment in general. In the same line of thought, Carrier [2012] contends that the decision to start consuming on ethical grounds can be taken with respect to oneself or it can reflect a desire to become part of a social movement; ethical consumption can be about a better household and/or about a better world. Thus, alternative consumption satisfies three kinds of needs: control needs, that is the necessity of people to have

control over everyday activities and facts of life which one dislikes or fears [e.g. GM food]; social integration needs, that is the desire to feel part of a group [e.g. of a movement]; and authenticity needs, that is the search for genuine, natural, eco-friendly food [see Lang 2009].

Local food consumption constitutes a specific form of alternative food consumption, whose general assumption is that the more local the food chain, the greener it is and the more sustainable it is [Morgan 2010]. In fact, the 'cause of the local' is promoted in almost every alternative food movement for several reasons, including environmental, political-economical, social, etc. [Pratt 2007]. At the crossroad of such rationales, we can summarize that local food consumption means a "food system re-localization" by "reducing the spatial, temporal, social, and economic distance between producers and consumers by eating locally and seasonally" [Lockie 2009: 194]. This way of consumption assumes that local food is a vital part of a community which should be preserved, and producers of local food should be protected [Sassatelli and Davolio 2010]. The agent of such protection is conceived to be the consumer who must choose local food products by reducing "food miles and to ensure that more of the consumer's food dollar ends up in the pocket of producers" [Lockie 2009: 194].

These above mentioned rationalities provide specific objective arguments for local food consumption. When local food is defined in terms of a 'geographic concept' [Martinez et al. 2010], local food consumers, i.e. 'locavores' [Kaplan 2012] are thought to be rational actors who made their decisions based on geographic, environmental, socio-cultural or economic trade-offs.

However, on the consumers' side, local products are also conceptualized in more subjective terms, and such conceptualizations make reference to issues of real or perceived trust, to intrinsic product qualities which deliver specific sensory messages to the consumers, etc. Thus, local food has a number of benefits which go beyond the objective and moral approaches and represent personal experiences, sensations and emotions: knowledge of the origins of food and its history, the sensory appeal of fresher and authentic products, the re-personalization of commercial relations, etc. [Smithers et al. 2008] are all aspects which presuppose the subjective experiencing of the local food. In this sense, farmers' markets are illustrative examples, they are specific sites "where people who care about healthy food, farming and the environment might gather to support local producers and each other" [Smithers et al. 2008: 338], but they are also places for subjec-

tive experiences and sensations where “immediacy and directness can be [re]introduced into transactions around food” (Smithers et al. 2008: 338). The shopping experience offered by local food markets in the form of the farmers’ markets can bring not only trust, but also sensory pleasure for the consumers, for instance in the form of the exploration activities involved in the search of fresher, tastier, etc. goods (Schaefer and Crane 2005).

Further sensory dimensions can be outlined when we refer to the intrinsic qualities of the local food. These are evident especially in those approaches which see a close relationship between local, traditional and ‘organic food’, i.e. food which is considered to be free of pesticides and chemicals and is linked to specific regions and communities. The role of the intrinsic cues in food-related choices was outlined some decades ago. Olson and Jacoby [1972] demonstrated that people rely on both intrinsic and extrinsic cues when they judge the quality of a food product. Intrinsic cues refer not only to those product-based properties like ingredients, healthiness, etc. which can be objectively rated, but also to subjective peculiarities, such as taste and other emotional sensations. Extrinsic cues include the manifest aspects of the products which are rather objective than subjective: packaging, production method, geographic origin, brand, and, of course, price. The extrinsic cues are important indicators for the intrinsic cues, as much as the latter cannot be judged before purchase and consumption. Thus, consumers are using mostly the extrinsic cues in connection with their expectations regarding a certain product. This is especially the case of first time purchases. Once the product has been experienced, its intrinsic properties may act as motivations for further purchase.

The interplay between extrinsic and intrinsic cues is a complex phenomenon. As I have already summarized elsewhere (Nistor 2014), based on the special literature, price as an extrinsic cue usually correlates positively with the perception of quality, but there is also evidence to suggest that price becomes less important as a quality indicator when other extrinsic indicators are available, e.g. brand, producer, origin, etc. (Zeithaml 1988). In other words, objectively, a higher price can be indicative of better quality, but subjectively consumers do not always associate price with quality when other cues are available (see also Olson and Jacoby 1972). There is also the paradox that while extrinsic cues are more important at the time and place of purchase, intrinsic cues have in general a higher role in quality-related judgments during consumption, i.e. eating *per se*.

Even more important is to acknowledge that food preferences are determined not only by food products and their extrinsic or intrinsic properties, but also by the characteristics of the consumers: age, gender, available income, family composition, etc., but also consumers' life-long experiences in terms of food, community and place attachment can determine specific perceptions in terms of food products. Therefore, food product choice is a complex function of sensory preferences, attitudes, ethical concerns, and extrinsic cues, like price for instance [Fotopoulos et al. 2009]; and food can be judged in terms of its sensory, nutritional, safety, and ethical characteristics, but also in terms of extrinsic aspects like price and availability [Zeithaml 1988 – for a previous summary see Nistor 2014].

Up to now various empirical studies have shown that – except the people with reduced income – the price of the product is less important than its intrinsic aspects [e.g., Steptoe et al. 1995; Januszewska et al. 2011; Zakowska-Biemans 2011; for the Romanian case see: Nistor 2014]. In the case of local and other types of alternative food products like organic or traditional local food this could be even more the case as far such products are marketized as better [i.e. healthier, ethical, tastier] options compared to conventional products [Bourn and Prescott 2002; Ferioli et al. 2012] and, besides these descriptions, such products are also surrounded by specific histories, memories, attachments, nostalgia, expectations and *a priori* perceptions in terms of taste, healthiness, etc. These aspects can lead to specific sensory expectations [including bias] and experiences.

The importance of sensory appeal [taste, smell, presentation, flavor] in food choice seems to be taken for granted. However, several studies have shown that the sensory appeal is not a singular or even dominant determinant of food choice [even in the case of local or traditional foods sensory appeal does not rank on the first place – see Pieniak et al. 2009; Pieniak et al. 2013]. In the case of local/traditional and other types of alternative food consumption we can assume that there are some specific factors which can influence and even bias the expectations about such foods' superior sensory appeal. One such factor is boredom; as Pienak et al. [2013: 1300] put it, in the context of the globalized food-system, dominated by conventional food products, consumers might perceive standardized food products as a kind of “organoleptic boredom” and they are reaching for alternative options to which they associate even *a priori* of consumption better taste, flavor, etc. It is assumed also that labeling a food as organic and/or traditional

creates specific expectations regarding the food's superior sensory appeal, because consumers associate the label with higher price, and thus with better taste, flavor, etc., or they deduce from the label more ecological production methods, less amount of pesticides and conservants, etc. [Bourn and Prescott 2002]. On the other hand, people's life course experiences have an influence on their food choice, and people can associate local food and traditional food products with previous eating experiences during their life course which then might evoke positive memories and, consequently, specific expectations about the sensory appeal of a local and /or traditional food [Furst et al. 1996]. Moreover, the context of sampling and eating can create a pleasurable environment which is favorable for overrating the sensory appeal of a product [e.g. farmers' markets but even those situations when we are sampling the local cuisines during holidays – Kivela and Crotts 2006]. All these assumptions indicate the important role of the sensory appeal, but also the fact that perceived taste, smell, aroma, etc. must be judged at the crossroad of the micro- and macro-social context, or differently put, "the interesting thing is how the individual factors [biological and psychological] and the cultural or sociocultural factors interact to create people's unique sensory food preferences" [Vabø and Hansen 2014: 146]

Thus, there is the question, how much do sensory appeals count when describing and choosing local products? How the subjective experiences in terms of traditions, memories, etc. influence the judgment of the sensory aspects of the local products and how much sensory aspects like taste, sensations, etc. count in rating and choosing local food products, compared to extrinsic cues like price and broader morals? These are the questions to be answered in the following.

2. Methodology and research questions

I have adopted a qualitative methodology, based on focus group interviews in five Romanian urban localities: Bucharest, Brasov, Cluj-Napoca, Miercurea Ciuc and Sfantu Gheorghe. A total of ten focus groups [two in each location] have been conducted, and later a complementary on-line focus groups was added, which included consumers who identified themselves as dedicated consumers of local foods. Otherwise, the five focus groups included participants from the general public, i.e. respondents with different kinds of involvement with local food products. The focus group participants were homogenous in terms

of their age and family status, i.e. in each of the five localities, one focus group included young participants (20-35 years old), living alone in independent households, without children, while the other focus group was composed of middle aged and older people (36 – 75 years old), with family (husband, wife, children/s). Each focus group included 6-8 participants. Discussions were conducted in May-September, 2014.

The discussions were based on a semi-structured interview guide. The questions of the interview explored with several specific questions the following major themes in connection with local food: the meaning of the local food; consumers' preferences, habits and motivations; consumers' knowledge and information about local food; consumers' visions about the future of the local food. Thus, with the help of these major themes I aimed at revealing the answers to the general research question of my broader research whose purpose was to depict the public's definitions, motivations and involvement with local food consumption¹.

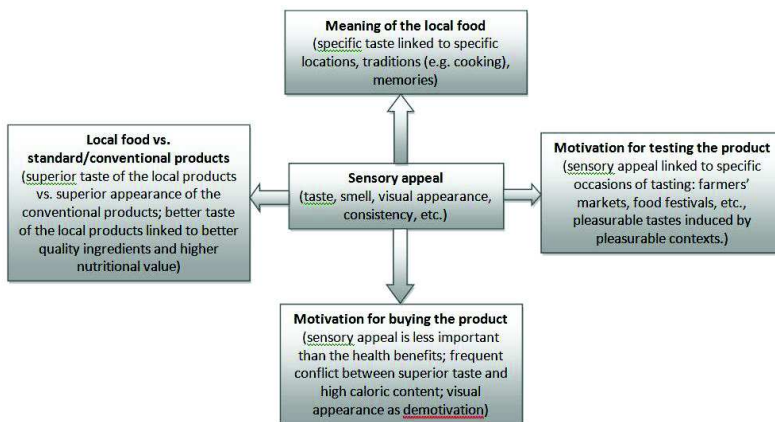
Focus group discussions have been recorded and then the material has been transposed into written text. The transcripts were coded by using QSR NVivo for Windows. The analysis in terms of codes, major themes and corresponding semantic narratives followed the paradigm of the grounded theory [e.g. Strauss and Corbin 1990]. Based on the collected material, several results have been developed so far, e.g. in connection with the meaning of local food [Nistor 2015]. In the following, I am going to present, in a rather synthetic way, only those findings which deal with the role of the sensory appeal in connection with local food.

3. At the crossroad of place attachment and traditional cuisine: the sensory appeal of local food

The sensory appeal of local food products constituted a recurrent theme of the discussions. Focus group participants made reference to the sensory appeal especially in terms of local products' superior taste compared to conventional products', but other product attributes in terms of sensory aspects have also been mentioned [see Graph 1]. What is interesting is the fact that sensory appeal was articulated in connection with the four major themes of the discussions: the meaning

¹ This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Education, CNCS – UEFISCDI, project number PN-II-RU-PD-2012-3-0157. The title of the research grant: *Sustainable consumption patterns in Romania. Empirical insights regarding profiles, motivations and discourses.*

Graph 2. The major themes and sub-themes in connection with the sensory appeal of the local food products



3.1. Sensory appeal and the meaning of local food

As already presented in an article [Nistor 2015], the focus group discussions outlined two major definitions of local food: one of these definitions is a geographic narrative, so that respondents define the meaning of the local products in terms of localization, i.e. they attach local products to specific places alongside an imaginative scale ranged between adjacent, personal places [e.g. one's own garden] and more distant or general places [e.g. Romania]. The other definition sees local products through specific ways of production, i.e. small manufacturing with natural ingredients based on traditional receipts². Both definitions accentuate the role of tradition, the first one in terms of specific foods, cuisines and tastes which are linked to certain places, while the other in terms of specific, ancient production methods. Tradition sets the ground for narratives around the sensory appeal of local food: the specific taste, aroma and consistency of local food products emerge as a

² These views correspond to the official definitions of traditional products in Romania. The MADR [2014] guidance concerning traditional product attestation defines local food products at the intersection between local and traditional and contends that traditional food products are products which are made in Romania, based on local ingredients, lack additives; are based on traditional receipts and/or on traditional ways of production and are distinguishable from other products from the same category.

look back to the past; the respondents are evoking – or are expected to evoke through the consumption of local products – specific memories of place and food attachment. The taste, smell, aroma, etc. are thus opportunities for both nostalgia and expectations.

“The bred which is made by my grandma is a local product, but I can talk in the same sense about the tomatoes from her garden, or the eggs and milk from her farm. So, for me these are the genuine local products, and we can say a lot of things, but these foods have a kind of taste that no other food has. [...] Grandma’s bred has a crispness that no other bred has. They knew something about how to make bread.” [Man, Miercurea Ciuc]

“When I think about what local products mean to me, the case of tomatoes comes to my mind. The local tomato has a kind of taste, it is both sweet and tart. But local producers tend to run out of the ancient seeds [...]. Now, it happens that they sell something labeled as local tomato and you buy it, but the taste is not the same anymore. The product is local indeed, because it comes from a certain village, but the problem is that the seed is already altered, so you probably get a better looking tomato, but the taste is not the same.” [Man, Cluj-Napoca]

“Local product is something we made here, in Romania. I am very addicted to the Poiana chocolates. This used to be our brand in Brasov. [...] We are familiar to Poiana in Brasov, because everyone knows someone who has worked in the chocolate factory...And in this way we are also familiar with the taste, the taste of the Poiana evokes a lot of memories and stories. And the same is the case with other products, like mineral waters, Borsec, Tusnad... With meat products, like Sergiana. We like them not just because they are our products, but also because their smell and taste remind us of our heritage or our childhood, grandma’s kitchen” [Woman, Brasov].

Such narratives illustrate those aspects already discussed in the literature according to which people’s life experiences create attachments to specific sensory appeals and thus influence their food choice [Furst et al. 1996]. In the case of products defined as local or traditional foods, such life experiences occur not only in terms of aversions or preferences for certain foods and tastes as the result of mere exposure [Vabø and Hansen 2014], but also in the form of attachment to regional or local identities and to specific food related heritage. Thus, in the case of local products, there occurs the so-called ‘tasteful tradition’ effect [Guerrero et al. 2009], so that by experiencing local foods,

consumers are waking up their memories about forgotten tastes and associated experiences [cf. eating as a social practice, e. g. cooking with grandma].

3.2. Local food vs. conventional food in terms of their sensory appeal

Another topic where respondents provided intense narratives about the sensory appeal of local food was the comparison of the local products with conventional, standardized products. Here, participants insisted on the superior taste of local products, but they strongly linked this attribute to other positive aspects of local food, i.e. better and more natural ingredients, healthiness, etc., so that the sensory appeal of local food was accentuated in connection with other benefits. These narratives are illustrative of the ways in which respondents overlapped the meaning of local product with that of organic products:

“A local product always tastes better, because of the ingredients. If you put in natural ingredients, all you can get is a tasty product.”
[Man, Brasov]

“Local products are much better because they are natural products, do not contain pesticides and hormones, at least not so much as the food from the supermarket. When I buy meat from the supermarket, I need to wash it several times in order to get rid of its too heavy color. I mean it, it has a strange color. Now, when I cook the meat from a local farmer, it does not have such color and smell. It just looks superior. [...] The soup tastes better, the meat tastes better. Of course, it is fattier, but it is also healthier, because it has better nutrients than the food from the supermarket” [Woman, Cluj-Napoca].

There are also narratives which assess that there are cases when conventional products can taste better than local and traditional products, but such taste is a kind of “vicious taste,” since the product lacks other benefits which are otherwise specific of local products [i.e. natural ingredients, lack of conservants, etc.]. On the other hand, the superior taste of local products was attached to unhealthy properties of these products, mostly in terms of fattening [e.g. full of fat, sugar, etc.]. Thus, the case of the best appealing product seems to be undecided:

“There are cases when a product from the supermarket tastes better than a local product. Maybe it does not even taste better, but

we've gotten used to the taste of a product from the supermarket and thus it seems that the local product is not so good. But if you take into account the other benefits of the local product, it wins the game" (Man, Cluj-Napoca).

"The local product has a better taste and a better consistency. Just think about the milk from the village, it has a kind of smell, a kind of consistency, it is fatter than the milk from the supermarket, and now we get those campaigns which say that local food is too fatty, too unsafe because it is not pasteurized... Well, I do not know if a product which is so perverted that the producers need to write on the box that it does not contain milk powder is better than the milk from the village... I prefer the local milk, but the grandchildren do not drink it, because it is in a way... They do not like how it tastes. They've got used to drinking the milk from the box, so they prefer that taste" (Woman, Miercurea Ciuc).

As seen above, the respondents made reference to the fact that we can learn specific tastes, and thus our preference/aversion for certain products determines us to be less open minded towards accepting newer products. These findings are in line with those theories of sensory evaluations which contend that much of our sensory perceptions are the results of learning: repeated exposure to certain tastes determines sensory likes and dislikes which then influence our food choice accordingly [see Vabø and Hansen 2014].

3.3. Motivation for sampling and buying local products: the role of the sensory appeal

In accordance with the literature [e.g. Lockie et al. 2002; Guerrero et al., 2009; Pienak et al. 2009; Pienak et al. 2013, etc.], the sensory appeal of local food products was a frequently mentioned motivation for both trying and buying the products.

While in the case of buying, sensory appeal is just one of the reasons and usually falls behind the health-related motivations, in the case of trying and sampling the products, it constitutes the leading reason. In this latter case, the respondents usually make reference to the context of sampling the local products [e.g., farmers' markets, local food festivals, etc.] and then create associations between the pleasurable social context of a fest or a market – where they meet the producers, see the process of cooking, become informed about the history

of the product, get together with friends, etc. – and taste the product. In such an already agreeable context the sensory evaluation of food products becomes indeed an important aspect of quality control (Jelen 2012), but also an occasion for experiencing the social aspect of eating and remembering previously forgotten tastes.

Such embeddedness does not mean that the sensory appeal of local products becomes totally biased; many of the respondents have *a priori* motivations for sampling certain products. They come to the feasts and markets “for both the food and the occasion.” Such an aspect can be illustrated by those situations when positive *a priori* expectations in terms of sensory appeal are not met and the consumers remain unsatisfied with the food:

“We used to visit these monthly markets of local producers. I go there for both the food and the occasion, I meet there a lot of people with whom I cannot get in touch during the week. I also knew a lot of producers, usually there are always the same producers, so we are already familiar with them. I like that they let you taste the product... I am a huge taster, I taste everything, from cheese to honey” (Man, Miercurea-Ciuc).

“If you want to eat genuine stuffed cabbage, you go to grandma, to a traditional restaurant or to a food festival... That’s all. Now we can replace the cabbage with other foods... If you want the local tradition in the form of food, you can have it only in such places... Which have a certain cue, like everything tastes better than at home” (Man, Miercurea Ciuc).

“I go there [farmers’ markets] because I know that it is the single place where I can find a type of product that I want. But I happened to buy something and when I went home, the taste and consistency of the product was not what it used to be. [...] But there are occasions when you really find something you like. Plus, the cue... And that you know they are real producers” (Woman, Cluj-Napoca).

“I go there [food festival] with my family, for the food, but also for entertainment. We satisfy our search for the real sausage by sampling many sausages. There are lots of teams which are producing local sausages, specific of their region. Then we go round and round, taste them, and finally we choose the most tasteful sausage. This is a nice occasion, it has a nice cue which is addictive. Especially for gourmands.” (Man, Cluj-Napoca)

In the case of buying the product, sensory appeals are important, the tasting of the product is involved in product choice, but the quality of the ingredients and the health benefits of the products seem to be more important. This is in line with previous findings of the literature which assess that sensory appeal does not constitute the major reason for buying local food [e.g. Pienak et al., 2009; Pienak et al., 2013]. Obviously, the perfect situation is when the product “tastes good, is visually appealing and has natural ingredients,” “but it is not always the case” and it happens that the most tasty product is unhealthy because it is too fatty, too sweet, etc. Thus, our data are similar to those previous findings summarized by Pieniak et al. [2013] which showed that local products are perceived as “full products,” i.e. full-fat, full-calorie, full-flavor, full-taste products and such properties can be an impediment for choosing them, especially in the case of health-conscious consumers:

“You must always put in balance the taste of the food and your weight. It is ok for you to taste something and it feels like yummy... But after all, you want to eat natural foods because you want to do something good for your health. Then, I always try to choose that kind of local product which is the least damaging to my health. A good taste is not worth the price if it makes you fat” [Woman, Cluj-Napoca].

“I like alpine honey more than rape honey, but I choose the latter, because it is less sweet, so it is better for my blood sugar.” [Man, Sfantu Gheorghe]

“At the supermarket the most tasteful product is the most damaging product. You know, if something is tasty, it makes you fat. The same is with the local foods, the most tasteful is the least good for your health, so I am used to just sampling something I really wish for, and I buy them only on special occasions, for my everyday purposes, I choose something which is not so fatty” [Woman, Sfantu Gheorghe].

“There is a girl, a local producer, she sells yogurt with cranberries, and of course with sugar. I buy that yogurt once a month, this is not damaging, but usually I am looking for something which does not contain so much sugar.” [Woman, Miercurea Ciuc].

It is important to note that committed local food purchase is a less frequent behavior among the consumers and in situations when it occurs it has mostly egocentric motivations [i.e. broader moral issues are known by the respondents, but they are not the driving forces of

product choice]. This has to do with a number of impediments like the products' perceived higher price, their problematic availability, lack of information, etc. [Nistor 2015]. Thus, respondents need to put in balance their preferences for tasteful and healthy products with extrinsic impediments like price and availability:

"I would like to eat these foods which are certainly tastier and healthier, but I can afford neither the price, nor the time to search for them. I have a place where I can find vegetables easily, but as for other products, for milk, eggs, fruits, honey, I need to go to different and different places. And I do not have time for that" [Woman, Cluj-Napoca].

There are cases for the opposite situation as well, when respondents would buy the product, would pay the extra price for its health benefits and for its taste, but the visual aspect of the product retains them from buying and raises concerns in terms of food safety:

"Producers seem to not be aware about the role of packaging and presentation. I cannot buy something which is tasty and extremely expensive, but its packaging is abominable... Then I prefer something from the supermarket" [Woman, Brasov].

All in all, we can conclude that sensory appeal is an inherent pattern of local food products and respondents are delivering consistent narratives about it; they use the sensory appeal as self-fulfillment in situations when food reminds them of certain life events or culinary pleasures, but also as a plausible indicator of quality control. As far as local food-related experiences are quite rare events, and the conscious, dedicated shopping occurs less frequently, the sensory appeal of such foods stands as an occasion for entertainment and pleasure seeking.

Conclusions

Several empirical studies have shown that sensory appeal is one of the most important intrinsic cues of food products and, consequently, one of the most important determinants of food choice [Steptoe et al. 1995; Furst et al. 1996; Lockie et al. 2002; Shaw Hughner et al. 2007]. There are also studies which have outlined that local and traditional products are perceived as having superior taste compared to the con-

ventional products, but in the case of local products sensory appeals fail to act as the major determinants of purchase [e.g. Pieniak et al. 2009; Pieniak et al. 2013]. This has been the case of the present investigation as well: respondents recognized that local products tend to represent better options than conventional products, but when it comes to the effective purchase other aspects [usually health-related concerns] than sensory appeal determine buying, respectively there are a number of impediments [e.g. price, availability or doubts in terms of visual appeal] which hinder buying tasteful products. In other words, the better taste of traditional products is not worth the price when tastier products bring weight-gain or presuppose financial or other types of sacrifices from the consumers.

Sensory appeal is much more important as a reminder of specific, lost tastes and occasions for the consumers [when they involve the sensory appeal in the definition of local food]; to help them compare the local products to conventional products; to motivate the sampling of products. It is also involved, albeit not in the first place, in the buying of local products, but at the moment of purchase, other benefits of the local products seem to be more important.

The fact that the respondents are negotiating between sensory appeal and other various aspects when they decide to buy or not to buy local products is illustrative of the importance of cognitive, social and physical factors which act together at the moment of purchase [Costell et al. 2010]. As a general conclusion, it can be outlined that the perceived good taste of local products envisions memories of the past about traditional cooking methods and social occasions of eating and thus it is involved in the social construction of the image about local food and traditional eating. However, due to those secondary narratives [e.g. media messages] which propagate the importance of weight loss, the superior sensory appeal of local foods can alter the positive representation of the local food as healthy options, i.e. local products are envisioned as full-products, i.e. full of calories as well. Thus, the consumer tends to favor other types of functional foods for his/her daily diet and the consumption of local products remains an exceptional occasion limited mostly to tasting or special events. This also has to do with other limitative extrinsic factors like the price of local products or their limited availability. But there are also situations when mere exposure to conventional tastes or negative sensory stimuli, e.g. precarious visual appearance, prevent consumers from choosing local products.

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EXPRESSING EMOTIONS

RHETORIC OF PAOLO SORRENTINO

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Paolo Sorrentino [1970] is a last generation representative of great Italian film directors like Federico Fellini, Michelangelo Antonioni and Francesco Rosi. In his movie, 'This Must Be the Place' [2011]: Cheyenne [Sean Penn], a retired rock star who lives in Dublin returns to New York for his father's death and he travels across the U.S.A. to take revenge of his father from a former SS officer. In his movie, 'The Great Beauty' [2013]: Jep Gambardella [Toni Servillo] is a journalist and socialite who lives in a mundane Rome. After his 65th birthday party, he walks across meanders of Roma Aeterna, he questions meaning of life, love, art, entertainment, truth... he remembers his first love; he identifies himself in a magical, miraculous atmosphere. In his recent movie, 'Youth' [2015]: Fred Ballinger [Michael Caine] is a retired orchestra conductor and composer of famous 'Simple Songs'. He spends his holiday in a luxurious resort hotel in the Swiss Alps. Among the other guests, there are his old friend, a film director Mich Boyle [Harvey

Keitel], Jimmy Tree [Paul Dano], an actor who is preparing for his next role 'Hitler', a lookalike of Maradona and many other people. At that time Ballinger is invited by the Queen Elisabeth II to perform 'Simple Songs' for Prince Philippe's birthday concert. These heroes of Sorrentino- Cheyenne, Gambardella and Ballinger- are sophisticated, cool, clear mind intellectuals. Through their journeys, they think and talk about meaning of basic notions: Life, love, art, beauty, banality, loyalty, responsibility within American landscape, Rome cityscape and Swiss Alps landscape. They experience these journeys like a redemption process but by an existentialist consciousness. Therefore, Paolo Sorrentino is a rhetorician in its classical/original sense. In this article, I discuss 'dramatic and psychological interaction between individual and environment' referring particularly to related ideas of Aristotle, Jean -Paul Sartre, Mary Douglas and Sarah Curtis in a descriptive way and analyzing these aforementioned movies of Paolo Sorrentino, in this context.

KEYWORDS: *rhetoric, Paolo Sorrentino, postmodern discovery of rhetoric, landscape, cityscape*

Introduction

Interdisciplinary relations between philosophy and communication studies, film-studies and photo-theories are generally superficial. Despite this unfortunate situation, cult philosophical texts are used as indispensable guides by people who research in media, cinema and photography areas. In this context, 'grandeur' style of the director Paolo Sorrentino indicates another quality: Being rhetorician! According to Aristotle: "there are three divisions of oratory- [1] political, [2] forensic, and [3] the ceremonial oratory of display" [2012: 1358b, 5]. Sorrentino belongs to the third division of oratory. Aristotle explains again: "The ceremonial orator is, properly speaking, concerned with the present, since all men praise or blame in view of the state of things existing at the time, though they often find it useful also to recall the past and to make guesses at the future" [2012:1358b, 20]. For great Philosopher, "those who merely decide on the orator's skill are observers [2012: 1358b, 5]." I wonder, could those ancient observers be also spectators/movie watchers- amateur or professional- of today? If so, we decided already for Sorrentino! He determines contemporary human condition by a rare authenticity.

This Must Be The Place

The protagonist of this movie [2011], Cheyenne has a complex and contradictory character. He is called as Cheyenne but actually he has no name that means nobody knows his real name. This nickname evokes us some North America's native Indians but he is no-native, just an American. On the other hand, he was a gothic rock star. But actually he keeps only his goth/rocker look and he is a retired musician. He has apparently an androgen look by his fluffy hair style, red lipstick, black mascara etc. But in fact he is straight, an ordinary -very! - man who lives according to conventional norms. For example, he is a good and loyal husband. Apparently he is a fragile person who speaks always in a delicate manner with a low voice. But when he speaks, he speaks competently, making very lucid interpretations on several subjects, from economy to conceptual art, from friendship to Lady Gaga -eventually!- and so on. He is a know-it-all person [Atay, 2015: 68]. Before, Dublin, the city where he lives has nothing special for him except its tax advantages; but later, Cheyenne becomes an adopted Dubliner by heart. He ignored his father since his adolescence then he proved that

he is his father's son by taking his revenge –sui generis– from Nazi officer. He grew up in New York, he lives in Dublin but he displayed also a clever ability to move in New Mexico's naked landscape. Religion is not a special issue for Cheyenne but he is Jewish by family.

These apparent characteristics and real qualities of Cheyenne depict a vast and detailed panorama. Throughout the movie, we contemplate this panorama! It could be titled as 'surviving panorama'. Because after Auschwitz and other concentration camps of the Third Reich, beyond survived Holocaust victims, all humanity was survived and since that time surviving became metonymy, globally. Sorrentino's surviving panorama recalls to us one more time this reality. Cheyenne's father was a survived Holocaust victim. He was representing this tragedy in an obsessive way. This obsession indicates our existential responsibility in front of Memory.

Another piece of this panorama is related to the norm of 'being son'. Cheyenne became the son of his father in its usual sense only after his father's death. He has no child. This is perhaps an auto-punition because two young people, two fans of Cheyenne committed suicide for sake of his song. Finally at the end of the movie, Cheyenne returned to Dublin after getting revenge of his father. Then he strips his artificial personality. There is no more gothic make-up, unusual look etc. At this point, he is ready to be the son of an Irish mother –a friend- who is waiting in vain her lost child; another metaphor about notion of belonging to someone, somewhere as a son. However, now he is as he is. Finally he is free.

In the movie, there are two swimming pools which are equivalents of Cheyenne's locus related to his psychology. The first one is an empty pool of his Dublin house and the second is a plastic pool in New Mexico's desert where he is looking for his father's perpetrator. In both cases, he is abstracted from his environment. He is still there but without fusion. Film critic Peter Bradshaw explains partly this situation by Sean Penn's interpretation: "...his creation is like a bizarre installation lowered into weird landscapes: a Dublin shopping mall or a New Mexico desert" [2012: 1].

On the other hand, Cheyenne is also survived but paradoxically he is not victim because he has just a deep sense of responsibility. As explained by Jean Paul Sartre: "when we say that man is responsible for himself, we do not mean that he is responsible only for his own individuality, but that he is responsible for all men [1946: 4]."

Sorrentino is mapping human condition of our era. On the surface of Cheyenne's surviving panorama, we navigate in multiple geographi-

cal and historical coordinates, from Dublin -Dear James Joyce, I can hear your whispers!- to New Mexico, from Auschwitz to present day. This is a new- how amazing this adjective is nowadays!- 'de-dramatic cinematographic design' based on synthesized sensibilities, compact knowledge and briefly web mentality.

The Great Beauty

The Great Beauty [2013] won Best Foreign Language Film at the 86th Academy Awards, Golden Globe and BAFTA.

The protagonist, Jep Gambardella [Tony Servillo- cult actor of Paolo Sorrentino] presents himself with these words: "When I came to Rome at the age of 26, I fell pretty swiftly into what might be defined as the whirl of the high life, but I didn't just want to live the high life, I wanted to be the king of the high life [Sorrentino, 2013]." An existentialist explanation, is not it? As Sartre said: "Man is nothing else but that which he makes of himself [1946: 4]."

Globally, "Rome is a threshold city...The coexistence and harmonious melding into one another of different historical eras, contrasting architectural and artistic styles, and diverse forms of space is the hallmark of the Roman chronotope" [Kelly 2003: 30].

When we enter into the magical chronotopia of The Great Beauty, some of retro details from 1960's, dreamy journey in profane and sacred Rome by day and by night, love story between Jep and Rome, the Urbi et Orbi wisdom that is representing by Città Aeterna and miracle quality of life evoke us Federico Fellini's La Dolce Vita [1960] and Roma [1972]. For La Dolce Vita's issue, Sorrentino explains that "Fellini realized a wonderful fresco of Rome, but my film is more calibrated: a gallery of person-ages who narrate a city and a modus vivendi without judgment [2013: 2]." This Fellini analogy is normal because Fellini appropriated Rome, creating a Deleuzeian&Guattarian affect of Rome by La Dolce Vita of himself. On the other hand, several religious figures of The Great Beauty could recall to us some grotesque interpretation of Fellini's Rome.

However, Sorrentino gets closer to Michelangelo Antonioni than Federico Fellini for Jep's coolness and his wandering into Rome's cityscapes. In this context, there are in this film, in also This Must Be the Place and Youth, some secondary figures, events, ordinary but ironic manners, relatively unimportant details, sometimes silent impressions and fugitive but meaningful perceptions of daily life as pieces of a contemplative vision; typical Antonioni! If we give some examples:

Sorrentino is also an art critic as well as film director, especially on contemporary art. In *The Great Beauty*, during a party we see an artistic performance of an 'enfant prodige', a little girl paints a very great canvas throwing dyes on it by improvisation mode. This anachronist abstract expressionist process executed by a minor looks like a profane ritual. Well, is this really an artistic creativity or simulation of artistic creativity or end of artistic creativity?

On the terrace of Jep's splendid apartment, at night, we see a nun - a dedicated existence to the Faith - and a group of sleeping flamingos - a surprise of Nature. But, who is representing "Miracle?" The answer of this question is - according to Sorrentino - "flamingos" of course!

Or all guests/each extra who are participated to Jep's birthday party are components of Sorrentino's orchestration.

The Great Beauty is Rome itself!

Rome is always a generous inspiration source for artists, writers, musicians, film-makers. In fact, the multifaceted, multicolored, multilayered Rome interpretation of Sorrentino could be understood as a continuation of a myriad of descriptions about Eternal City because as Freud expresses: "...let us make a fantastic supposition that Rome where not a human dwelling-place, but a mental entity, with just as long and varied a past history: that is, in which nothing once constructed had perished, and all the earlier stages of development had survived alongside the latest [1929: 4]."

According to Paolo Sorrentino, "The Great Beauty is a homage to irony Napolitano and Jep is a typology character who knows very well the reconciliation between the passion for the superficial and the passion for the profound without being snob" [Toniolo 2013: 1]. But the passionate relationship between Jep and Rome is also valid for the relationship between Sorrentino and Rome. At this point, let us remember of Gogol's Rome adventure: famous Russian writer "in March 1837 ended up in Rome, his "Altar of Beauty [Andreev 2014:20]." Thereafter he wrote an unfinished novel that is Rim/Rome fragment [1842]. The life of Prince who is hero of the novel is consecrated to contemplation of Rome [Gogol 2008:11]. For Gogol: "Rome is to the world what faith is to the individual: a trust in the laws that govern the world, a promise of immortality. Rome is history's triumph over oblivion and death, the triumph of the esthetic symbol which survived because it contained in itself the seed of immortality [Vogel 1967:157]."

Youth

Youth [2015] is an homage to the beautiful landscape of Swiss Alps. At the same time, SPA sector and related activities are aestheticized. Flowers, trees, immense meadows, cows...innumerable wonders of nature cure the soul. Beauty, harmony and relative silence of Alps' nature provide tranquility to whom is contemplating. On the other hand, pools and water treatment of resort hotel cure the body. Wellness of soul and body! The life in SPA center, even temporary, is more transparent. There the people talk each other more frankly than their daily life. If we apply the anthropologic determination of Mary Douglas about purity to this purification process: "Purity is the enemy of change, of ambiguity and compromise. Most of us indeed would feel safer if our experience could be hard-set and fixed in form [2002:163]."

This movie includes also Venetian cityscape. The protagonist, Fred Ballinger's wife stays for a life time in a Venetian asylum. Venetia is relatively more close to Switzerland than England and Ballinger visits his wife during his SPA holiday. Perhaps it's a dramatic coincidence but we have some cultural clichés about some places; for example Swiss Alps are fabulous, London is rainy, Moscow is Red Square, Venetia is macabre- evidently [!].

Balinger says in several occasions in the course of the movie that he is completely a retired orchestra conductor but during a walk around the hotel he conducts the nature and its components-grasses, cows, bees, flowers, even air itself!- like an orchestra and choir. He became the Nature and the Nature became Balinger! This is an exceptional description of happiness. At this point, according to Sarah Curtis who determines several landscape theories: "to understand the psychological response to natural landscape features; according Kaplan's Attention Restoration Theory [1995]: people respond positively to 'natural' landscapes because when one is tired or stressed, these help restore a healthy state of mind and the ability to concentrate. Natural landscapes have 'soft fascination; elements of interest that capture our attention without effort involved in their observation. Also contributing to their restorative effects are perceptions of natural landscapes as offering aesthetic beauty and tranquility [2010: n.p.n]."

Fred Balinger and Jep Gambardella have a common point as artists. The both have very successful careers but during their long professional lives they created one single work. Jep wrote a novel and Balinger composed "Simple Songs." After many refusals and hesitations, Balin-

ger finally decides to conduct his "Simple Songs" for Queen Elisabeth and Prince Philip. This concert is really a celebration and represents perfect moments, not only for Balinger, other musicians or Royal Family but for all humanity beyond all discussions, contradictions and problems. Perfect moments, nothing else! Here, there is a real reconciliation between individual and his/her/uncategorized existence. Jean-Paul Sartre emphasizes these "perfect moments" issue in his famous novel "Nausea"; for Antoine Roquentin, hero of the novel, melodies of 'some of these days You'll miss me, honey' song are 'perfect moments': "All the things around me were made of the same material as I, a sort of messy suffering. The world was so ugly...Now there is this song on the saxophone. And I am ashamed. A glorious little suffering has just been born, an exemplary suffering. Four notes on the saxophone. They come and go, they seem to say: You must be like us, suffer in rhythm. All right! Naturally, I'd like to suffer that way, in rhythm, without complacency, without self-pity, with an arid purity....But behind the existence which falls from one present to the other, without a past, without a future behind these sounds which decompose from day to day, peel off and slip towards death, the melody stays the same, young and firm, like a pitiless witness." [Sartre 1938: 87]

Conclusion or Et In Arcadia Ego

Actually, Paolo Sorrentino is one of the most important film directors of the world. Beyond his artistic and oratory skills and his other works, he represents "Beauty" in a perfectionist way, without any compromise by these movies: *This Must Be the Place*, *The Great Beauty*, *Youth*; and he displays an amazing humanism, creating authentic chronotopias based on existentialist consciousness despite chaotic atmosphere in which we live actually, desperation and senility. In this context, Cheyenne's Dublin, Jep's Rome and Balinger's Swiss Alps are metaphorically Arcadian environments. At this point, we have to explain this Arcadia connection; Arcady is a district in Peloponnese, Greece but at the same time it's a utopic place that is described by a beautiful, idyllic, timeless landscape and the shepherds who represent serenity, harmony and contemplation. "In the imagination of Virgil, and of Virgil alone, that the concept of Arcady, as we know it, was born ...came to be transfigured into an imaginary realm of perfect bliss." [Panofsky, 1987: 345] After this beginning- *Eclogues of Virgil*- happened in 70 B.C., according again to Panofsky, great specialist of "Et in Arcadia" issue: "In

the Renaissance, however Virgil's Arcady emerged from the past like an enchanting vision." [1987: 348] Then, Italian painter Giovanni Francesco Guercino painted between 1621 and 1623 a 'memento mori' landscape where "we first encounter the phrase Et in Arcadia Ego...Giulio Rospigliosi – a humanist, a lover of the arts, and a poet of no mean merits- may even be the inventor of the famous phrase [Panofsky, 1987:350]." Beside Guercino, French painter Nicolas Poussin painted two works, interpreting "Et in Arcadia Ego" theme, in 1630 and 1637. The second version is a little aesthetic revolution in History of Art because this painting is a new interpretation of the theme, no more skull, no more "memento mori" moral lesson despite presence of a tomb with this "Et in Arcadia Ego" inscription. As is underlined by Panofsky, "Poussin's Louvre picture no longer shows a dramatic encounter with Death but a contemplative absorption in the idea of mortality." [1987: 359] Even today, this theme is very popular in artistic creativity and art-critic contexts.

"Et in Arcadia Ego" sentence has an unusual grammatical structure because there is no verb. For this reason there are many discussions about real meaning of this sentence with reference to its visual equivalents. According to Panofsky, again: "The correct translation of the phrase in its orthodox form is "Even in Arcady there am I", from which we must conclude that the speaker is not a deceased Arcadian shepherd or shepherdess but Death in person [1987: 358]. At this point, Panofsky shares the aforementioned interpretation at the beginning of his article of King George III for Sir Joshua Reynolds' Et in Arcadia Ego painting [1769]: "Oh there is a tombstone in the background: Ay, ay Death is even in Arcadia!" But after Poussin's harmonious, cool and soft-depicted interpretation, Arcady became a beautiful, happy and tranquilly environment of an emancipatory design despite reality of Death.

Finally, Paolo Sorrentino, as a contemporary rhetorician persuades us that the quality of people- environment interaction depends on ourselves, even in ephemeral way. On the other hand, some time, movie theaters become also Arcadian spaces for cinephiles.

Et in Arcadia Ego!

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DADA: DEAD AND LOVING IT

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The historical period of the avant-garde art movements coincided with two phenomena which can be interpreted as the failure of the rationalism characteristic for the modern, capitalist system. One of these is Taylorism, which dehumanized and robotized the person involved in the work process, and the other is the First World War. Several movements of the avant-garde related critically to reason and conscience [expressionism, surrealism], but the most radical was Dada. The manifestos and Dadaist activities reveal that the Dada wants to do away not only with the heritage of the past, but also with the linguistic and logical structures which form the texture of society. Bruitist poems, meaningless words and sentences, simultaneous poems, and the various uses of sound are all aimed at tearing apart language itself. The refusal of logic is most evident in the

manifesto of Tristan Tzara, in which the series of mutually contradictory affirmations is concluded with an exceptionally clear statement: "I hate common sense." Logic, argumentation, and dialectics are all dismissed in the name of freedom and life, which are characterized by Tzara in the following way: "the interweaving of contraries and all contradictions, freaks and irrelevancies: LIFE" [Tzara 1918]. In my paper, I supplement the thesis of Peter Burger on the failure of the avant-garde [which is explained by him through its artistic success] by calling attention to the failure of its fight against reason, which is most evident in the search for meaning as an essential part of artistic reception. Thus, Dada is only interesting as long as the meaningless phenomenon is associated with some kind of meaning during the artistic reception.

KEYWORDS: *Dada, avant-garde, disappointment with reason, nonspecific art, Tristan Tzara*

1. *The avant-garde and the disappointment with reason*

Avant-garde art is a priori related to the semantic field of war. Originally, "avant-garde" is a military term designating the small search party which undertakes the risky task of mapping alien terrain. The term was applied to art by Olinde Rodrigues, follower of the utopian socialist Saint-Simon, in 1825. In his essay entitled *L'artiste, le savant et l'industriel* [The artist, the scientist, and the industrialist], he presents the idea according to which the leading elite of the ideal society would be composed of artists, scientists, and industrialists. Even among them, the artists are those who can determine the direction for the development of society. Since artists are the natural owners of imagination, they not only foresee the future, but can also create it, being thus the pioneers on the road to the happiness and wellbeing of mankind. They are the avant-garde of society, which accelerates social, political, and economic reform.

The idea of the avant-garde could be developed under the conditions of the rational building of society, within the progress narrative: "It was modernity's own alliance with time and long-lasting reliance on the concept of progress that made possible the myth of a self-conscious and heroic avant-garde in the struggle for futurity" [Calinescu 1987: 94].

Although he borrows the metaphor of the "avant-garde" from the military vocabulary, in Rodrigues' essay it is not yet clear what the avant-garde must combat. Utopian socialist ideas belong to the circle of the idea of progress, which is characteristic for the modern capitalist world. The prerequisite of this idea of progress is that man can influence the development of social processes, and he can rationally plan the future of the community. This, then, is the planning process in which utopian socialists intended a central role for artists.

Artists themselves will only assume the role of the avant-garde half a century later, and by then the artistic avant-garde will have already turned against capitalist society. In his excellent book on the faces of modernity, Matei Călinescu [1987] argues that an unbridgeable gap opened between bourgeois and aesthetic modernity in the first half of the 19th century, when the two fell into a hostile relationship. Bourgeois modernity continued the tradition: the doctrine of progress, preoccupation with measurable time, the cult of reason, the abstract humanistic conception of freedom, pragmatism, the cult of action and success. However, the other modernity, which gave birth to the avant-

garde movements, is radically anti-bourgeois. The opposition of the avant-garde poets of the 19th century to bourgeois society was essentially motivated by their effort to develop and preserve the autonomy of art. Thus, modernism as an artistic movement has become opposed to modernism as a social structure.

By the end of the 19th century, the “avant-garde” will have become a term for a narrow group of innovative authors and artists, who speak the language of radical critique. The members of this group want to revolutionize art, because they believe that the revolution of art is, at the same time, a revolution of life. Hence, the artistic avant-garde has consciously turned against the stylistic expectations of the larger public, while the political revolutionaries would have wanted to attract the larger public through the propagandistic use of art. Hence, after 1880, the two avant-gardes will have separated [Calinescu 1987].

At the beginning of the 20th century, the concept of the “avant-garde” is already so wide that it includes all those art movements which reject the past and worship that which is new [Calinescu 1987: 116]. By this time, at which the avant-garde movements (e.g. expressionism, futurism, cubism, Dadaism, surrealism) are really established within art, it has become clear that the enemy of the avant-garde is, at one hand, an art movement (i.e. academic art, which is built on the criteria of realism, moral message, and incidentally, pleasantness), and at the other hand, the social structure behind this conception – capitalism and the bourgeois world with its economic inequalities and limiting and hypocritical morals.

Mechanization, the result of the rational planning of production, is one of the negative aspects of capitalist society, which was noticed early on by artists. The defining book on production planning, Frederick Winslow Taylor’s *The Principles of Scientific Management*, was published in 1911. This text scientifically proves that the increase of profit can be reached through the uniformization of the individual and its inclusion as an impersonal factor into the mechanized process. This is a point at which the inhuman consequences of the work process are evidently discernible. The principles of Taylor will work perfectly in the factories of Ford, which will adopt the moving assembly line in 1913, thus revolutionizing mass production. Mechanized production also had repercussions on the “rationalization” of the human body: “Taylorism and Fordism also function to rationalize bodies, which are virtually made into machines through repetitive labour” [Jones 2004: 14]. Machines also had their admirers among artists, e.g. the futurists, with Mari-

netti's ode to the race car and Fernand Léger, who saw "the machine as being so plastic" [Sík 1982: 122]. However, the majority of artists, whose "profession" is originality and authentic and individual expression, considered the perspective of mechanization as unacceptable and opposed the idea of the nameless individual involved within the efficient work process. Some artists even attracted the attention of their contemporaries to the dangers of mechanization [see, e.g., the film *Modern Times* by Charlie Chaplin, produced somewhat later, in 1936].

World War I, which broke out at the beginning of the 20th century, also seems an unacceptable consequence of the modern society built on rationality. Until now, war has never revealed its irrational character. Previous wars could be rationalized, their causes could be shown, and patriotic rhetoric and the cult of heroism could be built around them. The attacker and the attacked, offensive and defensive wars, our side and the enemy could be distinguished. Men fought against men, and it could be passed off as a test of courage.

The First (!) World War, however, created a situation that was completely new. It wasn't about a "civilized" nation fighting against a "barbarian" folk, about neighbouring countries fighting for territory, nor even about the struggle for freedom of some nation, but about civilized, modern European states fighting against each other, without it being so easy to decide about what exactly. The succession of events could be described and the direct motivation for each step could be identified – yet, the war itself as a whole did not have an acceptable narrative. The World War does not lend itself to rationalization. As Adorno and Horkheimer [1991] later established about the Second World War, it seems that reason has become entangled in its own web. The absurdity of reason as objectified within war has been first noticed by artists, who gave such loud voice to their opposition that it can still be heard echoing today.

These were, perhaps, the causes that impelled the artistic avant-garde, which should have ensured progress with the aid of imagination, to turn its back on society, the capitalist set-up, and social modernity, along with that which formed the basis for all these: reason as such. The avant-garde of the 20th century is much more radical as compared to that of the 19th century. It does not only want to break with the past, but also with that which seems to be the basis of the capitalist system, namely reason. The "*épater les bourgeois*" is not some mere self-serving provocation, but the instrument of the courageous avant-garde artist to open up new paths for society, just as Rodrigues imagined.

We can observe many forms of the struggle against reason within fine arts: expressionism liberates emotional expression from the shackles of reason, surrealism replaces conscious control with the unconscious, and Dadaism wants to eliminate reason and to elevate senselessness in its place. Artists, according to whom reason has failed, reject it in many forms. The most radical standpoint within this context has been adopted by Dadaism, which was born during and against the war.

2. The struggle against reason

For speaking about the Dada, what better path could we choose than the one laid out by Tristan Tzara, the *par excellence* Dadaist artist, as the “mind-set of a bacteriological order”, aimed “at least to discover its etymological, historical or psychological meaning” [Tzara 1918].

Characteristically for the Dada, we know precisely where [Zurich] and when [1916] it was born, although we have two different versions about the circumstances of its birth. According to the recollection of Hans Arp, the word “Dada” was first found by Tristan Tzara on 8 February 1916, while Hugo Ball states that he himself proposed it as a title for the journal planned by Tzara on 18 April [Ball 1996]. However it may have been, the name “Dada” hit the spot. Dadaism was invented by young people who have fled to Zurich from the war. They were angry youths who broke with their roots – their countries, which destined them to become cannon fodder, their families, which only meant the unacceptable bourgeois world to them, and their culture, in which they could not find their place. Germans [Hugo Ball, Richard Huelsenberg, Emmy Hennings], Romanians [Tristan Tzara, the Janco brothers, Arthur Segal], and an Alsacian citizen [Hans, or Jean Arp], who have fled to Switzerland, Frenchmen [Marcel Duchamp, Francis Picabia] and Germans [Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven] immigrated to the United States, – all spoke the international language of insolence and kept in contact with each other. They were the members of a movement which did not expect camaraderie, obedience, or the following of any ideas. Henri Béhar describes the Dada movement as “an international without any institution, founding text, leader, constitution, organizing and executive committee” [Béhar 2011: 23]. What the Dada expects instead is the refusal of all expectations. This is a point perceived very acutely by Walter Conrad Arensberg, who belongs to the New York Dada, and stated that “I, Walter Conrad Arensberg, American poet, declare that I am against Dada, because it is only thus that I can be for Dada” [Beke 1998: 176].

a. The magic of names

“Dada” – the name in itself means nothing which would express the essential character of the movement, and it is precisely because of this that it expresses this so well. At the same time, the expression carries meaning in more than one language, and thus it can start an association process in many directions. According to one of the narratives on the birth of Dada, Tzara opened a French-German dictionary at random, and the word that came up at the top of the page was “da-da”. We can instantly feel that this hits the spot perfectly. On the one hand, it is not the result of any rational planning, but pure chance, on the other hand, it is a word that does not push itself into the foreground of attention with its meaning, since it does not even have one – it merely indicates the letters with which the words start on the page. It is not a meaningful word, but a sound without meaning. And that is precisely what the Dada needs, as it is aimed at freeing itself from the confines of logic.

In Romanian – Tristan Tzara’s mother tongue –, “da-da” means “yes, yes” [just as in Russian]. If we also take this fact into account, the exaggerated affirmative immediately seems ironic, and it can only be taken as a joke, especially in the case of such artists, who are specialists in saying “NO”. In French, the meaning of the word is “horsey”, “hobby-horse” – which reminds us of the playfulness and the rough innocence of children. The way in which the word “dada” functions is very much Dada: its open meaninglessness ejects possible meanings as a centrifugal hub.

The name “MERZ” shares a similar backstory and functioning. The artists who invented it, Kurt Schwitters, would have wanted to join the Dada exhibition of 1920, but he received no invitation. Thus, he created his own Dada, with a name of its own: MERZ. The word is the middle of the German word for “commercial bank” [Kommerzbank], which did not mean anything in itself until then. After Schwitters, we associate MERZ with the Dadaist attitude which rejects capitalist society built around commerce and commodified art.

b. The manifesto

The manifesto is the battle trumpet of the avant-garde: it awakens, motivates, and shows the direction. It is the characteristic custom of the avant-garde that artists should also deal with manifestos along with creation, as is the habit of signing them collectively. The genre of

the manifesto as such objectifies one of the internal tensions of the avant-garde, namely that avant-garde art has an ideology, which integrates artists into a group, while art is *a priori* about the strong dissimilarities between artists and their strong individualities.

The Dadaist manifesto is extremely dysfunctional. A manifesto fulfills its function if it states the revolutionary ideas for which it seeks followers clearly and simply, with an attractive rhetoric. However, Dadaist manifestos contain poetic and meaningless collocations. Sometimes, the visual monotony of the text is disrupted, and the text appears as image in these manifestos. We also have some individual manifestos [e.g. Hugo Ball's first manifesto from 1916, and Tristan Tzara's from 1918], and manifestos signed by twenty people [from 1918].

In the first Dadaist manifesto [Zurich, 14 July – perhaps it is not a mere coincidence that this is the day of the fall of the Bastille and the beginning of the French Revolution], Hugo Ball starts with emphasizing the novel character of the Dada as an art movement: "Dada is a new tendency in art. One can tell this from the fact that until now nobody knew anything about it, and tomorrow everyone in Zurich will be talking about it"; although he corrects himself a couple of lines below by calling the Dada a world-spirit [Ball 1916]. He makes clear two important points at the very beginning: the first is that it is an artistic movement, and the second is that the word "Dada" is an international one.

In its own poetic way, the text also highlights the aim of Dada, which is to escape from the burden of the past and "everything nice and right, blinkered, moralistic, europeanised, enervated", for which "Dada is the world's best lily-milk soap" [Ball 1916]. According to the manifesto, the specific medium for this cleansing is traditional language, and its means is poetry, which consists of emancipated words: "A line of poetry is a chance to get rid of all the filth that clings to this accursed language, as if put there by stockbrokers' hands, hands worn smooth by coins. I want the word where it ends and begins. Dada is the heart of words". [Ball 1916]

Dadaists have dealt with language daringly, as they dismembered it, tore it apart, reduced it to its elements, i.e. letters and sounds, they put the codes of conventions of language in parentheses, and performed a kind of "language dissection" [Schaffner 2011]. By breaking down linguistic conventions "they withdrew the most fundamental prerequisite of cultural consensus: the adherence to given linguistic laws" [Schaffer 2006: 117]. Thus, they have attacked the very web which

holds the texture of society together. Language and logic are the essential foundations of culture – thus, the fact that they have challenged precisely these, also shows the radicalism of the Dadaists. They experimented with language, in its visual and auditory aspect, both within their poetry and on posters. Dadaistic representations also assigned an important role to meaningless sounds along with articulated language: “Sound in all its facets, sound as carrier of meaning, sound as imitation of nature, sound as harmonious composition and sound as stimulus for associations, is explored” (Schaffer 2006: 129). Dadaists have also used the bruitist poem, which is built not on the meanings, but on the sound of words, and created the simultanist poem, in which events take place in parallel. The print-out version of one of the most memorable simultanist poems, *The Admiral is Searching for a House to Rent*, which is a *recitativo* composed for three voices, reminds of a musical score. Huelsenbeck, Janco, and Tzara have recited their text simultaneously: Huelsenbeck in German, Janco in English, and Tzara in French, also relocating accents within words and shortening or lengthening syllables. At the same time, Huelsenbeck banged away on his drum, Tzara shook the rattle, and Janco blew the whistle – while performing strange movements. The centralized structure of traditional representations was completely shattered, and thus the audience had no chance to construct anything solid from the fragmented events. Their disjointed performance only came together at the end within a final statement from which they could learn that the admiral never found anything. Cornelius Partsch describes the event in the following way: “Like philosophers equipped with drumsticks, the Dadaists pound and play out their cultural critique” (Partsch 2006: 50).

If Hugo Ball wanted a new language, which would not be structured by the inherited codes, Tristan Tzara has dug down to the roots, to the logical structures themselves. He consistently attacks logical consistency, on the one hand, announcing explicitly the falseness of logic as a thesis, on the other hand, at the practical level, with texts full of open contradictions. Contradiction is assumed already by the opening lines of the manifesto: “I am writing a manifesto and there’s nothing I want, and yet I’m saying certain things, and in principle I am against manifestos, as I am against principles [...]. I’m writing this manifesto to show that you can perform contrary actions at the same time, in one single, fresh breath; I am against action; as for continual contradiction, and affirmation too, I am neither for nor against them, and I won’t explain myself because I hate common sense” (Tzara 1918).

In addition to listing contradictory statements, the text contains a single positive thesis, from which we learn that Tzara hates common sense. It seems that this rejection of reason is motivated by a radical aspiration for freedom.

Dada's discontent with the contemporary social conditions and events is also evident. Tzara does not elaborate on the historical and social context in the *Manifesto*. There is a single allusion to the war situation, referred to simply as "the carnages" in a statement in which he says that "after the carnage we are left with the hope of a purified humanity" [Tzara 1918]. However, he does not spare art which sells itself, and only exists "in order to earn money and keep the dear bourgeoisie happy", while "rhymes have the smack of money, and inflexion slides along the line of the stomach in profile" [Tzara 1918]. Here we can clearly notice the characteristic avant-garde attitude of being against bourgeois modernity.

Tzara's attacks against logic remain at the level of statements. After all, we cannot expect arguments from someone who wants to tear down logical argumentation and characterizes dialectic by saying that "the way people have of looking hurriedly at things from the opposite point of view, so as to impose their opinions indirectly, is called dialectic, in other words, heads I wind and tails you lose, dressed up to look scholarly" [Tzara 1918]. According to the revelation of Tzara, logic is an unnecessary complexity, which is always false, and its main problem is that it limits freedom: „Its chains kill, an enormous myriapod that asphyxiates independence" [Tzara 1918]. The struggle against logic becomes thus the defining motive of the *Manifesto*: "abolition of logic, dance of those who are incapable of creation: DADA" [Tzara 1918]. We find this definition, of course, among numerous other definition-like statements, so that the reader has to select for herself from the enumeration what Dada "really" is.

Ultimately, we have to accept that "DADA DOES NOT MEAN ANYTHING". However, we are still reading a manifesto, which means that the text should urge us to do something, and as readers we should come to know what the author of the manifesto expects from us. Tzara states this in the following way: "Every man must shout: there is great destructive, negative work to be done. To sweep, to clean"; and: "with neither aim nor plan, without organisation: uncontrollable folly, decomposition" [Tzara 1918].

Everything which originates from the past must be abandoned: the order of logic, bourgeois social order, and the place which art has won

itself within the world – all this in the name of freedom and contradiction, which is identified as life itself: “Liberty: DADA DADA DADA; – the roar of contorted pains, the interweaving of contraries and all contradictions, freaks and irrelevancies: LIFE.” [Tzara 1918]

The text known as the first Dadaist manifesto, which dates from 1918 and has been signed by twenty authors, renders the radicalism of Dada explicit – and artistic radicalism is not all there is to it: “Dadaism for the first time has ceased to take an aesthetic attitude toward life, and this it accomplishes by tearing all slogans of ethics, culture and inwardness, which are merely cloaks for weak muscles, into their components” [Beke 1998:80]. It seems that, within the avant-garde, Dada consciously and openly assumes that it opposes society not as artistic movement, but as its comprehensive critique. Precisely therefore, Dada does not attack other styles and trends, but art itself as a social institution, and it does not create a style of its own [Bürger 1984]. It is certainly true that Dada has lost the battle against the institution of art: it was not the museum that has become extinct, but Duchamp’s *Fountain* was put into the museum. However, the victory of the avant-garde movements consists in the fact they “did destroy the possibility that a given school can present itself with the claim to universal validity” [Bürger 1984: 87].

The greatness of these manifestos comes from the consistency with which they try to think through the elimination of consistency, as far as something like this can even be achieved. As Tzara states: “Thus DADA was born, out of a need for independence, out of mistrust for the community. People who join us keep their freedom. We don’t accept any theories” [Tzara 1918]. And the German manifesto ends in the following way: “To be against this manifesto is to be a Dadaist!” [Beke 1998: 81]. One can be faithful to Dada by refusing to recognize any kind of faithfulness – even to Dada itself. Dadaism is the living paradox in all of its manifestations.

c. The total artwork

Although different “isms” succeed each other in a frenzied rhythm, which is almost impossible to follow, at the beginning of the 20th century, until Dada’s appearance there is never any doubt about what is and what isn’t art. A painting by Matisse, about which Leo Stein – who, incidentally, collected the works of Matisse – could state that it is the most repulsive paint splotch he has ever seen, is undoubtedly a painting. But are meaningless sounds [Pierre Albert-Birot: *For Dada*, 1917] or the

mere enumeration of the letters of the alphabet [Louis Aragon: *Suicide*, 1919] – poetry? Is gluing certain materials to a surface a painting or a sculpture? Is it art if it does not belong to a certain genre? And finally, to also mention the “most Dada” object, is Duchamp’s urinal, the ready-made called *Fountain* – art?

Reason operates with definitions and categorizations, that is, separations. It orders the chaos of experience through separating things. No wonder, then, that Dada, which is against reason, eliminates differences. This is not accidental, but a strategy. Kurt Schwitters writes about it in the following way: “My aim is the total Merz art work, which combines all genres into an artistic unity. First I married off single genres. I pasted words and sentences together in poems in such a way that their rhythmic composition created a kind of drawing. The other way around, I pasted together pictures and drawings containing sentences that demand to be read. I drove nails into pictures in such a way that besides the pictorial effect a plastic relief effect arose. I did this in order to erase the boundaries between the arts” [Beke 1998: 199].

Kurt Schwitters’ aim is not to become the specialist of any genre, but to be “an artist.” This can be realized best if the artist does not rely on some special skill [e.g. manual skills], but on a more general artistic skill. Although Marcel Duchamp has started his career as a painter, painting is for him only one of the modes of his artistic expression. Duchamp wants to remove from painting “the artist’s touch”, “his personal style”, his “paw” – in French, *la patte*. He wants to distance himself from “*la patte*” and retinal painting. Thus, he paints, creates installations, “finds” and creates objects, and provides his works with witty titles, which function as so many riddles. His radical “work of art” is the ready-made, which barely retains anything from the traditional meaning of the concept: these objects are not produced, invented, or shaped by the artist, they are not “about” the world or the feelings of the artist, nor are they beautiful or sublime. Duchamp’s *Fountain* is a philosophical question in a material form – what is art?

Since its beginnings, Dada mostly resembles a festival or circus where artists meet: in the Cabaret Voltaire, they recite poems [in different languages] and play music [preferably the wild rhythms of African music], dance and put on costumes designed by Marcel Janco, preferably simultaneously, between the walls exhibit which the works of Arp. That which happens on the stage is less a classic representation than a circus performance or a primitive ritual. Neither the direction of the performance, nor the public’s reaction can be foreseen.

Ever since art is considered to be the work of a genius, artists have tended to be original and innovative. The pursuit of innovation also means breaking with the past. And nowhere is this break more radical than in the case of Dada. By trying to abolish the basic codes of communication – the intelligibility of language, the use of logic, and conceptual boundaries –, Dadaist works advocated meaninglessness in the name of freedom. Tzara demanded works of art which cannot be interpreted for his war against rationality. This, however, is a boundary which cannot be transgressed. Everything which is part of culture can be interpreted and thus it becomes an object for the meaning-seeking activity of reason.

3. *The stalemate*

The short and troubled life of Dada was full of disruptions and metastases. As the Hungarian avant-garde author Tibor Déry has observed early enough [in 1921], “this sect, which is increasingly widespread among recent generations, is already preparing for its eventual hara-kiri while being in its cradle” [Beke 1998: 247]. And no wonder: if being Dada means disagreeing with the Dadaist manifesto, tensions and oppositions between the Dadaists with different cultural roots are evidently inevitable. At the same time, anti-dogmatism also made the proliferation of Dadaist centres possible: besides and after Zurich, Dada also appears in Berlin, Hannover, Paris, New York. Everything is Dada, and anything is Dada. It is also undoubtedly true that some of the supporters of the Dada movement have remained reference points within art and Western culture, while others are barely known today. The ones whose memory has endured are those who went beyond Dada, such as Man Ray or Hans Arp. But how many members of the larger public have read even a single line of Tzara, about whom many of them know that he is the father, or at least the godfather, of Dada? Surrealists – for instance, Dalí – is known by masses of people, but how popular is the work of Kurt Schwitters outside the professional circle? Is Dada dead or alive?

Although they have been loud and bold, deliberately seeking scandal with their manifestations, the Dadaists have not been loud enough to be included in the art history of Gombrich, published in 1950, which remained a bestseller ever since. For a while it could seem that all this great commotion was for just fifteen minutes of fame, and that Dada did not put an end to art, but – very efficiently and fast, within only a couple of years – to itself. The first Manifesta of 1955, organized in Kas-

sel and meant at presenting avant-garde art, which has been dubbed “degenerated” by the Nazis in 1937, did not incorporate Dada.

Nevertheless, in a later edition of his work, from 1966, Gombrich saw himself compelled to include a few sentences about Dada in the history of art. He labels the Dada group as “extremist” and considers that he could have discussed their case in the chapter on primitivism of the previous edition. He dismisses the entire movement with the general statement that “the desire of these artist has been to become like little children and to ridicule the solemnity of Art with a big A” (Gombrich 2012: 601). Then, Gombrich goes on to make excuses: “it always seemed to me inappropriate to mention, analyse, and present these gestures of ‘anti-art’ with the solemnity, not to say fastidiousness, which they wanted to ridicule and eradicate” (Gombrich 2012: 601). It is no wonder that the renowned historian of art feels somewhat uncomfortable: meanwhile it has become clear that not only is Dada, about which he couldn’t be bothered to say a word, not dead, but has become one of the most important sources of inspiration for the art of the sixties.

What Dada promised, Dada has delivered: its radical, implacable, and nonchalant critique did, in fact, cleanse art. Many aspects of art once considered natural have become problematic: that art has to be beautiful, that the work of fine art is a painting or sculpture, that the artist has to learn how to work with the material, that the poem has to consist of meaningful sentences, that the artist has to pursue professional and financial success, and thus he or she must try to appease critics and the bourgeois. At once, there were no genre distinctions anymore, and the rules of taste and decency, and even moral rules, were no longer relevant. Just remember Tzara and how he hated common sense, or Duchamp, who made the last drops of taste [*gout*] evaporate on his *Bottle Rack* [Égouttoir]. They have opened up the possibility to endow mass-produced objects with artistic character, to use everyday materials and objects in art, and to create works of art from trash. Art was no longer bound by the expectations imposed by tradition, critics, or the public. Artists were able to create as free and unhindered as never before. This is the freedom that will give birth to an art working in the spirit of experimentation in the second half of 20th century, with new genres and newly torn down barriers.

Dada has been destroyed by its own success – and this is a danger which threatens every avant-garde movement. The essence of Dada is resistance and refusal. Thus, Dada can only shout in its interjections from the sidelines. What possible sense would it make to criticize the

rules of the game as an established player in its own right? At the same time, radical negation leads to self-denial, that is to say, self-annihilation, which also takes place in a theatrical manner: "When, symbolically, there is nothing left to destroy, the avant-garde is compelled by its own sense of consistency to commit suicide. This aesthetic thanatophilia does not contradict other features usually associated with the spirit of the avant-garde: intellectual playfulness, iconoclasm, a cult of unseriousness, mystification, disgraceful practical jokes, deliberately stupid humor" [Calinescu 1987: 123-124].

The situation of Dada is clearly described by Peter Bürger in his study dedicated to the avant-garde. In his view, the avant-garde is not merely the most recent art movement, but a movement which has as its double goal "the attack on the institution of art and the revolutionizing of life as a whole" [Bürger 2010]. According to Bürger, the avant-garde has failed to reach its objectives. However, this failure does not mean that the avant-garde could be written off as inefficient or insignificant: "measured against their goals and the hopes that they carried, all revolutions have failed: this fact does not lessen their historical significance" [Bürger 2010: 700] – a description that perfectly fits Dada.

Although it is exactly one hundred years by now, Dada is forever young. Dada is not only chapter in the history of art or culture, but a fervent material which continues to function to this day. According to Elza Adamowicz and Eric Robertson, who have edited a volume of studies about Dada in 2011: "Far from being fossilised as a historical movement, Dada's legacy is pacifist, internationalist, sceptical, imaginative, resistant to power and artistic relocation, possessing new relevance in a twenty first century of globalisation, eco-crisis, terror and hyper-power hegemony" [Adamowicz & Robertson 2011: 11-12].

Bürger associates the failure of the avant-garde with its artistic success. Although the avant-garde has struggled against the art institution and wanted to do away with it once and for all, the art world reacted to it with incorporation and acceptance: "the institution demonstrates its strength by embracing its attackers and assigns them a prominent place in the pantheon of great artists" [Bürger 2010: 705]. The avant-garde did not reach any of its goals – it did not defeat the art institution and could not unite art with life, thereby revolutionizing life itself. However, the reverse of this failure is a complete success within the art world: "the failure of the avant-garde utopia of the unification of art and life coincides with the avant-garde's overwhelming success within the art institution" [Bürger 2010: 705].

Although I consider Bürger's interpretation completely acceptable, I also think that one has to take into account another important circumstance from the perspective of the "failure" of Dada. Dada's project was more ambitious and farther-reaching than the objectives described by Bürger: Dada experimented with the realization of meaningfulness at the level of language and thought. Although this is a bold experiment that should be appreciated, it is also bound to fail from the start, since, after all, it is carried out, within the limits of culture, which are structured by language and thought. Hence, if Dada is dead, it died trying to integrate meaningfulness into the artwork. As Tzara stated in his 1918 Manifesto, the aim is to create incomprehensible works of art: "What we need are strong, straightforward, precise works which will be forever misunderstood"¹ [Tzara 1918].

The creation of the incomprehensible artwork is already in itself a great challenge – unless we use the method of fishing out words from the hat. And, incidentally, Tzara has in fact created the algorithm for creating aleatoric and meaningless works of art:

"To make a Dadaist poem:

- Take a newspaper.
- Take a pair of scissors.
- Choose an article as long as you are planning to make your poem.
- Cut out the article.
- Then cut out each of the words that make up this article and put them in a bag.
- Shake it gently.
- Then take out the scraps one after the other in the order in which they left the bag.
- Copy conscientiously.
- The poem will be like you.
- And here are you a writer, infinitely original and endowed with a sensibility that is charming though beyond the understanding of the vulgar."

So, here you have an algorithm which guarantees "infinitely original" poetic creation, or a recipe, if you wish, which can be followed by a poet and can cure him of common sense, which is so loathsome.

¹ In the French original: "Il nous faut des oeuvres fortes, droites, précises et à jamais incomprises"; i.e. "text which will never be understood". http://www.dada-companion.com/tzara_docs/tza_manifeste_1918.php

Bürger argues that the avant-garde has created an entirely new kind of receptive attitude, which entirely lacks the interpretation of the artwork [phenomenon, expression], and is instead aimed directly at changing the life of the recipient: "This refusal to provide meaning is experienced as shock by the recipient. And this is the intention of the avant-gardiste artist, who hopes that such withdrawal of meaning will direct the reader's attention to the fact that the conduct of one's life is questionable and that it is necessary to change it" (Bürger 1984: 80).

In my view, this interpretation is not entirely valid. We do not have descriptions, or confessions, about how the confrontation with avant-garde artworks has changed the lives of the recipients. It is much more realistic to suppose that, when encountering an incomprehensible artwork, the recipient tries to give meaning to it, provided that she is at all willing to engage with it. The reception of artworks can function if the recipient is able to place them into the context of a meaningful construction. Thus, the complete failure of Dada would be if we would completely stop engage ourselves with its manifestations. However, we do engage with them – and we do this through searching, or creating, possible meanings. If we enjoy the *Antipyrin* of Tzara, this is made possible by the fact that, in the absence of any specific clues, we create our own schemes of interpretation.

In one of his studies, Cornelius Partsch describes one of the first Dada evenings, on which Huelsenbeck, Janco, and Tzara have performed *The Admiral is Searching for a House to Rent*. Among other points, he emphasizes the importance of drums within this performance and other Dadaist actions, and the odd, mostly African rhythms which the performers played on them. Then he goes on by saying that "the Dadaists use the drum to tap into multiple strata of symbolic association, connecting horizontally with the carnage on Europe's battlefields and vertically with various archetypal regions" (Partsch 2006: 51). The case of Partsch with the Dada drums perfectly demonstrates that it is impossible not to search for meaning within human manifestations, especially if they are of an artistic nature. As far as these specific Dadaists are concerned, we shall never know what their intention really was – but, generally speaking, it is unbearable to think that the manifestation itself should have no meaning, reason, or motive.

Dadaist poems and objects endow the recipient with the same freedom which the artists considered so essential for themselves.

This is the gift of Dada to the recipient: “that kind of generosity of shared imaginative space, of permitting the observer to fill in the blanks, so we are all involved in the game” (Caws 2011: 81).

However, freedom is limited by the possibility of interpretation. In other words, you cannot checkmate reason. The struggle with it can at best end in an inspiring stalemate.

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SYMBOLS IN THE PAINTINGS OF RENÉ MAGRITTE

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The present study examined the presence of free association in surrealist paintings, more specifically, René Magritte's works. The study takes into account those aspects that form the basis of the free association technique developed by Freud, the essence of this method being that one expresses everything that comes to mind, even spontaneously. Freud called free association "this fundamental technical rule of analysis... We instruct the patient to put himself into a state of quiet, unreflecting self-observation, and to report to us whatever internal observations he is able to make" – taking care not to "exclude any of them, whether on the ground that

it is too disagreeable or too indiscreet to say, or that it is too unimportant or irrelevant, or that it is nonsensical and need not be said". [Sigmund Freud, Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis [PFL 1] p. 328] Surrealist painting is based on the Freudian psychoanalytic theory. Freud's work with free association, dream analysis, and the unconscious was of utmost importance to the Surrealists in developing methods to liberate imagination; by bringing his theory into the field of painting, the artists developed a distinct style. The study examines those elements in Magritte's works that lie on the borderline between the rational thoughts and free association.

KEYWORDS: *surrealism, Magritte, free association, rationality, spontaneity, Freud*

"The great question that has never been answered, and which I have not yet been able to answer, despite my thirty years of research into the feminine soul, is 'What does a woman want?'"

Sigmund Freud

This study examines the attitude of the Surrealists towards women and those representations of the female in René Magritte's works which reflect the image formed in this respect by the Surrealists and by Freud's psychoanalysis. The starting point of the investigation is the presence of free association and unusual association of ideas¹ that basically determine the Surrealist painting.

Since the psychology of art links the free association method primarily to automatism, I believe it is important to distinguish between the possibilities in this direction within Surrealism. Automatism is a technique that reflects the dreams and the subconscious content effectively. Breton described surrealism as a psychic automatism in its complete purity, innocence. The artist takes a brush or pencil and starts drawing, depicting what gushes out from his subconscious without thinking. A trance-like psychic state is assumed, in which consciousness is completely turned off. But this is not the only trait that defines Surrealist painters: the technique typical of Salvador Dali's or Magritte's paintings is not this, but the fact that they shaped their works out of fully photographic elements; therefore the dreamlike or "over-reality" nature of these works comes from the unusual, striking association of elements. They primarily believed in the superiority of dreams over reality, and stressed that the truths of existence may appear in dreams only. To this end, they embraced with predilection the psychoanalytic theory developed by Freud.

Although one cannot find in Magritte's paintings the above mentioned automatism, nor the turning off of consciousness that Breton talked about [his works are constructed in a very conscious way], by his choice of subjects, use of symbols and unusual associations, Magritte is one of the greatest Surrealist artists.

André Breton formulates the essence of surrealism: "I believe in the future resolution of these two states, dream and reality, which are seemingly so contradictory, into a kind of absolute reality, a *surreality*, if one may so speak." [Breton 1924]

¹ Based on the free association method developed by Freud, the essence of which is that we express the subconscious contents.

After realizing that Dada had lost vitality, Breton decided to initiate a new trend. Turning to Guillaume Apollinaire's works, the word "surrealism" acted upon him as a revelation, and by using it to define the upcoming art group, he could show his respect for the great mentor as well. Breton's motivation was primarily social criticism; being socialist-minded, he turned against the civil society, and he thought that through the unusual and shocking lyrics and pictures he could divert the society from its ordinary set of values for good and all.

However, as regards the role of women, so to speak, the Surrealists remained conservative. They followed the Freudian direction, one important and unavoidable topic of this theory being the women's problem. Woman, womanhood, appear as the *object* of Freudian psychoanalytic research; the passivity of womankind is emphasized, and the notion that only men can talk objectively about women: "Nor will you have escaped worrying over this problem -- those of you who are men; to those of you who are women this will not apply -- you are yourselves the problem." [Freud 1933: 1] Freud stresses women's underdeveloped sense of morality and system of values in his work *Femininity* [1933]. One is familiar with his phallogocentric theory and with the fact that he represented his epoch's cultural ideology regarding women without any reservation. In this respect, Freud talks about women's less developed sense of justice, their jealousy and feeling of shame.

It is worth noting that Jacques Lacan published his first writings in the surrealist-oriented magazine *Minotaure*. According to Kaja Silverman, "In *Séminaire livre XX* Lacan indicates his belief that the female subject neither succumbs to as complete an alienation from the real, nor enjoys as full an association with the symbolic as does the male subject. She thus has a privileged relation to the real, but a de-privileged relation to the symbolic." [Silverman 1983: 186]

"The problem of woman is the most wonderful and disturbing problem there is in the world." wrote André Breton in the Second Manifesto of Surrealism [1930], but in fact Breton's concept about the female was that women can't be independent, active subjects, they are just a mediator, a muse or just an object of desire. Marry Ann Caws notes that "According to Xavière Gauthier, in her *Surréalisme et sexualité*, everything in Surrealist art is "piégé" or mined and trapped and undetermined, because all is highly ambivalent. She studies several of the canvases of Magritte, such as *le Chant d'amour* with its red shoes turning to feet, among others, and discusses the strong urges to violence and torture: in Surrealist poetry, she says, women are loved, but in art,

they are hated.” [Caws 1991: 15] Surrealists fetishize the female body, manipulate, violate and deform her. As an example, I would mention the composite illustration published in *La Révolution Surréaliste* [1929], of photographs of the Surrealists arranged in a rectangle around Magritte’s painting of a naked woman [*Je ne vois pas la cachée dans la forêt* – I do not see the hidden [woman] in the forest], or Salvador Dalí’s painting *The great masturbator*.

How do Magritte’s representations of the female fit into this context? At first glance, in Magritte’s paintings there appear the familiar and everyday themes. His works are seemingly balanced; a bizarre and depressing mood settles on his objects, figures and landscapes. Timelessness is the portrayal of the frozen moments of fear and paranoia. His male characters generally look like some serial killers masked as accountants. Their faces are stiff, expressionless, and, in most cases, covered. Magritte stated that no picture is real. He already figured out when preparing advertising posters that the most effective and simplest way to catch attention is to combine ordinary and inaccessible or distant things. He thought, just like the other Surrealists, that he breaks the customary laws of social order, and even of the natural order.

He consciously used the results of psychoanalysis and sought to blur the boundary between rationality and emotion. By involving the dream-like, Magritte questioned the power of reality, of thinking and of logical schemas. Although the aspirations of the Surrealists had a social and political facet too (for example Breton joined the Communist Party, and maintained friendly relations with Trotsky), this aspect is less noticeable in Magritte’s works. Literature tends to discover Magritte’s manifestation against the civil society especially in the attire of his male characters: their hat and suit; however this can be interpreted as the artist’s self-representation as well. [At the same time, some interpretations link the hat to his mother, as she had been a hat maker before she got married.]

Magritte was born to a wealthy Belgian family. When he was aged 13, his mother, Regina, a terribly unhappy and depressed person, committed suicide by drowning herself in the river. Supposedly, when her body was found two weeks later, her dress was covering her face. The literature suggested this biographical data as the source of the many faces covered with a cloth in Magritte’s paintings, as a relief from his childhood trauma.²

² Perhaps the best known and most talked about are “The Lovers” [1928], “Atttempting the Impossible” and “Assassins.”

In contrast to the generally accepted interpretations that Magritte's paintings reflect mainly the trauma of losing his mother, the hypothesis of the present study is that the sexist behaviour typical of the Surrealists has a greater emphasis in Magritte's works.

If one looks attentively at his paintings, one can notice that his representations of women are just bodies, without head, disfigured, dominated, or reduced to an animal, totally distorted figures, anthropomorphic bodies, cruel phenomena or simply *objects* that appear only as a man's desire.

I think it is important to emphasize two paintings: *The White Magic* [*Portrait of Éluard*] painted in 1936, and *Attempting the Impossible* [1928]. In *The White Magic* Magritte painted a portrait of Paul Éluard. The poet is shown while writing a poem on a woman's abdomen, on her skin, or creating the woman's body by writing poetry. In *Attempting the Impossible* Magritte appears as the painter of the statue of a female character in the very moment of painting the statue's left arm. Both titles suggest the same act: the moment of creation. Magritte thought and emphasized that art is capable of magical deeds, and therefore able to distance itself from the real world and create the surreal. The artist thus rises to the rank of God, who is able to stir life, to realize his dreams, his woman of dreams in this case. In some interpretations, *Attempting the Impossible* means the search for the mother lost during the childhood, the overcoming of this tragic event. Because the model Magritte painted was Georgette, his wife, the picture rather leads us to the *Gala as a muse* kind of interpretation from Salvador Dali's oeuvre.

The artist projects his dreams and desires onto his wife, his life partner as muse, and tries to shape and recreate her accordingly. The close relationship between art and eroticism is an important aspect as well. In this context, I consider it important to mention the legend of Pygmalion, which has a lot of variations and interpretations in the history of art. According to Ovid [*Metamorphoses*, 10], after seeing the *Propoetides* prostituting themselves, the Cypriot sculptor Pygmalion determined that he was not interested in women. He carved a woman of his own out of ivory, and gave it a beauty surpassing that of any woman born. His statue was so beautiful and realistic that he fell in love with it. With the help of Aphrodite, goddess of love, [Venus in Ovid's version] the statue came to life becoming a woman, and Pygmalion married her. "Galatea is the name given to Pygmalion's beloved in later versions of the tale." [Morford & Lenardon 2003: 176] One observes the same moment in Magritte's paintings: the creation of the ideal woman. Both titles

The White magic and *Attempting the Impossible* suggest the same. The process is the same: the surest way of the unconditional acquisition of the female body is to construct it, which entails the creation-created [a superior-subordinate] relationship. The act of creation includes the defeat of the female body and its sexualisation. In both pictures the artists [the poet and the painter] appear dressed; their faces express a thoughtful tranquility. The women are depicted as objects, and in a vulnerable state due to their nakedness. Éluard's hand hides the woman's genitals, but appears as a phallic symbol above the naked female body. However, writing poetry or painting can be interpreted in this context as a sexual act as well, which is capable of creating new life. It is important to emphasize that the Surrealists considered the feeling of sexual pleasure and the artistic act as almost indissolubly linked. Accordingly, their painting is essentially arbitrary and fetishist.

Another important theme that supports my assumption is the *bird motif*. Magritte's use of objects is basically symbolic: in his paintings there repeatedly appear the sea, the cloudy sky, apples, hats, veils, spheres, birds and so on.

The bird: in most cases one sees the silhouette of a bird oriented upward, and the blue cloudy sky within its contour. An example is *The Return* [1940], which, according to some interpretations, symbolizes the hope of returning to Belgium, occupied by the Nazis. *The Kiss* [c. 1957] is one of Magritte's most poetic works, one might say; the "sky-bird" hovering above a sunny summer peaceful sea, with the starry sky enclosed within the bird's contours. The balanced blue shades, their harmony, basically suggest peace of mind and reconciliation.

In the *Man in a Bowler Hat* [1964], which can be interpreted as a self-portrait, a white dove flying from left to right [from the character's perspective] toward the light covers the man's face, that is not visible; one sees the bird's left eye only. This painting can be connected to the self-portrait called *The Son of Man* [1946], in which the face of the artist is covered by a green apple, while you can still see his left eye. About the latter painting Magritte said: "At least it hides the face partly. Well, so you have the apparent face, the apple, hiding the visible but hidden, the face of the person. It's something that happens constantly. Everything we see hides another thing, we always want to see what is hidden by what we see. There is an interest in that which is hidden and which the visible does not show us. This interest can take the form of a quite intense feeling, a sort of conflict, one might say, between the visible that is hidden and the visible that is present." [Neyens 1965]

In *La Clairvoyance* [1936] one meets with Magritte again, as he just painted a bird. The model of the bird is an egg. He paints the potentiality, the future of the egg. His look and attitude are similar to those of the painter's from *Attempting the Impossible* who painted a statue of a woman. In *La Clairvoyance*, the painter is a visionary who anticipates the future; he brings to life the freedom, creativity and spirit by the bird.

Magritte painted *The Domain of Arnheim* [1962], based on Edgar Allan Poe's short story with the same title. The home of the Golden Eagle is an ideal world, the realm of the spirit. It is essentially dominated by the blue colour again; the mountains loom from the silhouette of the golden eagle, which strongly, energetically embraces the world under its wings.

In this context, where the so popular bird motif appears basically as an image of optimism and freedom, and it is mainly dominated by white and blue hues, the *Young girl eating a bird [Pleasure]* painted in 1927 is very different. The scene in the painting was inspired by Magritte's wife Georgette when she ate a chocolate bird. This had a great effect on Magritte; at first glance he interpreted it as utmost cruelty. The subtitle of the picture intensifies the cruel deed, transforming it into a perverted scene. One can see a girl who mauls a bird with feathers, while its blood flows through her fingers. Behind her there are exotic birds in the branches of the tree, and the viewer has the feeling that she is going to eat those too. In the series of the bird motif so often displayed by Magritte, one might say this is the only one where, from associating a woman and a bird, the woman appears like the killer of freedom, of the spirit, desire, beauty and the exotic.

Another animal symbol is the fish. Magritte's representations of fish initially conjure up the image of a mermaid. It is not an accidental connection either that there are mermaids, half-fish, half-woman, and sirens, half-bird, half-woman as well in the European tradition. In Magritte's case, one could say that the fish is the symbol of the female. It is also important to note that many female nudes appear on the seashore in his works; usually Magritte places his female characters near the water. In *Collective Invention* [1934] one sees the motif of reversed mermaid: a woman's lower body with striking pubic hair and a dead fish upper body. She lies on the beach abandoned, in a state of complete vulnerability. The Sirens of Greek mythology are nymphs with a killer nature, who are attractive but equally creepy. They fascinate the sailors with their beautiful voices, and then kill them. In general, they embody the passionate, erotic, and especially

independent women. By swapping the body parts of the character in his painting, Magritte completely deprived her of any positive identity [especially of her voice], objectified her, made her impersonal, and put her in a totally humiliating and vulnerable position. Here there is no room for eroticism anymore; the entire picture suggests pure pornography – *L'invention collective*.

The Venus de Milo statue appears in many of Magritte's paintings, such as *The Beauty of Night* [1932], or *The Light of Coincidence* [1933]. This statue is a symbol of the ideal beauty in general. Venus or Aphrodite is the goddess of beauty, love and fertility. Magritte had a predilection for this symbol, but he represented her not only without hands, but without head as well, reducing the character to her genital organs.

Finally, I would mention the *Rape* [1934], which has probably the most pornographic tone of Magritte's paintings. Just as in *Collective Invention*, one observes in the *Rape* the pornographisation of the female body; the parts of the face [eyes, nose and mouth] are replaced by genitals. The "woman problem" mentioned by Breton seems to get resolved here.

One can see how woman, who only appears as a subject of research attributed primarily with a passive role in the Freudian psychoanalysis, is present as an object in the discourse of arts. After all, one could ask the question whether this kind of representation of womankind among the Surrealists can be truly connected to the sphere of the subconscious that Freud had defined. In my view, one can only speak of a social stereotype that the Surrealists could not transcend, regardless of how much they wanted to scandalize the middle class.

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“DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTRARIOUS EMOTIONS IN A LOVER:” THE STORY OF ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE IN OVID, RILKE, “SIR ORFEO,” AND DUFFY

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With a reference to Thomas Wyatt’s 16th century sonnet in the title, this paper intends to look at different versions of the Orpheus and Eurydice myth in a selected body of old and modern literature. I am interested in the presence and meaning(s) of the myth in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* [8 A.D.], in the Middle English narrative poem “Sir Orfeo” [14th century, trans. J. R.R. Tolkien] and in R. M. Rilke’s “Orpheus. Eurydice. Hermes.” [1904] and Carol Ann Duffy’s “Eurydice” [1999]. Following Maurice Blanchot’s

reading of the myth, I examine the contrasting Orphean and Eurydicean emotional conducts: Orpheus desiring but, at the same time, destroying the other and Eurydice declining the other’s approach. I argue that Orpheus’s and Eurydice’s contrasting behaviours can be looked at as manifestations of a failure of love, one for its violence, the other for its neglect. I read the unaccomplished encounter between Orpheus and Eurydice as a story about the failure of intersubjectivity.

KEYWORDS: *Orpheus, Eurydice, love, intersubjectivity, encounter*

With a reference to Thomas Wyatt's 16th century sonnet in the title, this paper intends to look at different versions of the Orpheus and Eurydice myth in a selected body of old and modern literature. I am interested in the presence and meaning[s] of the myth in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (8 A.D.), in the Middle English narrative poem "Sir Orfeo" [14th century, trans. J. R. R. Tolkien] and in R. M. Rilke's "Orpheus. Eurydice. Hermes." [1904] and Carol Ann Duffy's "Eurydice" [1999]. Following Maurice Blanchot's and Kaja Silverman's readings of the myth, I examine the contrasting Orphean and Eurydicean emotional conducts: Orpheus desiring but, at the same time, destroying the other and Eurydice declining the other's approach in Rilke's poem and Orpheus striving to reunite with his lover in "Sir Orfeo." I argue that Orpheus's and Eurydice's contrasting behaviours in Rilke's poem can be looked at as manifestations of a failure of love, one for its violence, the other for its neglect and thus I read the unaccomplished encounter between Orpheus and Eurydice as a story about the failure of intersubjectivity. Rilke's version of the myth shall be compared to the radically different version of the myth depicted in "Sir Orfeo."

The mythical Orpheus—unlike Perseus, Heracles, Theseus, or Iason—is driven into the underworld by his desire for his wife. He undertakes the trip to Tartaros out of love; he goes down wailing [Kerényi 366]. In Ovid's version of the myth, already their wedding is bodeful. Hymen, the god of marriage was present in vain on their wedding: "he did not speak the usual words, display a joyful expression, or bring good luck. The torch, too, that he held, sputtered continually" [boding ill] [Book X, 1-85, n.p.].¹ Being bitten by a snake on her ankle, Eurydice dies. After mourning greatly, Orpheus descends to Tartaros, through Styx, "to see if he might not move the dead" begging to "reverse Eurydice's swift death" [Book X, 1-85, n.p.]. Hades and Persephone are moved by his song, cannot refuse his prayer and he allows Orpheus to bring his wife back to the land of the living as long as she walks behind him and he never tries to look at her face until they reach the surface. The test Hades sets on Orpheus is a test of desire:

Afraid she was no longer there, and eager to see her, the lover turned his eyes. In an instant she dropped back, and he, unhappy man, stretching out his arms to hold her and be held, clutched at nothing but the receding air. Dying a second time, now, there was no com-

¹ Trans. A. S. Kline.

plaint to her husband [what, then, could she complain of, except that she had been loved?]. She spoke a last ‘farewell’ that, now, scarcely reached his ears, and turned again towards that same place. [Ovid, Book X, 1-85, n.p.]

In Ovid, Orpheus sits for seven days on shore, “sorrow, troubled thought, and tears were his food” [n.p.]. In the Greek myth, the test Hades sets on Orpheus is a test of desire. It is Orpheus’s desire for the other, the beloved woman—not to resist looking backwards—that finally “kills” Eurydice; it is the very desire for an encounter with the other that sends the other away. Orpheus’s backward look recalls another transgressive look behind: the biblical act of looking backward in the story of Lot’s wife, who looks back and thus she transforms [metamorphoses] into a pillar of salt. As Gillian Rose argues, Orpheus’s mistake consists in gazing at Eurydice and thus risking everything [110].² Maurice Blanchot reads Orpheus’s backward look at Eurydice as transgressive precisely because of its violence in wanting to possess—and by possessing destroy—the [otherness of the] other:

Eurydice is the strangeness of the extreme distance that is *autrui* at the moment of face-to-face confrontation and when Orpheus looks back, ceasing to speak in order to see, his gaze reveals itself to be the violence that brings death, the dreadful blow. [. . .] Man facing man like this has no choice but to speak or to kill. [. . .] should the self ever come under this command—speech or death—it will be because it is in the presence of *autrui*. [Blanchot 60]

“Cain killing Abel,” Blanchot goes on, “is the self that, coming up against the transcendence of *autrui*,” attempts to confront it by resorting to murder [60]. He adds, however, that in this alternative speech/murder, “speech is no less grave than death” [Blanchot 62]. Orpheus descends into hell to bring back his beloved but he comes back alone. He was able to move and charm and delight anyone with his song, he even has Sisyphus sit down and rest on his boulder, making even the stones [all that was wild [Kerényi 313]] enchanted by his song, but now, on encountering his real other/*autrui* in Eurydice, he is no longer able

² Like in Rilke’s poem “Orpheus. Eurydice. Hermes.” [1904]: “If only he might / turn once more [if looking back / were not the ruin of all his work, / that first had to be accomplished]” [Rilke/Kline].

to move her, as this is most beautifully presented in Rilke's "Orpheus. Eurydice. Hermes:" "the slim man" is "mute and impatient, gazing before him;" his hands "hung, clumsy and tight" [Rilke/Kline]. He so much awaits the encounter with his beloved that he is "no longer aware of the weightless lyre, grown into his left side." The idea and image of grafting appears suggesting he is one with his lyre but not with his woman. His desire for the other is so elementary he even forgets about his lyre concentrating all his strength and attention on the moment of encounter [Valastyán n.p.]. "His steps ate up the path in huge bites / without chewing: / [...] ran ahead like a dog, / turned back, came and went again and again, / and waited at the next turn" [Rilke/Kline]. Never has a journey been so long, never has a look been waiting more eagerly for a return-look [Thomka 6].³ Orpheus turns back and this is the cause of their tragedy. Kerényi and Valastyán discuss a 5th century Attic relief representing of the encounter of the three—Orpheus, Eurydice, and Hermes—which shows the woman holding the hand of both men, with a hand taking leave of her husband and being taken by the other hand by Hermes, who escorts her already back [Kerényi 268]. Eurydice lays her hand on Orpheus's shoulder and he holds her hand—thus taking a last farewell from each other—and, at the same moment, Hermes too takes Eurydice's hand thus signaling his destination of escorting her back to the underworld. The uniqueness of this representation stands in that it so powerfully presents the tension of separation and connection [Valastyán n.p.].

The power of Rilke's poem lies in its extremely sensitive concentration on and presentation of the figure of Eurydice. Unlike Orpheus, who is eager and impatient for the encounter, Eurydice is "uncertain, gentle, and without impatience. She was in herself, like a woman near term" [Rilke/Kline] or, in Stephen Mitchell's translation: "She was deep within herself, like a woman heavy / with child, and did not see the man in front / or the path ascending steeply into life" [Rilke/Mitchell]. The idea and image of grafting is recurrent: Eurydice is as if she were pregnant—as if grafted with her baby [another one], and expressly *not* with Orpheus. She is as if awaiting the event of the encounter—like a mother ["heavy"] awaiting the miracle of birth—but she is in fact "deep within herself" [Rilke/Mitchell]; she "did not think of the man" [Rilke/Kline]. She is "without impatience. She was in herself" [Rilke/Kline]. The en-

³ „Út még ily hosszúra nem nyúlt sosem, menet nem vonult ily nesztelenül, pillantás pillantásra nem várt ily feszülten” [Thomka qtd in Valastyán n.p.].

counter between the two of them does not take place; it is impossible to take place as Eurydice is alone, deep in herself, declining Orpheus; she does not want to because she cannot encounter the other. She cannot turn [her looks] to the other, because she turns [in] to herself. She no longer desires the other, the other's intimacy ails her: "She was no longer that, that man's possession no longer" [Rilke/Kline].

Orpheus's and Eurydice's reactions portray and represent two different intersubjective conducts: Orpheus desires the other [and with his desire kills her], while Eurydice declines intersubjectivity. Eurydice's question—"Who?"—in Rilke's poem reveals that she does not even realize Orpheus is there. Orpheus's and Eurydice's contrasting behaviors might be seen as failures of love, one through excess and violence, the other through indifference. The penetrating-aggressive Orphic gesture has no effect on Eurydice who remains unchanged and untouched by the encounter with Orpheus. Orpheus remains a mere spectator like in another sonnet of Rilke's: "And we, spectators always, everywhere, / looking at [. . .] we live our lives, for ever taking leave" [Rilke, "Eighth Sonnet"]. Orpheus takes leave in Rilke's poem[s], Eurydice does not even do that. "Who's turned us round like this, so that we always, / do what we may, retain the attitude / of someone who's departing?" ["Eighth Sonnet"]. Rilke's poem suggests an innate "separateness" [challenging the Platonic myth]. In Rilke's "Orpheus. Eurydice. Hermes." both Orpheus and Eurydice depart, but while Orpheus departs from Eurydice, Eurydice departs from no one. While Orpheus is changed by/ after the [non]encounter—he stands there "someone or other, whose features / were unrecognizable," nothing happens to Eurydice, who walks backward as she came "by that same path," "uncertain, gentle, and without impatience" as she was before. The encounter cannot take place, not even through the mediation of a third party—Hermes, who is present between the two of them as a messenger, to mediate between the two but whose physical presence reminds of the impossibility of an unmediated ["naked"] union between the two of them. Hermes is there instead of Hades [replacing Hades], who, as if he already knew, plays the role of the forbidding paternal index finger, meaning "take care," "mind you"—the forbidding word without which there is no desire, that sets desire on and the godly gesture that makes Orpheus as a desiring being be born.

The full stops [the punctuation marks] in the title of Rilke's poem "Orpheus. Eurydice. Hermes." act out the impossibility of the encounter. They stand *between* Orpheus and Eurydice [and Hermes]; instead of

using a comma between the names, the full stops suggest an unbreakable barrier between the protagonists. Orpheus and Eurydice's myth thus tells the story of an encounter in which one can only come close to the other but never close enough. Eurydice comes from a different world [she's dead]—she is other—and she will remain in this different world; she comes only to depart. The penetrating-aggressive Orphic gesture—the possessing look—has no effect on Eurydice who remains unchanged and untouched by the encounter with Orpheus.

In Ovid's version, Orpheus and Eurydice's story is a tragic story of mutual and reciprocal love. Rilke's "Orpheus. Eurydice. Hermes.," "Sir Orfeo," and Carol Ann Duffy's "Eurydice," however, present a more refined, more shaded and ambiguous picture of this relationship. Unlike Ovid's version of the story, these three poems provide a more subtle insight into Eurydice's presence [voice] and point of view, offering a more nuanced picture of the female perspective of this relationship.

The Middle English narrative poem "Sir Orfeo" has been preserved in three manuscripts [the Auchinleck MS, dated at about 1330, and the Harley and Ashmole MSs from about the beginning of the fifteenth century]. Its author is unknown. Though the story and characters of the poem clearly originate from the Greek myth of Orpheus—Ovid's *Metamorphoses* would have been the most widely available source in Britain in the Middle Ages, as Katherine Briggs argues—, the particularity of the poem lies in the fact that it is influenced by and blended with Celtic mythology and folklore and chivalric conventions. It retells the story of Orpheus as a king rescuing his wife Heurodis from the fairy king, from the "land of the dead and taken" [Allen 102], the "Celtic Otherworld" [Laskaya and Salisbury, "Introduction" n.p.], situating the action of the poem in medieval England. Jeff Rider marks "the almost utter lack of accord among critics as to its interpretation" [361].

It is essential that the key moments of the Greek myth—that make it a tragic, irreversible love story—are missing from the poem: the prohibition not to look back, the backward glance and the final loss [second death] of the woman, thus providing an apparently happy ending to the otherwise tragic myth. "The fairy king places no taboo about looking back on Orfeo as he does in the classical version" [Laskaya and Salisbury, "Introduction" n.p.]. Orfeo appears as a "rex inutilis" [Evans 198], a king who is more of a lover and an artist, rather than a responsible commander of the country; he is a "magical or shamanistic harper" [Laskaya and Salisbury, "Introduction" n.p.], his harp being "the one item which Orfeo carries over from his kingly world into his beggar

world” when he goes to find his wife after the abduction [Laskaya and Salisbury, “Introduction” n.p].⁴

When abducted, Lady Heurodis lies beneath “a fair young grafted tree” [Tolkien 171] [“ympe-tre” [ympe-tree] in the original [Laskaya and Salisbury, “Sir Orfeo” line 70]. Suddenly and unexpectedly, without any prelude, Heurodis comes into a state of madness, living a moment of greatest agony, even, as Feiertag argues, self-mutilating herself [11]. Her “disease” and its symptoms are sudden and spectacular, without any palpable reason:

“suddenly they heard her wake,
and cry, and grievous clamour make;
she writhed with limb, her hands she wrung,
she tore her face till blood there sprung,
her raiment rich in pieces rent;
thus sudden out of mind she went. [. . .]
raving there they held her fast;
but ceaselessly she still would cry,
and ever strove to rise and fly.” [Tolkien 172]

I suggest that the setting—under a grafted tree—is a symbolic place and space not only in itself—a grafted tree represents the union of two different entities—but also in reference to the figure of Heurodis. The grafted tree might be read as representing her subjectivity, more precisely her command and relationship to intersubjectivity. The fairy king breaks into her world, this is when she becomes “grafted,” when another man breaks into her world, one could say, into her body, actually; her skin, just like in grafting, opens up, she starts bleeding, she tears her face and her garments. In her dream, more like a nightmare, the fairy king ensures her that all her resistance is in vain:

“all thy limbs shall rend and tear --
no aid of man shall help thee there;

⁴ “Sir Orfeo, too, all things beyond / of harping’s sweet delight was fond” [Tolkien 170]. In what follows I shall refer to and quote from Tolkien’s modern English translation of the poem and occasionally, when the original text is indispensable for the clear or better of the poem, I shall refer to the original text, as it appears in the edition by Laskaya and Salisbury.

and even so, all rent and torn,
thou shalt away with us be borne." [Tolkien 175]

Her "lovely eyes in woe now stare" on Orfeo "as on a foe" [Tolkien 173]. The reader is left to wonder about the reasons for her falling mad and her self-destructing command. Has she madly fallen in love with the fairy king encountered in her dream? Is it the excitement of the new love she gets enchanted by, or that of the magic land and wilderness the fairy king shows her? Is it a case of love affair and love triangle we are confronted with or is the fairy king rather a father figure to her? Apparently, she can't help being called, she cannot not go: "we must be torn in twain, and go I must, for all thy pain" [Tolkien 173]. So Heurodis is split—like a grafted tree—also in this sense: she must be torn from her husband, but at the same time, while being torn from him, she at the same time opens up for and into another world, represented by the fairy king. Clearly, on encountering him [the fairy king] she enters into a mad, split state of consciousness. Orfeo's answer to his wife's state of mind confirms to the conventions of the chivalric lover: "But where thou goest, I come with thee" [Tolkien 173]. Losing his beloved, Orfeo is desolate and ravaged:

"Lord! who can recount the woe
for ten long years that king did know?
His hair and beard all black and rank." [Tolkien 187]

After a decade of never meeting each other [which Orfeo spends in exile in the wilderness], on newly encountering her husband, Heurodis is moved: "They gaze at each other, from her eyes the tears there fell" [Tolkien 180]. Significantly, Orfeo finds and sees Heurodis asleep under an ympe-tree, just as she was in his castle when she was abducted. Their gazes that find each other might be seen as representing their reunion, as if, after their separation, they were again grafted into one. This reciprocal look between the two of them might as well be seen as the curved or inverse mirror image of the transgressive backward look of Orpheus in the classical myth. Whereas in Ovid Orpheus looks back [alone] and thus [with his violent desire] sends Eurydice back to the underworld, in "Sir Orfeo" they exchange a reciprocal look with each other; they both seem to be absorbed in the other's gaze, an act of love which, once again, confirms to the chivalric conventions of love. The main idea is that here—unlike in Rilke's poem—Eurydice returns

the look of love; this is a reciprocal act of love, whereas in Rilke's "adaptation" of the myth she does not even realize the presence of Orpheus. Heurodis is here moved by Orfeo's gaze, she bursts into tears. She looked at Orfeo as on a foe when she was abducted, but now she returns the look of love.

The encounter takes place under a grafted tree which suggests that, as Feiertag observes, Orfeo must "re-enact and reverse the scene the fairy king played so effectively a decade before, and steal away by his art" his beloved Heurodis [9]. He has to repeat his adversary's [his foe's] act, he must become [like] him—his other—in order to be able to seduce Heurodis, to actually get back under her skin—to touch the ympe-tree. I agree with Feiertag that "Sir Orfeo" is a "tale of encounter with others" [11] in both Heurodis's and Orfeo's case; it is an "exploration of the loss and reclamation of Orfeo's and Heurodis' identities," of "what is monstrous and Other in the characters' selves" [Feiertag 12]. The lovers' final reunion and Feiertag's reading of the the poem present Kaja Silverman's ingenious reading of the Orpheus myth delineated in her excellent book *Flesh of My Flesh* [2009]. In her reading of the myth (based on Rilke and others) Orpheus (and not Eurydice) is the one who embodies solitude; he represents the failure of the "a-relational male subject" whose "defining attribute is solitude"—a man "going to pieces"—for he has repudiated his partner that would assure his integrity [9]: "Orpheus's repudiation of Eurydice dramatizes man's inability to love women; his retreat to a remote location symbolizes the latter's increasing solitude; the dismemberment of his body signifies the salutary disintegration of the male ego; and his descent to Hades and reunion with Eurydice stands for the arrival of the heterosexual couple" [Silverman 10]. So in Silverman's reading Orpheus's backward glance is a salutary, redemptive act of the subject's [re]completion by means of which his repudiated partner is newly embraced and thus the unity of the self is established by the other.⁵ For Silverman, the Orpheus-Eurydice encounter is precisely about the

⁵ Silverman appeals to Lou Andreas-Salomé's psychoanalytic theory which differs somewhat from the Freudian model but it is also a tribute to it: "Salomé believed that most people are unable to experience this feeling [of unity] because they have repudiated one of their "partners" and that the goal of analysis should be to reawaken this affect in those who have lost it. She organized her therapeutic practice accordingly. Instead of focusing on her patients' Oedipal problems, she helped them turn around and claim the one they had left behind—and she did this by occupying the symbolic position of Eurydice. In her

hailed reunion and communion of Orpheus and Eurydice depicted and represented in the ending of “Sir Orfeo.” [Surprisingly, Silverman makes no reference to the poem.] Silverman’s Orpheus-reading stands in stark contrast with Blanchot’s reading of the myth: while for Blanchot Eurydice is the unassimilable Other, for Silverman she is Orpheus’s repudiated part that/who needs to be newly embraced and thus his capacity to love will be restored.⁶ One has a clearer understanding of Orfeo’s conduct now: on losing his beloved, he falls apart and disintegrates, he strips off his former identity and from king he becomes beggar. Dominique Battles refers to Orfeo’s self-imposed exile as “one of the most compelling and perplexing plot features of the poem” [196]. His reintegration and re-composition comes about after he reunites with Eurydice.

Heurodis disintegrates and falls mad/apart when encountering the fairy king: she is challenged in her utmost identity, in her wife-hood. Eurydice is always defined in her relationship to Orpheus (never autonomously, Duffy’s poem makes an exception), she belongs to the man, she is hers, and on encountering the fairy king—her other—she is threatened in her utmost and ultimate self. She falls apart and disintegrates physically (bodily) and psychically too. She moves into another world, she is grafted, taken by another, into the “land of the taken.” Both Orfeo’s and Heurodis’ identities are stripped, reconstructed, and resurrected through the machinations of the fairy king [Freiertag 3]. Orfeo shifts from king to minstrel to beggar and back [Freiertag 3], while Heurodis shifts from wife to lover (?) or stranger and then back to wife. Their reciprocal gaze could be seen as such a symbolic act of grafting—a reunion—between the two of them. It is this reciprocal look, like an act of embracing, that grafts the two of them into one again, bringing about their uniting and the unconventional happy ending of this otherwise unhappy, unfulfilled love story.

memoir, she also turns around to claim the mother *she* had left behind. [. . .] She attributes a redemptive power to this kind of looking—the capacity to make the past happen again, in a new way” [Silverman 8].

⁶ “Over the centuries, the male subject has become increasingly a-relational, and now a “man of the ‘new grain’ ” has emerged, whose defining attribute is solitude. Since it is neither psychically nor ontologically possible for any of us to be alone, this man is “going to pieces.” When this “salutary” process of decomposition is complete, he will finally start learning how to love, and at some point in the future we will witness something that we have not yet seen: the heterosexual couple” [Silverman 9].

On the other hand, a different reading of her character and story is also possible. In the original text [as well as in Tolkien's modern translation], when Heurodis is first presented she is referred to as "the fairest levedi" [the fairest lady], and "no man may telle hir fairnise" [no man may tell her fairness] [Laskaya and Salisbury, "Sir Orfeo" lines 53, 56, 210]; in Tolkien "the one most fair" and "of ladies the most fair" [171]. So, one could argue, she was herself a fairy, or that she had been a fairy before becoming Orfeo's wife and in this sense she goes home when she is taken by the fairy king. She returns to her original fairy identity, an earlier self of hers which she encounters in her dream. In this context, the fairy king is not so much an abductor but more like a father figure, somebody who helps her back into an original, more self-authentic identity. This reading provides a different shade to Heurodis's return to Orfeo [and her wifehood] which sheds a different light on the seemingly happy ending of the story, as thus her return would be seen as a step backwards, taking away her authenticity, going back to belonging to Orfeo and thus losing herself as a sovereign being. She loses herself [to Orfeo] and goes back to being voiceless as Orfeo observes about her at the beginning of the narrative: "O lef liif [...] te, / that ever yete hast ben so stille" [dear life, you that have ever been so still] [Laskaya and Salisbury, "Sir Orfeo" line 103] or in Tolkien's translation "dear life, [...] thee, who ever quiet hast been and sweet" [172], a trait of hers—silence, stillness, calmness—that Orfeo approves of and appreciates about her.

This reading of Heurodis's character resonates with Poet Laureate Carol Ann Duffy's adaptation of the Eurydice story, which foremost and primarily reads as a straightforward commitment to the breaking of silence of the traditionally marginalized woman/wife role. Thus, both "Sir Orfeo" and Duffy's "Eurydice" [1999] demonstrate an interest in relationships other than the vertical and in enquiring into and shedding light on the female perspective of male-female relationships. The poem clearly expresses a wish to break out from the role of being Orpheus's wife,⁷ his "sprout" or graft, to no longer be "trapped" [Duffy 60] in the role to follow "right behind him" [Duffy 60] but be independent and sovereign:

⁷ "And given my time all over again,
rest assured that I'd rather speak for myself
than be Dearest, Beloved, Dark Lady, White Goddess etc., etc.;" and "His Muse"
and "the Prize" [Duffy 60]

“Like it or not,
I must follow him back to our life -
Eurydice, Orpheus’ wife -
to be trapped in his images, metaphors, similes,
octaves and sextets, quatrains and couplets,
elegies, limericks, villanelles,
histories, myths...” [Duffy 60]

The poem’s unhindered aim is to reclaim Eurydice from being constantly paired to Orpheus, to no longer be known by her role but rather as herself. Duffy’s Eurydice thus echoes Rilke’s Eurydice, being like her, “unavailable” [Duffy 58] to the man. “I’d rather speak for myself,” Duffy’s Eurydice powerfully and self-assertively claims. The power of Duffy’s poem lies in its challenge and critical stand about the unanimous depiction of Orpheus and Eurydice’s relationship as a heroic and tragic love story. Duffy questions the reciprocity of Eurydice’s love for Orpheus, suggesting the lack of evidence for Eurydice willing to be saved. In her reading of Eurydice’s figure she prefers staying in the underworld [after all, neither Hades, nor Orpheus asked her if she wanted to go back with Orpheus]. This context offers a very different edge to Orpheus’s backward glance, which is now hailed and celebrated by Eurydice:

“I did everything in my power
to make him look back.
What did I have to do, I said,
to make him see we were through?
I was dead. Deceased.
I was Resting in Peace. Passé. Late.
Past my sell-by date...
I stretched out my hand
to touch him once
on the back of the neck.
Please let me stay.” [Duffy 61]

Eurydice uses flattery to achieve her ends and make Orpheus look back:

“Orpheus, your poem’s a masterpiece.
I’d love to hear it again...
He was smiling modestly,
when he turned,
when he turned and he looked at me.” [Duffy 62]

The poem ends with Eurydice’s laconic but sarcastic-satisfied comment: “The dead are so talented.” [Duffy 62]

The significance of the three poems—Rilke’s, “Sir Orfeo” and Duffy’s—lies in their radical rethinking and reclaiming of Eurydice’s figure as opposed to her silent or shadow-like character in the original Greek myth [in Ovid]. Though very differently, all the three poems offer a more “bodied” figure of Eurydice. While the original myth is about Orpheus’s [test of] desire, these poems reclaim Eurydice’s figure by variously presenting *her* desire. Heurodis’s abduction by the fairy king is a test and proof of her desire: she answers a call of desire, she is challenged in her [silent] wifehood which she leaves behind to go back to an earlier fairy-hood, living a more authentic life in the sisterhood of the fairies, in a more authoritative and sovereign role: horse-riding and falcon-hunting. Though the fairy king warns them that they are not a good match for each other and that they will be unhappy together,⁸ the ending of the poem has the couple reunited, which provides an ambiguous ending to the story with respect to Heurodis’s final fate and state [of happiness]. Rilke’s poem presents a self-absorbed, closed and dismissive Eurydice, whose voice can be heard for the sake of one word only [“Who?”], presenting her in a privacy and solitude rejecting the relationship with the other. In a feminist vein, Duffy’s poem turns upside-down the meaning of Orpheus’s backward look, it being coaxed and hailed by the woman who is happy to be “dead and down / in the

⁸ “‘Nay,’ said the king, ‘that would not do!
for thou art black, and rough, and lean,
and she is faultless, fair and clean.
A monstrous thing then would it be
to see her in thy company.’” [emphasis added, Tolkien 185]
“‘Nay!’ quath the king, ‘that nought nere!
A sori couple of you it were,
For thou art lene, rowe and blac, [lean, rough, and black]
And sche is lovesum, withouten lac;
A lothlich thing it were, forthi, [loathly]
To sen hir in thi compayni.” [Laskaya and Salisbury, “Sir Orfeo” line 457-462]

Underworld" [Duffy 58]. While Ovid's epic highlights the dangers of Orpheus's excessive passion, "Sir Orfeo" and Duffy's "Eurydice" lay emphasis on presenting the female protagonist's excessive passion. While Rilke's poem presents a withdrawn Eurydice, declining intersubjectivity, "Sir Orfeo" presents a happy reunion with one's repudiated half and thus it represents a hailing or salutation of intersubjectivity.

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“LAVINIA COMING BACK!”: T. S. ELIOT’S THE COCKTAIL PARTY AND THE MYTH OF ALCESTIS

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Admetus, the king of Pherae got a gracious gift from the gods, the chance of not being dead if somebody from his family would offer his or her life for him. Of course there was nobody who would like to do this voluntarily, nobody except her wife, Alcestis. Fortunately she was taken back from death by Heracles, but this myth implies many questions, such as if it is ethical to ask someone to die instead of you and if it is worth to be alive at the expense of your beloved’s life.

In Plato’s *The Symposium* they also talk about her myth and they confront Alcestis with Orpheus. It is a difficult decision if this story has a ‘happy end’ or not, so even Euripides’ dramatic adaptation is also a mixture of comedy, tragedy and satyr play. T. S. Eliot in his play called *The Cocktail Party* puts his adaptation into a 20th century scene where his Admetus

and Alcestis, Edward and Lavinia live in a bad marriage like the couple in Strindberg’s *Dance of Death*. Lavinia’s death is only metaphorical and the descent to the underworld will be replaced with psychological treatment and a journey into her unconscious like in Rimbaud’s *A Season in Hell*, so during the treatment the patients, Edward and Lavinia, are emptied and ghost-like entities who will be taken back from metaphorical death by the psychologist, Heracles’ modern equivalent.

In my paper I analyse the connection between the ancient myth and the 20th century play and its relation with Euripides’ adaptation. According to the myth I would like to study its interpretation and how T. S. Eliot put an ancient Greek play into a contemporary setting where it could also become actual.

KEYWORDS: *Alcestis, T. S. Eliot, Euripides, Orpheus*

1. Introduction

“O Herr, gieb jedem seinen eignen Tod.
Das Sterben, das aus jenem Leben geht,
darin er Liebe hatte, Sinn und Not.”

Rainer Maria Rilke: ‘O Herr, gieb jedem seinen eignen Tod’
[Rilke 1987: 347]¹

Admetus, the king of Pherae, received a gracious gift from the gods, the chance of avoiding death if somebody from his family was willing to offer his or her life for him. Of course, there was nobody who wished to do this voluntarily, nobody except for his wife Alcestis. Fortunately, she was taken back from death by Heracles, but this myth raises many questions, such as if it is ethical to ask someone to die instead of you and if it is worth being alive at the expense of your beloved’s life.

In Plato’s *The Symposium* they also talk about her myth and they confront Alcestis with Orpheus. It is difficult to say whether this story has a ‘happy end’ or not, so Euripides’s dramatic adaptation is also a mixture of comedy, tragedy and satyr play. T. S. Eliot in his play *The Cocktail Party* places his adaptation in a 20th century setting where his Admetus and Alcestis, Edward and Lavinia live in a bad marriage almost like the couple in Strindberg’s *Dance of Death*. Lavinia’s death is only metaphorical and the descent to the underworld will be replaced with psychological treatment and a journey into her unconscious, as in Rimbaud’s *A Season in Hell*.

In my paper I will analyze the connection between the ancient myth and the 20th century play as well as its relation to Euripides’ adaptation. I will also look into the various interpretations of the myth and into how T. S. Eliot placed an ancient Greek play in a contemporary setting which could also become actual.

¹ In English rough translation with using the translation quoted by Peter Hanak in his monography [cf. Hanak 1999: 106]: “Oh Lord, give everybody his own death. / The dying, which comes from that life, / Where he had love, reason and need.” This poem is from his collection *The Book of Hours* [*Stundenbuch*].

2. The Myth of Alcestis

“Friends, I believe my wife is happier than I
although I know she does not seem to be.”

Euripides: *Alcestis* [trans. Richmond Lattimore]
[Euripides 2013: 49]

This myth has its origin in Pherae [in Thessaly]² where Admetus was king. At the time Apollo worked for him as a day-labourer [Apollodorus 1976: 41]³ and, to repay Admetus’s good and fair treatment, he helped him fulfil the conditions⁴ that would enable him to propose to king Pelias’s daughter Alcestis. Heracles also gave him a helping hand in taming the beasts [Graves 1960: 303]. We do not know why but Admetus forgot about the sacrifice to Artemis before the wedding and he only found snakes instead of his bride on the marriage couch, so he turned again to Apollo. Apollo interceded for Admetus before Artemis, so after offering the sacrifice he could propitiate her and he even obtained her promise that when his death came, he could avoid it if somebody from his family voluntarily chose to die for the love of him. Unfortunately, his death came sooner than he had expected, but Apollo got the Fates drunk and they were unable to cut his life’s thread, so Admetus gained a little time to beg his parents to sacrifice their life for him [ibid.: 303].

Only his wife Alcestis did it for him, but as for her death there are two variations: the first one is that after her death the gods of the underworld readmitted her to the upper world in respect of her sacrifice, and the second one is that Heracles rescued her after struggling with the Death [Apollodorus 1976: 41].⁵ In Plato’s *The Symposium* they talked about the first variant and they compared her character with Orpheus, but in their opinion Orpheus was a cowardly person, so he was not able to die for his beloved and that was why the gods gave only the

² Karl Kerényi claims that according to that version of the myth which survived, Orpheus’s story also began in Thessaly, where Heracles had already brought back Alcestis from the underworld [Kerényi 1958: 302].

³ Cf. 1.9.15.

⁴ To yoke a lion and a wild boar to the same chariot and drive them around the race-course [Graves 1960: 303].

⁵ Cf. 1.9.15.

image of his wife, but he could not get even her image [Plato 1951: 43–44].⁶

Euripides's *Alcestis* was presented in 438 BC and in his tetralogy it was the satyr play.⁷ Zsigmon Ritoók points out that the play was performed shortly after Sophocles's *Antigone* in which the chorus says that mankind has nothing to worry about except for death⁸ [Ritoók 2006: 442]. In Euripides's play we can see that what happens when somebody has the choice of avoiding death at the expense of his or her beloved's life is very important. As György Karsai points out, Admetus should not have not grasped Apollo's opportunity because there was no kind of punishment if he refused it [Karsai 2008: 38]. In a profane comparison, it is just like winning in the lottery: it's your decision whether to take the prize or not.⁹ Ritoók emphasizes that in her fatal decision Antigone could rely on the objective divine law, but in the case of Admetus and Alcestis they did not have any kind of objective scale of values, so their decision was based upon merely a human scale of values. When Admetus made his decision, he thought that life was more important and Alcestis chose death but after her death Admetus realised that he had made a mistake because he had lost everything which was important in his life, although his wife was to attain glory [Ritoók 2006: 443].

⁶ In Ovidius's *Metamorphoses* Orpheus was a strong-minded character who could negotiate with the gods. Jan Kott points out that with Admetus's character Euripides parodied different myths, e. g. Orpheus and Eurydice [cf. Euripides 2013: 32–33] and Protesilaus and Laodamia [cf. *ibid.*: 32]. In Kott's interpretation Admetus is a cowardly and hypocritical person [Kott 1974: 93–95].

⁷ To define its genre is a very problematic issue, Kott said: "It has been called a romantic comedy and a melodrama, a tragi-comedy and the bastard offspring of satyr drama and tragedy, a romance, a grotesque, a burlesque." [Kott 1974: 89]. For space reasons, I will not discuss it.

⁸ "He can always help himself. / He faces no future helpless. There's only death / that he cannot find an escape from. He has contrived / refuge from illnesses once beyond all cure." [Sophocles 2013:149].

Kott has a very interesting analysis of the beginning of Euripides's *Alcestis* where the chorus mourn the dead Asclepius [Apollo's son] who was struck to death by Zeus's lightning because he could resurrect people, and now there is no hope that he could help them [Kott 1974: 90; cf. Euripides 2013: 25–26].

⁹ As in the Hungarian contemporary György Spiró's play *Prah*, where a relatively poor couple wins the lottery but they burn the winning lottery ticket ['prah' means 'powder' in Serbian] fearing the huge amount of money.

3. The Comparison of Euripides's Play and T. S. Eliot's Adaptation

'prah' means 'powder' in Serbian "But tell me,
Since this is how you see me, why did you come back?"

T. S. Eliot: *The Cocktail Party* [Eliot 1982: 394]

Given the spatial and temporal distance, T. S. Eliot has a different attitude to the myth, so for him the woman who was taken back from among the dead is parallel with Christ's resurrection [in his play *Celia* is crucified]. On this issue it is worth mentioning the contemporary British poet Carol Ann Duffy's *Mrs. Lazarus*, where the biblical Lazarus's resurrection is described from his wife's point of view, so the partner in marriage who was taken back to life by Jesus reminds us of the myth of Alcestis.

Carol H. Smith argues that Eliot's play was modelled on ancient Greek sources in terms of structure, plot and characters [Smith 2009: 252], unlike his first play *Murder in the Cathedral*. Eliot must have known that most people were unable to recognise the hidden references, so he had to explain, even to his friends, that in *The Cocktail Party* he had made an adaptation of Euripides's play. As he said in his famous essay *Poetry and Drama*, he liked to use Greek sources but only as a starting point for his theme, after which he was about "to conceal the origins so well that nobody would identify them until I pointed them out myself." [Eliot 1980: 144].

Smith points out that Eliot and some writers of his generation thought that ancient plays were the earliest sources of ritual drama, which was based on fertility ceremonies. It was the effect of Frazer's *The Golden Bough* on cultural anthropology. Frazer and his followers thought that the ancient type of drama was universal due to the ceremonies, but the later forms of plays reflected people's need for religious rituals and "primitive" spiritual expressions [Smith 2009: 251]. Eliot's protagonists live in a materialistic world and, as Smith says, his plays are about "a protagonist's struggle to recognize and pursue a spiritual path in a world that fails to acknowledge his mission." [ibid.: 252].

The Cocktail Party was produced on August 22, 1949, at Edinburgh Festival and was directed by E. Martin Browne [Eliot 1982: 442]. Like Euripides's play, Eliot's is also a strange mixture of genres. His play is a comedy rather than a tragedy, for at the end of the play *Celia* dies. It is a naturalistic drama, a drawing-room play [in 1949!] written in verse.

Some of the characters of the ancient play are split into two personalities: the self-sacrificing Alcestis into Lavinia and Celia, the whimsy but helping Heracles into Julia [who is pulling the strings in the background] and Reilly the psychologist. Eliot's Admetus, called Edward, is a lawyer and he owns a smaller drawing-room. The scenes are only indoor ones, but Kott emphasizes that even in Euripides's play inner spaces [mostly the bedroom] have a huge role, even though Euripides's play is performed in front of Admetus's palace [Kott 1974: 80–81]. In Eliot's play the main scene is Edward's drawing-room and Reilly's consulting room, which both point to the inner spaces of the human soul.

Thanatos, the Death, does not appear on the stage. Unlike Euripides's adaptation, Lavinia's death and coming back to life are only metaphorical: after she unexpectedly abandons her husband¹⁰, letting him down with the cocktail party, there is a doubling of the descent into the underworld, for Lavinia comes back twice and Edward also comes upon Reilly's help with his treatment.

Eliot's plot begins with Lavinia's disappearance and Edward's distress at being a host at their wrecked party, just like Admetus's at the unexpected arrival of his old friend Heracles on the day of Alcestis's death. Eliot writes about what could have happened after Alcestis came back. In Euripides's adaptation of the myth, Heracles brings Alcestis back as a veiled woman and persuades his friend to receive her as a gift, although Admetus promised his wife a few hours before that he would not marry again after her death,¹¹ and so she is a hidden eyewitness to his betrayal, like Molière's Orgon who hides under the table and can see the duplicity of his protégé Tartuffe.

T. S. Eliot continues Euripides's play with what could have happened when Alcestis started talking after three days.¹² As Kott says: "the comedy will begin when Alcestis regains her speech after three days." [Kott 1974: 88].

Richard P. Martin points out that in Euripides's play the staging of Heracles's heroic deed is connected to the ritual of the ancient *agônes*,

¹⁰ It is a witty idea by Eliot that when Lavinia is out, Julia says that she is in house of her sick aunt in *Dedham* [in Essex].

¹¹ He said her: "do not fear, since you / were mine in my life, you still shall be my bride in death / and you alone, no other girl in Thessaly / shall ever be called wife of Admetus in your place." [Euripides 2013: 32].

¹² In Euripides's play Alcestis who had just come back from the underworld was not allowed to speak until after three days [cf. Euripides 2013: 55].

which reflects an analogy between athletics and theatrical performance, for at these festivals mythic heroes were staged as athletes [Martin 2009: 44]. Heracles also describes how he wants to take on Death in wrestling: "I must go there [to Alcestis's grave] and watch for Death of the black robes, / [...] / Then, if I can break suddenly from my hiding place, / catch him, and hold him in the circle of these arms, / there is no one who will able to break my hold / on his bruised ribs, until he gives the woman / up to me." [Euripides 2013: 47].¹³

In Euripides's play death and the descent to the underworld is a physical struggle.¹⁴ At the end of the 19th century it was rather psychological, as in Rimbaud's *A Season in Hell* [1873] and Hilda Doolittle's *Helen in Egypt* [written between 1952-1954, published in 1961].¹⁵ In Eliot's adaptation it turns into an inner journey and his hero brings Edward and Lavinia back from their psychical depths.¹⁶ Heracles unveils Alcestis, the silent unknown woman and with his gesture he shows Admetus's unfaithfulness to his wife, whereas in Eliot's play the veil is a metaphorical cataract of lies which will be cured by the Unknown Guest, Reilly.

During the psychological therapy Reilly wants to make sure that his patients return to their original self, which is not forced onto them by the society. His aim is to clean up his patients' individual selves from the roles which were deposited on them and from that state of emptiness. Taking a new role is for them like a moral resurrection. Their emptied entities are described as ghosts, as Lavinia describes herself to Edward: "I thought that if I died / To you, I who had been a ghost to you, / You might be able to find the road back / To a time when you were real" [Eliot 1982: 396], to which Edward replies: "Without her, it was vacancy. / When I thought she had left me, I began to dissolve, / To cease to exist." [ibid.: 403]. Roland Barthes describes the withdrawn lover with the term *fading*, one who turns into a living person without a contour, like Ulysses's mother when Ulysses cannot hug her in the underworld

¹³ Martin points out the interesting etymology of the word 'agony', which comes from the meaning of 'competition'. [Martin 2009: 44-45].

¹⁴ Although Julia asked Lavinia when she came back: "You don't know where you were? Lavinia! / Don't tell me you were abducted!" [Eliot 1982: 390].

¹⁵ Her main source was Euripides's *Helen*.

¹⁶ Edward said: „What is hell? Hell is oneself, / Hell is alone, the other figures in it / Merely projections. / There is nothing from / And nothing to escape to. One is always alone." [Eliot 1982: 397].

no matter how hard he tries [Barthes 1990: 113]. This therapy has a theatrical context because the patient can choose whether to adopt a new role or keep his old one. It has parallels with the phenomenon described in the framed story *The Myth of Er* of Plato's *The Republic*. The narrator describes that in the underworld Lachesis, who is one of the Moirai, calls the souls of the dead who are waiting for their rebirth to choose a Guardian Spirit [i. e. daimon] and a life pattern which they must cling to [cf. Plato 1987: 451–452]. This is similar to the birth described in Calderón's play *The Great Theatre of the World* where God casts the roles of his play to the souls who are waiting to be born. Julia, who is Reilly's hidden assistant in his treatment, says: "And now, when they stripped naked to their souls / And can choose, whether to put on proper costumes / Or huddle quickly into new disguises, / They have, for the first time, somewhere to start from." [Eliot 1982: 421].

T. S. Eliot places the descent to the underworld on a metaphorical and psychical level where hell becomes an inner place within the individual. Heracles with superhuman power can bring Alcestis back from among the dead, but in Eliot's play he is replaced with a psychologist who is the hero of his time and he can bring back desperate people from the abyss of their desperation. Reilly's character is analogous to that of a detective¹⁷ in cases of diagnosis or that of a penitentiary, who is the hero of the medieval moralities.

¹⁷ It is worth mentioning that Agatha Christie published her short story collection *The Labours of Hercules* in 1947 [two years before the presentation of Eliot's play] where her protagonist *Hercule Poirot* was collated with his ancient namesake.

4. Conclusion

Celia: "Oh, Edward! Can you be happy with Lavinia?"
Edward: "No – not happy: or, if there is any happiness,
Only the happiness of knowing
That the misery does not feed on the ruin of loveliness,
That the tedium is not the residue of ecstasy."

T. S. Eliot: *The Cocktail Party* [Eliot 1982: 381]

Euripides's play is based on a typical tragic situation: Admetus can only make bad decisions. If he refuses Apollo's gift and dies, he will save a life but their children will remain fatherless. If he stays alive, it will be at the expense of another life. If he receives his old friend during the time of mourning, he will breach mourning. If he does not receive Heracles, he acts like an improper host. If he takes the veiled woman into his house, he will breach his promise to his wife who has just died for him. If he refuses Heracles's gift, the latter will bother him. Furthermore the end of the play is also very problematic, as Kott and Karsai point out: after Heracles unveils the woman, the play turns into a tragedy: if Heracles were not joking and Alcestis were not under the veil, Admetus would be standing there ashamed, hand in hand with an unknown woman [Kott 1974: 88–89.]. There is no 'happy end' because his wife has just seen that her husband would cheat on her on the first occasion [Karsai 2008: 38].

In Eliot's adaptation there is no real death in the case of Edward and Lavinia, but they, including Celia, also have to make important decisions during their therapy. They have two choices offered by Reilly: the first one is to return to the average days of everyday life "In a world of lunacy, / Violence, stupidity, greed" [Eliot 1982: 418], but Reilly adds that "it is a good life" [ibid.: 418], and the second one is the spiritual rebirth, as Reilly says: "The second is unknown, and so requires faith – / [...] / The destination cannot be described; / You will know very little until you get there" [ibid.: 418]. Due to the opportunities offered by Reilly, who is in Eliot's play the modern equivalent of Hercules, this motif suggests an analogy with an ancient story called *The Choice of Heracles* told by Prodicus, which is recorded in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. This myth is about the young Heracles who was

tempted by the female allegories of Vice¹⁸ and Virtue who would like to win him over to their own walk of life. In this interpretation Celia chooses the way of Virtue, and she will rise above the world of everyday life: she joins an order and as a nurse goes to Kinkanja where she dies a martyr when the rioting natives crucify her near an ant-hill.

Unlike her choice, Edward and Lavinia remain in their older situation, and, as in absurd drama, we come back to the beginning of the play: it begins and ends with a cocktail party. It is up to the spectator to decide whether the play ends with the happy reunion of Edward and Lavinia or with their temporary armistice.

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¹⁸ In that story Vice means only the easily obtainable happiness and laziness for doing remarkable deeds.

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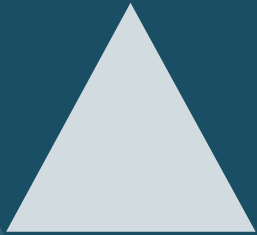
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ISSN 2285-682X



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DEBRECEN UNIVERSITY PRESS, Debrecen
PARTIUM PRESS, Oradea
2016

