DISTINGUISHED SZEGED STUDENT PAPERS

Papers in English & American Studies XXV.
Acta Iuvenum III.

DISTINGUISHED SZEGED STUDENT PAPERS 2024

Edited by
ATTILA KISS

Szeged 2024

Papers in English & American Studies is published by the
Institute of English & American Studies (IEAS)
of the University of Szeged

Series Editor:
GYÖRGY E. SZŐNYI

Technical Editor:
ZOLTÁN KOCSIS

Design:
ETELKA SZŐNYI

©2024 University of Szeged, IEAS
H–6722 SZEGED, Egyetem u. 2.
< www.ieas-szeged.hu >

ISSN 0230–2780 (PEAS)
ISSN 2063–7292 (AI)
ISBN 978–963–306–983–7

CONTENTS

Laura Ádám, *Once Upon a Time:* A Postmodern Fairy-Tale Adaptation? 9
Abstract 9
1. Introduction 9
2. Adaptations, fairy tales, and the postmodern 10
3. Fairy tales on the screen: From the Disney spell to transmedia storytelling 12
4. *OUAT* and its critical reception 15
5. Fairy-tale Pastiches 16
5.1. Generic remix 17
5.2. Disenchanting True Love and Happily Ever Afters 20
5.3. The bold portrayal of families 22
6. Magical Metafictionality 24
6.1. The Price of Magic 25
6.2. Book as a magical object and its metafictional implications 26
7. The Limits of Postmodernism 27
8. Conclusion 29
Bibliography 30
Primary sources: 30
Secondary sources: 31

Doloresz Baranyi, Art and Nationhood Intertwined: Constructing British Selves through Mid to Late Eighteenth-Century Paintings 33
Abstract 33
1. Introduction 33
2. Commercializing patriotism 37
2.1. A society of looking 40
3. Learning to approach art 42
3.1. Business and pleasure 45
4. Portraying the nation 48
4.1. Satire and 'Englishness' 48
4.2. Grand portraits 57
4.3. Landscapes and the rural poor 63
4.4. Modernized histories 65
5. Conclusion 69
Bibliography 69
Primary Sources: 69
Secondary Sources 70

Benedek Bernát Bereznai, Online and offline gamer identity and how it manifests through interaction 73
Abstract 73
1. Introduction 73
1.1. Why is the gamer identity relevant? 73
1.2. Background to the study 74
1.3. Aims of the study 74
2. Theoretical and empirical background 74
2.1. Identity 74
2.2. Pragmatics 76
3. Methodology 78
3.1. Research questions 78
3.2. The context 78
3.3. Participants 78
3.4. Data collection instrument and procedure 79
3.5. Data analysis 80
4. Results and discussion 80
4.1. The players' online identity 80
4.2. Hypotheses results 87
4.3. Link between the players' offline and online identity 88
4.4. Strengths, weaknesses, and limitations of the study 90
5. Conclusion 90
Bibliography 91
Appendices 92

Bence Gyuris, Language attitudes of Hungarian speakers towards Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle varieties of English 105
Abstract 105
1. Introduction 105
2. Literature Review 106
2.1. Variation in language in general 107
2.2. Variation in English 107
2.3. Questions of the standard(s) 109
2.4. Language attitudes 110
3. Methodology 111
3.1. The speakers 111
3.2. The participants 113
3.3. Data collection 113
3.4. Data analysis 113
4. Discussion 113
4.1. Inner Circle Speakers 114
4.2. Outer Circle Speakers 116
4.3. Expanding Circle Speakers 118
4.4. Tendencies across the three circles 120
4.5. Status vs. solidarity traits 121
5. Conclusion 123
Bibliography 124

Ádám Iványkovits, From Imitations to Lovecraftian Narratives The Main Differences between Lovecraft's Early and Later Stories 127
Abstract 127
1. Introduction 127
2. Lovecraft's thematic concerns and story-telling methods 128
3. Lovecraft's Tales Preceding "The Call of Cthulhu" 131
4. The Precursors of Lovecraft 133
5. "The Call of Cthulhu" and Later Narratives 136
6. Conclusion 140
References 142
Primary Sources 142
Secondary Sources 142

Zoltán Kocsis, Comparing Peter Shaffer's *Equus* and Harold Pinter's *The Birthday Party* through Psychoanalysis and the Theory of the Subject 145
Abstract 145
1. Introduction 145
2. Historical and Societal Background 147
3. *The Birthday Party* by Harold Pinter 148
4. *Equus* by Peter Shaffer 153
5. Comparing the Plays 156
6. Conclusion 159
Reference List 160
Primary Sources 160
Secondary Sources 160

Fatine Leknouche, Postcolonial Rewriting in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* 163
Abstract 163
1. Introduction 163
2. Postcolonial Literature and the Problem of Rewriting 165
2.1. Orientalism and literature 165
2.2. Postcolonial rewriting 169
2.3. Linguistic hybridity in Postcolonial studies 172
3. J. M. Coetzee and postcolonial rewriting 173
3.1. J. M. Coetzee's rewriting of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* 174
3.2. J. M. Coetzee's *In the Heart of the Country* as a response to *Heart of Darkness* 176
4. Hybridity and rewriting of J. M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* 177
4.1. J. M. Coetzee and Joseph Conrad on Africa 177
4.2. Hybrid position and otherness of characters in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* 179
4.3. Linguistic hybridity in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* 181
5. Conclusion 182
Reference list 183

Anna Szabó, Dreams and nightmares of the future: utopia and dystopia in H. G. Wells' *The Time Machine* 185
Abstract 185
1. Introduction 185
2. Theoretical Background 186
3. *The Time Machine* seen as utopia 190
4. *The Time Machine* seen as dystopia 194
5. Conclusion 200
Reference List 201

Dóra Varga, The Gentleman, the Tradesman, the Patriarch and the Rake: The Different Types of Masculinities in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* 203
Abstract 203
1. Introduction 203
2. The Construction of Masculinity: Hegemonic and Alternative Masculinities 204
3. Masculinity in the Regency Period 205
4. Character analysis 206
4.1. Mr. Darcy: The Ideal Burkean Gentleman Improved 206
4.2. Mr. Bingley: The Journey of a Tradesman Becoming an English Gentleman 209
4.3. Mr. Bennet: The Antithesis of a Patriarch 213
4.4. Mr. Wickham: A Libertine in the Militia 216
5. Conclusion 220
Reference list 221
Primary source: 221
Secondary sources: 221

Dávid Vatai, *Grindcore Aesthetic* 223
Abstract 223
1. Introduction 223
2. Grindcore Music and Lyrics 224
2.1. General Characteristics 224
2.2. Subgenres and Related Styles 227
3. Grindcore Artwork 233
3.1. Logos and Cover Art 233
3.2. Similarities with Dadaism 238
4. Cultural Characteristics of the Grindcore Scene 242
4.1. Subculture vs. Scene 242
4.2. Basic Principles 243
4.3. Disparities within the Scene 247
5. Conclusion 248
Bibliography 249
Discography 252
Appendix 253

Laura Ádám

Once Upon a Time: A Postmodern Fairy-Tale Adaptation?*

Abstract

This thesis aims to analyse the hit television series *Once Upon a Time* (henceforth abbreviated as *OUAT*) as an ambiguous postmodern fairy-tale adaptation. First, the history of fairy-adaptations will be traced from the beginning of postmodern literary retellings to modern filmic and television adaptations in which I will locate the series. I will rely on Bachhilega's (1997, 2013) observations regarding postmodern fairy-tale adaptations and Zipes' (1999, 2011) studies on Disney to examine how *OUAT* subverts some fairy-tale conventions but also reaffirms others in a true postmodern fashion. I will also list previous research that examined the series from the point of view of marketing strategies (Hay and Baxter 2014), the magical realism present in the series (Schwabe 2014), and the topography of genres discernible in the series (Williams 2021). I will discuss how the series goes against the traditional representation of genres, True Love, happy endings, and family while also addressing the underlying metafictional implications in the workings of *OUAT*. At the end of my thesis, I will also address the limits of this postmodernism resulting in the series still remaining in some respects heteronormative, Americanized, and classist, serving the main goal of gaining profit.

1. Introduction

The analysis of the functions and effects of fairy tales is considerably not a new phenomenon, even when taking into account that the academic field of fairy-tale studies is a fairly new one. Stemming from the study of folklore, the study of folktales has been a significant predecessor of fairy-tale scholarship. With the institutionalisation of fairy tales by collectors such as the Brothers Grimm or Charles Perrault, the fairy tale as a literary genre has been sedimented into literature (Zipes 1999, 334), albeit often treated as part of the canonically inferior genre of children's literature. Ever since then, scholars have been fascinated with the history and the future of fairy tales, including their narratological strategies and psychological effects, their multiple sources and possible revisions or repurposing. Postmodernism had an especially powerful impact on the genre's formation and evaluation. With the foregrounding of the use of irony, pastiche, and metanarrative, the intertextual web of fairy tales became an even more vibrant site for discussion and reflection on the conventions and subversions of a multifaceted tradition.

Scholars like Cristina Bacchilega (1997, 2013) or Jack Zipes (1999) observe how adaptations disrupt and reconstruct certain elements of the fairy tale. Bacchilega (1997, 7) suggests that postmodern adaptations of fairy tales have the potential to simultaneously disrupt and reaffirm their source texts. With the emergence of television, fairy tales had a new medium to be adapted to. The genre is especially suitable for adaptation because it allows for audience identification with well-known plot patterns and characters while offering ground for new experimentations (Greenhill and Rudy 2014, 2), provocative refocalisations, and demythologisations. The success of the revamped genre is proven by the recent proliferation of postmodernised fairy-tale television series such as *Once Upon a Time* (henceforward abbreviated as *OUAT*) and Grimm concerned with putting a new twist to old stories (Greenhill and Rudy 2014, 2–3).

---

* BA Thesis. Supervisor: Anna Kérchy.

In my thesis, I wish to demonstrate postmodernised fairy tales' ambiguity – the creative combination of the reiteration and the subversion of an age-old genre – that blockbuster television series like *OUAT* strategically rely on. I observe the postmodern strategies employed in *OUAT* with a special focus on how fairy-tale pastiches subvert traditional expectations about the genre, how they revisit subversively the concept of True Love and Happily Ever After as well as the portrayal of families. I also observe how the depiction of magic serves as a metafictional tool for reflection on consumerism in a postmodern context. I argue that there is a limit to this postmodernist revision since the series still remains to some extent ageist, classist, stereotypically American, and generally heteronormative with a profit-oriented agenda. In fact, the postmodern ambiguity defining contemporary fairy-tale television products is a result of the strategic wedding of the conservative repetition and the daring revision of a familiarly unfamiliar genre.

2. Adaptations, fairy tales, and the postmodern

Adapting stories is not a new phenomenon; from ancient Greece to the Victorian era, people have been adapting and re-adapting texts since the dawn of time. However, there has been a recent increase in the number of adaptations due to the technological progress of the 20th and 21st centuries; adaptations nowadays do not appear only in books, on stage, or in radio programmes anymore, but they also proliferate in television programmes, cinemas, and on numerous social media platforms of the internet as well, including fanfiction, vlogs, memes, tiktok videos, while also often being in interaction with each other, making the medial shift or interference between adaptations much more complex than it has been before.

Linda Hutcheon (2013) locates the reason for adaptation's popularity in her book, *A Theory of Adaptation,* in adaptations' "palimpsestuous" (21) nature meaning that the audience's experience is twofold: on the one hand, audiences are familiar with the source-text the adaptation recycles; on the other hand, they also experience said adaptation as a separate entity on its own right (6–7); hence old and new converge in the hybrid outcome. Despite their popularity, adaptations are often regarded as inferior in comparison to their original source material. This stems from a much debated expectation of fidelity criticism: the misconception that adaptations should always aim to replicate the source text as faithfully as possible. Hutcheon (2013) also emphasises that these prejudices against adaptations are superfluous: adaptations should not be evaluated only in relation to their source(s); they should be treated as revisions, taking into account the aforementioned duplicity of remake and originality (6).

This palimpsestuous nature of adaptations is especially crucial when it comes to fairy-tale retellings since in the case of a genre like the fairy tale, which is rooted in the oral tradition, the source materials are more often than not multiple and fragmented. Fairy tales exist in countless different versions; the fairy tale Cinderella in itself has over thousand versions across the world (Zipes 2011, 172) and therefore identifying one source material is a challenge even when an adaptation works only with "one" fairy tale. The series in the focus of my analysis, *OUAT,* alludes to several literary fairy tales in its narrative, to Disney movies in its visual design, while the plot often includes elements from myths, legends, and canonical literature as well. A simple comparison to the source materials is thus almost impossible and futile; this is the reason why my analysis of the series focuses on postmodern narrative strategies instead of comparing original and remake.

Fairy tales are among the most popular topics to adapt, whether in literature, on screen, or as video games. This popularity can be attributed to their proliferation in popular cultural knowledge but also to the genre's "multiplicity" (Williams 2021, 28) meaning that fairy tales engage multiple sources at once, making fairy tales an already intertextual genre. Another reason

why the genre is still relevant today can be located in the functions fairy tales fulfil, appealing to all kinds of audiences from children to adult. In her book *Postmodern Fairy Tales: Gender and Narrative Strategies,* fairy-tale scholar Cristina Bacchilega (1997) proposes that "[t]he fairy tale's magic fulfills multiple desires" (5). When thinking about fairy tales, one would usually associate them with children's literature; for children, fairy tales are a way of learning about the world and the functioning of society through their "symbolically powerful scenarios and options, in which seemingly unpromising heroes succeed in solving some problems for modern children" (5). One desire therefore that the fairy tale's magic fulfils is the desire for hope. The genre itself is often referenced as the literature of hope due to its empowering messages about the redeeming powers of love, family, a belief in magical coincidence, the empowerment of the powerless, and happy endings rewarding the good meant to triumph over the evil. Another function of fairy tales that Bacchilega highlights is that the genre in itself is a transitional genre through which one can access cultural knowledge amassed in the past (5). The classic literary tales of the Brothers Grimm or Charles Perrault originate from folkloric traditions of storytelling so the fairy tale in itself is a "borderline" (3) genre, bearing the traces of oral storytelling practices (3). This factor makes fairy-tale materials popular and convenient for adaptation.

The fairy tale is often dismissed as children's literature and therefore considered as a canonically inferior genre due to the tales fulfilling the aforementioned role of providing hope. However, literary fairy tales as a genre of children's literature only emerged in the 19th century with the institutionalisation of folktales, which took place with a specific educational and didactic purpose (Zipes 1999, 334–335). While the genre's history as "literature of childhood" (Bacchilega 1997, 3) cannot be ignored, these tales also function as "ideologically variable desire machines", Bacchilega (1997, 7) argues. Here, the author suggests that fairy tales always reflect, to some degree, the sociocultural contexts and dominant ideologies of the era in which they are told or retold accounting for another reason why fairy tales are so prone to be subjects of adaptations. This can be observed in the case of the Brothers Grimm's and Perrault's institutionalisation of folktales, as well as in the case of Disney's Americanisation of European literary tales (Zipes 1999, 332–335), but Bacchilega's theory is also applicable to the television series *OUAT.* The series reflects the need for a revision of fairy tales in a more adult context, and it subverts many fairy tale conventions such as True Love or the concept of Happily Ever After, but the narrative remains Americanized, still managing to reproduce some of the dominant stereotypes about class, age, and heterosexuality.

A philosophical movement that has resonated with the penchant for adaptation of fairy tales was postmodernism. The appearance of postmodern literature called into question previously established binaries of storytelling conventions with the use of irony, the destabilisation of hierarchical binaries (such as evil-good distinctions), the unsettling of narratological conventions, and metafictionality, a commentary on the textual construction and hence deconstructability or rewritability of the fictional universe. Postmodern fiction also destabilises grand master narratives – like Truth, History or Humanity – by utilising pastiche, metanarratives, temporal disorder and fragmentation but also by recycling elements of fiction such as characters, plots or settings to disrupt the coherence of a narrative and convey a certain feeling of precariousness (Barry 2011, 171–175). These postmodern strategies can also be observed in postmodern fairy-tale retellings.

The most prominent postmodern narrative strategies used in *OUAT*'s fairy-tale television are pastiche, spatiotemporal confusion, and metafictionality. Jeana Jorgensen coined the term "fairy-tale pastiche" (Jorgensen in Williams 2021, 24) to encompass all the fragmented ways fairy-tale motifs can intertextually appear recycled in narratives from well-known motifs to characters to plot elements (Jorgensen in Williams 2021, 24). Fairy-tale pastiche is central to the

narrative of *OUAT* since the entire plot revolves around mixing and clashing different fairy-tale patterns, tropes, and stories, whether these be characters, magical objects, costumes, conflicts, resolutions, or coincidental turns of events. Temporal disorder can also be observed in the series: the story constantly switches between the past and present of characters, but the anachronistic feature of the series also manifests in the way it transports characters from a distant archaic past typical of fairy tales into our modern world and into the anachronistic cursed town of Storybrooke of 1983. Metafictionality as a postmodern strategy also appears in *OUAT;* the term refers to a practice which comments on the relationship of author and consumer, or on the process of media creation. *OUAT*'s metafictionality manifests in its portrayal of magic: the laws at work in the universe of the series and the magical object of the storybook offer metafictional critique on consumerism and fairy tales.

The effects of postmodernism were especially prominent in the 1970s when the need for a revision of fairy tales increased, and an incentive to look at Grimms' and Perrault's fairy tales in a different light emerged in Europe and North America (Bacchilega 2013, 6–7). As the second wave of feminism appeared around this time, so did the field of literature and literary criticism shift its focus towards intertextuality and metafiction (Joosen in Bacchilega 2013, 8) and start questioning the messages fairy tales might project about women. From Angela Carter's "demythologizing narratives" (Bacchilega 1997, 141) to Jack Zipes' mission to break the "Disney spell" (1999, 352), writers and scholars alike called into question the ideologies represented in the fairy-tale genre. Bacchilega (2013, 5) attributes this need for revision to the general dissatisfaction of the public with fairy tales' magic which is often regarded as a "trick" (5) or "deception" (5). Using the previously mentioned claim about how fairy tales have ideologically fuelled narrative frameworks, Bacchilega (1997) suggests that postmodern fairy tale adaptations have the potential to simultaneously reaffirm and subvert traditional storytelling conventions, even within the same text (7). Taking all these factors into account, I would argue that *OUAT* aims to unmask the fairy tale's deceptive magic by the use of metafictionality, the mixing of genres, and disenchanting the concept of Happily Ever After and True Love, responding to the dissatisfaction of contemporary audiences with the traditional and limited representation of these concepts. However, the series also meets the criteria of the fairy-tale genre by responding to the need for re-enchantment in a post-Disney era and still remains to some extent idealistic and still carries positive messages about hope and love. By following Bacchilega's definition, throughout my analysis of *OUAT* as an ambiguous postmodern fairy tale adaptation, I will demonstrate how *OUAT* utilises both postmodern strategies of subversion and more conservative means of reaffirmation of the fairy-tale tradition.

3. Fairy tales on the screen: From the Disney spell to transmedia storytelling

With the appearance of animation in cinema at the turn of the twentieth century, a new mode of adapting emerged; animators like Walter Booth or Lotte Reiniger were among the first ones to utilise the fairy-tale genre in animation (Zipes 1999, 339). However, the one who had the most influence in the field of animating fairy tales was Walt Disney, whose adaptations also bear the aforementioned dual function of simultaneous affirmation and subversion of conventions.

By today's standards, Disney adaptations are ingrained into popular culture, and contemporary scholars theorise that most people nowadays grow up only knowing these versions of fairy tales, often having not read the literary versions at all (Kérchy 2019, 122; Williams 2021, 51). The idealised messages about hope and love resonate with many viewers, and the stories do possess the wish-fulfilment quality of fairy tales that Bacchilega observes. Many would even consider Disney as an entry point into the world of fairy tales for young children, claiming that the

movies encourage them to discover the literary versions of fairy tales, thus propagating the love for literature.

Despite (or maybe due to) their immense popularity and proliferation in contemporary popular culture, these adaptations received and continue to receive much critique from fairy tale scholars to this day, demonstrating that there is a negative side of Disney. Jack Zipes (1999) has critiqued Disney in his essay, "Breaking the Disney Spell" for appropriating and misrepresenting European fairy tales and accused Disney of using fairy tales as a means to glorify his own artistic talents alongside with enlacing them with typical promises of the "American dream" such as technological progress, social ascension, and democratisation as natural outcomes of hard work and wit (342–344). Disney's animation serves to laud the talents of the animator, and the focus shifts from the plot to the animator's artistic capabilities (342). Zipes also remarks that Disney deprives viewers of their own interpretative processes concerning these tales, since "the images and sequences engender a sense of wholeness, seamless totality" (351) providing them with some amount of "scopophilic pleasure" (345) but not inviting them to further reflect upon the story (351–352). Disney is also often criticised for wanting to maintain the image of his stories as devoid of political messages, when in fact, they are not; as Zipes (1999) argues, these adaptations have an Americanized, democratised storyline. Further points of criticisms the Disney corporation receives concern its profit-orientated brand-building, encouraging children to "become insatiable consumers of commodified fantasies" (Kérchy 2018, 224) and the "Disneyfication" (224) of fairy tales referring to a process when

> stories are rendered "safe" for juvenile audience through the removal of undesirable plot elements (themes of sexuality, death, or moral ambiguity), the emphasis of the clear-cut dividing line between good and evil, additions of light entertainment features (Broadway-style music hits, talking animal sidekicks), and reworkings necessary for happily-ever-after endings. (Kérchy 2018, 224)

The ambiguous nature of Disney's adaptations is further proven when analysing the representation of families. A study conducted by Litsa Renée Tanner and her colleagues observing the images of families in Disney's animated feature-length films from 1937 to 2000 found that the family relationships were emphasised in more than half of the movies, which was often supported by the way characters related to their families and how they helped each other (367), therefore family is a central theme of Disney adaptations. When looking at the types of families represented, alternative families (families consisting of a single parent or step parent) were in majority in these movies, while traditional families were less dominantly present; in some cases, both could be found (2003, 367). However, the depiction of parents was rather traditional; mothers were often portrayed as passive nurturers, while fathers were seen as either controlling and aggressive or loving caregivers who often sacrificed themselves to save their children (371). The movies said little about the process of the creation of families, and if so, this process was characterised by the characters marrying almost immediately after meeting; in some cases, the next scene might even show them already having children (364–365).

If we take these findings into account, we can see that Disney was innovative in some aspects, while still remained quite traditional in others. Jack Zipes (1999) also argued that the popularity of Disney fairy tales is due to "Disney's great talent for holding antiquated views of society still through animation" (351). Tanner and her colleague's findings tie in well with Zipes' criticism and also illustrate Bacchilega's claim about the duality of postmodern fairy-tale adaptation practices. *OUAT* alludes to Disney adaptations to a great extent, often parodying or even critiquing conventions established by the famous animation studio concerning genre, family, True Love, and happy endings which, I will highlight, serve postmodern narrative strategies.

The next big step for fairy-tale adaptations arrived with the appearance of television; as filmic storytelling has moved into people's homes, the genre of television series emerged. The particularity of this genre is that "television must produce parts that each week embody the whole while also finding, within such repetition, possibilities for novel and diverting variations" (Sconce in Greenhill and Rudy 2014, 2). Pauline Greenhill and Jill Terry Rudy (2014), the editors of *Channeling Wonder: Fairy Tales on Television,* observe in the introductory chapter of their book that this mode of adaptation is especially suitable for the fairy tale's narrative framework since audiences can identify with the familiar tales while experiencing the novelty of a different form of adaptation (2). *OUAT,* being a television series, follows this formatting rather precisely with a long-arc serial format "in which individual episodes resolve, but an overall story is told through a season or longer" (Greenhill and Rudy 2014, 6). This format suits fairy tales since the closure of each individual episode alludes to the familial practice of reading bedtime stories where each night parents and children read a short tale together from an anthology of fairy tales. Even the excitement of the child who awaits the next story is reproduced since the long-arc serial format ensures that viewers anticipate the next "night", meaning the next episode (Rafferty in Greenhill and Rudy 2014, 13).

With adaptations and storytelling conventions changing so drastically in the short span of a few decades, there has also been a shift in the way adaptations interact with each other and how audiences interact with them. The notion of "convergence culture" (Jenkins in Bacchilega 2013, 9) emerged, encompassing a new phenomenon "where old and new media collide, where grassroots and corporate media intersect, where the power of the media producer and the power of the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways" (Jenkins in Bacchilega 2013, 9). Media (and adaptations) therefore are no longer passively consumed; with the rise of the internet new spaces are provided for fans of different media texts to connect, interact, and generate new meanings while the media conglomerates that produce these texts offer merchandise or other financially motivated modes of fan interaction. Adaptations therefore often serve as a means to expand vast fictional universes or franchises established by media conglomerates, often motivated by the promise of profit. To handle these new dynamics of storytelling, Henry Jenkins (2007) introduces the concept of "transmedia storytelling" (1) in his article "Transmedia Storytelling 101" and defines it as a process "where integral elements of a fiction get dispersed systematically across multiple delivery channels for the purpose of creating a unified and coordinated entertainment experience." (1). Transmedia storytelling is a practice that conflates marketing and entertainment; it aims to create a more realistic narrative by expanding the stories of characters or events in order to invite new types of audiences or to maintain existing ones (4). Jenkins (2007) explains how these expansions happen by creating different "points of entry" (5) through which different types of audiences are able to enter a transmedia storyworld. This transmedia storytelling practice is especially prominent when it comes to fairy tales since the promise of wish fulfilment is an effective way of advertisement. Conflating magic with marketing is what the Disney Corporation does when selling and advertising merchandise: hundreds of thousands of items from costumes to household items to toiletries are dispersed to the consumers on a regular basis all aiming to commodify and commercialise, to "Disneyfy" (Kérchy 2018, 223).

OUAT can also be considered as such a point of entry to the vast transmedia storyworld of Disney, since the producing television company is owned by the Disney Corporation. The series has its own transmedia storyworld with a comic book and a novel as well as a spinoff series called *Once Upon a Time in Wonderland* to extend the universe of *OUAT,* but merchandise such as mugs or hoodies are also often advertised on the official social media platforms of the series. The show still tries to keep up fan engagement and an online media presence by posting images from iconic scenes on social media platforms such as Facebook or Instagram, despite the series

having ended five years ago, but the majority of the responses are only about how the fans miss the show so the success of this online engagement with fans is questionable.

4. *OUAT* and its critical reception

Once Upon a Time is an American fantasy drama television series produced by the television company ABC, directed by Edward Kitsis and Adam Horowitz. Episodes were aired between 2011 and 2018, the story expanding across six seasons with an additional, seventh reboot season. *OUAT* follows a long-arc serial format "in which individual episodes resolve, but an overall story is told through a season or longer" (Greenhill and Rudy 2014, 6). The plot takes place in a small town called Storybrooke, filled with characters from fairy tales who got transported to the real world by a curse cast by the evil queen, Regina. Due to the curse, they do not remember their previous lives except for the queen, who is the mayor of the town under the name of Regina Mills, and another powerful antagonistic figure in the story, Mr. Gold, who was previously known as Rumplestiltskin in fairy-tale land. Emma Swan, the protagonist of the series gets dragged into Storybrooke through the mediation of Henry Mills, who is the adopted son of Regina and simultaneously the child who Emma had given up for adoption twenty-eight years ago. Throughout season one, Henry tries to convince Emma that it is her destiny to break Regina's curse and bring back everyone's happy endings since she is the daughter of Snow White and Prince Charming. Emma is sceptical about the curse and her role throughout the season and only breaks the curse after Regina Mills involuntarily poisons Henry with the poisonous apple meant for Emma. The following seasons then centre around a wide range of conflicts from family through finding one's true love to the role of heroes and the importance of happy endings. After the second season, plots are divided into two parts with a mid-season hiatus, and each half season explores a separate arc. The seventh season is a reboot season and takes place in the future, when Henry has already grown up.[1] *OUAT* gained great popularity, especially in the first few years of airing and even taking into account the dwindling fanbase and the progressive loss of enthusiasm on the part of the viewers throughout the years, *OUAT* still possesses an overall rating of 7.9 on IMDb. The series was even nominated for the Primetime Emmy Awards three consecutive years from 2012 to 2014 and was nominated again in 2018; it also received many renowned awards such as the Teen Choice Awards in 2016. The series has been the subject of scholarly analysis as well.

Rebecca Hay and Christa Baxter (2014) explore the marketing strategies employed by the series in their essay "Happily Never After: The Commodification and Critique of Fairy Tale in ABC's *Once Upon a Time*" such as inviting fans to identify themselves with the characters and the promise of how "the real story behind all your favorite fables will be told." (Hay and Baxter, 2014, 319). The authors also argue that intermedial techniques are used when advertising the series to create and keep up fan engagement through the commodification of wonder.

Other scholars like Claudia Schwabe (2014) examined the relationship between fantasy and reality and how magical realism frames the narrative of *OUAT*. In her essay, "Getting Real with Fairy Tales: Magic Realism in *Grimm* and *Once Upon a Time*" Schwabe (2014) identifies the series

[1] Since this season is separate from the other seasons and does not feature many of the original characters, I will exclude this season from my analysis. I will also refer to episodes by indicating the number of the season and the episode, illustrated by the following example: s2e12, meaning that the episode is the twelfth episode in the second season. I will use this format of referencing for the sole reason that sometimes episodes within a season can have the same author; and to avoid confusion, I will also add the aforementioned abbreviation after the writer and the date of release of the episode, when referencing.

as a "reality fairy tale with a threshold" where magical and real intersect, creating a "third reality" besides the primary and the secondary world. The boundaries of this third reality can be crossed, but this third reality can be only perceived by the protagonist (Schwabe, 2014).

Another fairy-tale scholar, Christy Williams (2021) argues that the different genres represented in *OUAT* translate into geographical locations, creating one concise fairy-tale world that is comprised of smaller lands, according to their different narrative and generic characteristics (61). Williams argues that fairy-tale pastiches are used to transform the genres into geographical locations throughout the series and maps the workings and interconnectivity of "worlds", "lands", and "places" (Williams, 2021).

In my thesis, I am going to analyse the television series *OUAT* as an ambiguous postmodern fairy-tale adaptation. I wish to explore the postmodern strategies employed in *OUAT* with a special focus on the use of fairy-tale pastiches such as the generic remix of the series, the concept of True Love and Happily Ever After and the portrayal of families. I am also going to observe the metafictional functioning of the magic of the series in a postmodern context. I will also argue that there is a limit to this postmodernist rebellious revision, and that the series still remains, to some extent, ageist, classist, stereotypically American, and generally heteronormative.

5. Fairy-tale Pastiches

One of the most discernible features of postmodernism is the particular way in which authors and creators employ pastiches. Pastiche, in postmodernist literature, refers to a "kind of permutation, a shuffling of generic and grammatical tics" (Lewis 2011, 172). Postmodernist literature, therefore, has the tendency to mix and match elements from various sources to create a sense of disruption. The phenomenon of the pastiche is attributed to the author's frustration "that everything has been done before", Barry Lewis (2011, 173) suggests. Lewis (2011) also highlights that nowadays pastiche has become common and got ingrained into our everyday lives due to their proliferation on the internet (173) where genres like memes deliberately build on "repetition with variation" (Hutcheon 2013, xxiv).

Pastiche is especially common with fairy-tale retellings where the fragments are usually recognisable to anyone who is familiar with Western popular culture, be it a single motif such as a red apple or a glass slipper. To accommodate pastiche in a fairy-tale context, scholars often employ the term "fairy-tale pastiche" (Williams 2021, 22). In her introductory chapter of *Mapping Fairy-Tale Space: Pastiche and Metafiction in Borderless Tales,* Christy Williams (2021) traces the history of the fairy-tale pastiche, relying on the secondary meaning of pastiche signifying "a combination of elements from multiple sources, including style" (21). These elements can be of any kind from iconic symbols to characters (22), and they engage several fairy tales at the same time (23). Williams (2021) argues that the fairy-tale pastiche fulfils a dual function: on the one hand it has the ability to underline the worth of its original source and to pay homage to the fairy-tale tradition, on the other hand, it can also be employed to impose critique or demonstrate a call for transformation of the source text (34).

In the next part of my thesis, I will employ the expression pastiche and fairy-tale pastiche in the context defined by Williams. Pastiche is representative of the duality of the postmodern fairy-tale adaptation's potential of subversion and reaffirmation observed by Bacchilega (1997). While analysing the generic remix, the motifs of True Love and Happily Ever After, and the representation of families in *OUAT,* I am going to rely on this expression instead of "parody" or "homage" since this expression better accommodates the ambiguous, dual nature of *OUAT* as a postmodern fairy-tale retelling and better expresses how the series critiques but also reproduces and honours some of the fairy-tale conventions it utilises.

5.1. Generic remix

Postmodern fiction is characterised by the recurrent use of some narratological devices, one of them being generic hybridity (the blurring of generic boundaries often concomitant with the blurring of medial boundaries) (Bacchilega 2013, 109). Postmodern fairy-tale revisions operate in a similar manner. They have a growing tendency of mixing genres, especially those genres that are concerned with "blurring the boundaries of and raising questions about the relationship between fantasy and reality" (Bacchilega 2013, 109) such as magic realism, surrealism, or historiographic metafiction. As Cristina Bacchilega argues, there is no such thing as a "pure" practice of filmic genre or of the fairy tale" (Bacchilega 2013, 112): "literary or cinematic fairy tales, [...] make use of more than one genre and in ways that are specific to the tales' cultural and historical situatedness" (Bacchilega 2013, 112), hence adaptations will add their own layers of meaning to the meanings sedimented in the original source text.

In this part of my thesis, I will examine how the series mixes prominent features of different genres with well-known fairy-tale elements in a postmodern way, with a specific political purpose of letting the fairy-tale genre come of age. The aim is to rescue fairy tales from the stigma of a childish genre, to entertain and to create more realistic, relatable characters reflecting moral doubts, psychological traumas, and historical/cultural anxieties. I will discuss in what ways this practice of generic hybridisation subverts and reaffirms the old conventions of the fairy-tale tradition, in what ways it allows the genre to gain subversive potential, or leave it sedimented in conservative clichés.

The most prominent genre of the series is magical realism where the reality of our mundane world is put in juxtaposition with magic that infiltrates this reality in a normalised way, unproblematised by the characters of the fantasy universe. Magical realism in a contemporary context refers to a genre where ambiguity and disruption happens by the mingling of magical properties and mundane elements (Kérchy 2010, 26). Claudia Schwabe (2014) identifies three forms magical realism can take in contemporary fairy-tale retellings, in her essay "Getting Real with Fairy Tales: Magic Realism in *Grimm* and *Once Upon a Time*". In a "One World Fairy Tale" (296–299), magic is incorporated into the real world thus becoming a third reality without any spatial boundaries. This third reality's location on the plain of magical versus real differs correspondingly to the typology created by Schwabe (2014), but the third reality always bears some characteristics from both worlds, the first and the second reality. A variation of the One World Fairy Tale happens when the "magical realm" (296) gets integrated into the first reality but with the preserving of the previous boundaries. In both of these cases, more than one person can see this third reality grounded in the fusion of the magic and the real. Most people have the chance to perceive the Third Reality, but they usually do not recognize the magical entering their everyday lives. In the second form of magical realism "Reality Fairy Tale" (196), the first and the secondary reality intersect at one point, and thus this intersection created becomes the Third Reality. While the boundaries of this Third Reality are still crossable, it can only be observed by the protagonist, Schwabe claims. The third form of magic realism, "Neomagical Realism" (296), refers to when there is no or very minimal crossing of the borders between the first reality and the second reality. In this case, the protagonist itself is the only connection between the two realities. Schwabe identifies the world of *OUAT* as a "Reality Fairy Tale with threshold" (298), locating Storybrooke, the fictional town where the story takes place as the Third Reality of the series, which stands at the intersection of the first reality, our mundane world and the second reality, the magical Fairy Tale Land. The town can also be interpreted as a portal to the fantastic adventures that are to follow. Here and forward on, I will use Fairy Tale Land in my thesis as an umbrella term to encompass all the different magical lands present in the series from The Enchanted Forest to Camelot, since the topography of these magical lands is very complex.

However, the dynamics of magical and real undergo great changes throughout the seasons. Using the terminology coined by Schwabe, I would rather suggest that the series' magical realism is fluid and develops through the seasons. While the symbol of the uncrossable town line serving as a boundary between first and second realities remains present in later seasons too, the approach to magical realism changes. Instead of marking *OUAT* as a Reality Fairy Tale, I would propose that there is a progressive shift in the magical realism of *OUAT* from a Reality Fairy Tale towards the second form of a One World Fairy Tale. I would like to emphasize that this shift does not necessarily occur through the linear progression of the plot but from season to season in the presentation of magical realism. In the first two seasons, the boundaries are set, the magical only crosses into Storybrooke (the Third Reality), remaining within bounds. However, later on, magic slowly but surely appears in the first reality as well. In season three, Rumpelstiltskin is stranded sick in a magicless New York due to his darkening heart and can only be healed after drinking a potion in his hospital bed. In season four, a young Emma shows signs of magical abilities at a regular trip to the theme park with her foster family. The relation of magical and real get subverted to such an extent at the end of the fifth season that Henry brings magic to New York with the help of the magical object of the Olympian crystal. This shows how magic extends beyond the confines of the secondary or even the intersectional third reality, and it does not abide by the main definition of Reality Fairy Tale. I do not want to suggest that the series entirely transforms into a One World Fairy Tale by the end, but the magical realism present does tend to take on a more all-encompassing form, moving towards a more integrated Third Reality[2].

However, magical realism is not the only genre that *OUAT* fuses with fairy tales; the genre of detective stories is also integrated into the narrative. In season one, the main plot line encompasses a detective story sub-plot concerning the mysterious death of the town's sheriff, Graham Humbert. Crime fiction or detective stories are "narratives that center on criminal acts and especially on the investigation, either by an amateur or a professional detective, of a serious crime, generally a murder" (Abrams 2014, 69), and these characteristics can be observed here as well. While the audience knows that the killer is Regina Mills, the Evil Queen who murdered the sheriff by crushing his heart, which she had taken before the curse, all evidence points towards Mary Margaret Blanchard, the cursed alter ego of Snow White. At this point, the plot turns into a crime and mystery investigation as Emma, who suddenly becomes the new sheriff, attempts to unravel the mystery and prove Mary Margaret's innocence. Here, reality and magic are contrasted through the genre of crime fiction; the queen kills Graham by supernatural means and Emma tries to solve the mystery by rational thinking and investigation. Emma becoming the sheriff of Storybrooke is also a postmodern reflection on the intersection of magical and real; her role as the Saviour in the story is to unravel this intertwined state of magical and real just as looking for clues, solving mysteries, and catching criminals are part of her job as a sheriff.

The portal quest fantasy also gets incorporated into the story during season two, when Emma and Mary Margaret get sucked into a portal that transports them back to the post-curse Enchanted Forest. The portal quest fantasy is a genre where the viewer is invited into the fantasy through a portal and this is exactly what happens in the first part of the second season. During this portal quest fantasy plot, Snow White and her daughter must face the destruction created by the curse and find a way back "home", even if home means something different for both of them. The dichotomy here belies again between reality and magic, but it gets subverted; in season one the main goal of the characters was breaking the curse so everyone could get back

[2] It must also be acknowledged that at the time of writing her essay, Schwabe could have had no insight into the seasons that would come to follow the first one, and how those seasons would tackle the concept of magical realism.

to the fairy-tale land, while in season two, Emma and Mary Margaret's struggle is to get back to the real world. This is only but one example of the appearance of the genre in the series, and as the plot progresses, the narrative pattern of the portal quest fantasy genre gets recycled over and over again with different locations such as Neverland or the Underworld, and at one point in season three, the portal quest involves a travel back to the past Enchanted Forest as well. As the name of the genre suggests, portals play a great significance in the story; portals in the plot are varied and numerous and are often pastiches from well-known fairy tales or children's literature. Portals can be opened by casting spells or they can be contained in magical objects such as the Mad Hatter's hat or Dorothy's ruby slippers. I will address magical objects more in a later part of my thesis, where I will discuss the metafictional function of magic in *OUAT*.

OUAT also creates a crossover fantasy framework for the plot in the way it mixes characters from various sources, one of these sources being canonized literature. The figures of Dr. Frankenstein or Mr. Hyde get integrated in the storyworld of *OUAT,* adding to the complexity of the show's generic patchwork. The audience gets a glimpse of some elements of the Gothic when learning about the backstory of Victor Frankenstein in "In the Name of the Brother" (Espenson 2013, s2e2), and the series also plays with the idea of furthering the plot of *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* by Robert Louis Stevenson in the fifth season, asking the question what would have happened if Dr. Jekyll had actually succeeded in physically separating his vile alter ego, Mr. Hyde. This narrative strategy does not only include the Gothic into the fairy-tale setting of *OUAT* but also makes space for the genre of speculative fiction in the mixture.

Children's literature and nursery rhymes are also present in the generic patchwork of *OUAT*. Characters such as the Queen of Hearts or the Mad Hatter are taken from the children's book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll. Wonderland in itself exists as a part of the magical Fairy Tale Land; the series even has a spinoff series of thirteen episodes called *Once Upon a Time in Wonderland*, which centres around the adventures of an adult Alice. Inspired by English nursery rhymes, the villainous warlord, Bo Peep appears in the episode "White Out" (Espenson 2014, s4e2) in the fourth season whose character is an allusion to the nursery rhyme "Little Bo Peep".

Myths and legends from all around the world also get incorporated into the storyline. Elements of Greek and Chinese mythology appear in the figure of Medusa and the Yauguai in the episodes "The New Neverland" (Chambliss 2013, s3e10) and "The Outsider" (Chambliss and Goldberg 2013, s2e11). In both episodes, these monstrous creatures are depicted as enemies and serve as tools for advancing certain characters' development. In the case of Medusa, she is defeated by Snow White and Prince Charming, and Snow White gains back her confidence in her leadership capabilities as a result of this victory. Similarly, the Yauguai gets saved by Belle who recognizes the human beneath the monster and discovers that the creature is actually a human cursed to this monstrous form. After breaking the curse, Belle realizes that she has the capacity to see the good in people and plans to save her lover, Rumplestiltskin from darkness. An entire half season is devoted to the exploration of Camelot as well as to the characters from the Arthurian legends from Guinevere to Merlin. Magical objects such as the Excalibur or Merlin's hat also take inspiration from these sources, but these motifs also allude to Disney's adaptation of the Arthurian legends, *The Sword in the Stone*.

Such a complex generic remix can serve many functions in a postmodern context. According to Bacchilega (2013), the most common purpose of this generic patchwork of contrasting fairy tales with reality is to parody fairy-tale conventions in order to render films more marketable (111); this can be observed in the case of *OUAT* as well. The series parodies mostly those fairy-tale conventions that became ingrained into common cultural knowledge by the Walt Disney corporation; this makes the show more appealing to its target audience, which is mainly com-

prised of adults and young adults who have grown up with these Disney feature films. Christy Williams (2021) claims that the series aims for a feeling of "nostalgia for a simpler time" (49–50), namely the 1980s which resonates with the audience's childhood. Williams (2021) optimistically suggests that even though *OUAT*'s critique on Disney conventions is a targeted and carefully planned one, it still has the effect of encouraging people to criticize Disney's hold on American fairy tales (70).

Williams (2021) also suggests that taking elements from such a diverse pool of literary and cinematic sources (myths, legends, children's literature, gothic literature, non-fairy-tale themed Disney feature-length films) seeks to validate the fairy-tale genre as literature that is worthy of the attention of adults (93). Claiming that characters such as Dr. Frankenstein or Mr. Hyde exist in the same storyworld as fairy-tale characters serves to counter the common misconception that fairy tales are canonically inferior literature due to them being associated with (and often dismissed as) children's literature. This is undoubtedly a positive function of generic remix in postmodern fairy-tale retellings, but I believe it is not the only motive.

This sort of generic remix in *OUAT,* I would like to argue, serves also as a way of creating well-rounded and more relatable characters. Comparing and contrasting characters from different media invites critical thinking about the source material and enables easier identification of an adult audience with the fairy-tale genre, which might seem like a distant memory of the past for many. Expanding on these characters, making them fallible and human, goes against the conventional righteous depiction of heroes and heroines, reflecting the ambiguous characteristics humans have in real life.

5.2. Disenchanting True Love and Happily Ever Afters

The function of fairy tales as a form of literature of hope is crucial to the genre, and the optimistic messages about the future often manifest in certain tropes. True Love and the Happily Ever After (often abbreviated as HEA in fairy-tale studies) are themes and topics that appear in the majority of fairy tales; the promise of a happy ending or finding one's true love empowers the wish-fulfilling function of fairy tales (Bacchilega 1997, 5). The two tropes often appear as pastiches in contemporary adaptations, as they do in *OUAT* as well, and I wish to explore how True Love and Happily Ever After function as postmodern pastiches in this part of my thesis.

The concept of True Love plays a significant role in the narrative since it is "the most powerful magic of all" (Kitsis and Horowitz 2012, s1e22), capable of breaking any curse, which at first might appear to reaffirm old fairy-tale traditions. However, I wish to argue that the concept also functions as a postmodern pastiche in two major ways: by the expansion of the definition and by disenchanting the concept the show disrupts and details the trope and goes against conventional depictions of True Love in which characters fall in love at first sight (Tanner et al. 2003, 364–365) or the prince only appears just to save the princess and "take all the credit" (Zipes 1999, 349).

The definition of True Love in *OUAT* is extended to be a more inclusive and relatable term; True Love no longer means romantic love and exclusively romantic love, but True Love can take many other forms. Love between family members as True Love is demonstrated when Emma breaks the Evil Queen's curse by kissing the top of Henry's head, breaking both the sleeping curse his biological son is under and simultaneously Storybrooke's curse as well (Kitsis and Horowitz 2012, s1e22). Villains can also experience True Love as it is shown in season five when Zelena, the Wicked Witch of the West breaks the heart-stopping curse put on Hades (Espenson 2016, s5e20). And while Zelena does so hoping that she and Hades can start a new life together and redeem themselves, at the point of breaking the curse, they are both villains. While Hades' curse gets broken, his motivation to get to Storybrooke and rule it does not

change. He is not reformed by True Love by any means, which boldly suggests that True Love and bad intentions can coexist, destabilizing the idealized, virtuous preconceptions about True Love.

The series also disenchants the concept in many ways, with a special focus on disenchanting the concept in the first season. In order for True Love to be commodified, it needs to first be disenchanted to make it appear more believable for contemporary, postmodern audiences. The cursed Storybrooke serves as a site for disenchanting any type of fairy-tale material, especially True Love. With the curse, the Evil Queen rips away everyone's happy endings including that of Snow White and Prince Charming, whose love is established as True Love. However, the curse makes them forget each other and assigns them new personalities as well; Snow becomes Mary Margaret, a naive and single schoolteacher, and Charming suffers an accident and is found in the woods unconscious. He spends the first part of the season in a coma as an unidentified John Doe, but as the story progresses, it turns out that his Storybrooke persona is David Nolan who is to live happily with his wife, Kathryn. However, David remembers none of their previous life together, since he arrived to Storybrooke in an unconscious state. In flashback scenes, we learn Snow and Charming's long history of losing and finding each other, which is contrasted with the way Mary Margaret and David are gradually drawn to each other. Mary Margaret and David start meeting each other in secret. When the affair is revealed, Mary Margaret is judged and shamed by the entire town, which does not resonate with the idyllic depiction of True Love, even if the viewers are conscious that they belong together due to their past.

The series also disenchants True Love through the character of the protagonist, Emma Swan. Emma is not only the Saviour whose task is to bring back everyone's memories and happy endings by breaking the curse, she is able to do so because she is the daughter of Prince Charming and Snow White, therefore the literal product of True Love. On the one hand, this personification can be read as an optimistic message that true love is within every human, but I would argue that this technique of personification of the concept serves a more postmodern purpose: Emma is a protagonist who is a fallible human being, committing mistakes and learning from them along the way. The association of True Love with vulnerability and by also personifying the concept and giving her agency deconstructs True Love in a new postmodern way through Emma being the embodiment of True Love. The elaboration on Snow and Charming's relationship and David's adultery serve to make their love more plausible to an audience who are no longer satisfied with Disney's depiction of True Love where the lovers meet for mere seconds, and then the scene immediately cuts to their wedding (Tanner et al 2003, 364–365).

Another central theme that is problematized in *OUAT* is the narrative pattern of Happily Ever Afters (HEA). HEAs in fairy tales usually happen by chance or by merit of the protagonist who earns his or her happiness (whether it be True Love or an ascension on the social ladder) by overcoming various challenges. In the first season of the series, each episode starts by introducing the show's premise, stating that the Evil Queen had cast a curse that transported all the fairy-tale characters to a land without happy endings, "to our world" (Kitsis and Horowitz 2012, s1e1). Presenting our world as one without happy endings, Hay and Baxter (2014) argue, invites viewers to identify with the characters since they are presented "like the average Americans that Storybrooke's characters are supposed to represent" (323).

Happy endings, similarly to True Love, are problematized by disenchantment in *OUAT*: through the constant struggle of the heroes who have to face yet again a new challenge with each new season. Due to the series' long-arc serial format and mode of storytelling, there is always a certain open-end to the episodes; the resolution of conflicts is temporary, and there is no closure that viewers could identify as a Happily Ever After (Williams 2021, 89). Characters always strive for a happy ending, yet it always eludes them; there is always a new threat, villainous,

magical, or other that separates the heroes from each other. Depicting HEAs as a constant struggle to obtain and to keep, even for heroes, disrupts the traditional narrative pattern of HEAs and resonates with how our reality is one "without happy endings". This constant struggle for a happy end is what drives characters, heroes and villains alike, the difference being only in what characters define as a happy ending, which also blurs the lines between what is considered good and evil in fairy tales.

In this part of my thesis, I have explored how the concept of True Love and Happily Ever After are used as postmodern pastiches of the fairy-tale genre through the expansion and disenchantment of the concepts.

5.3. The bold portrayal of families

Families are a central theme to most fairy tales; whether it is about the loss of a family member, parenting, or the coming of age of children, families play a key part in all the Euro-American classics from *Snow White* to *Hansel and Gretel*. As I have previously mentioned, a quantitative study by Litsa Renée Tanner (2003) and her colleagues found that Disney movies show families that are diverse in constitution, but this diversity is often oversimplified with fixed hierarchies and gender roles between parents. If we consider *OUAT* as part of Disney's huge transmedia storyworld (to which the series alludes more and more as the seasons progress), I would argue that the representation of families does not only go against traditional representation in literary fairy tales, but also against expectations about fairy tales that were established by Disney's impact on the genre. In this part of my thesis, I will explore how *OUAT*'s postmodern representation of families offers critical, nuanced images of families through the discussion of the taboo topic of child abuse, the subversion of the good-bad mother fairy-tale trope, and the problematization of the traditional family model through parent-child conflicts.

The significance of family is established from the very first episode in *OUAT* where Emma, the single and lonely bail bondswoman is visited by Henry, who turns out to be his biological son whom she had given up for adoption ten years ago and the relevance of familial connections remains a central theme of the series. Even though the importance of family is a greatly emphasized thematic pattern of the series, the depiction of families disrupts the idyllic familial image commonly represented in fairy tales. *OUAT* portrays a wide array of families from single mothers to complicated stepfamily relations, and the series does not shy away from addressing taboo topics such as child neglect or the life of an orphan in the fostering system.

In fairy tales, child abandonment often serves a catalyst function for the hero's advancement of character. One way family functions as a postmodern pastiche is the way *OUAT* discusses the taboo topic of child abandonment on both sides of the good-bad binary. On the heroes' side, Emma struggles with accepting that she is the Saviour, the daughter of Prince Charming and Snow White. Even though she accepts this fact later on in the story, she still struggles to trust her newfound parents and even resents them for having given her up to save her from the curse, making her the Saviour, predetermining her fate against her will. On the villain's side, Rumplestiltskin is the character who struggles with abandonment the most. His father was a drunkard and a gambler who used the child Rumplestiltskin to get to Neverland, where he would be free of responsibilities. However, only children are to remain in Neverland, and Rumplestitskin's father gives him up to transform himself back into a child and becomes Peter Pan (Goodman and Hull 2013, s3e8). Rumplestiltskin himself also loses his son when he acquires dark magic by becoming the Dark One, a powerful villainous figure whose power is passed on from one person to another. Unable to give up his newfound powers, Rumplestiltskin loses his son to the "land without magic" (to our world), and even when they are reunited later on, his son can never truly forgive him.

OUAT problematizes the traditional depiction of mothers as well through the struggles of adoption. In fairy tales, mothers are generally depicted as docile caregivers or evil stepmothers (Tanner et al. 2003); the series problematizes these rigid categories through the growing tension between Regina and Emma in the first season. As Emma gradually takes residence in Storybrooke, she starts to forge closer bonds with her biological son, Henry, which immediately earns the disapproval of Henry's adoptive mother, Regina. Regina fears that she might lose Henry to Emma and resents her for having given him up. Henry, on the other hand, does not resent Emma, and as he knows that Regina is the Evil Queen, he wants to abandon her for Emma. But Regina's love towards Henry is genuine, and she is the one who had been raising him for ten years, so the question of who the bad mother is emerges, destabilizing the rigid fairy-tale convention of the binary of the good and bad mother.

The series also presents nuanced conflicts between child and parent, and these conflicts are often without a resolution, or get only resolved by the death of the parent. The aforementioned conflict between Peter Pan and Rumplestiltskin that unfolds in the first part of the third season ends with Rumplestiltskin killing Peter Pan. Similarly, Regina's transformation from innocent maiden to the Evil Queen is mainly attributed to the trauma caused by her mother, Cora, who killed Regina's lover, Daniel, so that Regina would marry the father of Snow White. Regina's resentment towards her mother never gets resolved while she is alive; the conflict only "ends" when Snow White kills her mother in order to save Rumplestiltskin[3]. These two dysfunctional families are characterized by two major themes: revenge and cowardice. Cora, coming from a poor family and having suffered much abuse as "the miller's daughter" (Espenson 2013, s2e16), resents the social system that forced her to remain poor and wants to get vengeance by rising on the social ladder and humiliating the royalty, making them feel what she had felt. Cora's thirst for vengeance can therefore be read as a postmodern critique of the traditional fairy tale trope in which the hero rises on the social ladder by marrying into a family that is of higher status than his own, critiquing the romanticized image of the hero winning the hand of the princess and highlighting how this depiction of families (considering a married couple as a family here) in traditional fairy tales ignores the ambiguity surrounding the class difference of the two marrying parties. The difference between the two dysfunctional parents, Cora and Peter Pan is that Cora deceives herself and believes that she is hurting Regina to give her a better future. Cora comes from a very poor family, and having suffered much abuse, she mainly lives dreams of wealth and vengeance vicariously through the manipulation of Regina. Peter Pan on the other hand, accepts his own selfish motives without shame and has no regrets about giving up his son in fear of having to take responsibility for his actions.

However, the villains are not the only ones struggling with parenthood. The series also presents nuanced images about parents and the difficulties of parenthood, from separation anxiety to maintaining an image for your child. The show also disenchants the perfect image of parents in the fourth season, where we learn that Snow White and Prince Charming have a dark secret: when Snow White was pregnant with Emma, they transferred Emma's potential darkness into Maleficent's daughter via a spell thus dooming her to always make bad decisions. Their reason is that they wanted to make sure that Emma turns out good, to give her the best chance. Afraid that Emma might be disappointed in them if she learned the truth, Charming and Snow lie to her, but as expected, the truth is revealed later on, shattering Emma's confidence in her parents. They even convince Emma that her intuition, her ability to tell if people are lying was wrong,

[3] This mother-daughter tension later gets resolved in the fifth season when Regina and Cora reunite in the Underworld. The resolution is an idealized one with Cora admitting her mistakes and therefore being able to move onto a better place. This also shows that the series sometimes fluctuates between an idealized and a disruptive imagery of families.

making Emma doubt herself and her abilities. What Charming and Snow desire the most throughout the seasons is family unity. While simultaneously being capable of great heroic deeds, Snow and Charming are constantly challenged when it comes to family since there is always a threat or a villain to disrupt their family unit or familial unity. The function of this fairy-tale pastiche therefore can be read as reflective of the cultural anxieties of our time surrounding the gradual change in family structures. In this day and age, the traditional family model is not as common as it used to be: single-parent families, same-sex families, divorced parents, remarried parents, and adopted children all formulate complex and diverse family structures that no longer correspond to the traditional depiction of families in fairy tales comprised of a heterosexual couple and biological children. Snow and Charming's struggle to keep their growing family united and free of harm can be read as the struggle to find adaptations and fairy tales that would accommodate adequately these new types of family relations.

In this chapter of my thesis, I have explored how the postmodern functioning of family as pastiche takes place in *OUAT*. I have looked at how the series discusses the taboo topic of child abuse, how it subverts traditional fairy-tale depictions about mothers, and how nuanced conflicts between children and parents subvert the conventional idyllic imagery of families in fairy tales.

6. Magical Metafictionality

Magic is a main, crucial characteristic of fairy tales, which takes on multiple roles from wish-fulfilment to providing access to a collective past to working as an ideologically malleable framework (Bacchilega 1997, 5). Fairy-tale scholar, Cristina Bacchilega argues that fairy tales have a "double-edged magic" (6): they create wonder to entertain but enchant us at the same time with a specific political purpose. The expression "poetics and politics of wonder" (Bacchilega 2013, ix) also meant to signify how important it is to realise that no fairy tale is devoid of ideology and how their magic always operates to some extent by "privilege and oppression" (Bacchilega 1997, 6). There is always a "double edge" to magic, a magic "which seeks to conceal the struggling interests which produce it" (7).

Metafictionality is a tool that can serve in unveiling this "poetics and politics of wonder" (Bacchilega 2013, ix). Metafictionality is a prominent feature of postmodernism, referring to narratives which "depart from realism and foreground the roles of the author in inventing the fiction and of the reader in receiving the fiction" (Abrams and Harpham 2014). Metafiction is thus a practice which reflects on the relationship between author and reader as well as on the process of creating and consuming fiction. Metafictionality in fairy tales usually result from the "multiplicity and plurality of fairy tales" (Tiffin in Williams 2021, 35) meaning that their "combining of fragments from different sources reflects genre expectations and re-creates genre expectations by what is included and what is left out" (Williams 2021, 38). With the emergence of the internet, this fragmentation became even more apparent, and to accommodate this new mode of intertextuality, Bacchilega (2013) proposes the term "fairy-tale web" (16), which envisions the intertextual workings of fairy tales as an interconnected web of allusions and fragments. Observing the metafictional potential of these adaptations' magic can help in unravelling the ideologies working behind fairy tales and their adaptations.

In her chapter on *OUAT,* Christy Williams analyses the appearance of metafictionality on the level of characters. The series often disrupts the traditional good-bad binary of fairy tales by depicting villains who strive for a happy ending and heroes who commit fatal, villainous deeds. Characters also often appear as the hero of their own story only to become the villain, or a magical guide in someone else's narrative. Williams (2021) argues that characters are able to do so

because they abide by the Proppian roles of fairy tales defined by Vladimir Propp (1968) in *Morphology of the Folktale*. By fulfilling multiple roles, the characterization of heroes and villains questions the hierarchical positions of *OUAT*'s source texts (77–78) resulting in an ambiguous portrayal of characters.

In this chapter of my thesis, I would like to explore the workings of magic as a postmodern tool for metafictional reflection in the series. I'm going to look at the way magic is represented in the series and how it makes a commentary on today's consumer culture, Disneyfication, transmedia storytelling as well as on the potential transformative power of fairy fanfiction.

6.1. The Price of Magic

The representation of magic in *OUAT* is complex and manyfold; magic can be cast in the form of spells but resides also in objects, as well as in people. Magical creatures also populate the world with various levels of cognitive functions; from the almost entirely human fairies possessing magical powers to uncivilised bridge trolls and bloodthirsty ogres to terrifying monsters such as flying monkeys or gorgons. Two main types of magic exist: light and dark magic, corresponding to the distinction of good and bad present in most fairy tales. With the introduction of characters from *Frozen,* Disney's movie loosely based on tale *The Snow Queen* by Hans Christian Andersen, in the fourth season, ice magic is introduced, which shifts the dynamics of magic since the powers are shown to be used for both good and villainous purposes depending on who performs ice magic and with what intention. In this part of my thesis, I hope to unravel how the representation of magic functions as a postmodern commentary on consumer culture and the workings of transmedia storytelling.

The first rule of magic in *OUAT* is that "magic always comes with a price" (Goodman 2011, s1e4), and one cannot escape paying it. There are several instances when this law of magic is at work, one of them is presented in the first season when Regina attempts to put Emma under a sleeping curse by baking her poison apple into a pie and giving it to Emma, but her plan backfires when Henry takes a bite of it before Emma in the hope of proving her that Regina is the Evil Queen, and promptly falls under the curse (Kitsis and Horowitz 2012, s1e22). This principle on the price of magic renders magic not only more believable to an audience living in the capitalist society of our times, but also transforms magic into a commodity: anyone can acquire it, given they are willing to pay the price. If we consider *OUAT* as an entry point for adults to the transmedia storyworld of Disney, this price in a postmodern context can refer to buying into a consumer culture fuelled by the Disney corporation's profit-motivated commodification of magic. *OUAT* has its own line of merchandise comprised of mugs, apparel, blankets, wine glasses, T-shirts, phone cases, and even cardboard cut-outs of the main characters (Official ABC Shop).

However, disregarding the merchandise, *OUAT* has other ways of commodifying and selling magic. Hay and Baxter (2014) observe the online commodification of magic in relation to the marketing of *OUAT* and how it invites fans to identify themselves with the characters. The study involved observing a website created by ABC in which viewers could create their own fairy tales about themselves, making themselves the protagonist in a world full of magic (327–328). Nowadays, despite the show having ended, there is still an attempt to keep up fan engagement on social media platforms with a much clearer intent of selling merchandise. The official Facebook and Instagram page of the series only posts advertisements for said merchandise or iconic scenes from the show, which only results in fans expressing their dismay at how the show is over, and how they miss it. The series clearly still tries to reap benefits, but the practices have shifted from capitalising on viewer identification to capitalising on viewer nostalgia.

However, this "price" of magic must also be paid on the side of the broadcasting company as well. By producing a plotline that critiques Disney so openly, *OUAT* encourages audiences to generate their own meanings, to create their own retellings via fanvideos, fanfictions or montages, which might not align with the initial intended messages of the series. Williams (2021) optimistically suggests that even though *OUAT*'s critique on Disney conventions is a targeted and carefully planned one, it still has the effect of encouraging people to criticize Disney's hold on American fairy tales (70), which is especially valid when observing audience response and fan engagement within the fandom of the series. This "price" of magic therefore refers also to encouraging a "prosumer" (Kérchy 2018, 227) behaviour in viewers where they are "browsing through media contents to make sensible choices that can eventually prove to be transformative of the meanings to be generated" (227). While some scholars might find this transformation limited, I would like to argue that fan practices can encourage critical thinking about the very fairy tales Disney wishes to sell through *OUAT* with the most prominent transformative generation of meaning happening in fanfictions. A major fan pairing among fans, SwanQueen was one that imagined Emma and Regina, the Savior and the Evil Queen in a romantic (and often sexual) relationship. This pairing is the most popular on the fanfiction platform Archive of Our Own with over fourteen thousand pieces of fiction dominating any other couple, including those confirmed by the canon storyline of the show. The possibility of a queer interpretation in fan spaces also allows for a postmodern redefinition of the fairy-tale genre, as demonstrated by the accounts of Sandra Strauch (2017). In her essay "'Once Upon a Time' in queer fandom", Strauch (2017) analyses fanfiction about SwanQueen as a space to subvert traditional values and roles of women in fairy tales or to challenge "unspoken assumptions of heteronormative marriage" (4.1) while also simultaneously making space for possible queer interpretations of the traditional literary fairy tales (3.2). As this study also demonstrates, I believe that the broadcasting company also has a "price" to pay, that price being risking the loss of viewers of Disney by the encouragement of critical thinking and transformative meaning generation among the viewers of the series.

6.2. Book as a magical object and its metafictional implications

Magic proliferates everything in *OUAT,* even objects. Magical objects can fulfil multiple purposes in the plot; they can serve as catalysts for spells and curses, as ingredients for potions, or as containers of magic. They can be used both for good and evil, other times they serve as portals between realms. Many well-known motifs of Euro-American fairy tales take the form of magical objects: the mirror serves as portal to Wonderland but also as a prison for the genie of Agrabah, a surveillance system for Regina and a weapon of manipulation for the Snow Queen. The shapeshifter Little Red Riding Hood's red cape helps her keep her wolf form at bay and prevents her from transforming. Dorothy's slippers allow travelling between realms, and the poison apple still contains its dreadful sleeping curse even after having been baked into an apple pie in the magicless Storybrooke. In this part of my thesis, I wish to examine the metafictional functioning of the storybook, which is a key motif of the series.

The central motif of the series is the magical object of the storybook. The storybook is given to Henry during the curse of Storybrooke by Mary Margaret who stumbles upon it in her wardrobe by accident and gives it to Henry because she thinks fairy tales represent hope (Kitsis and Horowitz 2013, s3e11). Henry learns about the curse cast by the Evil Queen from the book and slowly pieces the puzzle together; when he realises that the town is cursed, he decides to go and fetch Emma from New York and get her to break the curse. From the very beginning, the book itself fulfils a metafictional function: it is a tongue-in-cheek reminder of the fictionality of the characters living in Storybrooke. The unconscious John Doe, whom the viewers immediately

can recognize as Prince Charming only wakes up from his coma when Mary Margaret reads the story of Snow White and Prince Charming to him. Regina tries to prevent Henry from learning about her dark past by ripping some pages out of the book, a strategy that is used by other villains later on in the story. August tells his own story about how he is Pinocchio by physically taking apart the book and adding his own story amongst the pages. When Regina's redemption arc begins in the third season, her chance for a happy ending manifests in the form of an illustration picturing her and Robin Hood meeting in a scenario that could have happened in the past but it never actually did. The constantly changing state of the storybook can be interpreted as a metafictional commentary on the fairy-tale genre's "plurality" (Tiffin in Williams 2021, 35) and how it is a "transitional genre" (Bacchilega 1997, 3), suggesting that fairy tales are flexible and adaptable for any age and for any kind of audience.

The Author is also a key figure in connection with the storybook. The Author (similarly to the Dark One) is a title that is passed on from person to person. It is the Sorcerer, Merlin, and his Apprentice who always choose the next Author. The person of the Author does not possess magical qualities, their power originates from the magical object of the pen and the ink with which they write the stories. When these two objects are used together, whatever the Author writes on a piece of paper becomes real. This alone can be read as a metafictional commentary on the performative functioning of language, or even on the power written words and historical records have on the future. An emerging field in fairy-tale studies concerns itself with the study of the effects story collectors such as the Brothers Grimm have on the folktales they had collected and then written down. The Grimm Brothers are proven to have been collecting folktales of educated women often referred to as "fairy-tale tellers" (Joosen 2011, 163) and then appropriating the stories to a bourgeoise child audience with a moralising intent (Zipes 1999, 336), but simultaneously silencing these women's voices in the process (Joosen 2011, 163). The Author's job is to write the adventures of the heroes, staying true to the events that actually happened. This concept of authorship gets introduced via the character of Isaac Heller, an Author who has been punished for not writing the truth, bending reality to his own tastes and will. As punishment, he is trapped into the book, literally behind an illustration of a door. When he is freed by the heroes, Isaac turns on them and joins the villains. Isaac's entrapment in the book can also be read as a metacommentary on the fairy tales' ideological embeddedness, how the collectors and writers of literary fairy tales left their mark on their works, how Charles Perrault enlaced his fairy tales with a moralising intent (Zipes 2011, 173) or how the original *Beauty and the Beast* was meant to prepare young girls for marriage (Kérchy 2018, 223).

In this chapter of my thesis, I have examined how magic can serve a metafictional function by the way it is presented in the series as well as how the magical object of the storybook reflects on fairy tales.

7. The Limits of Postmodernism

As I have suggested before, postmodern fairy tale retellings have a dual potential of both reaffirming and criticising its fairy-tale material (Bacchilega 1997, 7). This ambiguous attitude towards the fairy-tale tradition in adaptations is apparent in *OUAT* as well. Throughout my thesis I have demonstrated in what ways *OUAT* utilises postmodern strategies by employing pastiches and offering metafictional commentary on fairy tales and on their transmedial (re)tellings. However, this postmodernism has its limits; in this section I would like to address the limitations of these techniques and how they cause the series to remain to some extent a classist and mostly heteronormative narrative in which representation is limited to the traditional white American middle-class family.

Regarding the generic patchwork of the series, the hierarchy of the sources poses some concerns. In the series' generic hybridity, not all genres are mingled equally, and this might inherently produce a certain hierarchy of genres within the series. *OUAT* often uses materials from myths and legends to progress the characters or plot involving the main characters, as I have demonstrated with the example of the Medusa and the Yauguai. As Bacchilega (2013) also notes in the case of the genie of Agrabah in *OUAT,* these elements of non-American cultures often appear as "narrative prop[s]" (149). Submitting other cultures' legends from Chinese, Greek, or Arabian mythology in favour of the advancement of certain Euro-American fairy tales of the main plotline, reducing them to a mere catalyst function might appear problematic and may be interpreted as cultural appropriation.

OUAT subverts traditional expectations of True Love, Happily Ever Afters, and depictions of family in many ways, but these representations are limited. With the exception of Ruby/Little Red Riding Hood and Dorothy, all couples are heterosexual; romantic love is almost always exclusively heterosexual and they almost always end in marriage. Even detached and non-committal Emma marries her love, Captain Hook in the end (Goodman and Chambliss 2017, s6e20). The happy ending of a character is often equated with finding their True Love and/or getting married to them, projecting an idealized notion of romantic love and subtly suggesting that finding a partner will resolve all of one's woes, which often happens in fairy tales but not in real life. It is also worth mentioning that while the Charming family's genealogy grows more and more complex with each season, the families represented in the series are mainly white and follow the aforementioned heteronormative structure of middle-class American families.

Save for Cora's character, the feudal structure of Fairy Tale Land[4] is never questioned in the series either. In literary fairy tales the distinction of social class is usually reduced to the commoner-royal binary and the narrative never really disrupts this binary. The dynamics between ruler and subject are never problematized, only the nature and intentions of the ruler. Snow and Prince Charming's entitlement to the throne after Snow White's waking from the sleeping curse is a given since they are heroes, and The Evil Queen needs to be dethroned because she is cruel to her subjects, not because the structure of the fairy-tale society is unfair. When Hades is defeated in the fifth season, the Underworld "is in need of a new ruler" (Schwartz 2016, s5e21); after the terrible reign of Hades, the dead King Arthur appoints himself as the new righteous king of the Underworld: the possibility that the society of the Underworld could function in any other form than feudalism is never discussed despite the Underworld appearing as a (albeit decaying) replica of the modern town of Storybrooke. In this sense, *OUAT* reproduces the focus on royalty that is present in the narratives of most fairy tales.

While the potential of a postmodern metafictional reading on the working of magic in the series is significant, the series undeniably contributes to the fairy-tale genre's Disneyfication. As Hay and Baxter (2014) argue, "*OUAT* deliberately capitalizes on this tension between the Disney canon and the show's innovative retellings" (319). Williams (2021) also points out how the show is in a special position: it can use Disney fairy-tale material without any repercussions (48), also signalling that the criticism of Disney is a carefully planned one (70). This is especially apparent when it comes to the figure of the Author. Establishing the role of the Author as writing the truth goes against the postmodern conception that fairy tales inherently reflect to some extent the ideologies of their era of creation or retelling and resonates more with the sanitising agenda of Disney to make his tales appear devoid of ideologies. Moreover, the show explicitly mentions Walt Disney as the previous Author before Isaac, placing Walt Disney as a faithful chronicler,

[4] These feudal systems seem to be present from Wonderland with the governance of the Queen of Hearts/Cora, to the Underworld where Hades rules over his group of subjects comprised of people "with unfinished business" (Schwartz and Goodman 2016, s5e15), but even the town of Storybrooke is led by the major which serves as a modernised depiction of the figure of the ruler.

a true reporter on fairy tales, tying in well with how Disneyfied fairy tales aim to appear as the only true portrayal of fairy tales.

Similarly to Disney's tales, the representation of characters also conform to their depiction in Disney movies. With the exception of Granny and Rumplestilstkin, all heroes are portrayed by young actors and actresses. Due to the temporal disorders caused in the plot by curses (be it the curse of Storybrooke freezing time for thirty years or a sleeping curse during which the victim (allegedly) does not age) these characters can be way past their fifties and still remain young in appearances, conveying a youthful but undeniably ageist representation of characters. Villains like Ursula, Maleficent, or Cruella de Vil are all middle-aged, but their representations do not differ from the conventional, seductress femme fatale representation of female villains (Zipes 1999, 349) familiar from Disney movies.

These examples all aim to illustrate how *OUAT*'s postmodernism is limited, and the series still reaffirms some old aspects of the fairy-tale tradition.

8. Conclusion

The duality of postmodern fairy-tale retellings is still relevant to this day; most contemporary postmodern fairy-tale retellings simultaneously reaffirm and subvert old fairy-tale traditions. It is important to recognize the multiple roles fairy tales fulfil in all cultures and how the fairy tale genre's use of adaptations reflects the socio-cultural contexts from which they stem, whether it be the literary tales of the Brothers Grimm in the 19th century, or television adaptations in our postmodern age.

The postmodern need for a simultaneous revision and re-enchantment of the fairy tale is well demonstrated by the example of *OUAT*. With the mixing of genres, *OUAT* parodies old conventions of storytelling as well as creates more relatable and well-rounded characters. The series also manages to disenchant the obsolete representations of True Love, happy endings and families only to reintroduce them in a more relatable format to contemporary audiences. The series also offers postmodern metafictional commentary on the relevance of the fairy-tale genre through the representation of magic, carefully responding to the need among audiences for critiquing the immortalised Disney versions of fairy tales. However, this metafictionality still remains in service of profit since *OUAT* functions as an entry point for Disney's transmedia storyworld of fairy tales, in which the commodification of magic takes place in exchange for the company's profit.

In this thesis, my aim was to analyse the television series *OUAT* as a postmodern fairy tale adaptation with specific highlight on its ambiguous functioning. I have analysed how the use of fairy-tale pastiches such as genre, True Love, Happily Ever After, and family are subverted in a postmodern context. I have observed the metafictional implications of magic in the narrative. I have also addressed the limits of this subversion and metacommentary and how the series still remains ageist, heteronormative, Americanised, and profit-orientated in some aspects. *OUAT* is but one representative of the emerging need for fairy-tale revisions. I believe that retellings such as *OUAT* or *Grimm* in the 2010s paved the way for more recent and bolder revisions such as the United Nations' *Awake Not Sleeping: Reimagining Fairy Tales for a Generation,* a multimedial anthology of entirely rewritten fairy tales designed to propose more diversified and inclusive alternatives to Disney and to the literary fairy tales sedimented in common cultural memory.

Bibliography

Primary sources:

ABC Shop. "Once Upon a Time". *Once Upon a Time Gifts & Merchandise: Official ABC Shop*. Accessed on April 24, 2022. https://shopabctv.com/collections/once-upon-a-time

Chambliss, Andrew and Ian Goldberg. 2013. "The Outsider". Directed by David Solomon. *Once Upon a Time*, season 2, episode 11. ABC Signature.

Chambliss, Andrew. 2013. "The New Neverland". Directed by Ron Underwood. *Once Upon a Time*, season 3, episode 10. ABC Signature.

Espenson, Jane. 2013. "In the Name of the Brother". Directed by Milan Cheylov. *Once Upon a Time*, season 2, episode 2. ABC Signature.

Espenson, Jane. 2013. "The Miller's Daughter". Directed by Milan Cheylov. *Once Upon a Time*, season 2, episode 16. ABC Signature.

Espenson, Jane. 2014. "White Out". Directed by Ron Underwood. *Once Upon a Time*, season 4, episode 2. ABC Signature.

Espenson, Jane. 2016. "Firebird". Directed by Ron Underwood. *Once Upon a Time*, season 5, episode 20. ABC Signature.

Goodman H., David and Andrew Chambliss. 2017. "The Song in Your Heart". Directed by David Solomon. *Once Upon a Time*, season 6, episode 20. ABC Signature.

Goodman H., David and Rubert Hull. 2013. "Think Lovely Thoughts". Directed by Ron Underwood. *Once Upon a Time*, season 3, episode 8. ABC Signature.

Horowitz, Adam and Edward Kitsis. 2011–2018. *Once Upon a Time*. ABC Signature.

IMDb. n.d. "Awards". Once Upon a Time - Awards - IMDb. Accessed on April 1, 2022. https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1843230/awards?ref_=tt_ql_sm

Kitsis, Edward and Adam Horowitz. 2012. "A Land Without Magic". Directed by Dean White. *Once Upon a Time*, season 1, episode 22. ABC Signature.

Kitsis, Edward and Adam Horowitz. 2013. "Going Home". Directed by Ralph Hemecker. *Once Upon a Time*, season 3, episode 11. ABC Signature.

Schwartz, Jerome and David H. Goodman. 2016. "The Brothers Jones". Directed by Eagle Egilsson. *Once Upon a Time*, season 5, episode 15. ABC Signature.

Schwartz, Jerome. 2016. "Last Rites". Directed by Craig Powell. *Once Upon a Time*, season 5, episode 21. ABC Signature.

UN Women. "Awake Not Sleeping: Reimagining Fairy Tales for a Generation". *Awake Not Sleeping*. Accessed on April 24, 2022. https://interactive.unwomen.org/eca/fairytales/en/index.html

Archive of Our Own. Accessed on April 24, 2022. "Once Upon a Time (TV) – Work". *Archive of Our Own*. https://archiveofourown.org/works?commit=Sort+and+Filter&work_search%5Bsort_column%5D=revised_at&include_work_search%5Brelationship_ids%5D%5B%5D=570291&work_search%5Bother_tag_names%5D=&work_search%5Bexcluded_tag_names%5D=&work_search%5Bcrossover%5D=&work_search%5Bcomplete%5D=&work_search%5Bwords_from%5D=&work_search%5Bwords_to%5D=&work_search%5Bdate_from%5D=&work_search%5Bdate_to%5D=&work_search%5Bquery%5D=&work_search%5Blanguage_id%5D=&tag_id=Once+Upon+a+Time+%28TV%29

Secondary sources:

Abrams, M. H., and Geoffrey Harpham. 2014. *A Glossary of Literary Terms*. Cengage Learning.

Bacchilega, Cristina, John Rieder, and Jack Zipes. 2010. "Mixing It Up: Generic Complexity and Gender Ideology in Early Twenty-First Century Fairy Tale Films." In *Fairy Tale Films: Visions of Ambiguity*, edited by Pauline Greenhill and Sidney Eve Matrix, 23–41. University Press of Colorado. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt4cgn37.6

Bacchilega, Cristina. 1997. *Postmodern Fairy Tales: Gender and Narrative Strategies*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bacchilega, Cristina. 2013. *Fairy Tales Transformed? Twenty-First-Century Adaptations and the Politics of Wonder*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press

Greenhill, Pauline, and Jill Terry Rudy. 2014. "Channeling Wonder: Fairy Tales, Television, and Intermediality" In *Channeling Wonder: Fairy Tales on Television*, edited by Pauline Greenhill and Jill Terry Rudy, 1–21. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

Hay, Rebecca and Christa Baxter. 2014. "Happily Never After: The Commodification and Critique of Fairy Tale in ABC's *Once Upon a Time*". In *Channeling Wonder: Fairy Tales on Television*, edited by Pauline Greenhill and Jill Terry Rudy, 394–315. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

Hutcheon, Linda and Siobhan O'Flynn. 2013. *A Theory of Adaptation*. 2nd edition. New York: Routledge.

Jenkins, Henry. 2007. "Transmedia Storytelling 101." *Henry Jenkins: Confessions of an Aca-Fan*. Accessed on April 2, 2022. http://henryjenkins.org/blog/2007/03/transmedia_storytelling_101.html

Kérchy, Anna. 2010. "Faraway, So Close. Towards a Definition of Magic(al) Ir(realism)". In *What Constitutes the Fantastic?* edited by Sabine Coelsch-Foisner, György E. Szőnyi, Sarolta Marinovich-Resch, Anna Kérchy. Szeged: JATEPress.

Kérchy, Anna. 2018. "Transmedia Commodification: Disneyfication, Magical Objects, and *Beauty and the Beast*." In *Routledge Companion to Transmedia Studies*, edited by Gambarato Rampazzo Renira and Matthew Freeman.

Kérchy, Anna. 2019. "Tradíció és transzmediáció: A tündérmese utóélete a 21. századi gyerek és ifjúsági irodalomban". *Studia Litteraria* 58 (1–2): 115–126. https://doi.org/10.37415/studia/2019/58/4264

Lewis, Barry. 2011. "Postmodernism and Fiction". In *The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism*, edited by Stuart Sim, 181–169. 3rd edition. New York: Routledge.

Schwabe, Claudia. 2014. "Getting Real with Fairy Tales: Magic Realism in *Grimm* and *Once Upon a Time*". In *Channeling Wonder: Fairy Tales on Television*, edited by Pauline Greenhill and Jill Terry Rudy, 394–315. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

Strauch, Sandra. 2017. "'Once Upon a Time" in queer fandom". *Transformative Works and Cultures*, 24 (2017). https://doi.org/10.3983/twc.2017.0929

Tanner, Litsa Renée et al. "Images of Couples and Families in Disney Feature-Length Animated Films." *The American Journal of Family Therapy*, 31 (2003): 355–373. https://doi.org/10.1080/01926180390223987

Williams, Christy. 2021. *Mapping Fairy-Tale Space: Pastiche and Metafiction in Borderless Tales*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Zipes, Jack. 1999. "Breaking the Disney Spell." In *The Classic Fairy Tales*, edited by Maria Tatar, 332–352. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999.

Zipes, Jack. 2011. "The Triumph of the Underdog: Cinderella's Legacy". In *The Enchanted Screen: The Unknown History of Fairy-Tale Films*. New York: Routledge.

Doloresz Karanyi

Art and Nationhood Intertwined: Constructing British Selves through Mid to Late Eighteenth-Century Paintings*

Abstract

The topic of British national sentiment has been approached from various perspectives, receiving much scholarly attention over the past decades. The primary aim of this paper is to investigate the connection between visual arts and national identity-formation in mid-to-late eighteenth-century Britain, focusing on concepts of nationhood promoted by painters working at the heart of the English art world. Drawing on the works of William Hogarth, Francis Hayman, Thomas Gainsborough, Joshua Reynolds, John Singleton Copley, and Benjamin West, I analyse how definitions of 'Englishness' changed with the rise of British visual arts and the market for cultural goods. In my analysis of twelve British paintings produced in the second half of the century, I aspire to uncover how the discourse of patriotism served to promote new images of the nation, encouraging the increased consumption of local artistic products. Combining the writings of art historians, sociologists, and economic theorists with the treatises of eighteenth-century painters in defence of their profession, I examine the development of the British artistic world in its entire complexity. In forming a deeper understanding of the relationship between contemporary identity formation and active engagement in cultural practices, I observe the role assigned to visual arts in shaping Englishmen into polite and cultured individuals. The key notions observed in this paper include the struggles of native artists against imported commodities, the establishment of the country's first official art institution, the hierarchy of genres of painting, and painters' efforts to manipulate consumer behaviour using a specific national rhetoric. This thesis hopes to provide a comprehensive view of what it meant to be 'English' in the Age of Enlightenment through an artistic lens, looking at national values in the context of Britain's warfare with France, the rise of the public, and the increased number of bourgeois consumers of art.

1. Introduction

British national identity has been the subject of exhaustive academic research, as scholars have provided valuable insight into the history and development of British national sentiment over the centuries. The rich history of Great Britain as a melting pot of various cultures and people makes the construction of 'Britishness' a fairly complex topic that continues to stay relevant in today's post-Brexit society. Though nationalism itself emerged with the rise of nation states in the 1800s, the seeds of a national sentiment had already been planted during the Age of Enlightenment. In my detailed investigation into some of the most influential British paintings executed between 1740s and 1780s, I intend to shed light on their role as cultural commodities in the promotion of different understandings of nationhood. Since 'English' and 'British' were used interchangeably in Early Modern Britain, I restrict my use of the term 'Britishness' to discuss the image Britons collectively projected of themselves to the rest of Europe and France, their most serious rival at the time. Inspecting the role of visual arts in shaping the self-perception of spectators as members of the same diverse but united nation, I uncover how the concept of

* MA Thesis. Supervisor: Zoltán Cora.

national sentiment could serve the twofold purpose of promoting a sense of belonging and an active participation in the consumer market.

Reflecting on Linda Colley's work emphasizing the binding nature of warfare in uniting countrymen of various backgrounds, I focus on the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), a major conflict between Britain and France, as one of the prime sources of inspiration behind contemporary historical artworks.[1] To avoid any misunderstandings, I differentiate between two types of history paintings: those understood to follow the rules of the *Grand Manner,* and *modernized* pieces fusing the genres of portraiture and traditional history painting. Chapter 4 demonstrates that painters' way of historicizing ongoing and recent events was an efficient strategy for anchoring audiences in the present moment, moving them away from 'consuming' the past through the works of the Old Masters.

While the lack of available data would render it increasingly difficult to analyse the precise consumption practices and tendencies of eighteenth-century consumers of artistic products, statistics obtained on the origin of sold paintings underscore that 'native' painters' efforts had, in fact, been fruitful in marginalizing classical Italian and French paintings on the rising market for cultural goods.[2] Examining pre-analysed data from the works of art historians, I implement their findings to support my argumentation on the popularity and influence of locally produced paintings.[3] As William Vaughan observes, the demand for British paintings began to grow once patriotism had been featured more extensively in the artistic realm with the idea that supporting native painters would not only benefit the artist and the consumer, but the entire nation itself.[4] The writings of artists and philosophers alike attest to the fact that visual arts in eighteenth-century Britain were believed to serve the noble purpose of creating a more civilized society by "humanising the mind".[5] As Britain's rivalry with France extended to the artistic realm as well, the country's ongoing competition with French genres and academies of art became a significant factor when laying the grounds for a British art institution. Maxine L. Berg finds that 'imitation and invention' were an integral part of art production for local painters, as the modification and incorporation of foreign artistic elements with newly invented ones could produce a distinctly English style.[6] In this respect, debates over definitions of aesthetic taste and art itself were of considerable relevance.

What was considered 'fine art', art worth producing and purchasing, in the first half of the century depended on the opinion of 'dictators of taste', aristocratic connoisseurs infatuated with Classical masterpieces they had the privilege of studying on their trips to Europe.[7] Provided that being perceived as *polite* individuals was a shared national interest, Englishmen began building their public image around a specific set of behaviours and a certain degree of 'culturedness'. Consequently, deciding who should gain access to visual arts was a difficult task that essentially divided painters into two groups. In *The Pleasures of Imagination,* John Brewer gives an in-depth ac-

---

1 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 46.

2 Thomas M. Bayer and John R. Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011), 43.

3 Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900;* John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013); William Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner* (Thames and Hudson, 1999).

4 William Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 34.

5 Joshua Reynolds, *Seven Discourses delivered in the Royal Academy*. (London: Printed for T. Cadell in the Strand, bookseller and printer to the Royal Academy, 1778)

6 Maxine L. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 94.

7 Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 171.

count of the arguments presented on both sides, explaining why it was commonly held that "[t]aste was something everyone had, but some people had more than others".[8] Taste, then, had inextricably been linked to one's social position, enabling aristocrats to maintain their authority over definitions of art. Bringing together two remarkable sources, Mark A. Cheetham's article on cosmopolitanism and nationalism in eighteenth century and Eamonn Carrabine's recent study on Hogarth and visual culture, I approach discussions on taste from a socio-cultural perspective.[9]

Central to this debate is the clash of elite and bourgeois interests of the painters, which is best demonstrated through the hierarchy of genres. According to the established criteria, Reynolds' grandiose histories were ranked highest at the expense of "lowly" genres like portraiture that aimed to represent particular ideas instead of general ones.[10] Since portraits were a widespread cultural commodity even among the lower circles of society, granting it the same status as traditional history paintings would have posed the risk of shrinking the gap between what was considered 'high' and 'low' art. In other words, even though the majority of British painters actively capitalized off of portraits on the consumer-driven market, artists had to remain divided in theory to preserve the superiority of the *Grand Manner*. After all, painters associated with the Royal Academy of Arts could not afford to jeopardize their prestige by welcoming "improper persons" to their yearly exhibitions intended for aristocratic persons of taste.[11]

As Peter De Bolla points out in his impactful work on eighteenth-century ways of looking, art shows had provided spectators with opportunities to be recognized as individuals in this highly gendered and classed cultural sphere.[12] The spread of consumerism and print culture have transformed people's relationship to cultural commodities. For instance, having access to the finest of contemporary works of art was no longer the prerogative of wealthier persons, as copies and engravings of original paintings began to flood the market with greater intensity than ever before. This, however, did not change the fact that looking at paintings on the Strand (London's busiest shopping street) could not match the experience of seeing them on the walls of the Academy's Somerset House for the first time. Indeed, De Bolla explains that the main motivation for gaining entrance to art shows was the promise of a certain level of social visibility that bourgeois spectators so deeply yearned for.

Being aware of the identity-forming aspect of exhibitions, organizers of these events agreed on setting down sets of rules for filtering out all sorts of curious spectators, being left with only the 'cream' of English society. The context of viewing native artworks was a decisive factor in their reconceptualization not only as luxury items and markers of prestige, but also as valuable commodities within the reach of less-affluent members of society. Although concert rooms and art galleries came to be the sites of popular leisure activities by the end of the 1700s, they had previously been made largely inaccessible to non-aristocratic members of society.[13] It is for this reason that I choose to devote much of my attention to the process of expanding art to a wider and more diverse audience, elaborating on the interests of aristocratic "guardians of taste" who wished to keep the arts from being associated with the "mindless mob" of bourgeois spectators.[14]

---

[8] Ibid, 84.

[9] Mark A. Cheetham, *Artwriting, nation, and cosmopolitanism in Britain: the 'Englishness' of English art theory since the eighteenth century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Eamonn Carrabine, "Low Life: William Hogarth, Visual Culture And Sociologies Of Art," *The British Journal of Sociology* 72, no. 4 (2021): 909–29.

[10] Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 170.

[11] Peter De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 199.

[12] Ibid, 18.

[13] Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 57.

[14] De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain,* 20.

Contrasting the sternly elitist rhetoric of Joshua Reynolds and other like-minded Academicians with the inclusive approaches of William Hogarth and Thomas Gainsborough, I elucidate on their use of patriotic symbols, uncovering which parts of society had been deemed deserving of being represented as members of the nation. Selecting paintings ranging from traditional to modernized histories, landscapes, satirical prints and conversation pieces, I strive to present how artists envisioned contemporary English society. Before moving on to inspect the iconographic elements of specific artworks, it is necessary to address artists' collective endeavours at eliminating unjust biases targeted at their profession. Responding to critics dismissing the intellectual nature of their craft, innovative artists took on the laborious task of publishing treatises stressing the educational potential of paintings. Jonathan Richardson Senior's 1719 *Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism,* Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty,* and the *Discourses* of Sir Joshua Reynolds provide a glimpse into the minds of painters, offering compelling arguments justifying the consumption of locally produced artworks.[15] In order to secure a place among the leading influencers of aesthetic taste, wealthy connoisseurs and members of the public had to be convinced that purchasing native art was a part of every good Englishman's patriotic duty.[16]

Starting with the works of William Hogarth and Francis Hayman, the two pioneers behind the very first public exhibitions of British paintings, I analyse a total of twelve paintings executed by Hogarth, Hayman, Thomas Gainsborough, Joshua Reynolds, Benjamin West, and John Singleton Copley. Arguably, this list could well be extended considering the plethora of eighteenth-century painters working in London alone, but, as I aim to demonstrate, the far-reaching influence of these six artists was unmatched on a national scale. Finally, I narrow the scope of my research to the decades between 1740 and 1780, the historic period which bore witness to some of the most radical changes in the British art world: the transition from the system of patronage to a consumer-based market, along with the birth of a separate art institution, the Royal Academy of Arts in 1768.[17]

The first chapter gives an assessment of existing issues regarding the patronage of arts, reflecting on painters' written responses to prejudices against their craft. Once the early state of visual arts has been addressed, I move on to examine the beginnings of a national academy, illuminating Englishmen's relationship to visual representations of the self. Using Pierre Bourdieu's approach to aesthetic taste and art theory of Nikolaus Pevsner, I analyse the connections between social status and aesthetic taste, specific ways of looking and the transformation of the growing market for cultural goods. Chapter three provides a nuanced account of painters' willingness (or lack thereof) to educate audiences on the appreciation of art. This section also introduces Vauxhall Gardens, a prominent space of entertainment through excerpts from *the Scots Magazine.* Detailing the influence of early art exhibitions and their possibilities of identity construction, I focus on new conceptions of selfhood offered with the rise of portraits, landscapes, satirical pieces, and modernized historical paintings. The primary objective of this research is to reveal how the concept of patriotism served as a vehicle for promoting the commodification and consumption of native paintings produced in the second half of the eighteenth century in England.

---

[15] Joshua Reynolds, *Seven Discourses delivered in the Royal Academy*. (London: Printed for T. Cadell in the Strand, bookseller and printer to the Royal Academy, 1778); Jonathan Richardson Senior, *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism, as it Relates to Painting* (London: W. Churchill, 1719); William Hogarth and Thomas Clerk, *The works of William Hogarth* (London: Black and Armstrong, 1837).

[16] Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 40.

[17] Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 11.

2. Commercializing patriotism

"Hail, happy land, whose fertile grounds
The liquid fence of Neptune bounds;
By bounteous Nature set apart,
The seat of industry and art!"

(John Gay, Fable 8, *The Man, the Cat, the Dog and the Fly*, 1732)

Compared to other European countries, Britain's market for locally produced cultural goods was still in its preliminary stage in the early decades of the eighteenth century. In the span of just one hundred years, however, the cultural centre of Europe moved from the luminous French capital to the industrious city of London.[18] Transitioning from a depressed, import-based market to a flourishing one directed at native paintings was a gradual and complicated process. The spread of literacy and the emergence of a more actively engaging audience had been undoubtedly influential in creating the necessary environment for the development of literature and visual arts. Nevertheless, aspiring painters had to overcome a number of obstacles before the country's first art institution, the Royal Academy of Arts could be established. One of these hardships was challenging the seemingly unshakeable authority of the Old Masters. In the following section, I wish to demonstrate why the "Golden Age" of British paintings could not have commenced without a decline in the number of imported cultural goods.

Broadly speaking, the majority of British 'dictators of taste' preferred classical French and Italian paintings over contemporary ones, instructing local painters to rely on foreign works as the ultimate blueprint for creating masterpieces.[19] Before ambitious artists like Hogarth and Hayman entered the scene, the essence of their profession had been boiled down to its mechanical aspects. Early eighteenth-century philosophers like the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury viewed artists as ordinary craftsmen, measuring their value based on their ability to transmit elitist values.[20] This implied that as long as arbiters of public taste were in complete charge of definitions of 'high' art, they would consider English painters incapable of producing valuable artworks – unless they were to reproduce famous Italian Renaissance paintings. Unsurprisingly, the thought of blindly copying foreign techniques did not appeal to those who sought for artistic freedom of expression. Instead, the vast influx of foreign paintings and sculptures encouraged pioneering artists to voice their concerns over the future of British arts. Even as early as 1719, esteemed figures like Jonathan Richardson Senior published treatises emphasizing the importance of arts in the "better education of gentlemen", calling upon wealthy patrons to prove their love for fine art by opening their hearts and wallets.[21] Criticism targeted at connoisseurs aimed to raise public attention to the devastating state of the English art world which was in dire need of change.

The complete and utter lack of state financial support and connoisseurs' growing collections of Italian and French works obstructed the formation of a British art academy. As a private person and lover of the arts, George III contributed greatly to the success of British paintings by financing Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West, two of the most fashionable painters of the day. Nonetheless, his patronizing role as head of state was a miniscule one, since only a handful of professionals enjoyed his exceptional support.[22] Due to the largely commission-based system of

---

[18] Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 8.

[19] Holger Hoock, "'Struggling against a Vulgar Prejudice': Patriotism and the Collecting of British Art at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 3, (2010): 566.

[20] Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 30.

[21] Richardson Senior, *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism, as it Relates to Painting,* 56.

[22] Cynthia Roman, "Art and Nation in Eighteenth-Century Britain" in *A Companion to British Art: 1600 to the Present,* eds. Dana Arnold and David Peters Corbett (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 203.

selling artworks, painters found themselves in a vulnerable position where their livelihood depended on the taste and preferences of aristocrats. It is without exaggeration to say that British artists were at a greater disadvantage than any of their French counterparts who received continuous assistance from the state and the Catholic Church as well.[23] The key to challenging the dominant position of non-English artistic products on the market remained in the hands of native painters, who saw it as their responsibility to elevate the status of their profession by offering new ways of envisioning the nation. In order to form a better understanding of the commercialization of British paintings in the spirit of patriotism, it is essential to clarify what is meant by national sentiment in the given socio-historical context.

With the birth and expansion of the British Empire, Britons' feeling of superiority over other peoples became an integral part of their nation-building process. Mark A. Cheetham conceptualizes 'Englishness' as a flexible network of relationships rather than a fixed and unchangeable category, thus leaving room for investigation into the practices of eighteenth-century British painters. He inspects the function of 'Englishing' in the artistic sphere, more specifically, the act of turning to foreign countries for artistic inspiration without surrendering one's sense of national excellence.[24] On the one hand, it is difficult to imagine how art communities could have remained completely unaffected by the constant flow of various artistic trends; in this case, by the spread of French Rococo and Italian Baroque. On the other hand, the act of 'Englishing' demanded creativity, innovation, and the desire to differentiate oneself from fellow European artists. The extent to which painters had been impacted by foreign styles remained less important compared to their willingness to combine existing ideas with the aim of creating something new. Cheetham considers Hogarth the embodiment of English values and freedom, emphasizing the intricacy of his national rhetoric grounded in a new, specifically English way of seeing.[25] Art historian, Nikolaus Pevsner encapsulates the novelty of Hogarth's style by positioning him between Rococo and anti-Rococo for his witty social commentary and delicate brushwork.[26] Even with a noticeable foreign influence in his pieces, William Hogarth strived toward developing a distinct style of painting centered on social satire, thus differentiating him from most native artists in the first half of the century.[27]

On closer inspection, 'Englishing' and the sociological phenomenon of Othering can be viewed as analogous processes in light of their method of operation, the need for maintaining a distance between "us" and "them". According to Linda Colley, the act of defining oneself against and over an alien Other should be seen as a constituent element of 'Britishness', as Britons actively engaged in this practice of self-identification throughout their history.[28] Because this process works in accordance with the logic of minimizing the similarities and exaggerating the differences between oneself and the Other (whether real or imagined), it ought to be mentioned in relation to paintings like Hogarth's *The Gate of Calais* and *The March of The Guards to Finchley*. Finally, the theory of Othering may help lay the foundation for discussing British nationhood in terms of the British-French conflict, and tensions between countrymen of different social standings – more precisely, aristocratic influencers of taste and bourgeois spectators.

---

[23] Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 111.

[24] Cheetham, *Artwriting, nation, and cosmopolitanism in Britain: the 'Englishness' of English art theory since the eighteenth century,* 16.

[25] Ibid, 40.

[26] Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art, An Expanded and Annotated Version of the Reith Lectures Broadcast in October and November 1955* (London: Architectural Press, 1956), 31.

[27] Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 30–32.

[28] Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation,* 1707–1837, 19.

From an artistic standpoint, British nationhood had to be conceptualized alongside consumerism, the acquisition of native paintings and engravings in particular. Holger Hoock defines cultural nationalism as "[a]n expression of patriotic sentiment – preference for, and an emotional identity with one's own country – through the production, promotion, and consumption of specific cultural processes, events, and goods".[29] I have already touched upon artists' anxieties over the detrimental effects of foreign canvases dominating the home market. What is also crucial to assess, is the degree to which the tremendous amount of imported Classical artworks contributed to the depressive state of Britain's market for native paintings. Between the decades 1720 and 1770, an estimate of 50,000 paintings and half a million engravings were brought to Britain.[30] The sheer quantity of artworks purchased abroad deeply unsettled local artists, especially considering aristocrats' initial dislike for engravings. William Hogarth, an avid defender of English arts, condemned the overwhelming amount of imported foreign goods, or the "[s]hip Loads of dead Christs, Holy Families, Madona's, and other dismal dark Subjects" for pushing native paintings and engravings into the background.[31] Hoock's concept of cultural nationalism could be applied to explain newly arising interpretations of patriotism, showing how the narrative gradually shifted in favour of painters working in Britain.

The 'unpatriotic' nature of aristocrats' actions is best highlighted in Richardson's essay, in which he argues that "if our Nobility, and Gentry were Lovers, and Connoisseurs, Publick Encouragement, and Assistance would be given to the Arts".[32] Assistance, in this sense, implied a selfless motivation for purchasing artworks with the aim of supporting local painters. Hoock draws an important distinction between two types of patrons: true supporters of the arts, and those busy compiling collections for the sake of their public image as patrons of British art.[33] *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism* addressed to connoisseurs and bourgeois audiences is one of the first eighteenth century art writings to merge patriotic values with the practice of purchasing native paintings, disseminating the idea that British arts belonged to all countrymen.[34]

As a portraitist himself, Richardson recognized the need for popularizing the consumption of their intellectual products as potential means for expressing feelings of national pride, and tools for maintaining one's social standing. His moral justification for purchasing local artworks inspired fellow painters to join the discussions on aesthetic taste and art consumption, a discourse they had been excluded from thus far. For Hogarth and Richardson, it was evident that the nation's potential excellence and enviable reputation depended on the establishment of a separate British school of art. Accusing wealthy patrons of committing "cultural treason"[35] for neglecting locally produced works of art had sparked debates on how the nurturing of visual arts could be of national interest for Great Britain.

So far, I have aimed to give a brief theoretical synopsis of the development of British visual arts in the examined period, starting from the discussion of its preliminary stages. The sections that follow provide a more in-depth illustration of British artists' collective efforts at building a reputation for themselves as artistic geniuses, influential figures responsible for shaping conceptualizations of the nation.

---

[29] Hoock, "'Struggling against a Vulgar Prejudice': Patriotism and the Collecting of British Art at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century.", 567.

[30] Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 169.

[31] William Hogarth, "Britophil" essay, *St. James's Evening Post,* (7–9 June 1737), 385–6.

[32] Richardson Senior, *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism, as it Relates to Painting,* 57.

[33] Hoock, "'Struggling against a Vulgar Prejudice': Patriotism and the Collecting of British Art at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century.", 573.

[34] Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 31.

[35] Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 80.

2.1. A society of looking

In *The Education of the Eye,* Peter De Bolla describes eighteenth-century Englishmen as being "obsessed with visibility, spectacle, and display."[36] He supports his claim by reflecting on the immense amount of portraits and miniatures commissioned throughout the period, highlighting contemporary needs for visual self-representation. Undeniably, the practice of looking and being looked at had become increasingly important with the development of arts in the mid-1700s. The production and consumption of cultural goods were of equal relevance for painters and spectators, who both aimed at constructing themselves as individuals in this hierarchically structured cultural space. For the artist figure to emerge, painters had to elevate their public image to a higher level and assert their dominance on the market with meticulously executed paintings.[37] The successful commodification of their original works, then, depended on changing the public's perception of paintings by popularizing them as cultural commodities possessing intellectual and aesthetic values worth preserving.[38]

Native artworks became more eminent as they continued to perpetuate positive images of the nation ('polite', 'masculine', 'triumphant'), facilitating the rise of historical consciousness for Britons in the Age of Enlightenment. The modernized artworks of Francis Hayman and Benjamin West are particularly interesting to analyse in terms of their depiction of eighteenth-century events. Hayman's four-piece series celebrating the powerful navy of *Britannia* were meant to uplift public spirit during a period of political uncertainty by evoking a feeling of national pride in spectators. The notion of inviting audience members to see the events of their age from a patriotic viewpoint helped distance British consumers of art from purchasing the works of Old Masters, thus generating a gradual decline in the investment in foreign pieces.[39] As outlined in the previous pages, the popularity of French and Italian paintings in the early 1700s had obstructed the flourishing of England's art market, confining local painters to the commission-based system. Timothy Erwin, Thomas Bayer, and John Page explicate the difficulties encountered by painters in the highly elitist and discriminatory artistic sphere. As they explain, artists had found themselves in a conflicted position, having to find a balance between catering to the needs of wealthy patrons while simultaneously trying to meet the demands of the rising market.[40] The promise of stable profit eventually tipped the scale in favour of the consumer-oriented market, giving artists excellent opportunities to capitalize off of original works and their copies.

In order to minimize the vast influx of foreign paintings in the middle of the century, artists had to step out of their comfort zones with the introduction of new possibilities of identification, allowing audiences to imagine themselves as individual subjects and members of the nation at the same time.[41] As far as subject paintings are concerned, portraiture enjoyed a level of popularity that became especially difficult to hinder, as most commissioned pieces were pictures of royal persons, military personnel and bourgeois Englishmen. Artists with a hint of entre-

---

[36] De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain,* 69.

[37] Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 45.

[38] Eamonn Carrabine, "Low Life: William Hogarth, Visual Culture and Sociologies of Art." *The British Journal of Sociology* 72, no. 4 (2021): 923.

[39] Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 60.

[40] Timothy Erwin, "William Hogarth and the Aesthetics of Nationalism." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 64, no. 3, (2001): 390.; Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900*, 67.

[41] Roman, "Art and Nation in Eighteenth-Century Britain" in *A Companion to British Art: 1600 to the Present,* 201.

preneurial spirit recognized the economic potential of expanding art to a wider audience and began experimenting with new, modern themes that could potentially resonate with people outside of the aristocratic realm. William Vaughan notes that since the face was believed to be the "seat of the soul", small and large scale portraits and paintings of loved ones were often purchased as gifts or served as decorations for people's homes as a symbol of their status.[42] It should be highlighted that members of the 'middling sorts' took a liking to portraits not only because of their affordability and availability but also because they were considered an entry ticket into the aristocratic realm, symbolizing the possibility of social mobility.[43]

The genre of portraiture had the potential to be transformed and adjusted to the taste of noblemen who wished for more dramatized portrayals of themselves. Joshua Reynolds, the father of the Grand Style, specialized in elevated paintings that depicted his sitters in a heroic manner, dressing them in anachronistic attire. In his 1770 lecture delivered to the students of the Royal Academy, he spoke of the problematics of striving to present particular values, concluding that "the beauty and grandeur of the art consists (...) in being able to get above all singular forms, local customs, particularities, and details of every kind".[44] The secret to becoming a successful portraitist depended on the skill of copying the particular facial and physical features of sitters, producing paintings that were authentic representations of them. That being said, portraiture could not live up to the standards of the *Grand Manner* (and the Royal Academy for that matter) as long as it continued to convey specific values over universal ones.[45]

His fifteen *Discourses* on art, a work read by many, including French and Russian royalty,[46] contain many references to the 'defective model' of portraiture. According to Reynolds, the genre of portraiture would always remain inferior, unless painters were to unite it with grandiose history paintings, in which case the combination of the two would become "the peculiar and constant evidence of genius".[47] Observing the Academy's annual art shows organized at the end of the century, De Bolla highlights Reynolds' habit of exhibiting more portraits than any other genre of painting during his presidency.[48] Despite his contempt for the specific, Reynolds' actions demonstrate that even the most respected artistic geniuses had to find a middle ground between their elitist ideals and the economic benefits of becoming portrait painters. It must be noted that the combination of the *Grand Style* and portraiture gave way to a genre that was different from traditional portraits but could still fulfil the needs of consumers.

The shift from the system of patronage to the growing art market in the middle of the century enabled artists to build a large and growing clientele for themselves, helping them shake off the burden of financial uncertainty. Compared to other trading centres and urban areas in Britain, London's ever increasing heterogeneous population and budding cultural life had made it the main centre of the art market.[49] In the midst of a consumer revolution, the art market called for a rich assortment of products that would satisfy the needs of various customers. In

---

[42] Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 39.

[43] De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain,* 28.

[44] Joshua Reynolds, *Seven Discourses delivered in the Royal Academy,* https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2176/2176-h/2176-h.htm.

[45] De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain,* 29.

[46] Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art, An Expanded and Annotated Version of the Reith Lectures Broadcast in October and November 1955,* 51.

[47] Reynolds, *Seven Discourses delivered in the Royal Academy,* https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2176/2176-h/2176-h.htm.

[48] De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain,* 27.

[49] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 22.

their attempt to attract large crowds of spectators and potential buyers, contemporary artists began experimenting with various styles and sizes of artworks ranging from miniatures to large scale paintings. Interestingly, their experimentation with techniques ended up triggering the re-emergence of previously neglected genres like landscape paintings. Thomas Gainsborough, one of the founding members of the Academy, is credited for paving the way for the forerunners of Romanticism with his delicate portraits and landscapes of the English countryside.[50] I return to the topic of newly emerging genres and Gainsborough's works in Chapter 4 with the analysis of twelve paintings categorized on the basis of their style and iconographic elements.

The reconceptualization of paintings as cultural products carrying national values had made it possible for artists to increase their income through engravings and printed copies of original pieces. Hogarth's Copyright Act of 1735 revolutionized the business for engravers by protecting their rights over original pieces, contributing to the immense popularity of British engravings later on during the eighteenth century.[51] The emphasis on originality meant that engravers who merely reproduced Italian and French paintings were left unprotected by Hogarth's Act,[52] sending a clear message about his stance on copying the Old Masters. Bayer and Page point out that the later success of this legislation had motivated artists to market their works in a more efficient way, enabling them to sell both the copyrights and exhibitions rights of paintings separately from the individual piece itself.[53] True economic growth commenced with the organization of art exhibitions where large crowds of spectators would gather to socialize and get a glimpse of newly executed pieces. In the next chapter, I elaborate on the identity-forging aspects of art shows through the examples of famous places of public entertainment such as the Vauxhall Gardens and the Academy's Somerset House.

3. Learning to approach art

Borrowing Benedict Anderson's term, art historian Douglas Fordham conceptualizes eighteenth-century British arts as an "imagined community as messy as the British state itself".[54] The increased participation and engagement of bourgeois audiences had prompted discussions on the accessibility of visual arts and 'proper' ways of looking. Given the lack of support offered for native painters in England, the development of visual arts depended on a number of social and economic factors. From the rise and growing engagement of the public to the country's competition with foreign artistic trends, the invention of a 'purely English' style demanded cooperation and good marketing. The intersectionality of these factors contributing to the formation of a national school of art underscores the complexity of the process.

As indicated before, providing wider access to artworks and inspiring audiences to engage with British art were equally essential in eradicating the idea that the appreciation of beauty was the privilege of the upper circles alone.[55] William Hogarth, whose complexity lay in his intelligent combination of visuals and text, addressed relevant issues concerning the interpretation

---

[50] Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 108.

[51] Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 87.

[52] Ronald Paulson, "Emulative consumption and literacy: The Harlot, Moll Flanders, and Mrs. Slipslop" in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* eds. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, (London: Routledge, 1995): 386.

[53] Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 190.

[54] Douglas Fordham, "State, Nation, And Empire In The History Of Georgian Art". *Perspective,* no. 1, (2012): paragraph 4.

[55] Roman, "Art and Nation in Eighteenth-Century Britain" in *A Companion to British Art: 1600 to the Present,* 214.

of artworks in his writings. The most profound distinction between Hogarth and Reynolds, apart from their style and representations of the nation, was their opposing stance on the education of bourgeois audience members in ways of looking. The "people's artist", Hogarth began his career as a humble engraver; his familiarity with prevailing social issues served as an inspiration for his satirical pieces and modern moral subjects, earning him considerable fame among members of the public.[56] Hogarth was adamant at portraying the realities of English society, showing what was left unseen by those who viewed Britain through rose-tinted glasses.

Throughout his career, Hogarth had urged spectators to approach works of art from their own perspective, inviting them to embrace an 'English' way of seeing by letting them "judge as freely of Painting, as they do of Poetry".[57] In an anonymous essay entitled 'Britophil', which was attributed to Hogarth based on its style, the artist draws attention to the need for interpretative confidence. Hogarth warns readers against becoming like "the Gentleman", who "tho' naturally a Judge of what is beautiful", is "ashamed to be out of Fashion in judging for himself" – namely, afraid of going against dominant opinions on the matter of art appreciation.[58] In view of this, Timothy Erwin anchors Hogarth's patriotism in his endeavours of liberating beauty from the overarching influence of the Old Masters and their Classical style of painting.[59] Hogarth's willingness to educate the masses on the appreciation of beauty implied that open-minded artists like him were ready to broaden their clientele by promoting inclusivity.

As a result of Britain's territorial expansion, local customers were introduced to a variety of commodities originating from Europe and East-Asian countries. The spread of consumption had significantly increased contemporary anxieties over the 'evils' of materialism, raising important questions about the ethics of purchasing unnecessary commodities. From an economic standpoint, shopping for cultural commodities was seen in an optimistic light; eighteenth-century experts insisted on the benefits of mercantilist trading policies.[60] For financial experts, the moral implications of consumerism were overshadowed by the promise of wealth accumulated from Britain's emergence as a powerful trading empire.

In contrast with the optimistic views of economists, clergymen and political figures believed that foreign luxury items were corrupting English society, dragging its citizens down the path to a hedonistic lifestyle.[61] Their concerns were rooted in the origin of commodities and the consequences of consumption on contemporary social order. Luxury goods from France in particular were viewed with suspicion for their 'feminine' qualities, causing concern over their effects on English consumers. The gendered aspects of British national sentiment are foregrounded in the binary opposition of 'masculine Britain' and 'effeminate France' – stereotypical images that peaked during the Seven Years' War.[62]

Much to aristocrats' dismay, the rejection of French influence on British economy and aesthetic taste had tainted the elite's reputation, who were keen on keeping up with foreign fashions and trends. Circling back to the practice of 'Englishing' in visual arts, Maxine Berg's study

---

[56] Carrabine, "Low Life: William Hogarth, Visual Culture and Sociologies of Art.", 916.

[57] Ibid, 385–6. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015063697224&view=1up&seq=402&skin=2021&q1=britophil

[58] Hogarth, "Britophil" essay, *St. James's Evening Post,* (7–9 June 1737), 385–6. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015063697224&view=1up&seq=402&skin=2021&q1=britophil

[59] Erwin, "William Hogarth and the Aesthetics of Nationalism," 388.

[60] David George Surdam, "Birth of a Consumer Society in Eighteenth-Century England" in: *Business Ethics from Antiquity to the 19th Century*. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 274.

[61] Ibid, 275.

[62] Carol Watts, *The Cultural Work of Empire: The Seven Years' War and the Imagining of the Shandean State*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012), 84.

discloses how certain French commodities were 'made English' with the adaptation and modification of their elements.[63] Still, native artists fostered an ambivalent attitude toward the influx of foreign products, arguing that the country's home trade could not prosper under the impact of imported goods. Britain's trade with its neighbours and colonies had undoubtedly helped enlarge the group of British consumers, which partially aligned with the goals of aspiring painters. Nonetheless, British artists rejected the import-based market on the grounds that it sustained itself at the expense of domestic commodities.

Greater wealth distribution and increased wages in urban areas generated a noteworthy demand for commodities, even among persons who hitherto lacked the financial means to invest in non-essential items. Neil McKendrick proposes that people's desire to purchase was not an eighteenth-century phenomenon; the reciprocal relationship between supply and demand meant that the availability of products was both the cause and consequence of an increased availability of commodities in Britain.[64] The upper crusts of society feared that the wider accessibility of engravings and copies of British works would threaten aristocrats' control over aesthetic taste, collapsing the distance between 'high' and 'low' art.[65] McKendrick explains that since art consumption had mainly been the practice of affluent persons, the growing market now posed the danger of social mobility and the implication that social distinctions were based on "little more than purchasing power".[66] This critical point is essential to keep in mind when approaching the rivalry between various societies of artists and the organization of public exhibitions.

In Brewer's view, securing a stable place for the arts was a matter of utmost gravity for every artist and connoisseur in eighteenth-century Britain.[67] William Hogarth's vision of a national school of art certainly did not correspond with the plans of the elite who worked toward the establishment of an academy centred on aristocratic ideals.[68] Joshua Reynolds' backhanded compliments of "vulgar-minded" geniuses like Hogarth highlight the Academy's contempt for engravings and other subordinate genres that attempted to undermine the elite's authority over visual arts. In the clash of these interests, it is necessary to inspect the formation of eighteenth-century art clubs and minor art institutions for the education of painters. Hogarth and Francis Hayman were one of the first native artists to launch campaigns for the organization of art exhibitions, transforming the context of viewing original paintings in Britain.[69] The Foundling Hospital project and their cooperation with Jonathan Tyers, the proprietor of the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens, as I will show, was a clever marketing strategy on their part.

Without an official art institution, arranging exhibitions had been an exceptionally arduous task both from an economic and organizational perspective. At the beginning of the 1700s, pleasure gardens were unpopular establishments in the eyes of the public, as they were infamous for being the sites of promiscuous activities.[70] Most artworks (besides the commissioned portraits of royalty and noblemen) had been hung on the walls of various coffee houses and public spaces like auction rooms for decoration. This meant that art galleries were yet to be built in England, as there was no separate space designed deliberately for the purpose of exhibiting native paint-

---

63 Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth century Britain,* 281.

64 McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England,* 10.

65 Surdam, "Birth of a Consumer Society in Eighteenth-Century England", 274.

66 McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England,* 18.

67 Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 7.

68 Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 47.

69 De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain,* 80.

70 Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 60.

ings as unique and praiseworthy intellectual products.[71] Contrary to the claims of critics who had blamed Hogarth for "dragging art out of the temple and into the gutter",[72] he is remembered as one of the few pioneering artists who began uplifting the status of their creative profession. Though Hogarth's St. Martin's Lane Academy had been a short-lived institution, its foundation was a defining moment in the education of aspiring painters, making it the predecessor of the Royal Academy of Arts.[73]

Social historians explain that the country's level of industrialization, increased wages in metropolitan areas, and the rise of leisure activities had made theatres, concert halls, and art galleries some of the most fashionable cultural locations of the period.[74] The popularity of new cultural domains had excited the spirits of the public, who were eager to experience taking part in lavish events with the hopes of *being seen* as individuals and audience members. Much has been said about Hogarth's contribution and the strong grip of foreign commodities on the English economy for cultural goods. In the following pages, I examine the first art shows organized by native painters in contemporary England, looking at the identity-shaping potential of specific places of culture: opportunities offered for spectators to become recognized as *polite* individuals.

3.1. Business and pleasure

The identity-, and nation-forming characteristics of the art world and the intricacy of the market for cultural goods ought to be approached from an interdisciplinary perspective. Eamonn Carrabine unites two sociological standpoints, the theories of Becker and Bourdieu, to explain that the eighteenth-century artistic sphere should, first and foremost, be conceptualized as a *social space*, connecting the efforts of those who had engaged in it in some shape of form.[75] Through the example of the Vauxhall Gardens alongside other, newly established art galleries, I examine the possibilities of constructing identities and instances of Othering in the cultural context of viewing artworks.

Prior to the foundation of the Royal Academy of Arts, the only venues for displaying pictures had been the aforementioned Foundling Hospital and Vauxhall Gardens (later known as Spring Gardens). When the Pleasure Gardens reopened its gates in the early 1730s, the owner's initial goal was to build a respectable reputation for the establishment as a new venue for public entertainment.[76] Ambitious painters saw this event as the ideal opportunity for displaying their artworks, convincing Tyers of the prospects of working together with the future artistic geniuses of England. The cooperation between Tyers and artists like Hogarth, Hayman and Highmore proved to be beneficial for all parties included, as positive reports of the 1739 exhibition began to appear in papers like the *Scots Magazine*.[77] More importantly, the context of viewing artworks and the atmosphere created at the Gardens had moved native artworks one step closer to being seen as independent intellectual products worth investing in.

The other impactful campaign in support of native artists was the Foundling Hospital project, Hogarth's 1745 initiative, designed to secure new sites for displaying paintings. Stressing his belief that true art should be sought in the present (and not in the works of Old Masters),

---

71 Ibid, 59.

72 Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 26.

73 Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 47.

74 Maxine L. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 218.

75 Carrabine, "Low Life: William Hogarth, Visual Culture and Sociologies of Art.", 926.

76 Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 53.

77 Ibid, 54.

Hogarth had requested his fellow painters to contribute by submitting their works. Some of the artworks decorating the walls of the establishment included paintings executed by notable artists such as Francis Hayman, Joseph Highmore, Allan Ramsay, and the two giants, Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Gainsborough.[78] The authors of *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse* specify that the central thought behind the project was to popularize British paintings in a philanthropic setting while simultaneously inspiring affluent contributors to patronize talented artists like themselves.[79] The creativity of geniuses like Hogarth, however, did not change the fact that artists' options for organizing art shows had been fairly limited before the 1760s and 1770s.

In his speech delivered to the gentlemen present at the opening of the Royal Academy on January 2nd 1769, Sir Joshua Reynolds declared the event one of historical importance, being "in the highest degree interesting, not only to the artists, but to the whole nation".[80] The long-anticipated birth of a British art institution did more than just secure a place for Great Britain among the leading countries in visual arts, as this event represented decades of joint efforts and collective organization. Some scholars have pointed out that this had also been a decisive moment in separating artists into two groups: Academicians and the rest.[81] Former members of the St. Martin's Lane Academy (with Hogarth in the lead) expressed their concerns on multiple accounts over the national school of art becoming an elitist organization. Though Hogarth produced pieces that had fit the agenda of both affluent and bourgeois consumers alike, he envisioned an academy independent of aristocratic definitions of art and aesthetic taste.[82] Despite their objections, the slandering of 'inferior' genres continued when founding members of the Academy chose to fundamentally exclude engravers from their institution due to the mechanical nature of their craft.[83]

To understand the ideological implications of such distinctions, it is necessary to consult a variety of sources on how certain artistic activities and aesthetic objects had become dominant in eighteenth-century society. French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of taste as "the basis of all that one has – people and things – and all that one is for others"[84] could serve as a useful point of reference for understanding the confrontation of aesthetic values. The classification of oneself and others necessitates some degree of Othering, i.e. the recognition and exaggeration of differences between groups or individuals. In the given socio-historical context, it seems obvious that certain discourses (especially those of national interest) had been made inaccessible for 'outsiders' who did not possess the required knowledge and vocabulary, or lacked social prestige to take part in such debates. Working with Bourdieu's concept of taste as "a marker of class" – or in this case, a marker of social standing – the hierarchy of genres imposed by the Royal Academy can be viewed as a hierarchy of consumers.[85] The intellectual theories discussed in his volume complement Peter de Bolla's study on eighteenth-century discourses about spectators' right to look in relation to their 'educatedness' in matters of high culture.

---

78 Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 186.

79 Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 57.

80 Joshua Reynolds, *Seven Discourses delivered in the Royal Academy*. (London: Printed for T. Cadell in the Strand, bookseller and printer to the Royal Academy, 1778), https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2176/2176-h/2176-h.htm

81 Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 63.

82 Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 176.

83 Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 64.

84 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 56.

85 Ibid, 2.

Within the framework of consumerism, the construction of identities had become less of a complex process for people excluded from the limited circle of privileged aristocrats. It was made increasingly possible to become visible members of society through an active participation in the market and in popular leisure activities. Relying on Carrabine's understanding of the artistic sphere as a network of economic and social relations, it becomes relevant to investigate social situations where the nobility and bourgeois spectators would be likely to mingle. Such places of diversity were venues of popular entertainment, such as concert rooms and art galleries in populous cities like London. In her study on public sociability, Hannah Grieg concentrates on notable pleasure gardens, specifically on Vauxhall and Ranelagh, as major sites of heterogeneity.[86] Vauxhall has already been introduced as the first venue for art exhibitions in England, becoming one of the most frequented public spaces in the mid-1700s. For the price of one shilling, visitors could enjoy all twelve acres of Tyers' grandiose establishment, entering a domain of "subject formation through visuality".[87]

Excerpts from visitor' accounts published in the *Scots Magazine* offer a glimpse into the glamorous world of Vauxhall, where "glass candle sticks with wax lights" decorated the tables and "five hundred suppers [were] served in an instant".[88] The Toupee Letters (reports of a gentleman writing under the name 'S. Toupee') unveil that during the busier seasons, "not less than *one thousand* shillings [were] received each evening",[89] meaning that there was great potential for people of various social standings to intermingle. Institutions intended for entertainment purposes and sites of cultural activities inherently generate a different atmosphere for identity construction than any public space. On this note, Grieg contends that pleasure gardens (as separate areas for socializing) had the potential to minimize social differences between the middling sorts and aristocrats, as they entered these establishments not as individuals but as visitors, becoming members of the same crowd.[90] This, of course, is not to suggest that all distinctions between aristocrats and bourgeois spectators had disappeared, since being recognized as a 'person of culture' still depended on a number of factors.

Civic humanism, an elitist theory propagated by Anthony Ashley Cooper and later by Reynolds, was deeply rooted in what de Bolla calls 'the regime of the picture', a prescriptive approach to the appreciation of artworks.[91] In an effort to maintain the hierarchy of genres and anchor aesthetic taste in social position, Academicians argued that a certain degree of educatedness was inevitably required for the appreciation of fine art. By contrast, painters and engravers who relied on the dynamics of the consumer market emphasized spectators' universal right to visual arts, arguing in favour of 'the regime of the eye'.[92] The merging of these opposing approaches can be observed in the examples of art exhibitions organized after the 1760s, where the works of celebrated native painters were made accessible to large crowds of people.

Scholars note that the introduction of admission fees at art exhibitions and pleasure gardens implied that visitors' ability to afford tickets, rather than their title, was the determining factor

---

[86] Hannah Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740–1800," *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 1 (2012): 50–75.

[87] De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain,* 76.

[88] S. Toupee, *Scots Magazine,* I, August 1739, 363–4, http://www.vauxhallgardens.com/vauxhall_gardens_toupeetwo_page.html.

[89] S. Toupee, *Scots Magazine,* I, July 1739, 322–324, http://www.vauxhallgardens.com/vauxhall_gardens_toupeeone_page.html

[90] Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740—1800." 59.

[91] De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain,* 24.

[92] Ibid, 23.

in granting them entrance to places of popular entertainment.[93] Arguably, the issue of imposing entry tickets could be approached from a slightly different angle by concentrating on events where they had been used to deliberately exclude non-affluent members of society. Nevertheless, focusing on more accessible establishments like Vauxhall helps uncover the connection between identity-construction and cultural space, simultaneously drawing attention to a significant change in the composition of audiences.

4. Portraying the nation

The previous section intended to explore the increasingly diverse composition of audiences in eighteenth-century Britain, aspiring to illuminate bourgeois spectators' growing engagement in the art market. In light of this, it becomes vital to reflect on painters' representations of the nation, as their images and, according to Brewer,[94] even British culture itself were interpreted differently by various groups of people because of this heterogeneity. This chapter gives a detailed analysis of the patriotic iconography of twelve British paintings executed in the second half of the eighteenth century with the aim of uncovering how artists had utilized their nationalistic rhetoric to influence consumer behaviour and the dynamics of the art market. To offer a thorough insight into this process, I divide the following chapter into four separate sub-sections by categorizing artworks based on their themes and main concepts.

4.1. Satire and 'Englishness'

Approaching the formation of British national sentiment from an artistic standpoint allows for a nuanced understanding of eighteenth-century people's everyday reality. From the price of paintings to the number of visitors at galleries, information on Britons' consumption practices and engagement in cultural activities cast light upon the availability and influence of visual arts in Great Britain. Moreover, the popularity of various themes and genres may reveal which images of the nation had been most convincing for audiences. In order to be able to discuss different subject positions and visions of the nation, the British 'self' had to be envisioned as a flexible one. It would have been a profound challenge to redefine 'Englishness' (or the concept of spectatorship) in more inclusive terms without the possibility of social mobility. In an attempt to present a comprehensive view of contemporary English society, I examine a small selection of artistic pieces belonging to several genres, starting with the works of William Hogarth and Francis Hayman.

The first great native painter, William Hogarth, dedicated his career to combating the influence of the Old Masters, forming an English style of art for newly emerging audiences. At a time when most painters were preoccupied with catering to the gaze of aristocrats and royal connoisseurs, Hogarth's fusion of the satirical and moral wished to expand art to the public who could easily resonate with his images. The anxieties and tensions present in early eighteenth-century British society are recurring themes for Hogarth, whose paintings and satirical prints covered topics like gambling, poverty, madness, and death. Such radical subjects were bound to provoke criticism from aristocratic figures and influencers of taste. Indeed, the engraver-turner-painter was often antagonized for his harsh social commentary, being deemed 'impossibly

[93] Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740—1800." 59.; Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 85.

[94] Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 11.

vulgar' for wasting his skills on such condemnable topics.[95] Ironically, it was his raw depiction of pressing social issues in *The Harlot's Progress* (sexual trafficking) and *The Rake's Progress* (gambling and madness) that had secured him a place among the most influential artists of the century. Explaining the appeal of his satirical pieces, Carrabine asserts that the artist's works acted as a "source of mental health" for many Englishmen, helping them come to terms with current societal issues in a comical way.[96]

Hogarth's visual storytelling, his combination of narrative and image, spoke to all sets of audiences, enabling him to start a lucrative business from the copies and engravings of his original pieces. Academics like Ronald Paulson credit Hogarth for producing art that even illiterate audiences could enjoy, shifting the emphasis from the Latin inscription under pictures onto its visual elements.[97] Paulson suggests that the artist's strong inclination toward inclusivity was key to his fruitful career and reputation as 'the people's artist'. If the economic success and the widespread presence of Hogarth's satirical works on the market are seen as a reflection of his public influence, it is reasonable to assume that his images of the nation had been accurate to some degree. Accordingly, his most famous patriotic propaganda pieces, *The March of The Guards to Finchley* (1750) and *The Gate of Calais* (1748) are taken as the subjects of my investigation in terms of rich symbolism and representations of the nation. In addition to these works, I include a scene from his *Marriage A-la-Mode* (1743–1745), a series satirizing patronage and upper-class practices of arranged marriages.

Depicting everyday society and historical events through a critical lens, Hogarth represents the state and its people as a diverse yet unified whole. *The March of the Guards to Finchley* (1750) is a satirical portrayal of English troops on their way to fight the rebellious group of Jacobites in 1745. The painting had initially been intended as a gift for George II himself, but it was swiftly rejected due to its portrayal of the King's soldiers as a group of drunken and distracted men.[98] Hogarth's revolutionary take on the artistic representation of historical events went directly against the well-known hierarchy of genres, challenging contemporary ways of depicting 'the finest men of the nation'. Fordham concludes that in *The March of the Guards to Finchley,* the painter did not only hold up a mirror to society, but "suggested that the King's troops, prostitutes, confidence men, husbands, daughters, and wives were the nation", thus offering an inclusive interpretation of what it meant to be English.[99]

The artist's refusal to depict military officials in an isolated, grand setting carries symbolic meaning: the English troops are positioned in such close proximity to the mob of people present at the march that the two groups become one. Hogarth's tongue-in-cheek illustration of the nation conveys a message of unity in the midst of chaos. What was conventionally expected to be a dignified representation of a decisive historical event came to be a humorous piece depicting soldiers as ordinary and imperfect Englishmen. Although the King had failed to appreciate the painter's satirical approach to 'Englishness' and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, the engraving of the artwork performed well on the market, successfully reaching wide audiences.[100]

---

[95] Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 26.

[96] Carrabine, "Low Life: William Hogarth, Visual Culture and Sociologies of Art.", 915.

[97] Paulson, "Emulative consumption and literacy: The Harlot, Moll Flanders, and Mrs. Slipslop", 398.

[98] William Hogarth and Thomas Clerk, *The Works of William Hogarth* (J. Ballantyne, Edinburgh, 1812), 180.

[99] Fordham, "State, Nation, and Empire in the History of Georgian Art", paragraph 30.

[100] Douglas Fordham, "William Hogarth's The March to Finchley and the fate of comic history painting," *Art History* 27, no. 1, (2004), 104.

The next picture under scrutiny is Hogarth's 1748 painting, *The Gate of Calais* (or *O' the Roast Beef of Old England),* which has received much academic attention due to its distinctively anti-French symbolism. Executed three years after the defeat of Jacobites at the Battle of Culloden (1745), the picture celebrates Britain's economic superiority over France. Linda Colley's thesis



Figure 1. William Hogarth, 'The March of the Guards to Finchley' (1750). Oil paint on canvas, 101.5 × 133.3 cm. © The Foundling Museum, London

on the development of British nationalism lays emphasis on the role of warfare and Protestant faith as significant binding forces uniting the people of the British Isles.[101] Many scholars have located Hogarth's national rhetoric in his Protestantism and stereotypical representations of Frenchmen, putting too much emphasis on the gallophobic nature of his images at times. Artworks, like literary pieces, need not be considered in isolation, as the context of their production might unravel important details about the artists' intention. Kate Grandjouan's article reveals that Hogarth's 1745 paintings should be interpreted in accordance with a collective anti-French sentiment and not only as a part of the artist's personal vendetta. Though Hogarth's wrongful arrest at Calais (French authorities mistook him for a British spy)[102] was one of the main motivating factors behind his painting, *The Gate of Calais* represents much more than some blatant xenophobia against all Frenchmen. The painting in question was, in fact, executed in light of French Protestant refugees' stories of escaping religious persecution.[103]

---

101 Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837,* 37.

102 Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 34.

103 Kate Grandjouan, "Refugees, Patriotism, and Hogarth's The Gate of Calais," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 20 (2020): 297.



Figure 2. William Hogarth, 'O The Roast Beef of Old England' ('The Gate of Calais'), 1748. Oil paint on canvas, 78.8 × 94.5 cm. © Tate Photos.

In parallel with the passing of religious toleration acts at the turn of the eighteenth century, Grandjouan traces the growing number of refugee communities that existed in Britain. Connecting her work to Colley's thesis on the uniting role of religion, it becomes clear that Hogarth's anti-French attitude was more directed toward the 'Catholic Other' rather than a generalized 'French Other' that included people of the Protestant faith. Grandjoan illustrates a clear linkage between Hogarth's painting and the first-hand reports of Protestant refugees who had described Catholic France as a place of misery and alienation.[104] Fusing the elements of people's survival stories with stereotypes about the weak French diet, Hogarth posits 'the great British beef' in the middle of his composition as a noteworthy symbol of British patriotism. Colley affirms that the power of Hogarth's satirical piece lay in Britons' "pride in abundance", a shared belief in their country's enviable economic power over France.[105] The artists contrast the hearty and 'masculine' British diet with Frenchmen's 'feminine' way of dining, grounding patriotism in a Protestant, masculine, and financially strong image of the country.

The multifaceted nature of Hogarth's work is rendered visible through his representations of British society shown from various points of view. *Marriage A-la-Mode* (1743–45), one of his

[104] Ibid, 295.
[105] Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837,* 37.

earliest moralizing pieces is a series illustrating the condemnable practice of arranged marriages in eighteenth-century England. Moving spectators from the public and into the domestic sphere, Hogarth alludes at the internal problems of society that are sometimes left unseen in his pictures depicting the harsh realities of London life. As the name suggests, wedding arrangements between the sons and daughters of wealthy families was a rather fashionable custom among the higher ranks.[106] The six plates of *Marriage A-la-Mode* follow the turbulent marriage between the son of a bankrupt Earl and the daughter of a wealthy city merchant, both of whom seek pleasure outside of their wedlock. In the first plate of the series, the young couple's disinterestedness in each other is accentuated by the selfishness of their fathers, the two men preoccupied with details of the marriage contract.



Figure 3. William Hogarth, Plate 1. 'Marriage A-la-Mode ('The Marriage Settlement')', 1742. Oil on canvas, 69.9 × 90.8 cm ©The National Gallery, London.

The doomed fate of the couple's marriage is already subtly hinted at in the first scene entitled 'The Marriage Settlement'. Hogarth foreshadows the pair's short-lived union using the body language of his subjects, positioning the aristocratic lady and her fiancé (the gentleman in blue) sitting on the same chair but facing away from each other. The young woman, having not much to gain from this loveless marriage, looks apathetic as she converses with the flirtatious

106 Hogarth and Clerk, *The Works of William Hogarth,* 116.

lawyer named Silver-tongue.[107] To enhance the discomfort of the atmosphere, the absentminded fiancé is pictured looking away from his bride, probably pondering on the wealth he is about to inherit. Thomas Clerk, the nineteenth-century editor of *The Works of William Hogarth,* highlights the significance of two dogs in the bottom left corner of the composition. Looking at the poor animals being "chained together against their will"[108], one cannot help but interpret it as an allegorical mirror image of the young man and woman being forcefully married at the pressure of their fathers. The subsequent plates of the series depict how their unhappy union resulted in a series of extra marital affairs, loss of integrity, and eventual death.

The artist pokes fun at materialistic aristocrats and members of the bourgeoisie who had managed to climb up the social ladder by marrying into the elite. Hogarth constructs a didactic narrative through the topics of infidelity and greed, penalizing his characters for their immoral behaviour. Similarly to the figures of the Rake and the Harlot, the unfaithful husband and wife (along with the wife's lover, Silver-tongue) are murdered in the final scenes of *Marriage A-la-Mode,* suffering the consequences of their actions. The irony of the series is that marrying rich, in this case, was more of a curse than a blessing. Paintings like *The March of the Guards to Finchley*, Hogarth's *Progresses*, and *Marriage A-la-Mode* are clear indicators of the artist's versatility and images of the nation. Hogarth's choice of topics and locations are clear indicators of his inclination to address large-scale social and domestic problems. His pictures of drunken soldiers, poor madmen, and lustful aristocrats give the impression that London's dwellers were not as different as they would have liked to imagine.[109]

William Hogarth is remembered as the father of English art for a reason. His comical pieces, though defying the rules of the *Grand Manner*, had certainly paved the way for his succeeding artists in Britain. Charging a shilling for each of his individual engravings (the same price as an entry ticket for Vauxhall), Hogarth's mass prints and engraved pieces were lucrative for the artist and affordable for the consumer. Studying the consumption practices of eighteenth-century people, art historians have found that the copies of Hogarth's originals could be found even among the possessions of those who could only afford living on "the meaner parts of London".[110] The fact that less-fortunate citizens invested in reproductions of the artist's modern moral subjects proves that Hogarth's impact had reached far beyond the comfortable homes of England's elite. In a sense, William Hogarth returned visual arts to the public by teaching them to adopt a critical aesthetic gaze, transferring art outside of the aristocratic realm. Having considered Hogarth's take on 'Englishness', I now concentrate on the matter from another painter's point of view.

On the topic of Anglo-French relations and British national identity, Francis Hayman's historical paintings inevitably have to be addressed. Hayman, whose modernized history pieces could be grouped with those of Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley, is being discussed under the key theme of 'Englishness' as a result of his departure from comic histories. Moving away from the previously analysed images, Hayman's histories disrupt the flow of the satirical and populist discourse of William Hogarth, showing a strikingly different vision of the nation.[111] Hayman could be regarded as a sort of transitory figure between the satirical and the *Grand Manner,* as his style reflected his close affiliation with Hogarth's projects, as well as his own role in the foundation of the Royal Academy.

---

107 Ibid, 119.

108 Hogarth and Clerk, *The Works of William Hogarth,* 119.

109 Paulson, "Emulative consumption and literacy: The Harlot, Moll Flanders, and Mrs. Slipslop", 391.

110 David Bindman, *Hogarth: World of Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2020): Chapter 8.

111 Fordham, "William Hogarth's The March to Finchley and the fate of comic history painting", 125.

Thirty years after their first shared exhibition at Vauxhall, Hayman was commissioned by Tyers in 1762 to produce a series of paintings immortalizing the military victories of Britain during the Seven Years' War.[112] Hayman, in honour of his friend's exhibition, executed multiple grandiose, large-scale pictures of recent historical events. With Hogarth's earlier piece, *The March of The Guards to Finchley* in mind, Hayman's painting of Robert Clive's victory in India is a far more imposing depiction of British troops. In unison with earlier scholars, Douglas Fordham contends that *Robert Clive and Mir Jafar after the Battle of Plassey* symbolised native artists' divorce from comical history paintings.[113] The decade preceding the opening of the Royal Academy was a period of trials and tribulations for the community of artists working in Britain. On the threshold of establishing an official art institution, their primary objective was to reinforce the view that visual arts had the power to revive the self-confidence of the nation. As a means to capture the essence of their nationhood, painters led by Reynolds felt that they needed to break away from portrayals of historical events that did not conform to the principles of the *Grand Manner*.

Hayman's image commemorates the negotiations between British and Indian officials, Robert Clive and Mir Jafar after the Battle of Plassey in 1757, a decisive moment marking the beginning of British rule in India. The composition pays tribute to the glorious victories of British troops overseas, emphasizing Clive's civilized demeanour and strong character. Romita Ray explains that in spite of the controversy surrounding the British general (Clive left India some £250,000 richer[114]), grand histories left little room for criticism, as their goal was to uplift rather than humble its subjects. Under the flying Union Jack, Clive is shown approaching Jafar in a peaceful and friendly manner ready to negotiate. The image of the seemingly 'bloodless' interaction represents the King's soldiers as carriers of English gentlemanly values, men disseminating polite virtues abroad.

When Tyers requested Hayman to produce paintings of Britain's military conquests, he expected graceful images honouring brave countrymen. Francis Hayman certainly delivered on his promise of creating grand pictures of contemporary military figures, albeit in a fictional way. With historical group portraits, painters were able to let their imagination loose with the rendering of scenery and positioning of subjects. As artists are absent from the scene when these events occur, the process of visual (re)production gives way to the manipulation of the spectators' point of view. For instance, the body of the fallen Indian soldier in the lower right corner of the composition may go unnoticed by those focusing on the main figures of the image. Some might interpret the inclusion of the dead figure as the painter's allusion to the dark realities of imperialism. However, this miniscule detail does not overshadow the ideological implications residing in Hayman's contrast between the patriotic British general and the Oriental Other.[115] Overall, the picture marks a departure from Hogarth's satirical images of the nation toward a less-critical, elevated understanding of English identities.

---

[112] De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain,* 94.

[113] Fordham, "William Hogarth's The March to Finchley and the fate of comic history painting", 123.

[114] Romita Ray, "Baron of Bengal: Robert Clive and the Birth of an Imperial Image" in *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930* ed. Julie F. Codell, (Farnham, Ashgate: 2012), 23.

[115] Ray, "Baron of Bengal: Robert Clive and the Birth of an Imperial Image", 25.

The second Hayman painting worth examining is *The Triumph of Britannia,* a naval painting depicting military personnel in a highly mythologized setting. Rich in symbolism, the image portrays Britannia as "the most beautiful woman"[116] seated on a chariot pulled by two stallions. With Neptune, the God of the sea, to her right and a portrait of George III in her hand, the centre of the picture alone could stand independently as a powerful representation of the country's naval supremacy. Fordham remarks that producing war-themed paintings was highly profitable for artists during and after the country's military conflict with France in the mid-1700s.[117] Hayman's four paintings in the *Britannia* series can be viewed as the painter's own attempt at reaching a compromise between modernized paintings and Reynolds' grand histories.

Britain's personification as a young woman may signal that a more delicate image of the nation was on the rise, but this theory is quickly refuted looking back on the stereotypically 'effeminate French Other'. Britannia is, without a doubt, pictured in a dignified position carrying the King's portrait, but Neptune is symbolically present to guide her by driving the chariot through the waves. Carol Watts attributes the popularity of Hayman's series to his visual representation of traditionally masculine and patriotic values that manifested themselves in Britons' courageous acts in the war against France.[118] In a larger national context, femininity was considered foreign and alien, a direct threat to the stability of the British nation. Brewer finds that



Figure 4. Francis Hayman, Study for 'Robert Clive and Mir Jafar after the Battle of Plassey' (c.a.1760) Oil on canvas, 100.3 cm × 127 cm. ©National Portrait Gallery, London.

116 Ibid, 95.

117 Fordham, "State, Nation, And Empire In The History Of Georgian Art", paragraph 29.

118 Watts, *The Cultural Work of Empire: The Seven Years' War and the Imagining of the Shandean State,* 66.

Englishmen's xenophobia against the French was coupled with a strong fear of becoming an effeminate society, and thus losing a part of their nationhood.[119] In *Triumph of Britannia,* Hayman balances the gendered aspects of British national sentiment in a way that does not endanger spectators' feeling of national pride.



Figure 5. Francis Hayman, 'Triumph of Britannia', 1765.
Print, 429 cm × 531 cm © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London

The gigantic, more than 4-metre-wide and 5-metre-long historical paintings were the highlight of Tyers' exhibition, attracting many spectators of different backgrounds.[120] Despite the distinctive Renaissance elements (idealized representation, ancient mythological figures) incorporated in the painting, Hayman's piece did not remove spectators from the present moment in British history. On the contrary, the King's portrait and the familiar faces of British naval officers in eighteenth-century uniform strengthened the paintings' contemporaneity. In stark contrast with Hogarth's modern moral subjects and his depiction of the King's soldiers heading to fight the Jacobite army, *The Triumph of Britannia* does not provide any satirical social commentary. Instead, it aims to promote British arts by blending the barriers between history painting and portraiture, setting the scene for artists like Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley. The last chapter of the paper illustrates that the economic success of modernized histories proved that there was a considerable demand for these genres in royal and bourgeois circles as well.

---

119 Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 77.

120 De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain,* 94.

4.2. Grand portraits

Since the beginning of their careers, contemporary critics and later art historians have discussed the life work of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Gainsborough together. Comparing the two rivals based on their styles alone would result in a far too simplistic investigation, therefore, it is essential to study them in terms of their definitions of nationhood. The King's painter, Sir Joshua Reynolds was one of the most productive eighteenth-century artists, producing a little over 220 portraits of important eighteenth-century figures. In view of my research into the patriotic iconography of mid-to-late eighteenth-century British paintings, I select three of Reynolds' artworks that best represent his personal style and national rhetoric. For the purpose of this thesis, I analyse his concept of 'Englishness' against the backdrop of elitist and populist discourses and artists' attitudes toward a diversified group of consumers.

Reynolds' rapid success as one of the leading artists in Britain enabled him to become the head of the country's first official art institution in 1768. Reading the treatises of Burke, Richardson, and the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, Reynolds decided to pursue an idealized and dramatized form of painting that paid homage to the Old Masters while remaining loyal to English aesthetic traditions.[121] The painter's love for the *Grand Manner* inspired him to lead a campaign for the promotion of 'polite arts' in Britain, earning respect for artists as the main arbiters of taste. In theory, Classical history paintings were deemed most suitable for preserving and disseminating British national principles and beliefs, as it was reflected in the hierarchy of genres. Portraiture, as mentioned, did not fit the requirements of the elevated style, yet it came to be the more promising genre out of the two. Louise Lippincott's article dissects how the established hierarchy was reversed in practice, making the portrait business substantially more profitable for artists. William Hogarth's printed copies had already proven that there was a serious audience for mass-produced and affordable artworks in England.

In terms of their marketability, history paintings were at a double disadvantage due to their time-consuming and expensive nature.[122] Whereas more skilled portraitists like Reynolds could welcome up to 6 sitters a day,[123] producing quality history paintings based on rules of the *Grand Manner* was a slower and more tedious process. Understandably, most painters who tried their hand at traditional history paintings had either given up on the *Grand Manner* entirely, or learned to incorporate its elements, excelling in other genres. One such artist was Joshua Reynolds, who, having recognized the fashions of his age, produced mass-appealing portraits mixed with grandeur. Chapter 2 has outlined the importance of visual self-representation in eighteenth-century Britain, explaining why commissioning portraits was a common practice for most members of society. As a vast number of painters worked in the London and Bath area from the 1750s,[124] contemporaries had ample opportunities to request artworks of various prices and quality. That being said, having one's portrait painted by the celebrated Reynolds was a great honour as well as an expression of one's social status.

The most fruitful period of Reynolds' career commenced in the late 1750s, when the painter charged as much as 150 guineas, approximately 3150 shillings, for a full-length portrait.[125] Con-

---

121 Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 81.

122 Loiuse Lippincott, "Expanding on portraiture. The market, the public, and the hierarchy of genres in eighteenth-century Britain" in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* eds. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, (London: Routledge, 1995): 76.

123 Richard Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996): 95.

124 Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 7.

125 Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society,* 96.

sidering the low-priced entry fees of pleasure gardens and art exhibitions of the Academy, it appears that getting access to pieces of 'high art' and actually owning them were concepts that still separated humble consumers from elite ones. Charging astronomical prices for each of his masterpieces, Reynolds' paintings were luxury items only a few could afford. The impeccable skills of the painter and his position as head of the Royal Academy had guaranteed him prestige and visibility, which, in turn, ensured clients of the quality of his products. For Reynolds, the essence of true art was to civilize the nation and guide them in matters of aesthetic taste. In his own words, the emphasis was not on affecting the eyes of spectators, as "it [was] the mind which the painter of genius desire[d] to address".[126] What separated the Royal Academy's target audience from spectators of art in general, was that the minds of these people were assumed to be already cultivated by culture and visual arts.[127] In the next few pages, I aspire to explore the underlying messages of Reynolds' works and their embeddedness in a bigger, national discourse. Roughly a decade before the birth of Hayman's *Britannia* series, Reynolds had set the scene for paintings of military personnel portrayed in a natural setting. The 1752 portrait of a young Admiral Augustus Keppel, a close friend of Joshua Reynolds, was said to mark the beginning of his career as a painter of heroic and grand portraits. Keppel, a well-known political figure and member of the Royal Navy, is pictured in a dignified pose after suffering a shipwreck on the coast of France.[128] Instead of painting his subject in a passive, sitting position in a more official setting, Reynolds depicts the admiral against a surging sea in the background, dramatizing the atmosphere of the portrait. With one hand on his sword, and the other pointing in the direction of his gaze, Keppel's posture resembles that of a Classical hero.[129]

The painting, executed a few years before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, captures the masculine and strong character of Keppel, picturing him as the embodiment of gentlemanly ideals. When placed next to other portraits from the middle of the period, Reynolds' elements of the *Grand Style* are easily recognizable. Over the decades, Keppel had modelled several times for Reynolds, entrusting his friend with creating worthy portraits of him. The painting of the young admiral above was produced shortly after the artist's arrival home from his educational trip to Italy.[130] The strong Renaissance influence of the artwork resides in Reynolds' choice of painting his subject in a horizontally-flipped Apollonian stance, modelled on the Classical statue of the Greco-Roman God, Apollo.[131] This detail becomes especially interesting to note considering Keppel was at the beginning of his career as a naval officer when Reynolds had painted this grandiose picture of him. The efficacy of marrying the elements of Classical Italian paintings with contemporary portraits helped portray the famous military figure as a 'courageous leader in danger',[132] a man ready to fight for his nation.

---

126 Joshua Reynolds, *A Discourse Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy on the Distribution of the Prizes* (December, 14, 1770), https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2176/2176-h/2176-h.htm.

127 De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain,* 21.

128 Maria K. Greenwood, "Heroic and Pastoral in the Paintings of Reynolds and Gainsborough," *Revue de la société d'études anglo-américaines des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* 40, no. 1. (1995): 188.

129 Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society,* 150.

130 Merrell Holberton, *Gainsborough and Reynolds* (London: Queen's Gallery, 1994): 6.

131 Ibid, 71.

132 Whitney Davis, "Serial Portraiture and the Death of Man in Late-Eighteenth-Century Britain" in *A Companion to British Art: 1600 to the Present* eds. Dana Arnold and David Peters Corbett (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013): 518.



Figure 6. Sir Joshua Reynolds, 'Captain the Honourable Augustus Keppel, 1725–86' (1752–1753).
Oil on canvas, 239 cm × 147.5 cm © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

Reynolds' love for theatrical and dramatized topics is apparent from his portrait of the famous eighteenth-century actor, David Garrick entitled *Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy*. This 1761 painting was one of the most commercially successful pieces of the painter, having reached



Figure 7. Sir Joshua Reynolds, 'David Garrick Between Tragedy and Comedy' (1761). Oil on canvas, 183 cm × 147.6 cm © National Trust, Waddesdon Manor

consumers of art across the Channel.[133] Commissioned by the actor himself, Reynolds produced an allegorical piece featuring Garrick betwixt two female figures embodying Tragedy and Comedy. Placing the actor in the middle of the composition, Reynolds explores the concept of decision-making in a paradoxical situation. The firm figure of Tragedy is trying to convince Garrick to follow her lead, while Comedy is playfully pulling him in her direction. The actor is pictured with both hands extended in front of him, indicating his inability to make a choice.

The painting under consideration has received much scholarly attention for its contrasting representation of female subjects. If one were to split the artwork into two separate parts, the left side of the composition with Garrick and Comedy would look radically different from the picture of the actor standing next to Tragedy alone. Reynolds' use of light and dark colours enhances the contrast between the images of the women, highlighting their dissimilarities. Richard Wendorf, the author of *Sir Joshua Reynolds: Painter in Society,* confirms that Reynolds' use of opposing styles and techniques to paint Tragedy and Comedy was a reflection of his own personal predicaments.[134] Torn between the seemingly contradictory genres of history and portraiture, Reynolds ends up choosing both and neither. As Garrick is able to maintain his reputation as an actor of versatility, Reynolds, too, preserves his prestige as a remarkable painter of grandiose portraits. The painter's inclination to produce dignifying pictures of the leading actors and actresses of the age evidence his care for the nurturing of the arts.

In view of the two analysed paintings, I would intend to shed light on Reynolds' experimentation with different techniques. The mixture of cool and warm tones used in creating *David Garrick Between Tragedy and Comedy* command a more sentimental approach than the 1752 portrait of Augustus Keppel. The admiral's portrait is expectedly more serious, while Garrick's image

133 Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* 333.
134 Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society,* 148.

conjures up an atmosphere of warmth and liveliness. In contrast, the ashy colours of Keppel's uniform complement the cool blue and grey tones of the cloudy sky and the raging body of water behind him. Painted ten years apart, the two portraits show some fascinating differences in the refinement and change of Reynolds' personal style.

The enlightening article of John Chu uncovers that from the 1770s, purchasing an original Reynolds painting was seen as risky business due to the artist's bold experimentation with paint.[135] One determining factor was the chemical reaction triggered by sunlight which caused the colour to chip off freshly painted canvases. Fortunately, daring patrons like the 3rd Duke of Dorset enjoyed the thrill of purchasing 'already decaying' artworks, becoming a loyal supporter of Joshua Reynolds.[136] Surely, lesser-known artists could not have gotten away with selling products that were not guaranteed to increase in value in the future. This observation further corroborates the tremendous faith connoisseurs placed in the first president of the Royal Academy. As Chu put it, patrons' "gamble on Reynolds" had tremendously paid off, as their purchases earned them an enviable level of respectability among the elite.[137]

For the third painting, I have chosen to inspect a rather under-appreciated piece, Reynolds' visual representation of *Theory* (1779–80) as a goddess residing in the heavens. The colour and texture of the fair woman's garment look almost identical to the cloud she is sitting on, making her blend into her surroundings. Theory is not pictured in the usual position Reynolds reserved for his female figures, as the woman averts the gaze of the spectator. With what appears to be a manuscript in her hand, Theory is portrayed looking upwards in an imposing manner. The woman, being the embodiment of art theory, is distanced from earthly things, which contradicts the author's fundamental stance on ideal beauty. In his 1770 *Discourse,* Reynolds teaches his students that "perfection and beauty are not to be sought in the heavens, but upon the earth."[138] If this was taken to be true, Theory did not have much to offer for aspiring painters. Cheetham's article serves as a reminder of Reynolds' ties with contemporary philosophers like Edmund Burke, underscoring the clash between British empiricists and French rationalists.[139] His *Discourses* did not only educate the minds of future generations of artists on the theory of painting, but, rather, aspired to lay emphasis on the importance of practice and experience.[140] To enhance the paradox of the panting, one should refer to the painter's emphasis on avoiding the colour blue in the foreground of paintings.[141] Depicting Theory as an otherworldly woman dressed in blue, Reynolds' painting represents the artist's own contradictions about perfect beauty.

Pevsner argues that the painter's 'Englishness' is to be sought in the inconsistency of his work, namely, Reynolds' production of grand portraits in spite of his continuous appraisal of traditional history paintings.[142] In the context of British artists' struggle to overcome deep-

---

[135] John Chu, "High Art and High Stakes: The 3rd Duke of Dorset's Gamble on Reynolds," *British Art Studies,* no. (2016), 21.

[136] Ibid, 24.

[137] Ibid, 33.

[138] Reynolds, *Seven Discourses delivered in the Royal Academy*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2176/2176-h/2176-h.htm.

[139] Cheetham, *Artwriting, nation, and cosmopolitanism in Britain: the 'Englishness' of English art theory since the eighteenth century,* 43.

[140] Timothy M. Costelloe, *The British Aesthetic Tradition: From Shaftesbury to Wittgenstein* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 63.

[141] Ernst Gombrich, *The Story of Art* (New York, Phaidon Publishers: 1966), 15.

[142] Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art, An Expanded and Annotated Version of the Reith Lectures Broadcast in October and November 1955,* 52.

rooted prejudices against their craft, the discrepancies between Reynolds' theory and practice seem logical. While the establishment of an art institution called for the promotion of 'higher genres', the art market demanded familiar styles of painting that would attract more consumers. As the composition of audiences changed and more female customers engaged on the market, history paintings became increasingly marginalized compared to other genres.[143] By merging portraiture and grandiose paintings, Reynolds was able to reconcile existing tensions between the Academy's ideals and the demands of the market. From Reynolds, I move on to examine the paintings of his greatest opponent on the British art scene.



Figure 8. Sir Joshua Reynolds, 'Theory' (1799–1780).
Oil on canvas, 178 cm × 179 cm ©The Royal Academy of Arts

[143] Lippincott, "Expanding on portraiture. The market, the public, and the hierarchy of genres in eighteenth-century Britain", 79.

4.3. Landscapes and the rural poor

Gainsborough's natural talent for painting was apparent to all of his counterparts in Britain. Being the most versatile of eighteenth-century British painters, Gainsborough excelled in both landscapes and portraiture, developing an easily recognizable style of painting. Similarly to



Figure 9. Thomas Gainsborough, 'Charity Relieving Distress', 1784,
Oil on canvas. 98 cm × 76.2 cm. © Gainsborough's House.

Hogarth, he preferred topics and themes closer to the hearts of the public, producing pieces that often went against the principles of the Academy's *Grand Style*. In her study, Georgina Cole inspects the painter's depiction of Charity as an allegorical and anecdotal figure establishing a contact between affluent and less-fortunate members of society. She looks at Gainsborough's *Charity Relieving Distress* (1784) as the representation of the artist's desire to bridge the gap between his own approach and the elevated style of his rival, Sir Joshua Reynolds.[144]

The delicacy of Gainsborough's brushwork and his use of warm tones make the message of his image all the more effective. The momentary exchange between the wealthy woman and the poor beggar mother with her children symbolizes the intersection of social spheres, two worlds



Figure 10. Thomas Gainsborough, 'The Woodcutters' Return', 1772–1773, Oil on canvas. 147 cm × 123 cm © Belvoir Castle

[144] Georgina Cole, "'A Beautiful Assemblage of an Interesting Nature': Gainsborough's Charity Relieving Distress and the Reconciliation of High and Low Art," *British Art Studies,* no. 1 (2015): 32.

that usually remained divided outside the context of charity relief.[145] Relying on the idea that fine art should 'kindle the soul', philanthropic topics emerged to spread virtues of kindness and generosity. After most contemporary social maladies had been comically identified by Hogarth, artworks like *Charity Relieving Distress* can be seen as part of an initiative to spread compassion, solidifying a philanthropist image of the nation.

Turning to a more rural topic, Gainsborough's landscapes featuring cottages make for an intriguing investigation of 'Englishness'. As opposed to Hogarth's depiction of the lower ranks of society in urban areas, many landscape artists specialized in producing romanticized images of rural lifestyle on the English countryside. Contemporary theorists like William Gilpin encouraged cross-country travelling instead of going abroad for inspiration, claiming that the best scenery is to be found within the borders of Great Britain.[146] Ann Bermingham confirms that by the end of the century, purchasing cottages had become a fashionable practice among affluent persons who sought for 'the simpler things in life'.[147]

Allegedly overwhelmed by materialism and city life, many well-known connoisseurs and wealthy Englishmen relocated to cottages in order to get a taste of a more humble lifestyle, without having to face the economic hardships that come with it. Gainsborough's idyllic painting *The Woodcutter's Return* unites nature and home with the image of the mother figure sitting beside what is presumably an oak tree with her children. The idealized image of the peasant returning from a long day's work sets an atmosphere of 'domesticity and comfort'[148], letting a feeling of serenity wash over spectators.

Gainsborough's domestic-themed images call for a gentler approach to nationhood, anchoring 'Englishness' in the images of local countrymen going about their daily lives. The painter's artworks of rural scenery should not be read as his fixation on romanticizing poverty and the struggles of lower-ranking citizens, but as an appreciation of English nature. The patriotic power of his images ought to be found in his intention of turning inward for inspiration, leaving themes of Othering for painters of history portraits. Although the hierarchy of genres positioned landscapes at the lowest rank, Vaughan calls attention to the fact that more than 1/3rd of the paintings hung on the walls of the Academy's rooms had been scenic images celebrating the local countryside.[149] Gainsborough's rebellion against Reynolds' principles led him to organize exhibitions on his own, featuring various images he wished to exhibit to wider, non-aristocratic audiences.

4.4. Modernized histories

In the midst of Britain's conflict with her American colonies, one might not expect to see artists from across the ocean to reach such heights as Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley did. The American-born painters' success on British soil exemplifies that the definition of 'native artist' did not exclude creative geniuses born outside of Great Britain.[150] In fact, both painters were founding members of the Academy, and West became the second president of the institu-

---

145 Ibid, 11.

146 Cheetham, *Artwriting, nation, and cosmopolitanism in Britain: the 'Englishness' of English art theory since the eighteenth century,* 49.

147 Ann Bermingham, "The Simple Life: Cottages and Gainsborough'fs Cottage Doors" in de Bolla, Peter; Leask, N.; Simpson, D. *Land, Nation and Culture, 1740–1840: Thinking the Republic of Taste*. (Springer, 2005): 46.

148 Bermingham, "The Simple Life: Cottages and Gainsborough'fs Cottage Doors", 56.

149 Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 183.

150 Gombrich, *The Story of Art,* 364.



Figure 11. Benjamin West, 'The Death of General Wolfe' (1770)
Oil on canvas, 151 cm × 213 cm © National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

tion after the death of Reynolds. The two pictures I have chosen to analyse seem to conform to the teachings of the famous Joshua Reynolds, but their non-conventional rendering of historical events proves otherwise.

The tragic death of General James Wolfe in the war against France was a widely-commemorated event in British literature, but not in visual arts.[151] The growing need for the visual renderings of historical paintings meant that the timing of West's picture, *The Death of General Wolfe* was impeccable. Lippincott claims that the 1770 artwork depicted an event that was still considerably fresh in the collective memory of patriotic Britons.[152] West's painting is an impressively executed piece showcasing the artist's rare talent and attention to detail. Brewer underlines the remarkable resemblance between the images of the dying Wolfe and Jesus Christ,[153] noting that West's picture had made Wolfe into a modern martyr figure. In the eyes of twenty-first-century spectators, the uniform of military figures does not ruin the historical atmosphere conjured up by the image. For Reynolds, on the other hand, deviating from the rules of the *Grand Manner* in history paintings was unthinkable.[154] Reynolds, who is first and foremost remembered for his portraits, heavily criticised West's painting, afraid that it might undermine the principles of the academy by outshining pieces executed following the Classical tradition.[155]

---

[151] Joan Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire* (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press: 2006), 143.

[152] Lippincott, "Expanding on portraiture. The market, the public, and the hierarchy of genres in eighteenth-century Britain", 83.

[153] Ibid, 85.

[154] Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire,* 132.

[155] Fordham, "State, Nation, And Empire In The History Of Georgian Art", paragraph 32.

Reynolds had no idea how precise his prediction would be; *The Death of General Wolfe* became the most commercially reproduced painting by a native painter in eighteenth-century Britain. The painting was originally sold for around £4–600, while William Wollett's engraving of the artwork had accumulated another £15,000 in sold copies.[156] In contemporary terms, the money earned from sold prints would approximately equal to £1,308,000[157]; an impressive sum indeed. The huge success of the painting managed to convince the King to request a copy for his personal collection – after he had initially refused to buy the original from West himself.[158] While Lippincott is right for arguing that the commercialization of elevated paintings like *The Death of General Wolfe* had made paintings become 'tainted objects' of consumerism to some degree, West's masterpiece managed to keep its grandeur. The fact that George III felt compelled to own a reproduction of the artwork after witnessing its immense commercial success proves that the commodification of national themes and topics was undoubtedly lucrative for British painters.

Following the example of Francis Hayman, West's figures are dressed in contemporary uniform, heightening audiences' feeling of being grounded in the present. General Wolfe is immortalized as a dying hero surrounded by fellow British troops and a kneeling Native-American soldier, a small crowd of people witnessing his final moments with deep grief. Joan Coutu contends what has been mentioned by Romita Ray, especially the power of fictional renderings of historical events. In the ongoing Battle of Quebec against the French, Wolfe had probably succumbed to his wounds alone, without the company of his troops.[159] Wolfe's imagining of events turned out to be a bittersweet image celebrating the bravery and patriotism of a famous British general who sacrificed his life for the nation.

A similarly successful depiction of a dignified British countryman's passing is John Singleton Copley's 1781 painting, *The Death of the Earl of Chatham*. Copley, like many painters before him, switched between portraiture and history painting, aspiring to become a celebrated artist helping generate historical consciousness in Britain. The painting depicting former statesman, William Pitt the Elder's collapse in the House of Lords, was displayed at a private exhibition organized at Spring Gardens (formerly known as Vauxhall) in 1781.[160] Copley's image is practically a group portrait of the members of the House of Lords surrounding the 1st Earl of Chatham suffering a seizure. In parallel with West's image, the gaze of the figures is fixed on the dying countryman, whose position bears a striking similarity to that of Jesus being taken down from the cross. The artwork in question was viewed by an astonishing crowd of 20,000 spectators, accumulating a sum of £5,000 from the one-shilling entry fees to the exhibition.[161]

Breaking away from conventional history paintings showing military figures in battle, *The Death of Chatham* aims to evoke feelings of patriotism through its more realistic rendering of events. Besides Pitt's positioning as a dying Christ-like figure, details of the painting do not seem to be as fictional as Hayman's image of Robert Clive. The red garments of the Lords highlight the paleness and agonizing expression of William Pitt the Elder, evoking feelings of deep compassion in spectators.

---

156 Lippincott, "Expanding on portraiture. The market, the public, and the hierarchy of genres in eighteenth-century Britain", 79.

157 The sum has been calculated using https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter, Accesed: March 20.

158 Vaughan, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner,* 116.

159 Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire,* 144.

160 Roman, "Art and Nation in Eighteenth-Century Britain" in *A Companion to British Art: 1600 to the Present,* 212.

161 Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 64.



Figure 12. John Singleton Copley, 'The Death of the Earl of Chatham' (1780)
Oil on canvas, 228.5 cm × 307.5 cm © The National Portrait Gallery, London

The success of West and Copley's imaginings of Englishness were undeniable. The American-born colleagues of Reynolds had managed to excel in the genre propagated most by the Academy, proving that deviating from the prescriptive *Grand Style* could be fruitful for painters and audience members alike. Owning an original Reynolds was a distinct marker of class and status, as his works were the highest-priced pieces available on the British art market. However, his overall net worth was just one-tenth of the lesser-known John Singleton Copley's.[162] This comparison accentuates that, although an important factor, the price of paintings was not the only indicator of their greatness. Reynolds is still remembered as one of the most influential, if not the most famous, eighteenth-century painters, but Copley's involvement in the mass market had earned him significantly more money in his lifetime. As West and Copley' style of painting fit the genre of modernized histories perfectly, the new generation of painters was able to utilize and economically exploit the art theory of the Academy to convey convincing images of nationhood.

The diverse themes and topics of native paintings explored in this chapter exemplify the complexity of eighteenth-century aesthetic taste and, more importantly, the multiple constitutive elements of 'Englishness'. The popularity of Hogarth's critical pieces targeted at all levels of society implied a degree of self-reflexivity on the part of Englishmen. Hayman's pieces and the histories of West and Copley illustrate that as much as consumers enjoyed the humorous and controversial pieces of Hogarth, they also yearned for glorifying representations of British military victories against enemy troops. With the inclusion of Reynolds' and Gainsborough's

[162] Bayer and Page, *The Development Of The Art Market In England: Money As Muse, 1730–1900,* 64.

paintings, I have wished to demonstrate the public's need for delicate yet elevated pieces of art. The heterogeneity of Britons' taste in art (and visual representations of nationhood) highlight their own diversity as a nation.

5. Conclusion

In my complex investigation into mid-to-late-eighteenth-century British paintings, I aspired to shed light on their role as cultural commodities helping propagate different visions of nationhood. Analysing twelve paintings from six highly-influential British artists, I have discussed ideas of Englishness through satirical pieces, grand portraits, landscapes, and modernized histories. The aim of this thesis was to provide a nuanced understanding of different national discourses present in the artistic sphere, contrasting the critical approaches of Hogarth and Gainsborough with idealized portrayals of society by Reynolds. The in-depth analysis of the patriotic iconography and symbolic meanings of paintings necessitated an overview of some of the fundamental art treatises of the period: the works of Jonathan Richardson Senior, William Hogarth, and Sir Joshua Reynolds. The implementation of diverse secondary sources helped reveal the discrepancies between the intentions of artists, highlighting some theorists' elitist rhetoric disguised as nationalism.

As for the analytical part of my thesis, I have attempted to 'evaluate' the success of British artworks by looking into the number of spectators at exhibitions, the prices of individual artworks and prints, and the number of printed copies sold. Simultaneously interpreting my sources on nationalism, eighteenth-century art theory and art history, along with writings on the sociology of art, I arrived at a synthesis explaining how expanding arts to a wider audience was inextricably linked to a shift in taste and an increased number of new consumers on the market. In detailing the complexity of an emerging national sentiment, I have highlighted the role of Britain's competition with France and French artistic styles, the rising consciousness of bourgeois consumers, contemporary debates on the role of visual arts in the education of 'polite' gentlemen and the idea that patronage was a part of people's 'national duty'.

This research, which I feel motivated to continue in the future, could be further expanded with a larger and more diverse selection of artworks and a more focused approach on the social and economic dimensions of art consumption in eighteenth-century England. Considering the masculinized aspects of 'Englishness' and the relevance of 'Othering' in the construction of British selves, it would be fruitful to approach the topic from a gendered and/or postcolonial perspective as well.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Hogarth, William and Thomas Clerk, *The Works of William Hogarth*. London: Black and Armstrong, 1837.

Hogarth, William. "Britophil" essay, *St. James's Evening Post,* (7–9 June 1737): 385–6. Accessed: January 3, 2022. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015063697224&view=1up&seq=402&skin=2021.

Reynolds, Joshua. *Seven Discourses delivered in the Royal Academy*. London: Printed for T. Cadell in the Strand, bookseller and printer to the Royal Academy, 1778. Accessed: February 20, 2022. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2176/2176-h/2176-h.htm.

Richardson, Jonathan. *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism, as it Relates to Painting*. London: W. Churchill, 1719. Accessed: March 10, 2022. https://archive.org/details/twodiscoursesia00conggoog.
Toupee, S. *Scots Magazine*, I, August 1739, 363–4, Accessed: April 1, 2022. http://www.vauxhallgardens.com/vauxhall_gardens_toupeetwo_page.html.
Toupee, S. *Scots Magazine*, I, July 1739, 322–324, Accessed: April 1, 2022. http://www.vauxhallgardens.com/vauxhall_gardens_toupeeone_page.html.

Secondary Sources

Bayer, Thomas M., and John R. Page. *The Development of the Art Market in England: Money as Muse, 1730–1900*. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011.
Berg, Maxine L. *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth Century Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
Bermingham, Ann and John Brewer, *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*. London: Routledge, 2005.
Bermingham, Ann. "The Simple Life: Cottages and Gainsborough's Cottage Doors". In *Land, Nation and Culture, 1740–1840: Thinking the Republic of Taste*, eds. Peter De Bolla, N. Leask, D. Simpson, Gordonsville: Palgrave, USA (2005): 37–63.
Bindman, David. *Hogarth (World of Art)*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2021.
Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.
Brewer, John. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 2013.
Carrabine, Eamonn. "Low Life: William Hogarth, Visual Culture and Sociologies of Art." *The British Journal of Sociology,* vol. 72, no. 4 (2021): 909–29. DOI: 10.11111468-4446.12849.
Cheetham, Mark A. *Artwriting, Nation, And Cosmopolitanism In Britain: The 'Englishness' Of English Art Theory Since The Eighteenth Century*. 1st ed. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012.
Chu, John. "High Art and High Stakes: The 3rd Duke of Dorset's Gamble on Reynolds." *British Art Studies,* vol. 1, no. 2 (2016): 1–36.
Chun, Dongho. "Patriotism on Display: Sir John Fleming Leicester's Patronage of British Art." *The British Art Journal,* vol. 4, no. 2 (2003): 23–28.
Cole, Georgina. "'A Beautiful Assemblage of an Interesting Nature': Gainsborough's Charity Relieving Distress and the Reconciliation of High and Low Art." *British Art Studies,* vol. 1, no. 1 (2015): 1–35. https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-01/gcole/abstract.
Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837*. London: Pimlico. 2003.
Costelloe, Timothy M. *The British Aesthetic Tradition: From Shaftesbury to Wittgenstein.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
Coutu, Joan Miche`le. *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-century British Empire.* Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.
De Bolla, Peter. *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003.
Erwin, Timothy. "William Hogarth and the Aesthetics of Nationalism." *Huntington Library Quarterly,* vol. 64, no. 3/4 (2001): 383–410.
Fordham, Douglas. "State, Nation, And Empire In The History Of Georgian Art". *Perspective,* vol. 20, no. 1 (2012): 115–135.
Fordham, Douglas. "William Hogarth's The March to Finchley and the fate of comic history painting." *Art History,* vol. 27, no. 1 (2004): 95–128.
Gombrich, E. H. *The story of art*. New York: Phaidon Publishers, 1966.
Grandjouan, Kate. "Refugees, Patriotism, and Hogarth's The Gate of Calais (1748)." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism,* vol. 20, no. 3 (2020): 287–303.

Greig, Hannah. "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740–1800." *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 1 (2012): 50–75.
Hoock, Holger. "'Struggling against a Vulgar Prejudice': Patriotism and the Collecting of British Art at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of British Studies,* vol. 49, no. 3, (2010): 566–91.
McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society – The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.
Pevsner, Nikolaus. *The Englishness of English Art*. New York: Praeger, 1956.
Vaughan, William. "The Englishness of British Art." *Oxford Art Journal* 13, no. 2 (1990): 11–23.
Vaughan, William. *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1999.
Watts, Carol. *The Cultural Work of Empire: The Seven Years' War and the Imagining of the Shandean State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
Wendorf, Richard. *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Benedek Bernát Bereznai ✓

Online and offline gamer identity and how it manifests through interaction*

Abstract

This paper explores how Hungarian players of *League of Legends* construct their online identities as individuals and as members of a group, and what matters to them in that regard, with great emphasis on the key attributes of their online group identity. This paper also explores how their online identities manifest through interaction. In order to do this, the players' face has to be accounted for as some of the participants want to save their face and do not share some key attributes of their online identities. The participants' answers were analysed as suggested by Brewer and Gardner (1996); that is, the similarities are pointed out between their individual online identities to discover the key attributes of their online group identity. The most important attributes of their online identities are performance, game knowledge, ranking, and even toxicity. These manifest in interaction, especially ranking, as players use ethos in interaction during arguments. Consequently, there are dominant and dominated online identities, and ranking decides whose online identity is dominant or dominated. Additionally, this paper compares the players' online identities to their offline identities. Their online identities are based on their offline identities, and they carry over certain attributes from their offline identities to their online identities. That is, players who are short-tempered or stressed in real life are more likely to be toxic in-game.

1. Introduction

I remember when my friends introduced me to this brand-new game called *League of Legends* back in 2012, and, as time has passed, we began to wonder about some things. For instance, why do we refer to ourselves as a member of the *League of Legends* community? What does it mean to be part of such a community? Why do players of other games do the same? Why is the *League of Legends* community so infamous for its toxic behaviour? These are some of the questions that will be explored in this thesis. But why are these and the 'gamer identity' relevant? It is just a video game after all. Well, as we grew up, so did the game and the gaming industry. Now, *League of Legends* is one of the most popular games ever, and the gaming industry is one of the most profitable industries.

1.1. Why is the gamer identity relevant?

Many scholars have been – and still are – interested in the concept of identity and identity construction. However, to the best of my knowledge, there is no research that explores gamers' identity. So why is it worth doing?

When money is on the line, everything becomes relevant. Riot Games (developer and publisher of *League of Legends*) and the gaming industry, in general, generate a tremendous amount of revenue, and they are still growing. Riot Games currently (as of October 2021) has 180 million players across all of its games, according to PC Gamer (pcgamer.com), and *League of Legends* has around 100 million average monthly players, according to LeagueFeed (leaguefeed.net). Fur-

* BA Thesis. Supervisor: Thomas A. Williams.

thermore, there are 2.69 billion players worldwide (as of November 2021), according to Statista (statista.com). Nevertheless, the amount of research conducted on the gaming industry and its players is surprisingly low.

1.2. Background to the study

Before I present the results and discuss my findings, I will present the theoretical and empirical background of the study. This includes how scholars from various fields look at identity, how it is constructed, and what group identity is. Following that, a brief explanation is provided for what pragmatics is, and why it is essential when it comes to identity. Furthermore, certain notions of pragmatics will be presented that are crucial to this paper, such as face and certain aspects of Brown and Levinson's (1987 [1978]) politeness theory, for instance, face-threatening acts.

1.3. Aims of the study

The aims of the study are to find out how players of *League of Legends* construct their identity, what the key attributes of their online group identity are, and how this identity manifests through interaction. Additionally, this paper also attempts to explore the link between the players' real (offline) and gamer (online) identities. Thus, the paper sets out to answer the following questions: How do players of *League of Legends* construct their identity within the community? What matters to them in that regard? How does their gamer identity manifest through interaction? What is the link between their offline identity and gamer identity, if there is one?

Apart from that, there are a few hypotheses that I want to confirm or disconfirm. These hypotheses are stated in the Methodology section. Also, the research and the interview questions are constructed in such a way that the results I will present will be – roughly – applicable to any other competitive online video game.

2. Theoretical and empirical background

In this section, I present a review of all the relevant topics that are explored in this paper. First, I cover identity, its construction, and group identity. Then I discuss pragmatics, face, and, finally, politeness theory and face-threatening acts.

2.1. Identity

Identity has been – and most likely will continue to be – one of the main points and variables among scholars. The reason for this is that identity is an extremely complex and profound concept in itself. If we were to ask anybody what he or she thinks about identity, then we would probably hear the same answers as we would if we were to ask the question: "who are you?". Such answers might be the following: "I am a Hungarian", "I am a university student", or "I am a gamer". This is one of the many phenomena that Fearon (1999) deals with in his paper, and he points out that, in this sense, identity is just a matter of context. Fearon also argues that due to the arbitrary and ambiguous nature of identity as a concept, every academic text that covers identity should start by stating what is meant by identity instead of taking the readers' understanding of the concept for granted. Thus, we should do as such and start off this section of the paper by clarifying the concept of identity.

2.1.1. Definitions of identity

If we were simply to look up the definition of identity, we would be incredibly unsatisfied. Merriam-Webster, one of the most trustworthy online dictionaries, provides two basic definitions.

The first is the following: "Who someone is". This is extremely vague. The second definition is more precise: "The qualities, beliefs, etc., that make a particular person or group different from others". And while a definition like this would satisfy the average person, it is undoubtedly unsatisfactory for us. More thorough research is needed to find an adequate definition of identity; however, this leads to some complications. Every field of study has its own definition of this term. Although Fearon (1999) tries his best to explain identity, the ultimate answer is that it differs from field to field, and it differs within a given field from scholar to scholar. Thus, the best we can probably do is to look at different definitions from different fields and scholars and try to choose what is relevant and best for us.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) define identity as "the social positioning of self and other"; however, in their article, in which they look at identity as a product of linguistic interaction, they state that this definition is "deliberately broad and open-ended". Perhaps a more specific definition is called for. What follows is an overview of different definitions, of which three will be important for the purposes of this study. The primary definition of identity on which I construct this paper is the following: identity is "people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others" (Hogg and Abrams, 2006 [1998]: 2). This definition will be one of the most, if not the most important. The second definition by Katzenstein (1996: 21) is the following: "The term [identity] (by convention) references mutually constructed and evolving images of self and other". This is also relatively important for this paper, and it has been pointed out by others that identity is not a fixed point and that it is far from completed, but rather constantly evolving and continually constructed (e.g. Fougère, 2008; Ho, 2010; Simon, 2004). Finally, the last important definition we should look at is the following: "Identity is the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices" (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 585).

Thus, the three crucial definitions we must keep in mind while reading this paper are the following: (1) "[identity is] people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others" (Hogg and Abrams, 2006 [1998]: 2); (2) "[i]dentities are best understood as being continually constructed through interactions" (Fougère, 2008: 188); and (3) "identity is the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices" (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 585).

2.1.2. Identity construction

There are two different takes on identity construction. The most common perspective has already been noted in the previous section; that is, identity construction is an ongoing process and is never completed (e.g. Fougere, 2008; Graham, 2007; Ho, 2010). This is called the postmodern social constructionist perspective. The other one is the essentialist perspective, which holds that identity is born with us and that it merely unfolds while essentially remaining the same (Hall, 1992). The latter perspective assumes that identity can reach a point of completion (Ho, 2010). Since the postmodern social constructionist perspective of identity is more widely accepted – and I also happen to agree with it – it will be used throughout this paper. However, identity and its construction are not simple. As Ho (2010: 2253) aptly puts it, "various identities can be constructed by and for the same individual". And while Ho and many others are mainly focused on how an individual or individuals construct their identity, I will focus on how a group of people construct their identity. Before that, it is also crucial to take a look at what group identity is.

2.1.3. Group identity

Throughout history, humans have always formed groups, and, within those groups, they have formed hierarchical systems. This has been pointed out by Brewer and Caporael (1995), who proposed a model with four configurations – dyads, teams, bands, and tribes. The target group

of this study, the *League of Legends* community, falls under the tribe configuration, which is a "macro-band characterised by a shared identity and communication but without continual face-to-face interaction" (Brewer and Gardner, 1996: 84). The hierarchical system is a key concept because *League of Legends* is a competitive game with such a system – rankings (there is more information about this in section 3.2) – and this plays a key role in the players' identity. Communication is also a key concept because the game has a unique terminology that all of the players use. Additionally, communication is crucial as it has been noted that identities are constructed through interactions (primarily through linguistic interaction).

As Ho (2010) argues, an individual can have multiple identities. Psychological theories of identity mainly distinguish two types: individual identity and collective identity. As Spencer-Oatey (2007: 641) puts it, "[i]ndividual identity refers to self-definition as a unique individual, whereas collective identity refers to self-definition as a group member". Spencer-Oatey (2007) also observes that while some characteristics may seem to be part of someone's collective identity, in reality, as Simon (2004) points it out, this is not the case. It mainly depends on what the individual thinks of a certain characteristic. That is, while 'gaming' as a characteristic can be seen as referring to someone who likes to play games (an individual characteristic), it can also be viewed as pointing to someone who is part of the gaming community (a collective characteristic). In the end, it boils down to what the individual thinks about it.

Brewer and Gardner (1996) note that the most conspicuous aspects of a group's identity are those that are shared among its members. Therefore, it only seems logical to approach the group identity of the players through their individual identities and point out the similarities.

As a final note about group identity, Brewer and Gardner also created a table (cf. Table 1 below) about the "levels of representation of the self" (Brewer and Gardner, 1996: 84). This table contains the psychological theory of identity noted above, which refers to individual and collective identity, and also involves an interpersonal level. However, while this level is not important for the present paper, the table is included to help visualise the different levels of identity and to later help compare the players' offline identity (individual) with their online gamer identity (group).

Table 1. Levels of representation of the self (Brewer and Gardner, 1996: 84)

Level of analysis	Self-concept	Basis of self-evaluation	Frame of reference	Basic social motivation
Individual	Personal	Traits	Interpersonal comparison	Self-interest
Interpersonal	Relational	Roles	Reflection	Other's benefit
Group	Collective	Group prototype	Intergroup comparison	Collective welfare

2.2. Pragmatics

Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac (2020) have described pragmatics as an 'insecure science'. Hacking (1995: 352) has claimed that an insecure science is "a science whose leaders say they are in quest for a paradigm, or have just found a paradigm". Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac say this because there are no pragmatic theories or frameworks which are generally accepted. Furthermore, "there is no consensus as to the domain of pragmatics" (Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac, 2020: 72).

2.2.1. Pragmatics defined

Generally, pragmatics deals with meaning in context. There are a few definitions of pragmatics, but these are usually described as attempts rather than actual definitions. Fasold (1990: 119) defines pragmatics as "the study of the use of context to make inferences about meaning". O'Keeffe (2011) calls Fasold's attempt a "user-friendly definition". Senft (2014: 11) defines it as

the "study [of] how speakers use their language to generate specific meanings in a specific context". Both of these definitions suggest that, therefore, pragmatics deals with how people use language to generate meaning in a given context.

Thus, pragmatics is important when one sets out to explore identity. As has already been stated above, identity is constructed through interactions and mainly through linguistic interactions (verbal/nonverbal communication). Simply put, pragmatics deals with how people use language. While there are many important notions of pragmatics, even more crucial for this paper are politeness theory and the concept of face, given how closely related they are to identity. This similarity has been pointed out by Spencer-Oatey (2007: 644), who states that "both relate to the notion of 'self'-image [...], and both comprise multiple self-aspects or attributes".

2.2.2. Face (vs. identity)

The concept of face originally derives from the everyday English expressions 'losing face', as in being humiliated or embarrassed, and 'saving face', as in preventing this from happening. Building on that, Goffman (1972 [1967]: 1) defined face as follows: "The term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact". The key here is "positive social value", since the main difference between identity and face is that while identity can contain both positive and negative attributes, face can only contain positive attributes. The simple reason behind why face can only contain positive attributes is perfectly summarised by Lim (1994: 210): "Face is not what one thinks of oneself, but what one thinks others should think of one's worth". And who would want to present a negative image of him- or herself? Additionally, as Schlenker and Pontari (2000) argue, the self-presentation concerns of people are never absent and can either operate in background or foreground modes. They compare it to an anti-virus program on a computer, which is always operating, but we only notice it when a problem occurs. Furthermore, face is generally considered to be fragile and vulnerable.

2.2.3. Politeness theory and FTAs

Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]) developed their politeness theory, which includes many influential notions. Their concept of face was based on that of Goffman's, and it provides the foundation for their politeness theory. What is perhaps the most crucial for this paper in Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is face-threatening acts (FTAs), presented as part of their dualistic model of face.

Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]) proposed a dualistic model of face, that is, positive and negative face. Positive face is "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others" (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 62). Therefore, positive face is the individual's desire to be accepted, appreciated, and approved of by others. Negative face is "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others" (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 62). Thus, negative face is the individual's desire to be independent and to have freedom of action.

When it comes to FTAs, they can be aimed at either positive or negative face. Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]: 65) defined FTAs as follows: "certain kinds of acts intrinsically threaten face, namely those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker." Furthermore, they clarify that by acts, they mean intentional verbal or non-verbal actions in communication, not unintentional ones.

3. Methodology

In this section, I state the research questions, define the context, and describe the participants, the data collection instrument, and the procedure of the study.

3.1. Research questions

The questions this research set out to seek answers to are the following:

1. How do players of *League of Legends* construct their identity within the community?
2. What matters to them in that regard?
3. How does their gamer identity manifest through interaction?
4. What is the link between their offline identity and gamer identity, if there is one?

Apart from these questions, I have three hypotheses:

1) Toxic/aggressive players of the game experience stress in their lives and use the game to relieve stress;
2) Players with higher rankings speak better English and think that good English skills are necessary; and
3) Players with higher rankings have a higher level of education, while players with lower rankings have a lower level of education.

3.2. The context

The context is the game *League of Legends* and its community. However, since it might not be evident what it is, I provide a brief overview of the game.

League of Legends is a competitive online video game within the MOBA (Multiplayer Online Battle Arena) genre. It was created by Riot Games and published in 2009. In the game, there are two teams, and each of them consists of five players. The game heavily builds on teamwork and communication, and players have to make use of these in order to win. Apart from the in-game chat system, there are also 'pings' in the game that are used as a form of communication. Pings are a built-in system that allows players to quickly signal something to their teammates in the form of symbols. By design, pings can signal the following: danger (exclamation mark), on my way (arrow), assist me (flag), enemy missing (question mark), or the enemy sees this territory (eye). What is also notable about the game is its ranking system. The game currently has nine types of ranking: iron, bronze, silver, gold, platinum, diamond, master, grandmaster, and challenger.

The game, by nature, is intercultural – at least in Europe, there are quite a few players from different nations. However, in order to reasonably limit the scope of this paper, I chose to focus on Hungarian players only. Additionally, one of the main reasons why this game stands out and why I found it interesting to research is because the game is infamous for its toxic community.

3.3. Participants

A total of eleven participants were selected from the Facebook group called *LoL – EU Észak és Kelet csapatépítő* (LoL – EU Nordic and East teambuilder). However, one participant had to be excluded from this study because the participant did not actually answer the questions but instead talked about unrelated topics. Therefore, the total number of participants analysed is reduced to ten. The members of this group are Hungarians, and each of them plays the game. The ages and genders of the participants were irrelevant when they signed up for the interview; however, eight of the ten participants are male, and their age ranges from 15 to 29. What I specifically looked for are players who regularly play the game and have the following rankings:

bronze, silver, gold, platinum, or diamond. I chose these rankings because the number of players below or above these rankings is extremely low. The ranking of the players matters because I also want to compare their answers based on their ranking. Additionally, the names of the participants have been altered to protect their privacy, and they were aware of them being recorded and verbally agreed to it.

3.4. Data collection instrument and procedure

The qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews, that is, by asking a set of questions of every participant which prompted them to talk freely. The set of questions was designed in light of the three definitions in section 2.1.1 and mainly with Hogg and Abrams' (2006 [1998]) definition in mind. I also asked additional questions when I felt that this was needed. The purpose of these additional questions was mainly to prompt the participant to supply a more detailed answer. For instance, it was difficult for some of the participants to answer the first question: "What are the things that you take into consideration when you construct your opinion about someone?" Thus, in order to encourage them to talk, I asked the following question: "What would be something that negatively influences your opinion about someone, and what would be something that positively influences it?". This method of breaking down the question into smaller parts usually worked, and it was used during the interviews when necessary.

The set of questions consists of two parts, and each part comprises two subparts. The first part deals with the players' offline identity, and the second part aims to collect data about the players' online identity. Each part started with a few short questions to collect basic information about the participants, such as name, age, and ranking; then the longer questions followed. Both main parts were designed in a way so that their offline and online identities could be easily compared. The set of questions can be found in the appendices both in English (translated) and in Hungarian (original). Additionally, the present paper contains excerpts from the interviews which are translated into English.

Before the actual interviews, I conducted one pilot interview. This provided sufficient results; therefore, the data collected during the pilot interview are included in the analysis. However, after this, I added new questions to the questionnaire. These are questions numbered 9 from the first part and 10, 14, and 21 from the second part. The complete, translated transcript of the pilot interview is included in the appendices.

The interviews were conducted through an online program called Discord. Due to the current Covid pandemic and the location of the participants, this was the best solution. Unfortunately, the main drawback of online interviews is that I was not able to record any gestures or facial expressions, since only verbal communication was recorded. The length of the interviews ranges from 30 to 90 minutes, but the rough average is 45–50 minutes.

The interviews started with a few minutes of small talk about how the participant had been, whether the participant had played that day and such, to break the ice. Also, this gave me enough time to set up the recording program. Thus, these first minutes of small talk were not recorded. After that, I explained that I was recording, to which all of them verbally agreed, and I proceeded to describe the project and explained what they needed to know about the interview. This included a description of the main goal of the study, which is to explore *League of Legends* players' identity, and an explanation of how much time the interview roughly takes and the structure of it. Then I started the interview.

3.5. Data analysis

In order to find out what makes someone a member of the *League of Legends* community, I use the approach suggested by Brewer and Gardner (1996). That is, I take the participants' answers and point out all the similarities. This provides a clear answer on what matters to them.

The main problem that arose during the research is that the participants might not supply genuine answers. This problem is the 'observer's paradox', which is "the concern that the interactants' awareness of being observed and recorded for research purposes may actually affect their communicative behaviour and thus distort the primary research data" (Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac, 2020: 82). In order to overcome this obstacle, the participants' answers have to be analysed with the concept of face in mind because the main reason why the participants might not provide genuine answers is due to the fact that they are trying to save face. Therefore, face helps us see through these answers and helps us read between the lines.

4. Results and discussion

In this section, I present the results of the research and discuss them in detail. First, I discuss the players' online identity including everything that the players say matters to them in that regard, the face of the players, their means of communication, and terminology. After that, I talk about the link between their offline and online identities. Finally, I explain the limitations of the study and how it could be potentially developed further.

4.1. The players' online identity

Exploring identity is challenging, and there are many aspects to it. Therefore, to overcome this challenge, this section consists of five subsections. First, I discuss how the participants might try to save their face. This is one of the most important sections, and the matters I discuss there apply to everything that follows this section. After that, I discuss the players' online identities and what matters to them in that regard. Following that, I discuss how they communicate with each other and their terminology.

4.1.1. Participants saving face

In order to overcome the observer's paradox, the face of the players has to be discussed. Not all of the participants provided genuine answers because they were clearly trying to save their face. As noted in section 2.2.2, face can only contain positive attributes because face is "what one thinks others should think of one's worth" (Lim, 1994: 210), and no one wants to present a negative image of him- or herself. However, identity can contain both positive and negative attributes. We have to take into consideration that the participants might not want to share certain negative information or attributes that would negatively affect their face. Since this paper sets out to explore the players' identities, this would jeopardise its goal. However, there were enough questions that they were eventually caught up in their answers. That is, not all of their answers lined up with each other perfectly.

To see how the participants might alter the truth to save their face, let us examine Tamás's answers. When he was asked the question, "Do you lose your temper easily, or do you think you are patient?", he offered the following answer:

(1)

> Well it's... it's, well... umm, it depends on the situation. So... let's say... if I am tired, then I much more easily... lose my temper, but... well, I try, I try to be patient.

Tamás was hesitating a lot and was probably thinking of a good way to phrase what he was about to say to avoid putting himself in a negative light. After his answer, he went on to explain very carefully what makes him usually lose his temper. He mentioned *League of Legends* and his little brother. He talked the most about his little brother, about what he does that usually makes him "a bit frustrated". The fact that he only mentioned situations where he lost his temper is already a good indication that he is not patient at all. After that, he asked for approval:

(2)

Do you think this is a situation where I can be frustrated?

In his case, I gave him my approval, and then he continued as follows:

(3)

Okay, but there is more, it makes me angry that it's like, so the book is... well... gee, I can't find words for their book, their English book. It's like zero, so there's no [explanation of the grammatical rules], they're supposed to be able to figure out [the grammatical rules] based on three sample sentences, but if it's not there, the basic, the raw stuff, I think [my brother] will never be able to figure it out. [...].

It immediately became evident that Tamás's speech had changed. He was no longer hesitating, and he was speaking faster and more fluently. Most importantly, he was speaking more confidently. What happened there is that I claimed common ground with Tamás by approving his positive face wants – his impatience and frustration in this case – which is a positive politeness strategy. "Positive politeness is redress directed at the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants should be thought of as desirable" (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]: 101). That is, positive politeness strategies are aimed at the addressee's positive face such as, in this case, approving the addressee's positive face wants.

After that, Tamás felt more comfortable talking about his impatience. However, in the first line of example three, we can see that he is still struggling with something. My strong assumption is that he wanted to use a curse word there to describe his little brother's English textbook. He refrained from doing so, since I have never approved of the use of such words; I only approved of his impatience. Unfortunately, after this, Tamás had returned to his safe, 'slow and steady' approach on the questions that followed.

Tamás is a perfect example of how some participants might want to alter their answers in order to save their face. While Tamás stated at the beginning, at least implicitly, that he is impatient, this is not the case with all the participants. Unfortunately, I was not always able to use strategies as I did in Tamás's case, but there were enough questions that the participants became caught up in them and implicitly revealed certain negative attributes of their identity.

Thus, for this paper, face is essential. We must keep it in mind as we continue to analyse the participants' answers, especially when toxicity is discussed.

4.1.2. Identity and face of the players

First, I discuss the similarities between the participants' answers, as suggested by Brewer and Gardner (1996). This section mainly focuses on the answers the participants have provided to the following longer questions, 1–3 and 9–12, from the second part of the interview. Let us go over them in order and analyse them.

The first question was the following: "What are the things that you take into consideration when you construct your opinion about other players?". In short, the answers were the following with the numbers next to them indicating how many of the participants mentioned it: performance (9), farm (1), vision (1), map awareness (1), how they influence the game (3), what they communicate towards their teammates (1), playstyle (aggressive or passive) (1), build (1), what champion they play (2), their level of toxicity (3), their ranking (1), and the role they play

(2). At first glance, some of these answers might need an explanation, but to keep unnecessary complexity at a minimum, I explain briefly what they meant by these answers.

Farm, vision, influence on the game, build, and ranking, in simple terms, refer to a player's performance. Thus, despite nine of the ten participants directly noting performance as a major factor when constructing an opinion about other players, they elaborated further about what they meant by performance. The most probable reason why almost all of them noted performance as a key factor is because it has a direct effect on them. The other most common answers that are not related to performance were the champion they are playing, the role they play, and their level of toxicity. The first two answers are simply player preference with little to no impact on other players. The participants who mentioned these are prejudicial, according to other answers they have provided. These answers will be discussed in a later section (4.3). The latter answer refers to the abusive behaviour of other players. Given the toxicity of the game, it is rather surprising that only three participants made mention of it. This leads to the conclusion that most of the players do not mind or do not care about the toxic environment within the game. The toxicity of the *League of Legends* community will be discussed in later sections.

The second question was the following: "Do you usually do a background check on your teammates? If yes, please explain why". By background check, I mean the websites or applications that offer the players the option to check their teammates and enemies before the match starts. These websites usually contain all sorts of information about the players, such as win rates, rankings, and games played, and it is quite common to do a background check before the match starts. In short, the answers were the following with the number next to them indicating how many of the participants mentioned it: no (7), sometimes (1), and yes (2). The participants who answered 'no' gave the following explanations: they feel that they cannot draw any conclusion from the information they would find (4), they do not care (3), and they do not like it/feel that it is cheating (2), while one participant said that he does not want the information that he would find there to influence him (1).

At first, it seems that it is not at all common among players to do a background check. The most common reason why they do not check their teammates and enemies is that they feel they cannot draw any concrete conclusions from it; they cannot tell how a player will perform based on the information that these websites and applications provide. However, in order to know this, they had to do it at least once, but realistically more than once to arrive at this conclusion. Thus, even though they have not explicitly said that have ever done a background check, they have done so implicitly. This is further borne out by other participants' answers. Although there were only two participants who answered 'yes', they explained their answers similarly to those who answered 'no'. Both of them mentioned that they could not draw conclusions from it. This reinforces the claim that those who answered 'no' have indeed done a background check in the past.

However, despite most of them answering 'no' here, it does not mean that doing a background check is not common. Let us keep face in mind and examine two 'no' answers. Anna said the following:

(4)

Anna:

> No, I don't. Every- many people in my circle of friends do, too, but I don't. I don't care about that. Okay, sure, if [the game] shows their [rankings], then I check that, but if it doesn't, then I don't check what [champions] they are playing with and umm, their statistics. I don't care. I don't check the enemy either.

Me:

Could you elaborate a bit more on why you do not do a background check? Or is it that you just don't care and that's it?

Anna:

To some degree-... Can I talk about the enemy too?

Me:

Yes, of course.

Anna:

If I check the enemy's statistics, okay, I know that the option is given, but to some degree, I feel like it's cheating, or I don't know. I think it is morally wrong to check how they [usually perform]. And it doesn't even matter, it can be really misleading like... really. I don't like it. And I don't check my teammates either because it can be a basis for judgement. For that reason, I don't do it, this... I don't know what applications are out there, porofessor and the like. I don't like it. I don't do it.

Now, let us see Csenge's answer:

(5)

Csenge:

No. Porofessor and programs like that? No, and it really makes me mad when I play with someone, and they start saying what the enemy is like and what our teammates are like, like 'oh, everyone in the enemy team is on a winning streak and everyone in our team is on a losing streak'. Then I usually shut them up, because I do not care. There is a reason why I don't have programs like that downloaded. [...].

One thing immediately becomes apparent: even though they said that they do not do background checks, both of them know people who do it. This is a recurring theme. That is, participants state that they are aware of others doing something, but they themselves are not one of them. While Csenge's answer seems to be truthful, given how she did not elaborate further and became offended by me even mentioning the phenomenon of background checks, Anna is most likely trying to save her face. It is safe to conclude that background checks are common, and based on how Csenge became offended and Anna mentioned that she thinks it "feels like cheating" and is "morally wrong", they consider it a negative attribute of their online identity.

The reason why they consider it a negative attribute is also answered by those who said 'yes' to the question. One of them said the following:

(6)

Well, first I check out the enemy bot lane, the enemy role, to know how they perform [...].

The other participant mentioned that he mostly checks out the players' rankings but also stated that he thinks ranking is not important. These and Anna and Csenge's answers imply that they do background checks to compare each other. It is also important to note that the participants use the words *performance*, *game knowledge,* and *rankings* interchangeably, although they mostly avoid using rankings and instead use *performance* or *game knowledge* because *rankings* implies comparative behaviour. Thus, it is not the act of doing background checks that they necessarily consider a negative attribute of their online identity, but the act of comparing each other. These claims are further confirmed by the answers they provided for the next questions.

The third question was the following: "How do you react when there is a significantly lower- or higher-ranked player than you in your team (or in the enemy team)?". Only two of the ten participants said that they could not answer this question, one of them being Csenge, because they do not do background checks. This confirms four points. First, Csenge was telling the truth and was not trying to save face. Second, Anna was trying to save her face. Eight par-

ticipants gave a detailed answer about how they feel or react, and almost all of them immediately thought of a situation where there is a higher-ranking player in the enemy team. This is important because there is no way of knowing from the game itself the rankings of the enemy team's players. That is, they have to use an external website or application to acquire this information. This demonstrates that background checks are common. And finally, since the question was not asking whether or not they are comparing each other, but how they react, they implicitly revealed that they in fact compare each other, but consider comparative behaviour a negative attribute.

The ninth and tenth questions have to be analysed together. They go as follows: "Do you want to achieve a higher ranking? If so, please explain why" and "Do you think you deserve a higher ranking? If so, please explain why". As regards the former question, all of them answered 'yes'. The reason they want to achieve a higher ranking is also the same most of the time. The reasons are the following: they want to be better at the game, perform better, and/or have better game knowledge. Some of them mentioned that they think ranking is not important; therefore, I asked them if they think that ranking can provide feedback about a player's performance and/or game knowledge. All of them answered 'yes', although hesitantly. This further reinforces the claim that performance and, therefore, ranking are the most important to them, but they refrain from saying it out loud. Three of the participants even mentioned that they want to achieve a higher ranking so they can show other players that they are better than them.

As to the latter question, almost all of them answered 'no'. However, despite most of them doing so, the participants also stated that they feel they have the game knowledge or skill to achieve a higher ranking, but they do not put enough effort into the game. This is false, since the participants, on average, play 20–25 hours a week. Thus, based on their answers, if only game knowledge, skill, and investment of energy are needed to achieve a higher ranking, then most of them lack the skill and/or game knowledge. The most probable reason why they lied about this is that they do not want to weaken their online identity. It is evident at this point that performance, game knowledge, and, thus, ranking are crucial to them, and this is confirmed even further by the answers they provided to the previous and current questions.

The eleventh and twelfth questions also have to be analysed together. They are the following: "What do you think of those who do not want to achieve a higher ranking?" and "What do you think of those who do not play ranked games at all?" The former question was about players who play ranked games regularly but do not necessarily want to achieve a higher ranking. On this question, most of them said that they do not understand them, they do not like them, or they outright hate them. This shows again how important ranking is to them. The latter question was about players who have never played ranked games and do not intend to. On this, they provided the following answers: I understand them (5), I do not understand them (1), no opinion (2), and I like them (2). Most of them understand players who do not play ranked games and only play normal games. They explained that ranked games are stressful, and they understand if someone just wants to enjoy the game or play the game. These answers and how sharply they contrast with their previous answers imply that they think that players who do not have a ranking or do not play ranked matches regularly are not part of the community. Therefore, not only is ranking important to them, but it is a necessary attribute of their online and group identity. It provides them the basis for self-evaluation, comparison, and a place in their group.

Thus, let us answer the research question: "What matters to them regarding their online group identity?" The most important key attributes are performance, game knowledge, and ranking. Out of these three, undoubtedly, ranking is the most essential. The players regularly

compare each other based on their rankings. Furthermore, it is a necessary attribute if someone wants to claim a place within their group.

4.1.3. Communication and terminology

In this section, I discuss the players' main means of communication and the content of their communication, and offer an insight into their terminology. This section mainly focuses on the answers the participants have provided to the following longer questions, 13–17, from the second part of the interview.

There are two ways the players can communicate with each other in-game: in-game chat and pings. According to the participants' answers, players use both the in-game chat and the pings; however, pings are much more dominant. They stated that while they use the in-game chat almost every game, they use the built-in pings every game without exception.

The content of their communication is mainly restricted to the game itself. That is, they are informing their teammates about something or sharing strategic information with them. According to the participants, they are not really communicating with their enemies (using the 'all-chat' that both teams can see). Furthermore, the participants have stated that when they use the in-game chat, they mostly communicate with other players in English. However, I asked the following question as a follow-up: "Have you ever written in Hungarian to a teammate or enemy that you knew would not understand it?" Almost all of them answered 'yes'. They said that they only do this when they become really frustrated or angry. There are two possible reasons why they do this. First, they cannot express themselves sufficiently in English to relieve the frustration. Second, they use the language barrier so the not-so-kind message they have sent would not be understood by other players. Additionally, Csenge and Ádám said the following:

(7)

Csenge:

When I see that there are Hungarians, I try to hide the fact that I am Hungarian too.

(8)

Ádám:

I meet very few Hungarians, but they tend to be more toxic than [you might initially think].

It seems that they are not keen on meeting other Hungarians in the game, and they think that Hungarians are more toxic than players from other nations. Although the present paper cannot confirm whether Hungarians are more toxic than players from other nations, the reason they might feel this way is due to the language barrier not being present. Thus, Hungarians are more prone to being toxic towards each other. This also confirms the second claim about why they use the Hungarian language when they know others would not understand it.

It is also important to talk about the players' terminology because, as has been noted, the *League of Legends* community falls under the tribe configuration, which has "shared [...] communication but without continual face-to-face interaction" (Brewer and Gardner, 1996: 84). A table that contains some of the terms they used during the interviews has been included (cf. Table 2 below). It contains some of the most often mentioned words, the number of participants that used that word, the total number of times that word was mentioned, and whether the word is originally in the game and, therefore, has a Hungarian translation. The words that are included were noted by the participants in the exact form as they are presented in the table.

Table 2. Rudimentary terminology of League of Legends *based on the participants' answers*

Words	The number of participants mentioning the word	The total number of times the word was mentioned	Is the word originally in the game and does it thus have a Hungarian translation?
Ranked	8 (80%)	50	Yes
Mute	8 (80%)	25	Yes
Lane	8 (80%)	34	Yes
Int/Feed	7 (70%)	16	No
Top	7 (70%)	18	Yes
Plat/Platinum	6 (60%)	34	Yes
Support	6 (60%)	16	Yes
Role	4 (40%)	11	Yes

Four of the participants noted that good foreign language skills are not necessary for the game, and five mentioned that it is somewhat important or important. Eight of the participants started playing after there was a Hungarian translation of the game (after 2015). The participants who observed that foreign language skills are not important also said that they think it is not important because the game has a Hungarian translation. However, their terminology is based on the English language. Despite most of them having a Hungarian translation directly in the game, the players use the terms in their English form. Furthermore, we can see that one term in the table has no Hungarian translation (int/feed). Terms like that refer to tactics, strategies, or actions that are originally not in the game, but the players have come up with them. These terms are constantly changing, and every year new terms come into existence. Although the participants rarely used terms that have no Hungarian translation – mostly because they are extremely specific – they are important to their terminology and, therefore, important to mention, nonetheless.

There are other notable findings about their communication. Most of the participants noted at some point during the interview that they either do not care or find the toxicity entertaining. Also, they stated that they do not really use the all-chat function of the game to communicate with their enemies. However, later (in answer to questions 18–21 from the second part of the interview) most of them admitted using the all-chat function, although they emphasised that they only rarely use it and that they are not being toxic. At the end of 2021, Riot Games wanted to disable the all-chat function due to "negative interactions outweigh[ing] the positives" (Roon and Lee, 2021). However, the company failed to do so due to a community backlash. That is, the players wanted to keep the all-chat function despite the fact that it is mostly used for negative interactions. Furthermore, during the second part of the interview, the participants' speech changed, and they started using curse words slightly more often or, in some cases, significantly more so. All of these observations and the fact that Riot Games is aware of the toxicity and tried to combat it by removing the all-chat, but the community was furious even by the idea of removing it, lead to the conclusion that toxicity is so deeply embedded in the community that we can say that, at this point, it is part of their online group identity. As has been discussed in section 2.1.2, identity is not a fixed point, but rather constantly evolving (e.g. Fougere, 2008; Ho, 2010; Simon, 2004). Let us presume that toxicity was not always present in the game as it is today. However, with time, toxicity grew bigger and started growing roots. By roots, I mean that the game is no longer toxic because of the players, but rather vice versa; the players are toxic because of the game. Because, as newcomers arrive, they will become accustomed to this environment. Moreover, given the toxic environment of the game, it is now more attractive to players who want to relieve the stress they are experiencing in their lives here or are just more

prone to this type of behaviour (e.g. being short-tempered). I discuss these types of players in section 4.3.1.

Finally, there is one last important finding about how their identities manifest through interaction. Some of the participants mentioned that during an argument or dispute, they are likely to bring up rankings as an argument. In his *Rhetoric,* Aristotle (2004) talked about the "modes of persuasion" (Aristotle, 2004: 8). There are three modes: "The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker; the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind; the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself" (Aristotle, 2004: 8). The first mode is ethos, that is, persuasion based on the speaker's character or, in this case, identity. Based on what the participants said, they are likely to use ethos as a mode of persuasion. Consequently then, some online identities are more dominant than others. That is, higher-ranking players have more dominant online identities than their lower-ranking counterparts, and players are willing to make use of their dominant online identities in interaction. Furthermore, based on my own experience, if a player has a dominant online identity, the other, dominated player might try to weaken it during an argument. The dominated player might use words such as 'boosted', by which they mean that the dominant player did not achieve their ranking legitimately or by themselves, and, thus, their ethos is invalid as a mode of persuasion. This further demonstrates how important ranking is to their online identities, and ranking provides them with the basis for self-evaluation, comparison, and a place in their group.

Thus, let us answer the research question: "How does their gamer identity manifest through interaction?" Their online identity manifests through interaction in the form of toxicity and ethos. Toxicity, at this point, is so persistent that we can say it is part of their online group identity. Ethos is frequently used during arguments. Consequently, there are dominant and dominated online identities, and ranking decides whose online identity is dominant. Additionally, *League of Legends* players have a unique terminology, which is based on the English language.

4.2. Hypotheses results

Let us see which of the three hypotheses have been demonstrated to be true and which have not. To recap, the hypotheses are the following:

1) Toxic/aggressive players of the game experience stress in their lives and use the game to relieve stress;
2) Players with higher rankings speak better English and think that good English skills are necessary; and
3) Players with higher rankings have a higher level of education, while players with lower rankings have a lower level of education.

The latter two are demonstrably wrong. Higher-ranking players do not necessarily speak better English and/or have a higher level of education. There is no connection between them. Furthermore, it is not within the scope of this paper to answer the question of why they have higher rankings. Most of them said that it is good to have good English language skills but that it is not at all important. There is no clear indication that language skills, education, or even investment of energy have a role in their rankings. Higher-ranking players play better, and they understand the game better than players with lower rankings. However, it is unclear why.

The first hypothesis has been confirmed, and it is discussed in detail in section 4.3.1.

4.3. Link between the players' offline and online identity

As has been observed, "various identities can be constructed by and for the same individual" (Ho, 2010: 2253). In our case, these are the players' offline and online identities. However, these are not completely separate identities. The players' online identities are based on their offline identities, and they carry over certain attributes and characteristics from their offline identities to their online identities.

For instance, participants who are originally prejudicial are also more likely to be prejudicial in-game. Let us examine two of these players. I asked them the following question: "What are the things that you take into consideration when you construct your opinion about someone?" Csaba answered this as follows:

(9)

> Pfuh, well, I don't know, I think you can tell what someone is like just by looking at them. [...].

Csenge provided the following answer to the same question:

(10)

> Everyone has stereotypes, everyone has these, umm, different degrees of prejudice. And I form [my opinion] based on that at first glance, I have an opinion about everybody and then it's not really that significantly present with me, so I like to get to know people and to have them talk about themselves, umm, but I'm basically, so at first glance, really – shameful or not – these stereotypes umm... umm... I form my opinion based on them.

These are the participants noted in section 4.1.2 that form their opinions about other players based on what champions they play or what role other players play. These factors have nothing to do with performance, game knowledge, or ranking. They are purely preferences of the players with little to no impact on the game. Thus, we can see that players who are prejudicial in real life carry over this attribute of their offline identities to their online identities.

Furthermore, players that are short-tempered in real life are more likely to be toxic in the game. For instance, Tamás has already been discussed in section 4.1.1 as being impatient and short-tempered. Later, in answer to questions 18–21 from the second part of the interview, he said that he is prone to being toxic and apt to verbally confront or scold other players. Additionally, seven of the ten participants mentioned that their lives are stressful, and five of those seven participants noted that they use *League of Legends* as a method to relieve stress. These demonstrate that the game indeed attracts people who are prone to being toxic and want to relieve stress. This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in the next subsection.

Finally, let us compare the players' offline and online identities based on Table 1 (Brewer and Gardner, 1996: 84). Here, I mainly focus on the frame of reference and basic social motivation.

As a frame of reference, Brewer and Gardner (1996) note an interpersonal comparison at the individual level and an intergroup comparison at the group level. That is, at the individual level, individuals compare themselves to other individuals. This is present here with the participants. They compare themselves to others based on how they look, their styles, and their communicative skills. They also form an opinion based on these factors. However, at the group level, they compare themselves to other players within the group. As has been discussed in previous sections, ranking is the single most important factor on which their comparison is based. That is an attribute that every member of the group has, and, therefore, they base their comparison on that.

Finally, Brewer and Gardner (1996) point to basic social motivation. At the individual level, it refers to self-interest, and at the group level, it refers to collective welfare. While it is true that self-interest is the basic social motivation when it comes to the players' individual offline identities, collective welfare is not noticeable in their online group identity as a basic social motivation. That is, at the individual level, they engage in actions that benefit them as an individual,

such as pursuing higher education or finding a better job to be able to afford a more comfortable lifestyle. However, at the group level, collective welfare is not really present. That is, while the fact that they are trying to win a match could count as collective welfare, in reality, it does not. The players are not trying to win a match so their team could win. The players are trying to win a match so they, as individuals, could win. This has been emphasised by numerous participants: "I came here to win". By winning, they increase their rankings, and, therefore, they achieve more dominant online identities. Collective welfare as motivation is only present when Riot Games announces a change that the community does not like (e.g. disabling all-chat). Thus, even at the group level, self-interest is the basic motivational force.

Thus, let us answer the following research questions: "How do players of *League of Legends* construct their identity within the community?" and "What is the link between their offline identity and gamer identity, if there is one?"

First, let us answer the latter research question. Their online identity is based on their offline identity, and they carry over certain attributes. Players who want to relieve stress or are more prone to behave in a toxic manner are attracted to the game because of its toxicity. Furthermore, Brewer and Gardner's (1996: 84) table (cf. Table 1) mostly applies in this context; however, interestingly, collective welfare is not noticeable in their online group identity, and it seems self-interest is the basic motivational force.

Finally, let us answer the first research question. There are two crucial factors when it comes to the players' online identity construction. First, as has been noted, the players' online identities are based on their offline identities. Second, apart from playing the game regularly, ranking is the single most important factor players have to effectively claim for themselves to construct their online identity within the community.

4.3.1. Stress and toxicity

Toxicity has been discussed throughout various parts of this paper. I have claimed that toxicity is part of the players' online group identity, the game, *League of Legends,* attracts players who are more prone to this type of behaviour, and players use the game as a method to relieve stress in their lives. Also, it has been noted that seven out of the ten participants' lives are stressful, and five of those seven participants mentioned that they use *League of Legends* as a method to relieve stress. Thus, the following hypothesis has been confirmed: toxic/aggressive players of the game experience stress in their lives and use the game to relieve stress. To further confirm this claim, let us examine Csenge's answers.

Csenge is one of the most interesting of the ten participants: mostly because she was not trying to save her face and she provided helpful details in her answers. For instance, she mentioned that she used to be toxic. While this claim is not outstanding, since most of the participants claimed this to save their face – that is, they used to be toxic, but now they are not toxic anymore – Csenge did not use it to save her face. She mentioned that her life is stressful and sought professional care to help her deal with the stress she experiences in her life. Before this, she explained, she used the game to relieve stress and used to be toxic. However, ever since she began receiving professional help to deal with her stress, she simply does not become so frustrated that she behaves toxically in-game. She no longer uses the game to relieve stress. She was not trying to save her face because, during the interview, she did not realise the correlation between stress and toxicity, and what I described here came to light through the course of a 53-minute-long interview.

Csenge's example demonstrates that toxic/aggressive players use the game to relieve stress in their lives. Furthermore, all of these claims are linked to each other. That is, players who experience stress in their real lives are attracted to this game to relieve that stress because it is acceptable to engage in toxic behaviour – which is a stress reliever.

4.4. Strengths, weaknesses, and limitations of the study

In this section, I discuss the strengths, weaknesses, and limitations of the current study. Furthermore, I offer potential guidelines for how it could be further developed.

There are many strengths and weaknesses of the present paper. This study sheds light upon the players' online group identity and highlights the key attributes that are important to them. Since most of these attributes are negative – or at least they think of them as negative – I have had to work around their face, which I have managed to do so. However, at the same time, this is one of the main weaknesses of the current paper. The interview questions were designed not be offensive to them or to have them assume anything about their identity. Furthermore, I, too, took a careful approach not to offend them or assume anything. These precautions permitted the participants too much freedom to save their face. However, it would probably have been more beneficial for this paper to ask them more direct questions without any regard for their face and leave them less room for saving their face. For instance, I could have included questions like the following:

- Do you think ranking is important?
- Do you often compare players based on their ranking?
- Do you think other players are toxic?
- Do you think you are toxic? If so, why? If not, why not?

Questions like these could have eliminated the problem of face or could have made the analysis process easier.

Finally, I want to discuss the limitations of the present study and how it could be developed further. While this paper covers the key attributes of the players' online group identity and while most of it is applicable to other online competitive video games, I do not think it covers it all. More research is needed to cover other attributes of their online group identity. Furthermore, it can be taken further to see how companies capitalise on gamers' online identities with these free games. For instance, *Trackmania 2020,* a competitive racing game, is initially free. However, for the players to have a ranking or to achieve a higher ranking in the game – therefore, to be genuinely part of the community – the players have to subscribe to the game and pay a monthly fee. While *League of Legends* is free at all times, Riot Games makes enormous profits from the game through microtransactions, such as buying skins or crates. A new, more elaborate study that explores other attributes of the players' online identity, such as their desire for distinction or money-spending habits, could explain how players distinguish themselves from other players by buying skins and other cosmetics. Although I am sure that companies are aware of this to some degree, they are probably looking at it through the lens of marketing and numbers.

5. Conclusion

There are many key attributes to the players' online identities. Performance, game knowledge, and ranking are all essential key attributes. Out of these attributes, ranking is undoubtedly the most important. The players compare each other on a regular basis based on their rankings, and this is necessary if one wants to join their group. Thus, it provides them with a basis for self-evaluation, comparison, and their place in the group. Furthermore, we can say that toxicity is also part of their online group identity.

These attributes manifest through interaction. Ranking manifests in their communication as they use ethos as a mode of persuasion. Thus, there are dominant and dominated online identities. Toxicity also manifests in their communication; however, it is hard to say the extent of it due to the participants saving face. Still, the fact that Riot Games even tried to remove the all-chat function to combat toxicity implies that its presence is significant.

Furthermore, we can see that the players' online identities are based on their offline identities and that they carry over certain attributes from their offline identities to their online identities. Also, it is clear that toxic/aggressive players use the game to relieve stress, which confirms the hypothesis. Additionally, the well-known toxicity of the game attracts players who are more prone to this type of behaviour.

Bibliography

Aristotle. 2004. 2. In Aristotle and W. Rhys Roberts (translator), eds. *Rhetoric*. Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 7–14.

Brewer, Marilynn B. and Linnda R. Caporael. 1995. Hierarchical evolutionary theory: There is an alternative and it's not creationism. *Psychological Inquiry*, 6:31–34.

Brewer, Marilynn B. and Wendi Gardner. 1996. Who is this "we"? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71:83–93.

Brown, Penelope and Stephen C. Levinson. 1987 [1978]. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bucholtz, Mary and Kira Hall. 2005. Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7:585–614.

Clement, J. 2021. Number of active video gamers worldwide from 2015 to 2023. June 1. https://www.statista.com/statistics/748044/number-video-gamers-world/ (Date of access: November 20, 2021)

Fasold, Ralph W. 1990. *The sociolinguistics of language*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fearon, James D. 1999. *What is identity (as we use the word)?* Stanford: Stanford University.

Fougère, Martin. 2008. Adaptation and identity. In Spencer-Oatey, Helen, ed. *Culturally speaking*. 2nd ed. New York: Continuum, 187–203.

Goffman, Erving. 1972 [1967]. Introduction. In Goffman, Erving, ed. *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behaviour*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Press, 1–8.

Graham, Sage Lambert. 2007. Disagreeing to agree: Conflict, (im)politeness and identity in a computer-mediated community. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39:742–759.

Hacking, Ian. 1995. The looping effects of human kinds. In Sperber, Dan, David Premack and Ann James Premack, eds. *Causal cognition: A multidisciplinary debate*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 351–384

Hall, Stuart. 1992. Three concepts of identity. In Hall, Stuart, ed. *Modernity and its features*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 275–277.

Ho, Victor. 2010. Constructing identities through request e-mail discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42:2253–2261.

Hogg, Michael A. and Dominic Abrams. 2006 [1998]. Introduction. In Hogg, Michael A. and Dominic Abrams, eds. *Social identifications*. New York: Routledge, 1–5.

Katzenstein, Peter J, Ronald L. Jepperson and Alexander Wendt. 1996. Norms, identity, and culture in national security. In Katzenstein, Peter J, ed. *The culture of national security*. New York: Columbia University Press, 8–43.

Lim, Tae-Sop. 1994. Facework and interpersonal relationships. In Ting-Toomey, Stella, ed. *The challenge of facework*. New York: State University of New York Press, 209–229.

Merriam-Webster. n.d. Essential meaning of identity. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/identity (Date of access: December 16, 2021)

O'Keeffe, Anne. 2011. Introduction. In O'Keeffe, Anne, Brian Clancy and Svenja Adolphs, eds. *Introducing pragmatics in use*. New York: Routledge, 1–17.

Roon, Andrei Van, Jeremy Lee. 2021. Disabling all chat. https://www.leagueoflegends.com/en-us/news/game-updates/disabling-all-chat/ (Date of access: March 29, 2022)

Schlenker, Barry and Beth Pontari, 2000. The strategic control of information: Impression management and self-presentation in daily life. In Tesser, Abraham, Richard B. Felson and Jerry M. Suls, eds. *Psychological perspectives on self and identity*. Washington: American Psychological Association, 199–232.
Senft, Gunter. 2014. Introduction. In Senft, Gunter, ed. *Understanding pragmatics*. New York: Routledge, 1–10.
Simon, Bernd. 2004. *Identity in modern society: A social psychological perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Spencer-Oatey, Helen and Vladimir Žegarac. 2020. Pragmatics. In Schmitt, Norbert and Michael P.H. Rodgers, eds. *An introduction to applied linguistics*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge, 72–90.
Spencer-Oatey, Helen. 2007. Theories of identity and the analysis of face. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39:639–656.
Spezzy. 2021. How many people play League of Legends? https://leaguefeed.net/did-you-know-total-league-of-legends-player-count-updated/ (Date of access: November 15, 2021)
Stanton, Rich. 2021. With 180 million players, League of Legends games have more active users than Steam. November 2. https://www.pcgamer.com/uk/with-180-million-players-league-of-legends-games-have-more-active-users-than-steam/ (Date of access: November 15, 2021)

Appendices

1. Interview questions in English (translated)

Questions about offline identity	
Short questions	
1. What is your name?	
2. How old are you?	
3. What do you study/do for a living?	
4. What is your highest level of education?	
5. What is your mother's and father's highest level of education?	
Long questions	
Questions	**Purpose of the questions**
1. What are the things that you take into consideration when you construct your opinion about someone?	How do they relate to others?
2. How do you relate to those who work in a lower position than you, or have a lower education than you?	
3. Do you think your life is stressful?	How do they handle pressure, what their temper is like.
4. How do you handle stress in your life?	
5. Do you lose your temper easily, or do you think you are patient?	
6. After a failure, can you get up on your feet easily, or does it have an effect on you long afterwards?	
7. If you do not succeed at first, do you keep trying, do you put off the problem, or do you give up entirely?	
8. Do you want to improve your life? Be it your current financial status, work position, better grades at school or achieving a higher education. If yes, please explain why.	Improving one's life.
9. Do you think you deserve to live better? If so, please explain why.	
10. What do you think of those who are not working to improve their life?	

11. Do you think you are talkative?	Pragmatic questions.
12. Do you adapt to your conversation partner? (topic, vocabulary, tone, aggression)	
13. What languages do you speak?	
14. Do you think good foreign language skills are important?	
15. How do you react when someone is insulting you?	
16. If someone is underperforming at your workplace or at a group project at school, do you scold them?	
17. Do you often taunt others? If so, how? In what situations? If not, why not?	
Questions about online identity	
Short questions	
1. What is your current ranking in the game?	
2. How long have you been playing the game?	
3. How many hours do you usually play a week?	
Long questions	
Questions	**Purpose of the questions**
1. What are the things that you take into consideration when you construct your opinion about other players?	How do they relate to other players?
2. Do you usually do a background check on your teammates? If yes, please explain why.	
3. How do you react when there is a significantly lower- or higher-ranked player than you on your team (or on the enemy team)?	
4. Do you think this game is stressful?	How do they handle pressure, what their temper is like.
5. Do you easily lose your temper when you are playing?	
6. Does a bad match have an effect on you afterwards or can you let it go easily?	
7. Can you close out the day with a loss, or do you play until you win?	
8. Are you prone to forfeiting the match if you are behind, or do you play until the end?	
9. Do you want to achieve a higher ranking? If so, please explain why.	Improving at the game.
10. Do you think you deserve a higher ranking? If so, please explain why.	
11. What do you think of those who do not want to achieve a higher ranking?	
12. What do you think of those who do not play ranked games at all?	
13. Do you use the chat function? If so, how often?	Pragmatic questions.
14. Do you use the pings in game? If so, how often?	
15. What do you usually write to your teammates/enemies?	
16. What language do you use to communicate with them?	
17. Do you think good foreign language skills are important regarding the game?	
18. How do you react when someone verbally abuses you in chat within the game?	

19. Do you scold your teammates if they are underperforming, or if they are doing something you consider stupid?	
20. Do you often taunt your enemies? If so, how? In what situations? If not, why not?	
21. Do you taunt your teammates with pings? If so, why?	

2. Interview questions in Hungarian (original)

Kérdések az offline identitással kapcsolatban	
Rövid kérdések	
1. Hogy hívnak?	
2. Hány éves vagy?	
3. Mit tanulsz vagy dolgozol?	
4. Mi a legmagasabb iskolai végzettséged?	
5. Mi a szüleid legmagasabb végzettsége?	
Hosszabb kérdések	
Kérdések	**Kérdések célja**
1. Mik azok a dolgok, amik alapján kialakítod másokról a véleményed?	Hogyan viszonyulnak másokhoz?
2. Hogyan viszonyulsz azokhoz, akik alacsonyabb pozícióban dolgoznak, vagy alacsonyabb iskolai végzettséggel rendelkeznek mint te?	
3. Stresszesnek tartod az életedet?	Hogyan kezelik a nyomást, milyen a természetük?
4. Hogyan kezeled a stresszt az életedben?	
5. Könnyen ki szoktál borulni vagy türelmesnek tartod magad?	
6. Egy kudarc után könnyen fel tudsz állni, vagy utána még sokáig hatással van rád?	
7. Ha valami nem sikerül, akkor addig dolgozol rajta, amíg végre sikerül, vagy inkább későbbre hagyod a dolgot/problémát, esetleg végleg feladod?	
8. Szeretnél-e feljebb kerülni az életedben? Legyen ez pénzügyi helyzet, munkahelyi pozíció, vagy jobb jegyek/magasabb végzettség elérése a tanulmányaidban. Ha igen, miért?	Feljebb kerülés az életben.
9. Szerinted jobb életet érdemelnél-e? Kérlek fejtsd ki a válaszodat.	
10. Mi a véleményed azokról, akik nem küzdenek azért, hogy előrébb jussanak az életükben?	
11. Mennyire tartod magad beszédesnek?	Pragmatikai kérdések.
12. Szoktál alkalmazkodni a beszélőpartneredhez? (téma, szóhasználat, hangsúly, agresszió)	
13. Milyen nyelveken beszélsz?	
14. Fontosnak tartod-e a jó nyelvtudást?	
15. Hogyan reagálsz, ha valaki sérteget téged?	
16. Ha munkahelyen vagy iskolai csoportmunkában valaki rosszul teljesít, akkor le szoktad őket szidni?	
17. Szoktál cukkolni másokat? Ha igen, akkor hogyan? Milyen szituációkban? Ha nem, akkor miért nem?	

Kérdések az online identitással kapcsolatban	
Rövid kérdések	
1. Mi a jelenlegi rangod a játékban?	
2. Mióta játszol a játékkal?	
3. Hány órát szoktál átlagosan egy héten játszani?	
Hosszabb kérdések	
Kérdések	**Kérdések célja**
1. Mik azok a dolgok, amik alapján kialakítod más játékosokról a véleményed?	Hogyan viszonyulnak a többi játékoshoz?
2. Meg szoktad-e nézni a csapattársaidat játék előtt? Ha igen, miért?	
3. Hogyan reagálsz, hogyha látod, hogy a csapatodban (vagy az ellenfél csapatában) jelentősen alacsonyabb vagy magasabb rangú játékos van?	
4. Stresszesnek tartod a játékot?	Hogyan kezelik a nyomást, milyen a természetük?
5. Könnyen ki szoktál borulni mikor játszol?	
6. Egy rossz meccs a játék befejezte után is hatással van rád, vagy könnyen el tudod engedni?	
7. Le tudod zárni a napot egy vereséggel, vagy addig játszol amíg nem nyersz?	
8. Hajlamos vagy feladni a mérkőzést, ha rosszul állsz, vagy inkább végig játszod?	
9. Szeretnél magasabb rangot elérni? Ha igen, miért?	Feljebb kerülés a játékban.
10. Szerinted magasabb rangot érdemelnél-e? Kérlek fejtsd ki a válaszodat.	
11. Mi a véleményed azokról, akik nem akarnak magasabb rangot elérni?	
12. Mi a véleményed azokról, akik egyáltalán nem rankedeznek?	
13. Szoktad használni a játékon belüli chat funkciót? Ha igen, milyen gyakran?	Pragmatikai kérdések.
14. Szoktál pingeket használni játékon belül? Ha igen, milyen gyakran?	
15. Mit szoktál általában írni a csapattársaidnak/ellenfelednek?	
16. Milyen nyelven szoktál nekik írni?	
17. Fontosnak tartod-e a jó nyelvtudást játékon belül?	
18. Hogyan reagálsz, ha valaki a játékon belül chaten verbálisan bántalmaz?	
19. Le szoktad szidni a csapattársaidat, ha rosszul teljesítenek vagy hülyeséget csinálnak?	
20. Szoktad cukkolni az ellenfeleidet chaten? Ha igen, akkor hogyan? Milyenszituációkban? Ha nem, akkor miért nem?	
21. Szoktad pingekkel cukkolni a csapattársaidat? Ha igen, miért?	

3. Transcript of the pilot interview (translated)

Me: *Before we start, I am currently recording, but it is protocol that you have to agree to it and give permission to use your answers for my BA Thesis. I will use your answers discretely, of course. I only need a verbal agreement from you that you are aware of that and you agree.*
Interviewee: I am aware of that. You can use the audio. I agree.

Alright. Although we know each other, I will still ask you the short questions. The interview consists of two parts. The first part is about you, and the second part is also about you, but within the game. So, the interview is about your real self and your in-game self. Let's start with the short questions. What is your name?
I am XXXXX XXXX.
How old are you?
23.
What do you study or do for a living?
I'm attending secondary school and work in a kitchen.
What is your highest level of education?
Primary school.
And what is your parents' highest level of education?
My father, I don't know, primary school I guess, my mother has a profession.
Now, with that, we are done with the short questions. Now, let's move on to the longer questions. The first question is: what are the things that you take into consideration when you construct your opinion about someone?
Mmm, in-game or in real life?
No, in real life, if you meet someone, what are the things that you take into consideration when you construct your opinion about someone. What are the things you take note of?
Well, how s/he looks, his/her posture, speaking style, umm, clothes. Well, these are the first impressions. And how clean s/he is.
So, everything that you can see at first.
Sure, of course. As first impressions, yes. And there are the subconscious stuffs, but I don't know much about that.
But not just as first impressions, but in general, how do you construct your opinion. So not just the first impressions […]
Ooh, so like after 5–10 minutes of talking?
Yes, basically, just in general.
Umm, well, I don't know. The problem is that if someone's personality doesn't impress me in the first 5 minutes, I don't really pay attention to them, because they are not an interesting person. But what really matters is what they are interested in, how do they relate to others, so whether or not they listen to others, are they willing to talk, are they capable of arguing at all, is it worth talking to them. Umm, are they responsive to other topics, like, to topics that you like, and not only to those that they like. Do we have common interests. That's all I guess. That's all I can know about someone in half an hour.
Okay, fair enough. Then I move on to the next question. How do you relate to those who work in a lower position than you, or have a lower education than you? What is your opinion about them?
Well, I don't really judge, because I am not in the highest ranking either. I, too, haven't achieved what I wanted. Everyone has their reason why they are there where they are. And if they want to do something to be better, to be more, then they will do something, and if not, then... Well, that depends on the age, too, because you know, if someone at the age of 30 still only has a high school degree, then that is pretty cringe, then I judge that, but if they are in their 20s and they are not attending university, or they still don't have a profession, then I can't judge them for that, because there might be other reasons why they are there where they are. I hope it was understandable.
Got it. So, if they are trying to do something to improve, then it's completely fine.
Yea-yea.
And why the age of 30, by the way? So, you said that you understand people who are not at the peak of their lives in their 20s, but if someone in their 30s, as you said, still only has a high school degree, then that is pretty "cringe". Why is that? Why people in their 30s? Why is 30 the age when you say that […]
Well because in your 30s, I don't know, it's time to think about... where you want to live. So, let's say you want to move abroad, then... Well, it's time to do something to achieve your goals, that's how I see it. I mean, alright, by going to school you are doing something to achieve your goals, but if you are 30 and you don't have, I don't know, you don't have stable points in your

life by yourself or something, then that's lame, I think. ... Or I don't know, at the age of 30... Alright, people are getting married in their 20s, too, and what f***ing not, but I think that is early, but at the age of 30 everyone has a plant, I mean kid [...]
[laughter]
[...] you know.
I know. Alright. Do you think your life is stressful?
Umm, very f***ing much.
And why?
Well umm, because not everything happened the way I wanted them to happen, and I am depressed, and umm, I don't know what I want from myself, but these are, I don't know, personal stuff that, you know, that I don't know what I want, I am clueless, I am like, I don't know, like a 16-year-old who doesn't know what he wants from the world, and I still don't know what I want from the world. But the fact that I don't know what the meaning of life is also has an effect on me and stuff like that, but yea, that's why.
I understand, so basically purposelessness.
Exactly.
And how do you handle stress in your life?
Well umm, not easily..? I don't know, I have no idea. I play League of Legends. Last year, I did sports which helped me a lot, umm, and that's it. I try to keep my head busy with tasks.
So, you keep yourself busy with different tasks, one of which is League of Legends.
Exactly.
Do you lose your temper easily, or do you think you are patient?
Well, in real life, I am very f***ing patient. It is really hard to make me angry, yea, it is very hard to make me angry. I think I am very patient in real life.
After a failure, can you get up on your feet easily, or does it have an effect on you long afterwards? So, if something doesn't work out for the first time the way you wanted. This could be small things or more significant things.
I think I can give up easily, but who knows. Not too quickly, but relatively quickly.
Not giving up but standing up on your feet. So can you leave it behind you or does it have an effect on you.
Well, evidently, every failure has an effect on people. This is obvious.
Not necessarily.
Well, it has an effect on me. I put it that way then. But I can continue. After a failure I can keep doing my tasks. There is no problem with that, but it has an effect on me.
And what effect? So, do you feel hopeless, or maybe angry? What does it make you feel?
Ooh, so those types of effects.
Well, those, too.
Well, let's say, now I say something for example, if I go to a new place to work, and they say that I am not good enough, then I revaluate why that is. ... Of course, I will feel like s**t, but I will learn from it, you know, so that next time how I should do it better. But it will lurk in me later what I f***ed up, how I f***ed up, and why I wasn't able to do it.
I see. If you do not succeed at first, do you keep trying, do you put off the problem, or do you give up entirely?
I keep trying.
So you keep trying painlessly, you do not put off the problem, you don't give up.
Yes, yes. Of course, there are smaller breaks and all, but I am working on things with full steam. So, it really bothers me if something doesn't work out. So, I can't just leave it as it is, and say "okay, this didn't work out, I'm done, let it be" because evidently... I start something, because I am interested in it, and if it doesn't work out for the first time, then it will for the second or the third time.
Mm-mmh. Do you want to improve your life? Be it your current financial status, work position, better grades at school or achieving a higher education. If yes, please explain why.

Of course, I want to. And obviously for the money, and... I don't know, anybody who says anything against it that lies. Everything is for the f***ing money, and so others would accept you.
So it isn't really about the money, but… well, the money, and so others would accept you.
Umm, well, I wouldn't say that I want to be accepted by others, because, in reality, I don't give a f**k about others' opinions, but... mmm... Money. Let's stay with money. Money is good for everything.
Fair enough. What do you think of those who are not working to improve their life?
They deserve to be where they are. That's all I can say, nothing else really.
Fair enough. Moving on to different types of questions: do you think you are talkative?
Depends on the person. It depends on who I am talking to, because I can't really talk to an entirely new person, to a random person, or I don't really like to. But I gladly talk to people who I knew for a long time about anything, but it depends really on sympathy, too. If the other is sympathetic, I can talk to them gladly and very well. But if they are not sympathetic, then I can't talk to them, even if I try.
So, you have a difficulty meeting new people, opening up, but you gladly talk to people, who you knew for a long time?
I can easily get to know people who... who are interesting. So, if they have an interesting personality, if they have the same interests as me. But if I see that someone is... is... I don't know, not sympathetic, or... simply not sympathetic, then I'm not able to have a conversation with them, even if I try. Not even small talk.
And do you adapt to your conversation partner? Be it topic, vocabulary, tone, even aggression.
Mmm ... ... That's a good question, I don't know, if I adapt to others with my tone, topic [...]
These are just examples […]
[...] U-hu, I see. Obviously, I adapt. That also depends on sympathy and on who I am adapting to and who I am not. But of course, I am open to others, since I am interested in new things, and in order to be at the same page, I have to adapt, so I obviously adapt. This is the precondition of that we could talk about a given topic.
So, you are not adapting to everybody. So, for example, I don't know, if… there is an unsuccessful alcoholic person, you meet him at a party […]
Mm-mmh.
Could you adapt to him as a conversation partner, or could you rather adapt to somebody who's, I don't know, more successful, has a place on his own, a stable job, not alcoholic, lives a healthy life, etc. Which one of the two could you adapt to better and why?
Mmm ... Oh f**k, this won't sound good, but I don't give a s**t. I could adapt obviously better to the unsuccessful alcoholic, because I had a phase like that, when I was like that and umm, well, I went to parties numerous times a week, and I was in that [drunk] state numerous times so... I obviously adapt better to the unsuccessful person. Listen, I swear I phrased this lightly, I was expecting so much worse.
So, you say you are adapting better to people in lower positions than people in higher positions, if we try to look at these things simply.
Yes, yes, yes.
What languages do you speak?
Well, umm, English, and Krankenwagen is all I know in German. [laughter]
[laughter]
I don't know if that counts at least half a point. [laughter]
Well [laughter] this isn't a test, but it counts half a point for me.
[laughter]
How do you react when someone is insulting you?
In real life?
Yes.

Umm... Mmm... it depends on what kind of relationship we have, and if the insults are serious, then... I have no idea. I rather back off, let's say that. There are numerous factors, but I rather back off.

That's not a problem, if there are many factors, we are not in a hurry, so if you feel that would help, you can say examples. I am sure there was an incident when someone insulted you or something.

Once – this is what came to my mind first – I was in front of the tobacco shop, and a drunk old guy barked at me. Well, not that old, like 30 or 40 years old, barked at me, and I was blind drunk, I can't remember the details, but I do remember that I f***ing headbutted him and blood started running out of my nose. The next thing I know is that I am home. But by default, I am not that aggressive, but then it just came out of me. Another example is when we were at my friend's house party, and there was a kid, who was in good terms with the host, and he started to bully me and I didn't do anything there. So, I just let it go, I don't care, I don't really know the guy. My friend, the host, is in good terms with him, and it isn't worth enough to me to start a show at a five-people house party at dawn, so I just let it go.

So, you usually just let it go?

It rather depends on the situation, I say.

I mean when you are not under any influence.

U-hu. Don't kno', I think if I wasn't drinking, I would have let it go at the thing, at the tobacco shop, I would have just walked away.

Mm-mmh. If someone is underperforming at your workplace or at a group project at school, do you scold them?

No. I tell them how they should do it, what is good, and if they take it as an insult, then I tell them they shouldn't take it as an insult. But the problem is that, I don't know, many people- so I usually tell that to people or help those who are not at my level- let's say they are new or something, and you can tell that they want to insult me or something, so by default, I have an arrogant voice or I don't know how to phrase it to you... They usually took it as an insult, but then I tell them that they shouldn't take it as an insult, because I only want to help. So, I don't have bad initiatives. I don't want to scold them at all.

Do you often taunt others? If so, how? In what situations? If not, why not?

Well, umm...

Maybe, I don't know, poking at others.

Got it, I got it. Umm... mmm... I think I always taunt others, but only those whom I have good relations with, and to make it even better. I can do that with them, for fun, really.

So, you don't taunt others in real life for the sole purpose of making them angry, you only do it friendly […]

Not at all! My god, no. Absolutely no. I don't taunt others to make them angry. So, I don't taunt anybody with bad intentions at all.

So just with your friends for fun.

Yes, exactly.

Well, we are done with the questions about your real life and now I move on to the game-related questions. First, I start with the shorter ones. What is your current ranking in the game?

Gold 2.

How long have you been playing the game?

I have been playing since Season 7.

So, since 2017. And how many hours do you usually spend playing a week?

Well, it depends on how much free time I have, but if I have a f**k-ton of free time, then, I think... Wait, let me calculate this...

If it is easier, you can say how much you play a day.

Six hours a day. That's... 40 hours a week. That's how much I managed to play during quarantine.

With that, we are done with the short questions, and we are moving on to the longer ones. What are the things you take into consideration when you construct your opinion about other players?

No clue. What ranking they have, is he playing his main role, and what impact they have on the game, and that's it, I guess.
By impact, you mean how do they perform in the game?
Exactly. That's what I meant by impact, how they perform.
And do you usually do a background check on your teammates? If yes, please explain why.
Before almost every match, and exactly to... Well, first I check out the enemy bot lane, the enemy role, to know how they perform, so I know how aggressively I can play, and because I play on a role where I am not alone, but there is another player, here... if the other player is not playing his main role, then I have to pick up a completely different playstyle. Don't kno', I have to take into consideration how [the other player] plays, what kind of games [the other player] has played in the given role, because if he is s**t, then... then I relate to him completely differently. Then I pray to hit the 14th minute mark, or the 16th, and get the hell out of bot lane, so I wouldn't have to play with [the other player] on the same lane, but if [the other player] plays good then we get ahead, right. The others, I don't really check out the jungler, because... well, it is pointless to check out the jungler, how he plays and don't kno', how good his KDA is, because I can't tell out of that whether or not he will gank if I freeze the lane. And the problem really is that there are a lot of smurfs here. In my previous match, I had a silver 1 Akali with a 45% win rate, and he came out of lane with a 7/1 [KDA] and the only death he had was during roaming. So, the problem is that I could check them out all I want on porofessor and all that s**t, but I can't really draw conclusions from that. Maybe I check out how many games they played that day and how good their win rate is. So, let's say they played 6 games and won only 2, that's not the best... Well, that's not their best day.
So, going back to the question itself, you check out your teammates so you can gather basic information about them. What you mentioned was their rankings, what role they play on, and how they perform. […]
Yes, yes.
[…] So, you can collect those. And how do you react when there is a significantly lower or higher ranked player than you in your team or in the enemy team?
It depends on how many games I have played [that day]. If it is in one of my first games, in the first 2 or 3, then I'm like: "this is doable". But if, let's say, I'm at one of my last matches [for the day], and let's say after a s**tty day, like, don't kno', lost 6 games out of 10, and I see the [ranking] diff, then... don't kno', then I am done, then it ruins me mentally to see that it is me again who is getting f**ked over, who draw the shortest. But after a winning spree, let's say I won 8 matches out of 10, and I see that my team is weaker than the enemy, then I am more accepting, then I am like: "it is doable". I can handle one lose. So, you know, it depends on what kind of day I had.
U-hu.
On how I performed that day.
Mm-mmh. And do you think this game is stressful?
Very f***ing much. No question about that.
And why?
Well, umm, not everything depends on one person, so not everything depends on you, you can't communicate with the others the way you want to. And there are players, who die one or two times and lose their mental and proceed to int, and it doesn't matter if you tell them that they should just farm, it doesn't matter if you tell them that... don't kno', do what they have to do, don't engage unnecessarily, wait for the jungler, no, they don't care, they simply f***ing go in, die, and they say that their job here is done and throw the match. And there are many incidents like this that they go afk, or they are toxic. But I don't really mind toxic players. I don't really look at chat, and this bullying doesn't bother me either that much. Because if it bothers me, then I just mute them, that's it.

You mentioned that there is no communication, or not enough at least. By that, you mean that your teammates are not willing to communicate, or that the game doesn't provide enough opportunity to communicate?
Both. There is a given level, well, here in gold you can see that the others want to communicate, but just like we talked about it, you simply don't have time to write down what the correct play would be, because you are either on a lane farming or pushing, or you are in a fight or something, and if you ping in their faces that 'yes, you are going in', that doesn't mean anything. Now, you ping there an arrow... Okay, you want to engage, okay, but you can't write to them during a fight that "hey, listen" – to the tank – "you should engage, so we could go in too, 'cause, don't kno', if we fight this 4v5 then we can take baron after and then take towers." You can't write this before a fight or during a fight. [You can't write to them] what they should do, how they should do it. So there are no adequate means of communications available to you. And the others, well... don't kno', there are those who are open to communicate and there are those who aren't. Maybe this is because of the language, because we use one language and not everybody speaks English, maybe it isn't their strong side, or they just realized that it doesn't matter what they write, because there are kids who just go after their heads and don't give a s**t. By that, I mean that I pull the wave so I can freeze it, I waste 20% of my HP and my support starts to flame me that why am I so f***ing s**t that I lose 20% of my HP, why am I standing in the minion wave. Then I explain it to him in chat that I want to freeze the wave and he doesn't even have a f***ing clue what freezing is, but I am the retarded one. So, for example, it is pointless to communicate with these.
So, you think it is really frustrating, that the game doesn't provide enough ways to communicate and that there is a difference in skill between the players, that is, other players would not understand what you want to say to them.
Skill difference is... that's because of something else. Now, I could say that it is because I am not [at the ranking] where I should be, but maybe they aren't either. So, maybe they belong in silver elo and I should stay in gold, and then all the gold players would know what freezing is when they see me freeze. But this is only relevant to me because we play as two on bot, and if I were to be playing on top and freeze there, no one would care what freezing is, [no one would care] what I am doing on top. There is no one there who would bat an eye that I lose 20% of my HP. But that... Umm... That we are not able to communicate is f***ing frustrating. It would be much more enjoyable, everyone could concentrate more, and more... the matches would be more enjoyable. For the enemy, too. The enemy would perform better, and we would, too, and the game would be much more serious, it would be taken more seriously, 'cause if you can communicate, you could work together better. And umm, yea. Don't kno', that's it. The game would be much more enjoyable.
That is true, I agree with that. Do you easily lose your temper when you are playing?
Well, umm, it depends on what kind of day I had. It depends on how many games I have played. But compared to my real-life self, I lose my temper much more easily. There was a period, I think this was whole week, when I had been demoted from platinum to gold, that umm... my support died two times or I died- it doesn't matter, the enemy ADC got an advantage, he had a lead on lane, and I was like: "f**k this s**t, just surrender, I am not willing to play in late game". So, like, in 5 minutes, I completely lost my temper, and it happened on numerous matches in a row, and, well, I have fallen back to gold 4 or gold 3. But usually, I don't lose my temper this much, but compared to my real-life self, I lose it much more easily. I lose it way faster.
So you lose it easily.
Of course. And it also depends on whether or not I am playing solo or duo, because if I am playing duo, and my duo partner flames since the second minute mark, then that has an effect on me.
Of course… Does a bad match have an effect on you afterwards or can you let it go easily?
I think I can let it go easily.

So, when you start the next game, the previous bad game has no impact on your performance, on your thinking, and on your feelings.
Well, this year, after 1500 games, I can say that I can distinguish two matches. So, I can let [the previous game] go and jump into the next one. After this much- this many games, when you go 6–8 games a day, then one comes after the other. If I get really mad, then I take a small break, maybe go for a walk, go down to the store, or f**k knows, eat. Then I calm down, watch a movie. But no, it usually has no effect on the next game.
Alright. And can you close out the day with a loss, or do you play until you win?
Yeah, I can close it out. I think yesterday I closed it out with a loss, yea, I closed out the day yesterday with a loss. And I went 10/10/10, I won my lane, and then the show started.
So, if you lose a game, it really has no effect on you.
Not really. Well, if I have a free hour and a half, you know, what I otherwise want to spend on something else, like watching a movie or I don't know, and we lose the game, then I say okay, let's go another one, but if I don't have time for that, then I'm like okay, it is what it is, then I don't go another one.
And are you prone to forfeit the match if you are behind or you team is behind, or do you play until the end?
There are situations when it is unsavable, and you must surrender, 'cause let's say you see at 20th minute mark that this game is only winnable if it lasts for 45 minutes, but... Yesterday, I had two matches... I had two matches yesterday when, umm, they were hitting our nexus, and we- the enemy had all of its tier 2 [towers], and in the other [game] they only had tier 1 or tier 3 [towers], but really, they were f***ing hitting our nexus and we came back. I don't know how the f**k we did it, but we came back. But there are points, when you see that all of the lanes are f***ing losing, and the enemy scales better, then... then it is unsavable, you have to surrender, when you know you can't win this game, not even in late game. In fact, [when this happens] I am prone to, umm, I know that our only chance is a 5v5 fight, but I am sure that we would f***ing lose, nonetheless. So, I go to a side lane to farm, and if there is an objective or something, then I just simply don't give a f***ing s**t. I avoid the places where they are, I'll just go to the opposite side of the map, so the game would end sooner. I know this is a bulls**t thing to do and all, but if they can't surrender, when we are losing... But this usually lasts for 5 minutes, then they just lose a fight or two then it is over.
So you are prone to surrender […]
Well, when it is unsavable.
[…] But only when you see that it is unwinnable.
Mm-mmh. Well, I play on a role that... and my champ... and I play with a champion whose point is to acquire your 4th or 5th item and then you can win a 2v3... or you can get the frags even in a 1v2. Doable, that is why I like to play as an ADC, because in late game you have big f***ing burst. But when even I see that I can't do much with [the enemy] then I'm like okay, this goes to the trash, go next.
Well, here comes the next question.
[laughter]
Do you want to achieve a higher ranking? If so, please explain why.
Of course, I want to, so I can get an *******- no, just kidding. So, I can brag about it to the others that I did it. And so, I can play with the big boys, so I can play quality games.
Mm-mmh. What do you mean by bragging?
Well, that [my roommates] will come here, and I show them that "f***ing look, you are my b***hes, I am at the same level as you or I am better than you".
Mm-mmh. Could you please say your roommates' rankings?
[One of my roommates] is now diamond 4, if I know it correctly, but let me check. Yea, he is diamond 4, and [the other one of my roommates] is... Mmm... Platinum 3 and ex-diamond. Yeah.

So, you want to be at the same level as they are?
Yeah. But I don't know. I think I am already at the same level as [the other roommate]. So I can play at the same level as he can, but don't kno'... so he would shut up. But [the other roommate] won't shut up, not even if I hit diamond. I'm sure he would say that I am boosted and, don't kno', s**t like that. I love it when he sits behind me and watches me miss [my skill shots] and f**k up, but whatever.
And what do you think of those, who do not want to achieve a higher ranking?
I don't know how they do it, what they enjoy in the game, how they can be so calm, but congratulations. They are the ones playing this game correctly, damn. They are the f***ing legends.
And what do you think of those, who do not play ranked games at all?
Well, it's the same, so I don't know.
So, those who don't have a ranking, so they don't finish their provision games, and don't play ranked games at all. So, the previous question was about those who have a ranking, but don't want to climb any higher, and this question is about those who don't have a ranking at all.
Oh, then disregard what I said. Then those who don't play ranked at all, they are the kings, and those who play ranked, but don't want to climb higher can suck my d**k, because they are the reason I have to tryhard to win the f***ing game while they are just f***ing doing nothing, because they are like "I will go another one" and they just enjoy the game. They can suck my d**k.
So, let's say [laughter] that you don't like them.
Well [laughter] no.
Alright then. Here comes another change in the questions. Do you use the chat function? If so, how often?
I do, but this also depends on the match. I usually just joke around with them nowadays. Umm, I don't know, I realised that if I win the bot lane, then I don't have to explain it to them to do baron, I just start taking it, and if they won't come, I just leave it there, and if they come, then we have baron without using chat beforehand. But... don't kno', I check them out in-game, and let's say that the enemy ADC and jungler is in duo, then I tell my support that "hey, you guys should be careful, because these two are in duo, and they will often come down here" and all these basic stuff. I don't really use it nowadays.
You basically answered the next question, too, which would have been 'what do you usually write to your teammates or enemies.' You said what you usually write to your teammates, but what do you write to your enemies?
Well, umm, either I bully them or joke around with them... these are the two options. Or... I don't know. Well, let's say if I kill two [enemies] on bot by myself, then I write "easy" to them, just to taunt them. Or if they have a funny name, then I tell them they have a cool name, or they have a cool skin. I usually just joke around with them.
So, just joke around. This taunting you mentioned, is it also to just joke around with them, or […]
No! So, they know they are s**t. So, they know how f***ing s**t they are, and I am much better than them.
Really?
Yeah.
And in what situations do you taunt them? Or in what way?
Well, umm, I don't really know, I don't always taunt them. For example, when I had a pentakill almost by myself, I didn't taunt them. Then I didn't write to them at all. I don't know, if they have a big mouth, or if they spamming the chat and all. And usually I don't use chat, just when I see that somebody is open to it. So, if somebody is perma spamming the chat, [or] it is worth communicating with them, then I communicate with them. Or if they are f***ing toxic, let's say the enemy bot lane [is very toxic, then I tell them] to sit the f**k down, or if they are Hungarians, and they start to talk s**t and all, then obviously, after a double kill, I tell them "it's easy as that bro, you are nothing", but this depends on the situation, too. [It depends on the situation] what I write to them and in what way.

And what languages do you use to communicate with them?
Well, English and Hungarian. And sometimes... English and Hungarian. I don't speak other languages.
And do you use Hungarian to talk with Hungarians, or do you also write in Hungarian to those who don't speak the language?
Sometimes I write to those in Hungarian who start to speak in some random Hindu language, so, if I don't understand them, they shouldn't understand me either. And one time, I told players, who don't speak Hungarian, that their mother is a w***e in Hungarian, or that they should shut the f**k up. But I don't know why, they don't understand it. It is funny, so I wrote it to them. But this doesn't happen often. This is, don't kno', 1 in 100 games when I tell them that their mother is a w***e in Hungarian.
And how do you react when someone verbally abuses you or insults you.
Well, it depends. Don't kno'. As I said, I usually mute them, if they are really annoying. And if I take it personally, then for sure [I mute them]. But if they talk so much, let's say there is a given situation, the mid laner is in 1/10, but the others are performing good in the enemy, and [the enemy mid laner] starts to talk about how s***ty [our] jungler is, then I explain it to him that "bro, you solo lost your lane." Or let's say [my lane opponents] are flaming their jungler, then I tell them, that they solo lost their lane, their jungler didn't even gank, and don't kno', [if] they have no impact on the game, then I tell them that they are delusional. Don't kno' what was the question originally, if I even answered it correctly, feel free to ask the question again, if my answer was s**t.
Well, how do you react when someone verbally abuses you, but […]
Oh, I don't give a s**t.
[…] Yes, you basically answered the question. The last question is: do you scold your teammates if they are underperforming, or if they are doing something you consider "stupid"?
I don't scold them, 'cause it is... the s***ty communication plays a role in this, so it would take a lot of time to explain it to them. I start to feel satisfied with the question mark. I spam it in his face and I type a question mark in chat too. Or I tell them that they should go AFK, it would be better for everyone involved. But in the recent past, I had a Yasuo [player], I couldn't even believe that stuff like this exists, he lost his lane, like the kid was 1/6, and he says: "sorry guys, I f***ed this up, don't be mad, if you want, I can go f***ing AFK." And I told him that I won bot lane, just farm, and don't engage alone, we can work it out, and we did f***ing work it out. I couldn't even believe that stuff like this exists, especially with a Yasuo [player], but we did it. He was normal, he offered a completely correct possibility, and that's it.
So, you don't usually scold them, just taunt them with questions marks. Is it, too, so they would know you are better than them?
Well, umm, I don't know. [So, they would know] that I am trying during the whole game. I want to perform, I came here to win. If somebody comes in the game, and dies in the second minute that's... I don't know, I can't even imagine how that is possible that somebody dies in 2 minutes- dies 5 times in 10 minutes. I think this is physically impossible, because if he is losing his lane, or if he is so s***ty, or he was counter picked, then tell [the jungler]: "bro, I can't do anything, come gank me." So, they shouldn't do these basic stuffs and then, don't kno', I would have a different attitude towards them. 'Cause if he tells us that his match-up is really f***ing bad, and he is getting f***ing babysitted, and then he ints, then obviously we would have a different attitude towards him. Then it's not like "oh f***ing hell, get the f**k out of here," but rather we'll try to help him, you know. But this is due to miscommunication, I think, that you can't communicate the way you want. And yea, I am better, if he is in 1/10, and I am 13/2 then obviously I am better.
That's all basically, thank you for answering my questions.
Anytime.

Bence Gyuris✓

Language attitudes of Hungarian speakers towards Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle varieties of English*

Abstract

This paper explores the language attitudes of Hungarian speakers towards Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle varieties of English, based on Kachru's (1992) model. The study hypothesizes that Hungarian speakers favor Inner Circle varieties (e.g., British, American, and Scottish English) over Outer (e.g., Indian and Nigerian English) and Expanding Circle varieties (e.g., Hungarian and Argentinian English), particularly on status traits, and perceive Outer Circle speakers as non-native.

A questionnaire-based study involving 182 Hungarian participants under 30 assessed audio samples from seven speakers representing these circles. The results confirmed the hypothesis: Inner Circle speakers were rated highest on both status and solidarity traits, the Hungarian speaker scored intermediately, while Outer Circle and Expanding Circle speakers received the lowest ratings. This suggests that Hungarian speakers' exposure to Inner Circle varieties through media and education influences their language attitudes, often aligning with stereotypes prevalent in native English-speaking contexts.

The findings highlight the reproduction of Inner Circle language attitudes within the Expanding Circle, reflecting underlying power dynamics. This research contributes to the understanding of sociolinguistic patterns and calls for further investigation into the language attitudes of non-native English speakers towards various English dialects.

1. Introduction

A common, fundamental trait of every human being is that everyone judges others based on their language use. Whether this act of judging is conscious (like in the highly popular movie *The Silence of the Lambs* (Demme 1991, 17'), in which the antagonist comments on the main character's West Virginian accent, calling it "poor white trash" and concluding that her father may have been a coal miner) or unconscious (like in the movie *Gone with the Wind* (Fleming 1939), where the R-lessness which characterises the plantation owners' language use indicates their high social status in the South), people's ways of using language encode a surprising amount of information about where they come from, which social class they belong to, and what kind of people they are. Sociolinguists refer to this phenomenon as language attitudes.

Dragojevic (2017: 88) defines language attitudes as "evaluative reactions to different language varieties." These evaluations might work for speakers' advantage, or for their disadvantage (Meyerhoff 2006: 54), and although in certain contexts some varieties are much more advantageous, there are no good and bad varieties of any language. Why some people say that some varieties are better, or more specifically, more prestigious than others is because they attribute certain values to speakers of one variety that they do not attribute to other varieties. As Milroy (2001: 532) indicates, "varieties of [any] language do not actually have prestige in themselves: these varieties acquire prestige when their speakers have high prestige."

Everyone has language attitudes towards different varieties of the language(s) of their own society, but attitudes towards different (foreign) languages and their varieties are also common,

* BA Thesis. Supervisor: Huber Máté Imre.

although somewhat less widely studied (Balogh, 2020: 151). This research focuses on the language attitudes of Hungarian speakers of English towards different varieties of the English language. The reasons why I chose to focus on language attitudes towards EFL in a Hungarian context are (1) because this area of research is relatively unexplored, and (2) because a significant proportion of the younger generations in Hungary are markedly familiar with the English language and its culture, not only because of their exposure to it in our education system, but also as a result of globalisation, which has provided the English language with a special status as an international language (see Jenkins, 2009; Sharifian, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2011).

At this point, before I formulate the fundamental hypothesis which constitutes the starting point of the present research paper, I believe it to be crucial that I discuss two concepts, which are indispensable in order to understand my hypothesis. First, let me clarify a distinction that is highly important in any study that deals with language attitudes. Status traits, as both Edward (1999) and Fenyvesi (2011) describe, characterise a speaker based on their competence and social status. For example, some status traits that Fenyvesi (2011: 230) investigates include *educated, successful* and *rich*. Edward (1999: 120) describes the other major category, namely, solidarity traits, as one that combines "integrity and attractiveness." The solidarity traits that are investigated in Fenyvesi's (2011: 230) research include, for example, honesty and trustworthiness.

Second, another important theoretical consideration that needs to be discussed here is Kachru's (1990) three circles model, which divides speakers of English into three categories that constitute three concentric circles, the innermost being the Inner Circle, which refers to countries (and of course, their speakers) that he considers "the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English (Kachru, 1991: 356). This means, for instance, Australia, the USA, and Canada. The other two circles are the Outer Circle (where people speak English as a second language) and the Expanding Circle (where English is 'only' a foreign language). Further explanations and more details will be provided in the following Literature Review section.

Having clarified the above concepts, let us turn to the hypothesis that lies at the core of the present study, namely that non-Inner Circle speakers will be evaluated less favourably by English-speaking Hungarian participants than Inner Circle speakers, especially on status traits, and even native speakers of Outer Circle varieties will be perceived as non-native, because of the differences between the Inner Circle standard varieties and theirs. In other words, as perceived by the participants, native varieties of English are expected to be synonymous with Inner Circle varieties. To put this hypothesis to the test, the present paper discusses the findings of a questionnaire-based study that investigated Hungarian native speakers' attitudes towards several different varieties of English.

More definitions that need to be clarified are going to be discussed in the Literature Review section. Also, the most important ideas regarding both the unique situation of the English language in the modern world and language attitudes will be highlighted. Then, in the Methodology section, I am going to demonstrate my research method, followed by the Discussion section, which contains a detailed analysis of the results of the present research. Finally, I am going to draw conclusions about whether – and to what extent – my hypothesis has been confirmed as well as suggest possible future avenues, along the lines of which the present study can be taken a step further.

2. Literature Review

In this section, the topic of variation in language will be introduced and explained. Then, the current state of English as a world language will be described, and a model of categorising its speakers will be suggested. Lastly, the topic of language attitudes will be expanded upon.

2.1. Variation in language in general

Before diving deep into the topic of language attitudes, it is essential that I explain what variation in language exactly means. In everyday language, people often notice and remark how certain people use different *accents* or *dialects*, using these two words interchangeably. In fact, by definition, people have different accents where they only "differ (or vary) at the level of pronunciation" (Meyerhoff, 2006: 27) and use mostly the same grammar. In other words, "dialect and accent are distinguished by how much of the linguistic system differs. Dialects differ in terms of more than just pronunciation, i.e., on the basis of morphosyntactic structure and/or how semantic relations are mapped into the syntax" (Meyerhoff, 2006: 27).

Wardhaugh (2006: 49) argues that dialects help us "describe differences in speech associated with various social groups or classes." Furthermore, he differentiates between *regional* and *social dialects*. On the one hand, regional dialects are easy to define: they are characteristic of speakers from or living in a certain geographical area. An example would be the Traditional Cockney dialect of English, which Mott (2012: 71) describes as being "associated with an imprecise area north of the River Thames referred to as the East End."

However, Meyerhoff (2006: 28) warns that the term *dialect* generally has negative connotations. When people talk about dialects, they usually refer to a certain local dialect, which inherently differs from what they know to be proper or good English, which is used by, for instance, academics and newsreaders. What they refer to as proper or good English is most often the standard variety of their language, the issue of which I am going to address later in this section. To avoid such negative connotations, linguists generally prefer a "relatively neutral term used to refer to languages and dialects" (Meyerhoff 2006: 28), namely, *varieties*.

As Wardhaugh (2006: 49) admits, it is hard to define what a *social group* or *social class* is. Generally speaking, in most developed countries, we differentiate between the working-class, the middle-class and the upper-class. Wardhaugh (2006: 49) lists a set of "factors that can be used to determine social position", which includes "occupation, place of residence, education, 'new' versus 'old' money, income, racial or ethnic origin, cultural background, caste, religion, and so on." This is important for us, because these aspects are fundamental when it comes to our understanding and investigation of varieties.

2.2. Variation in English

The English language has, in fact, by far the highest number of varieties in the world. Crystal (2008: 4) estimates between one and two billion English speakers worldwide, depending on what criteria we base our methods of identifying the speakers on. While the exact number would be impossible to guess, in the following paragraphs, I am going to address the significant role of English in today's world as well as its multidimensionality.

A few centuries ago, in the pre-colonial era, English was only spoken by the population of England, whereas today, it is spoken in nearly every single country on our planet. Thus, a refined categorization for the varieties of the English language across the globe has become necessary, and one of the first scholars to fulfil this need was Braj B. Kachru (1992), whose model can be seen in Figure 1.

As Jenkins (2009: 15) postulates, ENL (English as a Native Language) is "the language of those born and raised in one of the countries where English is historically the first language to be spoken", namely the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, to which Kachru (1992: 356) refers as "the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English," ultimately terming it as the Inner Circle.

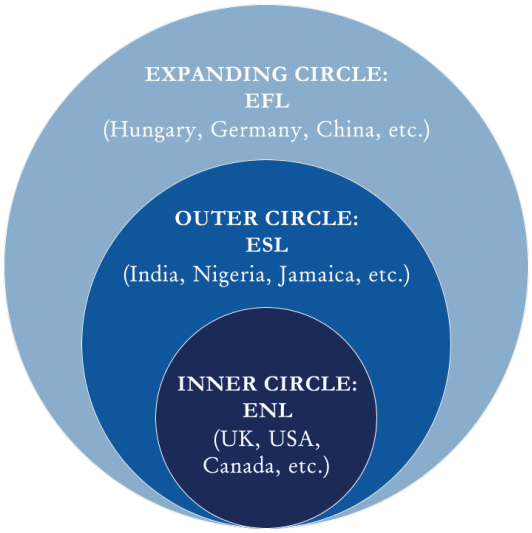


Figure 1. Kachru's three circles. (adapted from Huber, 2022)

Besides ENL speakers in Kachru's (1992: 356) Inner Circle, there are also ESL (English as a Second Language) speakers, from countries formerly colonised by Britain (Jenkins 2009:16), such as India and Jamaica, "where English comes after at least one other language, and has been present for at least a century." (McArthur 2001: 8) In Kachru's (1992: 356) framework, these countries constitute the Outer Circle, in which, the varieties of English have become institutionalised and are developing their own standards.

Finally, EFL (English as a Foreign Language) is "the English of those for whom the language serves no purposes within their own countries" (Jenkins 2009: 16), meaning that these people have learnt the language for various purposes such as education, career, moving abroad, and so on. Kachru categorizes these as Expanding Circle varieties, the growing importance of which is illustrated by Kirkpatrick (2011: 3), who declares that "universities across the world are desperately seeking to internationalize," which mostly means education through the medium of the English language. This trend of internationalisation undeniably has a great number of advantages, such as allowing for student exchange and increased academic cooperation.

To illustrate the complexity of the English-speaking world, Jenkins (2009: 15) estimates a total of more than one and a half billion speakers of English (350 million ENL, 350 million ESL, and around one billion EFL speakers of "reasonable competence"). In comparison, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the English-speaking population was somewhat below 5.3 million (Morgan 2010: 328), meaning that over the last four centuries, the number of English-speaking people has increased more than threehundred-fold.

While it would be nearly impossible to suggest a model, which categorises speakers of English worldwide that is accepted by all, there have been several attempts for it, the oldest one being that of Strevens (1992), which depicts a global map with an upside-down tree diagram, indicating how, since the acceptance of a unique and distinct American English variety, all succeeding English varieties have had affinities with each other (cf. Jenkins 2009: 17). Onysko (2016: 198) describes this tree model as one that "reflects the main forces for the spread of English in terms of colonialism and territorial interests of Britain and the US."

As has already been mentioned in passing, on the basis of Strevens's (1992) tree model, in the following decade, so-called circular models of English(es) were proposed by Kachru (1990), McArthur (1987), and Görlach (1988) (cf. Jenkins, 2009: 17). Out of these three, Kachru's (1992) "Three Circles of English" model has been the most widely accepted and applied as well as the most influential to this day.

Despite the influence of this model, it has been criticised by various scholars since it was first imposed, mainly because of its limitations. Jenkins (2009: 20) summarises the main points of these critiques as follows. One is that Kachru's categorisation focuses on geography and history rather than "the way speakers currently identify with and use English." Because of this, more speakers who use English as their first (or even only) language are not considered to be among the Inner Circle native speakers.

Furthermore, McArthur (1998: 43–46) lists six difficulties with Kachru's three-way categorisation of speakers of English, the most important one arguably being that this model considers people born in the 'native countries' inherently superior to others, "regardless of the quality of the language [their] members speak." Bonfiglio (2010) goes as far as questioning the term *native speaker* in the first place, and prefers instead to refer to an ENL speaker as an L1 speaker of English, in order to avoid any attribution of authority to this group of people. He argues that "[t]o employ the designations 'native speaker,' 'native language,' and 'mother tongue' unreflectively is to engage, from the instant of first perception, in a gesture of othering that operates on an axis of empowerment and disempowerment" (Bonfiglio 2010: 218).

However, in the present research, it is important that we keep Kachru's (1992) distinction between the Inner Circle and the Outer Circle, because in this study, a wide range of aspects are going to be addressed besides the functionality of English. Although some of these regions may not be very different when it comes to the role and significance of English, there are fundamental differences in politics, economics, culture, society, etc. Also, it is expected that the results will vary depending on which circle the speakers belong to, as people usually have very different attitudes towards, for instance, Indian and British speakers of English.

Other arguments against Kachru's model refer to certain regions that are difficult to put into one category as they are either currently transitioning or their population is constantly changing, with more and more bi- and multilingual speakers making categorisation increasingly complicated. Also, the model makes it difficult to define speakers "in terms of their proficiency in English. [...] The fact that English is somebody's second or third language does not of itself imply that their competence is less than that of a native speaker" (Jenkins 2009: 20). Moreover, Kachru's (1992) model also implies that countries within one circle are uniform, which is far from true. Bruthiaux believes this categorisation "conceals more than it reveals" (2003: 161). Although I find these arguments valid, one could argue that they over-simplify the model, which may lead to misinterpretation, as Jenkins (2009: 17–18) highlights, upon discussing how Kachru defends his model against the aforementioned criticism.

More recent models have been proposed by various scholars to categorise English speakers in different ways: some of them go into more detail, while others take into consideration more recent developments. Jenkins (2009: 21) lists a dozen of these new suggestions; however, in this research, Kachru's model is going to be applied as it is the most influential one among all of the attempts to this date.

2.3. Questions of the standard(s)

Almost everyone participating in English education is taught a standard variety of the language. Trudgill and Hannah (1982) define Standard English as

> "the variety of the English language which is normally employed in writing and normally spoken by educated speakers of the language. It is also, of course, the variety of the language that students of English as a foreign or second language (EFL/ESL) are taught when receiving formal instruction."

Standard English is most often heard on radio and television as well, which makes many people believe that it is the most prestigious or proper variety of the language, and this also makes many people regard other local dialects as *bad English*.

However, as English has become an international language, even standard English now comes in different national varieties, depending on which part of the English-speaking world one is looking at. Clyne (1992) regards languages which have both a standard variety and an official status in more than one country as pluricentric. According to his model, English is undoubtedly pluricentric, which is important for us to know, as the present research includes speakers from several different countries which have developed their own standard variety of English and in which English is an official language. However, as Clyne (1992: 455) admits, "[a]lmost invariably, pluricentricity is asymmetrical, i.e., the norms of one national variety (or some national varieties) is (are) afforded a higher status, internally and externally, than those of the others." Because of these differences regarding the prestige of certain standard varieties, Clyne (1992) and Muhr (1996) differentiate between dominant (e.g. standard American English) and non-dominant varieties (e.g. standard Jamaican English).

2.4. Language attitudes

Although what language attitudes are is somewhat implied by the term itself, it is not easy to come up with a definition that would enjoy universal acceptance. To cite a rather broad definition, Crystal (1997:215) very simply defines language attitudes as "the feelings people have about their own language or the languages of others." Even though this conceptualization is extremely helpful in terms of providing a simple explanation of the term, a number of scholars have put forward suggestions of more fine-tuned definitions, at the core of which lies the concept of attitudes in general.

Edwards (1994: 97–98) explains that "[t]he concept of attitude, a cornerstone of traditional social psychology, is not one about which there has been universal agreement." According to him, "at a general level, [...] attitude is a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects", a disposition that he describes as being constituted by three elements: an affective one (feelings), a cognitive one (thoughts) and a behavioural one (action) (1994: 97–98). Language attitudes, then, in Fasold's (1987: 147–148) definition, "are distinguished from other attitudes by the fact that they are precisely about language."

A similar but more specific definition is suggested by Richards et. al (1992: 199), who define language attitudes as "[t]he attitudes which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or to their own language". They go on to explain that language attitudes may indicate "impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc" (1992: 199) This definition is similar to Dragojevic's (2017: 88), who defines language attitudes as "evaluative reactions to different language varieties''. According to him, language attitudes "reflect, at least in part, two sequential cognitive processes: social categorization and stereotyping," and "are organized along two evaluative dimensions: status and solidarity (2017: 88)".

As has been briefly mentioned before, a fundamental distinction needs to be made in this topic: the difference between *status traits* and *solidarity traits*. Edwards (1999: 120) explains very briefly that status traits reflect competence while solidarity traits reflect personal integrity and

social attractiveness. To give an example of what these traits are, in one of her studies, Fenyvesi (2011) investigates the following status traits: *educated, successful, rich, ambitious, respected, confident* (as well as their opposites); and the following solidarity traits: *honest, trustworthy, lovable, sympathetic, generous, interesting* (as well as their opposites).

When it comes to investigating language attitudes, most often it is within one language: attitudes towards different varieties of a given language are studied. Balogh (2020: 151) argues that "the amount of research about non-native speakers' language attitudes towards their second or foreign language accents and speakers has been quite limited so far." She goes on to explain that we very often base our attitudes towards varieties of our native language on "inherited and shared concepts." (Balogh, 2020: 151) However, we do not know if the same can be said when it comes to a second or foreign language. She believes this phenomenon to be interesting for two main reasons, the first one being that "in a controlled language learning process [...] learners' pronunciation is continuously corrected, and, at the same time, they are requested to [...] avoid speaking with a foreign accent"; and the other reason being that "the majority of the teaching materials [...] are based on standard-accented speech". These two factors, she claims, might lead to non-native speakers developing stereotypical attitudes against native speakers of their second or foreign language not speaking with the accent that the non-native speakers are used to (cf. Balogh, 2020: 151 and Preston, 1989: 88–94).

Because language attitudes towards varieties of foreign and/or second languages are still arguably a research gap, this thesis might be of use for further studies, for instance, in connection with either Hungarian speakers of English, or language attitudes of Outer Circle speakers towards varieties of English.

3. Methodology

In this section, multiple methodological aspects of the investigation will be addressed. Firstly, the number of the speakers as well as a short description of them will be provided. Then, the participants will be described, and lastly, the method of data collection is going to be discussed. Also, some further definitions and explanations fundamental for the understanding of the investigation will be added.

The investigation included audio recordings from seven speakers of different varieties, which all the participants were required to listen to. After having listened to each of them, respondents were requested to fill out a questionnaire, which contained 15 questions in connection with each speaker.

As for data collection, when it comes to language attitude studies, there are two commonly used techniques: the *matched-guise technique* and the *verbal guise technique*. In the case of the matched-guise technique, "the same individual appears twice (or even more often) on the stimulus tape, each time exhibiting a new speech style, a new guise" (Auer and Schmidt, 2009: 544). The matched-guise technique is different from the verbal guise technique, "in which the language varieties are recorded by different speakers" (Garrett 2010: 42). Although the matched-guise technique probably yields more reliable results, it is often very difficult to implement, as it can be hard to find speakers that are competent in all the necessary varieties. Accordingly, due to the aforementioned methodological considerations, in this research the verbal guise technique was applied.

3.1. The speakers

The first step of carrying out this investigation was gathering audio recordings from a wide range of speakers. The most important criterion was to include at least two speakers from each circle in Kachru's (1992) model. All of the speakers contributed to the study voluntarily and

accepted that their recordings would be used anonymously, for research purposes. To avoid differences between attitudes toward male and female speakers as well as different age groups, all of the speakers I included are adult men from the following countries: 1. England (Inner Circle), 2. India (Outer Circle), 3. Hungary (Expanding Circle), 4. USA (Inner Circle), 5. Argentina (Expanding Circle), 6. Nigeria (Outer Circle), and 7. Scotland (Inner Circle). All of the recordings were between 45 and 65 seconds long.

As for the level of education of the speakers, six of them either have taken or are currently taking part in higher education. Only one of them, namely, the speaker of a standard British variety has not studied at a college or university; however, although he has no university degree, he works as a mechanical engineer. However, his lack of university studies might result in his language use being different from the other speakers.

One of the methodological challenges that presented themselves throughout the project was the observer's paradox, a concept first recognised by Labov (1985) and explained by Meyerhoff (2006: 38) as follows:

> [t]he paradox every sociolinguist faces in trying to account accurately for variation within a speech community is that they want to know what people say and do in their everyday lives, but as soon as they start to record them they change the dynamic even slightly. So what they want to know is, in one sense, unknowable. This has come to be known in sociolinguistics as the *observer's paradox*.

Because it was crucial to receive recordings of their *vernacular,* which Petyt (1980: 25) defines as "the speech of a particular country or region," or more academically, "a form of speech transmitted from parent to child as a primary medium of communication," it was essential that I try to avoid the speakers paying too much attention to how they speak. Thus, before I received the audio recordings, I had not told any speaker what I needed their audio samples for.

Also, in order to avoid the speakers paying attention to their speech, thus eliminating the observer's paradox as much as possible, I made a short comic which they were asked to tell the story of. I believe that letting the speakers express themselves freely directed their attention to

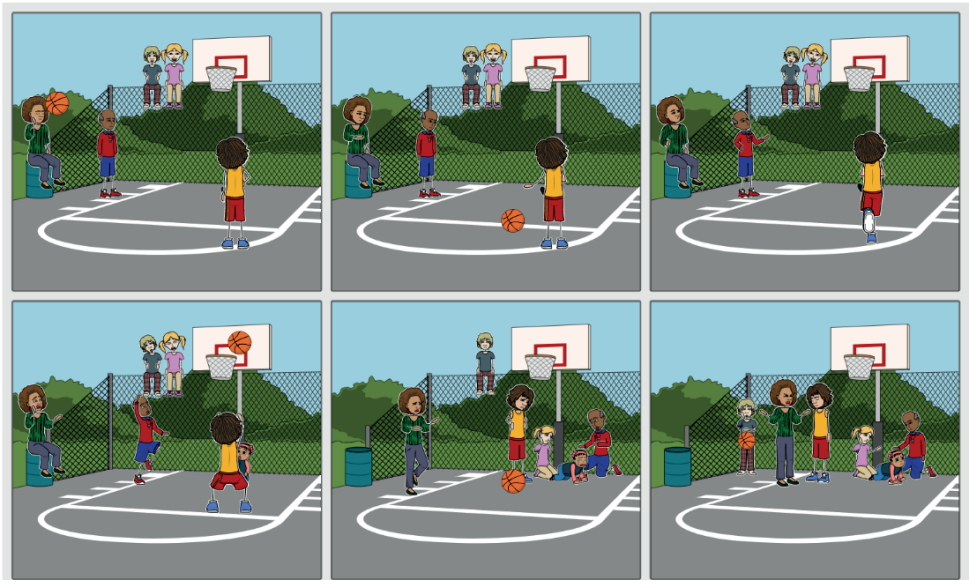


Figure 2. The comic

what they were saying instead of how they were talking.

3.2. The participants

There were altogether 182 people filling out the questionnaire, all of them being under the age of 30, which means that this survey is not representative of the whole population; however, it does yield valuable results concerning the young English-speaking Hungarian population. 58% of the participants were between the ages of 18 and 29, while the others were underaged. 62.6% of them were male, 36.3% female, and 1.1% (i.e. a single person) identified as non-binary. As for their education (completed or in progress), 72% answered high school, 23.1% college or university, and 4.9% primary school. When it comes to their level of English, 37.9% regarded themselves as advanced or proficient (C1 or C1+), 56.6% as intermediate or upper-intermediate (B1 or B2), and 5.4% as beginner or elementary (A1 or A2).

3.3. Data collection

The participants were sent an online questionnaire which included the audio sample of and the same 17 questions regarding each speaker (see Appendix 1). They have completed the questionnaire anonymously.

The questionnaire included two yes-or-no questions; one multiple choice question, twelve questions that contain a five-point semantic scale and one open-ended, opinion-based question that participants had to respond to. The following status traits were investigated: whether the speaker is a native speaker, whether he is from a place where English is official, how decent his English skills are, how understandable he is, what his levels of education and income are, and also how successful and intelligent he is. As for solidarity traits, the following were investigated: how easy it would be to have a conversation with him, how likely the participant would be to ask him for help, how embarrassed the participant would be to overhear him talking, how willing the participant would be to sit next to him, as well as how friendly and confident the speaker is.

A copy of the questionnaire is available on the following link: https://forms.gle/WLfpTjNowrZKVWSP7 – since it is a Google questionnaire, after I had disabled receiving new answers, the questions are no longer visible either. Thus, a copy of the questionnaire was needed to avoid receiving new answers which may change the results of the questionnaire. In this study, only questions relevant to the hypothesis have been studied.

3.4. Data analysis

Different questions were analysed differently. When analysing yes or no and multiple-choice questions, the percentages of the people voting for either answer were calculated. When it comes to the other questions where the scale had to be used, speakers' average scores were calculated. In order to do this, I had to export the results into an excel file.

4. Discussion

In this section, the results of the research will be discussed. As mentioned before, my hypothesis is that non-Inner Circle speakers will receive less favourable ratings than Inner Circle speakers, especially on status traits, and even Outer Circle (ESL) speakers are going to be considered non-native. The speakers are going to be grouped according to which circle they belong to in Kachru's (1992) model. After the speakers' ratings have been discussed individually, differences between status and solidarity traits are going to be investigated.

Before going into detail about each speaker, a general conclusion drawn from the results of the research is that participants rated Inner Circle (i.e. the English, the Scottish and the American) speakers the most favourably in (nearly) all questions. Their results were very similar to each other. The Hungarian speaker achieved fairly good ratings; however, not nearly as good as the Inner Circle speakers. The other three (Indian, Nigerian, Argentinian) speakers received the least favourable results. Their results were also rather similar to each other.

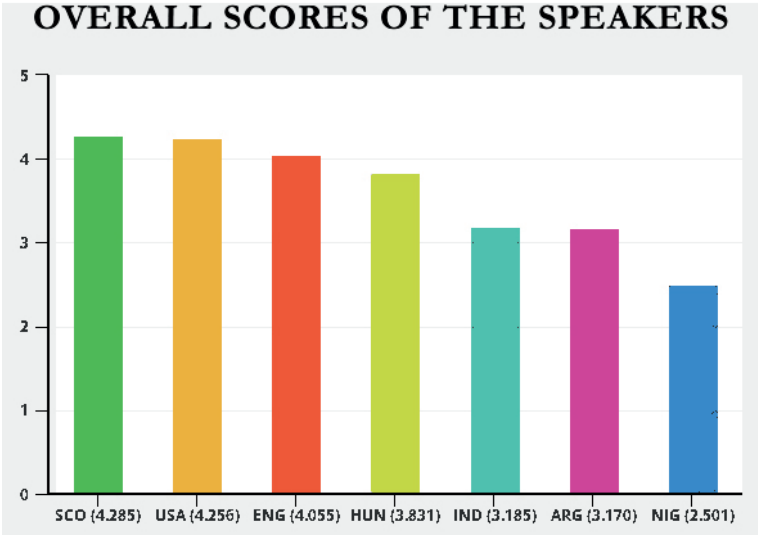


Figure 3. Overall average scores of the speakers.

The speakers can be ranked, according to their results, as Figure 2 shows. It is important to note that when calculating the averages of their results, only those 10 questions were taken into consideration which had to be answered on a scale of 1–5, where 5 was the most favourable option.

Thus, as can be seen in Figure 2, we can differentiate between two groups: the first group, consisting of the Inner Circle speakers, whom the participants regarded as decent native speakers, and the second group, which participants regarded as less decent, non-native speakers. The Hungarian speaker occupies an intermediate position between these two groups.

In what follows, I am going to expand on the results of the individual speakers based on Kachru's (1992) categorisation, breaking them down into three categories: Inner Circle, Outer Circle, and Expanding Circle speakers.

4.1. Inner Circle Speakers

The three Inner Circle speakers, namely, the Scottish speaker, the American speaker, and the speaker of a standard British variety undeniably scored the highest.

Participants perceived the Scottish speaker as the most likely to be a native speaker, the most likely to be from a country where the English language has an official status, as well as the most confident, intelligent, and successful speaker, and also the one with the most decent English skills as well as the highest income. He was also considered, as Figure 3 demonstrates, the most educated speaker. This means that participants rated him the most favourably in all questions related to status traits.

When it comes to solidarity traits, there were six questions where the Scottish speaker did not receive the highest ratings. Consequently, we can draw a conclusion that people generally attribute high levels of status traits to different speakers than to whom they attribute high levels of solidarity traits. In other words, it is very unlikely that the speaker with the highest levels of status traits will also be the speaker with the highest levels of solidarity traits.

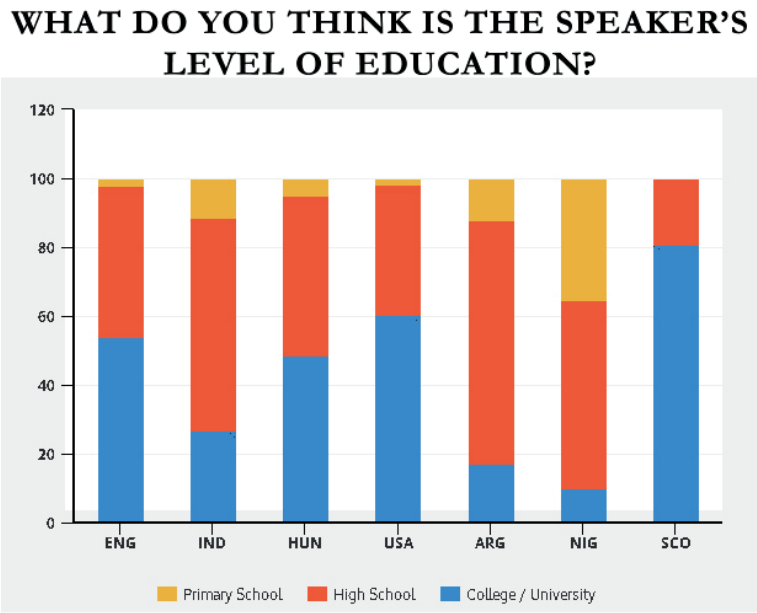


Figure 4. Results of Question 4.

As for the American speaker, he did not achieve any low scores either. According to the results, he would be the easiest to have a conversation with, his English is the easiest to understand, and he is the friendliest speaker. Also, participants would be the most willing to both sit next to him on public transport and ask him for help on the street.

The speaker of standard British English also achieved favourable results; however, he was not rated as favourably as the other two Inner Circle speakers. Participants would be the least embarrassed to talk to him in public, as can be seen on Figure 4. Also, in the question about how willing participants would be to ask him for help on the street, he received 4.49 out of 5 points. Although his scores were not as high as those of the other two Inner Circle speakers, they were certainly higher than those of the speakers from the other two circles.

In most questions, there is a significant difference between the results of Inner Circle speakers and the results of the other speakers. While there must be several explanations for this, I believe that the most relevant one might be that most participants are only used to hearing the Inner Circle standard varieties of English, as these dominate television, social media, popular music, and most media that the younger generations consume. Encountering other varieties might be an unusual experience for an average Hungarian listener, which may result in them giving less favourable ratings.

Also, it is worth noting that while I tried to make the selection of speakers as homogeneous as possible, my options were limited. Thus, there might be differences between the speakers and

their skills. For instance, two of the Inner Circle speakers are teachers, which means that they most probably are not only more educated but they are also likely to have better communication skills than an average speaker of their variety. Also, the speaker of a standard British variety records videos of himself on a regular basis, which provides him a decade-long experience of recording his voice, and that is an undeniable advantage on his side. Moreover, the Scottish speaker in his recording used a more interesting and engaging way of telling the story of the comic than other speakers, who tried to simply and objectively describe what they saw. This seems to have influenced the participants' ratings too. Although this decreases the validity of the findings, a general tendency that Inner Circle speakers receive more favourable ratings than any other speaker still holds its place.

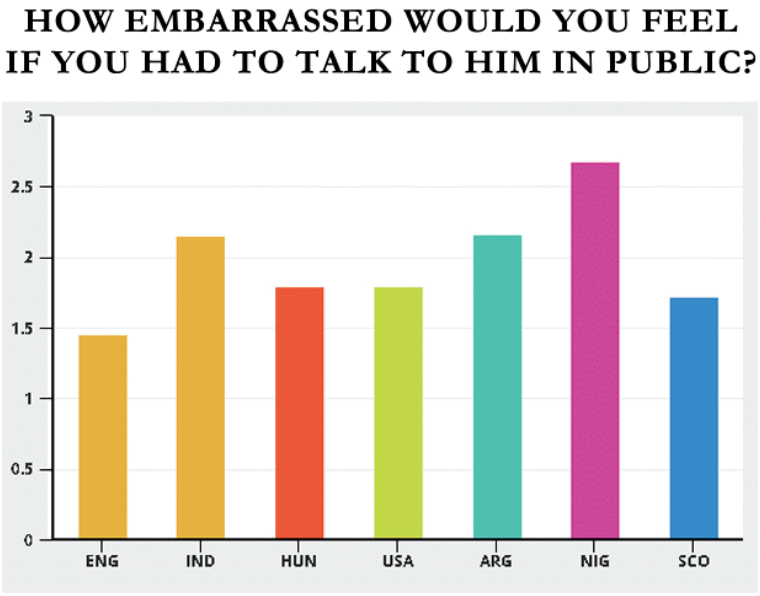


Figure 5. Results of Question 10.

4.2. Outer Circle Speakers

The results of the Outer Circle speakers, namely, the Indian and the Nigerian speakers, were the least favourable on average.

Altogether, the Indian speaker's results only exceeded those of the Argentinian and the Nigerian speakers. He did not achieve first, second or third most favourable results in any of the questions. He was perceived to be the least confident speaker (as can be seen in Figure 5), and he also scored rather low in the case of the questions regarding income and success as well as how bothersome it would be to overhear him talking in a bar, how embarrassing it would be to talk to him in public, and how willing participants would be to sit next to him on public transport.

In Inner Circle countries, especially in the United States, there are commonly held stereotypes of and negative attitudes towards the Indian population and Indian English. To demonstrate some of these negative attitudes, Kutlu and Wiltshire (2020) investigated the attitudes of US citizens towards Indian English, and they found out not only that "participants are aware of linguistic discrimination towards Indian English" (2020: 7), but also that most participants

prefer other Inner Circle varieties over Indian English. As Roy (2016) explains, "[t]he problem is not the accent, it's the stereotypes that come as carryon baggage, in this case job-stealing BPOs, lack of deodorant and pennypinching Patel motels. That's why a French accent is charming and an Indian accent is downmarket snakecharmer."

What is interesting here is that the participants of this study were all from an Expanding Circle country, and their attitudes reflected those of the Inner Circle speakers. Although the majority of the participants most probably had never met, spoken to, or had any real life experience with an Indian speaker of English, their answers still indicated negative attitudes toward Indian English. This is important because it proves that with the language, EFL speakers also acquire other cultural elements, including language attitudes towards different varieties of the language.

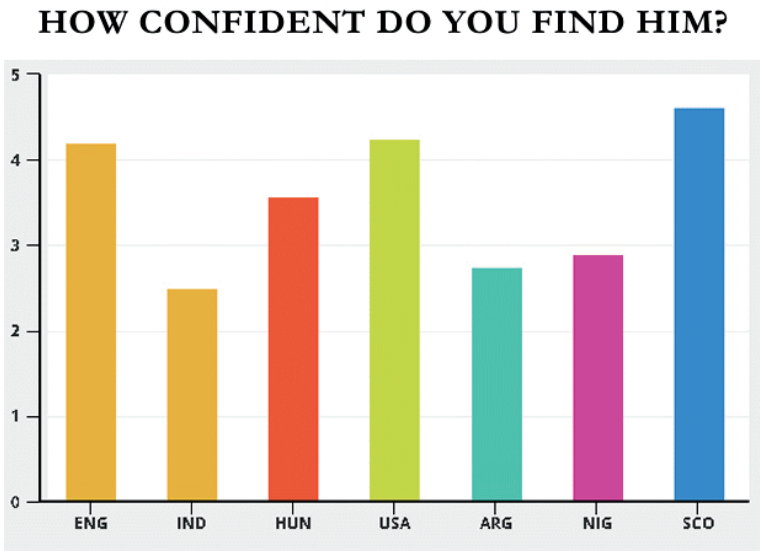


Figure 6. Results of Question 13.

When it comes to the Nigerian speaker, he achieved the least favourable ratings in all except two questions. The only two questions where he did not score the lowest were the one concerned with being from a country where English is official, and the one about confidence, as shown in Figure 5. He also received the most votes for "primary school" (35.2%), which is the least favourable category in the question in connection with education, as can be seen in Figure 3.

Although these results prove the hypothesis right, they are still surprising, especially those of the Nigerian speaker, who scored unexpectedly low on the questions. Both speakers used a strong accent, which clearly indicated that the speakers are not from an Inner Circle country; however, as Figure 6 also demonstrates, 24% of the participants believed that the Hungarian speaker was from a place where English has an official status, which is more than the people together who thought the same when it comes to the Indian, Argentinian and Nigerian speakers.

Lack of familiarity with these varieties is one possible explanation of the Outer Circle speakers' results. Although they both speak English fluently, their varieties differ greatly from

Inner Circle standard varieties, which might make an average listener think that the speakers do not have decent English skills.

Also, when it comes to the Hungarian language, its speakers and its varieties, the numbers are limited. Although there are certain varieties of the language which differ in terms of pronunciation and/or grammar, these differences are not as significant as the differences between, for instance, standard Indian and standard American English. In other words, because variation in the Hungarian language is nowhere near as extensive as variation in English, participants may have believed that the two Outer Circle speakers had learnt the language in school, as part of foreign language instruction, similarly to Expanding Circle speakers.

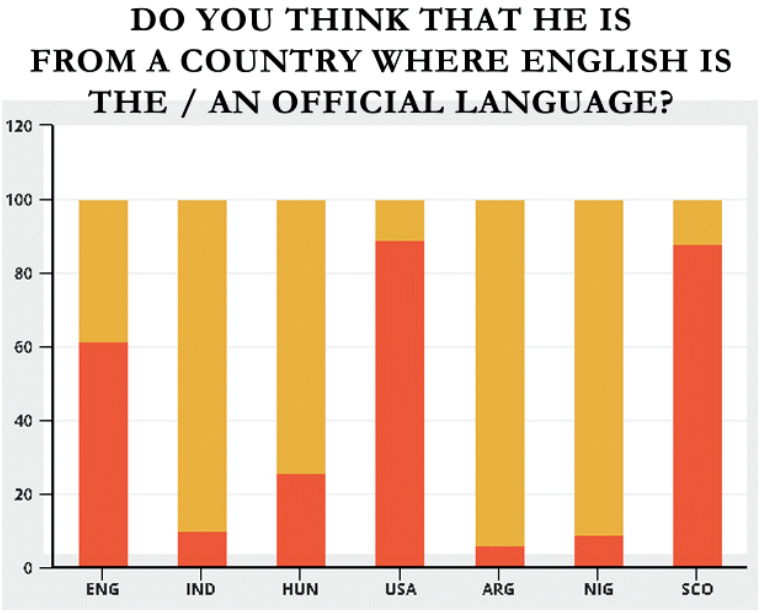


Figure 7. Results of Question 2.

Moreover, it is possible that a great percentage of participants are not aware of English having an official status in Nigeria and/or India. Very little is included about the history and culture of these countries in the Hungarian national curriculum, which might result in the participants thinking that these speakers are speaking what is commonly referred to as broken English, trying to mimic an Inner Circle standard variety. Most probably, if the participants had not lacked information about these countries' history and culture, the results of the questionnaire would have been more favourable when it comes to Outer Circle speakers.

4.3. Expanding Circle Speakers

The results of the two Expanding Circle speakers, namely, the Hungarian, and the Argentinian speakers, are going to be examined independently, as they are greatly different and lead to different possible conclusions.

Interestingly, when it comes to the average of the results of each speaker, the speaker with a strong Hungarian accent is located between the Inner Circle speakers and the other non-Inner Circle speakers. In most of the questions (13 out of 15), his score was between those of the Inner

Circle speakers and the other three speakers. He is certainly not a native speaker of the language, which, as Figure 7 shows, the majority (75.8%) of the participants have realised. However, why he received more favourable results than all other non-Inner Circle speakers needs to be investigated.

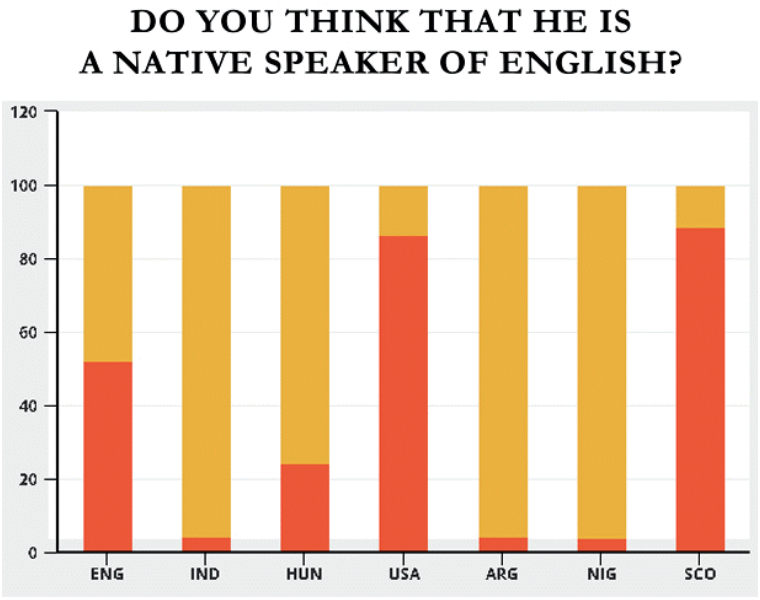


Figure 8. Results of Question 1.

On the one hand, the issue might, again, be explained by the aspect of familiarity. Because an average Hungarian speaker of English encounters this accent often, especially in the learning period (as even some teachers speak English with a noticeable Hungarian accent in this country), participants may simply have got used to this variety, which makes it less alien than other non-Inner Circle varieties.

Another possible explanation could be that people often tend to prefer and privilege their own variety when it comes to solidarity traits (Garrett et al. 2003). Some people may have recognised the Hungarian accent and given the speaker some good points because of it. Some participants may not even have realised that the variety the Hungarian speaker was using is similar to theirs; however, they gave him favourable scores due to unconscious processes.

On average, the Argentinian speaker received the second lowest ratings. Interestingly, he received the most votes for "high school" (70.9%) when it comes to education (as can be seen on Figure 3). His overall score is altogether low; however, participants would be the least bothered to overhear him talking in a bar, as Figure 8 depicts. This is surprising, because when it comes to friendliness, he was rated the second least favourable. Why he received the best ratings on this specific question would need further investigation. On average, his scores are highly similar to those of the Indian speaker, which proves that an average Hungarian speaker of English does not seem to differentiate between Outer Circle speakers and Expanding Circle speakers.

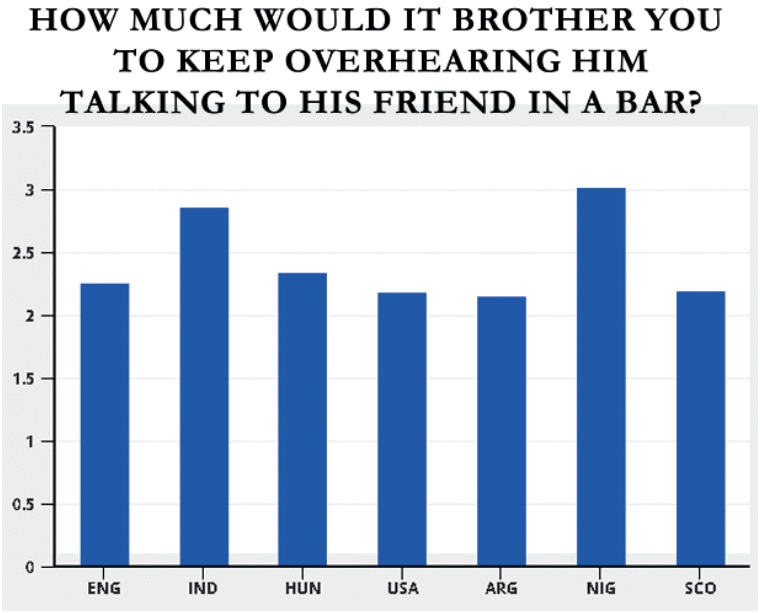


Figure 9. Results of Question 9.

4.4. Tendencies across the three circles

Because the three Inner Circle speakers' ratings were exceedingly better than those of the other speakers, the first part of the hypothesis has been proven. Furthermore, the second part, namely that even native speakers of Outer Circle varieties will be perceived as non-native has also been confirmed, as Figure 7 demonstrates. There were major differences between the results of Inner Circle and non-Inner Circle speakers. One interesting finding is that 24.2% of the participants perceived the Hungarian (Expanding Circle) speaker to be a native speaker, which exceeds the percentages of the Indian, Nigerian (Outer Circle) and the Argentinian (Expanding Circle) speakers by about 20%. As mentioned before, one possible explanation is participants' level of familiarity with certain varieties, while another one is lack of information regarding the status of the English language in the given countries.

Kachru's (1992) model divides speakers of English into three main categories, which challenges our usual way of thinking in binary oppositions (Elbow 1993:53). Because an average Hungarian speaker of English has no background knowledge of sociolinguistics, it is normal that they categorise speakers differently from how Kachru (1992) did it. Also, when it comes to the Hungarian language, a native speaker is thought of as either a person born into a Hungarian family (even if in a minority context) or a person who was born in a Hungarian-speaking area or moved there at a young age. Moreover, Hungary is in Kachru's Expanding Circle, which means that Hungarian people view English in an EFL context. All participants had Hungarian as their mother tongue, which means that they might have used the same perspective when determining who is a native speaker, and anyone who they thought had not been born in an Inner Circle country was considered non-native. In other words, participants saw no difference between Outer Circle speakers and Expanding Circle speakers.

Having explored and interpreted the differences between the results of speakers from different circles of Kachru's (1992) categorisation, the next section will look at the differences between the results of questions regarding status and solidarity traits.

4.5. Status vs. solidarity traits

	1. Do you think he is a native speaker of English?	2. Do you think that he is from a country where English is the / an official language?	4. What do you think is the speaker's level of education?
England	52.0%	61.5%	2.2% PS 44.0% HS 53.8% U
India	4.4%	9.9%	11.5% PS 61.5% HS 26.9% U
Hungary	24.2%	25.8%	4.9% PS 46.7% HS 48.4% U
USA	86.3%	89.0%	1.6% PS 37.9% HS 60.4% U
Argentina	4.4%	6.0%	12.1% PS 70.9% HS 17.0% U
Nigeria	3.8%	8.8%	35.2% PS 54.9% HS 9.9% U
Scotland	88.5%	88.0%	0.0% PS 19.2% HS 80.8% U

Table 1. Results of questions related to status traits

	3. In your opinion, how decent is his English?	5. How high do you think is his income?	6. How easily understandable do you find his English?	14. How intelligent do you find him?	15. How successful do you think the speaker is?
England	4.27	3.36	4.42	3.77	3.75
India	2.87	2.9	3.32	3.49	3.15
Hungary	3.82	3.47	4.26	3.77	3.63
USA	4.61	3.75	4.7	4.01	3.93
Argentina	2.9	2.91	3.31	3.34	3.1
Nigeria	1.98	2.46	1.91	2.87	2.72
Scotland	4.61	3.99	4.41	4.26	4.11

Table 2. Results of more questions related to status traits

Table 1 and Table 2 show the results of the questions related to status traits. Where percentages are shown, the questions were yes-or-no-questions, and the results show the percentage of partic-

ipants who voted for yes. Where numbers between 1 and 5 are depicted, participants were required to use a 5-point Likert scale. In these cases, a higher score meant a more favourable result.

As the tables demonstrate, the Scottish speaker received the most favourable answers for all questions related to status traits. Moreover, the second most favourable results were always those of the American speaker, and the British speaker received the third highest ratings for all questions, except for one. These results perfectly prove the middle part of the hypothesis, which claims that Inner Circle speakers' ratings will exceed non-Inner Circle speakers' ratings, especially when it comes to questions related to status traits.

Possible explanations include, for instance, the commonly held belief that if someone speaks a dominant standard variety of a language, he or she is most probably from a high social class, in a position of power, or someone with high income and respect. Because Inner Circle speakers' varieties are the closest to what an average Hungarian speaker of English encounters in his or her daily life, which is usually a standard Inner Circle variety, certain values, such as *rich, successful, educated,* were attributed to them.

	7. In your opinion, how easy would it be for you to have a conversation with him?	**8. If you were lost, would you ask him to help you find your way?**	**9. How much would it bother you to keep overhearing him talking to his friend in a bar?**	**10. How embarrassed would you feel if you had to talk to him in public?**	**11. Would you like to sit next to him on public transport?**	**12. How friendly do you find him?**	**13. How confident do you find him?**
England	4.42	4.49	2.26	1.45	3.6	4.27	4.2
India	3.23	3.47	2.86	2.15	3.1	3.82	2.5
Hungary	4.05	4.16	2.34	1.79	3.62	3.96	3.57
USA	4.52	4.56	2.19	1.79	3.66	4.57	4.25
Argentina	3.16	3.45	2.16	2.16	3.1	3.68	2.75
Nigeria	1.87	2.32	3.02	2.68	2.7	3.28	2.9
Scotland	4.37	4.49	2.2	1.72	3.56	4.43	4.62

Table 3. Results of questions related to solidarity traits

As can be seen in Table 2, overall, the American speaker received the highest score in four out of seven questions concerning solidarity traits. The British, Scottish and Argentinian speakers scored the highest on the remaining three. Second and third most favourable ratings are shared between the British, Scottish, Hungarian and American speakers. Again, it is important to note that a 5-point Likert-scale was used in these items, where the higher numerical scores indicate a more positive rating, except for questions 9 and 10, where the most favourable results were indicated by low scores.

The results of questions related to solidarity traits are somewhat more diverse than the ones concerned with status traits; however, they are still dominated by Inner Circle speakers. This is interesting, because in a lot of research projects concerning language attitudes there is often an inverse relationship between the two groups: speakers that are attributed high status traits are attributed less solidarity traits, and vice versa. For instance, Xu et al. (1998) concluded that Singaporean Chinese participants rated Mandarin higher in solidarity, but lower in prestige, while English speakers were rated higher in prestige and, but lower in solidarity. (cf. Cavallaro et. al 2009: 144). In this research, this was not the case. Interestingly, the results of the Inner Circle speakers exceeded those of the other speakers in nearly all questions.

Finally, it is also worth noting that the aforementioned benefits (better communication skills, more experience in recording their own voice, etc.) might have provided advantages to Inner Circle speakers, which helped them receive more favourable ratings in solidarity traits-related questions as well.

5. Conclusion

In this paper the language attitudes of Hungarian speakers of English towards different varieties of the English language have been investigated. The hypothesis that Inner Circle speakers would be rated more favourably than non-Inner Circle speakers and every non-Inner Circle speaker would be perceived as non-native was proven.

In general, Inner Circle speakers received the most favourable ratings in nearly all questions, possibly as a result of the aforementioned benefits (better communication skills, more experience in recording their own voice, etc.). In fact, the Scottish speaker received the best ratings in all questions related to status traits, and some other questions as well. of the remaining four speakers, the Hungarian speaker's results were the most favourable. Although I have tried to offer possible explanations for this surprising finding, further research would be needed to prove my assumptions.

The Indian, the Argentinian, and the Nigerian speakers received particularly less favourable results in nearly all questions, and their scores were rather similar to each other. This brings me to the conclusion that Outer Circle and Expanding Circle speakers, from the perspective of an average Hungarian speaker of English, are one homogeneous group of non-native speakers. These results indicate the well known tendency in western cultures to simplify complex relationships and turn them into classic binary oppositions. As Elbow (1993: 51) explains, [t]here is an ancient tradition of binary or dichotomous thinking - of framing issues in terms of opposites such as sun/moon, reason/passion." In this case, it is the simplistic native/non-native dichotomy that helps everyday people frame the highly complex system of the English-speaking world in a comprehensible way, even though it distorts their understanding of the reality.

As for the relevance and importance of the present study, the language attitudes of Expanding Circle speakers toward different varieties of English have scarcely been studied, thus, this research is undoubtedly of considerable importance when it comes to investigating this topic or doing further research in this field.

As has been mentioned before, according to the results of this study, a general tendency can be observed. In Hungary, English is learnt as a foreign language; however, learners of English do not only acquire the language, but also other socio-cultural elements of Inner Circle countries which include language attitudes. The findings clearly indicate that the Expanding Circle reproduces patterns of the Inner Circle language attitudes, reflecting the power relations that differentiate these circles from one another.

However, as has been mentioned before, there are some limitations to the present study, for instance, when it comes to choosing the speakers. Although I tried to make the selection of speakers as homogeneous as possible, there were still differences between them in age, education, experience in recording one's voice, communication skills, and other aspects, which may have distorted the findings to some extent.

Another important remark to make at this point is that this study is not representative of the English-speaking Hungarian population, as the participants were all below the age of 30. Their proficiency in English is also questionable: even though there was a question addressing each participant's level of English, they may not have been able to determine it completely realistically.

Thus, as a future avenue of research, participants could be included in this study from a wider variety of age groups, and their level of English would have to be measured more objectively. Furthermore, to arrive at a more detailed investigation of language attitudes toward Hungarian vs. non-Hungarian speakers of English, speakers with different levels of Hungarian accents could also be included. Also, increasing the number of questions could make it possible to come up with a more detailed conclusion. Finally, the differences between the language attitudes of Outer Circle vs. Expanding Circle speakers toward the same varieties would be another field which could yield valuable findings.

Bibliography

Auer, Peter and Jürgen Erich Schmidt. 2009. *Theories and methods*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Balogh, Erzsébet. 2020. Hungarian student language attitudes towards speakers of regional American English accent varieties. In: Waniek-Klimczak, Ewa, ed. *Issues in accents of English*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 150–168.

Bonfiglio, Thomas Paul. 2010. *Mother tongues and nations: The invention of the native speaker*. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781934078266

Bruthiaux, Paul. 2003. Squaring the circles: Issues in modeling English worldwide. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics,* 13(2): 159–78. https://doi.org/10.1111/1473-4192.00042

Cavallaro, Francesco, and Ng Bee Chin. *Between Status and Solidarity in Singapore.* World Englishes 28, no. 2 (June 2009): 143–59. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2009.01580.x.

Clyne, Michael G. 1992. *Pluricentric languages: Differing norms in different nations*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Crystal, David. 1997. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Crystal, David. 2008. Two thousand million? *English Today,* 24(1): 3–6. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078408000023

Demme, Jonathan. 1991. *The Silence of the Lambs*. United States: Orion Pictures.

Dragojevic, Marko. 2017. Language attitudes. In: Dragojevic, Marko, ed. *Oxford research encyclopedia of communication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.437.

Edwards, John. 1994. *Multilingualism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Edwards, John. 1999. Refining our understanding of language attitudes. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology,* 18(1): 101–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X99018001007

Elbow, Peter. 1993. The uses of binary thinking. *Journal of Advanced Composition,* 13(1): 51–78.

Fasold, Ralph W. 1984. *Introduction to sociolinguistics*. Oxford and New York: Blackwell.

Fenyvesi, Anna. 2011. Nyelvi attitűdök kisebbségi kontextusban: Erdélyi, vajdasági és felvidéki magyar diákok viszonyulása anyanyelvükhöz, az államnyelvhez és az angolhoz [Language attitudes in a minority context: Attitudes of Hungarian students from Transylvania, Vojvodina and Slovakia towards their mother tongue, their official language and towards English]. In: Karmacsi, Zoltán, Anita Márku and Kornélia Hires-László, eds. *Nyelvi mítoszok, ideológiák, nyelvpolitika és nyelvi emberi jogok Közép-Európában elméletben és gyakorlatban: A 16. Élőnyelvi Konferencia előadásai [Linguistic Myths, Ideologies, Language Policy and Linguistic Human Rights in Central Europe in Theory and Practice: Presentations at the 16th Living Language Conference]*. Budapest and Beregszász: Tinta Könyvkiadó and Rákóczi Ferenc Kárpátaljai Magyar Főiskola Hodinka Antal Intézete, 227–234.

Fleming, Victor, George Cukor and Sam Wood. 1939. *Gone with the Wind*. United States: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM).

Garrett, Peter. 2010. *Attitudes to Language*. Cambridge University Press.

Görlach, Manfred. 1998. The Development of standard Englishes. in M. Görlach 1990. *Studies in the history of the English language*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
Huber, Máté. 2022. A nyelvi többközpontúság elméletének szerepe a nyelvoktatásban az angol és a német példáján [The role of linguistic pluricentricity in language education, through the example of English and German as foreign languages]. *Modern Nyelvoktatás*, forthcoming.
Jenkins, Jennifer. 2009. *World Englishes: A resource book for students*. London and New York: Routledge.
Kachru, Braj B. 1990. World Englishes and applied linguistics. *World Englishes,* 9(1): 3–20. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1990.tb00683.x.
Kachru, Braj B. 1992. World Englishes: Approaches, issues and resources. *Language Teaching,* 25(1): 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444800006583.
Kirkpatrick, Andy. 2011. Internationalization or Englishization: Medium of instruction in today's universities. *The Asian Journal of Applied Linguistics,* 1(3): 4–15.
Kutlu, Ethan, and Caroline Wiltshire. *Where Do Negative Stereotypes Come from? The Case of Indian English in the USA.* Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America 5, no. 1 (March 23, 2020): 74. https://doi.org/10.3765/plsa.v5i1.4669.
Labov, William. *Sociolinguistic Patterns.* Repr. Oxford: Blackwell, 1985.
McArthur, Tom. 1987. *"The English Languages?"* English Today 3, no. 3: 9–13. doi:10.1017/S02660 78400013511.
McArthur, Tom. 2001. World English and World Englishes: Trends, tensions, varieties, and standards. *Language Teaching,* 34(1): 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444800016062.
Meyerhoff, Miriam. 2006. *Introducing sociolinguistics*. London and New York: Routledge.
Milroy, James. 2001. Language ideologies and the consequences of standardization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 5(4): 530–55. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00163.
Morgan, Kenneth O., ed. 2010. *The Oxford history of Britain*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
Mott, Brian. 2012. Traditional Cockney and popular London speech. *Dialectologia, 9*: 69–94.
Muhr, Rudolf. 1996: Das Deutsche Als Plurizentrische Sprache: Zur Sprachrealität der deutschsprachigen Länder und zum Normbegriff im DaF-Unterricht. *Die Unterrichtspraxis / Teaching German,* 29(2): 137–46. https://doi.org/10.2307/3531823
Onysko, Alexander. 2016. Modeling World Englishes from the perspective of language contact. *World Englishes,* 35(2): 196–220. https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12191.
Petyt, K. M. 1980. *The study of dialect: An introduction to dialectology*. London: A. Deutsch.
Preston, Dennis Richard. 1989. *Sociolinguistics and second language acquisition*. Oxford and New York: Blackwell.
Richards, Jack C., John Talbot Platt, Heidi Platt, and John Platt. 1999. *Longman dictionary of language teaching and applied linguistics*. Harlow: Longman.
Roy, Sandip. 2016. The Problem with the 'Indian Accent' Is the Stereotypes That Come with It. https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/blogs/et-commentary/the-problem-with-the-indian-accent-is-the-stereotypes-that-come-with-it/. (April 29, 2022)
Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2013. *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Sharifian, Farzad, ed. 2009. *English as an international language: Perspectives and pedagogical issues*. Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
Strevens, Peter. 1992. English as an international language: Directions in the 1990s. In: Kachru, Braj B., ed. *The other tongue: English across cultures.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 27–47.
Trudgill, Peter and Jean Hannah. 1982. *International English*. London: Arnold.
Wardhaugh, Ronald. 2006. *An Introduction to sociolinguistics*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell.
Xu, Daming, Cheng Hai Chew and Chen Songcen. 2005. *A Survey of language use and language attitudes in the Singapore Chinese community.*Nanjing: Nanjing Da Xue Chu Ban She.

Ádám Ivánkovits

From Imitations to Lovecraftian Narratives The Main Differences between Lovecraft's Early and Later Stories *

Abstract

Howard Phillips Lovecraft is among the most prominent weird fiction writers. His works have such high prestige that in many cases texts discussing the genre do not describe the specific qualities that elevated his narratives above the stories of other writers. Most comparative works in Lovecraft studies either examine his effect on contemporary media or discuss the thematic concerns of his earlier and later stories. While most of Lovecraft's early stories show similarities with the narratives of his precursors, some already contain important elements that differentiate him from other weird fiction writers. To clearly define what distinguishes his most important works from that of Edgar Allan Poe or Arthur Machen, it is important to examine how these writers used the themes that are also present in Lovecraftian narratives. The most important differences lie in the use of the theme of forbidden knowledge and in the central theme to which it is connected. In Lovecraft's later stories, forbidden knowledge does not open up opportunities for human beings to defy the rules of nature for selfish ends; instead, it reveals that the laws created by humanity to describe nature are faulty or at least inadequate when applied to the whole of existence. The central theme of the nature of self-knowledge deals with the dreadful feeling this newly gained knowledge evokes in human beings, since they need to redefine their identity as they are displaced from their position at the center of the universe.

1. Introduction

It would be hard to find an article or book on weird fiction which does not mention Howard Phillips Lovecraft's name. His later narratives, such as "The Call of Cthulhu" and *At the Mountains of Madness,* are credited as landmark works of the genre and of horror literature in general. In describing weird fiction, many studies refer to essays written by Lovecraft, such as "Supernatural Horror in Literature", "Notes on Writing Weird Fiction" and "Some Notes on Interplanetary Fiction", which highlights his importance in the process of defining this genre.

In the light of this, there is no question about the fact that Lovecraft had a great impact on weird fiction; however, when he is discussed in the context of the history of the genre, introductory texts often regard his position matter-of-factly and do not describe the reason that elevated his narratives above *most* of his precursors' and contemporaries' stories (Edgar Allan Poe is an exception in this case). The atmospheric approach to storytelling was already present in Poe's oeuvre and Arthur Machen's "The Great God Pan" already featured an indescribable otherworldly being before Lovecraft even started writing. This could create a feeling of puzzlement in anyone who just started to explore the world of Lovecraft studies, because it makes it is hard to grasp what makes a narrative distinctively Lovecraftian; what are those elements that cannot be found in the stories of Poe, Machen, Algernon Blackwood, etc.

* BA Thesis. Supervisor: Korinna Csetényi.

Most comparative analyses found in the issues of the *Lovecraft Annual* and in books edited by the most well-known Lovecraft scholar, S. T. Joshi, focus on the effects of Lovecraft on contemporary media or they detect differences and similarities between Lovecraft's earlier and later narratives. The latter approach could actually be quite helpful in deciding what defines Lovecraftian weird fiction, as his earlier narratives are heavily reliant on his precursors' aesthetics. Of course, the impact of these writers can also be seen in later, classic Lovecraftian narratives, such as *The Shadow Out of Time,* but in these stories Lovecraft was finally able to find his own artistic voice.

However, simply relying on the differences found between earlier and later narratives does not give a full picture. In many cases, the central idea of later stories can already be found in Lovecraft's earlier, but more progressive narratives: his philosophical standpoint regarding the place of humanity in the grand scheme of things (Burleson 2011, 139). The term "Lovecraftian" cannot be properly defined without a discussion of this thematic concern.

To make a clear distinction between Lovecraft's later stories and the works of other writers who influenced him, first I am going to explore the current state of Lovecraft studies regarding the definition of weird fiction, and the similarities and differences between Lovecraft's earlier and later stories. The main focus of this first section is going to be the discussion of the thematic concerns of Lovecraft's narratives, as most scholars are of the opinion that even though these stories share the same thematic concerns, later narratives use them in a more unique way. In the next section, I am going to apply the synthesized theory developed in the previous section on earlier narratives to illustrate *how* the shared themes are used in them. Then, I am going to examine how the same themes are used in Edgar Allan Poe's "Ligeia" and Arthur Machen's "The Great God Pan", and detect the similarities between these narratives and later Lovecraftian stories to separate the characteristics of later works, where the impact of Machen and Poe can still be felt. Finally, I am going to analyse several later narratives and define what distinguishes them from his earlier writings and the works of his precursors.

2. Lovecraft's thematic concerns and story-telling methods

China Miéville states that between 1880 and 1940 weird fiction was extremely popular and he defines the genre within this particular era[1]. While Miéville on many occasions refers to several of Lovecraft's essays and uses examples from Lovecraft's stories, it is important to note that his goal is not to define Lovecraftian weird fiction, but to explore the common characteristics of Lovecraft's and his contemporaries' weird fiction narratives. Other prolific weird fiction writers from this era include Algernon Blackwood, Arthur Machen, Clark Ashton Smith and William Hope Hodgson (Miéville 2009, 510).

Miéville argues that these writers, without an exception, all describe the fantastical elements of their stories with heavy "adjectivalism" (Miéville 2009, 512), meaning that the weird entity or event is only vaguely describable with human language, as the weird elements in these stories have absolutely no connection to the ordinary world, and therefore human languages have no words to depict them adequately (Miéville 2009, 512). Miéville states that with the inclusion of the weird elements in their narratives, these writers intended to create a feeling of "awe"

[1] It would be hard to define the genre as a whole since it is relatively new and it is still evolving. Contemporary weird narratives already seem to deviate from the formula established at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. For further information on contemporary weird fiction narratives, see Matt Cardin's comparative article, "The Master's Eyes Shining with Secrets: H. P. Lovecraft's Influence on Thomas Ligotti" and Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock's essay entitled "The New Weird".

(Miéville 2009, 510) in the reader, but he also highlighted the feeling of anxiety also apparent in these works, which could be traced back to the newly formed modern capitalist social order and the horrors of the First World War (Miéville 2009, 513).

While Miéville does not intend to characterize weird fiction writers individually, he calls attention in his essay to the misogyny in Machen's "The Great God Pan", and to the racism in Lovecraft's stories in connection with the main anxieties of the era. Miéville implies that the anxiety found in the center of Lovecraft's body of work is his own fear of "'inferior' races" (Miéville 2009, 513) and miscegenation (Miéville 2009, 513). Miéville supports his statement by referring to Michel Houellebecq's book, entitled *H. P. Lovecraft: Against the World, Against Life,* which S. T. Joshi marked as a problematic work. Joshi states that several lines to which Houellebecq refers cannot be found in any versions of Lovecraft's narratives and in many cases Houellebecq exaggerates. Joshi concludes that while Houellebecq's book sheds light on a rather problematic element in Lovecraft's body of work, it is important to note that "racial hatred" (Joshi 2018, 49) is not the main concern of Lovecraft's fiction, as Houellebecq argues (Joshi 2018, 49). Consequently, in light of Joshi's article, the same argument by Miéville should also be treated cautiously.

Miéville also highlights the atmospheric storytelling of weird fiction narratives, referring to Lovecraft's "Notes on Writing Weird Fiction". Miéville states that weird fiction tales use plot only as an excuse to explore certain weird concepts and ideas and their main concern is the awe and the anxiety these concepts and ideas evoke in the protagonists and in the reader (Miéville 2009, 510). Focusing on defining the meaning of the weird, the anxiety lying behind such fiction and the storytelling of these tales, Miéville does not discuss the thematic concerns of weird fiction narratives. Fortunately, the thematic concerns of Lovecraftian narratives are discussed by several other authors.

Donald R. Burleson states that there is a central theme in the majority of Lovecraft's oeuvre, which he calls "the nature of self-knowledge" (Burleson 2011, 139). According to Burleson, this central theme deals with the psychological and emotional results of an individual's realization of his/her unimportance in the vastness of time and space, and of the exploration of one's true origin, identity or pre-determined future, which were hidden before. He argues that in Lovecraft's fiction most of the recurring themes are all derived from or connected to this central theme (Burleson 2011, 139).

In my opinion, the theme of "the nature of self-knowledge" contains two additional themes listed by David E. Schultz. These are the themes of "the loss of, change in or transposition of identity" and "the relative unimportance of humans (or any other entities, for that matter) when seen from a cosmic point of view" (Schultz 2011, 209). Interestingly, Schultz does not indicate that any of these themes would be central in Lovecraft's writing career. Instead, he argues that only the stories written between 1926 and 1935 could be termed as Lovecraftian narratives, as in Lovecraft's early stories his "cosmic outlook" (Schultz 2011, 209) is either only vaguely expressed or entirely absent (Schultz 2011, 209). Therefore, Schultz's essay claims that the theme of "the relative unimportance of humans [...] when seen from a cosmic point of view" is central not in Lovecraft's body of work, but in understanding what made Lovecraft's artistic vision unique in his later years.

Along with this central theme, Burleson listed five recurring minor themes in Lovecraft's narratives, and "the theme of forbidden knowledge, or merciful ignorance" (Burleson 2011, 140) is missing from Schultz's list. Yet Schultz also highlighted that in later narratives merciful ignorance plays an important role, as the narrators often face the dilemma of whether to share their knowledge with the rest of humanity or not, and in many cases they wish to forget what

they learned about the existence of a weird entity or entities, even though it is impossible to erase from their memory what they experienced or saw (Schultz 2011, 223–224).

The exploration of knowledge in Lovecraft's narratives is a crucial point in S. T. Joshi's "'Reality' and Knowledge: Some Notes on Lovecraft's Aesthetic", in which he claims that the change in Lovecraft's attitude towards knowledge in his fiction is indicative of his growth as an artist. Joshi states that in his early stories, such as "The Other Gods", Lovecraft uses the "hubris theme" (Joshi 2014, 111) in the same manner as it was used in ancient Greek narratives. Joshi defines this in the following way: with the increase of knowledge, vanity also increases in the individual, leading him/her to believe that he/she is above the Gods, or the laws of nature. This belief, Joshi further explains, results in the abuse of knowledge and science, which has disastrous consequences for the individual. This use of the "hubris theme" originates from Lovecraft's fondness for Lord Dunsany's fiction, which Joshi characterizes as moral tales rooted in European folk mythology. However, Joshi interprets the presence of the "hubris theme" in a different manner in later narratives. In such works as *At the Mountains of Madness* and *The Shadow out of Time,* the action of seeking knowledge does not imply disastrous consequences for the individual only but also for humanity, for Earth, or for the entire universe.

Another difference regarding knowledge in Lovecraft's early and later narratives is the presence of an "amoral" (Joshi 2014, 113) knowledge. In certain stories, such as "The Call of Cthulhu", where characters are unable to cope with the forbidden knowledge they gained, Lovecraft does not depict the said knowledge as something malevolent; he merely emphasizes the imperfect nature of the human mind, which is not suited to perceive everything within the universe and wholly understand it. In such stories, it does not ultimately matter whether humankind gains knowledge regarding a hidden truth or not, because in either case humans are unable to have an impact on the thing or event they learned about since they are too small and too insignificant in the grand scheme of things to make a change (Joshi 2014, 113).

Another theme connected to the central one of "the nature of self-knowledge" is "the theme of illusory surface appearances" (Burleson 2011, 140). Burleson states that Lovecraft sometimes deals with the idea of a horrible reality hiding behind the surface of the world and how the protagonists catch a glimpse of this world lying beyond the one that is comprehensible to humans (Burleson 2011, 140). In discussing Lovecraft's artistic intent, Joshi calls attention to Lovecraft's wording when explaining his main goal with his stories in his "Notes on Writing Weird Fiction". Lovecraft did not intend to depict aliens as supernatural beings, but wanted to create the *"illusion"* (Joshi 2014, 105) of the supernatural (Joshi 2014, 105). The strange events and beings encountered by Lovecraft's protagonists are not above the rules of nature, but are their extensions (Joshi 2014, 106). This notion can also be connected to the concept of amoral knowledge as its danger does not lie in its evilness, but in the fact that it reveals truths belonging to a different realm of existence, which are incomprehensible to the human mind. Therefore, the possession of this knowledge could cause madness (Joshi 2014, 113).

Burleson notes that the "theme of forbidden knowledge, or merciful ignorance" may overlap with "the theme of unwholesome survival" (Burleson 2011, 140), which deals with the past bleeding into the present either through creatures with seemingly unnatural lifespans or through the consequences of past events still apparent in the present. This theme combines in itself the themes of the "revivification of the dead" and "the survival of the ancient in the modern times" (Schultz 2011, 209). In exploring further overlappings among themes, Burleson explains that "the theme of denied primacy" (the realization that the reign of humankind on Earth is only a temporary state of the planet) is strongly connected to "the theme of unwholesome survival", and he also states that "the theme of oneiric objectivism" (the notion that dreams may be as real

as the real world itself) overlaps with "the theme of forbidden knowledge, or merciful ignorance" (Burleson 2011, 140).

Regarding dreams in Lovecraft's narratives, Joshi argues that Lovecraft's intention was not to blur the line between dreams and reality, but to suggest that during dreaming, his protagonists are able to catch a glimpse of other realms of existence (Joshi 2014, 107). Schultz lists three additional themes, termed by Lovecraft himself, one of them being the theme of "dream-life" (Schultz 2011, 209). The other two are the themes of "cosmic 'outsidedness'" and "strange shadow" (Schultz 2011, 209). Schultz's list also includes the themes of "madness", "decay and degeneration", "key and gateway" and Lovecraft's "antimythology" (Schultz 2011, 209) (a recurring feature in Lovecraftian narratives, where entities that were believed to be fictional creatures from ancient mythology are proven to be real) (Schultz 2011, 222).

Contrary to Burleson, Schultz's aim in his essay was not to list the recurring themes in Lovecraft's oeuvre, but to illustrate how Lovecraft rewrote his older stories in his later narratives and also to explain how he managed to rewrite these tales with greater artistic success. Schultz also examined these questions from a biographical standpoint, arguing that Lovecraft's stay in New York had an immense effect on his writing, as it broadened and strengthened his connection to the outside world. Consequently, Lovecraft's protagonists changed from "outsiders" and selfish, eccentric "thrillseekers" into well-respected academics, who deeply care about the fate of humanity (Schultz 2011, 219).

Another important aspect of Lovecraft's later narratives is their credibility provided by their storytelling method. Schultz states that while Lovecraft's technique of narrating his tales through fictional newspaper articles, journal entries, memoirs and the likes is already present in several of his earlier narratives, such as "Dagon", or the "The Statement of Randolph Carter", it is most prominent in his later narratives (Schultz 2011, 220).

3. Lovecraft's Tales Preceding "The Call of Cthulhu"

Lovecraft's "Cool Air" deals with the themes of "unwholesome survival" and the "revivification of the dead": eighteen years before the events of the short story, Dr Torres reanimated Dr Muñoz, fulfilling Dr Muñoz's wish. Talking to the narrator, who was a neighbour of the scientist and occasionally visited him, Dr Muñoz only vaguely refers to Dr Torres' death; however, at the end of the story he confesses that Dr Torres was killed by shock, caused by the process of the reanimation and by the realization that the deterioration of the flesh cannot be completely stopped. The consequences of the use of forbidden knowledge also affect Dr Muñoz: at the end of the narrative he finally meets his horrible end, which was caused by the inevitable deterioration discussed in the narrative. In this story, the "hubris theme" appears in the same didactical way as it does in Lord Dunsany's narratives, in the sense that the possessors of forbidden knowledge use it to play God and to defy the rules of nature, which ends in disaster for them.

"Herbert West—Reanimator" contains the same themes as "Cool Air", but uses them for a slightly different effect. Dr Muñoz used forbidden knowledge to escape death and lengthen his life; however, Herbert West only used it to satisfy his curiosity, not caring about the fiendish beings he unleashes upon the world. The narrator witnessed West's strange experiments, which consisted of the reanimations of dead bodies and severed body parts. Contrary to "Cool Air", "Herbert West—Reanimator" has an unreliable narrator. Since no one else has seen the gruesome and unbelievable death of Herbert West (his creations took revenge on him for forcing them back into existence to live in mutilated/deteriorated bodies), the narrator is stigmatized

as a mad person by society, while in "Cool Air" many people have seen the horrible remains of Dr Muñoz.

Although in "Cool Air" and "Herbert West—Reanimator" "the theme of unwholesome survival" is connected to that of the "revivification of the dead", in the case of "Dagon", it is connected to the theme of "the survival of the ancient in the modern times". The narrator of "Dagon" finds himself on a seemingly uninhabited island which reeks of rotten flesh. Soon he learns that the island probably emerged from the ocean in the recent past and the smell is caused by the carcasses of dead sea animals. As he explores the island, he encounters a giant, prehistoric, half-fish, half-human creature. The notion that there are prehistoric terrestrial entities in the oceans hints at "the theme of denied primacy". The narrator fears the day on which the island reemerges from the ocean, since he has realized the fragile nature of the reign of humankind on Earth and that humans are not at the center of existence. This fear suggests the central theme of "the nature of self-knowledge".

Schultz points out that contrary to later narratives, the protagonist and narrator of "Dagon" is isolated from the rest of humanity, as he sees the gigantic fish-like humanoid creature alone on an isolated island and writes his memoirs on the events locked in a room (Schultz 2011, 213). The unreliable narration of early stories (Schultz 2011, 223) is also present in "Dagon": the narrator confessed that he used morphine to ease the dread caused by his memories of the events on the island (thus the theme of "merciful ignorance" also emerges). The implication of suicide at the end of the story further emphasizes the unstable nature of the narrator.

Burleson states that the title of "The Statement of Randolph Carter" already hints at the ambiguous nature of the plot, as it does not refer to the actual happenings of the story, but highlights the fact that the narrative is told by Randolph Carter (Burleson 2009, 19). Carter's reference to police investigations further strengthens his unreliability, as detectives and officers have not found anything that would verify his statements.

In this story, the theme of the "key and gateway" unleashes indescribable horrors upon the characters. Randolph Carter's friend, Harley Warren, is well-read in occult literature and possesses a mysterious key that opens a portal in an ancient cemetery and he invites Carter to explore its mysteries together. As Warren encounters "the *thing*" (Lovecraft 1999, 10) behind the gates, he states that what he is seeing is *"terrible—monstrous—unbelievable", "too utterly beyond thought",* and *"no man could know it and live"* (Lovecraft 1999, 11). When Carter hears the voice of "the *thing",* he gives a description in the form of a question to the officers, with extreme "adjectivalism". When trying to describe the voice he heard, he lists the following adjectives: "deep; hollow; gelatinous; remote; unearthly; inhuman; disembodied" (Lovecraft 1999, 13). Both descriptions emphasize the otherworldliness of the weird entity. Its extraordinary nature and the fact that it seems supernatural in the light of the plot rather than an extension of the laws of nature are in line with the typical approach of Lovecraft's earlier narratives.

The notion that the existence of a weird entity does not defy the rules of nature can be observed in Lovecraft's "From Beyond", which pays a lot of attention to "the theme of illusory surface appearances". An unnamed narrator tells the story of a dreadful meeting with a former colleague, called Crawford Tillinghast. Tillinghast is in horrible shape at the time of the events of the story, and the narrator also notes that his servants have vanished from his house. Tillinghast contacted the narrator in order to inform him about his great scientific breakthrough. He built a machine that reactivates the pineal gland in the human brain, which is a dormant sensory organ. After Tillinghast switched on the machine, the narrator first sees ultraviolet rays, then realms beyond the material world and finally, he starts to see jelly-fishlike creatures floating in the air. Near the end of the story, Tillinghast informs the narrator that there are even more horrible entities in this newly discovered realm and that these absorbed all

his servants. Tillinghast emphasizes their weirdness as he states that "they come out of places where aesthetic standards are—*very different*" (Lovecraft 2005, 29) and the narrator's frantic reaction to Tillinghast's remark that one is "just over" his "left shoulder" (Lovecraft 2005, 29) further strengthens the notion of their terrible, indescribable nature. The narrator shoots at the machine and faints. After he wakes up, investigators explain that Tillinghast died in a heart attack, and they think that he murdered his servants. The doctors who examine the narrator state that the he was hypnotized. The theme of "merciful ignorance" emerges as the narrator wishes he could believe the doctors and the officers but since the bodies of the servants were never found, he doubts the rational explanation of the investigators.

Tillinghast's statement, "space belongs to me" (Lovecraft 2005, 29), suggests the "hubris theme" in connection with "the theme of forbidden knowledge", as the statement strongly implies that he feels empowered by the fact that he discovered new realms of existence. Yet, a simple heart attack kills him at the end of the story, which was possibly caused by his shock of hearing the loud noises made by the narrator's gun while he was shooting.

In discussing the aftermath of these events, the narrator refers to certain newspaper articles. S. T. Joshi points out that in many cases the story refers to existing locations and family names (Joshi 2009, 405–407), placing it in a world similar to the one we live in in almost every aspect, except for the fantastical element.

Lovecraft's "The Outsider", with its nightmarish storytelling, is the direct opposite of "From Beyond". The nameless narrator's latest memory is that he found himself in the ruins of an old castle surrounded by impenetrable, dark woods; he has no recollection of his identity and has only faint memories of human beings. He had never seen sunlight before the events of the story, as the trees grew way above the castle. Only one tower was tall enough to reach beyond the trees, which he climbs to finally catch a glimpse of what is above the forest. After the climb, he enters a ball, where people stare in his direction in horror and then start to flee. The Outsider learns that he has been dead for a long time and somehow he returned to life. The story deals with the theme of "the survival of the ancient in the modern times" through the character of the Outsider, and the theme of "the nature of self-knowledge", as the Outsider learns the truth about his horrible identity.

4. The Precursors of Lovecraft

"Ligeia" is among Edgar Allan Poe's most well-known supernatural gothic stories. Lovecraft's early narratives show many similarities with it, proving that they are heavily reliant on Poe's artistry; however, they also show some features that are not present in Poe's aesthetics. Most characteristics of the story-telling of weird fiction narratives listed by Miéville and some of the thematic concerns of Lovecraft noted by Schultz and Burleson are present in "Ligeia".

Like the weird fiction narratives written between 1880 and 1940, "Ligeia" also focuses on the dreadful atmosphere of the story, giving long descriptions of the strange, ghost-like features of Lady Ligeia and of the gruesome details of the building where the narrator moved with his second wife; however, it is important to note that the story does not use the "adjectivalism" of later weird fiction narratives. The reason for this is that even though "Ligeia" features events and beings that are out of the ordinary (the figure of Lady Ligeia could be seen as a ghost, while the ending could be interpreted as the possession of Lady Rowena's body by Ligeia), these were already present in European folklore and Christian mythology. Miéville highlights that the tentacle became the most iconic body part of weird creatures, because it has never or only rarely been used in constructing fictional beings before. Weird fiction narratives feature events and

beings that would not only be out of the ordinary in reality, but that are also unprecedented in any fiction written before (Miéville 2009, 512) and there is no such element in Poe's story.

The story of "Ligeia" is told in the first person by the opium-addict main character, whose presence makes the narrative ambiguous, leaving room for multiple interpretations. As reality is hardly distinguishable from hallucinations, his point of view is connected to "the theme of oneiric objectivism". The figure of the unreliable narrator is also present in Lovecraft's early tales, as in many cases it is suggested that the narrators were victims of paranoia, hallucinations or hypnotization.

A common thematic concern of "Ligeia" and Lovecraft's narratives is "the theme of unwholesome survival"; however, whether it merely features the theme of "revivification of the dead" or together with "the survival of the ancient in the modern times" depends on interpretation. If we interpret Lady Ligeia as a ghost from the beginning of the narrative (this would explain her ghoulish appearance), then it features the theme of "the survival of the ancient in the modern times". On the other hand, if we accept the narrator's memories of her death as true, and it was him who poisoned Lady Rowena, then the story ends in the "revivification of the dead".

Another overlapping theme of "Ligeia" and Lovecraft's tales is "the theme of forbidden knowledge". However, contrary to some early Lovecraft stories, such as "Dagon", "Ligeia" does not include the notion of "merciful ignorance". It is either the narrator or Ligeia who uses the results of her metaphysical studies for selfish reasons. If it is the narrator who poisoned Lady Rowena, his goal was to reanimate Ligeia, while if the perpetrator was Ligeia, she wanted to return from the unknown to the material world. In either case, the act defies the rules of nature, as the story does not connect the forbidden knowledge possessed by Ligeia to contemporary sciences. This suggests that the forbidden knowledge is not something that is incomprehensible to human beings, but something immoral to possess, as its possessor is able to defy the rules of the material world. Therefore, these characters do not wish to forget their hard-won knowledge. This notion is in line with the "hubris theme" found in Lovecraft's early tales. Herbert West and Crawford Tillinghast have done their research in order to satisfy their curiosity, and Dr. Muñoz in "Cool Air" intended to escape death. However, Poe's story uses the "the theme of forbidden knowledge" in a manner that cannot be found in Lovecraft's oeuvre.

Jules Zanger, when discussing the nature of forbidden knowledge in several of Poe's narratives, concludes that it is connected to the central theme of Poe's work, which is the theme of human mortality (Zanger 1978, 542). Interestingly, while some of Lovecraft's early characters, such as Herbert West and Dr. Muñoz, fought against mortality, this theme of the fear of death and the realization of human mortality are not central in these stories. Poe's central theme is different from Lovecraft's central theme of "the nature of self-knowledge", and this proves Burleson's argument regarding Lovecraft's early narratives: even though these stories are heavily reliant on Poe's aesthetics, there is still something distinctively Lovecraftian at their core.

However, it was not only Poe who had an immense effect on Lovecraft's artistic vision. When the narrator saw drops of poison fall into Lady Rowena's drink in "Ligeia", along with "the theme of oneiric objectivism", "the theme of illusory surface appearances" also emerges, as the reader begins to question which parts of the story were true and which parts were opium-induced hallucinations. These themes resurface at the end, when another unnatural event, Lady Ligeia's return, takes place. However, Poe does not seem to suggest the existence of another disturbing reality masked by the world as constructed by human senses. This is the main concern of Arthur Machen's "The Great God Pan".

In the beginning of first chapter of "The Great God Pan", Dr. Raymond explains his new findings to his friend, Clarke. He refers to the material world as nothing "but dreams and

shadows" and states that "[t]here *is* a real world" (Machen 2018, 10); however it could only be reached by surpassing the limitations of human perception. In order to make the crossing possible, he performs an experiment on his wife. He believes that by making an extremely small cut in the tissue of her brain, she will see "the great god Pan" (Machen 2018, 10). The experiment proves to be successful, as after her waking Mary opened her eyes and "wonder fell upon her face" (Machen 2018, 15). Seconds later it turned into "the most awful terror" (Machen 2018, 15) and she was left in a catatonic state. Dr. Raymond explains that the sight was too much for her.

The scientists in Lovecraft's early narratives show similarities with the figure of Dr. Raymond; however, this type of character is not Machen's own; its presence in horror narratives could be traced back to Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus* (1818). Similarly to Victor Frankenstein, Dr. Raymond, Herbert West, Crawford Tillinghast and Dr. Muñoz all use science without any moral concerns. Despite the similarities, the "hubris theme" is not applicable to Dr. Raymond's use of forbidden knowledge, since he does not receive the punishment fitting his crime. While Frankenstein aimed to make a contribution to mankind with his findings, Dr. Raymond, Tillinghast and Herbert West used science only to satisfy their thirst for knowledge and Dr. Muñoz used it to gain a kind of immortality.

The presence of "amoral" knowledge is questionable in the case of "The Great God Pan". On the one hand, it is explained in the story that Mary's catatonic state was a product of her immense shock caused by the sight of realms and beings vastly different from the material world. On the other hand, the reader also learns that Mary was raped and impregnated by a being from the other side and the offspring of this union, Helen Vaughan, is actively hostile towards humans. James Goho calls attention to Machen's distaste of "modernity [...], atheism [...], materialism, and science" (Goho 2014, 28), which strongly suggests that Machen intended his story to be read as a cautionary tale about the dangers of modern sciences, as the otherworldly is reached through neuroscience. This notion, however, makes the weird not supernatural, but the extension of natural laws, which is similar to Lovecraft's aim with the depiction of fantastical elements of his stories. Goho also highlights the gnostic worldview of Machen's tales, stating that in his weird stories "the world beyond is not sacred but evil" (Goho 2014, 30), which further weakens the possibility of the presence of "amoral" knowledge.

The theme of forbidden knowledge reemerges in the fragmented narration of the last chapter, overlapping with the theme of "antimythology". One of the fragments refers to an ancient ruin where there is a writing on a pillar referring to a marriage between a human being and a god named Nodens. While historians are clueless about what the writing actually means, in light of the previous events of the story, it could refer to similar events that happened in the past. Even though these events were believed to be mythical, they are ultimately proven to be real, which suggests that humankind is in the state of "merciful ignorance". This notion was later incorporated into a great number of Lovecraft's stories.

Editor Aaron Worth noticed several references to contemporary events, such as the Jack the Ripper murders, in Machen's story and also existing street and family names in London and in other locations (Worth 2018, 353–356). Machen, aside from the fantastical elements, depicted his fictional world as close to reality as possible. The same attention to realistic details can also be detected in several of Lovecraft's narratives.

Goho interprets Machen's story in a religious way, stating that it is about the coming of the Antichrist in the character of Helen Vaughan, in which case "the great god Pan" is Satan (Goho 2014, 35) (the mother's name is the same as the name of the mother of Christ). This gnostic vision of "The Great God Pan" is in opposition with the "cosmic outlook" of Lovecraft's later stories.

5. "The Call of Cthulhu" and Later Narratives

Lovecraft's "The Call of Cthulhu" is the turning-point of his writing career, where his style, distinct from Poe and Machen is finally fully developed. According to Burleson, the opening lines of the narrative already hint at the theme of forbidden knowledge and merciful ignorance (Burleson 2011, 145), while Schultz claims that they emphasize the narrator's feeling of "responsibility to his fellow human beings" (Schultz 2011, 219). Burleson connects the mentioning of "terrifying vistas of reality" (Lovecraft 1999, 139), which become accessible with the forbidden knowledge, to "the theme of illusory surface appearances". In the second paragraph, "the theme of unwholesome survival" or the theme of "the survival of the ancient in the modern times", emerges, and it is also suggested that the dread of the narrator does not originate in a single event, but in the "accidental piecing together of separated things" (Lovecraft 1999, 140). The themes and motifs introduced here are all connected to the central theme of "the nature of self-knowledge", the theme of "cosmic 'outsidedness'", or the themes of "the relative unimportance of humans [...] when seen from a cosmic point of view" and "the loss of, change in, or transposition of identity", as the narrator believes that the forbidden knowledge discussed in the story could lead to humankind's realization of the meaninglessness of their actions in the grand scheme of existence. He also implies that this realization could lead to the collective madness of humanity.

The narrator, Francis Wayland Thurston, claims that the chain of events leading to his dreadful realization began when he inherited certain documents from his late grand-uncle, Professor George Gammell Angell. Along the documents was a box, which contained seemingly unrelated newspaper articles, accounts, a manuscript and a bas-relief. The theme of "oneiric objectivism" also appears in the story since Thurston learns from the manuscript that the bas-relief was made by an artist who saw the strange model of the statue in his dreams. Similar pieces were found in the possession of unrelated primitive tribes, who worshipped the alien figure as a god-like being all around the globe.

By further investigating the strange connections discussed in the documents, Thurston acquires another manuscript, written by a sailor named Gustaf Johansen. This narrative reveals that the alien being, named Cthulhu, seen in dreams by many people and worshipped by several tribes, is actually a living being. This revelation can be connected to the theme of "anti-mythology", as at that point the existence of the alien, prevously believed to be a mythological, fictional being by anthropologists, is finally proven.

Cthulhu's material appearance is wholly alien to humans: the bas-relief of Cthulhu portrays a "pulpy, tentacled head surmounted a grotesque and scaly body with rudimentary wings" (Lovecraft 1999, 141), while Johansen's manuscript suggested that Cthulhu "cannot be described—there is no language for [...] such eldritch contradictions of all matter, force, and cosmic order" (Lovecraft 1999, 167). Thurston's statement that "[t]he stars were right again, and what an age-old cult had failed to do by design, a band of innocent sailors had done by accident" (Lovecraft 1999, 167) suggests that Cthulhu is not a malevolent being invading people's dreams in order to gain followers, but that it is a mere accident that some people were able to sense it in their dreams. Even the place where Cthulhu is waiting surpasses human comprehension, and evokes "the theme of illusory surface appearances" with its complicated geometry. For example Johansen mentions "an angle which was acute, but behaved as if it were obtuse" (Lovecraft 1999, 167).

Joshi convincingly argues that the forbidden knowledge is "amoral" in "The Call of Cthulhu", since nobody gains anything from the terrible revelation; it simply cannot be used by human beings. The collective madness it could cause does not come from its malevolence but

from the fact that the human mind is not capable of dealing with such knowledge. Therefore, the "hubris theme" does not apply in this case, which proves that "The Call of Cthulhu" is an outstanding narrative. (Joshi 2014, 113)

Even more incomprehensible and indescribable are the horrors in "The Colour Out of Space", in which the weird entity's physical manifestation is nothing more than a distinctive colour, which is "unlike any known colours of the normal spectrum" (Lovecraft 1999, 175). The entity arrives in a meteorite from outer space. The substance of the meteorite disappears after its arrival, but its glowing colour, which turns out to be a living entity, stays for a longer period of time on the land where it crashed into Earth. The Colour feeds on the beings living in a farmstead until nothing remains of them but "[f]ive eldritch acres of dusty grey desert" (Lovecraft 1999, 197). At the end of the narrative, people see it leaving the farm and it is described as a "riot of luminous amorphousness", which is also "undimensioned" (Lovecraft 1999, 196), emphasizing the alien nature of the entity.

As the old man, who tells the narrator the story of the Colour, and some other people watch the entity going up into the sky, they are left with a forbidden knowledge which is different from the forbidden knowledge appearing in the early tales of Lovecraft. Joshi states that in tales like "The Colour Out of Space" and "The Call of Cthulhu", Lovecraft expresses his standpoint that it is better to stay in a state of merciful ignorance if there is something out in the world endangering humanity about which nothing can be done (Joshi 2014, 113).

However, in some stories the narrators' judgement on the possible outcome of events in light of their newly gained knowledge leads them to record their knowledge to inform humanity about certain dangers. Such is the case in the novella entitled *At the Mountains of Madness,* in which Professor William Dyer reports his experiences regarding his expedition to Antarctica in order to reveal the dangers hiding on the continent and to dissuade other explorers from further examinations.

After a short separation from the main group of explorers, Professor Lake and his colleagues find several specimens of a prehistoric species unknown to humankind; among them many were unharmed. They report their findings to the main group led by Professor Dyer; however, after a while they lose contact with Dyer's group. When the main group travelled to the location where Professor Lake and his men examined the bodies, a horrific scene awaits them. With one exception Professor Lake's men are all murdered, the damaged specimens of the ancient race are buried and the unharmed specimens vanished from sight.

The theme of "antimythology" emerges in the story as the research group names the newly found race the Elder Things since they heavily resemble mythical creatures of the same name (the source of these myths will be discussed later). Later the researchers realize that the murders were not committed by the missing man from Professor Lake's group, but by the unharmed specimens of the Elder Things. However, Professor Dyer does not consider their actions as aggression towards humanity, but as acts of self-defence: "what had they done that we would not have done in their place?" (Lovecraft 2001, 330). The Elder Things are not depicted as malevolent creatures but as entities of "another age and another order of being" (Lovecraft 2001, 330). This notion places the story in an amoral universe, which is a key feature of Lovecraftian narratives (Joshi 2014, 114). If we look at the events from a more objective perspective, the murder of the research group shifts from being a horrendous crime to a tragic event for both the research group and the Elder Things, because the alien beings wake up only to realize that their species left the cities in which they originally lived and probably their whole race were eradicated.

Professor Dyer does not refer to the surviving specimens of the Elder Things as the dangers awaiting the explorers of Antarctica. The professor and another explorer found and entered the

Antarctic city of the Elder Things where they found carvings and bas-reliefs on the walls. From these artworks, they learned that the Elder Things created a life-form on earth which the narrator named the "shoggoths" (Lovecraft 2002, 300), after the mythical creatures found in the *Necronomicon*. Originally, the shoggoths were made to serve the Elder Things; however, with time some of them rebelled and started a war against the Elder Things. Professor Dyer and his collegue found the corpses of the Elder Things that escaped from Professor Lake's camp and they were murdered in the same manner as the shoggoths killed their enemies during the war. Not long after, the two men encountered a living shoggoth.

Joshi states that Professor Dyer's main concern goes beyond his anxiety caused by the newly gained forbidden knowledge about the insignificance of humankind. He feels that it is his duty to stop explorers before they accidentally let loose a shoggoth to prey on humanity (Joshi 2014, 112). Apart from the shoggoths still living in the ruins of the ancient Antarctic city, there is something even more dangerous in the mountains. Even the Elder Things did not fully understand this *thing,* and when Danforth (who explored the city of the Elder Things along with Professor Dyer) sees it at the end of the narrative, he goes mad in an instant. This suggests that the *thing* in the mountains is something utterly alien and weird, and it should not be uncovered by human beings because our mind is incapable of comprehending it.

The revelation that there are still living shoggoths in the Antarctic cities and that the Elder Things were roused from their sleep while being subjected to various forms of examinations is connected to "the theme of unwholesome survival", while the fact that the Elder Things came to Earth long before the dawn of humankind is an example for "the theme of denied primacy" in the story. The emotional impact reaches its climax when it is revealed that all living organisms known to humans are derived from entities created by the Elder Things and the ones from which humans developed were made to serve as food for their creators. Thus, the above mentioned themes are also connected to the central theme of "the nature of self-knowledge".

Throughout the novel, many references are made to Lovecraft's other narratives. As Professor Dyer and Danforth study the history of the Elder Things, it is revealed that the Elder Things fought against the Mi-Go race, which first appeared in *The Whisperer in Darkness,* and the spawn of Cthulhu (the Great Old Ones), which implies that the creature encountered by Johansen in "The Call of Cthulhu" is only one member of a whole race. When Danforth catches a glimpse of the *thing* in the mountains and begins to speak incoherently, he refers to Yog-Sothoth, which was mentioned in *The Case of Charles Dexter Ward* and "The Dunwich Horror" and he also refers to the colour out of space, which appears in the narrative of the same name. The narrator first learned of the Elder Things from the *Necronomicon,* a book that appears in many Lovecraft stories. Professor Dyer himself later reappeared in *The Shadow out of Time*.

In *The Shadow out of Time* the narrator, Professor Nathaniel Wingate Peaslee, learns that the strange dreams he sees night after night are actually his own memories of things he experienced in a different body while the original possessor of that body learnt about humankind, disguised in Peaslee's body. The being that exchanged bodies with the Professor was a member of the Great Race of Yith, an alien species resembling both plants and animals, which was able to project its consciousness through time and space and collected knowledge on various civilizations that existed, exist or will exist in the universe. The Great Race of Yith is in no way malignant towards other species, as the specimens of other races with which the members of the Great Race exchanged bodies were allowed to explore their cities in their temporary bodies and gain knowledge from the vast libraries of the Yithians. The concept that the weird experiences of the protagonist were not the result of malignancy or benevolence, but simply of another race's thirst for knowledge places the story in an amoral universe.

From the narration we learn that the members of the Great Race projected their consciousness into the bodies of another race in order to save their civilization when their home planet was destroyed. The body which was temporarily inhabited by the narrator was actually not a Yithian body but a prehistoric terrestrial body, which is of a race more ancient than humanity. This idea calls to mind "the theme of denied primacy".

Traces of the theme of "antimythology" can be detected when Professor Peaslee suggests that certain parts of the *Necronomicon* were likely inspired by the accounts of people who, similarly to him, had memories of exchanging bodies with a Yithian creature. When his consciousness was projected into the past, the Professor met several human beings from past and future civilizations with whom members of the Great Race exchanged bodies. He also met captives from other alien civilizations, including members of the Elder Things.

The intertextual references of the narrative extend beyond Lovecraft's oeuvre, as the narrator states that he also met three members of "the furry pre-human Hyperborean worshippers of Tsathoggua" and "one from the wholly abominable Tcho-Tchos" (Lovecraft 2005, 359), referring to works of Clark Ashton Smith and August Derleth. Along with the *Necronomicon,* he also mentions other fictional works, used in the narratives of Robert Bloch *(Cultes des Goules, De Vermis Mysteriis),* Robert E. Howard *(Unaussprechlichen Kulten)* and Clark Ashton Smith *(Book of Eibon).*

When *The Shadow out of Time* was written, the many connections between Lovecraft's and other writers' stories clearly suggested that these narratives take place in the same fictional universe. However, it is important to mention that the "Cthulhu mythos" as depicted in board games and other products of contemporary pop culture, is not faithful to the original intentions of Lovecraft's world-building. These products depict the Great Old Ones as malevolent entities, primarily aiming to destroy humanity and are founded upon the concept of the duality of good and evil. Joshi states that this notion comes from August Derleth's interpretation of Lovecraft's oeuvre, which is based on Christianity. This is in opposition to Lovecraft's intentions, which were rooted in his materialistic philosophy (Joshi 2014, 601).

In *The Shadow out of Time,* the narrator discovered fragments of information regarding the "utterly alien" (Lovecraft 2005, 364) nature of the Great Old Ones. Professor Peaslee states that "[t]hey were only partly material—as we understand matter" (Lovecraft 2005, 364), highlighting the inadequacy of human languages and raising the question whether words can describe *everything* within the boundaries of existence. He further adds that "their type of consciousness and media of perception differed wholly from those of terrestrial organisms" (Lovecraft 2005, 364) to emphasize the vast difference between human beings and the Great Old Ones. To further explain their weirdness, he claims that "their senses did not include that of sight; their mental world being a strange, non-visual pattern of impressions" (Lovecraft 2005, 364). This characeristic of the Great Old Ones is connected to "the theme of illusory surface appearances", as it suggests that the world as we know it is only an interpretation of reality made by our mind and not reality itself. These lines might be the most ambitious use of this theme in Lovecraft's oeuvre as they not only suggest that there is more to the world than what human perception is able to process, but question the concept itself by which the human brain understands reality mentally (colours, shapes, sounds, smells, tastes, etc.). The notion that the Great Old Ones interpret reality in a wholly different manner, which is unimaginable to human beings, further emphasizes their "amoral" nature, which has already been explored in "The Call of Cthulhu". The war between the Great Old Ones, the Great Race of Yith and the Elder Things was not a battle between good and evil, but a battle between three completely different races, all of them fighting for survival. The narrative not only strengthens their amoral nature in describing this war, but also strips the Great Old Ones of their godly status (given by human beings in "The

Call of Cthulhu") as the narrator learns that they were temporarily defeated with electricity by the Yithians. Consequently, the peril of their awakening does not lie in their malignancy but in their territorial needs. Humanity appears to them as ants appear to humans. They are not hateful towards us, but they do not welcome other species in the areas they claim as their own (in this case Earth).

In order to decide whether he was suffering from a mental breakdown or he has real memories of visiting a prehistoric civilization, Professor Peaslee visits an archaeological excavation in Australia, where he was invited by the head of the research group, Robert B. F. Mackenzie. He read about Professor Peaslee's visions of ancient cities in psychological journals and saw connections between the ruins, the legends of the aboriginal Australians and Peaslee's account of the strange dreams he saw.

As professor Peaslee, together with his son and Professor Dyer, travels to Australia, he realizes that his dreams are real memories. In the ruins he finds a text written in his own handwriting and he hears a voice which is highly reminiscent of the voices of the Great Old Ones as described in the various accounts on them. The problem is that these events happened while he was isolated from the rest of the group and he lost the text on his way back to the camp. Peaslee's account of his frantic escape from the ruins as he heard the voice of the Great Old Ones further questions the reliability of the narration as he states that "[a]ny further impressions belong wholly to the domain of phantasmagoric delirium" (Lovecraft 2005, 393).

It is important to note that similarly to Francis Wayland Thurston and Professor Dyer, Professor Peaslee is responsible not only for himself but his actions could also have an impact on the whole planet. The forbidden knowledge he gained carries horrible revelation both for himself and for the rest of humanity, and it is his responsibility to stop the excavation in Australia since its continuation could release the Great Old Ones from their prison.

6. Conclusion

Lovecraft's earlier and later narratives share many thematic concerns; however, most of the time they utilize them differently. The central theme of the nature of self-knowledge appears on the level of the individual in his early narratives, which are heavily reliant on Poe's aesthetics and narrative strategies. The realization of the narrator of "The Outsider" is only his concern, as the rest of humanity is not affected by the fact that he has died a long time before the events of the story. In other early narratives, such as "Cool Air", "Herbert West—Reanimator", "The Statement of Randolph Carter" and "From Beyond", the forbidden knowledge is dangerous for anyone who intends to use it; however, humanity is safe from the perils depicted in these narratives as long as they do not try to use this knowledge for their own selfish reasons. The knowledge gained by the narrator of "Dagon" could influence humankind, but similarly to other early narratives, it is strongly suggested that he is a victim of a kind of hallucination.

The theme of madness, or the unreliability of narration, is more pronounced in Lovecraft's early tales compared to his later narratives. In that regard, "The Outsider" is not comparable to other stories, as its textual world resembles that of nightmares and not our reality. In the case of "Herbert West—Reanimator", "The Statement of Randolph Carter", "From Beyond" and "Dagon", the question of whether the happenings discussed by the narrators are real or not is unresolved. In "From Beyond" it is suggested that the narrator was hypnotized, while in the other three stories it cannot be clearly decided if they are mad or sane. Among the early tales analysed in this thesis, "Cool Air" is the only exception regarding the theme of madness as other people were also witnesses of the horror described in the story together with the narrator.

Isolation is a key term in discussing the credibility of Lovecraft's narrators, as the four unreliable narrators discussed previously all experienced weird events or saw weird entities alone (or their companion died). In "The Call of Cthulhu", Francis Wayland Thurston examines different accounts of various professionals, including professors and detectives, which are all connected to one phenomenon: an alien being hiding somewhere in the oceans of the Earth. Throughout the events of *At the Mountains of Madness*, the credibility of Professor Dyer's account is not only strengthened by the fact that he was surrounded by other professionals, but also by the fact that his account could be connected to both Thurston's and Professor Peaslee's memoirs. Professor Peaslee, with psychologists and archaeologists on his side, questions the realness of his memories with scientific methods and suggests the possibility that they might be the products of some kind of a temporary psychosis; however, the researchers cannot deny the existence of the Great Race and the Great Old Ones on Earth in prehistoric times. The only point in *The Shadow out of Time* when the narrator's account can be considered unreliable is when he is isolated from the rest of the research group.

It is also important to emphasize that the "hubris theme" of early tales is absent from later narratives. Instead, these present the forbidden knowledge as "amoral", meaning that it does not serve selfish purposes: it does not defy the rules of nature (only the ones created by human beings to describe nature as they comprehend it), nor does it bring actively malevolent forces towards humanity. (Joshi 2014)

What differentiates Lovecraft's later narratives from his early tales and the works of Poe and Machen is the amorality of the world depicted in them. Contrary to Machen's gnostic view in "The Great God Pan", where the entity hiding behind the world of human beings brings punishment to humans for entering its realm, or to Poe's evil Ligeia, who intends to reenter the material world at the cost of a human life, the Great Old Ones are simply members of an alien species that tries to survive in the cosmos in the same manner as humanity. The moral values of humankind are non-existent for them. The rules defied by their existence were created by human beings.

With this notion, Lovecraft's materialistic philosophy is fully represented in his later narratives, distinguishing his vision and artistry from that of Poe and Machen. While the influence of his precursors is still detectable in these later, distinctively Lovecraftian stories, he was able to bring something into them which was clearly a part of his identity: his attitude towards modern sciences (the notion that there is no danger in knowledge itself, only in the way how humanity uses it) and his materialistic interpretation of the human condition. Through his changing of the style of other writers, the effects of these narratives also changed. As Zanger stated, the main concern of "Ligeia" (and several other narratives of Poe) is the tragic nature of mortal human life (Zanger 1978, 542), while Machen expressed his anxieties regarding the advancement of sciences and the possible disaster it could lead to in his stories. Lovecraft, on the other hand, focused both on existential dread and awe as modern sciences continued to shed more and more light on the secrets of the cosmos. In Lovecraft's materialistic worldview humankind has to face what Burleson termed as "the nature of selfknowledge", as they satisfy their thirst for knowledge. Redefining one's place and identity in the grand scheme of things is a painful process; however, it is not the product of the malevolence of the universe, it is the price humankind has to pay to experience awe or the sublime.

However, in later narratives it is suggested that merciful ignorance is preferable when there are obvious threats to humanity. Joshi states that this is also the case when the knowledge concerns humankind's indefensible position against a certain entity, as in the case of "The Colour out of Space", as "it is better to preserve the illusion of our safety" (Joshi 2014, 113). Professor Dyer in *At the Mountains of Madness* intended his memoir to serve as a warning to humanity, and

so did Professor Peaslee in *The Shadow out of Time*. Thurston in "The Call of Cthulhu" felt that it was his responsibility to save the rest of mankind from the horrible revelation he had, so he locked away his writing. Later narrators of Lovecraft deeply care about the fate of humanity, while the early narrators tend to focus only on their own suffering (Schultz 2011, 219).

In conclusion, there are three main traits of Lovecraftian narratives. The first one is the presence of Lovecraft's materialistic worldview, which places the narrative in an amoral world, where humanity is not at the center of the universe but only one of the many species trying to survive in the cosmos. Connected to this concept, the second trait is the way the theme of forbidden knowledge is used. Generally, forbidden knowledge is morally wrong in horror narratives, as its use always brings punishment to the user by a higher power. In Lovecraft's stories, the forbidden knowledge is amoral, it does not defy the rules of nature, only the ones that are human constructs, and it forces humanity to redefine them. The third feature is the figure of the narrator. First-person narrators are all unreliable to a certain extent; however, in later Lovecraftian stories, the involvement of professionals, or their accounts, and their sceptic approach maximize their credibility. It is also important to note that his narrators are not wallowing in their sufferings. They take steps to prevent any catastrophes whenever it is possible, and when it is not, they carefully consider the question of whether it would be beneficial to share their knowledge with humanity or not. My aim in the present thesis was to highlight those characteristics of Lovecraft's later narratives (considered as classics of weird fiction), which clearly distinguish them both from the tales of his predecessors and from his early narratives heavily influenced by them.

References

Primary Sources

Lovecraft, H. P. 2002. "At the Mountains of Madness." In *The Thing on the Doorstep and Other Weird Stories*, edited by S. T. Joshi, 246–340. London, UK: Penguin Books.

Lovecraft, H. P. 2002. "The Call of Cthulhu." In *The Call of Cthulhu and Other Weird Stories*, edited by S. T. Joshi, 139–169. London, UK: Penguin Books.

Lovecraft, H. P. 2002. "The Statement of Randolph Carter." In *The Call of Cthulhu and Other Weird Stories*, edited by S. T. Joshi, 7–13. London, UK: Penguin Books.

Lovecraft, H. P. 2005. "From Beyond." In *The Dreams in the Witch House and Other Weird Stories*, edited by S. T. Joshi, 23–29. London, UK: Penguin Books.

Lovecraft, H. P. 2005. "The Shadow out of Time." In *The Dreams in the Witch House and Other Weird Stories*, edited by S. T. Joshi, 335–395. London, UK: Penguin Books.

Machen, Arthur. 2019. "The Great God Pan." In *The Great God Pan and Other Horror Stories*, edited by Aaron Worth, 9–54. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Secondary Sources

Burleson, Donald R. 2009. "'The Statement of Randolph Carter'."In *Lovecraft: Disturbing the Universe*, 17–27. Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky.

Burleson, Donald R. 2011. "On Lovecraft's Themes: Touching the Glass." In *An Epicure in the Terrible: A Centennial Anthology of Essays in Honor of H. P. Lovecraft*, edited by David E. Schultz and S. T. Joshi, 139–153. New York, NY: Hippocampus Press.

Cardin, Matt. 2007. "The Master's Eyes Shining with Secrets: H. P. Lovecraft's Influence on Thomas Ligotti." *Lovecraft Annual* no.1: 94–125.

Goho, James. 2014. "Suffering and Evil in the Short Fiction of Arthur Machen." in *Journeys into Darkness*, 27–55. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield. PDF.

Joshi, S. T. 2005. "Explanatory Notes." In *The Dreams in the Witch House and Other Weird Stories*, edited by S. T. Joshi, 397–453. London, UK: Penguin Books.

Joshi, S. T. 2014. "'Reality' and Knowledge: Some Notes on Lovecraft's Aesthetic." In *Lovecraft and a World in Transition: Collected Essays on H. P. Lovecraft*, edited by S. T. Joshi, 105–114. New York, NY: Hippocampus Press.

Joshi, S. T. 2014. "The Cthulhu Mythos." In *Lovecraft and a World in Transition: Collected Essays on H. P. Lovecraft*, edited by S. T. Joshi, 585–615. New York, NY: Hippocampus Press.

Joshi, S. T. 2018. "Why Michel Houellebecq Is Wrong about Lovecraft's Racism." *Lovecraft Annual* no.12: 43–50.

Miéville, China. 2009. "Weird Fiction." In *The Routledge Companion to Science Fiction*, edited by Mark Bould, Andrew M. Butler, Adam Roberts and Sherryl Vint, 510–515. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Schultz, David E. 2011. "From Microcosm to Macrocosm: The Growth of Lovecraft's Cosmic Vision." In *An Epicure in the Terrible: A Centennial Anthology of Essays in Honor of H. P. Lovecraft*, edited by David E. Schultz and S. T. Joshi, 208–229. New York, NY: Hippocampus Press.

Weinstock, Jeffrey Andrew. 2016. "The New Weird." In *New Directions in Popular Fiction*, edited by Ken Gelder, 177–200. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Worth, Aaron. 2019. "Explanatory Notes." In *The Great God Pan and Other Horror Stories*, edited by Aaron Worth, 351–389. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Zanger, Jules. 1978. "Poe and the Theme of Forbidden Knowledge." *American Literature* 49, no. 4 (Jan): 533–543.

Zoltán Kocsis

Comparing Peter Shaffer's *Equus* and Harold Pinter's *The Birthday Party* through Psychoanalysis and the Theory of the Subject*

Abstract

Critical discussions of post-war British dramas do not usually select the two plays in my title for comparison, but my contention is that if we understand them as cultural practices that problematize the positions of human beings as subjects in society, these two dramas lend themselves to a valid and relevant comparative analysis. On its own, *Equus* is often analysed through psychoanalysis, but by comparing it to *The Birthday Party,* this analysis can be further crystallized. Therefore, in this paper, I compare Peter Shaffer's *Equus* and Harold Pinter's *The Birthday Party* in order to identify similarities and differences, which can be used to describe the inner conflicts of individuals who are represented as socially positioned subjects in post-war British society. I aim to use specifically the psychoanalytic approach to build the foundations of the analysis and connect the dramas through the theme of the inner pursuit of passion that is perhaps the most important common aspect they share. As a result, the plays, similarly to their contemporaries, propose the following question: can passion as a unique and authentic value stand in opposition to ideology and can it be a tool, a strategy to escape ideology? The poststructuralist theory of the subject will be the overarching theoretical framework of my investigation, which will enable me to show how both dramas throw light on how ideological technologies work to keep the protagonists of the plays in fixed subject positions.

1. Introduction

I structured this paper to move through four steps. First of all, the state and characteristics of post-war Britain will be explained, which serves as the basis for my claims regarding culture. Then, *The Birthday Party* is examined with a focus on its protagonist, Webber, along with *Equus,* and its dual protagonists, Dysart and Alan. The main thread of my argument revolves around these characters as heterogeneous, split subjects, and the healing mechanism that is applied by the mind to alleviate the effects of traumas. After a general analysis of the dramas, the seeking of passion as a constitutive activity of the mind is discussed. Finally, I argue that *The Birthday Party* and *Equus* complement each other, because through them, the social and ideological normalization process of society and the healing mechanism of the mind can be investigated from different perspectives. The results of the comparative contrasting of the dramas are explained in the final part. I also look at how the dramas work as a social critique, a cultural practice that helps the audience reach the core of their inner conflicts and gain a metaperspective upon their ideological embeddedness.

In order to carry out this comparative analysis, I rely on the theories of Freud regarding the complex nature of the psyche, that is, the interrelated structures of the Superego, the Ego, and the Id. In his endeavours, which led to the "Freudian revolution", Freud realised that the human being is a heterogeneous system, a split entity. This means that the subject's psyche has two modalities: the unconscious and the conscious. Psychoanalysis is an approach to explain the

* BA Thesis. Supervisor: Attila Kiss.

workings of the split subject, and the human being is understood to be formed by and through losses (Pope 2002, 96–101). As Freud explains, the Superego is the conscious level of the human mind that we are aware of, containing the social rules and laws that are controlling the subject. The Id is the unconscious level (inaccessible to the conscious), which hides the unacceptable sexual desires, instincts, fears (irrational fears included), violent motives, irrational wishes, selfish needs, immoral urges, shameful experiences, and imprints of traumas; which can break through into the conscious (Freud 1925, 177; Freud 1927, 1–66). The Ego is responsible for maintaining the communication and a balance between the two (Freud 1927, 1–66).

> The functional importance of the ego is manifested in the fact that, normally, control over the approaches to motility devolves upon it. Thus, in its relation to the id, [the ego] is like a man on horseback, who has to hold in check the superior strength of the horse; with this difference, that the rider tries to do so with his own strength, while the ego uses borrowed forces. The analogy may be carried a little further. Often, a rider, if he is not to be parted from his horse, is obliged to guide [the horse] where it wants to go; so, in the same way, the ego is in the habit of transforming the id's will into action, as if it were its own (Freud 1975, 19).

When Alan rides Nugget during the night, Shaffer describes the horse ritual scene (Shaffer 1993, 93–94) similarly to how Freud describes the function of the ego. Therefore, this quote gave the ground on which I constructed my psychoanalytical approach for *Equus* and then for *The Birthday Party*. The symbolism in Freud's works and both in Shaffer's and Pinter's plays are comparable and serve similar purposes.

However, for a better understanding of the workings of the mind, the healing mechanism and passion, the psychoanalytical approach can be integrated into the more comprehensive poststructuralist theory of subjectivity. Psychoanalysis is a foundational constituent of this complex theory, and it will be more revealing to approach the two protagonists and the socially productive dramas through the category of the subject.

In addition to psychoanalysis, I rely on the theory of subjectivity through the works of Attila Kiss and Annamária Hódosy. The theory of subjectivity builds on the merits of psychoanalysis (combined with post-Marxism and post-Saussurean semiology) and takes it several steps further into the postmodern (Kiss 2010, 11).

> [The theory of the] enunciated, [studies] the mechanical relationship between signifiers and signifieds, and it considers the subject as the controller of signification. The subject in this traditional semiotics is a self-enclosed unit which is in possession of the linguistic rules, and always stands hierarchically above the elements of meaning production, as a guarantee and origin of meaning and identity. In short, this tradition is grounded in the phenomenological abstraction of an ego which is the heritage of the Cartesian "cogito" (Kiss 2010, 11).

In *Equus* and *The Birthday Party* this notion of the sovereign, self-mastering subject is put to the test, when outside constraints and influences, such as propaganda and institutionalized social expectations, interfere in the process of subject-formation. As a result, the theories of the enunciated in relation to subjectivity are questioned, leading to the status of the protagonists as split subjects.

> Theories of enunciation, [...] investigate the constitution and production of the above elements of semiosis, which are no longer considered to be units or monads, but rather non-stable products in the heterogeneous signifying process (Kiss 2010, 11).

Kiss also argues that in the case of enunciation the subject is no longer alone in the meaning production process (2010, 11). This notion is supported in the dramas because in both cases there

are identifiable marks that lead us to the conclusion of naming the outside interference. Therefore, as Kiss states, this phenomenon is grounded in the relationship of language and hierarchy, alongside ambiguity (2010, 13–24).

Furthermore, I reference the works of Foucault (1980) and Althusser (2004) as well, in relation to ideology and values related to them. Their work is the foundation to view the plays as ideological processes. In addition, the theory of the Ideological State Apparatuses and the concept of power/knowledge support my claim regarding the modelling of the ideological processes in the plays. Moreover, based on Foucault (1980) and mainly on Althusser (2004) I propose that in connection to passion, ideology works as an opposing counter-force. In other words, passion in the dramas acts as an authentic and unique value, which is not yet claimed, muted, assimilated by ideology. Therefore, the general workings of ideology are also heavily present in the plays.

Finally, it is necessary to underline already here at the outset that it might of course be a question for further research whether passion is only of one sort, or there are several kinds of passions. This paper is not intended to answer this question. However, I acknowledge that there might be different forms or kinds of passion and, as it is explained in *The Passions: A Study of Human Nature*[1] written by Hacker, there is a wide range where passion could form or originate from, while another question is how it relates to emotions (2017, 3–37). For the argument to remain focused, throughout the paper I refer to the different passions as simply 'passion'.

2. Historical and Societal Background

In order to establish a view of the socio-historical context, the post-war state of Great Britain and its society has to be discussed and explained. As it is established and discussed by Jean-Francois Lyotard and Jürgen Habermas, the post-war period is a transition between modernity and postmodernity. Before and during this era, the heritage of the Enlightenment and the project of modernity (Habermas 1997, 1–38), which were the foundation of the grand narratives of Western culture and the fundamental truths (Lyotard 1984, 31–41), became evident to be unfinished and impossible projects to be achieved by humanity. The main reasons are that the grand narratives are unsettled, questioned, and deconstructed (Lyotard 1984, 31–41). The trauma of the two World Wars, the horrors of the Holocaust, the military adaptation of nuclear power that was threating with total extinction, and the ensuing Cold War opposed the grand narrative of the gradual self-perfection of society. In addition, the grand narrative of the technological, positivistic epistemology of modern science was opposed by the discoveries within the field of quantum-mechanics, Heisenberg's uncertainty principle and the realization of the limits of empirical observation. Moreover, we are still witnessing today the aftermath of the critical turn that initiated the questioning and opposing of the grand narrative of the self-mastery and self-perfection of the human being by the "Freudian revolution" and the emerging new poststructuralist theories of the heterogeneous and decentered subject (Habermas 1997, 1–38). As a result, within the post-war period, a crisis arose and society experienced uncertainty and a need for change, because the old aspirations and values were no longer reliable and operational. Therefore, a void is created within the individuals, because they lost many qualities that had been part of their civilized lives before. For instance, social security after the war years (which improved during the 1960s), and the values of the pre-war world were lost, the national identity and the myth of the superpower of the colonial empire were shattered and questioned. As a response to this inertia, crisis, and cultural vacuum, the dramas are foregrounding the idea of passion as

[1] For further reading regarding the topic of passion, see P. M. S. Hacker, *The Passions: A Study of Human Nature.* 1st edition. Oxford. John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2017.

something valuable and authentic against the artificial and materialistically constituted values of postindustrial consumerist society, as something productive against the deadlock of social stagnation. This notion is not explicitly addressed and named in the dramas, but it is present and embedded in the thematic and metaphorical structures of the two plays.

However, before moving on and discussing the dramas in detail, it is important to note that *The Birthday Party* was written in 1957 and *Equus* in 1973. Therefore, in 1973, for Peter Shaffer the social dilemmas and the crisis of the British society were more evident, while Harold Pinter was only looking in the shadows, trying to explain, or establish a generic, allegorical model for, the process of the rebirth and the normalization of the subject, but he did not elaborate on the actual reasons for them to occur. At the same time, the imprint of the historical and social processes are already present in Pinter's drama, which is discussed and detailed further within the paper – in *Equus*, Shaffer only extends and elaborates on these themes and ideas according to his own experience. Therefore, one of the most important socio-cultural aspects of the post-war period is the transition between the modern and the postmodern. Consequently, the authors reflected on the unstable and confused state of their world and the experience of the lack of passion in the postmodern.

Britishness and the place of Britain in the world were fundamentally questioned after the two World Wars, which led to the need of a new identity for the British people. Furthermore, (during the Cold War) the Suez Crisis and the Oil Crisis's aftermath dispelled British imperialist endeavours, where this heritage needed to be put to the rest. However, the British still kept the notion of being supreme to others in themselves. "For some there could be no doubt. Britain's place in the world was what it always had been" (Levin 1993, 389). On the contrary, decolonization sealed this struggle and that brought not only economic crisis, but also identity crisis. What does it mean to be British? What is our place in the world? Where is the source of our identity, and what is the relationship between us as individuals and the social system that surrounds us? Where is the passion that drives the future? These questions brought by the above mentioned two events are represented in *The Birthday Party* and in *Equus*, respectively.

Moving on to the dramas, I discuss them in chronological order, starting with *The Birthday Party,* followed by an analysis of *Equus*, before comparing them. Then, as a result of their comparison, a social criticism in relation to passion is drawn, which unites the two plays. This social criticism is also present in other plays written by Pinter and Shaffer during the same historical era. For example, the "one room" notion, which is the black mirror of the mind presented to society, as argued by Kirby is also present in Pinter's *The Room* (1978, 158–162) and as Cohn presents it, "simply 'A room'" in the *Caretaker* (1962, 56) written in 1957 and 1960, respectively. Also, the same theme appears in Shaffer's other plays, such as *The Royal Hunt of the Sun* written in 1964, which also approaches the lack of passion through religion (Stacy 1976, 325). Therefore, as I argue in the next two chapters and in my comparison, this paper serves to unite *The Birthday Party* and *Equus* through the same social criticism that they present to the audience in regards to passion and the social constitution of the subject.

3. *The Birthday Party* by Harold Pinter

As a key to understand Harold Pinter's *The Birthday Party,* I propose to interpret the text as an allegory of the human mind and to use the theme of the descent into the Id by the individual. As mentioned before, Freud's model about the human psyche can be described as an iceberg; it has three levels, the first being the Superego, which individuals are conscious about, the second level is the Ego and the third level is the Id, which resides deep in the unconscious (Freud 1925, 177–179). The Id is a psychic dimension where the Superego has no control and loses the

ability to decide what the person really desires and wants to do or not. This echoes with the main theme of *The Birthday Party*: the cavalcade of desires and inner mechanisms.

Harold Pinter's *The Birthday Party* is revolving around an uncertain event in an unknown place and during an undefined age. According to Ruby Cohn, Pinter often uses the characteristics of a fugitive seeking refuge as a model for his main characters (1962, 55–68). In addition, Pinter does not show any vision of the future in his play; instead, he turns inside and presents the audience with the great unknown, leaving us with only speculations of what the fate of Stanley could be.

Therefore, there are only hints within the drama as to the historical period and social environment, which would or could give a different dimension to the play. For example, McCann and Goldberg sometimes give hints about their Jewish heritage via impressions and words (Visser 1996, 330). It is also suggested that they were part of the Irish Republican Army[2]. It seems evident that they know Webber, however, there is no exact evidence for it. Seemingly, they hunt Webber for being a traitor or a collaborator (Visser 1996, 330). This initial setting is deeply emotional and force individuals to react, which gives the tone of the beginning of the post-war era in Britain that is haunted by the past and the losses of the people. These examples highlight the fact that Pinter based these features of the drama on his own experiences regarding the political situation in Europe. This idea is mostly supported by an interview with Pinter in 1988 made by Anna Ford, where the playwright reflected on his early dramas, including *The Birthday Party*. During this interview Pinter underlines that the political aspects of his plays are very important and within *The Birthday Party* it is the most evident during the interrogation scene, a carefully constructed dialogue – a form of communication – where the psyche is tortured by Goldberg and McCann, which scene was structured from his own fears (Ford 1988, Par. 1–2, quoted in Visser 1996, 329–330). Therefore, alongside the psychoanalytic analysis, it is critical to mention these aspects as well, because they help to draw the social aspects that affect the play and cannot under any circumstances be divided or discarded from it.

As a counter argument, Pinter's critics often claim that within his plays, he fails to communicate or his characters are failing at communication (Visser 1996, 339–340). However, I propose that this is a testament to Harold Pinter's ability to convey the characteristics of his environment, experience, and era. *The Birthday Party* is a play that is loaded with mystery and uncertainty on purpose. All of these feelings of uncertainty characterise and represent the atmosphere of the early post-war era within Britain, and they also lend the play a generalizing, allegorical nature. As Marinela Saraci-Terpollari argues, Pinter in his absurd drama translated and conveyed the essence of being at the border between existence and non-existence (2013, 384).

The Birthday Party is carefully constructed by Pinter so as to make it difficult to interpret – the deeper meaning is only suggested and hinted at (Visser 1996, 328). This sets the theme that the whole drama in fact takes place within the mind of someone unnamed. Furthermore, the different characters are either part of the same mind or they are the materialised presence of outside forces that try to affect the mind of this individual. In addition, as Saraci-Terpollari states, Pinter's play uses mystery, menace and humour alongside the specific use of language to reveal the state of isolation, the inability to listen and communicate, the feeling of emptiness and meaningless life, a state without passion, in order to invite the audience to create their own wide range of possible interpretations (2013, 388).

---

[2] Irish Republican Army (IRA) – In its political and military aims, one of the great threats to Britishness during the 20th century.

I propose that it is possible to interpret the drama in both negative and positive ways. On the one hand, the "negative" interpretation focuses on the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA)[3] or ideology in general and it will be metaphorical in the sense that the characters of McCann and Goldberg are seen as invaders. In this reading, the normalization process is initiated by the ISA and carried out by the invaders, as a result, Stanley is a victim: stripped of everything and reduced to a blank state.

> STANLEY *concentrates, his mouth opens, he attempts to speak, fails and emits sounds from his throat.* / STANLEY. Uh-gug... uh-gug... eeehhh-gag... *(On the breath.)* Caahh... caahh... / *They watch him. He draws a long breath which shudders down his body. He concentrates.* / GOLDBERG. Well, Stanny boy, what do you say, eh? / *They watch. He concentrates. His head lowers, his chin draws into his chest, he crouches.* / STANLEY. Ug-gughh ... uh-gughhh.... / MCCANN. What's your opinion, sir? / STANLEY. Caaahhh ... caaahhh.... / MCCANN. Mr Webber! What's your opinion? / GOLDBERG. What do you say, Stan? What do you think of the prospect? / MCCANN. What's your opinion of the prospect? / STANLEY'S *body shudders, relaxes, his head drops, he becomes still again, stooped.* PETEY *enters from door, downstage, left.* / GOLDBERG. Still the same old Stan. Come with us. Come on, boy. / MCCANN. Come along with us (Pinter 1959, Act III[4]).

In this sense, the play outlines the invasive nature of society, which can intervene anytime in the conflict of the Superego and the Id. In addition, as Attila Kiss argues in regard to the concept of the subject of enunciation, society alters and predetermines the outcome of this process (Kiss 2010, 11–13).

On the other hand, the "positive" interpretation views the drama as an allegory of the mind, in which Stanley, McCann and Goldberg are different parts of the same mind. The normalization process is initiated by Stanley, where he is the regressive Ego, who fails to communicate between the Superego and the Id. McCann and Goldberg in this interpretation represent the Superego that aims to restore order in the psyche by controlling the Id. As a result, by going through the rebirth process, Stanley completes the normalization and receives a blank version of himself to start reconstructing afterwards. However, it is a task given to the audience to decide how to interpret the drama.

In addition, the team of Goldberg and McCann stand in place of every ideology in the sense of Foucault (1980) and opposing them is Stanley, who is the embodiment of everyman. This is the foundation of the social criticism that is built by the drama. The rebirth process in this sense sheds light upon the fact that passion is either found in the subject or not, but eventually passion is separate from ideology. Therefore, the lack of passion enables the ideological processes in general to reform the individual into any subject they wish.

According to Cohn, it is important to underline that the characters are intentionally filled with symbols representing the Judaeo-Christian tradition. For example, they have Jewish-Irish names and dialects. This tradition is not only present in the western civilization but makes one of its standing supporting pillars. Goldberg is filling the role of the order and the senior partner. Therefore, he represents sacred clichés of family and class. His partner, McCann is playing the role of the yes-man whose purpose is to reinforce Goldberg's ideals. Finally, Stanley Webber's character is the fugitive, who might be hiding from his pursuers or from his own self (Cohn 1962, 55–68). These characteristics are fundamental parts of the Superego.

---

[3] After Althusser, the idea of ideology and ISA was developed further by poststructuralist philosophers, for instance by Michel Foucault, who established the concept of power / knowledge. See Foucault 1980, and Gutting 2005. The critical concept of ISA is used for the sake of simplicity.

[4] Throughout my analysis, I resorted to using an EPUB format of *The Birthday Party;* therefore, I could not provide page numbers. Instead, I resorted to use the Acts to note the origin of the quote.

To a degree, Petey represents the father figure for Stanley and Maggie represents the mother. However, in the case of Maggie an unexplained forbidden sexual desire is suggested as well. It is not clear whether the relationship between Stanley and Maggie is really sexual on both parts, in the sense of Freud's theory of the Oedipus Complex (Freud 2010, 278), or just one-sided by Meg. However, according to Freud, the Id hides many uncontrollable and taboo desires (Freud 1927, 37). Therefore, the different sexual desires are explored through Maggie and the other female character, Lulu, who represents the young and burning lust. In addition, through Lulu's character rape is also explored. As a result, these side characters are representing the outside forces that affect the Superego and the hidden desires and taboos of the Id, respectively.

On the contrary, and in line with my "positive" interpretation, E. T. Kirby depicts Stanley as a paranoid person who fantasizes the whole event (1978, 157–164). Eventually, the identity of the characters or the place and time when and where the events are occurring do not really matter. Consequently, these little pieces of information are just parts of the bigger picture that the audience can witness, because they only set the tone of uncertainty and try to distract the audience from seeing the agency and operations behind the events. Therefore, the real focus shall be put on Stanley: as if everything was inside his head.

However, it is possible to take Kirby's idea a step further and to suggest that Stanley is just the character that represents the regressive Ego; then through applying the psychoanalytic approach, the play becomes an invitation to the audience's mind to pry on the current state of their Id and their relation to society, which is heavily affected by these outside processes. In addition, the drama becomes a tool to heal society through providing an alternative to the processes and changes. The tool provided is the critical perspective to evaluate the rebirth process. As argued earlier, Stanley undergoes the process of rebirth during his descent into the Id, which is one of the healing mechanisms that the mind may apply when the environment changes drastically and it wants to adapt. McCann and Goldberg's characters in this case represent the Superego and they enter into the Id to restore order. Within the play, the grand narratives are questioned and even concluded to be lost or exchanged with false idols; therefore, the rebirth process could serve as a mechanism that could provide the individual with new values. In this sense, by completing the rebirth process Stanley becomes blank in order to be reconstructed as he is taken away by the intruders, who represent the social mechanism (which is suggested by my "negative" interpretation). However, as I have pointed out before, the audience is not reassured about the outcome of the further events, therefore it is up to them to interpret it in a "positive" or "negative" way.

In the "positive" interpretation, it can be argued that the audience is catered to be able to see only certain events and locations in order to help them to place the drama into the mind of the individual. It cannot be determined how the Id acts outside the view of the prying eye of the Superego; namely, it is hard to substantiate whether the characters of the play are only affecting forces or real people in the life of the individual. Therefore, Pinter's play can be interpreted as a way of disturbing the inner mechanism of the Id, when the Superego descends into the Id to restore order (Freud 2010, 503).

However, in a "negative" interpretation of the drama, it can also be read from the play that the Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser 2004, 693–702) do not allow the individual to stray away from becoming a subject within the newly constructed society. Pinter presents a criticism of the mechanisms and technologies of the normalisation process. In this sense the characters of Goldberg and McCann represent the invasive nature of society to shape and make a subject out of the individual, where Stanley is only a victim of the events. Petey comments on this with a final cry at the moment of realisation – but then it is already too late: "Stan, don't let them tell you what to do!" (Pinter 1959, Act III). Nothing happens, except that Petey is also threatened. This quote also suggests that other subjects might try to reject the outside intruders, but they are easily silenced.

As a result, the audience might be provided with a meta-perspective from which they may better understand themselves and their social positioning, and they might even develop a subversive critical attitude. Perhaps the audience will not rest in silence.

The audience is purposefully denied witnessing the past and the background of the characters and the events. Linking this aspect to the "negative" interpretation, this makes it possible to view Goldberg and McCann as existing subjects, who are trying to invade the mind, and who are not only part of the same mind, which eventually leads to Stanley being unable to resist ideology. With this analogue, Pinter's play is able to convey the broken state of society in his time, which was bound to uncertainty and in desire of a change, because the old values and beliefs had been shaken and lost and how the individuals were stripped of passion – at the same time, it is also conveyed that these sought-after "new" values are not yet defined in Pinter's time.

In addition, the audience does not encounter any heroes, not even anti-heroes, only ordinary people with some secrets. One of the reasons for the absence of the hero and anti-hero in the dramas of the period is the lack of the classic dramatic character. Instead, the characters assimilate into the plot. These characters are partly de-substantiated, meaning that their human identity is shown to be composite, not self-identical, and dependent on external factors and discourses, in order to shift the focus from the unfolding of the characters to the various abstract interests of the authors (Fuchs 1996, Chapter I). During the post-war period, the fundamental elements of the universal drama start to be questioned. Among these was the fundamental dramatic concept of the character, which was traditionally expected to be the representation of the self-identical, sovereign human being. This process indicates a post-humanist thinking within the nascent postmodern world. Characters are starting to lose individuality and exist only to serve the plot, eventually, to only exist as a gear in the machine of ideology (Fuchs 1996, Chapter I).[5]

Therefore, without any real characters in the classical sense of the word, there is no one to root for, which makes the play even more difficult to interpret. The audience is confused on purpose to not get comfortably satisfied or overcome with feelings regarding a protagonist that they can identify themselves with. From the behaviour and acts of the characters it is possible to assume that every one of them has something to hide. The only thing that is truly presented is the conflict between the team of Goldberg and McCann and Webber. This once again leads to the political element behind Pinter's play, where the audience, although uncertainly, can assume that behind the curtain sins were committed. The only evidence in the play for this are the words of the characters, because they are not clearly conveyed; only referenced by them. As a result, Pinter constructed a failed communication model on purpose to successfully convey how people outside of his play truly fail at communicating.

Furthermore, if we only focus on the seemingly greater sinners, then, on the one hand we have Webber with a dark past, probably he is a traitor. On the other hand, we have the hunters who are exacting revenge on Webber through obscure means and probably by ulterior motives. However, none of them can be clearly viewed in a morally acceptable or reproachable way. The drama shows that nothing is in fact black and white and instead it presents us how grey society really is. This leads to the conclusion that Pinter could use his plays as tools to deconstruct the binary oppositions in the moral rendering of characters in the drama.

If the conflict between the team of Goldberg and McCann and Webber is viewed through the lenses of psychoanalysis, then it is possible to interpret the play in both "negative" and "positive" ways. It is suggested that the Superego is either under siege by outside forces, namely, the ideologically determined normalization process of the social mechanism, or it is split, as it is pointed

[5] Within these two plays, the desubstantiation of the subject is not as prominently present as in more experimental and more characteristically postmodern dramas, for example, in Adrienne Kennedy's plays; instead, only its initial state is explored as it only started to appear.

out by Kirby (1978, 157–164). The normalization process can occur by force from outside, namely, by the effects of the Ideological State Apparatuses, or it can be an inner process as well, because the Superego is striving to create control.

In conclusion to the analysis of Harold Pinter's *The Birthday Party,* the real context is purposefully not presented in the play, which is used to place the play into the mind of the individual, who goes through the process of rebirth–a process of descent into the Id–or to interpret it as a metaphor of the invasive nature of the ISA. Therefore, the drama presents the audience with different viewpoints, which results in the notion that everything is just the matter of perspectives and thus the binary system is only a frame that limits human perception. Pinter described the individual, whose losses led to a regressive state, which is in pursuit of passion, because without passion the Id is in chaos. In addition, as Cohn argues, Pinter is trying to deconstruct the individual just as well as society (1962, 55–68). Furthermore, Pinter is doing this successfully, because at the end of the drama the Stanley the audience got to know is no more and a new individual or subject can be constructed from a blank state. However, the reconstruction is not shown, and the ending is left open for interpretation, and to the audience to complete according to their interpretation.

4. *Equus* by Peter Shaffer

Before moving onto the analysis of *Equus*, in my opinion it is important to note that Peter Shaffer provoked the audience with this play. The drama openly and straightforwardly criticises religion, its aspects, and religious cults, fanaticism, as well as the act of religious sacrifices. However, at the very end, it is heavily implied that faith or passion is needed in some form. Institutionalised religion itself can be the cause of negative and undesirable events for the individual. However, its fundamental aspect, namely, faith, which is also a form of passion, is quintessential for the human spirit to work properly and within the bounds of "normalcy." Therefore, this notion of normalcy is used as the key to interpret the drama as a searching for passion, because religion is an integral part of the drama, and in a sense, religion was always a form to reach the human spirit. In addition, as Alice Rayner argues in the case of Pinter's play, there is an inner drive to unfold the events and a wishing for the end, which originates in the build-up of the narrative structure (1998, 482–497). However, this theory is more prominent in the case of *Equus*.

Therefore, it is critical to note that the most prominent difference between *The Birthday Party* and *Equus* is the dramaturgy of the two dramas. The synopsis is clearer and easier to interpret in the case of Shaffer's play. In fact, it is tailored like a detective story, for example, as those written by Dame Agatha Christie or Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. However, in the case of *Equus* it is only the first step in a more grandiose project. The mystery of Alan is slowly unfolded and put together by the psychiatrist Dysart, together with the audience. In addition, the audience receives the events of the past in the form of flashbacks. As a result of the flashbacks and Dysart's investigation, the audience slowly puts together the case of Alan and his madness by design, which implies that the audience has a key role within the drama.

Alan has a special pre-condition, which dominates his life, prior to the tragic event. On the one hand, Alan is an introvert; he has no friends and is not comfortable around other human beings. On the other hand, however, his condition can be a result of a very strict and religious upbringing, or of the tension between his atheist father and extremely religious mother, partially combined with his early experience with raw passion, which is represented by Alan's experiences with horses that reaches its pinnacle in the horse-riding ritual.

> DYSART (*from the circle*) Is it a big field? / ALAN Huge! / DYSART What's it like? / ALAN Full of mist. Nettles on your feet. / *He mimes taking off his shoes – and the sting.* / Ah! / DYSART (*going back*

> *to his bench*) You take your shoes off? / ALAN Everything. / DYSART All your clothes? / ALAN Yes.
> *He mimes undressing completely in front of the horse. When he is finished, and obviously quite naked, he throws out his arms and shows himself fully to his God, bowing his head before Nugget.*
> [...] DYSART How does it feel now? / ALAN (*holds himself*) Burns. / DYSART Burns? / ALAN The mist!
> [...] ALAN Course. Sacred stick. Keep it in the hole. The Ark of the Manbit. / DYSART And now what?... What do you do now? / *Pause. He rises and approaches Nugget.* / ALAN TOUCH HIM! / DYSART Where? / ALAN (*in wonder*) All over. Everywhere. Belly. Ribs. His ribs are of ivory. Of great value!... His flank is cool. His nostrils open for me. His eyes shine. They can see in the dark... *Eyes!-*
> [...] ALAN Give sugar. / DYSART A lump of sugar? / *Alan returns to Nugget.* / ALAN His Last Supper. / DYSART Last before what? / ALAN Ha Ha. / *He kneels before the horse, palms upward and joined together.* / DYSART Do you say anything when you give it to him? / ALAN *(offering it*) Take my sins. Eat them for my sake... He always does (Shaffer 1993, 93–94).

Also, the way he rides Nugget in this scene can be read in the light of how Freud describes the function of the Ego as quoted above. Instead of controlling the Id totally, the Ego here almost surrenders to, identifies with the Id, as Alan himself posits: the horse and the rider are one. These notions command the focus of the audience in the first half of the drama and make them construct an interpretation while experiencing the story.

In addition, Alan and his family's behaviour and experiences with raw passion and faith are the first signs that suggest that Shaffer criticizes institutionalized religion for its fanatics and cult like dogmatism. However, the case is further unfolded in the second act and by the end it becomes evident that the problem is not believing in something, but rather the fact that the method and the value system that come with religion, if mishandled, can lead to shattered minds, shattered hopes, such as in the case of Alan's mother. Opposing this, Alan is an honest believer, which gives value to his faith, but ultimately due to the lack of guidance he is being hurt by uncontrolled, burning passion. As a result, when this is viewed together with the historical and social aspects of Shaffer's era, the drama heavily implies that the old values present within Western culture are not in line with the human needs anymore.

Furthermore, it is also implied that in the broader picture the drama is about religion. Faith that is controlled by the Ideological State Apparatus–the institutionalised religion–is lost due to the horrors of the past and the revelations of Shaffer's present. The feeling of longing for something fundamental and untouchable, namely, passion is present within the drama from the very beginning until the end. Alan's Calvary or Passion is similar to Jesus' not only spiritually but in meaning too. While Dysart may represent the doubt and the chaos within the post-war subject (as modelled by Shaffer within the play), Alan represents humanity and how shattered and lost everyone is. The following quote from Shaffer's *Equus* spells out the social crisis that is more evident in his time than it was in Pinter's: "Modern citizen for whom society doesn't exist" (Shaffer 1993, 104).

At the same time, the theme of being angry at religion or faith because God or the Church failed us, which is evident if we look at the Great Wars, is also heavily present within the drama. Science, history, philosophy, and even the everyday person have questioned faith. Therefore, this leads Dysart to a personal and professional crisis where he questions his acts. Namely, can there be any institutionalised method, which could have the right to enter the mind of any individual? As a result, the protagonist is filled with doubt, anger, and frustration. However, this anger or frustration is overshadowed by the theme of searching for something to believe in, which is identical with the human desire for passion. "Passion, you see, can be destroyed by a doctor. It cannot be created" (Shaffer 1993, 133). Which leads to the conclusion that the real focus of the drama is concentrated on its social and ideological criticism.

The uses of very direct symbols and language to communicate what Shaffer intends to say about society and religion is extreme. The scene and picture of the blinding of the horses, the open approach or attitude towards sex and sexual symbols within the *Bible* and the symbolism with which Shaffer criticizes blind, suppressive religion are very upsetting. Furthermore, the scene with Dora's religious outburst on her son suggests that Alan himself is only responsible for his actions due to being possessed by the devil or being the devil itself.

> [...] The Devil isn't made by what Mommy says, or what Daddy says. The Devil is there. [...] You've got your words, and I've got mine. You call it a complex, I suppose. But if you knew God, Doctor, you would know about the Devil. You'd know the Devil isn't made by what mummy says and daddy says. The Devil's there. It's an old-fashioned word, but a true tiling... I'll go. What I did in there was inexcusable. I only know he was my little Alan, and then the Devil came (Shaffer 1993, 101).

It is hinted by the drama that the nature of the Christian value system, which Dora represents, is in denial. Dora thinks that it is easy to blame the devil for every bad thing that transpire around the people. This openly questions the role of religion and the Church. However, the case is not that simple and instead of the social level, it has to be discussed on the level of the individual. The drama proposes a question on the notion and existence of the devil. Especially, in consideration of the historical and societal background for the play. For example, the Second World War and the post-war state or the Cold War. This question is communicated through Shaffer's criticism about religion and passion, because while experiencing any of the two we have to face the cruelty of the Superego and the hidden aspects of the Id in relationship with the world. As a result, I think, this hypothesis is the gateway to apply Freud's theories and the psychoanalytic approach to Shaffer's *Equus* – this hypothesis is going to be discussed by this paper later on.

In addition, there is one more aspect that has to be analysed in the case of religion: the character and the role of Jill. She represents the outside force that penetrates Alan's world and faith, eventually putting him to the test, forcing him to undergo the extreme process of reformation in religious terms. This process can be compared to a crisis that occurs during a paradigm shift. Therefore, Jill had unwillingly created an inner crisis within Alan, which led to the shattering of his image about God – his Equus. So, he was in conflict with himself and his own God. As a result, he committed the heretic act of defiling the holiest temple, which was in other terms "sacrilege". In the very end, the pantheon of Equus was destroyed and, the ever-watching eyes that prevented the boy from executing his animal instincts, which he so deeply desired. This act can be interpreted in various ways: on the one hand, it was seen as a defiling act – so the eyes had to be carved out and thus Alan tried to free himself from his cruel God. On the other hand, it can also be interpreted as a desperate way of keeping his God by carving out the eyes of the horses in order to rid the memory of his sinful act that they have witnessed. Moreover, here the audience is presented with Shaffer's interpretation of the exodus of humanity from the Garden of Eden, which suggests that the drama represents a perverted version of the Bible's myth, because unlike in the *Bible*, *Equus* shows that any sense of ultimate good and universal truth is questioned.

Furthermore, one of the fundamental aspects that is present in *Equus* is the normalization process, which can be interpreted as a failed attempt, or a realisation of a missing link, or the deny of carrying out the process, because the person who was responsible for this realised the errors and the blank spots in the process of normalization that occurs between Dysart and Alan. However, the person, Dysart, who performs this act, realizes that the normal is not defined properly or at all. In the post-war era, even the normal state was questioned and there was no

consensus about it due to the rapid changing of society. Therefore, Dysart at the end questions even his own self in relation to normalcy, because what was called normal before does not exist at the moment, or is yet to be defined.

James R. Stacy argues that the figure of normalization, Dysart, in fact stands for the emptiness of the people (1976, 325–330), which supports my claims about Dysart's desire for worship; he wants to find something to have faith in. Also, Dysart's life lacks communion, unity of holiness and humanity. Alan's communion with his god is in fact, as Mustazza argues, rather sexual: Alan rides his God to Communion (1992, 179). Moreover, Stacy argues that within *Equus* religion and religious aspects are depicted as intertwined with sex and sexual desires (1976, 333). This can be seen as a rather primitive form of religion and the execution and materialization of faith. Mustazza further implies with the perverted Christ-like figure that Alan can be aligned with the role of the Antichrist (1992, 181–183). Especially, as it is suggested that the institutionalized faith is the repressed form of sexuality. This interpretation puts the two characters in total opposition to each another. However, in the light of psychoanalysis this opposition can be translated to Dysart being the Superego, who is striving for control and understanding, and Alan being the raw and burning passion that generates faith, the unstructured drive energies of the unconscious which can be hurtful and hard to tame.

Finally, to sum up the symbolism of the drama, it is important to note that Shaffer carefully operates with the founding pillars of Western culture and society, and these speak for themselves. Mainly, the analogue between the crisis of the ancient Greeks and the shattering of beliefs of Shaffer's time, which symbolises the loss of faith–passion–in both periods that leads to the redefining of the "normal". Dysart's inability to have children with his wife symbolises the failure of the holy process of creation. The "Passion" of Alan is mirroring the Passion of Christ. All of these symbolic elements in the play lead to one precise conclusion: we have to have faith, we have to believe in something – this is the realization of the drama from the surface level. The old gods are all dead, the old world and believes are shattered. Therefore, my own interpretation is concluded as follows: *Equus* is the failed attempt of creating something to believe in. However, this only sets up the ground for the psychoanalytic approach of the drama, in which passion may be posited as something authentic, but ultimately as something that can devour the identity if it is mishandled, in opposition to the artificiality and ideological determination of social existence, since passion is something that can be taken away from the subject, but it cannot be created, socially fabricated, or replaced.

5. Comparing the Plays

Now that the questions raised by *The Birthday Party* and *Equus* are defined (such as the "one room" theory, the rebirth process, the creation of the subject and the question of passion), a comparison and joint interpretation can be established with the help of psychoanalysis. My aim is to outline the seeking of passion within both dramas with the analytical tools used for this process and suggest that the two plays complement each other in this regard.

> Harold Pinter was also achieving widespread recognition with plays such as *The Birthday Party* (1958) and *The Caretaker* (1960), both of which focused on the relationship between language and power as well as on the gap between what people say and what they really mean. Here, language becomes a tactic, a means of avoidance, and only in silence does true communication occur. These dramatic emphases are clearly detectable in Shaffer's earlier work and place the plays within an identifiable cultural moment, but this playwright's concern with the vagaries of language arguably extends further than either Osborne's or Pinter's work implies. In Shaffer's plays, words and their limits become an obsession as the need for communication, and the impossibility of it in verbal terms, is placed centre stage (MacMurraugh-Kavanagh 1998, 36).

There is no direct intertextuality between *Equus* and *The Birthday Party*, despite the similar focus and the use of language as a tool. However, it must be underlined that Shaffer knew about Pinter and probably about his play, *The Birthday Party*, as well, as it is implied by the above quote. Pinter's dramas were political in nature as it has already been stated in the third section of this paper, but Shaffer refrained from including direct political messages or from being revolutionary in his own plays, because as MacMurraugh-Kavanagh states, "he seems to have realized, [categorization was] essentially reductive and was based on stereotyped assumption," therefore, the author of *Equus* did not care about "the new drama" (1998, 10). Nevertheless, as of today there is no evidence which would clearly and directly indicate that Shaffer based his plays on, or reacted to any drama that was written by Pinter.

One of the most evident similarities that we can observe is the dramaturgical element of the "one room" tradition, upon which I argue that both dramas are set in the mind of the subject. Moreover, in *Equus* Shaffer took this aspect one-step further by presenting the play as a sequence of flashbacks that are part of Dysart's act of remembering about the whole story. *The Birthday Party* is more mysterious in this aspect, because the narrator is unknown.

The inner drive energies acting within *Equus* are the workings of the Id. As has already been argued regarding the symbolism of the drama before, Dysart and Alan are two sides of the same mind. Dysart represents the Superego and Alan represents the wounded Id. They are not enemies, but the Superego has difficulties in understanding the primitive and desire-driven Id. Therefore, in *Equus* the Superego has to face the hidden desires of the Id, and, instead of fighting it, understanding is the real goal. On the one hand, this descent can be a result of the burning passion that hurt the descending individual or the Id itself, who now has to go through a healing process in order to cope with this trauma. On the other hand, this individual might be pursuing passion to fill the void within, because it was either stripped from the Id or was never present. In the latter case, the individual realises that it cannot come from the outside world, and can only be found within, thus, the individual has to descend.

The burning passion can arise from hidden and taboo desires of the Id, which can be frightening and damaging for the Superego. However, the Superego has to face this trauma in order to move on in life and shape this into a beneficial experience. The fight with the Id is part of us and instead of destroying it, it shall be controlled and integrated. Otherwise, the human individual may suffer great losses and cannot operate as a whole any longer. In this case, the character of Alan represents the burnt Superego that approached the burning passion and reached out to it. For an individual it can be a very traumatic event, because at the moment when the Id takes control through passion, it carries out its primitive desires and acts that seem horrible for the individual. The uncontrolled burning passion can be as damaging as the non-existing passion that creates a void.

Regarding both interpretations, it is evident that passion is desperately sought by the individual, whose mind split into Dysart and Alan. On the one hand, based on Mustazza's argument, it partially transpires through extreme cult like religion and the experience of barbaric and burning faith (Mustazza 1992, 175–176 & 183). On the other hand, as Stacy suggests, it develops through the hidden desires and instincts of the Id, which manifest in raw and barbaric sexual acts (1976, 333), therefore, Alan experiences passion in the form of "a worshipful sexual ecstasy" (Stacy 1976, 325). As a conclusion, I propose that faith, passion and sexual drive or desire cannot be separated from each other. Therefore, they all come from within and regarding them, it is the Superego's duty to keep the balance between these elements. Otherwise, the mind can split, as it presents itself in the case of Alan and Dysart, or it is also possible that the Superego experienced the workings of the Id without the filter and control of the Ego and thus became frightened and hurt by it.

At the same time, the descending Superego might be seeking passion that can fill the void, because the individual wants to live a full life. This state without passion could be best described with the word "robot", the soulless working machine, which the Ideological State Apparatuses intends to create as their subjects (Althusser 2004, 693–702). This is represented by the urge of normalization with the characters of Dysart or Goldberg and McCann. This process is masked to seem as an inner generated need, but at the end, Dysart questions his role, so for the descending individual it is possible to be aware of this phenomenon. It is very difficult to become aware of this, though, and *Equus* ends with an open closure, which can be interpreted in a number of ways. Consequently, it is impossible to determine whether the fight against the normalization process, against the supposed infiltrator, was successful or not, just as in Pinter's *The Birthday Party*.

The two playwrights, similarly to their contemporaries, question the ideological processes of their time. *The Birthday Party* is purposefully written to not reveal any context to create an allegory, which enables it to operate with the idea of everyman, who is Stanley, standing in opposition to every ideology, represented by Goldberg and McCann. However, *Equus* is more grounded in the contemporary context, which makes it less flexible in this nature. In comparison, *The Birthday Party* proposes the question whether passion can be the key to exist outside of ideology, mainly because it is missing from the regressive ego of Stanley, which results in the blank state of the protagonist at the end of the play. This is further supported by *Equus*, which presents the audience with the polar opposite, where Alan has passion, but it is taken to the extreme, and the same question is realized through the personal crisis of Dysart, who lacks passion, yet realizes its importance. Therefore, it is underlined by both plays that passion is either there or not, and most importantly, it is not yet claimed by ideology.

Based on the arguments of Attila Kiss regarding the macro-dynamics of the subject, we can witness in both plays the intervention of culture and ISA into the Id (Hódosy–Kiss 1996, 14–17). By this process the ISA deceive the Super-ego into accepting the 'new' or 'outside' ideas as its own, and thus force it to create a subject from itself that is subject to these ideas. On the one hand, this process can be understood as a form of censorship that is applied to the protagonists of the plays, and simultaneously to the audience. On the other hand, this leads to the healing mechanism, which can be argued to be a beneficial impact on the forming subject by leading to the finding of passion, in the case of my positive interpretation as I discussed in chapter three. The healing mechanism therefore transpires both within the subject and by the drama as social criticism and a method to equip the audience with a metaperspective upon their ideological embeddedness.

Furthermore, there is a seemingly fundamental basis for examining the dramas through an archetypical approach. However, as a result of this perspective, both plays yield the answer that the traditional archetypical character models are purposefully not clearly used or communicated in the same roles and the borders are blurred between them – a typical technique in (later) postmodern literature. For example, it can be argued that the other characters represent the different archetypes that generally accompany or affect the protagonists within any stories based on the findings of Campbell (1949). To a degree, Petey represents the father figure for Stanley and Maggie represents the mother. However, in the case of Maggie, an unexplained forbidden sexual desire is suggested as well. It is not clear whether the relationship between Stanley and Maggie is really sexual on both parts, in the sense of Freud's theory of the Oedipus Complex (Freud 2010, 278), or just one-sided by Meg. In addition, in *Equus* it can be argued that Jill represents an archetypical temptress, but there are multiple aspects in the nature of the character that go against this notion; especially through the representation of an outside force that results in revolution by Alan. These examples clearly show that the original roles of the archetypes are filled with different symbols and characteristics in order to dissolve and deconstruct them; also, they are only

applied in the dramas to help the identification process of the audience. In summary, I contend that an archetypical approach fails to show real answers and derails the argumentation into a false path.

Together with *Equus*, *The Birthday Party* is the representation of the mind and the Id and both plays operate with the representation of the tool of normalization. While the rebirth of the character is more evident within *The Birthday Party*, the ending of *Equus* is just as open for interpretation for the audience to draw a conclusion. Stanley is yet to make the step towards reconstruction; however, Alan is already going through this process. In the end, the audience can witness a blank state of both characters, and no safe closure or conclusion is granted: the audience can only speculate about what might come next.

6. Conclusion

To sum up the similarities and differences of the two dramas interpreted through psychoanalysis, both plays operate within the same "one room" (Kirby 1978, 162), namely, the mind of the individual. Also, Pinter and Shaffer use the theatre as a tool to heal society, but they attempt to do so from the bottom, from the level of the individual. This is done through the theatrical representation of the process of subject-creation – similarly, as it is argued by Attila Kiss (Hódosy–Kiss 1996, 11–17). In the case of *Equus* and *The Birthday Party*, the dramas serve as the injection which is applied to the audience. Therefore, forming their point of view – which can be met with rejection or acceptance.

Compared to *Equus*, *The Birthday Party* has to operate with more mysterious tools, while in Shaffer's drama the audience has a clearer view upon the synopsis of the events. This difference is the result of the different state of society at the time of Pinter and Shaffer, respectively. Clearly, Shaffer had a more extended and deeper view on the matter. In addition, in both dramas sex is a common theme. In *The Birthday Party,* it is explored through the taboo desires of the Id. Also, sex is part of the rebirth process, and the sexual nature is evidently present between the mother (Meg) and the child (Stanley), which to a certain degree creates a tension. However, in *Equus* it is a path to find and define passion. The normalization process, in *The Birthday Party* is more aggressive and differs from the rebirth process, while in *Equus* they are nearly equal. This is suggested by the open ending of *Equus*, because even the universal normal is questioned.

As for the pursuit of passion, *The Birthday Party* is only implying the void that exists within the Id, while *Equus* takes it a step further with a totem of passion (the god Equus) and its more detailed synopsis that nearly spells out everything for the audience: indeed, as Dysart realizes it in his professional and institutional crisis, there is something missing from the countless lives that are slowly being turned into docile subjects of an unknown new system.

In conclusion, the scarred society of the post-war period is represented trough *The Birthday Party*, written by Harold Pinter and *Equus*, written by Peter Shaffer. The two dramas are written about the same social crisis the individuals suffered from. However, they are not the same and can be compared to a flight of stairs; where both plays are part of and making the same structure, but they are different steps in it. Furthermore, the healing mechanism of the dramas is executed through the descent into the psyche and the representation of the formation of the subject. These literary works of art act as the means to make this descent, because both of them will finally play out within the minds of the audience, regardless of whether they are aware or unaware of it. As a result, the healing nature of the dramas is present on different levels: the first level is the individual and through it, the second level is society. Both the individuals and society lack passion and with it, goals, directions, and a future. Therefore, passion of all sorts is desperately sought after. However, it is crucial to underline that it can be neither created, nor found on purpose. And this is exactly the process which both plays were written to explicate.

Reference List

Primary Sources

Pinter, Harold. 1959. *The Birthday Party*. 1st edition. London: Encore Publishing.
Shaffer, Peter. 1993. *Equus,* edited by Adrian Burke. London: Longman.

Secondary Sources

Althusser, Louis. 2004. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses." In *Literary Theory – An Anthology.* Edited by Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan, 693–702. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
Campbell, Joseph. 1949. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. 1st edition. Princeton. NJ: Princeton University Press.
Cohn, Ruby. 1962. "The World of Harold Pinter." *The Tulane Drama Review,* 6, no. 3 (March): 55–68.
Ford, Anna. 1988. *Pinter, Plays & Politics,* BBC television interview. Quoted in: Visser1996, 329–330.
Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Power/Knowledge*. Edited by C. Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books.
Freud, Sigmund. 1925. "The Unconscious." *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud 14 (1915).* Translated by C. M. Baines. 159–215.
Freud, Sigmund. 1927. *The Ego and the Id*. Translated by Joan Riviere. London: Hogarth Press and Institute of Psycho-Analysis. EPUB.
Freud, Sigmund. 1975. "The Ego and the Id and Other Works." *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Volume XIX (1923–26).* Edited by James Strachey, Anna Freud, Carrie Lee Rothgeb and Angela Richards and Scientific Literature Corporation. Vol. 19. London: Hogarth Press.
Freud, Sigmund. 2010. *The Interpretation of Dreams.* Translated from German and edited by James Strachey. New York: Basic Books.
Fuchs, Elinor. 1996. "The Rise and Fall of the Character Named Character." *The Death of Character Perspectives on Theater after Modernism*, 21–35. Indiana University Press. EPUB. Doi.: 10.2307/j.ctt2005s83.5.
Gutting, Gary. 2005. *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*. 2nd edition. Edited by Gary Gutting. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Habermas, Jürgen. 1997. "Modernity: An Unfinished Project." *Habermas and the Unfinished Project of Modernity*. Edited by Maurizio Passerin d'Entrèves and Seyla Benhabib. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
Hacker, P.M.S. 2017. *The Passions: A Study of Human Nature*. 1st edition. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
Hódosy, Annamária and Attila Atilla Kiss. 1996. *Remix*. Szeged: Ictus Könyvkidaó & JATE Irodalomelmélet Csoport.
Kirby, E. T. 1978. "The Paranoid Pseudo Community in Pinter's *The Birthday Party*." *Educational Theatre Journal*, 30, no. 2: 157–164.
Kiss, Attila. 2010. *Double Anatomy in Early Modern and Postmodern Drama*. Papers in English & American Studies XX. Monograph Series 9. Szeged: JATEPress.
Levin, Bernard. 1993. "Run It Down the Flagpole (1970)." *The Past Speaks. Sources and Problems in British History*. Edited by Walter L. Arnstein. Vol. II: Since 1688. Toronto: D. C. Heath and Co. 1993, 389–393.
Lyotard, Jean-Francois. 1984. "The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge." *Theory and History of Literature*, Vol. 10. Translated from French by Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

MacMurraugh-Kavanagh, Madeleine. 1998. *Peter Shaffer: Theatre and Drama*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd.

Mustazza, Leonard. 1992. "A Jealous God: Ritual and Judgement in Shaffer's *Equus.*" *Papers on Language and Literature* 28: 174–184.

Pope, Rob. 2002. *The English Studies Book*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.

Rayner, Alice. 1988. "Harold Pinter: Narrative and Presence." *Theatre Journal*, 40, no. 4: 482–487.

Saraci-Terpollari, Marinela. 2013. "The Sense of Insecurity and the Language of Pinter's Absurd Play the Birthday Party." *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 4, no. 11: 384–388.

Stacy, James R. 1976. "The Sun and the Horse: Peter Shaffer's Search for Worship." *Educational Theatre Journal*, 28, no. 3: 325–337.

Visser, Dirk. 1996. "Communicating Torture. The Dramatic Language of Harold Pinter." *Neophilologus* 80: 327–340.

Fatine Leknouche

Postcolonial Rewriting in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*[*]

Abstract

Postcolonial literature has yielded a substantial body of literary rewritings accompanied by pertinent criticism. Primarily, these rewritings revisit the productions of the colonial literary era from a novel standpoint: the postcolonial perspective of the oppressed or colonial Other, who was previously voiceless in colonial texts. My thesis is dedicated to a detailed examination of the literary rewriting process, and I will specifically deal with postcolonial rewriting in John Maxwell Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980) which serves as a responsive work to Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899). The examination unfolds through: first, a theoretical framework of major concepts of postcolonialism such as Orientalism, postcolonial rewriting, hybridity and second by eliciting the differences between both versions of literature: colonial works of literature and postcolonial ones. The second chapter is centered on two of J. M. Coetzee's rewritings, namely *Foe* (1986) as a rewriting of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *In the Heart of the Country* (1977) as a rewriting of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899). Finally, the third chapter of the thesis is dedicated to an in-depth examination of "Waiting for the Barbarians" as a postcolonial rewriting of "Heart of Darkness." This analysis involves a thorough exploration of both the similarities and differences between the two works. Furthermore, the chapter delves into the themes of otherness and linguistic hybridity within the context of the studied literature. In conclusion, the thesis posits that the utilization of hybrid characters, linguistic hybridity, and adopting alternative perspectives serves as a means for postcolonial subjects to engage in a critical discourse, effectively writing back and challenging colonial modes of representation.

1. Introduction

Postcolonial literature systematically examines the challenges and ramifications associated with the decolonization of a nation, with a specific focus on issues pertaining to the political and cultural autonomy of previously subordinated colonial subjects. Its principal objective is to introduce an alternative standpoint to extant literary works crafted from a colonial vantage point, thereby establishing a fresh and distinctive narrative perspective, namely the postcolonial perspective. Pioneering figures in literary scholarship, including Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, have introduced the concept of literary rewriting into academic discourse. Notable colonial works such as *Heart of Darkness* and *Robinson Crusoe* serve as exemplars, having undergone reconsideration and rewriting within the context of numerous postcolonial adaptations. An additional approach involves the utilization of hybridity as a literary technique, signifying an intersection between the practices of the colonizer and the colonized. Within this intersection, fictional characters assume a hybrid position within a postcolonial space, thereby articulating a distinct postcolonial perspective.

The overarching objective of the analyses is to scrutinize postcolonial rewritings, specifically aiming to address the pivotal question: Does the empire write back? and if yes, what methodologies are employed in the act of "writing back"? To address this inquiry, a focused examination

[*] MA Thesis. Supervisor: Ágnes Zsófia Kovács.

will be undertaken, specifically analyzing J.M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* as a postcolonial rewriting of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. The objective is to discern the perception of the barbarians as portrayed by the postcolonial narrator and depicted through the perspectives of hybrid characters within the hybrid postcolonial space. Additionally, I will scrutinize linguistic hybridity and investigate its pivotal role in the process of rewriting. With these objectives in mind, I adhered to a systematic plan, commencing with a theoretical framework grounded in postcolonial concepts. Subsequently, I applied these concepts to two of Coetzee's postcolonial rewritings preceding his work *Waiting for the Barbarians*. Lastly, I conducted a comprehensive analysis of *Waiting for the Barbarians* as a postcolonial rewriting of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*.

In the first chapter, an examination is conducted on the concept of orientalism, postcolonial literature, and hybridity. Edward Said first coined the concept of orientalism in his seminal work *Orientalism* (1978), a vital work due to its pertinence in elucidating the Western conceptualization of the East at a broad level, with a particular emphasis on its manifestation within literature. Moreover, this conceptualization is better achieved through understanding the notion of binary oppositions. To put it differently, the interplay of Orientalism and binary oppositions contributes to the formation of the "Other," whose representation is crafted in a manner that imparts a biased portrayal of colonized cultures. This necessitates a critical re-evaluation by postcolonial writers. Another salient component within *Orientalism* is the notion of Orientalist discourse, situated within the hierarchical power structure emanating from the dominant center, thereby generating knowledge about the Orient. Consequently, discourse plays a pivotal role in shaping the production of knowledge within literary works. Furthermore, this first chapter introduces and expounds upon colonial writings, elucidating the objectives of postcolonial rewritings. The principal theoretical reference guiding this pursuit is *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature* (1989). This literary work underscores that postcolonial writings emanate from previously colonized nations, and their rewritings are designed to engage with the literary canon of the colonial center, unveiling the colonial reality and its enduring impact on contemporary culture. Another facet of postcoloniality under examination is the concept of hybridity, as articulated by Homi Bhabha in his work *The Location of Culture* (1994). Defined as the convergence of two cultures giving rise to a third space, in the postcolonial context, it signifies an interaction between the colonized and the colonizer. Postcolonial authors, including Coetzee, employed hybrid characters to depict the impacts of colonization and the representation of the "other". Hybrid language likewise is of a crucial importance in this study. The incorporation of the colonizer's language into literary discourse with the intent of representing the subject of the colonized serves the purpose of instilling an anti-imperialist sentiment.

The second chapter delves into Coetzee's engagement in the process of literary rewriting, examining *Foe* (1986) as a rewriting of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *In the Heart of the Country* (1968) as a response to *Heart of Darkness* (1899). The analysis will focus on discerning disparities between the colonial texts and their postcolonial counterparts, primarily aimed at elucidating the objectives inherent in the process of rewriting. Additionally, the concept of hybrid characters will be employed to identify the transition from colonialism to postcolonialism. Furthermore, a comparative analysis of both rewritings will be conducted to enhance comprehension of Coetzee's distinctive approach to the art of literary rewriting.

Lastly, I will apply my findings of chapter one and two on Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* which is a response to *Heart of Darkness*. For this aim, it is crucial to mention that J. M. Coetzee revised *Heart of Darkness* by applying the notion of hybridity and the methods of rewriting.

2. Postcolonial Literature and the Problem of Rewriting

For a comprehensive comprehension of postcolonial studies and literature, a careful examination of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) is essential. Said's work provides an insightful analysis of how the West portrays and presents the East. Additionally, to gain insights into the concept of postcolonial rewriting, a study of orientalist literature is imperative, as it aids in understanding colonialist depictions through the lens of binary oppositions. For the biases presented by the colonial side to be reconsidered, and rewritten, the co-authored Australian authors Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin in *The Empire Writes Back* provided a theoretical framework on the rewriting process. Moreover, it gives account to the two postcolonial stages that shaped rewritings.

2.1. Orientalism and literature

Edward Said's notion of Orientalism has had a significant impact on the literature of the postcolonial era. It is the pioneering book that first and widely discussed the notion of Orientalism.

1.1.1. Orientalis

Postcolonial literature appeared mainly because of/to the inspiration of Edward Said's breakthrough book *Orientalism* that changed the global vision towards the Orient. It has been both a significant work that affected various established disciplines, especially literary studies, and a field of studies that mainly focuses on Middle East Studies, anthropology, ethnography, cultural studies, history, and sociology. Numerous authors and critics regard his work as a foundational source for the critical analysis and re-evaluation of literary works originating from the Occident regarding the Orient. Furthermore, it serves as a critique of the cultural and literary representations established by the West concerning the East. Moreover, the book has catalyzed a significant movement, leading to extensive rewritings of colonial texts from an alternative standpoint, specifically, a postcolonial perspective.

According to Said, neither the Orient nor the Occident is a fact of nature (Said 1978, 4). They are human-made terms and predominantly European inventions. In other words, Said illustrated the established invention by the idea that there is an invented separation, i.e., a separation of Europeans from non- Europeans. Said articulated that the consciousness sets a person apart from, and unequal with, its surroundings (Said 1978, 157). Said, moreover, clarified that the existence and the development of every culture requires an existence of 'the other'. As a result, Europe, to construct its self-image, created the Middle East (the Orient) as 'the other'. Therefore, European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self (Said 1978, 3)

The invented image of the East portrays a place full of mysteries, a place which might attract enthusiasts to discover and establish remarkable experiences. Nevertheless, the Orient is not just the previously mentioned image, but also it is the homeland of Europe's prospered colonies (Said 1978, 1).

Edward Said offered a comprehensive examination of Orientalism and its conceptual underpinnings within the nineteenth-century context. In doing so, he articulated three distinct definitions of Orientalism, with the first being regarded as the most widely accepted definition according to his analysis; it holds that Orientalism is an academic field. (Said 1987, 1). In general, a field is academic when it is researched, investigated, and given much value at the level of Academia, and taught at universities or college levels. Historically, in the Christian West, Orientalism as a field of a learned study formally and officially started with the decision of the Church Council in Vienna in 1312 (Said 1987, 50), and the purpose was to "establish a series of chairs in Arabic,

Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Avignon, and Salamanca. Orientalism then, is meant both works by Orientalist, and Orient itself as a geographical, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic unit" (Said 1987, 50). In this vein, it is noteworthy pinpointing that East and Middle East studies in the antiquity and contemporary epoch are subjects to be taught at many academic institutions such as the Oriental faculty at Oxford, and the department of Oriental studies at Princeton as Said exemplified. (Said 1987, 53).

His second definition of Orientalism asserts that: it is as a style of thoughts and epistemology confessing that there is a distinction between East the Orient and West the Occident. Subsequently, accepting this abstract distinction enables poets and writers to come up with theories, social descriptions of the Orient, works of literature about the Orient from many angles: the way of life, customs, traditions, geography, language (Said 1987. 2–3).

The third definition of Orientalism is more historically grounded; Orientalism can be defined as an institution of dealing with the Orient by producing bodies of language and by ruling it (Said 1978, 3). "corporate institution for dealing with the Orient- dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it" (Said 1978, 3). To illustrate the third definition which Said focused on, 'a way of dealing with the Orient' means the constant producing of bodies of knowledge about it, administrating it, making it intelligible and comprehensible to Europeans.

Said focused on the third definition because, in Orientalism, there is the production of knowledge that leads to power. However, the first step to be taken is defining and producing the objects of our knowledge which happens through discourse. Thereupon, Said borrowed, applied, and demonstrated the Foucauldian notion of discourse "I have found it useful here to employ Michel Foucault's notion of a discourse...to Orientalism" (Said 1978, 3). Said made it clear that dealing with Orientalism as a discourse enables everyone to know the systematic discipline, which enables the European culture to manage and produce the Orient from different domains. Consequently, discourse serves as a mechanism for knowledge generation, bestowing varying degrees of social, cultural and potentially political influence upon those who engage in it. In this context, The Orient has, for much of history, been the object to the Western knowledge.

Knowledge/power is a Baconian theme that Michal Foucault, Edward Said, Arthur James Balfour, and Lord Cromer (Evelyn Baring) borrowed. Initially, Foucault deliberated upon the dichotomy of knowledge and power. He delineated knowledge into two distinct forms: theoretical and practical. The theory is created to make sense of people, for example, how people think or how they interact. Practice is the act of doing, which can be effective or not. Therefore, power is exercised through both theory and practice and is connected to strategy, for instance, a strategy for exploitation (Foucault 1982, 780). In the same context. Said states that having knowledge about something means dominating it (Said 1978, 32). Balfour correspondingly illustrates that the relationship between knowledge and power is a relation of governing, of domination, and he furthermore exemplifies this relation with the British occupation of Egypt (Said 1978, 32). To elucidate this point, he points first that he does not take superior/inferior connotation between East: Egypt and West: England conversely, he admits the greatness of Egypt and the greatness of its inhabitants (Said 1978, 32). Notwithstanding Foucault's claim, he argues that knowing Egypt, its history, geography, people's ways of thinking, their traditions and customs, their expectations enable England to govern the Egyptian government and that "it goes far better than before" (Said 1978, 32). Moreover, domination resides when England speaks of Egypt. Thirdly, Lord Cromer presented the same notion which controlled the Egyptian affairs. However, he chose a different name to 'Orientals' that is the 'Subject Race' which means the study of people of colour. Cromer's view is "Westerners to dominate, Orientalists must be dominated" (Said 1978, 36). Besides, subject race knowledge is what makes their man-

agement in Egypt easy and profitable. In addition to governing Egypt, human resources are also to be governed according to Cromer, who easily confesses this domination saying, "As I am only a diplKmatist and administrator, whose proper study is man, but from the point of view of governing him" (Said 1978, 39). Therefore, power is a key for domination.

The idea of *Orientalism* Said defined, can be exemplified through numerous examples. When stating that the production of political knowledge is affected by the hegemony of the Occident over the Orient, he referenced the case of the British Empire's presence in India and Egypt. It is a well-established fact that the British administration in Egypt persisted from 1882 to 1956, whereas its governance in India spanned from 1858 to 1947. Consequently, Said asserted the discernible influence of their dominant power on the narratives and writings pertaining to these two countries (Said 1978, 11).

> for example, to say that an Englishman in India or Egypt in the later nineteenth century took an interest in those countries that were never far from their statue in his mind as British Colonies. To say this may seem quite different from saying that all academic knowledge about India and Egypt is somehow tinged and impressed with, violated by the gross political fact. (Said 1987, 11).

Hence, one cannot dismiss the impact of hierarchical Western political hegemony over the Orient, and consequently, over the academic discourse within the field of Humanities. Additionally, it proves challenging to exclude the subjective intentions of the author from this academic domain (Said 1978, 12).

Said sought to illustrate that the accumulation of knowledge about a specific country, territory, ethnic group, or any subject area results in the acquisition of power. In essence, Western comprehension of the East translates into Western dominance over the East. This control manifests in diverse forms, encompassing political, cultural, moral, and intellectual dimensions (Said 1978, 12).

Researchers and students have enriched the field by formulating definitions derived from their interpretations of Said's conceptualization. It is evident that a majority of these definitions explicitly or implicitly acknowledge the existence of two distinct entities. Azam, for instance, focused on the idea that there are two different worlds, and the criterion of the difference is included in the cultural multiplicity, the architecture, and the literary representations (Azam 2014, 36). In the same vein, critic Anouar Abdelmalek marks Orientalism as the traditional area of study of two different worlds of human civilization (Azam 2014, 37).

> On the level of the position of the problem, and the problematic, the two groups consider the Orient and the Orientals as an 'object' of study, stamped with an otherness- as all that is different, whether it be 'subject' or 'object'- but of a constitutive otherness (Azam 2014, 37).

Therefore, for Azam, the Orient serves not only as a homeland for European colonies but also as a space for portraying the East distinctively from the Western representation.

Binary oppositions consist of pairs of words or concepts wherein one opposes the other. Linguistically, sociologically, and anthropologically, they signify that all elements of human culture can only be comprehended in relation to one another. Nevertheless, they cannot coexist due to the inherent opposition between their elements. As Orientalism involves the construction of two distinct and opposing concepts in various fields with a hierarchical relation between them, the concept of binary oppositions aptly serves this scholarly domain. Said defined Orientalism as a style of thought based on a distinction made between the Orient and Occident (Said 1978, 2–3). Therefore, East: The Orient and West: The Occident are binary oppositions demonstrating two different worlds. In a parallel manner, Henry Kissinger applied the aforementioned

concept, delineating the world into two halves with the provided division of 'developed' and 'developing' regions. To elaborate further, the designation of "developed" applies to the United States and Western countries in accordance with Henry Kissinger's perspective and it "is deeply committed to the notion that the real world is external to the observer, that knowledge consists of recording and classifying data" (Said 1978, 46). In essence, gaining knowledge and thus achieving development comes with rational method of observation, gathering data and classifying it and his proof is the Newtonian revolution that happened in the West not in the East.

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, Western knowledge, bolstered by the colonial sphere, intersected with the East's increasing interest and curiosity in its literary traditions (Said 1987, 40). This intersection is evident in the works of novelists, poets, translators, and insightful travelers. The relation between East and West is a relation of a strong and a weak partner (Said 1987, 40). For Balfour and Cromer "The Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, different, thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, normal" (Said 1987, 40). Easter people lived in a different environment and what caused the intelligibility of the Oriental World, is not its own efforts, but rather the whole complex series of knowledgeable manipulations by which the Orient was identified by the West.

2.1.2. Orientalist literature

Literature is one of the scopes of discourse. Orientalism constructs the West/East binary with the former in a dominant/superior position and the latter in a dominated/inferior status. This discourse functions similarly in literature, as Orientalism serves as a tool to define non-Europeans. (Azam 2014, 36). Through literature, discourse subtly influences Westerners to perceive the Orient in a specific manner, often without their awareness or the presentation of compelling logical arguments. In addition, Said clearly stated that geography was the material for underpinning knowledge about the Orient. To elaborate further, Westerners studying the geography of the East readily affirm their pre-existing binary distinction—East is East and West is West—reinforcing their exclusive opposition to each other.

As previously mentioned, the binary opposition is a fundamental concept for comprehending Orientalism in literature. This concept can be exemplified through numerous instances in literary productions concerning the Orient. Gustave Flaubert crafted fictional binary oppositions, subsequently employing them in reality to characterize women in a manner reminiscent of the Oriental archetype (Said 1987, 6). Binary oppositions such as us/them, men/woman are as similar as the binary Occident/Orient because they involve the aspect of power, superiority, and domination. In the description of the dancer by Gustave Flaubert, three binary oppositions emerge. The initial one presupposes Flaubert's identity as a French novelist from a developed, predominantly white society, implying a perspective marked by racial superiority. On the contrary, Kuchuk Hanem, an Egyptian dancer hailing from a Third World country, particularly the African realm, is characterized by the label of inferiority. In a similar vein, Denys Hay drew a distinction in hegemony, designating "us" for Europeans and employing the othering pronoun "Those" for non-Europeans (Said 1987, 7).

2.1.3. Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness *as an orientalist text*

1800 in Europe was characterized by the sudden rush to acquire overseas colonies due to European nations' political and economic rivalries. This rush resulted in the scramble and partition of Africa. Sections of fertile African land were divided among powerful European nations such as Britain, Germany, and France. *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad has many parallels with the narrative of colonialism, whose main aim was to economically benefit the colonial masters. The book symbolically uses darkness to convey different messages.

Marlow explains that they (colonialists) penetrated deeper and deeper into the heart of the darkness, to characterize how unexploited and unexplored these mysterious lands had been.

Conrad's novel points out the slave labour suffered by the natives at the height of colonialism, which portrays the binary opposition between the natives and their colonial masters. He explains the racism directed towards African natives and more so, the dehumanising nature in which they were treated and referred to.

There is evident binary opposition in patterns where the Western world is considered normal and progressive, while the African world is dark and retrogressive yet in essence, provides for the economic needs of the Europeans. The novel explains the hypocrisy used by the colonialists while justifying their imperialism. For instance, Marlow is forced to choose sides between the openly evil Kurtz, and the hypocritical colonial system. Regardless of the choice, both are evil. Marlow desperately tries to distinguish between the good and bad of the imperial system, by criticising the Belgian colonial system for its supposed inefficiency. He does this by comparing the Belgian colonial system to the British, which seems less brutal and more efficient. In this context, Marlow appears to provide a justification for colonialism.

2.2. Postcolonial rewriting

Following the age of colonialism, postcolonial culture provided responses for the colonial era's devastating aftermath and exposed how violent it had been (Fanon 1962).

2.2.1. Postcolonialism and postcolonial culture

Postcolonialism is a critical academic study of the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism (*TUIC* academic journal, 2001). Many issues are addressed in postcolonial cultures such as conflicts of identity, cultural affiliation, stereotype, discrimination, and hybridity.

First of all, conflicts of identity and cultural affiliation are prominent issues addressed in this era. When colonial powers invaded other nations, they systematically destroyed the most cherished aspects of their national cultures. Because colonial powers owned their territory, individuals from former colonies were seen as inferior and weak. "the study of world literature might be the study of the way in which cultures recognize themselves through their projections of 'otherness'" (Bhabha 1994, 12).

As a case in point, Frantz Fanon, a psychoanalyst and a writer, discussed in his works the effects of colonialism: The *Wretched of the Earth* and the effects of racism: *Black Skin, White Masks*. Algeria was under French colonialism for 132 years, and Algerians were suffering from a huge identity crisis as a result. Fanon served as a psychiatrist at Blida-Joinville hospital, facing considerable difficulty in performing his duties. Typically, his role involved providing mental and emotional support to patients, but the challenging, if not impossible, aspect arose due to the patients' lack of a sense of belonging in their environment.

> If psychiatry is the medical technique that aims to enable man no longer to be a stranger to his environment, I owe it to myself to affirm that the Arab, permanently an alien in his own country, lives in a state of absolute depersonalization...the social structure in Algeria was hostile to any attempt to put the individual back where he belonged (Fanon quoted in Bhabha 1994, 40–41).

Furthermore, Frantz Fanon encountered discrimination based on the color of his skin, leading to a potential threat to his mental health and identity. This experience prompted him to perceive himself as the "Other," associating his black complexion with a perceived sin, ultimately leading to a sense of aversion towards people of color, including himself "As I begin to recognize that the Negro is the symbol of sin, I catch myself hating the Negro. But then I recognise that I am a

Negro." (Fanon 1952, 197). Fanon attributed this identity crisis to what he calls 'cultural imposition'. Generally speaking, cultural imposition is when a culture forces its beliefs, values, judgments to another culture.

The second group of issues of postcolonial culture evolved around stereotypes and discriminations. These originate from 'the mode of representation of otherness' within cultures. This mode is better understood with the previously mentioned notion: the notion of racial and sexual differentiation (Ashcroft 1994, 68).

Thirdly, hybridity is another important and focal point in my thesis which I will further explain in the coming section separately because of its significance.

2.2.2. Postcolonial literature

Postcolonial literature has been present since the middle of the twentieth century, especially after the publication of significant and breakthrough books such as Frantz Fanon's *Black Skins, White Masks* (1952), Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1957), and as we have seen, Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). Postcolonial literature became popular after the colonized countries or nations gained independence and found a path out of colonial rule. In other words, it is a literary attitude that begins when colonialism enters a new phase, and the colonized countries no longer tolerate being ruled by foreign countries. styles like this one have their unique qualities and elements. History, literature, politics, culture, and identity are all prominent themes in postcolonial literature, most pointedly those conquered nations and the countries that used to be colonizers. As for its temporal reference, postcolonialism may consider both the colonial era and the postcolonial period.

The Empire Writes Back (1989), co-authored by three Australian critics: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, is a significant work that provides a background for understanding post-colonialism and postcolonial literature. Initially, the authors of "The Empire Writes Back" provided a definition for postcolonialism, semantically framing the term to specifically address the issues related to national culture following the departure of the colonizer (Ashcroft 1989, 1). Besides, the term's literal meaning signifies an era or a style that started right after the departure of the colonizing power. Authors of *The Empire Writes Back* demonstrated at first the colonial stating that it is a period before independence and a term indicating national writing (Ashcroft 1989, 2), and afterward, they defined postcolonialism. Postcolonialism as an approach is the study of all the culture during and after the colonial era: from the moment of colonization to the present day (Ashcroft 1989, 2). Therefore, postcolonial literatures are literatures written by formerly colonized countries such as African countries, India, New Zealand, Pakistan. In essence, the endeavors of writers from countries that were under the rule of the empire extend beyond the colonial era.

Authors of *The Empire Writes Back* stated two stages of postcolonialism (Ashcroft 1989, 6). The first stage is the imperial stage when the elite of the colonial sphere write literature. Examples include gentrified settlers such as Wentworth; they also include travellers and sightseers such as Mary Kingsley, Joseph Conrad's dairy of Congo. Finally, Anglo-Indian, West administrators, soldiers, and "boxwallahs."

Notwithstanding their detailed descriptions about the lands, the customs, and traditions, the colonial discourse is hidden in these works (Ashcroft, 1989, 5). To exemplify this point, Rudyard Kipling's well-known poem Christmas in India provides an evocative description of a charismas day in India with the absence of the English counterpart (Ashcroft 1998, 5) and thus the absence of the colonial discourse. Also, the authors of The Empire Writes Back suggested that the absence of the English counterpart of *Christmas in India* is for India's daily reality to acquire legitimacy as a 'subject literary discourse' (Ashcroft 1998, 5).

The second stage of postcolonialism concerns literature produced 'under imperial license' by natives or outcasts. The writers of this stage wrote in the dominant culture's language, and they achieved a certain degree of intellectuality, hierarchy, and a privileged class endowed with the language, education, and leisure necessary to produce such works (Ashcroft 1998, 5). To exemplify the second stage, Ralph Rashleigh is a novel written by an educated native man: James Tucker, who gained access to the privilege of literature. Additionally, poetry and prose were written in the nineteenth century by English educated Indian upper class, or African missionary literature (Ashcroft 1998, 5).

Postcolonial literature produced immense rewritings in the period directly after the success of the mass-independence movements on the continents: Africa and Asia. What then manifests itself is the awakening conscience of the African and Asian local literary mind to a literary space with an undeniable colonial influence.

The literary attempt to reconstitute literature for newly independent nations is another primary aim of rewriting, and thus, rewriters work against the Western pre-text (Farn 2005, 30). Rewriters likewise rewrite texts to fulfill a double function goal: representing the self and addressing the previously established representations that are to be revised (Farn 2005, 30). There is a marginal acceptance of the capacity of formerly colonized peoples to possess the factors of social production. In a way these works acknowledge the sentience of the colonized. In hindsight, that seemingly minor shift in literary attitude was ground-breaking. For the first time there was an acceptable outlet for the expression of an African perspective. Chinua Achebe, for instance, enjoys wide acclaim for interweaving the reality of postcolonial Nigeria with the ancient influences of his Igbo nation. Rewriting, therefore, amounts to the evolution of the social contract of colonized people.

Rewriting was also important in postcolonial literature because it was an opportunity to correct adverse biases against formerly colonized societies. A fitting example that illustrates the point in the *Empire Writes Back* is Shakespeare's *The Tempest.* Caliban, one of the main characters in the Shakespearean play, is from a postcolonial reading, a deformed black creature representing the East; However, other characters are of white complexions, well-educated individuals representing the West (Azam 2014, 44). Thereafter, many authors considered reading it from a postcolonial perspective. George Lamming's *The pleasures of Exile (1960)* is perhaps the most influential rereading of *The Tempest* (Ashcroft 1989, 189). He demonstrates that Caliban is no longer seen as a 'creature out of civilization' but rather a human being whose status "is denied by the European claims to an exclusive human condition." (Ashcroft 1989, 189). Allan Gardiner (1987) and Helen Tiffin (1987) redeployed the overall terms used by Daniel Defoe in his novel Robinson Crusoe. The redeployment they suggested is to interrogate the ordinary tropes of colonialism and invasion (Ashcroft 1989, 192). Other authors like Kenya's first president Jomo Kenyatta in *Facing Mount Kenya: The tribal life of the Gikuyus* seek to annotate their culture. Likewise, Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall apart* which gives an account of the customs and traditions of the Igbo tribe. The values, moral uprightness of colonized people in the face of colonization redefined attitudes towards Africans. *The Empire Writes Back*, therefore, provides an opportunity to juxtapose pre-colonial literature with the new attitudes of postcolonialism.

2.2.3. Hybridity as rewriting in postcolonial literature

The human world as composed of separate and unequal cultures paves the way to an inevitable cross-cultural exchange. Homy K. Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* provides an overview of the theory of hybridity in postcolonial culture.

Bhabha formulates the concept of hybridity, drawing inspiration from the ideas of Mikhail Bakhtin (Easthope 1998, 145–146). Bakhtin used it to distinguish between two genres of texts:

'single voice' texts, and 'double voice' texts. Single voice texts include lyrical poems; however, double voice texts include for example, novels. Narrators of these novels cite different characters who speak in their own voices. Therefore, these texts (double voice texts) are hybridic texts (Easthope 1998, 145–146). Bhabha is against presenting 'difference' depending on fixed or pre-given traits. "The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition" (Bhabha 1994, 2). Bhabha illustrated this idea by the fact that 'difference' in the perspective of the minority is not a fixed, perpetual, unchanging concept that lasts forever, but rather an ongoing process that authorizes what comes in moments of historical transformation: cultural hybridity (Bhabha 1994, 2). Notwithstanding his objection of sticking with tradition or fixity, Bhabha shed light on its importance in culture, hybridity, and difference. Additionally, he added that culture should also be subject to newness.

> The borderline work of culture demands an encounter with 'newness' that is not part of the continuum of past and present. It creates a sense of the new as an insurgent act of cultural translation (Bhabha 1994, 7).

Thus, Homi Bhabha identified hybridity as an intersection between the practices of the colonizer and the colonized which leads to cultural collisions and interchanges. This intersection creates what Bhabha calls 'Third Space' (Bhabha 1994, 37). Bhabha discusses the influence of Western culture on Asian culture during colonization and its lingering effects in the postcolonial periods. Hybridity in postcolonial studies has been discussed based on changes in perspectives of race, gender, community, and nationality convergence.

2.2.4. Rewritings of Heart of Darkness

Heart of Darkness has witnessed considerable rewritings, and each tries to situate Joseph Conrad's work from a distinct postcolonial perspective.

To start with, Chinua Achebe participated in this intellectual movement by publishing *Things Fall Apart* in 1858. It is a rewriting of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* because Achebe tries to defend Africa and Africans from the already established stereotypes presented in Conrad's work. The way Achebe breaks the stereotypes is by stating the customs and traditions of the Igbo ethnic group and the strong familial relationships between members of the clan. Moreover, a solid bond for the land and the Igbo traditions is another way of defence.

In contrast, Africans are silenced in the *Heart of Darkness*. Referring to the representations mentioned the silenced Africans, Achebe demonstrated the nature of Conrad's novella as a racist one in his essay: *An Image of Africa* in 1978. Hence, Achebe's rewritings aim to correct Africa and Africans' negative bias and it is a rewriting from a postcolonial perspective: a local perspective, not a colonial one as in *Heart of Darkness*.[1]

2.3. Linguistic hybridity in Postcolonial studies

Writers in the postcolonial literary era were engaged in literary production either using their mother tongue, the standard language of their region, or a completely different language of their own such as the language of the colonial, or even a mix of these two languages. The intersection of the colonizer and the colonized resulted in linguistic hybridity, which is best identified in postcolonial works of literature. Let me define and illustrate the phenomenon here.

The standard definition of linguistic hybridity comes from Homi Bhabha's definition of hybridity in *The Location of Culture*. As mentioned before, hybridity for Bhabha is the intersection

[1] Chinua Achebe demonstrates that Conrad misrepresented Africa and Africans.

between the practices of the colonizer and the colonized, which leads to cultural collisions and interchanges. This cultural marriage results in the emergence of the third space (Bhabha 1994, 37). This intersection, therefore, leads to postcolonial linguistic hybridity which, by implication, means the inscription of the colonial subject who uses the colonizer's language to communicate content from the perspective of the colonized. For instance, Anthony Easthope defines linguistic hybridity by focusing on the necessity of language in envisaging subjectivity:

> for subjectivity is conceived only from the side of language, as it were, from the point of view of the shared social possession of language (Easthope 1989, 149).

In short, linguistic hybridity is a linguistic blending of two distinct cultures. The function of linguistic hybridity is to create a liminal in-between position for the colonized speaking subject between two cultures from which power relations can be subverted. An additional question about the postcolonial speaking subject is if the feminine voice of postcolonial woman can be formulated and heard in this hybrid space (Spivak 1988, 90–91).

Examples of linguistic hybridity include literary works of India, Kenya, Nigeria, and Sri Lanka. For example, Chinua Achebe in *Things Fall Apart* (1958) uses two languages: English language as the dominating language and the language of the colonizer, and uses Igbo language to show some local proverbs. The aim is to reach more readers and confront the lack of understanding between the Igbo culture and the colonialist culture. Secondly, Arundhati Roy wrote her first novel, *The God of Small Things* (1997). The linguistic hybridity appears as a postcolonial woman's mixed language use. Her aim is to prove that her native language coexists with other languages without using its own influence (Stockdale 2008, 3)

Furthermore, the female character in colonial texts such as *Heart of Darkness* is silenced. The first scene of silence is the absence of their proper names: "Throughout the book the only female name ever mentioned is the name of the ship" (Hinkle 2007, 3)[2]. I am intrigued by the exploration of the potential emergence of the female voice within the postcolonial regime, particularly within the context of the hybrid space.

Drawing on Homi Bhabha's discourse on postcolonial culture, I will examine the presence of hybridity and linguistic hybridity within the textual variances. Prior to delving into this analysis, I conduct a survey on the role of postcolonial rewriting in Coetzee's overall body of work to provide additional context for my subsequent case study.

3. J. M. Coetzee and postcolonial rewriting

John Maxwell is a Booker prize and Nobel prize winner whose writings mainly addressed postcolonial issues. He introduced, (together with his interest in intertexts[3]), a broad interest in postcolonial rewritings. I will be discussing some of his writings, with a particular focus on his rewriting of the classical narrative in Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and his response to Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Nevertheless, my primary emphasis lies in the examination of his postcolonial rewriting technique.

---

[2] women who were included in the novel, were called by their relation to the male. For example, the Intended

[3] One example of intertexts, is his novel titled The Master of Petersburg (1994) that includes comments on historical and bibliographical details mentioned in Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *The Possessed* (1872).

3.1. J. M. Coetzee's rewriting of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*

Foe by Coetzee was initially published in 1986, with its narrative inspired by Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Notably, it is a rereading and rewriting of Daniel Defoe's classical work. Events in Coetzee's *Foe* are told from the perspective of survivor Susan Barton; however, they are told from the perspective of Robinson Crusoe in Defoe's narrative. It is worth pointing out that the character of Robinson is present in both novels. Nevertheless, his last name is 'Crusoe' with an 'e' at the end *in Robison Crusoe* and Cruso without the ending 'e' in *Foe*. The differences between the two fictional narratives will eventually lead us to conclude the purpose behind Coetzee's rewriting of *Robinson Crusoe*. There are two main factors of distinction and therefore factors of rewriting: the representation of the protagonists themselves in both literary works and the representation of Friday. The enlightenment survival narrative of a white man who practically colonizes the inhabited island and enslaves the colored local Friday in Defoe's becomes the story of Coetzee.

In Defoe's narrative, the young Robinson Crusoe is the protagonist who is shipwrecked after a strong storm hits the ship. He finds himself the sole survivor of the shipwreck and a castaway in a remote tropical island alone and eagerly hoping to escape the island and go home: To England. Crusoe developed survival skills on the deserted island; he built dwellings and supported them with fences and walls. Besides, he planted grain and raises goats. Crusoe was religiously a devoted Christian. Notwithstanding the comfortable life Crusoe creates for himself, he hopes that one day he will be able to leave the island, and for this purpose, he builds boats or canoes in case of rescue or an escape is possible. To conclude, Crusoe is presented as the self-reliant European man who successfully exploits the exotic land for his use.

Crusoe at first thinks that he is the only human there. However, he comes across footprints, to which later he finds that natives inhabit the land. Crusoe rescues a man he named: Friday. After saving Friday from the enemy, he taught him the English needed for basic conversation. Moreover, they worked together fighting enemies and collecting food. Interestingly, after communication becomes easier between Crusoe and Friday, the former established a strong desire that the latter would help him discover a way to the main island one day and go home. Then, Friday appears as the helpless local in need of guidance and learning from his saviour white patron.

In Coetzee's rewriting, Susan Barton is a castaway female protagonist of the novel. She lands on the same land inhabited by Robinson Cruso and Friday. Her need to find her kidnapped girl makes her travel to the New Word by sea. Unexpectedly, the ship gets hit by a storm, and Barton survives and finds herself on the remote island. Barton exchanges talk with Crusoe and asks him to tell her details of his life and about Friday and, overall, the land. Barton, however, suspected and questioned the authenticity of the narratives told by Crusoe as she could not build a logical line that connects the various events he narrates.

> I would gladly now recount to you the history of this singular Crusoe, as I heard it from his own lips. But the stories he told me were various, and so hard to reconcile one with another, that I was more and more driven to conclude age and isolation had taken their role in his memory, and he no longer knew for sure what was truth (Coetzee 1986, 1–2)

Barton becomes a person who provides a perspective that questions Cruso's story about his own achievements.

A significant issue observed by Barton is the misalignment of desires, as she harbors a wish to depart the island while Cruso lacks a corresponding interest. Cruso, in contrast, expresses a desire to establish a permanent residence on the island, referring to it as his 'home.'

> '"May I ask, sir," said I, after a while: "Why in all these years have you not built a boat and made your escape from this island?"...'"And where should I escape to?" '"Why, you might sail to the coast of Brazil, or meet a ship and be saved." '"Brazil is hundreds of miles distant, and full of cannibals," said he. "As for sailing-ships, we shall see sailing-ships as well and better by staying at home."(Coetzee 1968, 13).

Cruso's interest was building terraces to keep his land safe. Consequently, it can be understood that Crusoe in Defoe's version is a castaway; on the other hand, he is the settler in Coetzee's version.

Another problematic point in Cruso's narrative concerns his relation to Friday and Friday's silence. Friday is an indigenous fictional character. in both novels: *Robinson Crusoe* and *Foe*; However, the former work by Daniel Defoe, Friday initially faced challenges in speaking and communicating, prompting Crusoe to initiate English language instruction. Crusoe employed practical teachings, demonstrating tasks such as corn preparation and animal hunting. Additionally, he dissuaded Friday from the idea of consuming humans by associating English names with various items. Over time, this instructional approach enabled Friday and Crusoe to establish effective communication.

Examples of Friday exchanging conversation show a lack of grammar accuracy, i.e., there are some issues in the usage of sentence structure. Consider as an example Friday answering Crusoe: "yes, yes we always fight the better" (Defoe 1719, 341). Additionally, a limited vocabulary is present in Friday's dialogue. Consider Friday saying: "you may go in two canoe" (Crusoe 1719, 344), which the protagonist could hardly understand as a big boat (as big as two canoes), so although Cruso educates him and teaches him, Friday's English remains truncated.

In Coetzee's novel, Friday has no tongue, as it has possibly been cut out taken by slavers. The only sound he can make is humming. Before Susan could discover that Friday is tongueless, she questioned the silence, and she made it clear that the purpose of language is to communicate and exchange pleasures of talk. However, for Crusoe, the purpose of language is hierarchical: it is to obey his orders. He responded to Susan's question about Friday's amount of vocabulary, saying, "as many as he needs" (Coetzee 1986, 21). It turns out that the language Cruso produced for Friday is a language of commands.

Susan, at first, tends to avoid Friday. She is troubled by his fish smell, as well as by her fears that he would eat her. These fears probably come from Crusoe's description of Friday as a cannibal. However, when the novel progresses, Susan realizes that Friday is not a cannibal. Furthermore, she instructs a writer, specifically Daniel Foe, to chronicle her narrative without alluding to the existence of pirates and cannibals, emphasizing the importance of truthfulness in the portrayal "Once you proposed to supply a middle by inventing cannibals and pirates. These I would not accept because they are not the truth" (Coetzee 1986, 121). Friday then is believed by Susan to be as an ordinary person.

> "What is the truth of Friday? You will respond: he is neither cannibal nor laundryman, these are mere names, they do not touch his essence, he is a substantial body, he is himself, Friday is Friday" (Coetzee 1986, 121–122).

Coetzee illuminated the silence experienced by marginalized individuals, with Friday serving as the initial focal point. Furthermore, the two novels underscore distinct mentalities of Crusoe as a castaway in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and a settler in *Foe*. Hellen Tiffin points out what Coetzee is able to do: he could have given voice to the voiceless indigenous. Coetzee could have written Friday as a healthier character, but the choice of voicelessness is so profound and powerful:

> Friday, if he is able to speak at all, must speak only in the 'language of Crusoe', and Coetzee, who is able to speak is not prepared (rightly in my view) to do so for Friday. Instead, he chooses to dramatize the oppressive structures which have rendered blacks voiceless (Tiffin 1987, 29)

Moreover, Tiffin indicated another objective of Coetzee's Foe. First, it is a narrative about constructing the Other (Friday in the novel) by European codes. Second, it also addresses the continuous applications of European codes in postcolonial settler colonies such as South Africa, New Zealand, Canada (Tiffin 1987, 30).

It is concluded hence, that by silencing Friday, Coetzee wants to deliver a message to readers on the effects of colonization which can be briefly titled as silencing the other. Furthermore, Cruso enjoyed the privilege of being superior in race, and he practiced this privilege by involving Friday in labor. Thus, Coetzee's *Foe* gives account to the exploitation factor of the colonial.

3.2. J. M. Coetzee's *In the Heart of the Country* as a response to *Heart of Darkness*

In the Heart of the Country (1977) is another seminal work by Coetzee. Briefly, the book is a diary of Magda, a white South African girl who lives on a remote island with her father and three black servants: Jacob, Anna, and Hendrick. Her diary is confusing to readers because it is hard to indicate which is Magda's real life and which is her created fantasy (Farn 2005, 172). In one of her fantasies, her father dies, and she is now responsible for the farm, the house, and the servants whom she invited to live in her house; nevertheless, it "was forbidden under Apartheid laws" (Farn 2005, 173). Afterward, Hendrick practices sexual domination over Magda and rapes her because she is not able to pay him and the other servants. She desired verbal communication from Hendrick and Anna, but they refused to intensify communication (Farn 2005, 173).

The dialogue of *In the Heart of the Country* with *Heart of Darkness* comes in many ways. Firstly, the title of the former work alludes to the title of the latter work. That is, the title exists in many various variations. For example, 'heart of nowhere' that is repeated three times. Consider this excerpt:

> There was a time when I imagined that if I talked long enough it would revealed to me what it means to be an angry spinster in the heart of nowhere (Coetzee 1977, 22).

Other variations include: 'heart of nature,' 'heart of the country,' and 'heart of things'. Secondly, Both Kurtz, the protagonist in Conrad's narrative, and Magda are white persons living in "relative isolation among some black people" (Farn 2005, 173). On the one hand, Kurtz's reaction is colonial (Farn 2005, 173). To phrase it differently, Kurtz's main aim behind going to Congo, Africa, is exploiting ivory as well as the exploitation of labor. However, Magda's reaction was "an explicit, self-reflective transition from an internalized Apartheid way of thinking to tentative postcolonialism" (Farn 2005, 173). To further elucidate, during her father's lifetime, they held dominance over black servants. Following his demise, she extended an invitation for them to reside in her house, contravening societal norms, thereby embodying a postcolonial perspective.

Thirdly, the absence of white neighbors and the constraints of a limiting God constitute the primary factors that contribute to madness and the transgression of social norms (Farn 2005, 174). In other words, both Kurtz and Magda (in her fantasies) become violent because they want to feel boundless. Kurtz's violence is because of greed (greed for money and ivory), and Magda's violence is because she wanted to make her life interesting.

Fourthly, Magda, if it seems that she is a castaway in a small environment, is not forced to be so. She could fantasize stories of herself within a larger white community "gripping her pen like a lifeline" (Farn 2005, 174). In contrast, Kurtz is considered a castaway who wants to go back home while his clerk ships ivory.

Therefore, these two postcolonial rewritings: *Foe* and *In the Heart of the Country* function as a transition from a colonial way of thinking to a postcolonial one. In the former work, Susan sympathises with Friday and denies the fact that he is a helpless cannibal. She also questions the sincerity of the colonial self-reliant Cruso's narrations in the colonised land and likewise the silencing of

Friday. Thus, from a postcolonial perspective, besides providing a correction of the adverse biases which were included in Defoe's original work, she exposes the colonial reality of othering people and silencing them by colonialists. In the latter work, the transition from a colonial apartheid perspective to a postcolonial one lies in Magda sympathizing with black servants. Coetzee uses her as a hybrid character to symbolize postcolonial tolerance. Hybrid in the sense that she, at first, took side as the dominating white privileged character, and after long interaction with black unprivileged servants, she stepped as a supporter for them.

Interestingly, these two rewritings of Coetzee give us insights on his method in postcolonial literature. He uses the hybridity of characters, and he writes from a postcolonial perspective. In his novel *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980), a rewriting of Joseph Conrad's work, Coetzee adeptly incorporates linguistic hybridity. I will explore this aspect, along with themes of otherness and hybridity, to assess their reciprocal influence.

4. Hybridity and rewriting of J. M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*

Waiting for the Barbarians was published in 1980 by the South African writer and Nobel prize for literature winner J. M. Coetzee. Primarily, the novel portrays imperialism in an unnamed colonial outpost called the Empire. In this chapter, I examine the novel as one postcolonial rewriting of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. I am tasked with initially comparing the novels in terms of plot and characters. Subsequently, I will proceed to take a look at instances of linguistic hybridity in *Waiting for the Barbarians* that come into being in relation to Conrad's text.

Since its initial publication in 1980, J.M. Coetzee's novel *Waiting for the Barbarians* has garnered significant critical acclaim for its intertextual literary approach and its exploration of postcolonial themes pertaining to social issues. *Waiting for the Barbarians* revolves around an unnamed magistrate who gives a first-person narration of the experience and dilemmas of getting caught between taking the side of an oppressive state or helping the oppressed at a high personal cost. Characterization is one of the approaches effectively employed by the author in exploring these dynamics between the oppressor and the oppressed, whereby different characters are depicted in a manner that places them in a hybrid position. This means that such characters cannot be defined or confined into a particular category regarding their identity or their language use.

4.1. J. M. Coetzee and Joseph Conrad on Africa

The English novelist of Polish descent, Joseph Conrad, and the South African novelist J. M. Coetzee were involved in a revolution of literary writings of different eras. They both wrote about Africa and their writings interact. In this part, I will demonstrate the interaction of the colonial work with the postcolonial one concerning Africa.

Considering Bill Ashcroft's classification of stages of postcolonialism (Ashcroft 1989, 6), we can classify Joseph Conrad in the first stage of postcolonialism; the imperial stage. On the imperial stage, authors of the colonial sphere produce literature. Likewise, *Heart of Darkness* belongs to this stage because it is a colonial novella written during the highest of European imperialism. *Waiting for the Barbarians* by the English author. J. M. Coetzee, on the contrary, belongs to the second stage. This stage concerns literature written under the 'imperial license' by natives or outcasts. The language of writing in the second stage is the dominant culture's language. Coetzee writes in the imperial language: English, and not in his mother tongue language as he is of Afrikaner descent.

A major notable distinction between the two works is associated with authors situating the protagonists' attitudes toward the representation and the treatment of the Other through the protagonist's s relations to the colonized people.

Marlow is the protagonist and the mouthpiece of Joseph Conrad in *Heart of Darkness*. His attitude toward the land and toward Africans in Congo defines which side he stands for. The side of 'Us' means civilized Europeans, or the side of the 'Other' means uncivilized Africans. In fact, Conrad writes those racially charged and demeaning descriptions of the natives to be spoken by Marlow. Consider for example, the descriptions of Africans as creatures but not humans. Marlow described the African fireman in one of the passages as a dog: "He was there below me...to look at him was as edifying as seeing a dog in a parody of breeches and a feather hat walking on his hind-legs". (Conrad 1899, 74) Thus, it is concluded that Marlow plays the role of the colonialist.

However, Conrad possibly wants to criticize colonialism of Africa and Africans by showing the cruel practices of European colonialists on Africans and how the so-called 'noble cause' is nothing but greedy exploiting of the lands and torturing the Other. If that is the cause, though, critics such as Chinua Achebe demonstrated the issue that if Conrad is exposing the demeaning effects of colonialism, then why he did not directly portray Malow as an anti-imperialist character. In *Waiting for the Barbarians*, the protagonist, the magistrate, opposes the unfair treatment and torture inflicted upon the so-called 'barbarians.' Despite being perceived by the Empire as the Other—dangerous thieves ready to attack—they had initially received the tribe in a hostile manner. Furthermore, the magistrate assists the injured nomadic woman, facilitating her return to her people, despite facing repercussions for his compassionate deed. Considering the magistrate 'the mouthpiece' of Coetzee, then the author criticizes the Empire and, overall, the whole imperial system. "Coetzee criticizes the imaginary unnamed Empire of his Novel, and by doing so actually, critics imperialist system as a whole" (Aytemiz 2016, 6). This means that the magistrate is a tool for Coetzee to express his anti-imperialist perspective.

Torture and pressure are common elements in both novels. It is a way to teach a lesson in *Heart of Darkness* and a way to get truth in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. In the former work by Conrad, the black slave was brutally tortured because he was blamed for the fire, and the result was that he was beaten for the sake of teaching him not to do it again "Serve him right. Transgression-punishment... That's the only way" (Conrad 1899, 50). In the latter work by Coetzee, the new chief of the Empire demonstrated that barbarians tell lies, and pressure is what pushes them to tell the truth "That is how you get the truth" (Coetzee 1980, 10).

Kurtz, the ivory trader representing the Belgian business from Conrad's novella, and the magistrate from Coetzee's novel played different extents of coloniality. Kurtz, on the one hand, went to Congo for the purpose of exploiting the land naturally: collecting ivory. On the other hand, he established another aim there as well: to bring light to dark Africa, i.e., to civilize the uncivilized. This was as a response to a call by the International Society for the Suppression of the Savages that asked him to make a report that is for its future guidance (Conrad 1899, 102). Marlow discovered that Kurtz apparently had gone mad and that natives were worshipping him as a God. In his writings that Marlow read, Kurtz presented the idea that a good imperialist plan needs harsh ways of treating the other. By way of explanation, violence is needed to achieve power.

> He began with the argument that we, whites, from the point of development we had arrived at, must necessarily appear to them [savages] in the nature of supernatural beings- we approach them with the might of deity (Conrad 1899, 103)

Furthermore, Kurtz concluded his diary with a postscript that reads: "Exterminate all the brutes" which can be read that what Kurtz did in the colony was not regretted.

Interestingly, both authors used the body features as symbols in their works. Descriptions of the body of the barbarians, especially the nomadic girl's body in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. The depictions of the bodies of black African slaves and servants in "Heart of Darkness" are both peculiar and distressing, constituting solely portraits of the 'other'. The nomadic girl is semi-blinded, bodily

deformed, and has marks on her body. In fact, the marks symbolize both the pain resulting from having a 'barbarian identity' and also her carrying the marks of the empire. Africans have huge bodies and completely black skins. They are called black shadows (Conrad 1899, 31). Some natives appear to have deformities consider for example "unless the body of a middle-ages negro, with a bullet-hole in the forehead" (Conrad 1899, 38). Therefore, it can be concluded that the undesired form of the body is associated with the other.

The silenced colonized is another key point to consider. Africans in *Heart of Darkness* were not giving voice in the novel. They had to perform the duties imposed by the company without the use of language. That was similar to Kurtz's native mistress who was also silenced. In contrast, the nomadic woman in Waiting for the Barbarian was given a voice and she could speak.

We can conclude that the colonial text *Heart of Darkness* and the postcolonial rewriting *Waiting for the Barbarians* discuss similar major issues. However, in the former work, stereotyping and dealing with the 'other' was legitimised through the narration and through main characters. Conversely, the practice of the empire was delegitimized by the main character in the latter. Therefore, the rewriting here aims at informing the reader about the imperialist reality and also having an attitude toward imperialism: an opposing attitude.

4.2. Hybrid position and otherness of characters in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*

The magistrate is the most prominent character whose position in the novel can be characterized as a hybrid. The magistrate assumes a hybrid position within the novel, embodying both antagonist and protagonist roles at various junctures. This complexity obscures a definitive characterization of him as either inherently good or evil. In the opening of the novel, the magistrate is portrayed as an oppressive and malevolent character, evident in his active role supporting the empire in subjugating marginalized communities labeled as barbarians. However, this identity becomes increasingly obscure due to his decision to openly defy the empire by helping the barbarians at a tremendous personal cost. One instance of that is his pursuit of truth from the prisoners: the young, the sick boy and the old man. His intimate involvement with a disabled barbarian girl, whom he was safeguarding from the empire's forces, prompts additional inquiries into the nature of his intentions, highlighting his role as a hybrid character. In other words, it raises the question of whether his actions are an expression of solidarity with the barbarian girl or an exploitation of her vulnerability. Reflecting on this characterisation of the magistrate as a hybrid character, J.M. Coetzee employed this character to demonstrate the experience and situations of people serving at different levels of oppressive regimes. As briefly recapitulated, the turn of events made the magistrate decide on an opposition position against the imperialist empire.

> one may claim with certainty that there is enough evidence throughout the novel that a strong change is taking place in the magistrate's character. This change stems from an unfortunate turn of events, one that takes place after decades the magistrate has spent deceiving himself. It begins when he no longer able or no longer wishes to remain in the dark about certain practices in the settlement. Once this door is opened, he can never go back to what he used to be; he has been infected by new knowledge and, once having shed light on a different form of truth, he can never go back to being his old self (Gledic 20012, 129)

Gledic added that the extent of the turn of events and change of power position would never allow him to go back to his old version of himself i.e., the imperialist magistrate.

Furthermore, the hybrid characterization also serves to convey J.M. Coetzee's perspective on his own complicity as a white individual in contributing to the oppression of the majority of black people during South Africa's apartheid regime. Therefore, the author himself is in a hybrid position writing in the language of the Empire to expose the cruelties of imperialism.

In *Waiting for the Barbarians*, Coetzee presents the case of the onset of decolonization, as pressures from the colonized slowly become a fear in the thoughts of people in power. This explains the case of the struggle for both those in power and those that strive to get their independence. The magistrate, the main character in the novel, acts as one of the chief colonial representatives in the empire. However, when the higher officials from the empire arrive and interrogate the prisoner, the magistrate visualizes them as oppressors. At this point, he strives to separate himself from the legacy of his people and craft something novel for himself. He strives to search for the truth from the past and create a new identity. This obsession with finding his identity leads to his downfall, mainly when he develops a relationship with a barbarian woman who is a prisoner. However, it is imminent that before the coming of Colonel Joll, the magistrate enjoyed his sleep; as Coetzee quotes, he could "sleep with a tranquil heart knowing that... the world would stay steady on its course..." (Coetzee 1980, 14). This explains how he was content with his life and condition, but the arrival of Colonel Joll sparks the feeling of incompleteness, and the reason for this degradation is the change of power positions. In the real sense, this change for the magistrate was actually reuniting with the colonizers. It is impressive how he imagines that a new identity would be created for him under the excavated land when he quotes that

> when I stand on the courthouse floor... I stand over the head of a magistrate like myself, another grey-haired servant of Empire who fell in the arena of his authority face to face at last with the barbarian (Coetzee 1980, 23).

This explains his choice to stamp the place with the colonizer's history. In essence, he is incomplete and highly uncomfortable in his role in the empire and is yet to solve the problem by studying the past of the oppressors and even reuniting with the past. He becomes the Other in the sense that his word is no longer heard, and he is imprisoned and tortured because he stood with the dominated nation.

Secondly, barbarians are also positioned in the position of the Other. It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of the novel, the Empire set itself against Barbarians, considering them as intruders and thieves. Because of positioning them as the Other, the Empire officials were involved in torturing them and exercising their power over them. Consider, for example, the nomadic girl whom the magistrate helped and sheltered. Her father was killed, and afterward, her ability to see and walk was hindered.

In the same vein, the nomadic woman was a prisoner of Colonel Joll, but upon release, she is abandoned by her folk, semi-blinded and begging in the outpost. This symbolizes how people can be transformed in extreme situations and how regular can quickly turn into abnormal in a system. The barbarian girl explains why the minorities push themselves to the wall and bravely gives a chance for the "other" to survive. To the imperialist system, the concept of "other" refers to the "barbarian" identity. The "other" also relates to her tortured and deformed body that was directly linked to the ideology of imperialism. The relationship between the magistrate and the barbarian girl is based on the magistrate's guilt for the girl's situation. He always had the dream of children playing happily in the snow. As a vital member of the empire, the magistrate feels that he did not fulfill his role as expected. The relationship with the girl is, therefore, one that strives to eliminate his awareness of the girl's otherness and understand the pain she went through under torture. He then probes the girl to understand the pain and torture on her body. Though the magistrate wishes that she would have been treated differently, she will continually remain as the other, a barbarian, in the empire. Coetzee explains that this girl is already prone to marriage as a stranger's property, and no one is likely to save her.

The change of power position therefore, created a hybrid position for the magistrate. He used to be in the side of the oppressor, believing that barbarians are different than the empire, and they

could be a threat. When Colonel Joll and the rest of the officials took over the authority and started investigating and torturing the barbarians under fake reasons, the magistrate had a chance to witness that barbarian are oppressed, and their voices are not heard. He, himself, experienced the feeling of being a foreign in his land.

4.3. Linguistic hybridity in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*

Linguistic hybridity as illustrated before, can take two forms. First, the use of English language to talk about the colonial subject in the hybrid colonial space, and this is done either by characters of a literary wok or by the narrator, and second by the emerging female voices in a colonialist hierarchical society.

Linguistic hybridity, by implication is present in both: the emergence of the female voice (the nomadic woman) within the colonial dominating, imperialist, male context and second, and the narrator's use of English language to expose colonialism. Furthermore, it lies in the hybrid character who uses language to communicate to opposing sides of the society.

The magistrate uses the language in the hybrid space to communicate with the oppressor (the new officials of the empire) and the oppressed (the barbarians and the barbarian woman). In communicating with the former, the magistrate uses the language of questioning the empire's acts and delegitimizing them. In communicating with barbarians and specially the barbarian woman, he used a sympathetic language. One example is that her could not stand seeing her begging in the street, and thus he offered her to work.

> I have offered that you should come and work here. You cannot beg in the streets. I cannot permit that. Also you must have a place of abode. If you work here you can share the cook's room (Coetzee 1980, 38).

In the first chapter, binary oppositions, extensively exemplified, necessitate the juxtaposition of two opposites, wherein one is favored while the other is disfavored. In the case of the barbarian woman, besides her belonging to the other (the oppressed, colonised barbarian), she is a female in a male dominating literary context. She endured oppression, experiencing the traumatic loss of her father in front of her, deliberate deformation by empire officials, and harassment in the streets by male counterparts. Notwithstanding the dehumanization she witnessed, she had a voice in the novel, expressing her feelings to the magistrate.

Interestingly, the barbarian woman replies in English language: the language of the colonizer and this is despite of her nation's unknown origin and anonymous native language. However, it is obvious that their native language is not English.

> "Nevertheless," he says, "I ought to question them. This evening, if it is convenient. I will take my assistant along. Also I will need someone to help me with the language. The guard, perhaps. Does he speak it?" (Coetzee 1980, 8).
> The Colonel knew that barbarians speak a different language.

For the barbarian girl, consider for example her answer when the magistrate asked about the reason of eye injury: "you are always asking me that question, so I will tell you. It was a fork with only two teeth" (Coetzee 1980, 56). Another critical point to consider is her challenging the fear of the imperial presence. In other words, the barbarian girl courageously speaks out, revealing the brutality of the new officers' mistreatment despite their positions of power. Consequently, the woman in the colonial hybrid space remains unafraid of oppression.

As mentioned in previous discussions, the female character is silenced in the colonial text by Conrad: *Heart of Darkness*. Despite Conrad portraying Kurtz's mistress as a fearless character, she,

along with the other female characters in the text, remained silent. Controversy, the nomadic girl spoke in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*. Coetzee made her express herself, and her pain to the magistrate in the English language. Moreover, she uncovered the brutality practiced against her and her nation and she challenged the fear of the colonialism. Coetzee, thus, by his response to *Heart of Darkness*, successfully conveyed the message that, unlike colonial texts such as *Heart of Darkness*, the female voice emerges in postcolonial literature and speaks for itself. Additionally, by using the magistrate as a hybrid character, postcolonial tolerance is achieved because, in his new hybrid position, the magistrate, is more sympathetic towards barbarians and he finally discovers the unfair practices of the empire. Coetzee himself is a hybrid author because he uses the Language of the colonizer: English to address the colonial subject and colonial reality.

5. Conclusion

This paper initially posed the question, "How does the empire respond in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*, serving as a postcolonial rewriting of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness?"*. By examining critical literature and Coetzee's own rewritings, it becomes apparent that hybridity manifests in various ways within his postcolonial texts. *Waiting for the Barbarians,* in particular, critiques colonial practices through the representation of silences, hybrid characters, and linguistic hybridity, elements absent from Conrad's original text.

Firstly, it effectively reinstated modifications made in the colonial canon. For example, Achebe sought to challenge Conrad's depiction of Africa as mysterious and its people as savages. Secondly, it brought to light the colonial reality by highlighting the economic and human exploitation of native lands. A common theme across the studied rewritings was the reconsideration of established narratives, illustrated notably in Coetzee's Foe, where Barton uncovers Cruso's exploitation of additional lands and labor. Thirdly, postcolonial rewriting addresses and rectifies negative biases against formerly colonized societies. Fourthly, it serves as a means of self-representation and identity preservation. Coetzee's Waiting for the Barbarians reinterprets Conrad's Heart of Darkness, providing a fresh perspective that unveils the silenced other within the dominating colonial sphere. Additionally, the utilization of hybrid characters, such as the magistrate, underscores the imperative to scrutinize the foundations of imperialism. Moreover, linguistic hybridity holds significant importance in conveying the postcolonial perspective. Writers employ this concept by addressing the colonial subject in the language of the colonizer, typically English, within a hybrid space. This approach is believed to resonate with a broader audience compared to using the colonized language. Furthermore, linguistic hybridity is evident when the voiceless female of the Other communicates. For example, the nomadic girl converses with the magistrate in English, despite the novel not specifying her native language. Thus, Coetzee apprises the woman's language and communication situation in the hierarchical dominating society and gives her a voice to express herself and expose the cruelties of the empire. On the contrary, *In Heart of darkness*, female characters do not communicate using language.

This thesis examined the postcolonial rewriting, hybridity, and linguistic hybridity only for few examples. The study could be elaborated more involving the Nigerian author Chinua Achebe and his novel *Things Fall Apart* in a wider sense of study and analyses. Furthermore, I could analyze works from the Caribbean literary canon where postmodern rewriting abounds. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the rewriting did not happen only from the side of the colonies, but also white Western authors contributed to this process. *In the Heart of the Matter* (1948) by Graham Greene, *Facing the Congo* (2000) by Jeffery Tayler (2000), *Conrads Rivier* (1994) by Mineke Schipper are examples of postcolonial rewritings of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* by white western authors (Farn 2005). Therefore, it would be a good addition for the project.

Reference list

Achebe, Chinua. 2016.'An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's Heart of Darkness'. *The Massachusetts Review* 57, no. 1 (26 March 2016): 14–27.

Achebe, Chinua. 1995. *Things Fall Apart*. New York: Everyman's Library. Knopf Doubleday Publish Group.

Ashcroft, Bill. 2002. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*. New Accents. London: Routledge.

Azam, Azmi.2014. 'Orientalism in Conrad's Heart of Darkness: An Influential Tool of Representing the Non-Europeans as Subjugated Entities in Literature'. Accessed 2 May 2022.

Bhabha, Homi K. 2004. *The Location of Culture*. London ; New York :Routledge, 2004.

Cain, William E., Laurie A. Finke, Barbara E. Johnson, John McGowan, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Jeffrey J. Williams, eds.2010. 'The Incitement to Discourse'. In *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, 1648–1658, n.d.

Cain, William E., Laurie A. Finke, Barbara E. Johnson, John McGowan, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Jeffrey J. Williams, eds.2010. 'From Orientalism'. In *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, 1991–1978, n.d.

Cain, William E., Laurie A. Finke, Barbara E. Johnson, John McGowan, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Jeffrey J. Williams, eds.2010. 'Michel Foucault'. In *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, 1615–1622, n.d.

Cain, William E., Laurie A. Finke, Barbara E. Johnson, John McGowan, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Jeffrey J. Williams, eds. 2010. *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: WW Norton.

Coetzee, J. M. 1986. *Foe*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.

Coetzee, J. M. 1977. *In the Heart of the Country*. London: Penguin Books.

Coetzee, J. M. 1999. *Waiting for the Barbarians*. London: Penguin Books.

Conrad, Joseph. 2007. *Heart of Darkness*. Edited by Robert Hampson and Owen Knowles. London, England: Penguin Classics.

Easthope, Antony.1988. 'Homi Bhabha, Hybridity and Identity, or Derrida Versus Lacan'. *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies (HJEAS)* 4, no. 1/2 : 145–51.

Farn, Regelind. 2005. *Colonial and Postcolonial Rewritings of 'Heart of Darkness': A Century of Dialogue with Joseph Conrad*. Boca Raton.

Foucault, Michel. 1988.'The Subject and Power'. *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 4 (1982): 777–95.

Fanon, Frantz. 2008.*Black Skin, White Masks*. Revised. New York: Grove Press, n.d.

Fanon, Frantz. 2007.*The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove/Atlantic, Inc., 2007.

Herbillon, Marie.2019.'Rewriting Dostoevsky: J. M. Coetzee's *The Master of Petersburg* and the Perverted Truths of Biographical Fiction'. *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 55, no. 3 (September 2020): 391–405. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021989418823829.

Kenyatta, Jomo.1962. *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu*. Vitage Books. London. https://fr.hu1lib.org/book/1000590/d6b2bb.

Leitch, Vincent B. 2010. *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Lynda L. Hinkle. 2007.'Women and Silence in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*....Or Patriarchal Fantasy, 2.0' 1, no. 5.

Memmi, Albert. 1991. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Expanded. ??: Beacon Press.

Nirmala S., Susan. 2013. "The Idea of Othering in J. M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians." New Academia* 2: 4 URL: https://oaji.net/articles/2014/1439-1416459929.pdf Access: Apr, 25, 2022

Morris, Rosalind, ed. 2009. *Can the Subaltern Speak?* New York, NY: Columbia University Press

Moses, Michael Valdez.1993. 'The Mark of Empire: Writing, History, and Torture in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*'. *The Kenyon Review* 15, no. 1: 115–27.

Roy, Arundhati. 1997*The God of Small Things*. New York: Random House Publishing Group.
Said, E. W. 1979. *Orientalism.* (1st ed). London: Vintage Books.
Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988.*Can the Subaltern Speak?* Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Anna Szabó

Dreams and nightmares of the future: utopia and dystopia in H. G. Wells' *The Time Machine*[*]

Abstract

Dystopia is a well-known term, but its definition is a bit more complicated. Although it is frequently considered to be the opposite of utopia, this paper argues that it is not just a negative version of it. The two concepts possess deep generic connections and share some of their features, namely that they react to the same phenomena occurring in the times and societies of their creation and that both of them try to warn their audiences. Although their roots and objectives are the same, they achieve their goals from two different perspectives. Utopias criticize their own times through emphasizing a perfect outcome that may be achieved if humans are willing to work for it. Dystopias, however, stress the fears of a given society and present a repulsive future with the aim of deterring the audience from their possible accomplishment. I also want to argue that utopias are not absolutely perfect and they consist of certain amount of ambivalence, and that this is the main reason why dystopias can use them as starting points. Although later dystopian stories are also going to be referred to, I chose H. G. Wells' *The Time Machine* as the primary illustration for my ideas. The reason for this is that this narrative thoroughly presents the generic relations between utopias and dystopias and displays the primary function of utopias and dystopias: namely to motivate their audiences to work for improvement.

1. Introduction

Looking back, one may see how both the 20th and the first decade of the 21st century witnessed wars, destruction, disasters and oppression. Human history has always been written in blood, and the ordinary person just stands there watching security and peace slowly fading away. However, one may think that it should not be like this. Since Thomas More founded the genre of utopia, which later developed its little sister, dystopia, the two names always concealed works of art which determinedly criticized certain phenomena occurring in the eras they were written in with the obvious aim of warning their audiences about certain problems appearing around them and urging them to do something; either to create a better future, or to extinguish the possibility of a worse one. It may be no surprise that in our insecure, postmodern world, dystopian novels and films are adored by cinemagoers, series-fanatics and bookworms alike. Dystopian films, such as *The Hunger Games* trilogy, *Minority Report* or *The Book of Eli*, count as blockbusters. Also many series were launched with a dystopian theme, such as *Terra Nova* or *Revolution.* Dystopia even paved its way to cartoons and did not miss a chance to give a critique about consumerism in Pixar's *WALL-E.*

Although dystopias and utopias are often considered to be the opposites of each other, this paper argues that this commonly accepted approach is problematic. It argues that the two concepts are inseparable, or, at least, have a very strong relationship, and that they share many of their attributes. They come into existence similarly: both of them mirror particular phenomena of the present and experiment with their outcomes in the future or at some remote venue. Utopias emphasize what is good and meritable in a certain society, while dystopias exaggerate its worst features and tendencies; still, the present is in the main focus of both. They show the brightest dreams and,

[*] BA Thesis. Supervisor: Péter Bocsor.

at the same time, the darkest nightmares of the current audience. In this sense, no matter how far they seem, they can never lose their edge because they project today's doubts and expectations to tomorrow.

They also have the same function, namely to draw the attention of their audiences to certain occurrences. Both genres usually rely on the same phenomena, but they shed different light on them and put the emphasis elsewhere. Utopias show how humans can overcome their struggles and how utopian dreams can be driving forces to build a brighter future. Dystopias, however, reveal a nightmare which came to existence due to human desires. While utopias want to encourage their readership to do something and work for the realization of their dreams, dystopias try to warn their audiences by exploiting their fears in order to prevent the manifestation of their horrible visions.

I would also like to argue that although utopias can provide really strong motivation for people to achieve given goals, they can never be fully realized. Besides the main illustrations of the paper, I am going to refer to some real-life examples which prove that utopias cannot and should not be realized, simply because perfection can never be reached and even if yes, the accomplishment of perfection would mean imminent decay.

To begin with, I am going to list and examine how the main points are present in other scholars' works. Then I am going to investigate how they are displayed in an actual dystopian narrative, *The Time Machine,* written by H. G. Wells. I have chosen this short story to illustrate my claims because it starts as a flawless utopia – though there are allusions to its faults – and shows how a utopian dream can turn into a dystopian nightmare. Moreover, from the text, the intention of the writer to warn his audience – the mission of utopias and dystopias – is also clear. Hence, it is a wonderful representation of how utopias and dystopias are connected and how they function. After the examination of *The Time Machine* – and some minor examples from other literary dystopias – I am going revisit my claims in the form of a conclusion.

2. Theoretical Background

In order to have a better understanding of a particular topic, one may start with a research among the definitions of it. Taking a look at the sources discussing dystopian and utopian literature we can draw numerous generic conclusions that are going to be cited and referred to in this chapter before proceeding to the next ones illustrating the arguments with the help of *The Time Machine.*

Maybe the most obvious universality is that the minimum what scholars do in the case of the aforementioned two genres is that they connect the two. A definition of one of them that does not mention the other can hardly be found. The reason for this is rooted in the fact that these genres are "very closely linked" (Crook 2000, 210) or, in other words, each other's "generic siblings", (Moylan 2000b, xiii). Some scholars think that the relationship of utopias and dystopias has a subordinating tone, because the former are superior to the latter. This approach appears in Friedmann's work, for instance, who says that dystopia is "a peculiar form of utopia" that "may alert us to certain tendencies in the present" (Friedmann 2000, 462), or in Moylan, who calls it a "new literary mutation [...] that speaks eloquently and effectively to its times." (Moylan 2000b, 121) These academics not only connect the two, but claim – or imply – that dystopia is somehow inferior to utopia, being solely a subgenre of it. Others, however, believe that dystopia is a genre on its own right bearing the same amount of importance and criticizing value as utopia.

Schlobin, for example, devotes a whole essay to the topic of how dystopias and utopias evolve. Doing this, he clearly separates them, but treats the two on an equal basis indicating their evenness. At the end of his paper, there is an exhaustive list about the ways dystopias and utopias are usually born:

> [...] dystopias and utopias certainly pervade everywhere and can be produced by the following: reactions to anxieties and discontent, suffering and pain, blocked and failed social systems, tyrannical languages and symbols, oppression of gender and color, dehumanization, loss of the "American dream", science and machines, materialism, antithetical cultures, ideologies, and colonialism. They can also be produced by natural historical conflict and by the pursuit of human anatomy, change, control of information, and beauty. Finally, they can be self-inflicted or self-generated. (Schlobin 2004, 14)

Among these numerous reasons there are some that imply that utopias can often develop (or rather degrade) into dystopias. This paper accepts his claim and also brings it on to the point where we can say that although utopias have the potential to become dystopias (and they either become or not), but dystopias almost always use utopias as starting points. Naturally, the process of development from utopia to dystopia varies from time to time. Some of them, for example, start in an obviously utopian way: the "outsider" of the story begins to explore the "brave new world" and arrives at a conclusion that it is perfect. They just later realize the truth and face the distorted nature of the antecedently praised features.

The outsider character is a classic "tool" utopias use to grant the reader a better understanding of the utopian world. Sometimes this "tool" is borrowed by writers of dystopias, but, as Moylan points out, dystopias can also develop their own "outsiders". They use a "citizen, a rebel or misfit of some sort" who resist the existing order. (Moylan 2000a, 63) These people are part of the society displayed in the story, but they cannot fit in.

The Time Machine is a dystopia with a typical, utopian outsider character, the Time Traveller, exploring the miracles and the horrors of 802,701 A. D. Proceeding with the text, the Time Traveller and those who read his account discover the secrets of the future where the Time Traveller is as alien as his audience. Nevertheless, there is an abundant set of examples where we can see "outsiders" who did not arrive from elsewhere, but who are part of the dystopia from the start. Burgess's *A Clockwork Orange* or Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* provide deterring pictures about alternative realities with all the characters knowing its rules and taking part in them originally. Their protagonists, Guy Montag and the young Alex are outsiders in a way, too, because they – as opposed to the others – do not feel comfortable with the mechanism and functioning of the world surrounding them. They want to escape from the reality they find loathsome, but still, both of them belong to these dystopian worlds from the beginning. Huxley's *Brave New World* is somehow a hybrid, because the first part of the book describes a utilitarian future from the perspective of Bernard Marx and Helmholtz Watson, two people born and bred in it. However, later, the main focus of the story shifts to John the Savage. John could be considered to be an archetypal utopian outsider, a guest in the "brave new world", but he is a well-informed guest due to her mother, Linda, who used to be part of the book's dystopian society and told him stories about it. She is the reason why John is not fully inexperienced when he starts his "journey".

Schlobin's list can support not only the idea that utopias and dystopias are connected and that they are equal, but also that they derive from the same root, because they come into existence in the same ways. The core of these manners of being born is that dystopias and utopias react to specific phenomena abiding in the times they were written in. Using different methods, but both of the genres express critique: utopias by putting more emphasis on what is considered to be good in a certain society and dystopias by revealing and exaggerating, as Friedmann points out, particular patterns that are undesirable, but are still present in our societies. According to him, utopias reflect the "values" of a certain society, thus they can foster it to "choose a path into the future". (Friedmann 2000, 462–463) For him the so-called "utopian thinking" is a special and inevitable step for humanity's progress. However, the importance of utopian thinking in his system is going to be discussed in more details in a later chapter.

As opposed to the bright future Friedmann imagines with the help of utopias, he considers dystopias to have identical weight when it comes to criticism – even if they are inferior to utopias. If utopias stress the values, then dystopias are their

> peculiar form[s] [that] may alert us to certain tendencies in the present, which, if allowed to continue unchecked and carried to a logical extreme, would result in a world we find abhorrent. (Friedmann 2000, 462)

Here, Friedmann points out the critical role of dystopias: they highlight the trends in a given culture that may be dangerous to the tomorrow we imagined in the form of utopia. Stephen Crook elaborates a similar approximation when he indicates that

> a critique of the existing order can proceed from a projection of either its worst or its best features on to an imaginary society. The link between the two forms is also conveyed by disjunctions such as 'heaven or hell', or 'socialism or barbarism'. [...] the impending choice is between utopia or dystopia: if we do not work (spiritually, politically) to create utopia we will end up with dystopia. (Crook 2000, 210)

This means that utopian and dystopian writers look at the same problems and patterns in order to criticize them. However, they do that from two alternative points of view. Utopias paint a picture about a dream, a perfect future which could be possibly built up, while dystopian worlds rather resemble nightmares. They do so because they make an attempt to warn their audiences where their cravings can lead them. Still, the root is the same, because both utopias and dystopias are based on human desires and describe where those desires could lead humanity.

Both Friedmann's definition and Crook's account highlight the fact that these fictional spaces are all oriented towards the present in a sense. Though they seem to take place on distant planets or in the far future, they all react to features of the time they were composed in. They either praise or condemn those elements, but it is still an evaluation focusing on today. In this extract cited above, Crook takes one more step and proposes that utopias and dystopias bring their readers to crossroads where those readers have to make a decision about their own future: if they do not make efforts to build up a utopia by actualizing their dreams, they have to live in a dystopian nightmare. We can claim that both of these genres try to manipulate the reader into thinking about their own, contemporary conditions, using fictitious background to do so. As Moylan says, the audience has to "go beyond the closure of the last line". (Moylan 2000b, 14) Besides having an entertaining function as literary works of art, utopias and dystopias have another objective. This goal reaches far beyond finishing a book about a nonexistent society in the future or on a faraway planet: it is to make their audience look at their own reality from a new perspective. Both of them provide new perspectives by pointing out the qualities and merits around people: the ones they should appreciate, protect, and strengthen, and by drawing the attention to problematic questions that should be solved as soon as possible, until it is not too late. Utopias do this by emphasizing the former, positive attributes, while dystopias stress the latter, negative ones.

The two concepts are similar in another aspect, mentioned by Huntington, namely in that both of them conceal meaningful and orderly systems with the aim of either tempting the readers to or deterring them from a possible outcome. Here the stress lies on the completeness of the universes as opposed to anti-utopia, a third term introduced by Huntington. (Huntington 1981, 123–124 in Moylan 2000b, 128–129) When Moylan makes an attempt to interpret both this vague concept and Hungtington's idea built around it, he arrives at the conclusion that anti-utopia is rather a "critical phase of utopian thinking itself" simply criticizing utopian worlds. (Moylan 2000b, 129) Anti-

utopias hence may become parts of the development of utopias into dystopias: the point when the realization of utopian ideas – or in certain cases the ideas themselves – are questioned and criticized.

Utopia is a genre based on criticism, thus may provide ground for it inherently – generally in the form of dystopias. Notwithstanding, anti-utopia is an important step of this criticizing process, yet, it is not a detailed, mature entity like the other two. The next phase may be when sole criticism grows into a constructive idea, either a positive or a negative one, then evolving into a dystopia or into another utopia. Albeit this paper will not engage itself in lengthy discussions of anti-utopia, this obscure notion is still a significant point in the (d)evolution of utopia into dystopia which is in fact a primary question here.

The genres, naturally, are changing as the realities they have to react to change. They tend to foreground different issues or qualities and raise new questions. Having primarily a warning function, they have to alter and follow the modifications of the ages in which they were written in. For example, in the Wellsian dystopia, devastation of nature is already present in a few hints about extinct animals and buildings ruined due to negligence, but it is not a central problem. Nevertheless, in later 20th century dystopian worlds, like in the two post-apocalyptic scenes of David Mitchell's *Cloudatlas*, it is becoming a more and more significant point. This may be because at the turn of the century, in Wells' times, environmental protection was merely a young and unessential concern while after the Second World War, it grew into a major issue. Other examples are terror and violence that are lurking behind all through *The Time Machine*, but what are more essential parts of later dystopian novels, like *A Clockwork Orange* or *The Hunger Games* trilogy, which are threatening echoes of their own violent ages. Again, although the Time Traveller sometimes has the feeling that the Morlocks are monitoring his every single move, the fear of constant surveillance only becomes a key concept in dystopias written after the appearance of the 20th century's totalitarian dictatorships, e. g. in George Orwell's *1984*. Dystopias also have to raise new questions when new phenomena appear. For example, television is depicted in many dystopias, such as in *The Hunger Games* trilogy or in *Fahrenhei 451,* as a tool of brainwashing or the symbol of stupidity and cruel forms of entertainment. These dystopias respond not only to the spread of television sets, but also the increasing number of hours spent in front of them. This theme, naturally, cannot have made an appearance in earlier dystopias written before the invention of television; still it emerged as soon as there was a social situation it could have responded to.

James states that modern utopias went under so many modifications that they "may be posing more questions than presenting solutions". (James 2003, 226) This tendency could mean that not only utopias themselves, but utopia as a category itself is moving closer and closer to dystopia. Although this generic change is not going to be in the primary focus of my paper, it is still weighty as a fact proving the significance and topicality of the genres today as they are not rigid categories: they ask the questions that no one dares to ask, they alter those questions if there is a demand, and they can do so terribly successfully because they usually use science fiction as a wrapping for their message, and science fiction "finds the ways to explore and to go where others will not, might not, dare not to go." (Moylan 2000b, 4) In other words, science fiction can grant something utopias and dystopias really need: a space for experimentation.

In later chapters, *The Time Machine* is going to be used as an example to illustrate the main points of the argumentation that will be summarized here in a few sentences. Utopias and dystopias are equally important and significant genres that have a noticeably strong interrelationship. Though they are often considered to be each other's exact opposites, they share certain attributes, particularly that both of them create articulate and organized universes in order to provide a critical approach for the society, culture and era they were written in. Hence they derive from the same root and with the same purpose: to draw the audience's attention to specific trends that should be strengthened because of their positive values or should be eliminated in order to avoid their terrible

outcome. They are both based on human desires and passions showing where these feelings can lead humanity. In this sense, they apply the same techniques and perform the same experiments when they project their hopes or fears to the future with profoundly different results. In utopias, this result is a perfect society, a Golden Age, whilst in dystopias, it is a nightmare.

Dystopia is also often considered to be an inferior subgenre of utopia and, though dystopia is an independent literary genre, it is not by coincidence. This is due to the fact that dystopias usually – implicitly or explicitly – start as utopias. They criticize utopias and try to prove the fact that there is no utopia which could have been realized because utopias are basically dreams, and their perfection can hardly be achieved, and even if we would achieve them, it would not be flawless any more.

3. *The Time Machine* seen as utopia

In the previous chapter, I have listed the main arguments of this paper. In the forthcoming two, I am going to illustrate my points with the help of *The Time Machine* by H. G. Wells. I think that this story is an excellent example, because it beautifully thematizes the deep generic connection between utopias and dystopias. Howbeit its author, H. G. Wells, was not the first utopian writer, he is still considered to be one of the most famous ones, and in this literary piece of art almost all the features and themes appearing in later dystopias can be traced back. We will also see that a sharp distinction between utopias and dystopias is highly problematic as the utopia described in the beginning of this particular narrative is inherently equivocal and, though it commences in a promising way, the seemingly perfect world soon collapses and is succeeded by fears and dangers that were lurking behind from the beginning.

The hero of the story is an anonymous scholar, a man of science who, arriving at this new reality in 802, 701 A. D., is greatly impressed by this exciting and seemingly perfect place. Although the Eloi, the people of the future, do not help him much, he discovers their world step-by-step and arrives at the conclusion that this is the Golden Age of humankind, or at least the time shortly after it. One of the fascinating features 802, 701 seems to bear with is the lack of fear. (Wells 1979, 24) The Eloi do not seem to be afraid of anything, except for the dark – but this fact and its reason only turns out later, when the Time Traveller spends more time with them and obtains the friendship of an Eloi girl, Weena. (Wells 1979, 42)

The Eloi not only miss fear, but also problems, difficulties, fight or inequality. These child-like little creatures seem to live in flawless harmony seeking their pleasure all day long and being fully satisfied and happy.

> Social triumphs, too, had been effected. I saw mankind housed in splendid shelters, gloriously clothed, and as yet I had found them engaged in toil. There were no signs of struggle, neither social nor economical struggle. [...] It was natural on that golden evening that I should jump at the idea of social paradise. (Wells 1979, 32)

The Eloi seem to have everything a person could wish for: they live in peace, wealth, health and freedom from any form of hardship. Going through this passage, an unblemished future materializes in front of the reader who might want to take at least a tiny trip to it.

Social triumphs were enormously important for Wells, who had been a true socialist and who had grasped every opportunity to advocate his ideas. His utopia assumes the form of a communism, as the Time Traveller soon recognizes. (Wells 1979, 29) It seems like the Eloi live in a socialist dream sharing their food, their bedrooms, being totally equal, having the same clothes and shoes and constituting an enormous commune.

Wells was not only a socialist, but also a follower of the positivist branch of the Modernist tendency in the late 19th and early 20th century. He believed in the immense power of human creativity, intelligence, and the infinite opportunities technological development can offer to humankind. According to this standard, in 802, 701 A. D., all the feasible goals have been achieved and human ability reached its peak, after which there is nowhere to develop.

> Some day, all this will be better organized, and still better. That is the drift of the current in spite of the eddies. The whole world will be intelligent, educated, and cooperating; things will move faster and faster towards the subjugation of Nature. In the end, wisely and carefully we shall readjust the balance of animal and vegetable life to suit our human needs. This adjustment, I say, must have been done, and done well; done indeed for all Time, in the space of Time across which my machine had leaped. (Wells 1979, 31–32)

The people of the 19th century have just recently discovered their capacity to conquer the world around them. Naturally, they were toying with the idea of how far their arms can reach and what they can achieve with the help of their new inventions. The passage above displays some of the principal dreams of a man of science in the 19th century: general education and triumph over nature.

In the chapter where the former passage is cited from, the Time Traveller compares 802, 701 to his own times. Since Thomas More founded the genre, one of the primary functions of utopias is to criticize the era they were written in via comparing it to the one depicted in the text. Wells himself claims, that

> [....] throughout the ages the utopias reflect the anxieties and the discontents amidst which they were produced. They are, so to speak, shadows of light thrown by darkness (Wells 1939, 119 in Schlobin 2004, 11)

They are meant to point out the faults and fears of a particular age or society, thus they emphasise questions that are considered to be crucial then and there. Wells' *The Time Machine* is occupied with a series of problems that can clearly be traced back to the Victorian era Wells had been living in. In fact, Bradshaw claims that *The Time Machine* has a greater motivation in the suspicions of its own time than in the visions of tomorrow. (Bradshaw 2004, xi)

Utopias and dystopias are connected and share some of their attributes. Both of them are spaces of experimentation where ideas can be tested. These are unreal places or times where the possible outcomes can be investigated without any actual harm done. In her introduction to her article, Leonard describes how utopias and dystopias provide field for these kinds of speculations:

> Science Fiction writers can use its imaginative possibilities to hypothesize worlds where existing social problems have been solved; they can also imagine a future where the problems have been magnified or extended into a grim dystopia. At the same time, however, they are bound and constructed by numerous other forces, including their own culture and experiences and their publisher's expectations and target audience. (Leonard 2003, 253)

Though she has written this about science fiction and not specifically utopias and dystopias, her ideas can be applied to these particular genres as well, because utopias and dystopias are both based on the problems of a specific society. The former answers them while the latter exaggerates them. However, she also claims that although these locations and periods are fictitious, they are heavily affected by the ones they were written in. (Leonard 2003, 253)

To mention an example, the Wellsian utopias are vastly influenced by the Victorian period Wells had been living in. The people of Wells' times, especially the lower classes, suffered from in-

equality and were deprived of their basic needs and rights. Albeit his readers may have ignored these issues, Wells did not. He tried his best to draw his readers' attention to them, and made sure that the reading public enjoying his shorts stories would never overlook the relationship between 802, 701 and 1895, when the story was published. In order to guarantee the successful delivery of his message, he drops remarks throughout the whole story. One of these is when, at the end of the narrative, the Time Traveller terminates the description of his adventures:

> Take it as a lie—or a prophecy. Say I dreamed it in the workshop. Consider I have been speculating upon the destinies of our race until I have hatched this fiction. Treat my assertion of its truth as a mere stroke of art to enhance interest. And taking it as a story, what do you think of it? (Wells 1979, 80)

The Time Traveller, as a true prophet, does not force his prophecies on his guests – nor does Wells. Both of them leave it to the guests – and to the reader – to believe in them, or not. Nevertheless, he implies that even if mere fiction, it is based on the present. The guests may not believe his story and the readers can be reassured that it is merely a brainchild of a writer's fantasy; still, they have the constant feeling that no matter how far it is, the story of 802, 701 is about them and their present. This is one of the major goals of utopias and dystopias: to attract the audience to notice the worries and dilemmas of their own age. They make the reader perceive the parallel between their own society and that of the imaginary places or times, hence making the audience more conscious about the flaws of their own communities. Wells not only calls the attention to the problems of the working class, but also proposes a seemingly viable solution: a socialist change that would erase every obstacle and inequality and create the perfect, communist society where everyone is equal and content. Though the life of the Eloi is meaningless and shallow, they seem to be happy and satisfied. Unfortunately, this bright prospect of perfection has to collapse, but how and why it does so exactly is going to be discussed in the next chapter.

Utopias usually not merely condemn their own societies, but show how some of their benevolent and progressive tendencies can lead to a better future. By emphasizing these values, they try to encourage the reader to strengthen those values and consequently build a brighter tomorrow. *The Time Machine,* for instance, describes a world in which humans completely conquered nature by the means of technology, and this brought general prosperity both for them and their environment. (Wells 1979, 31–32) The rapidly developing technology formed an important issue in the Victorian era and it was considered to be the device to reach humanity's perfection and help it to step into a new age. The contemporary readers may have read the passages about welfare and abundance caused by technological advancement with satisfaction, because Wells intended to show them here how technology can contribute to progress.

When the Time Traveller is talking about the safety and peace that the Eloi live in, he points out that "we see some beginning of this even in our own time, and in the future age it was complete." (Wells 1979, 30) Wells is making an allusion here that this secure way of life is at the feet of his audience as a possibility: they can reach it if they are willing to work for it. In Friedmann's reading, utopias not only stimulate people to dream, but to dream big. According to him, the creators and audiences of utopias must use their own times as bases for the utopian worlds, but they also have to be speculative and far-fetched in a way and let their fantasy fly:

> Utopian thinking: the capacity to imagine a future that departs significantly from what we know to be a general condition in the present. It is a way of breaking through the barriers of convention into a sphere of the imagination where many things beyond our everyday experience become feasible. (Friedmann 2000, 462)

Utopias – and dystopias – are fictitious places and times where experimentation with ideas is more than possible. They can help their writers to crystallize their ideas during the process of writing and introduce solutions to the reading public. Friedmann thinks that the best way to solve the problems of everyday life is to imagine and forge non-existent realities which "can help us choose the path into the future that we believe justified, because its concrete imagery is informed by values which are precious to us." (Friedmann 2000, 462–463) Friedmann's ideas may have been influenced by the fact that he was a scholar in urban planning and regarded utopias not only as tools that have a significant impact on people's thinking, but also as detailed plans and maps for the actual construction of the future.

When Friedmann is talking about utopias, he believes in their actualization or manifestation in the real world. He wants people to imagine utopias in order to realize them and build a brighter tomorrow. His opinion about the importance of utopias and their methods of functioning seems to echo that of Stephen Crook:

> Utopias are of interest because they project ways of life that their authors take to be both radically distinct from and ethically superior to those prevalent in their own times and places. (Crook 2000, 206)

Crook emphasizes that utopias highlight the merits of a given society and embeds them in an imaginary reality. These merits are either present in that particular society – even if in an embryonic form – or they are simply wishes, ideals or dreams of it. Utopias intend to improve our communities by fantasizing about imaginary societies, thus urging us to take steps towards those dream-like realities. They pick the attributes and trends which they consider to be worthy and test how they would be working if they were realized. Wells and some of his contemporaries, for example, longed for an equal society and this longing is mirrored in his utopian vision, too. They also believed in the ultimate power of human creativity and development which dream is also reflected in the world of 802, 701.

If, according to scholars, the best way to improve our communities is to fantasize about imaginary societies and try to take steps towards their realization, based on this analogy, we can claim that the best way to fight against despicable tendencies is to create a dystopia which may deter its readers. In other words, they have the same function, i.e. to manipulate their readership. Notwithstanding, to achieve the same goal, they use different methods. While utopia tempts them, dystopia "compels the reader to prevent its realization". (Murphy 2009, 274) It does so through concentrating on the fears of a given society. It tries to persuade its readership that if they will not put an end to certain trends and patterns, they have to face the grim consequences. Utopia, however, is constructed not only on the basis of its fears, but primarily on its longings and desires. Both genres show where passions and cravings can lead humanity, but they do it from two different perspectives. Utopia points out the attractive elements, whereas dystopia puts more emphasis on the problems and deterring patterns. In brief, *The Time Machine* begins with an unblemished depiction of an ideal future where absolute equality – in the form of communism – has been achieved and all the modernist ideas have come true. With the help of this portrait, Wells tries to draw his audience's attention to certain problems around them that could and must be solved. To warn their readership about specific troubles is one of the major objectives of utopias and dystopias. In this chapter, we have seen how utopias fulfil their duties, that is to say, by stressing positive and desirable tendencies or ideas in the eras of their writing, and by creating an ideal world based on them which may tempt the reader to work for its realization. Dystopias do the same, but shed a different light on the same phenomena. Nevertheless, this is going to be the subject of the next chapter.

4. *The Time Machine* seen as dystopia

Wells lived in an age when human creativity was thriving and it was a generally accepted idea that progress fuelled by human capacity has no limits. Indeed, he shared the Positivist mentality of his age, still, he was absolutely aware of the possible dangers and downsides of development. He writes about people building a spaceship, flying to the Moon, or inventing potions that create giants, yet, some of his figures try to use these innovations for accumulating financial capital, suppressing others, being cruel or assuming power. In His introduction, Thomas J. Morrissey touches upon how Wells demythologizes the "nineteenth century's myth of progress" in some of his works. (Morrissey 2004, 7) Based on Morrissey's hint and Wells' writings, we can assuredly claim that although Wells believed in progress and considered it to be important, he was also a socially conscious person, a rational thinker being totally aware of the fact that when beautiful dreams are about to be realized, they often fail. *The Time Machine,* one of his most well-known works, wonderfully represents how an amazing vision of the Golden Age turns into a nightmare.

We have seen in the previous chapter that *The Time Machine* – partly – can be considered to be a utopia. However, according to Sayeau, "the Traveller gives us hints all along that some element is missing from the world of the Eloi, that things are not as they at first seem to be." (Sayeau 2005, 442) The example Sayeau brings to illustrate his idea is the secret of how the *Eloi* avoid overpopulation – that is to say, their number is kept stagnant by the Morlocks. (Sayeau 2005, 442) Apart from this, we can find numerous other examples, too. The constant exclamations of the Time Traveller are some of these: when the Time Traveller is trying to figure out the mysteries of 802, 701, he creates different theories based on his fragmentary pieces of information. As the story proceeds and he finds more and more clues, he modifies his theories according to those clues and explains them in lengthy paragraphs to the reader. However, after elaborating his ideas and giving his interpretations about the future, he makes allusions to some unknown danger by such exclamations as "this, I must remind you, was my speculation at the time. Later, I was to appreciate how far it fell short of reality" (Wells 1979, 31) or "very simple was my explanation, and plausible enough – as most wrong theories are". (Wells 1979, 34) These utterances not simply generate suspension in the reader, but also suggest that every reality – even a utopian one – is complex and has multiple layers of truth.

The Time Traveller, the explorer of the future, is full of hope. Howbeit he faces some phenomena – the slight deterioration of the past Golden Age: ruinous palaces, abandoned gardens and oblivious inhabitants – that point at some sort of ambivalence: the perfect utopia has already past perfection and is not flawless any more. The Time Traveller even expresses his disappointment in the future about, for example, the level of intelligence of tomorrow's mankind:

> You see, I had always anticipated that the people of the year Eight Hundred and Two Thousand odd would be incredibly in front of us in knowledge, art, everything. Then one of them suddenly asked me a question that showed him to be on the intellectual level of one of our five-year-old children [...]. (Wells 1979, 26)

The Time Traveller has this disappointing experience relatively in the beginning of the story. In the forthcoming chapters, he has to face some far more shocking phenomena, but Wells starts this early to beget a feeling of discomfort in the reader whose visions of a future beyond comparison are disturbed.

At this point, as Westfahl suggests, the reader may consider the world of the Eloi impeccable in spite of the hints, allusions or disappointment of the Time Traveller. (Westfahl 2000, 133) Nevertheless, it soon turns out that the utopia the Time Traveller – or his audience – was dreaming about is not so ideal at all. We have already argued for that utopias and dystopias are not each

other's opposites. Utopia cannot be regarded as a heavenly place while dystopia as a hell. The situation is much more complicated than that. Even the statement, according to which utopia is a perfect world, is false if we take into consideration that utopias incorporate ambivalence and imperfection inherently.

One reason why they do so is because they are mere fantasies and as such, they do not always turn out as expected. They can function as driving forces, but when there are attempts made to breathe life into them, they go wrong. Freud, the great expert of dreams, claimed that if a person's most desired cravings were realized, the person would definitely run away from them. (Freud 1905/1977, 101 in Sayeau 2005, 441) Although Freud wrote this about neurotics, the observation can fit to the whole of humanity: if we want to live in our dreams, we had better be well-prepared, because they will not be as we have imagined. As dreams, utopian fantasies hold a huge motivational power because they can make people actually do something and work for a brighter future. Still, they can – or should – hardly ever be accomplished.

Carl Freedman, cited by Morrissey, claims that utopias – like dreams – can never be put into practice, and he also gives a reason for this:

> Utopia can never be fixed in the perspective of the present, because it exists, to a considerable degree, in the dimension of futurity; [...] the future is the object of *hope,* of our deepest and most radical longings. (Freedman 2000, 64, in Morrissey 2004, 3)

Here Freedman admits that utopias draw on the aspirations of the given society in which they were created, but he also stipulates that utopias dwell in a different dimension, thus they can never be planted into ours. (Freedman 2000, 64, in Morrissey 2004, 3) Albeit it is rather relieving than disappointing, but the case is similar with dystopias. Both genres are experiments far in time and/or space projecting either the strongest cravings, the most abhorrent fears of an era, or both.

History, for example, provides us with an endless list of people trying to achieve utopias. Some experiments, like Robert Owen's textile factory in New Lanark, the principles of which are based on equality and socialist ideas, were successful for just a short period of time. Others proved to be total failures, like the first Wellsian movements, but there are a few attempts, for example the totalitarian communist systems in the 20th century, which had more blood-stained histories, even if they rested on the basis of such utopian ideas as the equal distribution of goods or democratic representation.

Utopias and dystopias – and science fiction in general – are spaces of experimentation where particular theories can be probed. They are innocent in a sense that during this probation, no real damage can be done. John Friedmann has also been cited as a person who believes in the actualization of utopian ideas. It has been elaborated there that Friedmann thinks that utopian dreams can serve both as driving forces and plans of their realization in the real world. However, in this part, I would like to refer to a movement reported in an article by Robert Crossley, the slightly ridiculous story of which shows why utopias cannot and should not be taken out from the field of experimentation and put into practice.

Crossley's article gives an account of early initiatives of the Wellsian movements: all of which had short and sometimes absurd histories. One of them was the society of the Cambridge Utopians led by Amber Reeves: their actions came to a halt mostly because of the overrepresentation of women in the group and Reeves' scandalous affair with Wells. Another group had also been started by young enthusiasts whose imagination was caught by Wells' *A Modern Utopia.* The strict rules and modest wisdom of the Samurai Order presented in the book enchanted them, and they decided to live their lives based on the restrictions ruling the Samurais of the novel. They used the copies of *A Modern Utopia* as guidance for their mode of life and they asked Wells to be the head of the whole movement. Wells first encouraged the idea because, as Crossley suggests, he was disappointed in

the Fabian Society that continuously refused his radical propositions. Nevertheless, he later dissociated with the group and rejected the leadership of it. Despite the fact that the writer himself considered the book and its proposals mere fantasies, some of the "disciples" – because Crossley uses this expression subtly implying a parallel between the Wellsian organizations and religious groups – remained enthusiastic. They tried their best to create a Samurai Order or at least an alliance for those who seek to live like a Samurai, but has not proved to be worthy of the position, yet. The reason for the final failure was not only that Wells rejected all of these plans, but that the number of the disciples also decreased: the restrictions according to the Samurais live in *A Modern Utopia* met numerous obstacles when it came to putting them into practice. Finally, the last attempts to form a Wellsian organization withered in 1909, four years after its beginning, when the Samurai Press founded to advocate utopian theories closed down. (Crossley 2011, 444–466) The melancholic narrative of the first Wellsian disciples can prove a point important in the argumentation of this paper, albeit it took place long after the publication of *The Time Machine.*

Based on letters and comments cited by Crossley, it is clear that H. G. Wells, a writer of utopias, was very well aware of the fact that utopias are dreams which cannot and should not be achieved; the bitter-sweet and definitely brief history of the efforts made by the first Utopinaists seem to support this point. In the extracts provided as examples by Crossley, Wells explains again and again that his strength is to create imaginary worlds, not to put them into practice. Crossley says that "Wells had apparently repeated his insistence that the Samurai were an imaginative construct not designed for export from the text". (Crossley 2011, 463–464) Wells knew very well that most of his inventions were impossible to realize, and the Samurai Order is a great example of this. The Spartan rules of the Samurai Order in *A Modern Utopia* included modesty and self-restraint in most fields of life – sexuality as well. Nevertheless, Wells himself, who invented the whole idea, could not and did not want to keep himself to those constraints; and nothing proves this better than his adulterous relationship with a member of one of these groups.

Another reason why utopias are ambivalent is the fact that they are genres based on criticism and can provide ground for further critique – usually in the form of dystopias. If we have a look at dystopias, the general tendency is that they use utopias as starting points. They can do it explicitly, like *The Time Machine* where the utopian setting collides only after a certain time, or implicitly, such as in the case of *1984* or *Brave New World* that have deterring societies determined by utopian ideas, such as egalitarianism or utilitarianism. Still, in both ways, they criticize utopian ideas or their realization. For instance, equality is a splendid idea, but the predecessors of the Eloi realized it in a way that deprived the majority of humankind of its blessings. Technological development is also beneficial if it is not used to exploit and oppress other people, like the ancestors of the Eloi did with the ancestors of the Morlocks. In the previous examples, Wells did not condemn the objectives themselves, but their realization his society had been heading towards. We have also seen in the preceding examples of the first Wellsians and some "real-life"-utopias that it is not the idea that is harmful, rather the way of its actualization.

Nevertheless, there are some utopian ideas that may not be so appealing in the first place. Territorial division controlled from some kind of a centre might seem a good idea in Thomas More's *Utopia,* however, in *The Hunger Games* trilogy, it is used to divide the country, to isolate the citizens of the Capitol from everybody else, and to maintain a cruel existing order. Here, the concept itself is also questioned, not simply the means of its accomplishment. A reason for this might be what Westfahl implies, namely that not only the genres themselves follow social and historical changes, but their interpretations, too. He claims that *The Time Machine,* for instance, is looked at from different perspectives by a hippie and a person living in the years of the Great Depression. (Westfahl 2000, 129–141) This means that the same utopian scheme can be ideal in a given era while in another, people would look at it with antipathy.

The inherent ambivalence mentioned in the beginning of the chapter is not only present in obscure hints. According to Sayeau, this ambivalence emerges even in the personality of the character considered to be the simplest one:

> Weena exists as a materialization, an embodiment, of the exact sort of temptation that the world of the Eloi presents. She is, like the world itself, both the promise and the threat of the end of the narrative itself; she is, it seems, the end of the story. [...] Weena and her world represent exactly this utopian promise, the promise of the everyday of thoughtless perfection and easy quality, the real end of the history, which also marks the end of literature and literature's foundation, interest itself. It is difficult not to see this world as a reflection of Wells' own period [...]. (Sayeau 2005,10)

Tiny little Weena, an angelic porcelain doll is a pure representation of the Eloi and their lifestyle. Though it may seem to be appealing to the reader, the Time Traveller obviously does not agree with the lifestyle of his new friends which represents degeneration in itself to him: doing nothing all day, except for sunbathing, playing, and laughing. But he shrugs his shoulder thinking that "this has ever been the fate of energy in security; it takes to art and eroticism, and then come to languor and decay." (Wells 1979, 31–33)

Weena may be as idle and silly as her relatives, notwithstanding she is less shallow in the sense that she is the one who impersonates "gratitude and mutual tenderness" remaining "in the heart of man". (Wells 1979, 83) Her character is more complex than the reader would think at first, and in her, we can trace back not only the utopian promise, as Sayeau calls it, but also the dystopian threat: Weena herself impersonates the ambivalence present in the novel from the very beginning, that utopia – perfection – is not only a goal, but a danger as well.

Besides being inappropriate materials for actual realization and being based on criticism, utopias are ambivalent for a third reason: even if they were realized – which is impossible – the achieved perfection would immediately give place to decline. As human beings, we all know what it is like to have cravings and dreams, but these serve as the highest and strongest motivations for us. If a human has not got any goals to achieve, any heights to climb, any fields to conquer, there remains no motivation to fuel them and they cease to progress. In *The Time Machine,* Wells emphasizes many times that progress is a crucial factor in the lives of humans. The Time Traveller soon has to face the fact that the Golden Age of 802, 701 is "the sunset of mankind". (Wells 1979, 31) Contemplating in the twilight, he understands that mankind has reached its peak and is now deteriorating. They accomplished any goals they could have been dreaming of, thus they lost interest; the loss of interest led to the loss of progress and that means forthcoming decay. Still, the Time Traveller is almost settled with the conclusion that mankind reached perfection and is going to sink into carefree oblivion now. Nevertheless, later, he has to comprehend that the deterioration of humanity does not only mean idleness, but also a form of dehumanization. While the Morlocks lose their human side and become beasts due to their horrible conditions, the Eloi are also dehumanized because of the opposite: their lack of struggle and problems.

> It is a law of nature we overlook, that intellectual versality is the compensation for change, danger, and trouble. An animal perfectly in harmony with its environment is a perfect mechanism. Nature never appeals to intelligence until habit and instinct are useless. There is not intelligence where there is no change and no need of change. Only those animals partake of intelligence that have to meet a huge variety of needs and dangers. (Wells 1979, 72)

In this sense, utopia is a promise, but also a menace, because reaching perfection means the cease of development and imminent degradation. They decay because they have nothing to fight for and here Wells indicates that fighting against hardships and solving problems are inherent characteristics of humans and that these hardships are needed for progress. He implies that the improvement

of humankind is motivated by hindrances and troubles, because humans have to use their abilities and do their best in order to get rid of them, and that is what makes the world move forward. With the disappearance of struggle, needs and desires also ceased to exist and as – Upper-World – people did not need anything, they stopped to dream and stopped to make any effort to grow.

McLean draws a parallel between Wells' utopias and the works of John Stuart Mill, the well-known thinker of the 19th century. According to him, for Mill

> the innovation that results from the cultivation of originality is [...] a crucial element in human affairs, since it is through the introduction of new truths, practices and modes of conduct that life is prevented from becoming stagnant. (McLean 2007,172)

Creativity and ingenuity were important features of a man in Mill's understanding. He thought that these elements of human nature provoke forward movement in history. The article suggests that Wells had been influenced by the ideas of Mill being his contemporary. McLean indicates that the aforementioned two features were essential for Wells, too. (McLean 2007, 172, 181)

If it is such a significant feature, the question arises what brings about human creativity. Based on *The Time Machine,* we can say that it is generated by hindrances and obstacles. If there are no problems that would call for genuine solutions, evolution will come to a halt. Hence reaching perfection equals the starting point of deterioration:

> I grieved to think how brief the dream of the human intellect had been. It had committed suicide. It had set itself steadfastly towards comfort and ease, a balanced society with security and permanency as its watchword, it had attained its hopes – to come to this at last. (Wells 1979, 72)

The Time Traveller mourns because he has to see how a utopian dream has come true – and compares it to committing a suicide – even if a comfortable one. What the Time Traveller and the author behind him want to accomplish here is to prevent this suicide. They use a dystopian story to achieve this goal, because, according to Moylan, dystopia is a useful and persuasive way to convey a moral message to the reader about their own times. (Moylan 2000b, 121)

Wells was a well-known socialist, a famous member of the Fabian Society – even if a marginalized one. It is no surprise then that the perfect form of society for him was communism. For the first time, it appears to the Time Traveller that the Eloi has finished with every kind of social struggle and live in an unblemished socialism. Though he considers the life of these little creatures idle and boring, he admits that at least, they are equal. However, he gradually recognizes the fly in the ointment and sees the terrible truth. It looks like the perfect happiness of the Eloi is only one side of the coin. It is true that they live in equality and joy, but in 802, 701 there is another group, heavily downtrodden and deprived of not only their rights, but also of their human nature. These are the Morlocks, the white, ape-like monsters of the future. When the Time Traveller gets into closer contact with one of these beasts and solves the puzzle piece-by-piece, understanding that they are the descendants of humans, his disappointment and terror are truly high.

> The great triumph of Humanity I had dreamed of took a different shape in my mind. It had been no such triumph of moral education and general cooperation as I had imagined. Instead, I saw a real aristocracy, armed with a perfected science and working to a logical conclusion, the industrial system of today. Its triumph had not been simply a triumph over Nature, but a triumph over Nature and the fellow-man. (Wells 1979, 48)

In his account, there is a hidden, but really strong moral message to the contemporary, Victorian readers of the story. Between the lines, there is a serious caution calling the attention to the problems and poor living conditions of the contemporary working class. Here, Wells is talking to the

Upper and Middle Classes condemning them for their ignorance and selfishness what causes the suffering of many others. (Wells 1979, 59) However, provoking a guilty conscience is not the sole aim of Wells. He also wants to alert the audience that changing the situation is not merely their humanitarian duty. He also indicates that the exploitation of workers would lead to the widening of the social cleavage which may pose a serious threat to the aristocracy in the future. Hence, with the help of the disgusting Morlocks, Wells illustrates why it is essential for the wealthier classes not to thread on people coming from lower circles, but to help them, to take care of social issues and to remedy the troubles caused by capitalism.

As a person coming from a lower position, Wells was not ignorant of the problems and hazards of advancement, especially when it was led by human greed. That is why the poor Time Traveller has to arrive at the painful conclusion that because of industrialization and capitalism, the two great achievements of the 19th century, the human race had split into two and had started to destroy itself in a cannibalistic way. (Wells 1979, 46–48) When the truth comes home to the Time Traveller, Wells does not miss the chance to draw the attention to the parallel between 802, 701 A. D. and 1895, the date of the story's publication. Through the character of the Time Traveller, he strongly implies that there are tendencies in 1895 which point towards the incredible and dreadful future. In the form of an uncomfortable question, he signifies the fact that the East-end workers of 1895 live among circumstances that truly resemble the situation of the Morlocks. (Wells 1979, 47)

Evans reveals that, according to him, the ingenuity of Wells derives from his technique of using the "popular formula of science fiction" and converting "it into a powerful instrument of speculation and social critique". (Evans 2009, 22) In *The Time Machine,* Wells combined two genres (utopia and dystopia), both of which have strong criticizing power. In the first part of his narrative, the core of it is rooted in the contemporary longing for an equal and satisfactory society. However, in the second part, he exaggerates the fears of some Victorian intellectuals that the gap between the social classes may deepen and lead to the ruination of humanity. As a result of this combination, a more impressive and eloquent critique is presented to the reader.

The fear of social division is a popular theme in dystopian literature. It can be moulded by itself, "naturally", as in *The Time Machine,* but more frequently, it happens due to deliberate intervention. (Howbeit, it remains a question if there is any kind of social division at all that could not be attributed to intentional efforts made by a certain social group to isolate and keep themselves aloof.) Maybe the ancestors of the Eloi might not have forced the Morlocks underground (though there are some allusions in the text that they actually did so), still they made the transition impossible between the two classes. Be that as it may, social division performed in a conscious way is represented in many dystopias, for example in *The Hunger Games* trilogy, where people of the former United States live in districts divided according to their function, or in the Strugacky brothers' *Prisoners of Power,* where different "classes" live together, but the hatred between them is highly advocated by the propaganda, hence making any real connection between them unimaginable.

The most extreme case of social division is when it is joined with evolutionary processes; the terror that humanity splits not only into classes, but into different species, too. The Morlocks of *The Time Machine* adapted to their circumstances and became what they became: totally dehumanized, monstrous creatures. Some kind of an evolutionary process within the human race can also be seen in *Brave New World,* where humans are in fact bred in order to fit their prescribed environment and lifestyle. Another Wellsian novel, *The First Men in the Moon,* also scrutinizes the question how members of a society can be shaped according to their determined duties. It depicts the lives and bodies of the *Selenites,* the "Moon-people", as highly controlled by their function. Just like Alphas or Gammas of *Brave New World*, the *Selenites* are bred in a way that they can only do the job that is ordered for them.

Finally, in *The Time Machine,* there is a character who incorporates the whole process in his journey and impersonates the cautionary mission of utopias and dystopias. This person is the Time Traveller. He is like a mediator between present and future due to his trip into 802, 701. His testimony is a credit about the future told to the man of the present (his guest, the storyteller) implicitly warning him about certain contemporary tendencies and patterns that may be harmful. In fact, this is what utopias and dystopias do: they caution the present through talking about the future. Hence, if Weena stands for the utopian promise, the Time Traveller can be regarded as the personification of the utopian/dystopian mission itself.

The storyteller, who is responsible for the frame of the Time Traveller's report, closes his lines by uttering the moral of story which has been both implicitly and explicitly carried by the Time Traveller:

> He [...] thought but cheerlessly of the Advancement of Mankind, and saw in the growing pile of civilization only a foolish heaping that must inevitably fall back upon and destroy its makers at the end. (Wells 1979, 83)

Our storyteller makes an account of how the Time Traveller had predicted the gloomy future solely based on his present experiences, and gives us a final portray about him as somebody whose dark prophecies may materialize in the distant future if humans are not careful enough.

In conclusion, even if the dichotomy of utopia and dystopia seems clear for the first sight, it is far more complicated. These two genres are deeply linked and they are complex concepts. Even utopias, the "good places", include ambivalences, such as their impossible realizations or the imminent deterioration they can bring about. *The Time Machine* illustrates these deep connections in a wonderful way and it also displays what is the main mission of utopias and dystopias, that is to say, to criticize their own times. In this narrative, Wells combines utopia with dystopia in order to create a more powerful criticism. First, he shows the reader a dream, an ideal tomorrow thus making the readership want to achieve it. Second, he transforms the dream into a horrible nightmare implying that the choice between the perfect and the awful outcomes is in their hands.

5. Conclusion

In order to draw a conclusion, it would be appropriate to revisit the chief claims of the paper. The major aim of it has been to reveal the generic connections between dystopias and utopias. It is without doubt that the two concepts are connected because we can hardly find any definition which does not define them in relation to each other. Nevertheless, in spite of the general belief, dystopia is not merely a negative utopia. Although both of the genres share some of their important attributes, still, they can definitely function as autonomous categories.

A major similarity discussed here in detail is their identical root. That is to say, both of them take particular problems and disagreeable tendencies as bases, and they build their critiques on these. In this sense, both of them criticize the age they were written in, and, albeit they are about the future or distant places, their message is focused on the here and now. What is different is their method of doing so.

On the one hand, utopias not only criticize, but also try to provide constructive ideas how the mirrored problems could be solved. They make attempts to call the audience's attention to some problematic phenomena around them and depict an ideal reality where all these problems are dead and gone. Their hopeful promises are meant to motivate the contemporaries to do something and work for their accomplishment.

On the other hand, dystopias put more emphasis on the fears of a given era and show a world where those fears are realized and sometimes exaggerated. They rely on the same occurrences as

utopias and they want to warn the audience about them, too. Nevertheless, they approach them from another perspective: instead of providing tempting promises, they display frightful realities in order to deter the readership and make them do against their realization. The goal is the same with both of the genres; they only differ in the techniques they use.

I also claimed that dystopias frequently use utopias as starting points, because they criticize either utopian ideas themselves or the way they were put into practice. This kind of criticism is possible due to the fact that utopias are inherently equivocal. They can never be realized because they are fantasies and – as numerous real-life examples show – fantasies can hardly be realized and even if they are, they fall far from our expectations. In addition, if utopian perfection was achieved, it would bring about inevitable deterioration because struggles and challenges are prerequisites of change and progress.

In my paper, I used *The Time Machine* by H. G. Wells as an illustration to my points. This narrative is a wonderful example, because it is a clear dystopian future with a utopian start. In addition to being an interesting read, it utterly thematizes the generic connection and similarities between utopias and dystopias. It also incorporates the warning and criticizing function of both categories; and through combining utopia and dystopia, it becomes far more powerful as a critique.

However, *The Time Machine,* which is a relatively early dystopian story, is not the only dystopia referred to in my paper. The other dystopias were cited primarily to give a stronger support to my points. Still, they also show that utopias and dystopias change because they can only accomplish their fundamental goals if they remain up-to-date; and these major goals are manipulating and motivating their readership to overcome challenges and proceed towards an imperfect, but better future.

Reference List

Bradshaw, David. 1993. "Introduction". In Huxley, Aldous. 2004. *Brave New World.* London: Vintage, v-xv.

Crook, Stephen. 2000. "Utopia and dystopia." In Gary Browning et al. eds. *Understanding Contemporary Society: Theories of the Present*. London: SAGE, 205–220.

Crossley, Robert. 2011. "The First Wellsians: *A Modern Utopia* and Its Early Disciples," *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920* 54:4: 444–469.

Evans, Arthur B. 2009. "Nineteenth-century SF." In Mark Bould et al., eds. *The Routledge Companion to Science Fiction.* Abington: Routledge, 13–22.

Freud, Siegmund. 1997. (1905.) *Dora: An analysis of a case of hysteria*. New York: Touchstone. Sayeau, Michael. 2005. "H.G. Wells' The Time Machine and the "Odd Consequence" of Progress," *Contemporary Justice Review* 8.4: 431–445.

Freedman, Carl. 2000. *Critical Theory and Science Fiction*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press. Morrissey, Thomas J. 2004. "Not So Blind Hope: An Introduction". In Martha Bartter ed. *The utopian fantastic: selected essays from the twentieth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1–10.

Friedmann, John. 2000. "The Good City: In Defence of Utopian Thinking," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24.2: 460–472.

Hungtington, John. 1981. "Thinking by Opposition: The 'Two-World' Structure in H. G. Wells' Short Fiction," *Science-Fiction Studies* 8.3: 240–255.

Moylan, John. 2000. *Scraps of the untainted sky*. Oxford: Westview Press Leonard, Elisabeth Anne. 2003. "Race and ethnicity in science fiction." In Edward James and Farah Mendlesohn eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Science Fiction.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 253–263.

McLean, Steven. 2007. "'The Fertilising Conflict of Individualities': H. G. Wells' *A Modern Utopia,* John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty,* and the Victorian tradition of Liberalism," *Papers on Language & Literature* 43.2: 166–189.

Morrissey, Thomas J. 2004. "Not So Blind Hope: An Introduction". In Martha Bartter ed. *The utopian fantastic: selected essays from the twentieth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1–10.

Moylan, John. 2000a. "'Look into the dark': On Dystopia and the *Novum*". In Patrick Parrinder ed. *Learning from Other Worlds. Estrangement, Cognition and the Politics of Science Fiction and Utopia.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 51–71.

Moylan, John. 2000b. *Scraps of the untainted sky: Science Fiction, Utopia, Dystopia*. Oxford: Westview Press.

Murphy, Graham J. 2009. "Dystopia." In Mark Bould et al. eds. 2009. *The Routledge Companion to Science Fiction.* Abington: Routledge, 473–477.

Sayeau, Michael. 2005. "H.G. Wells' *The Time Machine* and the "Odd Consequence" of Progress," *Contemporary Justice Review* 8.4: 431–445

Schlobin, Roger C. 2004. "Dark Shadows and Bright Lights: Generators and Maintainers of Utopias and Dystopias." In Martha Bartter ed. *The utopian fantastic: selected essays form the twentieth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 11–16.

Wells, H. G. 1979. "The Time Machine". In *Selected Short Stories.* New York: Penguin Books, 7–83.

Wells, H. G. 1939. "Utopia". In *Science-Fiction Studies 9.2* (1982) 117–121. Schlobin, Roger C. 2004. "Dark Shadows and Bright Lights: Generators and Maintainers of Utopias and Dystopias." In Martha Bartter ed. The utopian fantastic: selected essays from the twentieth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts. Westport, CT: Praeger, 11–16.

Westfahl, Gary. 2000. *Science Fiction, Children's Literature, and Popular Culture: Coming of Age in Fantasyland.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Dóra Varga

The Gentleman, the Tradesman, the Patriarch and the Rake: The Different Types of Masculinities in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*[*]

Abstract

This thesis aims to provide a thorough analysis of the masculinities portrayed by the four selected male characters of Jane Austen's novel, *Pride and Prejudice.* First, based on the articles of Hobbs (2013) and Reeser (2020), the concepts of hegemonic and alternative masculinities as introduced by the work of R.W. Connell are explained. Second, the construction of masculinity in the late 18th and early 19th century, as well as their reception in contemporary society are the topic of discussion, with the intention of providing a historical background for masculinity during Austen's lifetime. Stafford's (2008) article on the late Georgian *Gentleman's Magazine* is used for this discussion, and Cohen's (2005) work on masculinity in the same time. Finally, an analysis is conducted on the characters of Mr. Darcy, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Bennet, and Mr. Wickham. This analysis will vary depending on the characters, since they all portray different types of masculinities thus the focus of the chapters will differ as well. This is conducted with the application of scholarly arguments to each character, combined with a close reading of *Pride and Prejudice.* Lastly, the conclusions of Stafford's (2008) study of the *Gentleman's Magazine* is used to evaluate the masculinity of the four men selected. Mr. Darcy's analysis is based on his role as a gentleman, Mr. Bingley as a tradesman, Mr. Bennet as a patriarch, and finally, Mr. Wickham as a rake.

1. Introduction

"It is a truth universally acknowledged that a single man in possession of a good fortune must be in want of a wife," as it asserted in the very start of *Pride and Prejudice* (Austen 2020, 3). This sentence alone implies the sentiment of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, which as Sharma (2021) explained, to some extent, includes the commodification of men. Sharma goes on to say that whenever Austen introduces a male character, she does so starting with his fortune, and consequently, men are reduced to their financial background, and other aspects, such as their character remains unappreciated (Sharma 2021). Sharma proposes that Austen is indeed aware of the commodification of men that was prevalent in the time period *Pride and Prejudice* was written (Sharma 2021). However, I suggest in agreement with Sharma, that while it may be true that Austen commodifies men in *Pride and Prejudice*, I do not agree with Sharma's assertion that the personalities of the men are less developed because of this, as there is much to be said about how they individually represent the popular themes of contemporary masculinity.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in England encompassed many important events, such as their war with France, and the French Revolution, both of which greatly influenced the country's history and contemporary society. Amongst a myriad of responses to both of these events, a shift in gender roles and definitions occurred, which act as the basis of our modern understanding of them. In terms of masculinity, as noted by Cohen (2005), politeness, even though still prevalent, was replaced by the notion of chivalry. As in every society at every given moment in time, there are preferred, and less favored notions of masculinity, and the late Georgian period is

[*] BA Thesis. Supervisor: Anna Zsófia Tóth.

no exception. The preferred notions of masculinity are encompassed by the term of hegemonic masculinity, whereas the less preferred are termed as alternative masculinities. In order to gain information on what these hegemonic and alternative masculinities consisted of during the late Georgian period, Stafford's (2008) analysis of the contemporary *Gentleman's Magazine* will be of help.

Therefore, in this thesis, I aim to discover the notions of masculinity that Mr. Darcy, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Bennet and Mr. Wickham each represent, and how those fit in the context of the late Georgian period in England in which *Pride and Prejudice* is set. In Chapter 2, Mr. Darcy's masculinity will be analyzed based on him conforming to the ideal gentleman described by Edmund Burke, and will include discussions of his social standing as the landed gentry. While contemplating the masculinity of Mr. Bingley in Chapter 3, important topics, such as his emerging from England's new middle class as a tradesman, and his training to perfect his performance of English polite masculinity are not to be omitted. Mr. Bennet's irony and his love of ridiculing the social conventions around him, as well as him assuming the role of an indifferent father and a patriarch incapable of completing his duties in connection with his masculinity will be discussed in Chapter 4. Lastly, in Chapter 5, Mr. Wickham's schemes of a reckless fortune hunter, whose goal to secure a wife with fortune is facilitated by him joining the militia is going to be analyzed based on how it affects his masculinity. The analysis will be conducted on each character with the combination of close reading of *Pride and Prejudice*, which will provide evidence to the arguments made by a variety of different scholars. The edition of *Pride and Prejudice* that I will be using is the ninth reprint, which is a version of the edition first published in 2014 that was published in 2020.

2. The Construction of Masculinity: Hegemonic and Alternative Masculinities

The concept of masculinity in the field of masculinity studies has undergone quite a transformation with the groundbreaking work of R.W. Connell, who introduced the term of hegemonic masculinity in the 1980s. In this chapter, I intend to provide an overview and comparison of both the articles of Alex Hobbes and Todd W. Reeser in order to explain the terms of hegemonic and alternative masculinities and how they interact with one another.

R.W. Connell introduced the term of hegemonic masculinity during the 1980s with the intention of reforming an older definition of traits connected to the "male sex role," as explained by Hobbes (Hobbes 2013, 385) in her article entitled "Masculinity Studies and Literature". Reeser (Reeser 2020, 20) in his work of "Concepts of Masculinity and Masculinity Studies" cites the description of hegemonic masculinity defined by Connell as "a question of how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance." The introduction of the term acknowledged that there were many masculinities, not only one, which, based on a common thought at the time, defining gender as a binary (Hobbes 2013, 385). Reeser (Reeser 2020, 21) claims that this signifies the shift in the field of men's studies from studying a single masculinity, to the acceptance of multiple ones. However, even though scholars were slowly accepting of the coexistence of multiple masculinities at the time, the traits of "homophobia, power and dominance over women" still prevailed amongst men (Reeser 2020, 14).

Reeser (Reeser 2020, 13–14) also discussed the "male sex role," and added they were thought to be essential for the human psyche and the psychological development of a person. He elaborated that even though they were seen as innate, a need imposed on humans by a supernatural entity, these sex roles were, and are, learned behavior (Reeser 2020, 14). According to Connell, hegemonic masculinity defines the most accepted and celebrated characteristics and attributes of a man at a given time in history, and men's masculinity is evaluated against that hegemonic masculinity, as Hobbes discusses Connell's arguments (Hobbes 2013, 385). Hobbes (Hobbes 2013, 387) elaborates

that hegemonic masculinity is always evolving in accordance with the culture and society that surrounds it, as well as its definitions based on Connell's description. It is also emphasized that most men do not, in every way, act according to the hegemonic masculinity at a given time in history, however, they "benefit from it because it reinforces the patriarchal divide" as well as reinforcing the notion of viewing gender as a binary (Hobbes 2013, 385). As hegemonic masculinity is considered the dominant type of masculinity, the other alternative masculinities are described as inferior to it (Hobbes 2013, 386). Reeser (Reeser 2020, 21–22) emphasized that the relationship between hegemonic and alternative masculinities, as well as the definition of hegemonic masculinity are always in the process of changing with the evolution of gender.

In conclusion, R.W. Connell defined hegemonic masculinity as "a question of how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance" (Reeser 2020, 20). Furthermore, alternative masculinities consist of characteristics that do not align with those of hegemonic masculinity, and are inferior to their hegemonic counterpart. Both notions of masculinity are capable of evolving over time, and their definitions vary from culture to culture.

3. Masculinity in the Regency Period

In his article "Gentlemanly Masculinities as Represented by the Late Georgian *Gentleman's Magazine*", William Stafford (Stafford 2008, 47) aims to describe the different types of gentlemanly masculinities, which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* between 1785 and 1815. He examines the masculinities based on texts sent by readers, and published by the magazine (Stafford 2008, 47). The magazine was a monthly periodical published during the eighteenth century, aimed at upper-class men of Great Britain (Stafford 2008, 47). Stafford discusses claims made that gender between 1785 and 1815 underwent a reconstruction because of the French Revolution and the war between France and Britain, in addition to an onset of gender panic, both of which he examined. He makes it clear that this article alone based on the findings from *Gentleman's Magazine* is not a representative of all the masculinities of that time, but it does display a wide variety of them (Stafford 2008, 47).

The readers of the magazine are said to be "clergymen and academics, medical men, lawyers, officers in the armed forces, town and country gentlemen, a few entitled persons," in addition to "professionals, merchants, financers and even some traders, manufacturers and farmers" (Stafford 2008, 49). Stafford concludes that most of the magazine's readership consisted of loyalist and conservative and Anglican men (Stafford 2008, 50). A gender panic of men and masculinity due to French influence is thought to have occurred in this period (Stafford 2008, 51). However, Stafford (Stafford 2008, 53) argues based on the content of the magazine that there was still opportunity for a more effeminate expression of masculinity, as masculinity was institutionally secure.

To provide an example, the obituaries found in the magazine mention men by their full name, but women appear only in relation to someone, mainly a male relative, but never by their names (Stafford 2008, 52). Furthermore, men are described as public persons, their roles explained within the patriarchy as head of the household, as leaders who hold power over those below them, while women are typically private beings (Stafford 2008, 53). Masculinities in the magazine such as a man who is logical, reasonable, possesses stoicism and fulfills his role as a patriarch is praised, meanwhile men, albeit usually young, who abandon their patriarchal responsibilities, are impolite and have qualities of a libertine are perceived negatively, as are those who behave in a barbaric and aggressive manner (Stafford 2008, 59–60).

During the early nineteenth century, the definition of a gentleman transformed, which affected how masculinity was described as well (Cohen 2005, 312) Be that as it may, there is scarcely an agreement amongst historians in terms of the reason behind the change, much less about what con-

stituted the new definition of masculinity and gentleman (Cohen 2005, 312). Cohen (Cohen 2005, 312) points out that there are several definitions of gentlemen described by historians, however, in the eighteenth century, a "polite and refined gentleman" (312) constituted hegemonic masculinity. Cultural tools, such as "conduct manuals, moral literature, popular periodical essays like the *Spectator*, and educational ideals and practices" (Cohen 2005, 313) reinforced the polite gentleman as a hegemonic masculinity (Cohen 2005, 313). Although with politeness came the fear of effeminacy, it was considered an art form, as self-control was a key element of polite conduct, which aligned with the classical notion of stoicism (Cohen 2005, 313). As it was mentioned above as well, the *Gentleman's Magazine* highlights that stoicism among gentlemen was a celebrated trait, (Stafford 2008, 59–60) which Cohen also stated (Cohen 2005, 313).

When polite society collapsed at the end of the eighteenth century, a change in regards to how masculinity and gentlemen were described had occurred as well (Cohen 2005, 313). The previous notion of politeness was slowly replaced by chivalry, as chivalry was less prone to cause worry of effeminacy on the part of men, and it combined "national identity with enlightenment notions of progress and civilization" (Cohen 2005, 15) (Cohen 2005, 314–315). Many were inclined to find chivalry preferable due to "generosity, justice and courage" (Cohen 2005, 315) having been associated with it, although many different definitions of chivalry that coexisted at the time, and we cannot reduce it to just one, Cohen emphasizes (Cohen 2005, 15–16). The reappearance of chivalry is connected to the Gothic Revival in the nineteenth century, and it possessed characteristics such as love of women, "bravery, loyalty, courtesy, truthfulness, purity, honor, and a strong sense of protection towards the weak and oppressed," (Cohen 2005, 326) which were arguably more masculine traits than those associated with politeness (Cohen 2005, 325–326). In spite of the preference of chivalry over politeness, performing chivalry in superfluous amounts resulted in uncertainty (Cohen 2005, 321).

In conclusion, the construction of masculinity has experienced a transformation at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This transformation included the preference of chivalry over politeness, although overlaps of the two notions were present. Although some historians argue that during this period, a gender panic occurred, Stafford's work provides evidence that masculinity as an institution was secure, since in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, men were afforded their full names as well as their professions, but women did not receive the courtesy of their being used, they were only referred to by their husband's name. More accepted performances of masculinity included the fulfillment of patriarchal roles and carrying oneself with a logical, stoic manner, and libertine, irresponsible masculinity was not as well liked.

4. Character analysis

4.1. Mr. Darcy: The Ideal Burkean Gentleman Improved

In this chapter, the masculinity of Mr. Darcy will be discussed. I will attempt to argue that even though Mr. Darcy does in many aspects conform to the ideal of Burkean masculinity that was prevalent in the Regency period, and even though he fits into the category of hegemonic masculinity, he is not as chivalric as Burke would prefer. Mr. Darcy is the ideal gentleman in that he has generational wealth, heritage and property, and even though for that he is admired, that is not enough for Elizabeth. However, his willingness to improve his character definitely helps him in coming closer to Burke's ideal gentleman, and even exceeding it. Mr. Darcy is capable of self-reflection, which allows him to correct his manners as he grows increasingly aware of the limitations of nineteenth century English society and its rules of conduct, and with this realization, he is able to grow as a person, and consequently enrich his hegemonic notion of masculinity.

The majority of Jane Austen's characters in *Pride and Prejudice* illustrate England's construction as a society in the early nineteenth-century, it is only natural that Mr. Darcy should fit this pattern (Hamilton 2008, 5). Mr. Darcy portrays how hegemonic masculinity was constructed and performed in a patriarchal society in the nineteenth century, which was based on positioning men in the forefront, and women in the background, by his behavior and character (Hamilton 2008, 5–6). He is the ideal English gentleman as theorized by Edmund Burke, which romanticized a "man of ancestral heritage; he is noble, well mannered, and upholds the majesty and tradition of his Pemberley estate that symbolizes his aristocratic lineage and grounds his cultural authority" (Kramp 2007, 74). This reference to ancient Greeks, as mentioned above in the late Georgian *Gentleman's Magazine*, expresses a preferred type of masculinity over others (Stafford 2005, 59–60). Kramp (2007) additionally describes Mr. Darcy as someone who possesses discipline, as well as "virile yet genteel, romantic yet responsible" (74) therefore further expressing the ideal Burkean masculinity.

Although Kramp (2007, 74) categorizes Mr. Darcy as a Burkean gentleman, Malone adds that there are instances, when Mr. Darcy does not act as a chivalric man of gentility (Malone 2010, 75). For example, he does not wish to engage in dancing at the ball at Meryton, in addition to him acting hurtful towards Elizabeth when he first proposes to her (Malone 2010, 75–76). Upon Mr. Darcy's introduction in *Pride and Prejudice*, Austen explains that during his first appearance at the Meryton ball, even though he is considered a "fine, tall person, handsome features, noble mien" (2020, 8) at first, the public's opinion of him transforms into dislike once "he was discovered to be proud" (8) and his "disagreeable countenance" (8) were revealed. Thus, it is apparent that Mr. Darcy might have a "large estate in Derbyshire," (8) his manners are too unforgivable for the people at Meryton, for he cannot be redeemed yet (Austen 2020, 8). Mr. Darcy's unchivalrous behavior further continues when aside from one or two exceptions, he refuses to dance at the ball, since he "detest[s] it" (9) and he does not engage in conversation with anyone other than his group, and lastly, he does not wish to be "introduced to any other lady" (8) (Austen 2020). Based on this evidence, I agree with Malone (2010, 75–76) in that Mr. Darcy does not elicit all that is the Burkean ideal masculinity, as he breaks the chivalric code on numerous accounts which is a crucial aspect of said masculinity.

As opposed to the other male characters in *Pride and Prejudice*, Mr. Darcy is the true embodiment of the country gentleman (Hamilton 2008, 20–21). Although untitled, he is part of the landed gentry due to his upper class upbringing and generational wealth, which was "ten thousand [pounds] a year," (Austen 2020, 8) he was provided a thorough education, was well read, and those around him treated him with the utmost respect, as Austen described, "he was looked at with great admiration" (8) (Hamilton 2008, 21–22). Precisely because of his high social standing, he is also in possession of information and means to solve a difficult situation in a fast manner, such as the affair of Lydia Bennet and Mr. Wickham (Hamilton 2008, 22). Once Elizabeth had shared the treacherous news of Wickham and Lydia fleeing to London from Brighton with Mr. Darcy (193), it was only a matter of time that he "came to town [London] with the resolution of hunting for them" (226) (Austen 2020). Since Mr. Darcy viewed this obstacle as his responsibility to solve, as he kept Mr. Wickham's true colors concealed, he sought after Mrs. Younge in London, Miss Georgiana Darcy's former governess, whom was "intimately acquainted with Wickham," (226) and with the help of "bribery and corruption" (226) he was able to locate Lydia and Wickham (Austen 2020). That Mr. Darcy should have this valuable information is a further indicator of his portrayal of hegemonic masculinity, as men "view having information as a form of hierarchy" (Hamilton 2008, 22).

In addition to treating him with respect they thought was due, they considered him as an example to follow, as did Mr. Bingley, since Darcy was a person with authority due to his excellent upkeep of his property of Pemberley (Hamilton 2008, 22), which will be discussed later. Alistair Duckworth in his monograph entitled *The Improvement of the Estate* discusses that Pemberley holds an

immense amount of value in that it has all the qualities of an estate in prime condition according to the judgement of Jane Austen, which Duckworth described as "beautiful trees, well-disposed landscapes, a handsome house, and finely proportioned rooms" (2020, 123). Duckworth suggests that when Elizabeth travels to Pemberley with her aunt and uncle, it is expressed that "she felt that to be the mistress of Pemberley might be something!" (Austen 2020, 171), it indeed might mean that she understood not simply the monetary value of the estate, but that having such a magnificent home as Pemberley indicates a good "moral character" (124) as argued by Duckworth (2020). Hamilton further discusses Duckworth's analysis of *Pride and Prejudice*, explaining that according to Duckworth, an estate's structure is indicative of other structures, such as "society as a whole, a code of morality, a body of manners, a system of language – and 'improvements,' or the manner in which individuals relate to their cultural inheritance" (Duckworth, cited in Hamilton 2008, 33). Building on Duckworth's argument, Hamilton engages with the work of Juliet McMaster (1998) by stating that Pemberley is supposed to indicate Mr. Darcy's personality, and that it is a "visible manifestation of his masculinity" (33) and it is a symbol of his position in the landed gentry, as well as symbol of his "patriarchal right of inheritance" (Hamilton 2008, 34).

Hamilton explains that the pride Mr. Darcy elicits in *Pride and Prejudice* is an expression tied to his conformity to hegemonic masculinity, as Darcy is proud of his heritage and of his responsibility to guide society around him in a positive direction (Hamilton 2008, 28). An example of Mr. Darcy's pride would be his reply to Elizabeth at Netherfield: "Yes, vanity is a weakness indeed. But pride – where there is a real superiority of mind, pride will be always under good regulation." (Austen 2020, 42). This sentence reveals that Mr. Darcy does indeed believe that feelings of pride and superiority are justified if they are true, although one can wonder, what constitutes their being true. Masculinity was represented by families with generational wealth and property, whose ancestral and economic standing granted them power over the state (Hamilton 2008, 27–28). Mr. Darcy's sense of pride and honor, originated from his heritage and the hegemonic mode of masculinity as a product of it, suffers the most when he is confronted by Elizabeth (Hamilton 2008, 28–29). Elizabeth does not believe Darcy is behaving in an honorable manner in regards to her, which is equivalent to him not abiding by the social code he prides himself on upholding (Hamilton 2008, 30–31). Darcy's first proposal to Elizabeth perfectly encompasses both his pride and his breaching social decorum by openly admitting that Elizabeth is inferior to him.

> He spoke well, but there were feelings besides those of the heart to be detailed, and he was not more eloquent on the subject of tenderness than of pride. His sense of her inferiority – of its being a degradation – of the family obstacles which judgement had always opposed to inclination, were dwelt on with a warmth which seemed due to the consequence he was wounding, but was very unlikely to recommend his suit. (Austen 2020, 135)

Although Mr. Fitzwilliam Darcy is aware that he is expected to act as a gentleman and his responsibilities as a patriarch, he still acts in a derogative manner towards Elizabeth, and emphasizes her inferiority (Hamilton 2008, 31). According to Hamilton, this behavior reveals how Darcy, someone adhering to hegemonic masculinity truly considers women to be below him, and as a group, he has control over (31). As Rothman explains, Darcy believed that due to his social and economic standing as a patriarch, his proposal could never be refused, as it would be a blessing in the eyes of "any woman of subordinate status" (Rothman 2011, 22). Whilst proposing to Elizabeth the first time, Mr. Darcy reportedly "had no doubt of a favorable answer" (135) and "his countenance expressed real security," (Austen 2020, 135) which highly indicates that due to his (justified, in his opinion) pride, as Rothman (2011, 22) argued, he was perfectly sure that Elizabeth would marry him, as he saw himself as superior to her.

Therefore, Elizabeth's refusal humbles Mr. Darcy's pride, and he has to come to the realization that he may be a gentleman by birth and class, his manners are not yet akin to one, which results in him bettering himself in order to rise to Elizabeth's standards (Rothman 2011, 22–23). Mr. Darcy admits to Elizabeth "[M]y behavior to you at the time had merited the severest reproof. It was unpardonable. I cannot think of it without abhorrence..." (Austen 2020, 259), and with his aforementioned chivalric actions of saving Lydia and the Bennet family's reputation shows that he has indeed changed and took Elizabeth's criticism seriously. Darcy goes on to explain, "I have been a selfish being all my life, in practice, though not in principle. As a child I was taught what was right, but I was not taught to correct my temper." (Austen 2020, 260) which means that he is capable of self-reflection and is able to recognize his faults and the shortcomings of his upbringing. His improvement of his manners results in him eliciting more chivalric behavior, which contributes to his development as a gentleman (Rothman 2011, 24). Aside from Mr. Darcy having to realize his manners do not match those of a gentleman, he is also confronted with having to reconsider his social standing and power as part of the landed gentry and a patriarch, which in turn facilitates his union with Elizabeth (Sharma 2021). That Elizabeth was the reason for his change of character is apparent when he confesses to her, that "[b]y you, I was properly humbled... You showed me how insufficient were all my pretensions to please a woman worthy of being pleased." (Austen, 2020, 260). Although the patriarchal hierarchy that Mr. Darcy was born into, and wishes to continue was founded on unequal distribution of power, he is still capable of attaining self-awareness in order to overcome the restrictions of the rules that the class of landed gentry, and his hegemonic masculinity have imposed upon him (Hamilton 2008, 42–43).

In summary, Mr. Darcy's masculinity does match the Burkean ideal masculinity in that he comes from generational wealth, is part of the landed social class, and he assumes the position of a leader in many instances, such as helping Mr. Bingley become a proper English gentleman, and solving the difficult situation of Lydia Bennet and Mr. Wickham and fulfilling what he deems as his duty. Mr. Darcy's magnificent estate of Pemberley is also an emblem of his heritage and contributes to his hegemonic masculinity. However, he is only able to fully act as a gentleman when Elizabeth humbles him, upon which he chose to reflect and correct his pride and the selfish manner due to which he grows as a person, and his Burkean masculinity becomes more complete in that he starts behaving in a more chivalrous manner.

4.2. Mr. Bingley: The Journey of a Tradesman Becoming an English Gentleman

This chapter will elaborate on Mr. Binley's masculinity. Mr. Bingley's social standing as a tradesman who has recently acquired money is an interesting aspect in regard to the masculinity he performs. Since he was not born with the knowledge of how an English gentleman should act, he is indebted to Mr. Darcy's authority on this topic. Darcy, with his ancestral heritage teaching proper masculinity to Bingley, who is part of England's emerging middle class, will be of emphasis during this chapter.

As it was mentioned before, Jane Austen's characters are products of their time in British history. Michael Kramp, a professor who specializes in masculinity studies and nineteenth century British literature and the author of *Disciplining Love: Austen and the Modern Man*, argues that most of Austen's work is a reflection of the society and time period that she lived and created in, therefore *Pride and Prejudice* is no exception to that (Kramp 2007, 17). Kramp explains that most European nations underwent a transformation during the Revolutionary period, which resulted in the modernization of concepts such as nation, gender, class, etc. (Kramp 2007, 18). Kramp also notes that during the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, the English nation also progressed into its modern form (2007, 18). At this time, which marked a period of social and economic renewal, "political, philosophical, and literary writers" (18) were producing a myriad of arguments

about gender roles of both men and women, which consequently resulted in multiple descriptions of ideal men and masculinity (Kramp 2007, 18).

In addition to the advancements occurring due to the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution was also a catalyst of change at the end of the eighteenth century, and the beginning of the nineteenth century (Kramp 2007, 19). An emerging middle class was now present in English society, constantly threatening the pre-established power of the landed upper class nobility, whilst widening the horizon of possibilities available for advancing in society for those not part of said nobility (Kramp 2007, 19).

Both topics of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution and their consequences on the British nation's society and economy constitute a significant part of Jane Austen's novels (Kramp 2007, 17). In her work, male characters are subject to the results "socioeconomic transformation," and provide answers to the aforementioned arguments on the topics of gender roles during the late eighteenth century (Kramp 2007, 17). In *Pride and Prejudice*, Austen focuses on the topic of the shifting of power from nobility to the emerging middle class, and England moving away from relying on agriculture to a more industrious production in terms of economy (Kramp 2007, 76). When discussing masculinity portrayed by Mr. Charles Bingley, it is necessary to include discussions of such "socioeconomic transformations," (17) as it is highly intertwined with his character (Kramp 2007, 76–77). The socioeconomic background of *Pride and Prejudice* in connection with the new gender roles is crucial to understanding the type of alternative masculinity Jane Austen presents us in the person of Mr. Bingley, as argued by Kramp (2007, 77).

Slothouber (2013, 61) explains that Mr. Bingley can easily be mistaken for a gentleman at first glance, as Austen states that he "was good-looking and gentlemanlike; he had a pleasant countenance, and easy, unaffected manners." (Austen 2020, 8). However, as more information is revealed about him, whether or not he really is a gentleman becomes ambiguous (Slothouber 2013, 61). When Mr. Bingley arrives at Meryton, it is explained that he is temporarily residing at Netherfield Park, has a considerable amount of income, him and his sisters have the means to afford travelling by coach are all important financial aspects of being a gentleman (Slothouber 2013, 50). As Austen explains, the inheritance of Mr. Bingley is "...nearly a hundred thousand pounds from his father, who had intended to purchase an estate, but did not live to do it." (Austen 2020, 12), which explains how he can afford to live such a luxurious life. Furthermore, Jane and Elizabeth discuss that Bingley's inheritance was "acquired by trade," (Austen 2020, 12) as Slothouber (2013, 60) also notes, and is not the product of money accumulated throughout many generations, such as the case of Mr. Darcy. Slothouber explains that since Bingley does not have property, he is not descendent from the landed gentry, although he did inherit 100,000 pounds from his father. Therefore, the Bingley family (Mr. Bingley and his two sisters, Caroline and Louisa) are new to money, and as it was mentioned earlier, their father expressed intention to buy property, but he passed away before he could (Slothouber 2013, 51).

Slothouber also adds that the Bingleys are "from the north of England," (Austen 2020, 11, as cited in Slothouber 2013, 51) which was a highly industrious part of the country at the time, and although it is never mentioned in *Pride and Prejudice*, according to Slothouber (2013), there are a number of academics who believe Mr. Bingley's father to have had connections to the cotton industry. Since their father managed to attain wealth, Mr. Bingley and his sisters were considered part of the gentry, even though their transition was incomplete, as there were matters that they could not settle due to the rapid rise from one social class to another, such as "possessions, manners, and confidence" (Slothouber 2013, 56). One could also argue that the Bingley sisters received an education, which could point to them wanting to achieve a better their social standing, as Austen writes, "[the sisters] had been educated in one of the first private seminaries in town..." (Austen 2020, 11). Kramp (2007) explains that Mr. Bingley is now part of "England's emerging middle class," (75) and he intends to advance in society and better himself, for which his choice of tutor

is none other than Mr. Darcy (Kramp 2007, 75). The Bingley family wanting to reach a higher social standing, I argue, is also apparent in Austen's description of the Bingley sisters, who "[...] were in habit of... associating with people of rank, and were therefore in every respect entitled to think well of themselves [...]," (Austen 2020, 11) as this would suggest that they were social climbers who were aiming to solidify their place in the higher ranks of society.

Kramp (2007) argues that in *Pride and Prejudice*, the transition of society and economy, and the new definitions of gender roles of both men and women as it was mentioned above, is a thoroughly explored topic (17). Austen portrays how the ancestral landed gentry forms a relationship, and ultimately guides the middle class by the relationship of Mr. Darcy and Mr. Bingley (Kramp 2007, 76). Their friendship is described by Austen as "... a steady friendship, in spite of great opposition of character," (2020, 12) and as "on the strength of Darcy's regard Bingley had the firmest reliance, and of his judgement the highest opinion." (12), meaning that Bingley did look at Darcy as a trusted tutor, and relied on his opinion very much. Mr. Darcy, as part of the landed gentry with generational wealth, tries to tutor Mr. Bingley on how to perform traditional English masculinity, but no matter how much progress Bingley achieves, he can never truly become an equal to Darcy, as explained by Kramp (2007, 76). Kramp (2007) argues that even though men of trade, like Bingley, can have important contributions to their society, they cannot assume the leading roles of the English nation in terms of "moral and social development," (76) since their "historical class status" (76) prohibits them from doing so, as that is reserved for the landed gentry, such as Mr. Darcy, and the nobility. Therefore, in Kramp's opinion, since Mr. Bingley can never reach Mr. Darcy's place in society, he can also never fully conform to the Burkean ideal masculinity that Darcy portrays (2007, 76). According to Kramp, historically, men of trade have never been a part of the long-standing tradition of landed gentry, therefore they cannot belong to the "mythologized English national heritage" (76) that Burke described and deemed necessary for the ideal gentleman to have (2007, 76).

Another aspect, which highlights Mr. Bingley's non-traditional masculinity is his lack of books in his leased home, Netherfield Park. As in *Pride and Prejudice*, it is noted by Caroline Bingley, "... that my father should have left so small a collection of books" (Austen 2020, 27), and Mr. Bingley himself admits that he is not in possession of many books (Austen 2020, 27). In comparison, Mr. Darcy's home at Pemberley has a large collection of books, a personal library, that has been amassed throughout the generations of Darcys that have lived at Pemberley, and in *Pride and Prejudice*, this is juxtaposed with the small number of books the Bingleys have (McCann 1964, 69). Upon Caroline Bingley praising the library of Mr. Darcy, he replies "It ought to be good... it has been the work of many generation" (Austen 2020, 27), meaning that he is positive of his library's excellence, since it was accumulated throughout a long period. It was previously explained in the work of Hamilton, that according to R.W. Connell, the amount of information a man has is in direct correlation with his standing in the hierarchy of masculinities (Hamilton 2008, 22). The possession of information translating to value in terms of hierarchy of masculinities is a phenomenon applicable in the case of Mr. Bingley as well. That Bingley should have less books than Darcy also has the possibility to mean that Bingley has less access to information than Darcy does, which leads me to believe that this is another example of Bingley's non-hegemonic masculinity. I theorize that this can also as an additional explanation as to why Mr. Bingley would choose Mr. Darcy as his tutor in traditional English masculinity: due to his enormous amount of information, Darcy is well-equipped to teach Bingley.

As claimed by Kramp (2007), Jane Austen utilizes Bingley's character in that she shows the process of Bingley learning to conform to "Burke's model of traditional male behavior" (77) and that of other contemporary writers, and all the trials and the tribulations that this road to conformity encompasses. Kramp explains that Bingley's persona also acts as a guide to other men akin to him, meaning others from the emerging middle class with newly acquired money, in that Austen emphasizes how members of said middle class need to act in order to play an important

role in their society (2007, 77). Although Bingley's intention is to progress in terms of his family's socioeconomic state, and is working to achieve that progress, he is aware that there are obstacles which he may not be able to overcome, as expressed by Kramp (2007, 77–78). He explains that Bingley only leasing Netherfield is an obstacle of this nature, and his lack of a permanent home, or an estate, which is also what differentiates him from Darcy (Kramp 2007, 78). As it was mentioned before, Mr. Bingley did not inherit an estate from his father, nor has he purchased one by the time *Pride and Prejudice* starts, despite his intention of owning one is being highlighted in the novel, and him being "established only as a tenant" (Austen 2020, 12). Kramp (2007, 78) presents the following dichotomy. On one hand, Pemberley, the Darcys' estate is an ancestral home, which fits in the framework of Burke's ideal English masculinity in that it highlights the importance of a man being a part of the English nation's leading class. On the other hand, Bingley is not the owner of such an estate, and even if he purchased one, it could never have the same value as Pemberley, an ancestral home that was occupied by the Darcys for the duration of centuries prior. Although at the end of the *Pride and Prejudice*, after marrying Jane Bennet, Bingley does become a homeowner, therefore progresses even more in terms of his socioeconomic state, he is still "socially and sexually inferior to Darcy" (Kramp 2007, 82). As Austen explains, Mr. Bingley became the owner of an estate located "in a neighboring country to Derbyshire," (Austen 2020, 272) and his and Darcy's home of Pemberley are quite close to each other (Austen 2020, 272). I argue that this signifies Bingley coming closer to obtaining more qualities of the ideal masculinity that Burke advocated for, since now he has property, and Bingley is also closer to solidifying his social standing as part of the landed gentry.

In terms of social life, in *Pride and Prejudice*, one of Bingley's character traits is that of being easily impressed and pleased by occasions such as balls and other social gatherings, and perhaps his love for Jane Bennet, as explained by Kramp (2007, 78). This easy-going nature of Bingley is present at the Meryton ball as well, as it was mentioned above, in that "he was lively and unreserved, danced every dance, was angry that the ball closed so early, and talked of giving one himself at Netherfield" (Austen 2020, 8). Therefore, since Darcy acts as a teacher to Bingley, Darcy pays attention to guide Bingley in a way that does not encourage Bingley's impulsivity and impressionability, since those are not characteristics of Burkean English masculinity, and can easily damage Bingley's newly acquired social standing as pointed out by Kramp (2007, 79). That Mr. Darcy would truly be an advisor to Bingley appears in instances such as Bingley's marriage to Jane Bennet, as Darcy is against their union, and because of this, they do not tie the knot until the end of the novel (Austen 2020, 140). In his letter to Elizabeth, Mr. Darcy explains that the reason for diverting Mr. Bingley to another part of the country was that he did not believe Jane to be in love with Bingley, and his fear that she may use him to earn more connections and solidify her future through Bingley's fortune (Austen 2020, 140–141). Elizabeth pokes fun at how much Bingley respects Darcy's opinion, "'That is to say, you had given your [Darcy's] permission. I guessed as much'," (Austen 2020, 261) noting the amount of influence Darcy's opinion has on Bingley's actions. Kramp (2007) argues that Bingley's manners are also a subject that need Darcy's guidance, as Bingley speaks quite freely and lacks eloquence, which Burke calls for whilst describing ideal masculinity (80).

In summary, Mr. Bingley is an example of the new middle class in England at the time. Because of this, he lacks the traits, which define the ideal Burkean man, who is in possession of both property and ancestral heritage, due to which he is equipped with the according manners. Bingley, in order to achieve a more ideal expression of masculinity, is trained by Mr. Darcy, who as a part of England's landed gentry, is a model to be followed. Whilst tutoring him, Darcy is met with the dangers of Bingley's impressionability and easy-going, somewhat unserious manners, which prove to be a difficulty. By the end of *Pride and Prejudice*, Bingley is significantly closer to the ideal Burkean masculinity, as he has purchased property.

4.3. Mr. Bennet: The Antithesis of a Patriarch

In this chapter, the masculinity of Mr. Bennet will be discussed. Since his primary role in Pride and Prejudice is that of a father and a patriarch, the topic of this section is how Mr. Bennet failed to fulfill those roles, and how his failure affects his masculinity. I intend to explore the qualities that were associated with the preferred type of fatherhood between 1750 and 1830, then based on studies on the character of Mr. Bennet, analyze how he does, or more often, does not conform to those traits, and how that appears in *Pride and Prejudice*. These aspects include the ability of Mr. Bennet to provide financially for his daughters, as well as assessment of his role as the patriarch of the Bennet family.

Based on the late Georgian magazine, in his article about the masculinities in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Stafford concludes that men's ideal role in the English society during this time period consisted of fulfilling their roles as patriarchs, heads of households, and were tasked with the responsibility of leading those socially beneath them (Stafford 2008, 59–60). Additionally, Stafford (2008) notes that men who possessed the ability to perform and act according to logic and reason, and who were capable of acting as a patriarch were approved and these expressions of masculinity were preferred as to men who renounced their responsibilities as heads of households (60). The men who renounced their "paternal responsibility" (Stafford 2008, 60) mostly belonged to the younger generation, and qualities such as not possessing self-restraint in regards to their wants and desires, as well as not abiding by socially acceptable polite behavior were associated with them, as Stafford explains. What Cohen described as hegemonic masculinity in the eighteenth century as "polite and refined gentleman," (Cohen 2005, 312) I propose can be connected to what Bailey described as "man of feeling" (Bailey 2010, 271) whilst discussing fatherhood in the late Georgian period (Bailey 2010, 271 and Cohen 2005, 312). Cohen argued that politeness was based on the notion of a person prioritizing not themselves, but others, and its goal was to fulfill the needs of others (2005, 314). Additionally, Cohen also discusses that polite behavior was connected to the domestic sphere, which consequently lead to the fear of effeminacy, since domesticity was typically the space of women, thus the reason that men were increasingly afraid to perform politeness (2005, 314–315). Domesticity is also an aspect of the "man of feeling" (271) as Bailey (2010) explained in her article, characteristics such as "embodied emotion, sensitivity and gentleness" (271) in a "domestic setting" (271) were key constituents of this type of masculinity. Frequently, these preferred traits were accompanied by others, such as "fortitude, stoicism and courage," (272) appealing characteristics of traditional masculinity, as Bailey elaborated (2010). Therefore, one can suggest that fatherhood and the position of head of household are part of patriarchal duty, and fulfilling these roles as a patriarch is a trait of hegemonic masculinity.

Aside from fathers acting as tyrants in their households, a man assuming an indifferent role as a father was not favored in the period between 1750 and 1830 either, as argued by Bailey (2010, 278). An indifferent father acted in a way that placed their children in the background and prioritized other, less crucial aspects of their lives (279). The author also argues that this type of fatherhood was characterized as "unfeeling," (Bailey 2010, 279) in opposition to the ideal "tender paternity" (274) role, which included treating a child with love, caring about their health and schooling all throughout their lives whilst providing the child with "compassion and solicitude" (Bailey 2010, 274). The "tender paternity" (274) as described by Bailey (2010) included further qualities such as "sensitive, moderate, domesticated, devoted to babies and to promoting children's instruction and advancement" (274). In *Pride and Prejudice*, one can argue that Mr. Bennet is a clear example of an indifferent father. Mr. Bennet is aware of his responsibilities as a patriarch and of his role according to the customs of the beginning of the nineteenth century, but he is incapable of fulfilling them, as he is too overwhelmed by them (Burgan 1975, 538–539). His refusal to adhere to these rules and inequalities of the patriarchal hierarchy is portrayed by Austen through his constant use of irony,

especially towards the Bennet family, and his choice to spend most of his time in his library as opposed to actively participating in family life (Burgan 1975, 539). Although there are many, an example of such an instance appears in *Pride and Prejudice* during Mr. Collins' visitation to Longbourn, and Mr. Bennet is very eager to leave his company, so he can retreat to his library (Austen 2020, 52). Additionally, Austen explains that Mr. Bennet even communicated it to Elizabeth, that "...though prepared, as he told Elizabeth, to meet with folly and conceit in every other room at the house, he was used to be free from them there [the library]." (Austen 2020, 52). Thus, Mr. Bennet's uttermost preference to hide among his books from his wife and children is especially highlighted here, which contributes to his passivity as both the head of the Bennet household, and as a father, I argue, in agreeing with the following claims of Burgan. As Burgan in her article claims, since Mr. Bennet is overly focused on these tactics of refusal, he is incapable to live up to both his fatherly and patriarchal duties, and although his irony has a comic function, it is important to note that that is partly the reason of him abandoning said responsibilities, which cannot be overlooked (Burgan 1975, 539–540). There is a myriad of situations in which his love of ridiculing social conventions and those around him is portrayed by Austen, but in order to highlight one, I am going to focus on Mr. Bennet's opinion and attitude towards Mr. Collins during his aforementioned visitation (Austen 2020, 48–50). Austen writes, "Mr. Bennet's expectations were fully answered [after inquiring Mr. Collins about his patroness, Lady Catherine]. His cousin was as absurd as he had hoped, and he listened to him with the keenest enjoyment..." (Austen 2020, 50), which clearly shows how his love for such "ridiculousness," in addition to his refusal to take those around him seriously.

Alistair Duckworth, in his monograph entitled *The Improvement of the Estate* (2020) is an agreement with Burgan, as he states that Mr. Bennet "refuses to adopt the role of the father and landowner" (128). Mr. Bennet mostly comments on what happened around him, pointing out the irony of a social situation, but he never assumes an active role in any of said situations, especially those that are a part of his patriarchal and/or fatherly roles (Duckworth 2020, 128). His refusal of participation may also be aspect of him portraying an indifferent father, since instead of raising his children and ensuring a good future for them financially, Mr. Bennet chooses to hide among his books, where he is free from his responsibilities. Duckworth also points out that while Mr. Darcy's library at Pemberley is a symbol of responsibility, in the case of Mr. Bennet it is the aversion of that (Duckworth 2020, 129–130). Mr. Darcy is aware of his duties as the master of Pemberley and completes them accordingly, and as it was discussed before, he is proud of his library, because "it has been the work of many generations" (Austen 2020, 27), (Duckworth 2020, 129). Mr. Bennet's library, on the other hand is a symbol of avoiding those duties, since he occupies it when he does not wish to be disturbed by the Bennet family (Duckworth 2020, 129–130). Therefore, in order to solidify Mr. Bennet's role as an indifferent father, I am going to provide some examples in which he acts in this manner with his closer family unit, not solely with Mr. Collins. As it is a theme in *Pride and Prejudice*, that Mr. Bennet is constantly teasing his wife, Mrs. Bennet, it is introduced in the very beginning of the novel with Mr. Bingley's arrival in Meryton (Austen 2020, 3–5). Mr. Bennet acted extremely indifferent towards Mr. Bingley's arrival in front of Mrs. Bennet, who was very adamant about arranging a visit in order to ensure the marriage of at least one of their daughters, as well as continuously teasing her about her eagerness (Austen 2020, 3–5). However, it is then explained, that "Mr. Bennet was among the earliest of those who waited on Mr. Bingley. He had always intended to visit him, though to the last always assuring his wife that he should not go..." (Austen 2020, 5), which he did not intend to reveal until much later, and even then, he did so with immense teasing of his wife and daughters (Austen 2020, 5–7). Therefore, I propose that Mr. Bennet does so only to fuel his own amusement that he gains by watching his family around him become distressed due to his antics, which further adds to him not acting as a caring father.

Bailey (2010, 279) argues that providing for one's children was also necessary in terms of ideal fatherhood, in terms of having a sufficient income to cover the children's basic needs, as well as emotional care. Bailey cites the *Art of Governing a Wife*, according to which "'careful of providing for the house, diligent in looking after his estate, prudent in bearing the importunities of his wife [and] zealous of the education of his children'" (Bailey 2010, 279) is what constitutes a "'good husband'" (Bailey 2010, 279). In *Pride and Prejudice*, Mr. Bennet's thoughtlessness in money matters is apparent, as argued by Hume (2013, 308). His annual income is said to be 2000 pounds, and he has not spared any of it, which is a difficult situation, as Mr. Bennet has five daughters, all of whom he would need to provide dowries for (Hume 2013, 306–307). In *Pride and Prejudice*, it is highlighted that "Mr. Bennet's property consisted almost entirely in an estate of two thousand a year, which, unfortunately for his daughters, was entailed, in default of heirs male, on a distant relation [Mr. Collins], and their mother's fortune..., could but ill supply the deficiency of his." (Austen 2020, 20). Hume (2013, 306) notes that Mr. Bennet is part of the landed gentry, and their estate of Longbourn calls for a number of inside and outside staff for its maintenance, which cannot be omitted when talking about their economic standing. The existence of servants in their household becomes apparent during the dinner between the Bennet family and Mr. Collins, when the latter inquired, "which of his fair cousins is the excellence of its cookery was owing." (Austen 2020, 48), to which Mrs. Bennet replied that they are indeed equipped with a cook in Longbourn (48). Hume (2013, 307) notes that with Mr. Bennet's income resembling that of a baronet's, and the Bennets not having accumulated debt, it appears the household is not as impoverished as one might think. Hume argues that Mr. Bennet discarded his responsibility, and with regret, has not saved any of his annual income, meaning that when he passes, his wife and daughters will be in danger financially, which Mrs. Bennet mentions several times, and is very much a matter of anxiety in the Bennet family (2013, 307). Had there been a son in the Bennet family, who would be the heir to Longbourn, and take on the responsibility of caring for Mrs. Bennet and any sisters whom were still unmarried, the family would not experience such troubles regarding their financial standing, as suggested by Hume (2013, 307).

Fathers offering protection for their daughter in order to save them from suspicious suitors who could potentially threaten their social standing and reputation was deemed an important aspect of ideal fatherhood by contemporary society, as Bailey (2010) explains in her article (282). This notion of protectiveness, and shielding his daughters from the possibility of ruining their reputation, is, however, not a trait or willingness that Mr. Bennet possesses. His handling of and behavior towards the elopement of Lydia Bennet and Mr. Wickham are proof of his thoughtlessness (Burgan 1975, 542) additionally to his incapability to settle money matters in regards to their elopement (Hume 2013, 309). Mrs. Bennet's brother, Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Darcy are the ones able to solve the unfortunate situation, as they organize the wedding of Lydia and Wickham (Kramp 2007, 84–86). As it was discussed before, in her letter to Elizabeth, in regards to the settlement of the marriage between Lydia and Wickham, Mrs. Gardiner admitted in secrecy that it was Mr. Darcy who provided the financial background for the elopement (Austen 2020, 225–229), which one could argue, would be the responsibility of Mr. Bennet. Mr. Darcy was also generous enough as to give money to Wickham that acted as the dowry of Lydia (Austen 2020, 227), which instead of discussing with Mr. Bennet, he chose Mr. Gardiner as his confidant (Austen 2020, 247). Mr. Darcy's reasoning behind not choosing the person who is truly responsible for Lydia and the reputation of their family, Mr. Bennet, was the following: "He did not judge your father to be a person whom he could so properly consult as your uncle..." (Austen 2020, 227). Darcy's argument may indicate that Mr. Bennet's irresponsibility is not unknown to those around him, in fact, it is possibly something associated with his character. Therefore, Burgan (1975, 543) states that since Mr. Bennet could not fulfill the role of the family's protector and figure of authority, Mr. Gardiner assumed it instead of him, helping the Bennets avoid deterioration of their socioeconomic status.

Hume (2013, 309) emphasizes that aside from Mr. Gardiner acting as the head of the Bennet family, Mr. Darcy is also a vital part of the equation, since he pays Wickham's debts as well as providing Lydia a dowry, which Mr. Bennet, her own father, was not able to help Lydia with, as it was mentioned above. Upon hearing that Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Darcy have handled the situation, Mr. Bennet exclaims if it were Gardiner, who paid for the marriage and the dowry, Mr. Bennet would be obliged to pay him back, although Hume (2013, 309) questions how he would intend to do that.

In this chapter, Mr. Bennet's inadequacy of fulfilling his role as a patriarch and as a father were the topic of discussion. Firstly, the expectations of fathers and patriarchs in the late Georgian period were explained, based on which Mr. Bennet was concluded to be an indifferent father, as he chose not to be involved nor in the life, nor the future of his daughters. Instead of acting according his role as a caring father, he opted to live in the safe confines of his library, as he did not have to be constantly confronted with the fact that he could not live up to the expectations of a patriarch if he did not see the consequences of his actions. Mr. Bennet also failed to provide dowries for his daughters, a situation that caused an ever-present distress for Mrs. Bennet, who was desperately trying to marry off her daughters in order to ensure a secure future for them, and instead of helping her, Mr. Bennet only worsened their situation by his irony and love of ridiculing those around him. Lastly, that Mr. Gardiner had to overtake the role of the patriarch of the Bennet household instead of Mr. Bennet himself, should equate to him finally losing every shred of dignity he ever associated with his position as the head of the household. Even though Mr. Bennet is conscious about his retreat from the world of responsibilities, as well as all that expected of him and the stress that accompanies them, additionally to his failure, these should not redeem him. In conclusion, in terms of completing the entirety of the duties as head of the household and succeeding as a patriarch, which based on what Stafford's article analysis of the *Gentleman's Magazine* found was the most acceptable form of masculinity, Mr. Bennet does not fit this criteria, therefore he is not part of the hegemonic masculinity ideal.

4.4. Mr. Wickham: A Libertine in the Militia

The masculinity of Mr. Wickham is going to be the topic of discussion in this chapter. Since the persona of the rake and Wickham's position in the militia are both important factors of his masculinity, I would like to elaborate on those aspects. Wickham is a fortune hunter, whose irresponsible gambling forces him to find new ways to bring fortune to his name by marriage. Therefore, he enlists in the militia, which grants him the ability to construe a new personality for himself and the opportunity to social climb. Even though his masculinity is not that preferable due to his being a rake, Mr. Wickham still manages to secure a good future for himself, through twisted events.

Since the persona of a rake is integral to understanding the character of Mr. Wickham, I want to provide a quick overview of the definition of a rake, its traits and its origin. As Mackie (2005) notes, the figure of the rake, which is strictly masculine, is connected to the English Restoration, during which period this type of masculinity attained the title of a "culturally mythic outlaw" (Mackie 2005, 129). According to Mackie, criminality and sexually indecent behavior are also a part of a rake's persona, which contribute to his definition as an outlaw (Mackie 2005, 129). During the 1660s and 1670s, Mackie also explains, the figure of the rake was highly popular in terms of its portrayals in theatrical settings and literature, however, the over the course of the succeeding two centuries, his persona received immense attack (2005, 131). This basis of this attack was that of the emergence of a "polite masculine ideal," (131) to which the romanticized criminality of the rake and his alleged gentlemanliness could not compare with, as pointed out by Mackie (2005, 131).

According to Stafford's (2008) study on the *Gentleman's Magazine*, it is clear that the consensus on men, who portray qualities of a rake, or a libertine, are judged negatively (60). Rakes were thought to behave in a manner that did not align with their patriarchal responsibilities alongside being

impolite, Stafford claims (2008, 60). As it was mentioned above, Mackie explains that the masculinity of the rake was competing with the persona of a polite gentleman, who, as it is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, is the more ideal masculinity in terms of the Georgian period (Stafford 2008, 60). Whereas the masculinity of a gentleman who performed his duties as patriarch, had the skills of logic and stoicism received a positive evaluation, the irresponsible rake did not (Stafford 2008, 60). Based on R.W. Connell's framework of hegemonic and alternative masculinities which was elaborated on in the works of Hobbs (2013) and Reeser (2020), the polite gentleman who conformed to the responsibilities expected of him in a patriarchal society can be interpreted as the hegemonic masculinity, and the rake, who rebelled against the expectations set for him, can be considered an alternative masculinity.

As a part of his mask, Mr. Wickham does in fact appear to act in a gentlemanlike manner during the beginning of his appearance (Bittner 1994, 77). Upon his arrival as part of the militia in Meryton, he is thought of as a gentleman with pleasant manners accompanied by good conversational skills, and quite charming (Morgan 1975, 58). Austen introduced the character of Mr. Wickham as "...he had all the best part of beauty, a fine countenance, a good figure and a very pleasing address" (Austen 2020, 52), as well as "The introduction was followed upon his side by a happy readiness of conversation – a readiness at the same time perfectly correct and unassuming" (Austen 2020, 52–53). The latter quote was highlighted by Morgan as well, in order to emphasize Wickham's seemingly perfect first impression, which in actuality does not reflect on his "qualities or nature" (Morgan 1975, 58) merely his "looks and manners" (Morgan 1975, 58). Agreeable indeed, he even manages to extend his likability to Elizabeth, whom he manages to fool with his fabricated persona, as in reality, Wickham is a "fortune hunter" (Morgan 1975, 59). That Wickham's primary incentive is to amass fortune by marriage is made clear by Wickham himself, after having run away with Lydia Bennet, which is presented below (Austen 2020, 227).

> Mr. Darcy asked him why he had not married your sister [Lydia] at once. Though Mr. Bennet was not imagined to be very rich, he would have been able to do something for him, and his situation must have been benefited by marriage. But he [Mr. Darcy] found, in reply to this question, that Wickham still cherished the hope of more effectually making his fortune by marriage in some other country. (Austen 2020, 227)

Therefore, it is illustrated by the quote above that Mr. Wickham's plan all throughout *Pride and Prejudice* was to achieve financial security by marrying someone with more fortune than him, and he was ready to abandon Lydia because her father could not provide a good enough dowry in Wickham's eyes. I thus agree with Morgan's assertion that Mr. Wickham is a "fortune hunter," (Morgan 1975, 59) since even Wickham himself explicitly explains it. He invents an entirely new personality, which functions as a tool for him to win the approval of the people in Meryton, and acquire a bride with good fortune (Morgan 1975, 60). During their time together in Meryton, Wickham engages Elizabeth in conversation, and he begins to talk about Mr. Darcy to her (Austen 2020, 56). He acts in a very innocent manner at first, sharing with her that since he has known Darcy since birth, it would not be very proper of him to disclose what he thinks of him, as it would be extremely partial (Austen 2020, 56). However, as the conversation progresses, Wickham finally reveals his opinion of Darcy to Elizabeth by explaining:

> 'I cannot pretend to be sorry', said Wickham after a short interruption, 'that he or that any man should not be estimated beyond their deserts, but with him I believe it does not often happen. The world is blinded by his fortune and consequence, or frightened by his high and imposing manners, and sees him only as he chooses to be seen.' (Austen 2020, 57)

Thus, by stating that Mr. Darcy is not necessarily who he claims he is, Wickham alludes that there is a side of Darcy that not many have a knowledge of, but makes it clear that Wickham is in possession of such information. Wickham then finally shares the distorted tale of their conjoined past, concluding that it was Mr. Darcy who committed offense against him when removing Wickham from the will of Mr. Darcy's father after his passing, which he is greatly hurt by, but adds that he would be open to receiving an apology from Darcy (Austen 2020, 57–58). After detailing his misfortune caused by this event, Wickham does indeed gain the sympathy of Elizabeth (Austen 2020, 59), therefore succeeding at curating the reputation of an innocent, unfoundedly wronged man.

Aside from his immoral behavior and personality based on lies, Mr. Wickham's gambling activity also contributes to his rake persona (Burgan 1975, 60). Even after arriving in Meryton, Wickham is adamant on leading an irresponsible life, frequently gaming, thus acquiring a considerable amount of debt, because of which he often travels out of town (Wilson 2004). Sharma also argues in her 2021 article, much like Morgan, that Wickham has a reputation of searching for wives with good fortune, both for assuring a life without financial troubles for himself, as he is not part of the landed gentry, and to finally pay his debt he amassed over the years. His behavior of attempting to seduce Mr. Darcy's sister, Georgiana, who is in possession of a large fortune to run away with him, therefore providing him with the means to achieve economic stability, is an example of Mr. Wickham's search for wealthy wives that Sharma (2021) enunciated. Wickham's role of a "fortune hunter" (Morgan 1975, 59) as it was argued by Morgan previously is present in his intentions with Miss Darcy as well. In his letter to Elizabeth, Mr. Darcy readily provides the whole truth about Wickham's character and past to her, and thus revealing Wickham's true intentions (Austen 2020, 143–144). Darcy explains, that "About a year ago, she was taken from school, and an establishment formed for her in London, and last summer she went with the lady who presided over it to Ramsgate; and thither also went Mr. Wickham, undoubtedly by design…" (Austen 2020, 144). He also informed Elizabeth that Wickham seduced his sister, and managed to persuade her to elope with him, and had Darcy not surprised them with his unexpected presence, the marriage would definitely have happened (Austen 2020, 144). Finally, Wickham's reason for seducing Georgiana is without a doubt, is access to her fortune, which was "thirty thousand pounds," (Austen 2020, 144) as well as "the hope of revenging himself on me [Mr. Darcy]" (Austen 2020, 144). However, despite Wickham's unsuccessful endeavors, he becomes freed from his debts, although due to a series of unfortunate events. After an excursion to Brighton with his regiment, on which Kitty and Lydia Bennet accompany him, he compromises Lydia, and they consequently run away together (Bittner 1994, 77–78). Sharma argues that Wickham's seduction of Lydia was not due to him wanting her fortune, but rather an irresponsible act driven by his sexual desires, because he is hesitant about marrying Lydia, as she is without fortune (Sharma 2021). This claim of Sharma would be in agreement with that of Morgan's (Morgan 1975, 60). As it was mentioned before, due to Mr. Bennet's economic irresponsibility, he did not provide his daughters a dowry, therefore Lydia did not have one, making her an unfit candidate for Wickham's criteria. Despite Wickham not wanting to marry Lydia, in order to save Lydia's reputation, Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Darcy arranged the elopement, and Mr. Darcy paid Mr. Wickham's debts, relieving him of his responsibility (Bittner 1994, 78).

In this section of the analysis of Mr. Wickham's masculinity, my aim is to provide information about how Wickham's profession as a soldier affected his masculinity. Therefore, before analysis, I want to provide a brief historical explanation of the British militia and its perception during the late Georgian period, in order to offer context for how it was portrayed in *Pride and Prejudice*. For this, I will use the article of Tim Fulford's article, "Sighing for a Soldier: Jane Austen and Military Pride and Prejudice" published in 2002, which will explain the facts as follows. The end of the eigh-

teenth century marked Britain's war with France due to colonial conflicts, which coincided with the period in which Jane Austen lived and wrote (Fulford, 2002, 153). Due to the war, the militia was present again in Britain, with the goal of protecting the nation from potential danger from the French (Fulford 2002, 154). The landed gentry were tasked with the responsibility of creating and assuming leadership of the regiments in their vicinity (Fulford 2002, 155). Even though their purpose was to protect Britain, with their fashionable uniforms, they acted as a source of entertainment and amusement for the nation (Fulford 2002, 155). As the war progressed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the militia was now stationing everywhere in Britain, and its responsibilities consisted of training, marching from one location to another, and attending various social gatherings (Fulford 2002, 156). In some parts of England, the officers did not enjoy a decent reputation due to them requiring too much funding and their indecent sexual behavior, however, it is important to mention that the soldiers did have the possibility to climb the social hierarchy, which was not common in Regency England (Fulford 2002, 156–157).

Fulford argues that since Mr. Wickham was assigned to serve in a different part of England than his home allowed him the freedom to curate an entirely new personality and past for himself, as he was now an officer, one whose true colors were protected by the uniform he was wearing (2002, 157). I agree with Fulford due to the fact that Wickham's ploy of marrying for fortune was to be carried out in a manner that included shielding his real past from the inhabitants of Meryton, which was only possible because his person was unfamiliar to those around him. As Fulford explains, Wickham was in the militia, for which no one was required to ever have fought on in a battle, and to own land in the vicinity of their assigned regiment, and that is what gave soldiers the opportunity to move away from their potentially troublesome past, which was the case of Wickham (2002, 157). Aside from granting the right for soldiers to social mobility, the militia never even partook in the important battles for the English nation, the real heroes who fought battles fortuitously were enrolled in the navy, and this certainly did not help the public opinion of the militia, as Fulford further elaborates (2002, 157). The militia was also famous for their "sexual and financial corruption" (Fulford 2002, 159), which added further to their already tainted reputation (Fulford 2002, 159). Fulford claims that in *Pride and Prejudice*, the aforementioned morally corrupt ways of the militia was highlighted as it spread to the countryside (2002, 164).

Fulford also highlights that "the militia officer can no longer see what it is to be a man," (2002, 172) since at one point in the novel, the militia is nonchalantly playing dress-up with Lydia, which results in feminization of the soldiers and endangers their masculinity (2002, 172). Fulford (Fulford 2002, 172) also quotes the scene in *Pride and Prejudice* in which Lydia and Kitty "dress up Chamberlayne in women's clothes on purpose to pass for a lady..." (Austen 2020, 156) Lydia describes the event as "only to think what fun," (Austen 2020, 156) and tells of her amusement when the other soldiers appeared, including Wickham, whom had no idea it was their fellow colleague dressed as a woman (Austen 2020, 156). This provides evidence of Fulford's description of the militia as a source of entertainment for the people around them, as they were likely to participate is foolish acts without considering their reputation (Fulford 2002, 159).

To conclude, in this chapter I have discussed the following points in regard to Mr. Wickham's masculinity. Mr. Wickham's personality of a rake was elaborated on, since he has the typical qualities of one, such as his constant gambling and large debts, which can be connected to the rake's criminal activities. In addition to this, Mr. Wickham reinventing himself in order to avoid the consequences of his actions, and trying to gain fortune by preying on women with money are also important parts of his masculinity. The militia allowed him to continue with his irresponsible acts, and even though he succeeded in the end, his masculinity with its overarching qualities of the rake is definitely not something that the contemporary society would approve of, as it is apparent in *Pride and Prejudice*.

5. Conclusion

In this thesis, my main objective was to analyze the different types of masculinities of the characters of Mr. Darcy, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Bennet and Mr. Wickham from Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, as well as to find out whether their masculinities belonged to preferable, or less preferable performances of masculinity in their time. In order to carry out the analysis, I have used the work of Reeser and Hobbs to explain the terms of hegemonic and alternative masculinities. I have also incorporated the work of Stafford and Cohen to provide examples of both acceptable and less acceptable masculinities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in England. With this theoretical background, I have examined the masculinities of Darcy, Bingley, Bennet and Wickham. Since their characters are vastly different, and they portray different aspects of masculinities in the late Georgian period, the focus varies from chapter to chapter. The importance of this research is that it covers a wide variety of expressions of the features of hegemonic and alternative masculinities in Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, while providing the historical context of said masculinities.

Chapter 2, discussions of Mr. Darcy's proximity to fully embodying the Burkean ideal masculinity, and his categorization as the hegemonic masculine ideal in *Pride and Prejudice* were carried out. His generational wealth, his social class as the landed gentry and his assuming leadership positions in many instances, as well as his estate of Pemberley contribute to Darcy's portrayal of hegemonic masculinity. However, when Elizabeth humbles him, due to which he corrects his pride and shows growth, his manners improve as well, therefore comes even closer to the ideal masculinity that Burke described.

In Chapter 3, Mr. Bingley's masculinity was elaborated on with special attention of the fact that he represents England's new middle class in the late Georgian period. Since he is newly come into money, Mr. Darcy helps him act accordingly to the standards of a proper English gentleman. Bingley's carefree nature and his affinity to pleasure, however, is an obstacle that needs to be overcome for him to conform to Burke's ideal masculinity. By the end of the novel, Mr. Bingley has come significantly closer to this ideal, since he is settled with a property.

In Chapter 4, Mr. Bennet's role as both a patriarch and a father were studied, and how they reflected on his masculinity. He proved to be an indifferent father, since he always hid in his library, as he wanted to avoid his fatherly responsibilities that he knew was incapable of completing. Mr. Bennet's callous attitude resulted in the lack of dowries for his daughters. He also lost his role as the head of the household when he was unable to settle the elopement of Lydia and Wickham, his wife's brother had to act instead of him. Due to the abandonment of duties as a patriarch and careless behavior, Mr. Bennet cannot be considered to elicit hegemonic masculinity.

In the final chapter, I have discussed the masculinity of Mr. Wickham. His characterization as a rake included amassing debt and irresponsible sexual conduct. Wickham's end goal was to gain fortune by marriage, and in order to achieve that, he joined the militia, which gave him the opportunity to continue his attempts. Although he does reach his goal, his methods are highly unapproved of by those around him, and his masculinity is definitely not held in high regard.

Limitations of the analysis of the four men in regard to hegemonic and alternative masculinities are the following. The aim of this thesis was to carry out research of the four aforementioned characters and suggest their categorization of hegemonic or alternative masculinities based on their historical background. However, it does not provide a complete examination of all of their traits that can be connected to their masculinity, and can be regarded as incomplete in this sense. It focuses on the most important aspects of masculinity based on the character. Furthermore, it does not contain analysis of all the men of *Pride and Prejudice*, so it would also call for completion concerning this. In future research, the two previously stated points can be expanded upon.

Reference list

Primary source:

Austen, Jane. 2020. *Pride and Prejudice*. Alma Books. London, United Kingdom: Alma Books.

Secondary sources:

Bailey, Joanne. 2010. "'A Very Sensible Man': Imagining Fatherhood in England c.1750–1830." *History* 95, no. 3 (July): 267–292.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/24428760

Bittner, Donald F. 1994. "Jane Austen and Her Officers: A Portrayal of the Army in English Literature." *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 72, no. 290 (Summer): 76–91.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/44224781

Burgan, Mary A. 1975. "Mr. Bennet and the Failures of Fatherhood in Jane Austen's Novels." *The Journal of English and German Philology* 74, no. 4 (October): 536–552.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/27707956

Cohen, Michèle. 2005. "'Manners' Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750–1830." *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April): 312–329.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/427127

Duckworth, Alistair M. 2020. "Pride and Prejudice: The Reconstruction of Society." In *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels*, 116–143. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020.
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/71827

Fulford, Tim. 2002. "Sighing for a Soldier: Jane Austen and Military Pride and Prejudice." *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 57, no. 2 (September): 153–178.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/ncl.2002.57.2.153

Hamilton, N. Sylvia. 2008. "Constructing Mr. Darcy: Tradition, Gender, and Silent Spaces in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*." MA thesis, University of Central Oklahoma.
https://hdl.handle.net/11244/323753

Hobbs, Alex. 2013. "Masculinity Studies and Literature." *Literature Compass* 4, no. 10 (March): 383–395.
https://doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12057

Hume, Robert D. 2013. "Money in Jane Austen." *The Review of English Studies* 64, no. 264 (April): 289–310.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/42003625

Kramp, Michael. 2007. "The emergence of the Modern nation and the Development of the Modern Man." In *Disciplining Love: Austen and the Modern Man*, 17–34. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007.
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/28030

Kramp, Michael. 2007. "Austen's Tradesmen Improving Masculinity in Pride and Prejudice." In *Disciplining Love: Austen and the Modern Man,* 73–88. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007.
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/28030

Mackie, Erin. 2005. "Boys Will Be Boys: Masculinity, Criminality, and the Restoration Rake." *The Eighteenth Century* 46, no. 2 (Summer): 129–149.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/41467967

Malone, Meghan. 2010. ""You Have Bewitched Me Body and Soul": Masculinity and the Female Gaze in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*." *At the EDGE.* 1 (2010).
https://journals.library.mun.ca/index.php/ate/article/view/91

McCann, Charles J. 1964. "Setting and Character in *Pride and Prejudice*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 19, no. 1 (June): 65–75.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/2932788
Morgan, Susan. 1975. "Intelligence in 'Pride and Prejudice'." *Modern Philology* 73, no. 1 (August): 54–68.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/436104
Reeser, Todd W. 2015. "Concepts of Masculinity and Masculinity Studies." In *Configuring Masculinity in Theory and Literary Practice*, edited by Stefan Horlacher, 11–38. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.
https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004299009_003
Sharma, Mridula. 2021. "New Masculinities, Old Conventions: Gender Divisions and Representations in *Pride and Prejudice*." *Persuasions On-Line* 41, no. 2 (Summer).
https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions-online/volume-41-no-2/sharma/
Sherry, James. 1979. "*Pride and Prejudice*: The Limits of Society." *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 19, no. 4 (Autumn): 609–622.
https://doi.org/10.2307/450251
Slothouber, Linda. 2013. "Bingley's Four or Five Thousand, and Other Fortunes from the North." *Persuasions* no. 35: 50–63.
https://www.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number35/slothouber.pdf
Stafford, William. 2008. "Gentlemanly Masculinities as Represented by the Late Georgian 'Gentleman's Magazine'." *History* 93, no. 1 (January): 47–68.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/24428626
Rothman, Jenny. 2011. "The Perfect Gentleman Exploring a Development of Masculine Ideals in Jane Austen's Heroes." Master's thesis, Lund University.
http://lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/record/2155601
Wilson Preston, Jennifer. 2004. "'One has got all the goodness, and the other the appearance of it': The Development of Darcy in Pride and Prejudice." *Persuasions On-Line* 25, no. 4 (Winter).
https://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol25no1/wilson.html

Dávid Vatai

Grindcore Aesthetic[*]

Abstract

This paper discusses the music, lyrics, artwork, and cultural characteristics of grindcore, arguing that it is an individual music genre rather than a lesser subset of other genres. Grindcore is a highly subversive form of music, carrying unique characteristics which make it a scene defined by the DIY ethos and reflexive anti-reflexivity. The aesthetic components which characterize the visual and aural approach of grindcore blend together the most extreme forms of metal and punk, but also recall the Dadaist movement of the early 20th century, all while adding numerous innovative elements. By examining its aesthetics represented in music, artwork, lyrics, and cultural traits, it can be established that grindcore is a genre of its own, defined by a cultural scene embodying subversive attitudes, reflexivity, and anti-mainstream mindsets. This paper proposes to view the grindcore community as a global scene rather than a 'subculture,' as it is not bound by age, class, gender, or geographic location, and allows interaction with other cultural spheres.

To prove this, the initial chapter of the discussion explains the main traits of grindcore music and provides a brief history of the genre. A detailed analysis of lyrics and subgenres is also provided, taking a range of different approaches into account. The second chapter explores the artwork of grindcore albums, comparing their prevalent themes and aesthetic characteristics with Dadaist works of art and the mindset represented by these works. The third chapter inspects the cultural aspects of the grindcore scene by investigating the roots of its shared ethos, forms of reflexivity, and internal debates.

1. Introduction

The genre of grindcore is not easily defined, and neither is the culture which perpetuates it. Flourishing within and beyond the overlapping sections of the punk and metal world, grind offers a brand new way of perceiving music, politics, and the human condition through a DIY underground lifestyle and harsh aural/visual aesthetics. Borrowing and reinventing elements from highly anti-establishment movements, the grindcore ethos revolves around dismissing predetermined structures and replacing them with its own, often with a vulgar or seemingly tasteless, but highly urgent message. It is part anti-music (and thus, anti-art in general) and part self-expression in its purest form. It signifies subversion, embraces the absurd, and defies the status quo. It allows the expression of profound ideas and feelings for musicians and fans alike, but its satirical, tongue-in-cheek nature leaves ample room for whimsical and non-serious discussion as well. In fact, more often than not, these seemingly whimsical acts of self-expression are what make the genre so subversive.

With blast beats and microsongs ridiculing flamboyant, but ultimately futile attempts at grandiose composition, and deliberately tasteless lyrics and imagery of the vilest kind, they wish to overthrow and subvert everything that is musically and culturally accepted as the norm – all while maintaining an honest, down-to-earth, do-it-yourself attitude, rejecting commercial success and the intrusive hands of corporations. Throughout the first chapter of the discussion, I will inspect the musical and lyrical traits of the genre along with its numerous offshoots, demonstrating

[*] MA Thesis. Supervisor: Péter Bocsor.

their unique nature which resists exclusionary categorization beneath larger genres such as punk or metal.

Grindcore represents a harsh, raw, and challenging form of art, melding together elements of several musical styles and countercultural movements. It offers a highly transgressive and often deliberately offensive form of expression which flirts with the concept of abjection and far transcends what mainstream media labels 'edgy' or even remotely acceptable. Not only does this provide a new scope of articulation, but it questions our most fundamental ideas of music. If we inspect grindcore from an aesthetic and conceptual aspect in relation to preceding art movements, we may notice a significant number of parallels between it and the Dadaist movement of the early 20th century. Both are highly subversive, protest the dominant authorities, reject established conventions, embody the absurd, and challenge the most basic notions concerning art. During this paper, I will explore both by analyzing grindcore album covers and Dadaist works of art, highlighting the multitude of similarities between them.

The grindcore scene is highly diverse despite being a largely unrecognized underground entity. I use the term 'scene' as my primary unit of analysis when describing the cultural space in which grindcore music is perpetuated rather than 'subculture,' which is overly constraining and inappropriate considering my subject. The use of 'scene' in this context allows less rigid boundaries, as it does not depend on geographic location and is less constrained by class distinctions, age, or gender, making it more suitable for identifying the main principles and cultural perspectives which pertain to this global community. Members of the grindcore scene are not confined to it, and interact with other cultural spheres in a rather flexible manner, yet there are continuous internal debates which further separate grindcore from other scenes. In the third chapter, I will examine the social and cultural elements which intermingled to create the defining traits of the grindcore scene, such as its shared ethos and methods of reflexivity.

The paper argues that its unique aesthetics represented in music, artwork, and lyrics make grindcore a genre of its own, defined by a cultural scene embodying subversive attitudes, reflexivity, and anti-mainstream mindsets.

2. Grindcore Music and Lyrics

2.1. General Characteristics

To the uninitiated casual listener, grindcore might seem like indecipherable noise. While grindcore indeed utilizes non-musical elements such as guitar feedback, and draws influence from several genres like industrial music and noise, it relies mainly on principles laid by early extreme metal and hardcore punk bands of the early 1980s, albeit with a more stripped-down approach, rawer execution, and innovative elements. The most prominent band which helped codify and establish grindcore as a genre is Napalm Death from Great Britain. Their seminal album *Scum*[1] is regarded as one of the first grindcore records and incorporates a harsh, grimy production, down-tuned and distorted guitars playing straightforward riffs at high speed, an aggressively rapid, often cluttered vocal delivery, and most importantly, drums played at a tempo which easily surpassed anything done in the same milieu before.

[1] Napalm Death, *Scum* (Earache Records, 1987).

Academics and fans often erroneously categorize the grindcore genre as a singular subset of punk or metal. Deena Weinstein[2] and Rosemary Overell[3] declare grind to be a derivative of death metal which is not quite correct, as death metal was still in its germinal stage by the time grindcore was already distinguished and given its own name. There are conflicting accounts on the first use of the term 'death metal' as a style descriptor and in song titles that date back as far as 1984 (for example, seasoned death metal musicians Kam Lee,[4] Donald Tardy,[5] and John Gallagher[6] all have different recollections concerning the topic). However, this does not mean that the genre itself was clearly delineated from the amalgamation of thrash, death, and early black metal that was characteristic of the mid-1980s extreme metal scene.[7] Contrasting this, the foundation of grindcore was unequivocally solidified by the 1987 release of *Scum*. Keith Kahn-Harris mentions grind as a "punk-influenced radicalization of death metal"[8] which is more accurate, but incomplete. He also lists The Dillinger Escape Plan – an experimental band with considerable mainstream success – alongside Agoraphobic Nosebleed as a "contemporary grindcore band,"[9] which is absurd and only adds to the confusion. Angela Rodel discusses grind as a subgenre that developed under a subset of punk which she labels "extreme hardcore."[10] Such oversimplifications are common among members of the scene as well, with fans often preferring to associate the genre with the subculture they feel more affiliated with – this will be further examined in chapter 3. Liam Dee also acknowledges these generic misattributions and asserts that grindcore "marks the unstable interstices between heavy metal and punk."[11] Although it can be largely placed under the umbrella term 'extreme metal,' which has a larger scope regarding musical and aesthetic components while suggesting intermingling between its constituents as well as outside influences,[12] grindcore is an individual hybrid genre incompatible with exclusionary categorizations.

One of the most basic and recognizable traits of grindcore music is the blast beat. Rapid-fire drumbeats, clocking in often above 300 beats per minute are challenging enough for the average punk or metal fan, let alone listeners of mainstream popular music. The insane speed of 64th notes played on the snare drum baffled every concertgoer attending grindcore gigs as well as foreign music enthusiasts involved in tape trading, and became one of the keystones of the genre. In fact, it was Napalm Death drummer Mick Harris who coined the term 'blast beat' to describe this

---

[2] Deena Weinstein, *Heavy Metal – The Music and its Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2000), 289.

[3] Rosemary Overell, *Affective Intensities in Extreme Music Scenes – Cases from Australia and Japan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 2.

[4] Jason Netherton, *Extremity Retained – Notes From the Death Metal Underground* (London, Ontario: Handshake Inc., 2014), 34–35.

[5] Netherton, 40.

[6] Netherton, 117–118.

[7] Netherton, 29–30.

[8] Keith Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal – Music and Culture on the Edge* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 3.

[9] Harris (2007), 4.

[10] Angela Rodel, "Extreme Noise Terror – Punk Rock and the Aesthetics of Badness," in Christopher Washburne and Maiken Derno eds. *Bad Music: The Music We Love to Hate* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 183.

[11] Liam Dee, "The Brutal Truth: Grindcore as the Extreme Realism of Heavy Metal," in Gerd Bayer ed., *Heavy Metal Music in Britain* (Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 55–56.

[12] Daniel Ekeroth, *Swedish Death Metal* (New York: Bazillion Points, 2011), 25.

drumbeat and 'grindcore' ('grind-' being inspired by Swans, and '-core' taken from hardcore) to describe the band's style.[13]

'Extreme' is the best word to describe grindcore music in general, as it pushes various boundaries in every way possible. Grind songs are typically very short, most commonly around a single minute and seldom longer than 2 minutes. However, much shorter, so called microsongs are also a peculiarity of the genre. These songs are merely seconds long and mainly serve as comic relief, but they also signify an anti-musical attitude contrasting the idealism and pretentiousness of mainstream popular music. The most well-known example is "You Suffer" by Napalm Death, which is featured in the Guiness Book of World Records as the world's shortest song.[14] Clocking in at 1.316 seconds, the lyric "You suffer, but why?"[15] is indecipherable, but still ubiquitously known by fans. Even though it was seen as a novelty by some members of the band[16] and would even befuddle experienced radio personalities such as John Peel[17] due to its outlandish delivery, the song poses a profound question: 'why do you suffer?' This conundrum has puzzled a number of great thinkers and quite possibly every person that ever lived, but crammed into a brief burst of blasts and distortion, the song demonstrates the humorously absurd, idiosyncratic approach of grindcore, which subjects even the most serious matters to subversion. It is a little known fact that the song was inspired by a similarly abrupt track titled "E!" by the American thrash metal band Wehrmacht.[18]

Compared to the average length of popular music songs, regular grind tracks may seem like mere fractions of a single song, but despite their brevity, there is still ample room for variation. As the extremely fast tempo is a key characteristic present in almost every grindcore track, it demands rapid progression and alternations throughout the song. Maintaining a constantly high number of beats per minute, this music may seem more like a constant salvo of artillery accompanied by screaming to uninitiated listeners, but there are several words being uttered and multiple notes being played at high speed. Most songs do adhere to a rather straightforward structure. Incorporating elements from (hardcore) punk and (extreme) metal music, grind songs usually involve simplistic riffs and complex drum patterns, a linear structure sometimes culminating in a slower, 'groovy' part, only to return to the previous blazing velocity, although some songs omit the slow part altogether. John Chang, grindcore vocalist describes the basic structure of the genre in his interview with heavy metal blog Invisible Oranges as "something like 75% blast parts, 20% thrash parts, and 5% slow parts."[19] The use of solos is optional but uncommon, while the inclusion of a brief count off using a snare drum at the beginning of songs is commonplace. Vocals are shouted, screamed, or growled and are rarely comprehensible, but this does not devalue the presence of vocals. Simon Frith's assessment of rock vocals is especially relevant here:

---

[13] Albert Mudrian, *Choosing Death – The Improbable History of Death Metal & Grindcore* (Port Townsend: Feral House, 2004), 34–35.

[14] Kory Grow, "Slaves to the Grind," in Albert Mudrian ed., *Precious Metal – Decibel Presents the Stories Behind 25 Extreme Metal Masterpieces* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2009), 62.

[15] Mudrian, 124.

[16] Grow, 61.

[17] Mudrian, 124.

[18] Grow, 62.

[19] "Screaming Bloody Gore #1: Jon Chang (Gridlink, Discordance Axis, Hayaino Daisuki)," in *Invisible Oranges*, available: http://www.invisibleoranges.com/screaming-bloody-gore-1-jon-chang-gridlink-discordance-axis-hayano-daisuki/, access: 20 April 2016.

> The tone of voice is more important in this context than the actual articulation of particular lyrics [. . .] We can thus identify with a song whether we understand the words or not, whether we already know the singer or not, because it is the voice – not the lyrics – to which we immediately respond.[20]

Despite their unintelligibility due to a raw and accelerated delivery, lyrics are often elaborately written and contain caustic social commentary. Deena Weinstein further comments that "special sounds, especially screams, serve to emphasize the power and emotionality of the voice."[21]

In grindcore music, production is typically harsh and abrasive, generating an engrossing 'wall of sound' when played at appropriate volume. This type of production may seem to be of poor quality to non-fans, but it is an important part of the aesthetic appeal, as it contrasts well-polished and clean produced popular music which lacks genuine fervor. Small inaccuracies, such as an occasional sloppy drumbeat or a burst of guitar feedback are often intentionally left in the mix, in order to give a feeling of spontaneity, and to preserve the authentic atmosphere of the music. In part, this is a way to show that the band can play the same thing live, and the recording is not studio-engineered to perfection; and it is also a kind of statement against inauthentic, 'fake' musicians.

The earliest embodiments of the genre incorporated all these basic elements and added their own touch to form a unique amalgam, creating a distinct style and sound. The most prominent purveyors of the genre were Napalm Death, Terrorizer, and Repulsion. Their albums released during the mid to late 1980s are regarded today as the cornerstones of grindcore, and new music made in the same vein is dubbed 'old school' grindcore, which indicates their significance and influence. Although there were formations which played similar styles and incorporated grind elements (drum beats similar to the blast beat were recorded as early as 1982)[22] before these bands released their groundbreaking debut albums, they were the ones who codified the genre, perfected every nuance of it, and gave it a name of its own. Shaped by the musical tenets of Discharge, Siege, Celtic Frost, and many other artists including Swans and Throbbing Gristle, they shifted every aspect of music to a new level of abrasiveness, velocity, and discordance, while adding several novel features.[23]

2.2. Subgenres and Related Styles

Punk and metal are well-known for their huge variety of offshoots and subgenres, and as a formidable hybrid, grindcore is no different. 'Plain' or old school grindcore, which is the earliest incarnation of the genre established by bands such as Napalm Death, Terrorizer, and Repulsion, is most easily described as a mixture of the most extreme and abrasive elements of metal and punk, adding several other influences such as industrial and noise rock, bearing a distinctly rough sound, while also incorporating elements such as blast beats, rapidly uttered vocals, and microsongs. However, the further amalgamation of different styles, sounds, ideologies, as well as lyrical and aesthetic approaches resulted in a myriad of subgenres and similar styles, such as deathgrind, goregrind, pornogrind, noisegrind, powerviolence, and others.

These subgenres have their own – although commonly overlapping – followings, but are sometimes very disparate in terms of lyrics, artwork, instrumentation, attitude, etc. For example, crustgrind is almost always socially and politically involved. Contrasting this, pornogrind usually has no political leaning at all, but instead deals with degrading sexual acts which are considered taboo.

---

[20] Simon Frith, *Taking Popular Music Seriously – Selected Essays* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 145.
[21] Weinstein, 26.
[22] Ekeroth, 22.
[23] Dee, 55.

These offshoots are also disparate musically and aesthetically: crustgrind is fast-paced, often incorporating D-beat drum patterns and gang-choruses, while pornogrind is mid-tempo with simplistic riffs and distorted vocals. Goregrind album covers are often gruesome and shocking collages, while some other genres like powerviolence tend to take a more humorous approach. However, none of these customs are inflexible, as bands often aim to deliberately break established conventions. This chapter will discuss the main styles and subgenres related to grindcore.

Thrashcore (also known as fastcore) is one of the precursors of grindcore. It is an offshoot of hardcore punk involving much shorter songs and a fast tempo often including blast beats. Even though the term 'blast beat' itself was coined later, thrashcore bands such as Cryptic Slaughter, S.O.B., and Siege utilized rapid drumbeats similar to early Napalm Death's signature beat. Thrashcore shares some similarities with, but is not the same as crossover thrash (which is simply the mixture of hardcore punk and thrash metal) but is rather a subgenre of hardcore punk.[24] The most significant examples of thrashcore music are EPs from the early to mid-1980s from the American bands Siege, D.R.I., and Deep Wound. Siege in particular played a significant role in influencing Napalm Death, as confirmed by bass player Shane Embury[25] and erstwhile guitarist Justin Broadrick.[26]

Mincecore is a subgenre conceived by the Belgian band Agathocles. According to front man Jan Frederickx, mincecore is "the same as old school grindcore, the way it was in the '80s: raw, minimalistic and socially and politically involved."[27] Active since the mid-1980s, Agathocles are known for their immense catalogue of releases, boasting over a hundred 7-inch EPs, which are mainly split albums. Their lyrics focus on social issues such as animal liberation, and also deal with the punk and grindcore scenes, exemplified by songs such as "A for Arrogance":

I watch them at our gigs
With an A on their backs
The A stands for arrogance
'coz respect they surely lack
I watch them at our gigs
With an e on their jacks
The E stands for enemy
And egocentric

Dogmatic values is what they create
Another bullshit thing that i fucking hate
Telling me what I should do telling me what I shouldn't do
Another hardcore-master another punk-guru
Preaching about respect and so-called equality
But they're just creating and elitarian scene
Would-be gods destroying all the things we've built
Oh yes they're so punk...[28]

[24] "Thrashcore (aka Fastcore)," in *Rate Your Music*, available: https://rateyourmusic.com/genre/Thrashcore/ access: 20 April 2016.

[25] Netherton, 92.

[26] Mudrian, 32.

[27] "Agathocles," in *Encyclopaedia Metallum: The Metal Archives*, available: http://www.metal-archives.com/bands/Agathocles/2649, access: 20 April 2016.

[28] Agathocles, "A for Arrogance," *Razor Sharp Daggers* (Cyber Music, 1995), available: http://www.darklyrics.com/lyrics/agathocles/razorsharpdaggers.html#3, access: 15 April 2016.

These lyrics reflect on the attire of the punk subculture, which, according to Agathocles, has become to signify a grotesque parody of what punk originally stood for. Despite starting as a countercultural movement emphasizing individuality and rebellion against confining social norms and oppression, punk has become inauthentic: a fairly mainstream movement retaining little of its original ideas; instead promoting a collectivistic form of pseudo-rebellious attitude, which is only nonconformist on the outside, but is in fact highly conformist and elitist, promoting a type of 'hivemind' thinking which tolerates only certain views. Agathocles' lyrics about the contemporary punk scene and the commodification of culture embody an anti-mainstream attitude typical within the grindcore scene: due to becoming inauthentic, not even their own fans are exempt from ridicule and beratement.

Noisegrind (also known as noisecore) is one of the most abrasive styles of grind, and also the least musical approach to the genre. Highly nihilistic in its ethos, it aims to be as offensive, chaotic, and anti-musical as possible. The band which perfectly illustrates this style is the early incarnation of the American band Anal Cunt (also known as AxCx). Not only does the band's name provide an accurate demonstration of how seriously the members take their act, but even their logo shows a stylized anus and vagina, as seen on the cover of *40 More Reasons to Hate Us*.[29] (see app. fig. 1.) This is a statement about the band itself, and also a trick to subvert attempts at censorship. Their later material was slightly less noise-oriented and featured actual composition and lyrics instead of full-on improvisation. Common lyrical themes included ridicule of the misfortunate, sadism, misogyny, and racism, although these were commonly regarded as humorous attempts at shocking and provoking listeners rather than serious statements. The band would likely be upset at being subjected to academic research of any kind, as illustrated by the lyrics of "I'm Glad Jazz Faggots Don't Like Us Anymore":

> We just wanted to sound like shit
> But you thought we were avant garde
> You thought we went to art school
> But we worked at gas stations
>
> You thought we were cool
> But you didn't know we hate you
> You thought we were cool
> Fuck off all you fucking faggots
>
> You didn't know we were a bunch of assholes
> You thought we were liberal and arty
> You tried to act weird and pretend you were violent
> When I whipped chairs at you, you ran off and cried[30]

Regardless of their seemingly anti-intellectual demeanor, AxCx influenced a large number of acclaimed grindcore bands through the use of unorthodox song structures and shrieked vocals. Ironically, some of them would be of the eccentric and 'arty' variety, such as Discordance Axis, who would discard the use of bass guitar entirely.

Representatives of the noisegrind subgenre also include Seven Minutes of Nausea, Fear of God, Sore Throat, and Deche-Charge. These bands utilize chaotic song structures which are often improvised in the recording studio or even on stage, loud and muddled production merging all

[29] Anal Cunt, *40 More Reasons to Hate Us* (Earache Records, 1996).

[30] Anal Cunt, "I'm Glad Jazz Faggots Don't Like Us Anymore," *Defenders of the Hate* (Menace to Sobriety Records, 2007), available: http://genius.com/Axcx-im-glad-jazz-faggots-dont-like-us-anymore-lyrics, access: 20 April 2016.

instruments into a constant assault of sound, guitar feedback, a rapid drumbeat (which in some cases constantly loops and is done by a pre-programmed drum machine instead of a live drummer), and screamed vocals, often without lyrics. Songs are typically under one minute, and at times even shorter than one second. Microsongs are prevalent and almost an obligatory part of noisegrind releases. For example, Anal Cunt's *5643 Song EP*[31] contains the titular number of 'songs' on an 11 minute album. This bizarre feat was achieved by using a 16-track studio to record a series of micro-songs on each track separately, and then playing them all at the same time.[32] In theory, 16 songs can be heard simultaneously while playing either side of the EP, but in effect, the result is a constant barrage of several layers of noise.

A similarly experimental release is Agoraphobic Nosebleed's *Altered States of America*,[33] which is a mini CD containing exactly 100 songs with a total length around 21 minutes. The band uses a drum machine creating rapid drumbeats and incorporates elements of electronic music. This electronically infused style is commonly known as cybergrind.[34]

A peculiar group worth mentioning in relation to noisegrind is a Japanese band dubbed The Gerogerigegege, named after the "onomatopoeia for vomiting and shitting diarrhea at the same time."[35] Fronted by the enigmatic Juntaro Yamanouchi, their music is highly experimental and spans through various genres ranging from avant-garde to harsh noise and ambient, with hectic live concerts which are more akin to performance art. The lineup would regularly change, with Yamanouchi being the only constant member. One of the members, a 51-year-old man, would frequently masturbate onstage during concerts.[36] Their non-music release titled *Art is Over* (see fig. 2) is particularly reminiscent of the Dadaist ethos, as instead of an audio cassette, it contains an octopus tentacle along with the following text:

> Fuck Compose
> Fuck Melody
> Dedicated to no one
> Thanks to no one
> ART IS OVER[37]

Contemporarily, the 'noisecore' label is frequently misattributed to bands which play a dissonant, albeit more technical and well produced style of metal and hardcore punk that has little to do with the aforementioned bands or mindset. Artists who would rather associate themselves with the earlier incarnation of the style use 'noisegrind' instead to be more unequivocal, or nothing at all in defiance of labels.

Deathgrind can most easily be described as the combination of death metal and grindcore. Early grindcore musicians commonly drew influence from bands which would later help codify death metal as a separate subgenre of metal during the 1980s, when these offshoots of extreme metal were not as clear-cut and multifarious as today. On the other hand, deathgrind as a separate style refers

---

31 *Anal Cunt, 5643 Song EP* (Stridecore Records, 1989).

32 "5643 Song EP," in *Noise Wiki*, available: http://www.noisewiki.com/wiki/index.php?title=5643_Song_EP, access: 20 April 2016.

33 Agoraphobic Nosebleed, *Altered States of America* (Relapse Records, 2003).

34 "Cybergrind tag," in *Last.fm*, available: http://www.last.fm/tag/cybergrind, access: 20 April 2016.

35 "A Short History of Turbine and Juntaro Yamanouchi," in *Turbine Industries Label Home Page*, available: http://www.turbineindustries.net/sadist/gero.html, access: 20 April 2016.

36 Ibid.

37 "These are things that exist," in *Rate Your Music*, available: https://rateyourmusic.com/list/dividesbyzero/these_are_things_that_exist/, access: 20 April 2016.

to bands which maintain a distinct death metal influence, in contrast with the more punk-influenced grind bands. This fusion genre is succinctly described in the book *Subgenres of the Beast* by musician Danny Lilker as "combining the technicality of death metal with the intensity of grindcore."[38] Violence, gore, and social matters are all prevalent in lyrics, but not all deathgrind bands are politically involved. Songs are more technical than traditional grind songs and commonly somewhat longer, while the productions tends to be fairly cleaner and more refined, providing more space for each individual instrument to musically unfold. Assück, early Brutal Truth, Misery Index, and more recent Napalm Death albums exemplify this style.

Crustgrind draws most of its influence from early grindcore and crust punk, which is a highly politically-oriented subgenre of punk. Lyrically, it involves a high degree of anarchist, environmentalist, egalitarian, and anti-establishment attitude. Social issues and animal rights are common topics, as shown by this excerpt from Disrupt's song "A Life's a Life":

> Test the limits of their mind,
> it sheds no light on humankind,
> the medical industry is a farce,
> Here's where liberation starts.[39]

Such reflections on the ills of society accompanied by a belligerent call to arms are typical in crustgrind songs. Musically, the style leans much more towards punk than towards metal, demonstrated by the ubiquitous use of the D-beat (a dynamic drumbeat popularized during the early 1980s by hardcore punk band Discharge). 'Gang vocals' are also a common feature borrowed from the hardcore and crust punk genres, which are short sections of the chorus or verse sung by a group of people rather than the lead singer alone. These sections provide an opportunity for fans to participate in the song during live performances, invoking a sense of camaraderie. Crustgrind tends to be more melodic than the other grind subgenres (although harsher than purely punk genres), relies on similar song structures as early grindcore, and uses a more punk aesthetic with less metal influence. Disrupt, Sayyadina, Mass Grave, and Human Error represent this style.

Goregrind is a style which was created by British band Carcass. The most prominent aesthetic feature of goregrind is the infatuation with the macabre and grotesque aspects of the human body such as diseases, decomposition, and various pathological conditions. Even though these topics were already commonplace in metal music, Carcass took a different approach by fetishizing the medical aspect of such processes and utilizing lengthy medical jargon in lyrics[40] written with the help of a textbook.[41] This excerpt from the song "Pungent Excruciation" illustrates the concept:

> Osteoporous enzymes release deadly secretions
> As the clotted parasites devour the excretion
> Emanation, suppuration – blood starts to gush
> My nocturnal dysentery is unleashed on this mush[42]

---

[38] Yrjänä Kegan, *Subgenres of the Beast – A Heavy Metal Guide* (Raleigh: Lulu Press Inc., 2015), 28.

[39] Disrupt, "A Life's A Life," *Unrest* (Relapse Records, 1994), available: http://www.darklyrics.com/lyrics/disrupt/unrest.html#4, access: 15 April 2016.

[40] Harris (2007), 35.

[41] Mudrian, 127.

[42] Carcass, "Pungent Excruciation," *Reek of Putrefaction* (Earache Records, 1988), available: http://genius.com/Carcass-pungent-excruciation-lyrics, access: 20 April 2016.

As noted by Liam Dee, such expressions evoke the concept of the abject.[43] According to Julia Kristeva, the abject is a "jettisoned object" which causes uncanniness and disturbs our sense of self.[44] Human waste is an example of this, but cadavers are the utmost embodiment of the abject.[45] Carcass' exaggerated, almost scientific fascination with the abject was novel in the metal and punk world, and imitators of the style were simply labeled 'Carcass clones.' Distortion and raw production are also key features of the style, as well as very low vocals manipulated with a pitch-shifter. These distorted vocals are one of the keystone features of this subgenre and are often used in alternation with screamed 'natural' vocals. This 'inhuman' singing combined with dissonant, muddy production invokes a particularly disturbing atmosphere, or even detachment which is similar to the uncanniness brought upon by experiencing the abject. Modern goregrind utilizes all these features with the frequent addition of a prominent snare drum sound. Dead Infection, Last Days of Humanity, Haemorrhage, and Regurgitate are long-standing representatives of this subgenre.

Pornogrind is quite different from other grindcore subgenres, as it is mostly midtempo rather than the usual over-the-top speed, and uses blast beats sparingly, preferring skank beats. It is also the most controversial of the subgenres due to its subject matter. Pornogrind lyrics revolve around sexual taboos, degradation, sadomasochism, and other forms of deviance rather than social or political ideas, although they are often written in a comical way or for shocking effect. Songs are exceedingly simplistic and short, guitars are tuned low and vocals are distorted with a pitch-shifter. Similarly to goregrind, the gurgling pitch-shifted vocals are often alternated with screamed vocals, and the genre also incorporates topics related to abjection such as waste matter. Also very similarly, production is extremely raw, often to the point of melding instruments together. On the other hand, it has a bigger emphasis on groove and a more humorous approach, which is far less clinical. Pornographic samples are commonly added to the beginning or the end of each song. Snare drums are accented, bearing a loud popping sound similar to a tin can being struck by wood, resulting in the signature 'tupa-tupa' skank beat which, combined with a "more rock-like" approach[46] makes pornogrind more danceable and less detached. The German band Gut is considered to be the 'inventor' of the genre, while Spasm, Rompeprop, and Cock and Ball Torture are some of the most well-known examples.

Powerviolence (or PV) is not a subgenre of grindcore per se, but rather a similar and sometimes overlapping genre, which started around the same time period: the late 1980s. With roots in hardcore punk, fast and concise PV songs are much akin to grindcore, although with less or no metal influences. Instead, PV focuses on taking the most abrasive aspects of punk music to the utmost extreme. Simplistic riffs are contrasted with rapid rhythmic changes emphasized by distortion. Shifting between intense tempos to droning slow sections, stopping mid-song for a split second only to continue with blast speed, shouted vocals, and screeching guitar feedback are distinctive powerviolence elements. Social and political commentary is equally as prominent as whimsical jokes in lyrics, which are underlined by disjointed song structures. The song "Grind is Music" by The Afternoon Gentlemen reflects on the grindcore genre itself:

---

[43] Dee, 62.

[44] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror – An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 2.

[45] Kristeva, 3–4.

[46] Natalie J. Purcell, *Death Metal Music – The Passion and Politics of a Subculture* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2003), 24.

No crotchets, quavers, semibreves?
No cadence or key signature?
No timing or melody.
Il N'y A Pas De Orchestre?
Are you out of your mind?
In a world of 'noise not music',
There's just bullshit noise.
Grind is music!
Cool logo equals crap riffs,
Seven inches of pure shit.
Grind is music!
Empty vessels always make most noise.[47]

These lyrics subvert and reverse the traditionalist concept of music as something elaborately composed and constrained by a system with distinct boundaries and precise notation, while also ridiculing tropes of their own genre such as intricate logos and musical releases on 7-inch vinyl records. Such forms of comical self-reflection are common in both PV and grind. Humorous samples are also used to establish the theme of songs or accentuate a particular idea, as with the current example. Californian bands Spazz, Infest, Crossed Out, Capitalist Casualties, and Man is the Bastard are prime examples of powerviolence.

As we have established, there is a multitude of subsets within grindcore, which all have their own distinct musical and lyrical traits. Even though there is usually an overlap between subgenres, and some artists intentionally defy these boundaries,[48] it is important to acknowledge the difference between these established categories, as they reflect different perspectives, aesthetic approaches, and attitudes, which do not fit under the restrictive categories of metal or punk. This is also discernible through examining the way bands choose or create their artwork.

3. Grindcore Artwork

3.1. Logos and Cover Art

Album covers and logos play a fundamental aesthetic function. Music albums of the era were mainly released on vinyl records and tapes, so the importance of an eye-catching cover is evident, especially considering the large frame of the former. Logos would appear on flyers, posters, fanzines, clothing, patches, and even as graffiti. They would serve as a type of 'signature' for the band, which would be instantly recognizable for fans even if they were illegible for the uninitiated. Separately or combined, cover art and logos would set the theme for the music, reflect the band's style, capture the attention of enthusiasts and bystanders alike, and function as a type of "visual branding."[49] Logos and covers were often made by band members or friends, partly to save money, but also due to the ubiquity of the practical do-it-yourself ethic.

The Napalm Death logo was made by Carcass bass guitarist Jeff Walker, who also designed the front cover of the *Scum* album.[50] Although the band used similar logos before on flyers and a different one on a number of album covers later; the most famous one, which was featured on their

[47] The Afternoon Gentlemen, "Grind is Music," *The Afternoon Gentlemen* (Dead Heroes Records, 2015), available: https://theafternoongentlemen.bandcamp.com/track/grind-is-music, access: 20 April 2016.

[48] Bands occasionally invent new monikers for their own particular style such as blastcore, razorgrind, goreviolence, etc.

[49] Mark Riddick, *Logos from Hell* (Vodnany: Doomentia Press, 2015), 29.

[50] Grow, 72.

debut, remains their classic and essential logo and is still in use today. Unlike many metal and grind logos, it is clearly readable, albeit the lines are sinuous and uneven. As noted by the creator, it has an amateurish appearance marked by irregularities, such as the size difference between the letters 'N' and 'M.'[51] However, this works in favor of the band, as it reflects upon their punk-inspired DIY roots. The Carcass logo is reminiscent of thrash metal logos popularized during the 1980s: highly angular and bearing sharp edges, but still clearly readable and maintaining a level of symmetry.[52] Contrasting the clean-cut typeface, it is webbed with thinner pen strokes, giving it a splattered, viscous form. As noted by designer Mark Riddick in his interview with Liz Stinson, this style of webbing would later be replicated in numerous death metal logos.[53] Terrorizer's logo is more akin to those of gory death metal bands, which tend to use "skulls, severed limbs, blood, bones, internal organs, and other object that offend the senses."[54] Generally unsavory – like the music it is meant to signify – it has less regard for symmetry and bears a blood-soaked, dripping appearance.

The cover art of Napalm Death's *Scum* (see fig. 3) is one of the iconic and most frequently reinterpreted works of visual art within the grindcore genre. It features a group of formally dressed men (commonly understood as businessmen or politicians) talking and gesturing with a smaller image of malnourished people superimposed. Behind the men wearing suits and neckties, a backdrop displaying a barren industrial landscape is visible, while a winged, skeletal figure arches above them, flashing a menacing grimace as if it was joining the conversation. The foreground is bestrewn with skulls, with the 'SCUM' caption inserted within. Corporate logos, such as Coca-Cola, BP, Nestlé, Ford, McDonald's, IBM, General Motors, and several others are visible amongst the layer of skulls. Although the album was released with several variations on the background color, the yellow version is the most widely recognized.

The visual language is strikingly powerful. The businessmen, in league with whichever undesirable phenomena the skeletal figure may symbolically represent, (corruption, greed, etc.) condemn the less fortunate to death through ruthless commercialization and industrialization. The band's influences are also easy to identify: the wings and skulls were inspired by flyers of Celtic Frost and Siege respectively,[55] while the backdrop evokes the bleak industrial neighborhood surrounding Birmingham, where the band was first conceived.[56] The anti-commercial message is reflected in the repurposing of corporate logos as well as droning mantra of the industrial intro song "Multinational Corporations": "Multination corporations / Genocide of the starving nations."[57] This theme recurs multiple times throughout the album.

According to Walker, the artwork of *Scum* is "peppered with clichés" and merely "typical punk rock,"[58] but despite his humble disposition, the cover inspired a large number of reinterpretations and its visual legacy is noticeable in the artwork of contemporary musical releases as well. For example, Rotten Sound's *Napalm* EP[59] (see fig. 4) is an explicit homage to Napalm Death. The

---

[51] Ibid.

[52] Riddick, 34.

[53] Liz Stinson, "The Beauty and Total Illegibility of Extreme Metal Logos," in *Wired,* available: http://www.wired.com/2015/10/the-beauty-and-total-illegibility-of-extreme-metal-logos/#slide-11, access: 20 April 2016.

[54] Riddick, 30.

[55] Grow, 72.

[56] Mudrian, 25–27.

[57] Napalm Death, "Multinational Corporations," *Scum* (Earache Records, 1987), available: http://genius.com/Napalm-death-multinational-corporations-lyrics, access: 17 April 2016.

[58] Grow, 72.

[59] Rotten Sound, *Napalm* (Relapse Records, 2010).

skeletal figure, the wings, the men in suits, the impoverished family, the skulls, the industrial backdrop, even the yellow tint are all present, while the title caption is written using Napalm Death's logotype. Noise artist Kylie Minoise released an hour long remix of the microsong "You Suffer" for the 20th anniversary of the *Scum* album, featuring an almost identical cover with only the logo, title caption, and color changed.[60] (see fig. 5) Caninus, a grindcore band featuring two pit bull terriers as vocalists,[61] replaced the human heads on the cover with those of various dogs.[62] (see fig. 6)

Napalm Death's sophomore album, titled *From Enslavement to Obliteration*[63] has a much more detailed cover (see fig. 7), although the concept is very similar. The band's logo is in top-center position. Industrial chimneys are visible on the left, while a barren field that was once part of a forest can be seen on the right side. Uniformed workers with expressionless faces, impoverished people, malnourished and dying children, televisions broadcasting obscenities and violence are symmetrically positioned on the right and left sides of the cover. The sneering face of a man clenching his head in revulsion is in the center of the picture, from which shackles are hanging, attached to a pair of arms. Between the arms and the head there are several eyes, next to crosses signifying graves. There are four smaller images at the lower part of the picture with a similar hue to the industrial landscape and desolate forest above. These pictures (from left to right) show the following: a man signing a paper, a police officer with a riot helmet and baton, a child with a distraught expression, and military personnel. The title of the album is written at the very bottom of the cover. The composition of *From Enslavement to Obliteration*'s artwork shows that the band was progressing towards undiscovered territories and tackling new issues. This is reflected in songs dealing with racism, sexism, pollution, animal rights, hedonism and consumerism through an anti-capitalistic perspective.

Terrorizer's *World Downfall*[64] is also a definitive album of early grindcore. Its cover art (see fig. 8) is quite similar to those of the early Napalm Death releases, featuring a monochrome photomontage with a slight shade of greenish yellow. In the center of the image, the famous photo of a Vietnamese policeman executing a Vietcong officer can be seen, with the person on the right (the Vietcong officer in the original photo) swapped with a picture of a British police officer with a bloodied face. Between the two, Jesus Christ rises with a hypnotic set of concentric circles behind his head symbolizing both a halo and a target board. Photographs of various factories and industrial landscapes are scattered throughout the cover, as well as terrorists brandishing weapons and burning an American flag. Serial killer Ed Gein can be seen smiling next to Jesus Christ, while Margaret Thatcher attends dead bodies at the bottom of the image. Blindfolded men stand in the left corner likely awaiting execution, while a deceased child's face buried in a pile of debris can be seen to the right. The blood-splattered Terrorizer logo can be seen at the top, while a warped caption near the middle shows the title of the album. The band displays its perception of chaos in the world by juxtaposing images of war, religion, politics, terror, and technology, implying interconnectedness and portending dangerous outcomes.

Brutal Truth's deathgrind album *Extreme Conditions Demand Extreme Responses*[65] (see fig. 9) is similarly loaded with disturbing images of the global status quo. This full-color photomontage

---

60 Kylie Minoise, *You Suffer* (Kovorox Sound, 2007).

61 Chris Harris, "For Those About To Squawk: Metal Bands With Non-Human Singers," in *MTV News,* available: http://www.mtv.com/news/1525305/for-those-about-to-squawk-metal-bands-with-non-human-singers/, access: 17 April 2016.

62 Caninus, *Wolfpig* (Reptilian Records, 2005).

63 Napalm Death, *From Enslavement to Obliteration* (Earache Records, 1988).

64 Terrorizer, *World Downfall* (Earache Records, 1989).

65 Brutal Truth, *Extreme Conditions Demand Extreme Responses* (Earache Records, 1992).

features roughly square shaped photographs of factories, industrial and urban landscapes, nuclear power plants, a field of skulls, satellite dishes, and the Statue of Liberty. Pieter Brueghel the Elder's oil painting *The Triumph of Death* appears in the lower left and right corners. The painting depicts worldwide upheaval and is superimposed by characters in white cloaks and workers swinging tools. Another white cloaked figure in the bottom part of the field of skulls is erecting a cross. In the middle of the picture, a malnourished child stands next to a mushroom cloud partially covering a face with a crown of thorns. The band's logo is displayed above the face and the title of the album is written around the central collage. Much like the aforementioned Terrorizer and Napalm Death albums, Brutal Truth's *Extreme Conditions Demand Extreme Responses* is politically charged, as foreshadowed by its cover art. Political grindcore bands tend to adopt similar imagery to visually convey their message.

Artwork of the Carcass debut *Reek of Putrefaction*[66] (see fig. 10) features a gruesome photomontage made from photos of various diseased and decaying body parts. The central part of the cover resembles a human face with a mouth full of flesh, with several other deformed faces and limbs scattered around it. A thin black outline marks the border of the central collage, from which a pair of diseased feet can be seen protruding at the bottom, as if the viewer was witnessing this grotesque scene as a participant. The logo and album title are not displayed here, which adds to the immersion. The concept of abjection as discussed in the previous chapter is especially relevant in this case, as these are not mere drawings but actual photographs of human cadavers. The artwork's shock value was immense at the time, and attracted many fans who quickly became obsessed with this style, and the concept laid the basic foundation of many goregrind albums to come. The trend still exists today; it is often done in homage to Carcass, and in parody as well. For example, The County Medical Examiners are known for imitating Carcass' early musical style as well as their artwork, as evidenced by their album *Forensic Fugues And Medicolegal Medleys.*[67] (see fig. 11)

The cover of the second Carcass album, *Symphony of Sickness*[68] (see fig. 12) was a photomontage of autopsy photos alongside chunks of animal meat.[69] As all members of the band were vegans or vegetarians at the time of its release, we can see that this juxtaposition compares the suffering of humans and animals while showing that both are made of a substance that is essentially the same.[70] This resonates with the Dadaist concept of collage, which used various different two-dimensional things – including found objects and everyday items – to create pieces of art which convey new meaning to their components, as well as signifying something entirely new as a whole.[71] Erstwhile drummer Ken Owen said "although it wasn't the prime purpose, we wanted to show that animal and human meat is one and the same"[72] while bassist Jeff Walker stated that they wanted to "disturb people."[73] On the other hand, they would not take a militant stance on the subject, and instead let the listener be an active participant in creating meaning for the music and art via listening and observing.[74]

---

66 Carcass, *Reek of Putrefaction* (Earache Records, 1988).

67 The County Medical Examiners, *Forensic Fugues And Medicolegal Medleys* (Razorback Records, 2002).

68 Carcass, *Symphonies of Sickness* (Earache Records, 1989).

69 Michael Moynihan and Didrik Søderlind, *Lords of Chaos – The Bloody Rise of the Satanic Metal Underground* (Port Townsend: Feral House, 2003), 27.

70 Mudrian, 132.

71 Georges Hugnet and Margaret Scolari, "Dada" *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 4/2/3 (1936): 5.

72 Unknown dir. *Grindcore: 85 Minutes of Brutal Heavy Metal.* 1993.

73 Sam Dunn dir., "Extreme Metal," *Metal Evolution*, written by Sam Dunn, Banger TV, 2014.

74 Unknown dir. 1993.

Many goregrind and pornogrind bands choose a more lowbrow approach, by using cartoonish gore for their album art. This caricaturistic, exaggerated style incorporates unsavory imagery invoking the abject with a large dose of dark humor. This is demonstrated by Regurgitate's *Carnivorous Erection,*[75] (see fig. 13) which displays a diseased, anthropomorphous phallus with an infuriated grimace biting a tongue. Such covers are mainly meant to disturb viewers and attract the attention of fans which seek out albums that feature the most unsettling artwork. The cover of Tibosity's *Bimbocracia*[76] (see fig. 14) recalls the artwork of *Scum*, with the bleak landscape and sinister characters replaced by gleeful obese people and fields of donuts surrounding a swollen body with a plush bear's head. The iconic set of wings can also be seen in the background. Covers like this are done partly in parody, but are also homage to the band's early grindcore roots, as the object that inspired the parody is widely recognizable and generally admired among fans.

On the other hand, a different approach employing clear-cut, detailed images with greater attention to symmetry is also widely utilized, primarily among contemporary grindcore bands. Agoraphobic Nosebleed's *Agorapocalypse*[77] (see fig. 15) is a kaleidoscopic display of anti-authoritarian paranoia: a skull-headed woman bearing a burning 'alpha' and 'omega' in each hand emerges from a face sneering with agony. This face is surrounded by a myriad of meticulously depicted grotesque caricatures, such as a skeletal policeman in riot gear brandishing a crucifix as a weapon, a ghoulish priest pointing towards a television screen displaying a smiling mushroom cloud, a bloated man smoking a cigar in a necktie covered with dollar signs, a large syringe, countless pills, bones, and bank notes. It largely mimics the design of early grindcore covers in a cartoonish way, with a more condensed, intricate and humorous execution, while also adding drugs to the equation, which is a commonly revisited topic of the band. Noisear's *Turbulent Resurgence*[78] (see fig. 16) is much the same, albeit less whimsical and more attentive of symmetry. A skeletal figure wearing a business suit and crown spews forth snakes from its mouth, while a policeman and a soldier (also human skeletons) stand guard, respectively wielding a truncheon and rifle, forming a triangular shape resembling the Eye of Providence. Expressionless, uniformed men with barcodes imprinted on their foreheads can be seen below. Again, the message clear: the cover portrays figures of authority as manipulative, totalitarian tyrants as an acerbic denunciation of the establishment. Nasum's *Grind Finale*[79] (see fig. 17) is more minimalistic, but employs the same clean, symmetrical arrangement: a gas mask in the center entwined with barbed wire and USB cable with several screws and bullets pointing outwards. This cover juxtaposes symbols of technology and industrialization with those of war and impending danger.

As the discussed examples demonstrate, grindcore artwork employs a variety of tools and art styles, which mainly include collage, photomontage, and caricature. Caustic satire and grotesque illustrations are frequently employed, as well as dark humor and abjection. The subtextual leitmotifs which appear in these artworks (excluding those which are explicitly created for shock value, humorous antics, parody, or to deliberately divert from this customary style) are subversive messages saturated with social criticism. Distorted depictions of the human body are also commonplace, as well as the juxtaposition of conflicting images. The following section discusses how certain characteristics and recurring elements of the grindcore art style echo Dadaist works of art, and how the two movements share a considerable number of parallels.

---

75 Regurgitate, *Carnivorous Erection* (Relapse Records, 2000).
76 Tibosity, *Bimbocracia* (Xtreem Music, 2015).
77 Agoraphobic Nosebleed, *Agorapocalypse* (Relapse Records, 2009).
78 Noisear, *Turbulent Resurgence* (Willowtip Records, 2012).
79 Nasum, *Grind Finale* (Relapse Records, 2006).

3.2. Similarities with Dadaism

There is a noticeable similarity between a number of grind covers and Dadaist works of art, but grindcore's parallel with the Dadaist aesthetic and general ethos runs much deeper, as also observed by Liam Dee.[80] As an anarchistic, subversive, anti-establishment movement, Dadaism and its purveyors regarded art and the status quo much like most grind bands do. They held that "there is no hope, all values are levelled to a universal monotony, there is no longer a difference between good and evil – there is only an awareness."[81] Dick Hebdige remarks on the presence of similar parallels with Dadaism in relation to the significance of *bricolage* in punk clothing in his book *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*.[82] With an adamant oppositional political stance and disgust toward all established systems and conventions, Dada embraced irrationality and absurdity, aiming to overthrow the entirety of art and protest against the atrocities happening in the world.

Dadaism first manifested in Zurich during World War I. The Cabaret Voltaire, founded by Hugo Ball in 1916, was a nightclub where free-thinking artists could exhibit their experimental creations and participate in performances. These exhibitions also featured readings of provocative Dadaist manifestos and experimental poetry, such as poems without words. These poems were nonsensical as they consisted of syllables which have no meaning, but were intended to signify a "loss of faith in the truth of spoken word."[83] Artists such as Tristan Tzara, Jean Arp, and Marcel Janco would constantly experiment with increasingly unconventional methods in existent art forms such as collage and sculpture, involving spontaneity and chance to determine the outcome.

At the same time, a different branch of Dadaism was independently emerging in New York, through the works of Marcel Duchamp, Francis Picabia, and Man Ray. Duchamp's readymades, which were found objects modified by the artist, conveyed his "disgust for art"[84] and provided a new means of subverting conventions and attacking traditionalist views. His most well-known piece, simply titled *Fountain*, was a porcelain urinal, which he signed with a pseudonym. He submitted this 'sculpture' to a prestigious exhibition, where he was a member of the jury, only to be rejected by the rest of the board. He resigned in protest after debating whether such an object could be considered art.[85] Another notorious readymade piece was *L.H.O.O.Q.*, which was a replica of Leonardo Da Vinci's *Mona Lisa* with a beard and mustache drawn on with a pencil. Both these works aimed to overthrow the bourgeois understanding of what qualifies as 'art' and what does not. The latter is also reminiscent of the way grind bands would reinterpret and parody the artworks and songs of earlier bands.

After the war, Dadaism spread to Berlin, where it took a decidedly political inclination.[86] Their approach was less 'anti-art' and much more concerned with contemporary social ills and problems arising from the country's political situation. During the 1920 International Dada Fair, a mannequin in a military officer's uniform was hung from the ceiling, its head replaced with that of a pig[87] and a sign hung from its neck proclaiming "hanged by the revolution."[88] Such depictions of authority figures as pigs is common in grindcore artworks, as demonstrated by Feastem's *Avaritia*

---

80 Dee, 66.
81 Hugnet and Scolari, 3.
82 Dick Hebdige, *Subculture – The Meaning of Style* (London, New York: Routledge, 2002), 106–107.
83 "Sound Poems," in *National Gallery of Art*, available: https://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2006/dada/cities/sound.htm, access: 23 April 2016.
84 Hugnet and Scolari, 6.
85 Ibid.
86 Hugnet and Scolari, 9.
87 Hugnet and Scolari, 10.
88 Mick Gold dir., *Europe after the Rain*, written by Mick Gold, Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978.

Humanae,[89] (see fig. 18) which shows a group of men with pig heads in business suits jeering over emaciated children on plates surrounded by money. Techniques including photomontage and collage were widely employed by the Berlin Dadaists, adding a political aspect and commenting on the state of post-war Germany. The caricaturistic works of Otto Dix, George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, and Hannah Höch are highly reminiscent of grindcore album covers.

Otto Dix's *Skat Players*, later renamed *Card-Playing War Cripples* (see fig. 19) is a particularly shocking collage, which shows three deformed soldiers playing cards at a table. The left man holds a group of cards in front of his disfigured face with his right foot, while the man in the middle holds his cards between his teeth due to his lack of arms and legs. The right man's lower jaw was made using part of a cigarette package.[90] Having experienced the brutality of war at first hand, Dix showcases the disturbing aftermath in a compelling manner. In *Card-Playing War Cripples*, he shows this through a mundane, everyday activity, which adds to its unsettling nature. On the other hand, the fact that the men are still able to play cards despite their disfigurements sets a lighter note and adds a hint of gallows humor to the picture.

The Art Critic by Raoul Hausmann (see fig. 20) is a satirical photomontage. It shows a disproportionately large-headed man holding an equally large pen, while a woman leans towards her. Crude drawings of eyes and a mouth are superimposed on the man's face, as well as a shoe and a stamp on his forehead. A piece of a banknote is inserted behind the man's back. The piece depicts critics as corrupt fools that are susceptible for bribes and other types of "financial influence,"[91] guilty of using 'big' words they do not understand, observing and judging art inappropriately, and have likely chosen this profession for the sole purpose of garnering the attention of women.

Hannah Höch's collage titled *Cut with the Dada Kitchen Knife through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch in Germany* (see fig. 21) uses photos of human bodies and faces, mechanical components, text cutouts from newspapers, and various other images. The face of Kaiser Wilhelm II with two wrestlers forming a mustache can be seen near the upper-right corner next to the text "Die anti dada" next to a machinegun pointing towards the Kaiser's forehead. Marx, Lenin and Albert Einstein can also be seen in different parts of the collage. The creator's portrait is a tiny picture in the lower-right section of the image, placed on the edge of a map of Europe which shows the countries where women are allowed to vote, reflecting on gender inequality.[92] This art piece captures the fragmentation of Germany's political and cultural state as well as the artist's views on contemporary social issues.

The artwork of Magrudergrind's self-titled album[93] (see fig. 22) is strikingly similar to the aforementioned Dadaist creations. This collage displays an assortment of diseased hands, some of which are made of smaller hands and arms, reaching toward a semicircle at the bottom of the cover. This semicircle contains a jumble of images, such as photos of emaciated children, amplifiers, a Native American man wearing a headdress, a 'boombox' cassette player, a drawing of a man dropping a swastika into a garbage bin, and a crossed out music note. A much larger crossed out note can be seen under the band's logo near the top of the image, which signifies an "anti-musical

---

[89] Feastem, *Avaritia Humanae* (Obscene Productions, 2013).

[90] "Dix – Die Skatspieler (Skat Players)," in *National Gallery of Art*, available: https://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2006/dada/images/artwork/202-108.shtm, access: 23 April 2016.

[91] Michael Glover, "Great Works: The Art Critic 1919–20 (31.8 × 25.4 cms), Raoul Hausmann," in *The Independent*, available: http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/great-works/great-works-the-art-critic-1919-20-318x254-cms-raoul-hausmann-2283012.html, access: 23 April 2016.

[92] "Cut with the Kitchen Knife," in *Utopia/Dystopia*, available: https://utopiadystopiawwi.wordpress.com/dada/hannah-hoch/cut-with-the-kitchen-knife/, access: 23 April 2016.

[93] Magrudergrind, *Magrudergrind* (Willowtip Records, 2009).

sentiment"[94] also emphasized by the title of the opening song, "The Protocols of Anti-Sound." The image also features the Om symbol, a bovine, and a vinyl record player, among other odd items. In his interview with Jay DiNitto, vocalist Avi Kulawy stated that "It [the cover art] is an artistic expression of ideas that show both negative, pessimistic realities of the world and our appreciation for diversity and culture."[95] While not necessarily similar in an outright political way, the visual aesthetic is quite much the same as that of Dadaist photomontages. The cover art of the grindcore compilation titled *This Comp Kills Fascists*[96] (see fig. 23) also bears resemblance to these works. It shows a stereotypical American family from the 1950s at a dinner table. The mother, carrying the head of George W. Bush on a large plate, has a swollen head and distorted face. A withered skull can be seen next to a military uniform near the bottom, and the backdrop displays a nuclear explosion. The compilation's title is sprawled across the top half of the image emulating a comic book style, while part of the McDonalds logo can be seen above it, exposing their "I'm lovin' it" slogan. Again, a similar juxtaposition and repurposing of images and symbols is present, but with a more overt political message.

George Grosz was a prominent member of Berlin's Dadaist movement, whose works bear visual and conceptual resemblance to the social and political depictions shown on grindcore covers, as nearly all of them involved "politics and propaganda."[97] His oil painting titled *The Funeral* (see fig. 24) portrays city streets as "a hellish vortex of unleashed forces."[98] The painting shows a throng of various misshapen characters walking in procession between buildings teeming with debauchery. The 'café' on the left has a flag lodged through one of its windows, next to which an arm can be seen brandishing a knife. On the second floor, the silhouette of a nude woman peeks through a window. An expressionless priest surrounded by malformed people stands below, raising his cross towards the sky. Behind him, a skeleton drinks liquor perched atop a coffin, while a military officer swinging a bloody sword furiously blows a trumpet near the lower-right corner. The density of elements and dark contrast between red and black gives the painting a claustrophobic ambience.[99] The painting recalls the cover of *Agorapocalypse* with its cramped, gruesome characters.

Another noteworthy painting by Grosz, *The Pillars of Society* (see fig. 25) is a trenchant satirical caricature. A Nazi with a scarred face can be seen in the foreground, wielding a saber and tankard, as an image of a "gallant hussar" pops out of its head, signifying belligerent fantasies.[100] The man to the left has a chamber pot on his head while holding a pencil, a blood-covered leaf and newspapers, representing "press baron" Alfred Hungenberg.[101] The man to the right carries the flag of the Weimar republic, his open head exposing fecal matter – this man resembles Friedrich Ebert, first president of Germany.[102] Soldiers scowl aggressively behind them, while a priest piously

---

[94] Jay DiNitto, "Album Art of the Week: Magrudergrind – 'Magrudergrind'," in *Noisecreep*, available: http://noisecreep.com/album-art-of-the-week-magrudergrind-magrudergrind/, access: 23 April 2016.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Various Artists, *This Comp Kills Fascists* (Relapse Records, 2008).

[97] Hugnet and Scolari, 10.

[98] David Hopkins, *Dada and Surrealism – A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 57.

[99] "Important Art by George Grosz," in *The Art Story*, available: http://www.theartstory.org/artist-grosz-george-artworks.htm, access: 23 April 2016.

[100] "Dadaism – Art and Anti Art," in *Artyfactory*, available: http://www.artyfactory.org/art_appreciation/art_movements/dadaism.htm, access: 25 April 2016.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

gestures towards a flaming building. *The Pillars of Society* is a display of disgust towards the corrupt authorities, military, and media of contemporary Germany.

The Cologne and Hanover Dadaists would not adhere to this politically fueled direction. Max Ernst and Johannes Baargeld explicitly disapproved of the propagandistic approach Berlin represented[103] and favored a more detached style. Their works celebrated spontaneity and ephemerality, as demonstrated by their 1920 exhibition, in which intoxicated visitors were invited to destroy pieces of art.[104] Kurt Schwitters was rejected from the Club Dada in Berlin due to his non-political attitude[105] and chose a different path, labeling his works as 'Merz.' The *Merzbau* was an installation which transformed his own house into a perturbing work of art by the incorporation of sculptures made from urban debris. This "architectural assemblage" inspired the alias of noise artist Masami Akita, also known as Merzbow, whose work challenges the established concepts of music.[106] Another relevant Dada concept is bruitism, which is "noise-music with imaginative effects" – spontaneous outbursts of music made with non-musical 'instruments' such as typewriters and kitchenware.[107]

Donna Kristiansen states that the core beliefs in Dadaism are spontaneity, negation, and absurdity.[108] The same elements can be observed in grindcore music: harsh production and the inclusion of a count off, guitar feedback, or small inaccuracies in studio recordings emulate the atmosphere of a live concert or rehearsal, signifying spontaneity and immediacy. Negation manifests itself in grindcore similarly to Dadaism, where the perception of the total arbitrariness of values and systems leads to nihilism,[109] as exampled by Agathocles' song "Go Fucking Nihilist."[110] Absurdity, for Dadaists, means paradoxicality, contradiction, and opposition to harmony.[111] As Kristiansen puts it:

> Everything is incoherent and absurd. Acts have no beginning and no end. Beginnings begin with disgust – disgust with pretentiousness of God's creatures, disgust with systems, and disgust with the divorce of good and evil, and the beautiful and ugly.[112]

Such expressions of disgust are reflected in grindcore lyrics, artwork, and music. Noisegrind bands particularly embrace the absurd and actively cultivate it through their unconventional music and performances. The very concept of the microsong might be considered absurd by itself, let alone entire albums and concerts consisting solely of such split-second 'songs.'

As evidenced by these examples, there are numerous elements in the Dadaist ethos and works of art which recur in grindcore artwork and music. The widespread use of collage and photomontage, grotesque portrayals of society, bitter political statements, caricatures, and scathing satire are prevalent in visual creations, while spontaneity, absurdity, negation, and antagonism towards conventions are general characteristics of both movements. Different images and materials are

---

103 Hugnet and Scolari, 11.

104 Hugnet and Scolari, 13.

105 Hopkins, 12.

106 Chad Hensley, "The Beauty of Noise," in *EsoTerra Magazine*, available: http://www.esoterra.org/merzbow.htm, access: 24 April 2016.

107 Donna M. Kristiansen, "What is Dada?," in *Educational Theatre Journal*, 20/3 (1968): 459.

108 Kristiansen, 457–458.

109 Kristiansen, 460.

110 Agathocles, "Go Fucking Nihilist," *Thanks For Your Hostility* (Morbid Records, 1996), available: http://genius.com/Agathocles-go-fucking-nihilist-lyrics, access: 25 April 2016.

111 Kristiansen, 460.

112 Ibid.

reappropriated to create new images and subvert the meaning of its components in both movements. This deconstructive approach, antagonism towards the mainstream, and espousal of the absurd can also be noted in the cultural aspect of grindcore, exemplified by fanzines, the DIY ethos, and general attitude of scene members.

4. Cultural Characteristics of the Grindcore Scene

4.1. Subculture vs. Scene

An issue with the term 'subculture' arises from the much contested definition of the concept. According to Keith Kahn-Harris, "subculture connotes a tightly-knit, rigidly bounded, implacably 'resistant', male-dominated, geographically specific social space."[113] Weinstein describes the heavy metal subculture as a mixture of the utopian, hedonistic hippie movement of the 1960s and that of dystopian, rebellious, violent biker-gangs – a *bricolage* of polar opposites in terms of aesthetics and mindset.[114] She adds that it was primarily a response to the disadvantages faced by the contemporary youth, and that members of the subculture were primarily white, working-class males.[115] We can acknowledge both Harris' and Weinstein's use of 'subculture' when describing heavy metal's primary audience and community during its early years, but we cannot say the same about grindcore, as it is not as constrained. Some of the criteria seemingly fit the genre, as early grindcore was created by young men with working-class backgrounds in industrial cities: Napalm Death near Birmingham; Repulsion in Flint, Michigan; and Terrorizer in Los Angeles. However, there is a much greater variety in today's global grindcore scene. For example, Fuck The Facts are an extremely popular grind band with a female lead vocalist, Agoraphobic Nosebleed's current lineup also includes a female singer, Haemorrhage has featured a female bass player since 1994, the vocalist/guitarist of the old school grind band Cretin is a trans woman, and Flagitious Idiosyncrasy in the Dilapidation are an all-female grindcore band. The scene is also not age-specific, as numerous bands feature members over the age of 40 as well as under 25, and the fan base is even more diverse. Grindcore is not geographically bound to Europe and North America, as proven by bands from Japan, Australia, Brazil, Singapore, Indonesia, and even South Africa and Saudi Arabia. The exclusion of other musical cultures is also inapplicable to grindcore, as observed by Overell.[116] The fact that early grind musicians would enjoy and experiment with genres outside metal and punk illustrates this point – for example, Napalm Death drummer Mick Harris collaborated with jazz musician John Zorn[117] – but contemporary grindcore bands incorporate even more outside elements into their music.[118] Instead of 'subculture', Keith Kahn-Harris uses the term 'scene' to analyze extreme metal, as it "connotes a more flexible, loose kind of space within which music is produced; a kind of 'context' for musical practice."[119] Harris's concept draws heavily from Will Straw's definition:

---

[113] Keith Kahn-Harris, "'Roots'?: The Relationship between the Global and the Local within the Extreme Metal Scene," *Popular Music* 19/1 (2000): 14.

[114] Weinstein, 101.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Overell, 4.

[117] Harris (2007), 34.

[118] Harris (2007), 4.

[119] Harris (2000), 14.

> A musical scene [. . .] is that cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of cross-fertilization.[120]

Alan O'Connor discards Straw's definition and uses the term in reference to punk in yet another way: "When punks use the term 'scene' they mean the active creation of infrastructure to support punk bands and other forms of creative activity."[121] This definition is more useful when discussing localized scenes, i.e. a musical scene of a particular city or country, but my goal is to capture the principal aesthetic and cultural traits of the grindcore community in general, rather than specific characteristics pertaining to a regional scene. In order to avoid this type of spatialization, and to provide a more comprehensive picture of the main audience of grindcore, I will hereafter refer to its community as a global scene which bears subcultural traits such as a shared ethos in aesthetics and attitude, but without proposing limits of class, age, gender, location, or restricting its members from participation in other cultural activities and formations.

4.2. Basic Principles

In order to understand the internal mechanisms and principal ethics of the grindcore scene, we must familiarize ourselves with some of the main traits of its precursors. The year 1977 signified commercial success and a great leap towards the mainstream for the Sex Pistols and other British punk bands.[122] By 1979, punk took shift towards the underground characterized by economic resistance[123] which is exemplified by the hardcore punk scene. Heavy metal entered the mainstream around 1984[124] and even though bands such as Slayer had already garnered a large following, extreme metal took a different direction by avoiding heavy metal's established institutions.[125] Overell declares that grindcore "has never experienced the 'gushing up' effect of other music scenes, whose aesthetics have been appropriated and re-signified as pop music."[126] This is mostly true, although we should take note of Napalm Death's immensely successful sophomore album, which positioned them at the top of independent charts, surpassing renowned bands such as Sonic Youth[127] and garnering the disapproval of much of the scene, which was highly affiliated with hardcore punk and regarded any type of commercial success as a disgrace towards their common ethics. This friction within the scene eventually led to the band taking steps towards death metal. As front man Barney Greenway put it:

> We decided we'll do death metal, still with the hardcore ethos.
> [. . .] The ethos never died, because it never does – a principle is a principle. Our musical approach just changed because we were just sick of getting fucking hassled by punks.[128]

---

120 Will Straw, "Communities and Scenes in Popular Music," in Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton eds., *The Subcultures Reader*, (London, New York: Routledge, 1997), 494.

121 O'Connor, 226.

122 Stacy Thompson, "Market Failure: Punk Economics, Early and Late," *College Literature* 28/2 (2001): 52.

123 Ibid.

124 Weinstein, 149.

125 Harris (2007), 95.

126 Overell, 3.

127 Mudrian, 132–134.

128 Mudrian, 165.

Liam Dee also notes that both Carcass and Napalm death went through a brief 'death metal phase' when their label signed a distribution deal with a major label.[129] Although the bands didn't have a say in the matter, members of Carcass were happy with the decision and saw it as an opportunity for more fans to hear their music.[130] On the other hand, members of Napalm Death were appalled by the involvement of a major label, as it stood against their principles.[131] This distribution deal between the independent label Earache and major label Columbia proved unsuccessful and was thus prematurely terminated. Since then, attempts at corporate involvement in the grindcore scene have been generally frowned upon. To understand this, we must consider the following question: what are these principles Greenway mentions?

After experiencing a 'sellout' phase, the punk scene adopted aesthetic and economic forms of resistance against capitalism around 1979.[132] One of these forms is the refusal to sign record deals with major labels and corporations,[133] but the approach can generally be described as the DIY (Do-It-Yourself) ethos. As Ian P. Moran asserts, "punks do not rely on anyone but themselves to create the subculture."[134] By adhering to the DIY ethos, punks become "agents of cultural production" rather than mainstream media consumers.[135] Fanzines are an example of DIY creations in the punk, metal, and grind scenes.

Fanzines are simply *fan*-made maga*zines* which are produced and sold by members of the scene with no corporate sponsorship. They typically contain interviews with bands and musicians, reviews of recent musical releases, information about upcoming concerts and various events, and often personal diatribes as well.[136] Fanzines employ a specific "graphic language" which incorporates both image-based and text-based forms of expression.[137] Using the methods and visual elements described in chapter 2, fanzines co-opt symbols and images used by mass media to create new meanings relevant to the values of the community.[138] These may range from pictures of well-known people repurposed in objectionable contexts[139] to drawings made by the fanzine creator, special typography, satire, and so on. Some fanzines change their design concept from volume to volume, or use a different logo for each issue. Early fanzines were made by hand, using traditional methods of collage, typewriters, and photocopiers, with a low budget in mind. However, these limitations only added to their lowbrow aesthetic appeal, as they signified an approach which is completely self-regulated and against the mainstream.[140] Fanzines are less widespread contemporarily, but the availability of digital image editing software and rapid channels of communication such as the internet enables devoted fans to produce and circulate elaborately designed fanzines which likewise adhere to the DIY ethos.

Tape trading (the home-made replication and distribution of audio cassettes, an early example of music sharing among fans and musicians, which would likely be considered 'piracy' today) also

---

129 Dee, 66.
130 Mudrian, 189–190.
131 Ibid.
132 Thompson, 49.
133 O'Connor, 238.
134 Ian P. Moran, "Punk: The Do-It-Yourself Subculture," *Social Sciences Journal* 10/1 (2010): 63.
135 Dunn, 198.
136 Teal Triggs, "Scissors and Glue: Punk Fanzines and the Creation of a DIY Aesthetic," *Journal of Design History*, 19/1 (2006):70.
137 Triggs, 73.
138 Triggs, 76.
139 Ibid.
140 Triggs, 75.

played a key role in the creation of grindcore during the 1980s. As technology enabled people to affordably copy unreleased demos and rare albums, fans from different locations would exchange tapes via mail to stay up-to-date with the latest trends and developments in extreme music, while some bands would also sell their own demos, live recordings, or rehearsal tapes.[141] Other examples of cultivating DIY ethics include merchandise – such as clothing or patches – which are produced and sold by the band rather than a label, self-released albums, interviews and advertising conducted through the internet or fanzines rather than major magazines. The main goal is "to operate outside the reach of the major labels, outside of commercial music."[142]

The primary issue with major labels lies within the possible compromises they may demand from bands concerning their aesthetic or musical approach, as attempts to make them 'appeal to a wider audience' tend to do so, which fans would obviously oppose. Refusal to cooperate with corporations is paramount for a large segment of the grindcore scene. Infringing on the DIY ethic is frowned upon, as exampled by the release of Magrudergrind's *Crusher* EP,[143] which was sponsored by Scion, a subsidiary of Toyota. The band stated that they "did not receive any free car, any fat paycheck, but the ability to give every [sic] a free record at the expense solely on a big company that may not see any return on their investment."[144] However, the free release of the EP still sparked controversy within the scene, with some disparaging the band[145] and some declaring it a non-issue, as the band did not compromise their style.[146] Despite the fact that DIY efforts are universally appreciated in the scene, forms of elitism which demand adherence to it are also noted and sometimes derided. An earlier song by Magrudergrind illustrates the band's view on the topic:

> Hide behind a wall of words
> Jealous thoughts and hateful slurs
> Dis my clothes and believes
> Don't dress punk
> Don't judge me
> I choose a life which I feel free
> Not bound to the scene's beliefs
> Punk is full of fascist views
> I choose to fight these fucked up rules
> I refuse to live by what's expected[147]

It is noteworthy how the band criticizes the confining nature of punk influence present in the grindcore scene. A great amount of irony lies in the fact that a subculture that originally stood for uncompromising self-expression and the subversion of conventions enforces its own traditions in this scene. However, such inconsistencies are still present and are often reflected upon in lyrics.

---

141 Harris (2007), 78.

142 Thompson, 53.

143 Magrudergrind, *Crusher* (Scion Audio/Visual, 2010).

144 "A Free Magrudergrind EP," in *BrooklynVegan*, available: http://www.brooklynvegan.com/a-free-magruder/, access: 28 April 2016.

145 Justin Foley, "The Austerity Program's Justin Foley Weighs in on the Magrudergrind/Scion Controversy," in *MetalSucks*, available: http://www.metalsucks.net/2010/11/19/the-austerity-programs-justin-foley-weighs-in-on-magrudergrindscion-controversy/, access: 28 April 2016.

146 Andrew Lipscomb, "Rageahol: Why Scion Doesn't Matter," in *Operation Grindcore*, available: http://operationgrindcore.blogspot.hu/2011/09/rageahol-why-scion-doesnt-really-matter.html, access: 28 April 2016.

147 Magrudergrind, "Lyrical Ammunition for Scene Warfare," *Magrudergrind* (Willowtip Records, 2009) available: http://genius.com/Magrudergrind-lyrical-ammunition-for-scene-warfare-lyrics, access: 28 April 2016.

Another important aspect of the grindcore scene extends from the metal scene. The presence of bizarre musical experimentation, gruesome topics in lyrics, shocking cover art, and exaggerated unsavory imagery is ubiquitous. Bands such as The Locust – an experimental grind band which includes a keyboardist and performs in bright green suits and mesh masks resembling insects – uphold the importance of their social and political lyrics,[148] while some bands have no lyrics at all, screaming or growling meaningless syllables instead. For casual listeners, it would be easy to take offense at any aspect of the genre or to simply deem it a joke. Many goregrind[149] and death metal musicians[150] also think of their act and lyrics as tongue-in-cheek rather than completely serious. However, as Liam Dee points out, it is possible to experience grindcore as "simultaneously thrilling, dangerous and hilarious, without the latter cancelling out the former."[151] A relevant concept Keith Kahn-Harris uses is reflexive anti-reflexivity. Reflexivity as defined by Anthony Giddens is "the continuous monitoring of action which human beings display and expect others to display."[152] Self-awareness is a key concept for communities that practice reflexivity. Harris considers the extreme metal scene to be a reflexive community where reflexivity can be only partial or have more than one form.[153] To illustrate this, he uses a photograph of the black metal band Immortal, where the two members are striking an awkward pose in 'corpse paint' and leather apparel trying to look 'evil', but end up looking quite ridiculous and 'camp.'[154] It would be unreflexive not to recognize this ridiculousness at all, and anti-reflexive to simply ignore it. However, fans of black metal who practice reflexive anti-reflexivity would consciously discard this 'camp' reading of the picture and perceive it through a context where the intended 'evilness' is actually true rather than ridiculous, even though they are likely aware of the fact that 'outsiders' would see it otherwise. As Harris puts it: "if unreflexivity is 'not knowing better' and anti-reflexivity is 'not wanting to know,' then reflexive anti-reflexivity is 'knowing better but deciding not to know.'"[155] Thus, a reflexively anti-reflexive fan of grindcore can easily listen to Last Days of Humanity or Cock and Ball Torture without being offended by degrading sexual imagery or excessive gore, and even appreciate the lyrics of The Locust despite their outlandish presentation. However, a 'purist' might consider these to belong outside the category of 'real' grindcore, as they do not conform to the insurrectionary anti-establishment tradition of grind. Still, it is worthy to take note of these bands, as neither of them fit under the exclusionary scope of punk or metal, further illustrating my point that grindcore is a separate, hybrid genre with its own distinct subgenres and offshoots.

As shown by these examples, the grindcore scene shares cultural elements with hardcore punk and extreme metal, such as the DIY ethos and reflexive anti-reflexivity. The fact that different members of the scene consider different economic strategies and conventions acceptable or inappropriate was also illustrated. The next section will further elaborate on the differences and debates resulting from the concurrence of the two cultural spheres unique to grindcore.

---

148 Mudrian, 265.
149 Purcell, 24.
150 Mudrian, 111.
151 Dee, 66.
152 Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society – Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984), 3.
153 Harris (2007), 142.
154 Harris (2007), 146–147.
155 Harris (2007), 145.

4.3. Disparities within the Scene

As the previous subchapter illustrates, both metal and punk cultural elements are enmeshed within the grindcore scene. Many who actively participate in scene-related activities have largely disparate views on what the subculture should represent, what it stands for and what is acceptable within the scene. Similarly to both the hardcore punk[156] and extreme metal scenes,[157] there are continuously ongoing internal disputations on the topic of what qualifies as 'authentic' and what belongs outside this category. The ways of expression and the subjects reflected in lyrics or the bands' on-stage image are highly manifold, not to mention the largely disparate musical approaches, with many of them provoking antipathy from large fractions of the scene.

Members of the grind scene that are more affiliated with the (hardcore) punk subculture are involved politically to varying degrees, and tend to view grindcore as a form of activism or a vessel for the ideas which they aim to convey. General anti-authoritarianism, radical left-wing politics, egalitarianism, anti-clericalism, veganism, and even nihilism are typical, while conservative or right-wing thought is exceedingly rare, albeit existent in the genre. Some see subgenres such as goregrind and pornogrind, or bands like Anal Cunt, to be too offensive and inappropriate for the grindcore ethos. To them, 'real' grindcore is decidedly political and serious, as is 'real' punk.[158] This reductionist view ignores the large number of influences which intermingled to create the grind genre in the first place. Bands such as Repulsion delivered explicitly gory lyrics and imagery without political messages,[159] while even hardcore punk was an outlet for many bands which were far from the left side of the political spectrum.[160]

Contrasting this, the members with a subcultural background pertaining to (extreme) metal are more likely to participate in the scene mainly due to appreciation of the music and tend to view "using ideas to sell music" as inappropriate.[161] These fans might consider the excessive involvement of politics to be entirely unnecessary and "sullying the purity of music,"[162] which is a valid point considering that music itself can be an act of subversion.[163] Politically fueled imagery and anti-religious sentiments are still commonplace with grind bands that lean towards metal rather than punk. Musical experimentation is also more typical of grind bands that gravitate more towards metal, while punk-oriented bands tend to take a more grassroots approach by revitalizing the earlier forms of the genre. However, altercations between the two spheres have been present since the very beginning.

Some bands refuse the grindcore label entirely, such as Extreme Noise Terror, who were largely influential on the genre since the early days. Napalm Death drummer Mick Harris even played with the band for a short period of time, before their friendship deteriorated. Guitarist Pete Hurley said the following in regards to the genre:

---

156 Kevin C. Dunn, "Never Mind the Bollocks: The Punk Rock Politics of Global Communication," *Review of International Studies* 34 (2008): 196.

157 Harris (2007), 21.

158 Alan O'Connor, "Local Scenes and Dangerous Crossroads: Punk and Theories of Cultural Hybridity," *Popular Music* 21/2 (2002): 226.

159 Repulsion, "The Stench of Burning Death," *Horrified* (Necrosis Records, 1989), available: http://genius.com/Repulsion-the-stench-of-burning-death-lyrics, access: 25 April 2016.

160 Dunn, 200.

161 Harris (2007), 154.

162 Ibid.

163 Dunn, 194.

> 'Grindcore' was a legendarily stupid term coined by a hyperactive kid from the West Midlands, and it had nothing to do with us whatsoever. ENT were, are, and – I suspect – always will be a hardcore punk band... not a grindcore band, not a stenchcore band, a trampcore band, or any other sub-sub-sub-core genre-defining term you can come up with.[164]

There are numerous examples of animosity between grind subgenres, although they usually culminate in unpleasant verbal exchanges or resentful songs rather than physical violence. Some bands make their point clear through song titles, such as "Porno Grind Fuck Off!" by Suffering Mind.[165] Suffering Mind take an elitistic stance against the pornogrind genre, most likely because of its subject matter. One the other hand, Pyogenic Cystclot's "Shitty Goregrind Forever, Crust Grind Never!" comes from the very opposite side of the argument. Lyrics of the 1 minute 11 second song are the following: "Shitty goregrind fucking rules! Mincecore too but crust grind drools! P.C. lyrics are just a farce if you're a douche in real life!"[166] The band's obstinate opinions are also reflected in songs such as "Trendy Powerviolence Hipster Bullshit" and "Utter Eradication of Generic Deathcore."[167]

While it would be easy to argue that such feuds and divergences are recent and only came with the newer subgenres, these differences were present from the beginning. Jesse Pintado's description of his experience playing in the short-lived band Terrorizer during the late 1980s is an example of this: "Terrorizer was too fast for the metallers and not hardcore enough for the punks. You show up with long hair and they were like, 'Get the fuck out of here.'"[168] Shane McLachlan of Phobia, a grindcore band active since 1990, gives a more detailed account:

> The punks wouldn't like us because we didn't have mohawks, yet we were still too punk for the death metal scene, so in that regard I think most of our fans tend to be who like it all, and do not limit their tastes to one scene or the other. We are an extension of the crossover ethic that is rooted in bands like D.R.I., who also were playing to both metal and punk kids back in the '80s. It's just about the speed and the attitude, you know?[169]

McLachlan makes an excellent point and perfectly sums up the nature of the grindcore scene. Although the community is highly divergent, the common attitude and shared love for fast music is a constant factor in the life of every fan and musician in the scene. These disparities and multifaceted approaches make grindcore incompatible with subordination to a larger genre or community such as punk and metal, while the shared values maintain a strong cohesion, designating it as an individual genre with its own unique scene.

5. Conclusion

As discussed in the previous chapters, grindcore has several traits which are unique to the genre or were popularized by it, such as blast beats and microsongs. Blending elements of hardcore punk, extreme metal, industrial music and noise, bands such as Napalm Death pioneered a new style of music which became an individual genre by incorporating novel techniques and spawning various

---

164 Ian Glasper, *Trapped in a Scene – UK hardcore 1985–89* (London: Cherry Red Books, 2009), 279.

165 Suffering Mind, *Waste Farm* (625 Thrashcore: 2015).

166 Pyogenic Cystclot, "Shitty Goregrind Forever, Crust Grind Never!," *BruceXCampbell / Pyogenic Cystclot* (Solvent Abuse Records: 2014), available: https://pyogeniccystclot.bandcamp.com/track/shitty-goregrind-forever-crust-grind-never, access: 28 April 2016.

167 Pyogenic Cystclot, *BruceXCampbell / Pyogenic Cystclot* (Solvent Abuse Records: 2014).

168 Mudrian, 65.

169 Netherton, 95.

offshoots. Noisegrind showcases the experimental and anti-musical nature of the genre; goregrind displays an affinity for abject themes which were previously unheard of in music; deathgrind and crustgrind demonstrate versatility; mincecore exemplifies devotion to the roots of the genre; and pornogrind shows a more humorous, but highly controversial side of grind.

Another context where the aesthetics of grindcore was revealed is the art featured on album covers, indicating a common theme of subversive anti-establishment sentiments which echo Dadaist ideas and works of art from the early 20th century. Numerous other similarities between the two are illustrated by the widespread use of techniques such as collage and photomontage, gruesome caricatures, as well as the juxtaposition and repurposing of images, which are often used to convey scorching social and political criticism. Dadaism and grindcore also share common ground in their bleak, absurd worldviews, spontaneous methods of expression, and rejection of conventions. Sardonic dark humor and parody also play important roles in both.

We have also established that the confluence of punk and metal was present in both musical and cultural aspects of grindcore. After discussing that the term 'subculture' is not applicable to the grindcore community due to the boundaries it implies concerning age, class, gender, and geographic location, the alternative concept of 'scene' was used as the unit of analysis. The DIY ethos is one of the basic foundations of the grindcore scene, signifying a practical and down-to-earth approach, as well as opposition to the mainstream commercial music industry. DIY bands distribute their music without the involvement of major labels, refusing to compromise their aesthetic approach and choosing to remain 'underground' instead. Despite the disturbing and possibly distasteful imagery in lyrics and covers, fans and musicians tend to be reflexively anti-reflexive, which means that they consciously discard certain implied connotations, and deliberately choose such ways of expression, as pushing boundaries in every possible direction is one of the genre's basic principles. Internal debates are also characteristic of the scene. This is a frequently revisited topic among bands, often manifesting in provocative songs about the scene itself. The divergences within the grind scene dismiss attempts of unconditional categorization under a larger genre or community such as punk or metal, while the shared values and multitude of unique traits mark grindcore as an individual genre and scene.

As demonstrated by these observations, my research indicates that grindcore does not represent a 'subculture.' Instead, the common cultural elements of its community such as a strictly anti-mainstream attitude, predilection for subversion, and reflexivity make it an unparalleled global scene, while its distinctive aesthetic approach manifested in music, lyrics, and artwork establishes grindcore as a genre of its own.

Bibliography

"5643 Song EP." In *Noise Wiki*. Available: http://www.noisewiki.com/wiki/index.php?title=5643_Song_EP. Access: 20 April 2016.

"A Free Magrudergrind EP." In *BrooklynVegan*. Available: http://www.brooklynvegan.com/a-free-magruder/. Access: 28 April 2016.

"A Short History of Turbine and Juntaro Yamanouchi." In *Turbine Industries Label Home Page*. Available: http://www.turbineindustries.net/sadist/gero.html. Access: 20 April 2016.

"Agathocles." In *Encyclopaedia Metallum: The Metal Archives*. Available: http://www.metal-archives.com/bands/Agathocles/2649. Access: 20 April 2016.

Agathocles. "A for Arrogance." *Razor Sharp Daggers*. Cyber Music: 1995. Available: http://www.darklyrics.com/lyrics/agathocles/razorsharpdaggers.html#3. Access: 15 April 2016.

Agathocles. "Go Fucking Nihilist." *Thanks For Your Hostility*. Morbid Records: 1996. Available: http://genius.com/Agathocles-go-fucking-nihilist-lyrics. Access: 25 April 2016.

Anal Cunt. "I'm Glad Jazz Faggots Don't Like Us Anymore." *Defenders of the Hate*. Menace to Sobriety Records: 2007. Available: http://genius.com/Axcx-im-glad-jazz-faggots-dont-like-us-anymore-lyrics. Access: 20 April 2016.
Carcass. "Pungent Excruciation." *Reek of Putrefaction*. Earache Records: 1988. Available: http://genius.com/Carcass-pungent-excruciation-lyrics. Access: 20 April 2016.
"Cut with the Kitchen Knife." In *Utopia/Dystopia*. Available: https://utopiadystopiawwi.wordpress.com/dada/hannah-hoch/cut-with-the-kitchen-knife/. Access: 23 April 2016.
"Cybergrind tag." In *Last.fm*. Available: http://www.last.fm/tag/cybergrind. Access: 20 April 2016.
"Dadaism – Art and Anti Art." In *Artyfactory*. Available: http://www.artyfactory.org/art_appreciation/art_movements/dadaism.htm. Access: 25 April 2016.
Dee, Liam. "The Brutal Truth: Grindcore as the Extreme Realism of Heavy Metal." In Gerd Bayer ed., *Heavy Metal Music in Britain*. Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2009, 53–70.
DiNitto, Jay. "Album Art of the Week: Magrudergrind – 'Magrudergrind'." In *Noisecreep*. Available: http://noisecreep.com/album-art-of-the-week-magrudergrind-magrudergrind/. Access: 23 April 2016.
Disrupt. "A Life's A Life." *Unrest*. Relapse Records: 1994. Available: http://www.darklyrics.com/lyrics/disrupt/unrest.html#4. Access: 15 April 2016.
"Dix – Die Skatspieler (Skat Players)." In *National Gallery of Art*. Available: https://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2006/dada/images/artwork/202-108.shtm. Access: 23 April 2016.
Dunn, Sam dir. "Extreme Metal." In *Metal Evolution*. Written by Sam Dunn. Banger TV, 2014.
Dunn, Kevin C. "Never Mind the Bollocks: The Punk Rock Politics of Global Communication." *Review of International Studies* 34 (2008): 193–210.
Ekeroth, Daniel. *Swedish Death Metal*. New York: Bazillion Points, 2011.
Foley, Justin. "The Austerity Program's Justin Foley Weighs in on the Magrudergrind/Scion Controversy." In *MetalSucks*. Available: http://www.metalsucks.net/2010/11/19/the-austerity-programs-justin-foley-weighs-in-on-magrudergrindscion-controversy/. Access: 28 April 2016.
Frith, Simon. *Taking Popular Music Seriously – Selected Essays*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007.
Giddens, Anthony. *The Constitution of Society – Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984.
Glasper, Ian. *Trapped in a Scene – UK hardcore 1985–89*. London: Cherry Red Books, 2009.
Glover, Michael. "Great Works: The Art Critic 1919–20 (31.8×25.4 cms), Raoul Hausmann." In *The Independent*. Available: http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/great-works/great-works-the-art-critic-1919-20-318x254-cms-raoul-hausmann-2283012.html. Access: 23 April 2016.
Gold, Mick dir. *Europe after the Rain*. Written by Mick Gold. Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978.
Grow, Kory. "Slaves to the Grind." In Albert Mudrian ed., *Precious Metal – Decibel Presents the Stories Behind 25 Extreme Metal Masterpieces*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2009, 56–72.
Harris, Chris. "For Those About To Squawk: Metal Bands With Non-Human Singers." In *MTV News*. Available: http://www.mtv.com/news/1525305/for-those-about-to-squawk-metal-bands-with-non-human-singers/. Access: 17 April 2016.
Harris, Keith Kahn. "'Roots'?: The Relationship of the Global and the Local Within the Extreme Metal Scene." *Popular Music* 19/1 (2000): 13–30.
–––. *Extreme Metal – Music and Culture on the Edge*. Oxford: Berg, 2007.
Hebdige, Dick. *Subculture – The Meaning of Style*. London, New York: Routledge, 2002.
Hensley, Chad. "The Beauty of Noise." In *EsoTerra Magazine*. Available: http://www.esoterra.org/merzbow.htm. Access: 24 April 2016.
Hopkins, David. *Dada and Surrealism – A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
Hugnet, George and Margaret Scolari. "Dada" *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 4/2/3 (1936): 3–18.

"Important Art by George Grosz." In *The Art Story*. Available: http://www.theartstory.org/artist-grosz-george-artworks.htm. Access: 23 April 2016.
Kegan, Yrjänä. *Subgenres of the Beast – A Heavy Metal Guide*. Raleigh: Lulu Press Inc., 2015.
Kristeva, Julia. *Powers of Horror – An Essay on Abjection*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.
Kristiansen, Donna M. "What is Dada?." In *Educational Theatre Journal*, 20/3 (1968): 457–462.
Lipscomb, Andrew. "Rageahol: Why Scion Doesn't Matter." In *Operation Grindcore*. Available: http://operationgrindcore.blogspot.hu/2011/09/rageahol-why-scion-doesnt-really-matter.html. Access: 28 April 2016.
Magrudergrind. "Lyrical Ammunition for Scene Warfare." *Magrudergrind*. Willowtip Records: 2009. Available: http://genius.com/Magrudergrind-lyrical-ammunition-for-scene-warfare-lyrics. Access: 28 April 2016.
Moran, Ian P. "Punk: The Do-It-Yourself Subculture." *Social Sciences Journal* 10/1 (2010): 58–56.
Moynihan, Michael and Didrik Søderlind. *Lords of Chaos – The Bloody Rise of the Satanic Metal Underground*. Port Townsend: Feral House, 2003.
Mudrian, Albert. *Choosing Death – The Improbable History of Death Metal & Grindcore*. Port Townsend: Feral House, 2004.
Napalm Death. "Multinational Corporations." *Scum*. Earache Records: 1987. Available: http://genius.com/Napalm-death-multinational-corporations-lyrics. Access: 17 April 2016.
Netherton, Jason. *Extremity Retained – Notes From the Death Metal Underground*. London, Ontario: Hand shake Inc., 2014.
O'Connor, Alan. "Local Scenes and Dangerous Crossroads: Punk and Theories of Cultural Hybridity." *Popular Music* 21/2 (2002): 225–236.
Overell, Rosemary. *Affective Intensities in Extreme Music Scenes – Cases from Australia and Japan*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
Purcell, Natalie J. *Death Metal Music – The Passion And Politics of a Subculture*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland 2003.
Pyogenic Cystclot. "Shitty Goregrind Forever, Crust Grind Never!." *BruceXCampbell / Pyogenic Cystclot*. Solvent Abuse Records: 2014. Available: https://pyogeniccystclot.bandcamp.com/track/shitty-goregrind-forever-crust-grind-never. Access: 28 April 2016.
Repulsion. "The Stench of Burning Death." *Horrified*. Necrosis Records: 1989. Available: http://genius.com/Repulsion-the-stench-of-burning-death-lyrics. Access: 25 April 2016.
Riddick, Mark. *Logos from Hell*. Vodnany: Doomentia Press, 2015.
Rodel, Angela. "Extreme Noise Terror – Punk Rock and the Aesthetics of Badness." In Christopher Washburne and Maiken Derno eds. *Bad Music: The Music We Love to Hate*. New York: Routledge, 2013, 182–197.
"Screaming Bloody Gore #1: Jon Chang (Gridlink, Discordance Axis, Hayaino Daisuki)." In *Invisible Oranges*. Available: http://www.invisibleoranges.com/screaming-bloody-gore-1-jon-chang-gridlink-discordance-axis-hayano-daisuki/. Access: 20 April 2016.
"Sound Poems." In *National Gallery of Art*. Available: https://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2006/dada/cities/sound.htm. Access: 23 April, 2016.
Stinson, Liz. "The Beauty and Total Illegibility of Extreme Metal Logos." In *Wired*. Available: http://www.wired.com/2015/10/the-beauty-and-total-illegibility-of-extreme-metal-logos/#slide-11. Access: 20 April 2016.
Straw, Will. "Communities and Scenes in Popular Music." In Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton eds. *The Subcultures Reader*. London, New York: Routledge, 1997, 494–505.
The Afternoon Gentlemen. "Grind is Music." *The Afternoon Gentlemen*. Dead Heroes Records: 2015. Available: https://theafternoongentlemen.bandcamp.com/track/grind-is-music. Access: 20 April 2016.
"These are things that exist." In *Rate Your Music*. Available: https://rateyourmusic.com/list/dividesbyzero/these_are_things_that_exist/. Access: 20 April 2016.

Thompson, Stacy. "Market Failure: Punk Economics, Early and Late." *College Literature* 28/2 (2001): 48–64.
"Thrashcore (aka Fastcore)." In *Rate Your Music*. Available: https://rateyourmusic.com/genre/Thrashcore/. Access: 20 April 2016.
Triggs, Teal. "Scissors and Glue: Punk Fanzines and the Creation of a DIY Aesthetic." *Journal of Design History*. 19/1 (2006): 69–83.
Unknown dir. *Grindcore: 85 Minutes of Brutal Heavy Metal*. 1993.
Weinstein, Deena. *Heavy Metal – The Music and its Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2000.

Discography

Agathocles. *Razor Sharp Daggers*. Cyber Music, 1995.
Agathocles. *Thanks For Your Hostility*. Morbid Records, 1996.
Agoraphobic Nosebleed. *Agorapocalypse*. Relapse Records, 2009.
Agoraphobic Nosebleed. *Altered States of America*. Relapse Records, 2003.
Anal Cunt. *40 More Reasons to Hate Us*. Earache Records, 1996.
Anal Cunt. *5643 Song EP*. Stridecore Records, 1989.
Anal Cunt. *Defenders of the Hate*. Menace to Sobriety Records, 2007.
Brutal Truth. *Extreme Conditions Demand Extreme Responses*. Earache Records, 1992.
Caninus. *Wolfpig*. Reptilian Records, 2005.
Carcass. *Reek of Putrefaction*. Earache Records, 1988.
Carcass. *Symphonies of Sickness*. Earache Records, 1989.
Disrupt. *Unrest*. Relapse Records, 1994.
Feastem. *Avaritia Humanae*. Obscene Productions, 2013.
Kylie Minoise. *You Suffer*. Kovorox Sound, 2007.
Magrudergrind. *Crusher*. Scion Audio/Visual, 2010.
Magrudergrind. *Magrudergrind*. Willowtip Records, 2009.
Napalm Death. *From Enslavement to Obliteration*. Earache Records, 1988.
Napalm Death. *Scum*. Earache Records, 1987.
Nasum. *Grind Finale*. Relapse Records, 2006.
Noisear. *Turbulent Resurgence*. Willowtip Records, 2012.
Pyogenic Cystclot. *BruceXCampbell / Pyogenic Cystclot*. Solvent Abuse Records, 2014.
Regurgitate. *Carnivorous Erection*. Relapse Records, 2000.
Repulsion. *Horrified*. Necrosis Records, 1989.
Rotten Sound. *Napalm*. Relapse Records, 2010.
Suffering Mind. *Waste Farm*. 625 Thrashcore, 2015.
Terrorizer. *World Downfall*. Earache Records, 1989.
The Afternoon Gentlemen. *The Afternoon Gentlemen*. Dead Heroes Records, 2015.
The County Medical Examiners, *Forensic Fugues And Medicolegal Medleys*. Razorback Records, 2002.
Tibosity. *Bimbocracia*. Xtreem Music, 2015.
Various Artists. *This Comp Kills Fascists*. Relapse Records, 2008.

Appendix

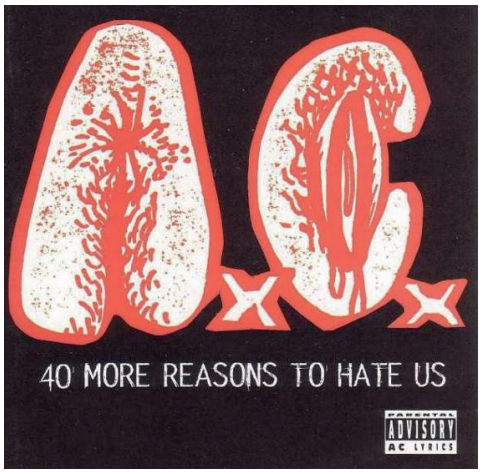


Figure 1. Anal Cunt. *40 More Reasons to Hate Us.* Earache, 1996. Cover art.



Figure 2. The Gerogerigegege. *Art is Over.* n.d. Octopus tentacle in cassette box. Available: http://id3419.securedata.net/artnotart/gero/revC-artisover.html. Access: 28 April 2016.



Figure 3. Napalm Death. *Scum.* Earache Records, 1987. Cover art.



Figure 4. Rotten Sound. *Napalm.* Relapse Records, 2010. Cover art.

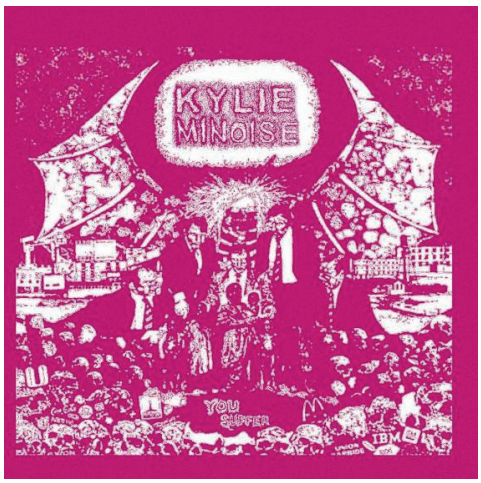


Figure 5. Kylie Minoise. *You Suffer.* Kovorox Sound, 2007. Cover art.



Figure 6. Caninus. *Wolfpig.* Reptilian Records, 2005. Cover art.

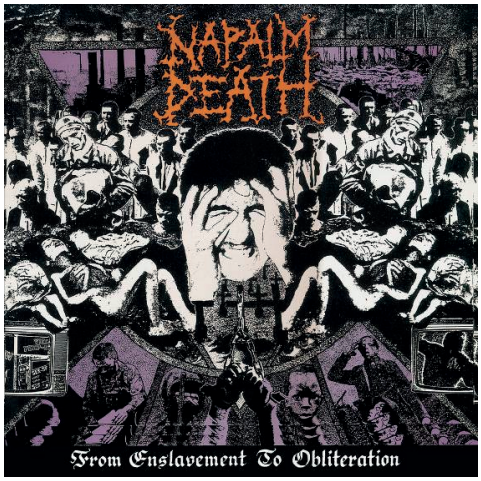


Figure 7. Napalm Death. *From Enslavement to Obliteration.* Earache Records, 1988. Cover art.



Figure 8. Terrorizer. *World Downfall.* Earache Records, 1989. Cover Art.



Figure 9. Brutal Truth. *Extreme Conditions Demand Extreme Responses.* Earache Records, 1992. Cover art.



Figure 10. Carcass. *Reek of Putrefaction.* Earache Records, 1988. Cover art.



Figure 11. The County Medical Examiners, *Forensic Fugues And Medicolegal Medleys.* Razorback Records, 2002. Cover art.



Figure 12. Carcass. *Symphonies of Sickness.* Earache Records, 1989. Cover art.



Figure 13. Regurgitate. *Carnivorous Erection.* Relapse Records, 2000. Cover art.



Figure 14. Tibosity. *Bimbocracia.* Xtreem Music, 2015. Cover art.

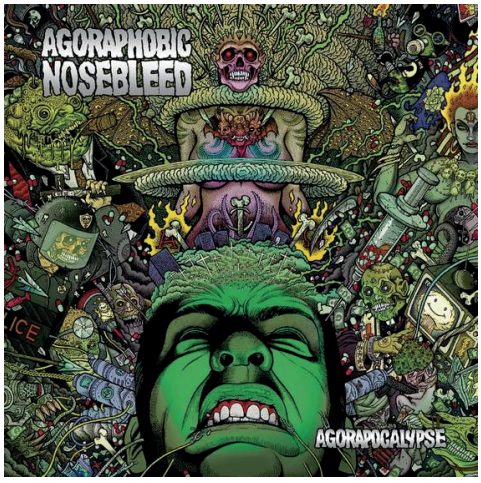


Figure 15. Agoraphobic Nosebleed. *Agorapocalypse.* Relapse Records, 2009. Cover art.

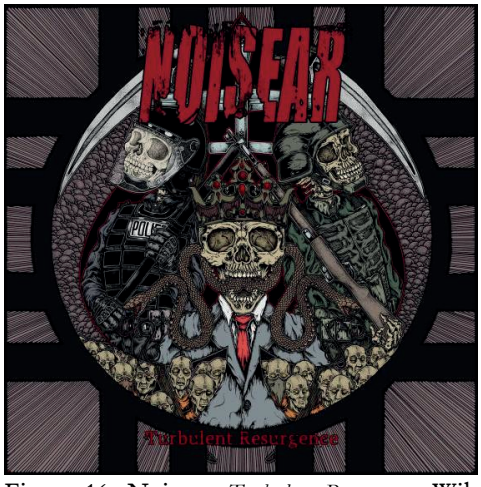


Figure 16. Noisear. *Turbulent Resurgence.* Willowtip Records, 2012. Cover art.



Figure 17. Nasum. *Grind Finale.* Relapse Records, 2006. Cover art.



Figure 18. Feastem. *Avaritia Humanae.* Obscene Productions, 2013. Cover art.

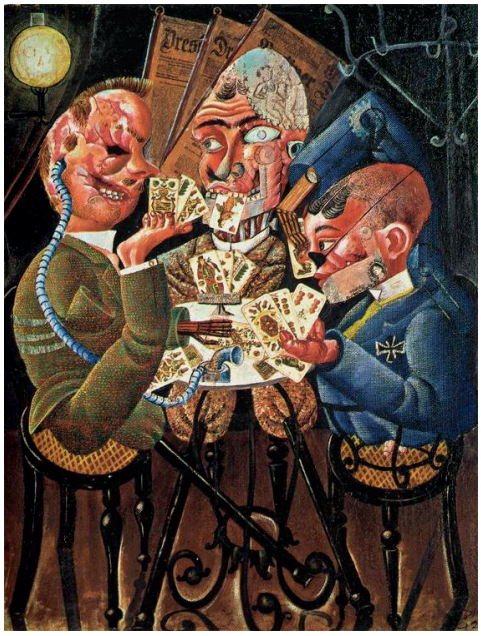


Figure 19. Dix, Otto. *Card-playing War Cripples.* 1920. Oil on canvas with photomontage and collage.

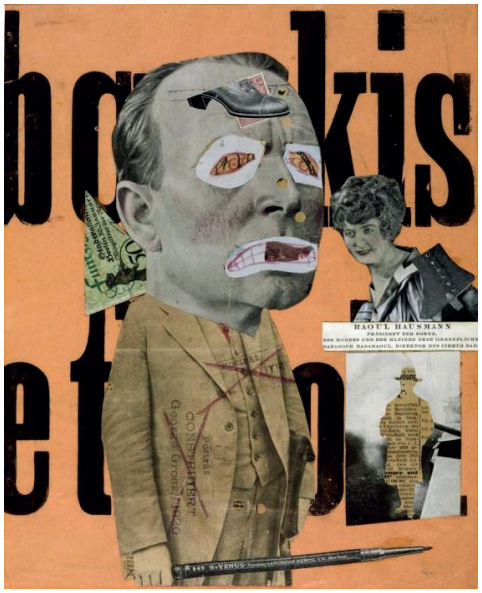


Figure 20. Hausmann, Raoul. *The Art Critic.* 1919–1920. Photomontage and collage with ink stamp and crayon on printed poster poem.

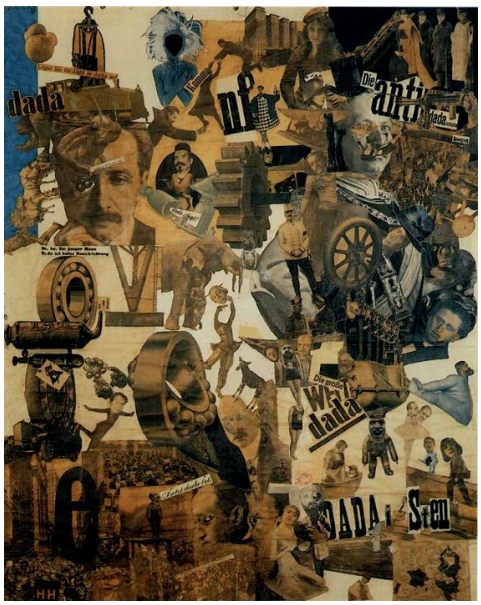


Figure 21. Höch, Hannah. *Cut with the Dada Kitchen Knife through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch in Germany.* 1919. Collage of pasted papers.



Figure 22. Magrudergrind. *Magrudergrind.* Willowtip Records, 2009. Cover art.



Figure 23. Various Artists. *This Comp Kills Fascists.* Relapse Records, 2008. Cover art.



Figure 24. Grosz, George. *The Funeral.* 1917–1918. Oil on canvas.



Figure 25. Grosz, George. *The Pillars of Society.* 1926. Oil on canvas.