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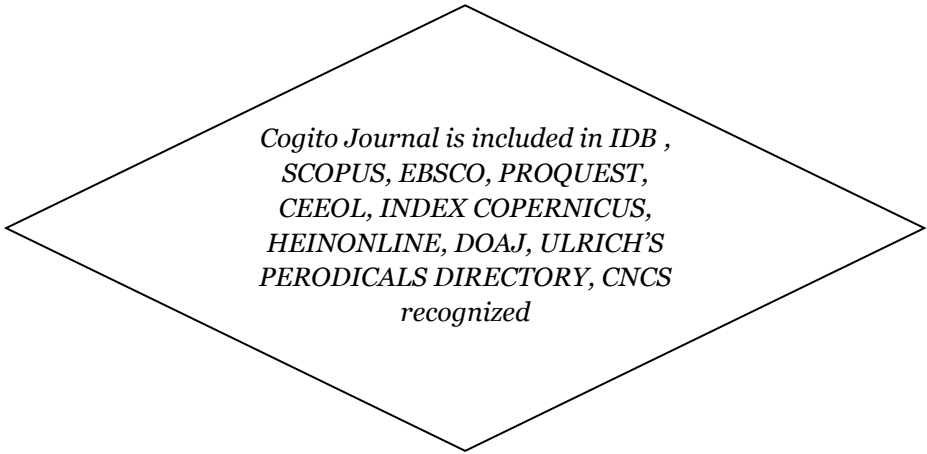
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TOWARDS A NEW CULTURAL PARADIGM – PHILOSOPHY, CIVILIZATION AND LAW

*Alexandru Ștefănescu**

In a world fraught with recurrent stereotypes and alienation, bound by social unrest and sanitary pressures, humanity holds the key of deliverance. This is a twofold assertion: one the one hand, perceiving humanity as a whole, that is defining ourselves looking past the cultural differences that have long since provided the backbone of conflict, and embracing the wisdom of our equal creation (i.e. natural law); and on the other hand, the benevolence of this rational animal that we call the Human Being, the power to look beyond the petty and the mundane, his moral and spiritual perseverance.

To some extent, the old philosophical assumptions do not matter anymore. Hobbes' pessimistic approach of an individual so self-centered that the sovereignty's sole purpose is to mitigate aggressiveness or Locke's faith in the socially bound behavior of societal participants – all has collapsed within the turmoil of postmodern history. The individual is bad and good, egotistic and selfless, petty and magnificent, all at once. A paradox taking us further, perhaps beyond the good and the evil? Alas, Nietzsche's approach is one of the most devastating critiques of all times. What philosophy has done is to take hold of strong moral categories displayed within a Manichean setting, encouraging dogmatism, conformity, and passiveness. Now, the new philosophy ought to be more assertive, contrived from imagination, danger and originality.

*It was once said by Gianni Vattimo that postmodernism came into existence sometime between Nietzsche's *Untimely Meditations* and *Human, All Too Human*. So roughly, between 1876 and 1878. Of course it will take another century until Lyotard's *Postmodern Condition*, but all precursors may be retraced back to the second half of the 19th century (especially Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud), to say nothing of earlier modern thinkers (such as Kant and Hegel).*

*

*What actually happened was a repositioning towards universalistic narratives. Reason and knowledge, faith and traditional institutions, wisdom and interpretation, they all bounced back in misleading manners. The world ceased to be a universally projected image, reclaiming its very nature of difference and fragmentation. History and politics were no exceptions. Under the pressures of conflict and geopolitical combat, cultural constructs and practices suffered from self-righteousness and alienation. The clash of civilizations, not just in Huntington's jargon, but also as a civilizational Hobbesian *bellum omnium contra omnes*, or even a Nietzschean "transvaluation of all [civic] values", is here to stay.*

Nowadays, researchers need to bring some light onto the multilayered structure of our societal destiny. Apart from the intrinsic differences, what reasonable common ground should we build our extrinsic manifestations upon? Is it respect, equidistance, the rule of law, our redeemed values of life, liberty, and equity? To some extent, seeking this common ground, even in a

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somewhat unfashionable scholarly account, is the main reason for bringing together academics in conferences, talks and lectures.

September 2021 provided such an opportunity for academics and students. Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University organized the 50th Annual Conference of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations (ISCSC), as well as the pre-World Congress conference of the International Association for the Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy (IVR). Between the civilizational upheavals and the specific pressures recently put on society, national states, and the rule of law, scholars from dozens countries presented their work, either directly or by means of digital technology.

“Civilization at a Crossroads” (September 2-4) and “The Rule of Law” (September 9-11) provided the marrow of a fruitful scientific exchange set to chart the past, present, and future endeavors to ultimately improve both the individual and the social existence. The stakes were huge. On the one hand, the civilizational striving for comprehension and betterment, encompassing any and all, from Dimitrie Cantemir, the Moldavian prince-philosopher undoubtedly representing the epitome of civilizational crossroads, to the thorough analysis of various cultural environments; on the other hand, the hardship of securing the rule of law in a world weakened by absolutist schemes and pandemic impediments.

Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University also chose to honor two major personalities of the 21st century by awarding Doctor honoris causa titles to Professor Peter Schlosser, from Arizona State University and Professor Martha C. Nussbaum, from the University of Chicago. One of the world’s leading experts in Earth sciences, and one of the most important contemporary American philosophers, in a symbolic unison, both ceremonies being presided by Professor Corina Dumitrescu, President of the DCCU Senate.

The future holds great things in store. The 30th biennial IVR World Congress will be held in Bucharest, at Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University, July 3-8, 2022, under the lead theme of “Justice, Community, and Freedom”. Also, 2023 will be the year of the first World Congress for the Comparative Study of Civilizations, again to be organized at Dimitrie Cantemir, under the rather suggestive title of “The New Enlightenment - between Traditions and Challenges”.

And thus, we have almost come full circle. An increasingly fractured world of turning traditions, commodities, consumerism, irrationality and despair sets the scene for the rebirth of all that was once lost. A new Enlightenment is at stake! A new kind of wisdom is to emerge!

In a world stricken with pandemic pressures and fearmongering, balance and vision remain the only viable instruments for self-betterment and fortitude of character. As society bears all of history’s scars, ordinary people tend to lose themselves in the turmoil of it all. Social justice, reason, equity, honor may hold the key to a brighter future. Rebuilt from its ashes, like a true Phoenix, society will soon have no choice but to confront itself with the core of its civilizational narratives: life, liberty, truth... and justice for all!

HISTORICAL SOURCES ON THE BIOGRAPHY OF THE CANTEMIR FAMILY. CURRENT STATE AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

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Abstract: *Among the distinctive features of contemporary cantemirology, the most obvious is the absence of minimal research and analysis of sources and documents. One of the causes of these gaps is the dispersion in space and time of documents that reflect the life and work of him and his family members.*

On the other side, there is an enormous amount of information not included in the circuit of researching the biography of the private and official life of D. Cantemir or, which has been too little studied. These are the numerous documents kept in the archives of Russia, Turkey, Ukraine, Austria, Sweden, and other countries, which could shed light on the discovery of those events in the life of the Moldovan ruler vaguely or not at all known.

The present report is dedicated to the current state and perspectives of the research of historical sources regarding the biography of the Cantemir and his relatives. Along with the analysis of the published documents, a description is made of the materials from the archives, accumulated by the author during last 40 years.

Keywords: *Dimitrie Cantemir, contemporary cantemirology, historical sources, materials from the archives.*

It is of great pleasure to observe that in the last decades, the history of Dimitrie Cantemir's life and work became a special subject for historians from different countries. Dozens of monographies, hundreds of articles constitute a real Cantemirean library. However, with deep regret, it should be noted that most of these publications, with some exceptions, are compilations. This can be explained through the lack of local documents, which would refer to the biography of the great thinker and politician of the first quarter of the 18th century, as well as the biographies of his family members and close relatives. It is mainly the discovery, the complex analysis and the introduction into the scientific circuit of the new documents that will give the historians the possibility to compile an ample and objective history of the life of Dimitrie Cantemir and of his family.

The material we present to your attention addresses the current state and the perspectives of research of the historical sources on the biography of the Cantemir's family.

* **Professor PhD. Hab., Ambassador of Rep. Moldova.**

Among the distinctive features of contemporary Cantemirology, the most obvious is the absence of an in-depth research and analysis of sources and documents. One of the causes of these gaps is the scattering in space and time of documents that reflect his life and work, along with his family members. Throughout the 300 years that passed since the death of D. Cantemir, in various countries in Europe and Asia few memoirs and archival documents have been published, directly or indirectly presenting the biography of this remarkable thinker and enlightener of the eighteenth century. Published in very small editions and long becoming bibliographic rarities, isolated from each other, these documents did not allow researchers to gather all the information into a single source database, which could have offered the possibility of their research and complex usage.

On the other hand, there is an enormous amount of information which was not included in the research circuit of the biography of the private and official life of D. Cantemir, or which has been too little studied. These are the numerous documents kept in the archives of Russia, Turkey, Ukraine, Austria, Sweden and other countries, which could shed light on those events in the life of the Moldovan ruler, that are insufficiently or not at all known.

Materials relating to the biographies of D. Cantemir and his relatives can be divided into two broad categories, including both published and unpublished materials. In the first category, are the official documents of various institutions of the Russian state from the first quarter of the 18th century, printed during the last two hundred years in voluminous collections, are of particular importance. Among them, a leading position is occupied by the Reports and dispositions presented in the Senate during the reign of Peter the Great (Reports and sentences held in the Governing Senate during the reign of Peter the Great)¹, containing numerous documents referring to the process of legal registration of movable and immovable property donated by the tsar to D. Cantemir.

The documents published in these volumes allow the historical reconstruction of the ruler's possessions in Russia, the knowledge of how he administrated his properties, as well as the elucidation of the reasons for long disputes between D. Cantemir and the representatives of the central and local authorities, regarding the estates and serfs promised by the tsar, which, however, he did not receive, as well as problems related to the payment of arrears and debts accumulated over time².

Of particular importance for the research of Dimitrie Cantemir's relations

¹ Доклады и приговоры, состоавшиесеа в Правителствуйущем Сенате в царствование Петра Великого (further – DPS). Под редactsiei N.V. Kolycheva, 1880, 1882, 1883. / Доклады и приговоры, состоявшие в Правительствующем Сенате в царствование Петра Великого. Под ред. Колычева Н.В./ Т.1.. Sankt-Petersburg, 1880; Т.1.Кн.1, Sankt-Petersburg, 1882; Т.2.Кн.2. Sankt-Petersburg, 1883.

² V.I. Țvîrcun, *Dimitri Kantemir. Stranitsy jizni v pisimah idokumentah*. Sankt-Petersburg, 2010, Nestor-Istoria, 2010, С.186-187, 198-204.

with the representatives of the Russian central and local organs of power, for the knowledge of his economic activity, but also of the situation of his movable and immovable properties, are the materials published in the collection of *reports and resolutions of the Government Senate*.³ In addition to the resolutions and decisions adopted by the Government Senate, in the above-mentioned collection of documents there are published, extracted letters and addresses of D. Cantemir to the supreme legislative body of the country. The value of the latter are of high importance, as most of the originals have not been preserved.

Obviously, only the use of these materials, without including such a rich collection of published sources, such as Letters and Acts of Emperor Peter the Great (*Письма и бумаги императора Петра Великого*)⁴ would be insufficient for an objective and serious research of D. Cantemir's life and work.

The Tsar's and the Russian dignitaries' correspondence with the lord of Moldova, during and after the Prut campaign of 1711; the orders and dispositions of the monarch in response to the addresses written by D. Cantemir regarding his future fate and maintenance of his family, but also of the thousands of Moldovans who came with him to Russia; diplomatic and military-political materials from the period of the Russo-Turkish war between 1710-1713 allow us to follow the dramatic path of the political choice of the Moldovan voivode and scholar, as well as the rather complicated process of its integration into the socio-cultural and political environment of Peter I's Russia, along with his self-identification in the entourage and the new society.

It is regrettable that the volumes of *Letters and Acts...* include personal and official correspondence between the Moldavian ruler and the Russian monarch only from the first years of his stay in Russia until 1713. However, the fact that Russian researchers diligently continue the archaeological research of new volumes from this collection, gives us hope that other materials about the other years of his life and work in Russia follow to be unveiled.

The other category of published documents, referring directly or indirectly to the biography of the Moldovan ruler, is made up of the diaries and memoirs of contemporaries. These include the *Journal or daily records of the forever worthy of remembrance Emperor Peter I in 1698 and to the peace of Nystad* (*Журнал или поденная записка блаженныя и вечнодостойныя памяти государя императора Петра Великого с 1698 года и даже до заключения Ништадского мира*)⁵ *Notes of Brigadier*

³ DPS, T. 2, Kn. 1, Sankt-Petersburg, 1882, C. 124, № 180; C. 134, № 193; C. 147, № 203.

⁴ Pisima i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo императора Петра Великого, 1961, 1964, 1975, 1977, 1992, 2003. T.XI. Vyp.1. Moskva, Nauka, 1962.; T.XI. Vyp.2. Moskva, Nauka, 1964; T.XII. Vyp.1. Moskva, Nauka, 1975; T.XII. Vyp.2. Moskva, Nauka, 1977; T.XIII. Vyp.1. Moskva, Nauka, 1992; T.XIII. Vyp.2. Moskva, Nauka, 2003.

⁵ Jurnal ili podionnaia zapiska blajennyia i vechnodostioinyia pamiatii gosudarea imperatora Petra Velikogo s 16698 goda i daje do zakliuchenia Nishtadskogo mira. 1770, 1772. Sankt-Petersburg, Tip. Senata, chasti 1, 1770; Sankt-Petersburg, Tip. Senata, Chasti 2, 1772.

*Moreau de Brasey (Записки бригадира Моро де Бразе)*⁶, and the *Journal of the Kammerjunker Bergholz (Дневник камер-юнкера Берхгольца)*⁷.

To these series of diaristic materials we can add the works of the chroniclers of Ion Neculce⁸, Radu Greceanu⁹ and Pseudo Nicolai Costin¹⁰. Written in the form of a chronicle, they present the events that took place in Moldova and Wallachia at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. For the most part, the chronicles given are autobiographical texts, as the authors were not only mere witnesses to most of the events described, but also their participants. Of particular value, are their testimonies concerning D. Cantemir and his relatives from the period of his second reign on the Moldovan throne, during the Prut campaign, as well as from the years of their emigration to Russia.

Unfortunately, the testimonials are not without a great dose of subjectivism, especially concerning the appreciation and characterization of the Moldovan prince's actions and behavior. Mainly due to our recent discovery of documents in the state archives of Russia, more information has been uncovered on the first years of D. Cantemir and his relatives' emigration of to Russia. It was these materials that gave us the opportunity to present all the drama of their lives, conflicts, judgments, reconciliations, etc. At the same time, they allow us to discover the roots of the conflict between Dimitrie Cantemir and Ion Neculce; the transformations of D. Cantemir of the lord of Moldavia into the Enlightened Prince of the Russian Empire, and subject of Peter I.

Of special significance for the research of D. Cantemir's personal life and political activity in Russia are the notes from the diary of his personal secretary Ivan Ilinsky-Yaroslavets¹¹. The original of the journal is kept in the

⁶ Moro de Braze, *Zapiski brigadira Moro de Braze, kasaiushiesea do pohoda 1711 goda*. In.: Pushkin A.S. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*. Leningrad, Nauka, T.VIII, 1978.

⁷ F.V. Berhgolts, *Dnevnik kamer-junkera Berhgoltsa, vedennyi im d Rossii v tsarstvovanie Petra Velikogo s 1721 po 1725 God*. Moskva, Tip. Moskovsogo universiteta, Chasti 1, 1857.

⁸ Ion Neculce, *The Chronicle of the Country of Moldova from Dabija-Volă to the second reign of Constantin Mavrocordat. (Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei de la Dabija-Volă până la a doua domnie a lui Constantin Mavrocordat)*. Chișinău, Cartea Moldovenească, 1990.

⁹ Radu logofătul Greceanu, *History of the Reign of Constantin Basarab Brîncoveanu Voievod (1688-1714)*, Introductory study and critical edition prepared by Aurora Ilieș. (*Istoria Domniei lui Constantin Basarab Brîncoveanu Voievod (1688-1714)*, *Studiu introductiv și ediție critică întocmite de Aurora Ilieș*), Bucharest, The Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania Publishing House, 1970.

¹⁰ Nicolae Costuin, *Writing. (Scrieri)*, Chișinău, Hyperion Publishing House, 1990.

¹¹ Ilinski-Iaroslaveț Ivan (? – 20 March 1737). He was born in Iaroslav. After finishing his studies at the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy, he entered the service of D. Cantemir as personal secretary and teacher of rhetoric for the prince's children. He took care of the correspondence and the notes from D. Cantemir's diary, as well as the translations of his works from Latin into Russian. After the death of the ruler, I. Ilinski-Yaroslav was appointed translator at the Academy of Sciences in 1725, where, according to V.K. Trediakovsky, "for his right and moderate words and deeds he gained the trust and appreciation of the leadership."

funds of the Russian State Archive for Old Documents and during the last two hundred years it has been published in integrally or partially more than once both in Russia and in other countries¹².

But even L.N. Maikov, the first editor of this document, mentioned that “These notes are not always following a chronological path, by being accurate only where they are daily; but, if there are only fragments, such as those referring to the late years of the period presented, then they are scattered without respecting the chronological order in different parts of the book, where there is still room for other texts...”¹³.

Apart from this, the entries in I. Ilinski-Iaroslaveț's diary did not reflect the imperially important events of the high-ranking dignitaries as D. Cantemir's daily life. Thus, presenting the events of December 28, 1722, he recalls the visit made by Prince A.D. Menshikov to the house of the Cantemirs¹⁴. But on this day Cantemir met in the house of the Grand Admiral F.M. Apraksin with Peter I, with whom he had a private discussion¹⁵ (about which I. Ilinsky-Yaroslavet does not mention). Such "escapes" are also discovered when motioning the ruler's meetings with the Duke of Holstein¹⁶, his participation in the festivities organized by the tsar¹⁷, but also the correct dating of the events described.

To the numerous gaps that abound in the *Journal* must be added the reflection of D. Cantemir's participation in the works of the Governmental Senate. In addition to the fact that not all the prince's participation in the meetings of this supreme governing body of the country were mentioned, there is a complete lack of information about the bills and decisions of the Senate in which he took part and in whose adoption he actively participated. The documents at our disposal, such as the minutes of the sittings and the registers of the Government Senate between 1721-1723, eloquently demonstrate the dynamic senatorial activity of D. Cantemir in the elaboration and adoption of fundamental documents of the Russian Empire such as the

Russkii Biograficeskii Slovarei. Tom Ибак – Ключарев. Moskva, Bolishaia Rossiiskaia Entsiklopedia, 1994. C.95; Bantysh-Kamenski D.N. Entsiklopedia znamenityh rossian (Бантыш-Каменский Д.Н. Энциклопедия знаменитых россиян). Moskva, 2008. C.277.

¹². Jurnal Akademii Nauk perevodchika Ivana Iliinskogo. Povseadnevnye zapiski 1721-1730 g. V: Maikov L.N., 1903. Materialy k biografii kneazia A.L. Kantemira. S vvedeniem i primechaniami prof. V.N. Aleksandrenko. Sankt-Peresburg, 1903. C.295-313; *Notationes quotidianae a lui Ivan Ilinski (fragment)*. In: Ciobanu Ștefan. *Dimitrie Cantemir in Rusia*. Bucharest, 1924. P. 158-159; Ilinski Ivan. *Notationes quotidianae*. Translated by Gr. Tocilescu. In: Manuscriptum. An. XVIII. Nr. 2(67). Bucharest, 1987. P.97-102; *Dimitrie Cantemir. Journal (18 July – 9 October 1722)*. In: Manuscriptum. An. XVIII. Nr. 2(67). Bucharest, 1987. P.91-96; Tsvirkun V.I. Opara cit. Sankt-Petersburg, 2010. Nestor-Istoria, C.334-368.

¹³. L.N., Maikov, cited work C.295.

¹⁴. V.I. Țvîrcun, cited work, Sankt-Petersburg, 2010. Nestor-Istoria, C.358...C.358.

¹⁵. Ibidem.

¹⁶. Ibidem. pp. 335, 350-351.

¹⁷. Ibidem. p. 336, 353.

Ranking Table; presentation of the Holy Synod's activity of the Russian Orthodox Church¹⁸, as well as of decisions taken regarding the establishment and collection of taxes¹⁹, the completion of army and navy recruits²⁰, the construction and arrangement of the state and private buildings in the new Russian capital²¹, along with the ratification of conclusion of the Peace Treaty with Sweden²², and others.

Of special value for knowledge of the last years of D. Cantemir's life, are the notes from F.V. Bergholz's diaries, Duke Holstein-Gottorp's Kammerjunker²³. Being part of the Duke's suite, that came to Russia in early 1721 to obtain the hand and heart of Princess Anna, the young man accompanied his patron to various festivities, balls and events organized by the tsar himself or his high dignitaries.

Being conscious and scrupulous as a chronicler, V.F. Bergholz wrote down in his diary everything he saw and heard: meetings with the sovereign and his dignitaries, visits to the official institutions and the palaces of the "chicks in Peter's nest", etc. Quite frequently, among the main guests of the events and facts described we meet the Moldovan ruler and his family members.

Due to these notes, we have the extraordinary possibility to see D. Cantemir in the capacity of a state dignitary as well as in the role of welcoming host. Episodes from the life of the Cantemir family, the people in the circle of those close to them, scenes from the atmosphere of the daily life of the Russian nobility from the first quarter of the 18th century can perish before our eyes. However, not all information provided by the author can be accepted as true. Unfortunately, in his notes there are information and facts that do not correspond to reality, including some related to the biography of D. Cantemir.²⁴

Among the published documents, directly or indirectly related to the life and work of the Moldavian ruler, a special place is occupied by his private and official correspondence with the Imperial House, with the representatives of the diplomatic corps, with state dignitaries, as well as relatives and friends.

For the first time, a part of the epistolary legacy of D. Cantemir was

¹⁸. Victor Țvîrcun, Dimitrie Cantemir's activity in the Russian Government Senate. In: The conference of balance of the scientific-methodical work of the teaching-teaching staff for 2011. (*Activitatea lui Dimitrie Cantemir în cadrul Senatului Guvernamental al Rusiei. În: Conferința de bilanț a muncii științifico-metodice a corpului profesoral-didactic pentru anul 2011*). The State Pedagogical University "Ion Creangă", March 2012. Chișinău, 2012, pp. 140-143.

¹⁹. P. Baranov, Arhiv Pravitelstvuiushogo Senata. Tom I. Opisi imennym Dysochaishim ekazam i povoleniam. Tsarstvovanie imperatora Petra Velikogo. 1711-1725 gg. Sankt-Petersburg, 1872. C.80-83.

²⁰- Ibidem, p.82.

²¹. Ibidem, pp.75, 76, 77.

²². Ibidem, C.77-84.

²³. F.V. Bergholts, 1857. Cited work.

²⁴. V.I. Țvîrcun, cited work, C.350-353.

published in 1924 by the historian Ștefan Ciobanu. In late 1970s by using the copies of original letters and documents, discovered in the Russian archives by Professor Grigore Tocilescu, he systematized them and translated them into Romanian.

For several decades, Șt. Ciobanu's publication served as a basic source for the research of D. Cantemir's life and work during his stay in Russia. Emphasizing the considerable role of this edition in the context of contemporary cantemirology, the frequent inaccuracies and obvious mistakes existing in the mentioned publication cannot be overlooked. First of all, there should be a mention of the total absence of the critical apparatus.

Even in the early 1920s, such deviations from the existing European historiographical tradition would have called into question the scientific integrity and objectivity of any work. On the other hand, far from being perfect is the translation from Russian to Romanian made by the researcher²⁵. But, the most important is the fact that, by publishing the correspondence of D. Cantemir, the historian, unlike Professor Gr. Tocilescu, who discovered these documents and introduced them into the archives of the Romanian Academy, "allowed himself the freedom" to modify the original text. Thus, from the letter of the Moldovan ruler, addressed on June 2, 1711 to Peter I, two quite important lines were eliminated, of very comprehensive nature in terms of information²⁶.

A few decades later, after the publication of Ș. Ciobanu in specialized historical magazines in Romania, new documents were edited from the epistolary legacy of D. Cantemir²⁷. These documents have a special value, as through them the the Moldovan ruler's active participation in the political-economic life of Russia was highlighted for the first time. They clearly show the role of Cantemir in offering advice for the enrichment of the state treasury.

A significant contribution to the documentary base of the life and activity of Dimitrie Cantemir and his relatives, were the series of publications in the Republic of Moldova, Romania and the Russian Federation of the materials discovered in the state archives²⁸. First of all, they refer to the epistolary

²⁵. Ibidem. C.133, 232, 249.

²⁶. V.I. Țvîrcun, cited work, C.121,

²⁷. Paul Cernovodeanu, Alvina Lazea, Mihai Caratașu. *From Dimitrie Cantemir's original correspondence*. In: Studies. History magazine. (*Din corespondența inedită a lui Dimitrie Cantemir*). In: Studies. The History Journal. Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1973. Nr.5. pp. 1044-1049.

²⁸. Andrei Eșanu, Valentina Eșanu "Notationes Qiotidianae" by Ivan Ilinski (1721-1730). A new vision after a de-visu reading. In: The History Journal of Moldova. Chișinău, nr. 3(95), 2013, pp. 15-20; Victor Țvîrcun: *The epistolary legacy of Dimitrie Cantemir. Documents regarding the History of Romanians. Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki Collection*. (Moștenirea epistolară a lui Dimitrie Cantemir. Documente privind Istoria Românilor. Colecția Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki). Seria a 3-a, Vol. III. Bucharest – Brăila, The Romanian Academy, Istros Publishing House, 2020, 518 p. Zabolotnaea L.P., 2018. *Istoria jizni Marii Kantemir v gisimah*

heritage. Hundreds of newly discovered documents that were recently introduced into the scientific circuit offer us the opportunity to elucidate several aspects of the public and private life of both the Moldovan prince, his relatives and compatriots, such as Antioh and Constantin Cantemir, Toma and Păuna Cantacuzino, Nicolae Neculce and many others.

We cannot overlook a collection of documents contained in about 100 volumes, dedicated to Dimitrie Cantemir, composed by Constantin Barbu with the financial support of the Christian University of D. Cantemir. However, this collection can be considered a facsimile publication of archival documents rather than a scientific edition.

Although the number of documents and materials on the life and multilateral activity of D. Cantemir, which have already been published, is significant, they are still not sufficient to fill all the gaps and remove the "white spots" from his and his family's biographies.

One of the most valuable sources for the research and clarification of the contradictory and little-studied pages of life and political biography, but also of the work of the Moldavian ruler and the enlightened Russian prince, remain the archives.

The difficulty of identifying documents directly or indirectly related to D. Cantemir and his family is that they are not kept in an archive or special fund. Their spread through various archives in Russia, Austria, Sweden, the United Kingdom, France, Ukraine and Turkey is colossal.

Among the Russian archives, where most of the documents related to the history of Moldovan-Russian relations of the first quarter of the seventeenth century are stored, as well as those related to the stay and activity of the Cantemir family in Russia, are also part of the Russian State Archive for Old Documents.

Within this archive there is a separate fund (Ф.1374) - Cantemir, in which encompasses several hundreds of folders with documents relating to all the representatives of this family who lived in Russia during the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

The absolute majority of materials stored there reflect the administrative-economic activity on the Cantemirs' properties: acts of sale-purchase and donation of lands, villages and peasants serfs, census documents, inheritance documents, etc. Moreover, almost all these documents, with very few exceptions, concern the life and activity of D. Cantemir's direct descendants and less his own.

However, the documents in the above mentioned fund allow us to retrospectively reconstruct many details about the conditions of the acquisition of various properties by Cantemir, informing us about the conflicts and lawsuits related to the right of succession, as well as the legality

I documentah. Kishinev, Lexon Prim, 2018, 270 s. (Заболотная Л.П., История жизни Марии Кантемир в письмах и документах. Кишинев, Lexon Prim, 2018, 270 с.)

of family transactions.

Very important for the researchers of Dimitrie Cantemir's life and activity in Russia can be found in the fund 9 (Cabinet of Peter the Great) and fund 248 (of the Government Senate). They contain many originals of the numerous documents of the Moldovan ruler, his personal and official correspondence with the Russian sovereign and his wife, with the secretary of the Personal Chancellery of Peter I. D. Cantemir's correspondence, archived in these funds, offers a unique possibility to fill in the innumerable gaps in the personal and official biography of the Moldavian ruler and of his relatives, elimination of inaccuracies, and shattering the myths and legends accumulated over many centuries.

In the fund of the Government Senate are found the documents and letters of D. Cantemir which refer, on the one hand, to personal matters - the payment of annual salary, the fulfillment of the tsar's provisions regarding the assignment of movable and immovable property to his ruler and compatriots, to exempt the peasants from the obligation of recruitment, liquidation of debts, personal requests of D. Cantemir, addressed to the tsar and the tsarina, congratulatory messages on various occasions, etc.

Documents reflecting state issues are also stored here - notices of the state of affairs in the provinces and principalities subject to the Ottoman Empire; the preparations and movements of the Turkish troops; the state of spirit of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire; proposals to improve the production of strategically important goods; opinions on draft state regulations and laws, etc.

Along with the above-mentioned funds from the Russian State Archive for Old Documents, a special place in the research of D. Cantemir's biography is occupied by fund 128 (A.D. Menshikov), which keeps a part of the Moldovan ruler's correspondence with the serene prince A.D. Menshikov, the one with whom "...shared fully the power/ the trsar", as A.S. Pushkin wrote in the poem of *Poltava*. In fact, this correspondence represents a set of absolutely new epistolary sources, previously unknown, allowing us to understand the character and content of the personal relationships that have bound these two people for years.

Among the documents informing us about the private and political life of D. Cantemir are also the letters of the Moldovan ruler addressed to A.D. Menshikov, in which he asks the dignitary for help in solving the problems related to the construction of a stone-built house in St. Petersburg.

Of particular interest are the reports sent by Cantemir to the Enlightened Prince during the Persian campaign.

A series of documents reflecting the military and political activity of the Moldovan voivode during the Russo-Turkish war 1710-1713 are stored in fund 68 (Russia's relations with Moldova and Wallachia). Among them, an important place is occupied by the so-called *Memorials* (notes *pro memoria*) presented by D. Cantemir to the Russian monarch after the defeat at the Prut.

Although all three *Memorials* have been published²⁹, the author of this book has discovered other materials that considerably complement these documents³⁰; they allow a more accurate determination of the number of Moldovans who accompanied D. Cantemir to Russia.

An equally valuable source depicting relations between Dimitrie Cantemir and his older brother - Antioch is the correspondence between them, preserved in the aforementioned fund.

If the mentioned funds of the Russian State Archive for Old Documents are known and referred by researchers of D. Cantemir's biography, the documents kept in the Foreign Policy Archive of the Russian Empire, fund 68 - Russia's relations with Moldova and Wallachia; fund 77 - Russia's relations with Persia; fund 89 - Russia's relations with Turkey; fund 93 - Russia's relations with France and in the Russian State Archives of the Navy - fund 283 – F. M. Apraksin – present a completely new source of information, shedding light on the facts and events of the Moldovan ruler's life of, which have's previously used in historical literature.

First of all, they refer to the relations between Dimitrie and Antioch, his older brother, in the period 1712-1722 and to the organization of his rescue from Istanbul. Secondly, they contain data about the history of Dimitrie Cantemir's participation in the 1722 campaign of Russian troops against Persia, unjustly overlooked by cantemirologists, about the Prince's role in the politico-military decision-making, management and functioning of the campaign printing, his diplomatic activity and as a translator in negotiations with local leaders, etc.

Among the very poorly or not at all researched archives on the life and activity of Dimitrie Cantemir and his family members, are the State Historical-Military Archive of Russia, the State Historical Archive of Russia, the Archive of the State Historical Museum, the Archive of the Branch of the Institute of History of St. Petersburg in Russia, the Moscow Historical Archive, the National State Archive of Ukraine, the Holy See Library, the Austrian National Archive, the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Archives in Turkey and many more.

Unfortunately, so far, not in a single country where Dimitrie Cantemir has lived and worked, has a state program that would aim to create an international center of search, discovering, studying, and popularizing the intellectual heritage of the illustrious thinker and encyclopedist of the 18th century. At the moment, this is done exclusively by enthusiasts, without any state support.

Several times, either in international conferences, including the ones organized by the Christian University of D. Cantemir from Bucharest, either during the meetings and academic readings of the Romanian Academy and

²⁹. Pisima I bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo, 1964. T. XI. Vy p.2. Moskva, Nauka, 1964. C.387-389.

³⁰. V.I. Ţvîrcun, cited work, C.130-131.

the Academy of Sciences of Moldova, I presented the idea of creating such an international Center. I emphasize, internationally, because only by combining the knowledge and efforts of historians from different countries, we will have the opportunity to discover new materials and documents on the biography of the Moldovan prince and his relatives.

I hope that this conference will contribute to the essential change of the research in the perspective of the documentary sources regarding the life and work of the representatives of the Cantemir family.

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Берхгольц Ф.В., (1857), *Дневник камер-юнкера Берхгольца, веденный им в России в царствование Петра Великого с 1721 по 1725 год*. Москва, в тип. Каткова и К. Часть 1, 1857, 247 с.

Доклады и приговоры, состоявшиеся в Правительствующем Сенате в царствование Петра Великого. 1880, 1882, 1883. Под ред. Колычева Н.В./

CANTEMİR AND THE 'ORDER OF THINGS' IN OTTOMAN SOCIETY

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Abstract: *The source of inspiration for this paper is Cantemir's book on musical theory, **Kitâb-i 'ilm al-musîqî 'ala vecî'l Hurûfât** (Book of the Science of Defining and Performing Music with Letters), written in Turkish somewhere between 1703 and 1705, followed by a Collection of melodies. The two works are known as **Kantemirođlu Edvarı**, which is a massive attempt to impose order on what seemed to be a chaotic mess based on oral transmission through a notation system invented by Cantemir himself.*

In a similar vein, Cantemir's History was far more than a passive narration of the Rise and Fall of the Ottoman Empire; it was a search for a taxonomic system by graphing and codifying Ottoman society for the purpose of understanding and communicating the logic of transformation.

Keywords: *Ottoman Empire, Principalities, Dimitrie Cantemir*

Introduction

Cantemir's Treatise on musical theory, known as *Kitabu İlmi'l-Mûsiki alâ Vecî'l-Hurûfât* (Book of the Science of Music Through Letters), most commonly known in musicology as Kantemirođlu Edvârı (Cantemir Cycles), was written between 1703 and 1705. This is Cantemir's only work in the Turkish language. The Treatise consists of two parts, a theoretical section and a collection of 355 melodies, nine of which were his own compositions.

Books on musical theory were traditionally called 'edvar'. This term is derived from the Arabic word for cycles (adwar)¹ and carries a special significance for the purposes of the present paper.

There were basically two objectives in this undertaking: first of all, Cantemir wanted to discover the 'order of things', in Foucault's words: the inner law, the hidden network of this art² Within the context of a system in which the transmission of melodies was principally oral, Cantemir also aimed

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¹ Nilgün Doğrusöz, 'Edvar Geleneđi ve Modern Türk Müziđi Teorisi', *Türkiye'de Müzik Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri*. Eds. Ođuz Elbaş, Mehmet Kalpaklı ve Okan Murat Öztürk, Trans Aykut Akyon et al., Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2011.

² Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, London: Routledge, 2001.

to develop a system of notation to preserve melodies ‘in accordance with the instructions of the composer.’³

In his History, Cantemir glorifies Turkish music as a perfect system, though too hard to understand. This is why, he contended, it was almost impossible to find ‘above three or four musicians who thoroughly understood the grounds of this Art’.⁴ If God granted him life and leisure, he would explain in a separate Treatise the whole Art according to the opinion of the Eastern World.⁵

This is a clear indication of the pursuit of an underlying pattern: Cantemir reiterated his intent in *Sistema*:

... when I was in Constantinople, I put together a book written in Turkish language, which I dedicated to the present Sultan Ahmed, who enjoys greatly music and is very knowledgeable of. Within I submitted the theoretical instructions for the entire music according to specific rules and strict principles, and I have written the notes with Arabic letters for a more adequate usage and practical application, clearly explaining the theory [of music], and bringing it to its far completion (as I hope), so that now the Turks themselves say that both the practical and theoretical music have become easier and clearer⁶.

This paper argues that Cantemir’s search for a pattern also permeated his History. Therefore, the discussion of Cantemir’s theory of music is beyond the scope and the purpose of this essay. Rather, the present paper shall be limited to tracing Cantemir’s pursuit of a pattern in the Treatise and the History.

Pattern Identification in the Treatise

The Treatise has been edited and transcribed in English by Owen Wright⁷ and in Turkish by Prof. Dr. Yalçın Tura⁸ in two volumes. Under the chapter entitled ‘Introduction to the Science of Music’ of the first volume, Cantemir declares the purpose of this Treatise by criticizing the inventors of musical cycles for satisficing with practice and neglecting and denying scientific principles.⁹ The first volume contains meticulous definitions of terms commonly used in Turkish music. This was essential to ensure a common understanding of key concepts and to eliminate obscurity, which, in Cantemir’s opinion, was the source of confusion regarding Turkish music.

³ Yalçın Tura, *Kantemiroğlu, Kitabı İlmil Musiki ala Vechil Hurufat / Musikiyi 2001, Harflerle Tesbit ve İcra İlminin Kitabı*, İstanbul: YKY, p. 16.

⁴ Dimitrie Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, Nicholas Tindal, J.J., and P. Knapton, Book III, 1734, p. 151-152, note: 14.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Eugenia Popescu-Judet, *Prince Dimitrie Cantemir. Theorist and Composer of Turkish Music*, İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1999, p. 37.

⁷ Owen Wright, *Demetrius Cantemir, the collection of notations. Part 1, Text* (SOAS Musicology Series, Volumes 1 & 2 London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992).

⁸ Yalçın Tura, *Kantemiroğlu, Kitabı İlmil Musiki ala Vechil Hurufat / Musikiyi Harflerle Tesbit ve İcra İlminin Kitabı*, İstanbul: YKY. 2001.

⁹ Ibid. pp. 34-35.

The terms defined in the Treatise include makams, usul, genres among other fundamental concepts. Among these, the rhythmic pattern(usul), the basic element of structure, is defined by Cantemir as ‘the scale and measure of music.’¹⁰ This concept shall be central to the argument of the present paper.

Traditionally there have been basically two approaches to the explanation of usuls.¹¹ The first and traditional approach is linear. Cantemir, however, used a circular approach in the expression of rhythmic cycles, which offered several advantages over the traditional linear representation. These advantages included the capacity to depict the relationships of ‘musical activities during different cycles’, the identification of rhythmic cycles and the accurate distribution of relative accents.¹² Cantemir made extensive use of visual representations of cycles to convey information about the rhythmic patterns in his Treatise.

Pattern Identification in the History

Cyclical theories of social change were well known in the Ottoman Empire by Cantemir’s time.¹³ One of the most famous proponents of the cyclical theory of history was Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), an Arabian philosopher, who in his *Muqaddimah* (An Introduction to History) theorized that civilizations rise and fall, optimal points being followed by a period of decay. The cyclical development is inevitable and growth carries in itself ‘the germ of degeneration and decline’¹⁴ and therefore, decay is inevitable.

However, there seems to be no evidence that Cantemir was informed of Ibn Khaldun’s theory, although the cyclical theory had become conventional by the 18th century.¹⁵ Cantemir’s analysis of cycles immersed deeper than the superficial course of historical events. Cantemir identified cycles of deterioration in institutions, norms and practices which sustained a vicious circle. These were forms of breaches of oaths of allegiance, manifested in a variety of ways. What was common to these forms is that they all led to chains of events, in which the response to one consequence created new problems, intensifying and aggravating the original complication.

In particular, Cantemir located two areas of corruption that were structurally interrelated: the violation of customary treaties and gift cycles. The problem of oath breaking was also specifically addressed in a special

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 158.

¹¹ Baysal Ozan, *Phrase, Rhythm and Time in Beste-i Kadims: A Cyclical Approach*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, 2011, p. 58.

¹² Ibid., p. 91.

¹³ Michiel Leezenberg, ‘The Oriental Origins of Orientalism: The Case of Dimitrie Cantemir,’ in *The making of the humanities*, edited by Rens Bod, Jaap Maat and Thijs Weststeijn, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012, p. 254.

¹⁴ Barbara Stowasser, ‘Ibn Khaldun’s Philosophy of History: The Rise and Fall Of States and Civilizations.’ *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 39(1), 1984, p. 186.

¹⁵ Viorel Panaite, ‘Pacta Sunt Servanda and Tributary Status’, in *Ottoman Law of War and Peace*, 1997, p. 205.

chapter of the Sistema Muhammedanskoy Religii entitled 'On the Muhammedan method to conclude [and break] peace with Christians.'¹⁶ The violation of the oath, in whatever form it manifested itself, constituted the first phase of the vicious cycle.

In the History, there numerous references to treaty violations: Turks violated treaties when 'the circumstances and the insignificant reasons appeared.'¹⁷ Capitulations and pacts were broken under the Mufti's interpretive practice through a fetva:

We frequently read in History, the Turks upon a further surrender either kill'd or made Prisoners the Garrisons contrary to the Capitulations confirmed by oath, as happened to the Garrisons of Constantinople, Buda, Babylon.¹⁸

Oath breaking could be on an interpersonal as well as intersocietal level. Cantemir expressed his disappointment with the Porte when promises confirmed by Hattı-Şerif were broken shortly after his second nomination to the Moldavian throne. Despite previous promises, he was directed by letters from the Kiehyaya Osman Ağa to send the Pishkiesh usually given at a Prince's entry into his government...'with many other almost intolerable burdens.'¹⁹

But where is the cyclicity in all of this? To answer this question, we must turn to the structural similarity of unofficial gift cycles identified by Cantemir.²⁰ Two forms were specifically identified and referred to: *peşkeş* and *bahşiş*. The first reference to *peşkeş* appears in an annotation:

... Among other numberless privileges granted them according to the times, the chief was that wherein it was expressly said, that Moldavia voluntarily and without compulsion offered her obedience to the Turkish Empire, and therefore it is the Sultan's will that all her Churches, religious Rites, and Laws be untouched, and nothing more required of the Prince, but that he send every year by faithful Boyars to the resplendent Porte four thousand gold Crowns, forty bred Mares, twenty four Falcons, in the name of Pishkiesh, a present of gift.²¹

The first form, *peşkeş* was a gift of investiture, offered to the Sultan and his high ranking officials by the tributary states, Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania and exchanged for insignia and protection. This gift needs to be differentiated from *haraç*, which was the official tribute obligation of the Principalities.²²

¹⁶ *Op.cit.*, p. 210

¹⁷ Dimitrie Cantemir, *op.cit.*, p. 185, ann.27.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, page 451-452, XXXII.

¹⁹ Zeynep Sözen, 2019, 'The unofficial gift in Cantemir's history of the Ottoman Empire: forms and functions', *Cogito Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, 11(2), 39-51.

²⁰ Dimitrie Cantemir, *op.cit.*, p. 189.

²¹ Zeynep Sözen, 2019, *op.cit.*

²² Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household 1400-1800*, London: Bloomsbury, 2008, p. 86.

A seemingly opposite, but structurally similar gift was *bahşiş*, which can be described as an accession fee (called also ‘accession donation’ by Murphey²³) distributed by the Sultan to the Janissaries. Likewise, *bahşiş* needs to be differentiated from *ulufe*, which was the regular payment of the janissaries.

The gift forms shared several characteristics: first of all, both were supported and reinforced by expectations of the relevant parties and means of reinforcement. Both were auxiliaries to more formal modes (*haraç*/tribute and *ulufe*/payment). And as such both contained seeds of their own destruction and bore the potential to generate vicious circles.

Peşkeş, which was a gift associated with ‘usage’²⁴ increased moderately until the 18th century. But by the 18th century, the amount of *peşkeş* markedly outweighed the more formal tribute. There were several reasons behind this, including the competition for the thrones of the Principalities, ‘financial woes of the imperial treasury and allegedly rampant corruption of Ottoman officials’.²⁵ By the end of the 17th century, *peşkeş* had replaced *haraç* as the principal means of transmission of cash flow between the Porte and the Principalities²⁶, leading to a series of depositions, abdications and rebellions.

The second form, *bahşiş*, is mentioned by Cantemir in the second devoted to the reign of Selim II:

As soon as all things necessary for his father’s funeral were ready, he returns to the royal City, and after the ceremonies are over, is again confirm’d in the throne by all orders and decrees, and celebrates his father’s victories with a splendid triumph. Then he distributes to the Janisaries and Spahi the usual Bakhshish(4) or donative, but presents the Ulema and rest of the Ecclesiasticks, who officiated at his father’s funeral with silk robes and Money.²⁷

The annotation then describes what is meant by Bakhshish: it is alternatively defined as ‘Largesse’ and is distinguished from the normal pay.²⁸ It should not be ‘reckoned alms’ either.²⁹ Cantemir goes on to warn that if the *julus akchesi*, the accession fee of the new or the renewed Empire was refused or deferred, it would be required as debt. Cantemir’s choice of words is significant: the ‘hope of obtaining the Bakhshish is a perpetual cause of sedition’.³⁰ Once established, the process tends to generate a vicious circle in a

²³ Viorel Panaite, ‘Custom in the Sixteenth–Seventeenth Centuries Ottoman-Roumanian Relationship: Starting Points for a Historiographical Debate’, *Revue des Etudes Sud-est Europeennes*, 31, 1993, p. 174.

²⁴ Michal Wasiucioneck, *The Ottomans and Eastern Europe: Borders and Political Patronage in the Early Modern World*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2019.

²⁵ Idem, *Politics and Watermelons Cross-Border Political Networks in the Polish-Moldavian-Ottoman Context in the Seventeenth Century*, PhD Thesis, History and Civilization of the European University Institute, 2016, p. 155.

²⁶ Dimitrie Cantemir, *op.cit.*, Book III, p. 219.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, ann. 4.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Book IV, p.351, ann.4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

deterministic fashion. In this particular case, janissaries were bound to be allured by the expectation of this gift and this is precisely where the operation of the bakhshish cycle becomes deterministic, leading to ‘rebellions and depositions of the Sultan.’³¹ The conventional gift, perceived as a right, was defended possessively. Zürcher labeled the janissary mutinies ‘industrial actions’ or pay disputes as the janissaries perceived austerity measures as infringement of their rights.³²

The janissaries, increasing in numbers and losing their effectiveness in military actions, evolved into pressure groups, at the same time triggering financial crises.³³

The perception of infringement of rights or oath breaking constituted the second phase of the vicious cycles implied in the *History*. Whether the obligations associated with the unofficial gifts originate from valid and formal contracts is an interesting issue that merits discussion.

Breach of a contract means the violation of an agreement when one of the parties fails to fulfill its promises under the agreement. There are a number of elements that need to be taken into consideration here. First of all, was there a formal agreement or a contract? Second, if there was one was it modified? Finally, is the breaching party allowed to not abide by the agreement?

The question of custom as one of the sources of international relations is discussed in detail by Panaite (1993), with the aim of stirring a ‘historiographical debate’.³⁴ Panaite argues that norms adopted by the contemporary jurists for defining legal notions cannot be applied to 16th-18th century interstate relationships.³⁵ ‘and that from a juridical viewpoint, ‘custom is a usage perceived as a compulsory rule by its executors,’ as rules³⁶:

In fact, given the huge amount of documentary information and primarily the Ottoman sources of the sixteenth to eighteenth century, custom—and not the supposed long-term ‘covenants’—should be seen as the main legal source for the status of Wallachia and Moldavia.³⁷

³¹ Erik-Jan Zürcher, ‘Introduction, Understanding Changes in Military Recruitment and Employment Worldwide’, in *Fighting for a Living: A Comparative History of Military Labour*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013, p. 28.

³² Nilgün Serim, ‘The Causes of the Financial Crisis That Began in the 16th Century and Continued until the Tanzimat Era in the Ottoman Empire’, *Yönetim Bilimleri Dergisi*, Vol.10, No.20, 2012, p. 185.

³³ Viorel Panaite, *op.cit.*, 1993, p. 171.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

³⁶ Viorel Panaite, ‘The Legal and Political Status of Wallachia and Moldavia in Relation to the Ottoman Porte’, in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Edited by Suraiya Faroqhi, Halil İnalçık and Boğaç Ergene, Vol. 53, Leiden Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 32.

³⁷ Radu G., Păun, ‘Enemies Within: Networks of Influence and the Military Revolts, 2013, against the Ottoman Power (Moldavia and Wallachia, XVI–XVII Centuries)’, in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth*

Needless to say, it was the superior party, the Porte, that modified the rule several times, as the subordinate party (the Principality) typically did not have the power to negotiate or modify the terms of the contract. That said, the middle term consequences of the breach were at least five rebellions between the years 1566 and 4.

According to Uzunçarşılı³⁸, the parallel gift form, *bahşiş*, dates back to the foundation of the Empire, although Cantemir dates it to the accession of Selim II. Bayezid I had distributed gifts to the janissaries who had participated at Kosovo war. The customary gift, thus, was perceived as a debt by the subordinate party.

Paradoxically, the subordinate party, the janissaries modified the rule in this case. And just as the amount of *peşkeş* outweighed the amount of its formal counterpart, tribute, the amount of *bahşiş* was shaking the Ottoman treasury by the end of the 16th century.³⁹ In turn, the adulteration of Ottoman currency led to a series of new uprisings. Kafadar lists 11 janissary revolts between the year 1622 and 1826.⁴⁰

How did the subordinate party risk breaching the customary rule? The situation is ironical, because janissaries were not free men: ‘They were slaves, even if of a particular kind: they were slaves of the sultan (*kapı kulu, hunkar kulu*).’⁴¹

This is precisely how the cycle worked: the actions were strengthened by their consequences, creating a feedback loop which started the cycle all over again. Repeated depreciations of currency and rising market prices reduced the janissary salaries, instigating a series of rebellions.⁴² In parallel with their evolution into a pressure group, refusal to grant the traditional gift evolved into a risk for the Sultan.⁴³

Concluding Comments

The Treatise had a didactic objective, expressly stated by Cantemir as the explanation of the ‘order of things’ in Turkish music. He evoked the reader’s (and, of course, the students’) understanding by visual representations of rhythmic patterns and used visualization as an epistemic object.

Centuries, Edited by Suraiya Faroqhi, Halil İnalçık and Boğaç Ergene, Vol. 53, Leiden Boston: Brill, p. 211.

³⁸ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988, p. 337.

³⁹ Nilgün Serim, *op.cit.*

⁴⁰ Cemal Kafadar, ‘Janissaries And Other Riffraff of Ottoman İstanbul: Rebels Without A Cause?’ *Int. J. Turkish Studies*, Vol. 13, Nos. 1&2, 2007.

⁴¹ Gilles Veinstein, ‘On the Ottoman janissaries (fourteenth-nineteenth centuries)’, in *Fighting for a Living: A Comparative History of Military Labour*, ed. Zürcher, Erik-Jan, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 116.

⁴² Taner Güney and Muhammed Emin Onhan, ‘Abolition of Janissary Corps and Socioeconomic Reflections’, *Balkan and Near Eastern Journal of Social Sciences*, 06(02), 2020, p. 75.

⁴³ Gilles Veinstein, *op.cit.*, p. 120.

The objectives of writing the *History of the Growth and Decline of the Ottoman Empire* are not stated in the book. Whether the *History* is prescriptive or descriptive remains a matter of discussion. It certainly is not a simple record or continuous account of historical events in chronological order. There is widespread debate about the place of Cantemir's work in historiography, but this question is beyond the scope of the present paper.

It is important to stress, however, that visual reasoning has been used in the *History* as in the *Treatise* to detect the long term consequences of the cycles and the rhythmic patterns underlying the growth and decay of the Ottoman Empire.

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THE ARTISTIC-PLASTIC EXPRESSION - FIELD OF INTEREST OF THE CANTEMIRS

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Abstract: *Our paper aims to present, in general lines, the relationship of the Cantemirs with the visual arts, a relationship that has manifested itself in various forms. The first information regarding the filiation of this kin with the artistic-plastic expression is attested at Constantin Cantemir, lord of the Land of Moldavia. His son Dimitrie was not only an exceptional musician, but a gifted painter, who also had extensive knowledge in the field of architecture and sculpture. He got the most out of the mastery of technical and expressive means in his activities of practical creation. Dimitrie Cantemir's talent and artistic occupations were inherited by his descendants - Antioh, Maria and Ecaterina. The given paper comes to denote once again the intellectual depth of the Cantemirs and, at the same time, emphasizes the fact that the visual arts had been an organic part of the spiritual nourishment of this noble family for several generations, serving as a powerful means of aesthetic education and cultural formation in the spirit of the European Enlightenment.*

Keywords: *the Cantemirs, visual arts, Oriental art, picture, portrait.*

Along with other occupations, the Cantemirs, the emblematic family of the Romanian national culture, remain in the attention of researchers due to their cultivating and perpetuating of the artistic tradition. The liberal arts occupied a place of honor in this illustrious dynasty and the manifestation of interest in them can be traced back for several (at least three) generations. The special contribution of the Cantemir kin to the spread and promotion of cultural-artistic values, to their emulation on the national and international level stimulated the process of maturation and emancipation of artistic life not only internally, but also externally. The members of the Cantemir family and its descendants consumed, but, at the same time, they created beauty in different forms, highlighting, first of all, the predilection for music and fine arts.

According to the model often encountered at that time, the artistic education expressed, first of all, a relationship of filiation based on cultural knowledge and having as finality the aesthetic modeling and the discovery of the spiritual essence of the human personality. The fascination with the arts played a beneficial role on the creativity, visibility and image of the famous kin, among whose members there were first-class intellectuals, and, in time, outlined the profile of the noble family from the modern period onwards more clearly.

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Indeed, it can be stated that the cultural prestige of this family began at the end of the XVII century increasing exponentially in the following centuries.

The first eloquent data on the artistic inclinations of the kin in question can be attested since Constantin Cantemir (1627-1693), lord of Moldavia (1685-1693). He, “Constantin voivode”, was not a learned man but one of a modest general culture. However, he was a follower of knowledge and science, having, at the same time, all the consideration for the arts. Enrolled for sixteen years in the Polish army, he met the French engraver Langlois François (1589-1647), a native of Chartres, with whom he became friends. As a sign of appreciation, the latter engraves his portrait signing the monogram with the inscription “F.L.D. Chartres excudit”, and during the years 1643-1647, he hosted him in Paris.¹

Constantin Cantemir’s wife, Ana Bantâș, was a cultured woman. Her son Dimitrie remembers her with great piety in his work *The Life of Constantin Cantemir*, written in Latin with the title *Vita Constantini Cantemyrii cognomento Senis, Moldaviae principis* (1716-1718, posthumously).

Dimitrie’s elder brother, Antioh (1670-1724) – “honest, handsome, reasonable, fair judge”², twice lord of Moldavia (1696-1700; 1705-1707), makes several efforts, some of which are quite remarkable, to support written culture. Encouraging the work for publishing books, the volume “*Interpretation of the Liturgy*” came out of print in the printing house in Iași in 1697, and a year later, in 1698, the first work from his younger brother’s Dimitrie’s youth, *The Divan or the Quarrel of the Wise Man with the World or the Judgment Between the Soul and the Body* (in Romanian and Greek) was published also in the then capital of the country.

It should be mentioned that, in the second half of the XVII century, the general atmosphere in the Romanian Principalities was dominated by “a remarkable and complex cultural activity, due to the diversification of creative fields and the growing number of its beneficiaries”³, important acquisitions being made on this segment. The mentioned period is marked by the process of secularization of culture. Foreign influences (primarily Greek and Polish) are becoming more and more felt, which meant new connections with classical culture and Western European civilization. Antioh encourages and supports these tendencies, beneficial for the flow of culture into the country in the spiritual and European sense of the word, which meant a clear orientation towards the West for the Romanian civilization from the end of the XVII century to the beginning of the XVIII century.

¹ Cf. Thieme, Ulrich, Becker, Felix, Allgemeines Lexicon der bildenden Künstler Band XXII. Leipzig, 1928, pp. 348-349, apud S. V. Fomin, *The Cantemirs in Visual Materials*. Chisinau: Science, 1988, p. 31.

² I. Neculce, *Chronicle copied by Ioasaf Luca. Neatened edition, introductory study by Zamfira and Paul Mihail*. Chisinau: Science, 1993, pp. 109-110.

³ M. Bărbulecu, D. Deletant, K. Hitchins, Ș. Papacostea, P. Teodor, *History of Romania*. Bucharest: Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1998, p. 275.

Going into the details of his preoccupations with the visual arts, Dimitrie Cantemir's activity as a plastic artist should be mentioned. Along with his fundamental studies, exceptional musical inclinations and remarkable achievements in the fields of Euterpe, the Moldavian prince also carried out an important activity as a plastic artist, relevant both intellectually, on the knowledge, analysis and evaluation plan of the phenomenon and in practice. He started his plastic education in the family environment, later continued it in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. As in the case of musical training, an important role in his artistic training was played by the learned Cretan man of culture, the monk Jeremiah Kakavelas the Cretan, invited to the royal court in Wallachia, and who, according to the *Italian Encyclopedia of Sciences, Letters and Arts*, was also a talented painter⁴.

While attending the courses at the Academy of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Constantinople, simultaneously with other disciplines, D. Cantemir studied arts, architecture, sculpture and plastic arts with Turkish and Greek teachers, which is due to the relations that this institution had with the Italian school, in the first place with the prestigious Italian University of Padua.

Reading the Cantemirian works, we can extract some estimates of the scientist, a fact which places him in the category of historians of Oriental art. A testimony in this sense is presented by the scholar's statements in *the History of the Ottoman Empire*, in which he reveals that the roots of Turkish fine art originate in Persian culture (as, by the way, other arts as well). This confirms that the vein of Byzantine art, in its turn, is the successor of ancient Greek and Latin culture. As proof, Cantemir mentions the murals from the riverside palace, built by the Romans and abandoned by the Turks by virtue of the bans imposed by the holy book of Muslims - the Qur'an, which prohibits pictograms in the rooms of the mosques. As a testimony of the influences of European culture on the Ottoman one, seen through the prism of plastic art, the interior mural of the imperial palace in Istanbul (hunting images, fun scenes, feasts, etc.) executed in classical style at the order of the sultan, surnamed *Mest*, is presented. The comparative study of the arts from different cultural areas is undertaken in the work *The System or Formation of the Muhammadan Religion* (1722) in which the collation of Persian and Turkish arts is approached in the work mentioned above. Thus, "the art of painting - which is generally called *Naks*, and the painting of *Tasvir* icons - is forbidden to the Turks, as for the Persians, the old custom of painting icons and of any faces on the walls of houses for decoration could not be destroyed even by the power and strength of the Qur'an."⁵ The enlightened voievode notes that in the art of portraiture Museviri Basi, the great painter of the palace, excelled.

⁴ *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti. Pubblicata sotto l'alto patronato di S.M. il Re d'Italia*, (MCMXXX-IX), Vol. VIII. Roma: Istituto Giovanni Treccani, pp. 777-778.

⁵ D. Cantemir, *The System or the Formation of Muhammadan Religion*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1977, p. 465.

His main task was to paint in colors the portrait of the sultan, who recently ascended the throne⁶. Although quite reserved about the artistic value of Ottoman portraiture of his time, D. Cantemir praised Turkish floral art and its servants - *nakkas*, the art of artistic writing applied inside the walls of mosques; treated on naval and civil architecture.

The erudite scholar tells us about his practical occupations with the plastic image in his own work *Sacrosanctae indepingibilis imago*, known as *Metaphysics*. The thematic range of subjects transposed in the Cantemirean paintings was varied, consisting of the plastic rendering of portraits of various deities, princes, sultans, emperors, the image of parts of the Earth, military fortifications, zoomorphic figures; other works reproduce murals, hieroglyphic figures, totems, mountain, field, sea, island landscapes, etc.⁷ D. Cantemir's creation did not lack graphic representations with a symbolic charge, other works of artistic significance, as well as a series of miniatures and vignettes performed by his imagination and creative fantasy in the style of book graphics or cartographic purposes in *The Divan or the Quarrel of the Wise Man with the World or the Judgment Between the Soul and the Body* (1698, ante mortem), *The Universal Physics of John the Baptist Van Helmont* (1701, posthumous), *Small Compendium on the Whole Teaching of Logic* (1701 ?, posthumous), *Hieroglyphic History* (1705, posthumous), *The Rise and Fall of the Empire Ottoman* (1714-1716, posthumous), *Description of the ancient and present state of Moldavia* (1715-1716, posthumous), *The System or the Formation of the Muhammedan religion* (1722, ante mortem).

In *The Divan*, there are two images painted by the hand of D. Cantemir - *the coat of arms of Moldavia* and the plastic expression of the *World and the Wise*.

Framed in a rectangular space, the first of these includes two-dimensional black-and-white images, which depict various miniature motifs: elliptical figures stretched horizontally on the top and bottom of the frame, solar circle with a human face inside surrounded by rays (bottom left), the moon closed in a circle (bottom right) looking at the sun. According to some estimates, "the ensemble of this first Cantemirian drawing is its symbolic touch."⁸ The cosmogenic meaning of the presence in the *Coat of Arms* of the two stars can be explained by the fact that both are ancestral symbols of the Romanians, they represent the heraldic mark of our people, maintaining their sacred character in the era of Christianity as well. The composition inside the coat of arms includes the bull's head, surrounded by nine letters of the Cyrillic alphabet, the royal crown above it finished with the Orthodox cross, stylized flowers on the side, two crossed swords, four drawings arranged symmetrically on both sides of the bull's head, etc.

⁶ Idem, p. 466.

⁷ D. Cantemir, *Metaphysics*. Translation by N. Locusteanu, with a preface by E. Grigoraș. Bucharest: Ancora Publishing House, 1928, pp. 46-47.

⁸ E. Țarălungă, *Dimitrie Cantemir. Documentary Contributions to a Portrait*. Bucharest: Minerva Publishing House, 1989, p. 284.

The representation of the *World* and *the Wise* supports the affirmation of the optimistic conception about man in the Christian moral spirit (ethics), which, in a way, artistically reflects the expression of affirmation tendencies of rationalism and humanism in the Romanian culture of the XVII century. The text of religious content, written in a double frame in two columns and placed on the outer perimeter of the images, urges moderation: without giving up asceticism and the gifts of life, man, however, must follow the path of wisdom, so as to be in consensus with both the world and God. The two human figures stand separately under two vaulted arches of eight concentric semicircles, each supported by three Corinthian-based columns. The painted image is accompanied by arabesques in its upper part. By resolving the clerical-secular dispute that he renders to the old medieval theme, Cantemir iconographically reveals the tendency to reconcile the religious tradition with his humanist and rationalist aspirations. The difference between the appearances of the two characters is visible: the unkempt beard, the wrinkled face, the messy attire of the *World* (the man on the left) and the elegance of the clothes, the proper youthful hairstyle, the mannered mimic-gestural language of the *Soul*. In the painted image, the Byzantine imprint can be seen in the representation of the figures, which bears resemblances to the Orthodox icon. The nonverbal communication is suggestive (the gaze and manual expression) between the *World* and the *Soul* on the background of the two circles associated with the earthly world and the heavenly one, respectively, with a nuance of “combinatorial, symbolizing intention, which is original. There is a power to fuse these influences into a distinct universe and to express it with plastic means that are also synthetic.”⁹

The drawing made by Cantemir on the first page of the book *The System or the Formation of the Muhammedan religion* is a creation, which expresses an abstract idea transposed into a tree with a stem woven from snakes. The lower part of the trunk rests on the abdomen of a man lying on the ground face up, representing Osman I, the founder of the Ottoman Empire. The branches of the tree are made of serpentine figures too, whose heads stand out from the multitude of leaves with lacy edges. The composition is accompanied by the figures of three women with crowns on their heads placed under the tree and representing Europe, Asia and Africa. The female characters wear European clothes, specific to the first decades of the XVIII century. The allegorical meaning, enshrined in the female characters, signifies the three continents threatened by the danger of imperial expansion, similar to the snakes, with their dreaded reputation, which can move quickly in all directions. The iconography of human figures denotes the author’s thorough knowledge of human anatomy. In creating the images, Cantemir uses the painting technique with a focus on the meticulous rendering of details executed with the patient skill of an experienced plastic artist.

⁹ Idem, p. 287.

One of the notorious achievements of D. Cantemir is the engraving of his residence palace in the capital of the Crescent Country, where he lived for a while. The artist deliberately captures the whole building focusing on its sumptuousness with the use of the principle of closed-open photographic positive. The palace and ancillary constructions are executed in a continuous contour, contrasting with the light-colored background. The image, captured by the author's pen, denotes his figurative memory and the possession of an instrument with enormous possibilities; it goes from thin, equal, neutral lines, to contour lines, hatching, etc., which confirms Cantemir's authentic engraving qualities.

Along with the concerns mentioned above, "Cantemir painted flowers in the Persian style, a type of border for some drawings, others benefiting from European-style borders. The characteristics of his drawing, as a whole, are European rather than Oriental. In both cases, this fact can be explained by the existence of Eastern (in the first part of his life) and then Western (in the last part) models."¹⁰ It is also known that, apart from the ones mentioned, D. Cantemir practiced watercolor and, as E. Țarălungă observes, he was also concerned about the problem of dyes. Referring to Ivan Ilinsky's diary - D. Cantemir's personal secretary during his stay in Russia - the researcher recalls that in Dimitrovka, "the prince had discovered and wanted to widely exploit a natural stone dye for black color (probably graphite)", and "he used gold and copper dust (golden and red) for the drawings of the *Hieroglyphic History* (...)." ¹¹

At the same time, D. Cantemir's artistic training allows him, according to his own confessions, to have exegetical discussions with art critics in the capital of the Gate. According to some historical-documentary sources, during his last two stays in Constantinople, the scientist, and later lord of Moldavia, implemented his inclinations and knowledge as an architect, being the author of the projects of both his palaces of residence in the capital of the Gate.¹²

Only some succinct information about D. Cantemir's wife Cassandra (1682? -1713), has survived to the present day. From the few preserved data (written and painted), it can be concluded that, in addition to the attractive appearance that characterized her, she was a princess with remarkable intellect, who preferred reading¹³. Her special aesthetic taste in clothing was added to all these. She dressed with much fineness in Moldovan and Greek

¹⁰ Idem, pp. 268-269.

¹¹ Idem, p. 268.

¹² Cf. E. Popescu-Judet, *The Book of Music Science*. Bucharest: Musical Publishing House, 1973, pp. 21-23.

¹³ *Dimitrie Cantemir, the Former Prince of Moldavia, Historical, Geographic and Political Description of Moldavia with the Life of the Writer. Translated from German by Vasily Levshin*, Moscow, University Printing House of N. Novikov, 1789, pp. XVIII-XIX, XXIX.

national clothes. She also wore various expensive accessories (beads, bracelets, medallions).

Educated in a special environment, D. Cantemir continues the tradition of the kin, because artistic education and training were a spiritual necessity in his family, as well. His children had a select, complete and complex education, being advantaged by the family educogenic environment conducive to artistic training and cultivation. The hereditary factor certainly had a decisive role at the onset, development and manifestation of artistic inclinations. Starting from the model of Constantin Cantemir, who hires the famous Cretan scholar Jeremiah Kakavelas the Cretan as a teacher of his sons, his successor does the same. The Enlightenment spirit of D. Cantemir was manifested by bringing Anastasie Condoidi (? - 1737), a man educated in Italy, who instructs his children in the mastering of Greek, Latin and Italian, as well as in the study of history. Another teacher of the family, the German tutor Johann Gotthilf Vockerodt (1693-1737) from Halle was a lawyer and pedagogue. Both dealt with the education of the Cantemirs, including after 1711 during their stay in Russia. The spiritual mentoring with the family members is continued by Ivan Ivanovich Ilinski (? - 1737), who taught Russian, and Friedrich Christoph Mayer (1697-1729), who taught mathematics.

Maria (1700-1757), the eldest daughter of D. Cantemir, was very passionate about books, which is why she was considered one of the most cultured women in the time of the reformist tsar Peter I. In addition, she manifested a special interest in fine arts, architecture, jewelry, reading in the original the treatises of the Italian Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), the theorist of Renaissance art, as well as the memoirs of the writer and sculptor Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571), also recognized for the mastery of carving jewelry and goldsmithing. Maria Cantemir even practiced painting, executing the portrait of her brother Antioh quite successfully in 1733. She showed special interest in collecting paintings, posing herself in order to have her portrait made, a fact recorded in a letter to the youngest member of the family, whom she announced on the following: "I will send you (...) my portrait, which, I have the impression, is quite well done and resembles me, and even if it is not done with too much skill, it is at least commensurate with the painter's fame (it is about the painter Ivan Nikitich Nikitin (1680-1742), the founder of the Russian portrait school of the XVIII century)."¹⁴ Corresponding intensively with Antioh during his stay in Paris as a Russian diplomatic representative, Maria confirmed to him the receipt of the portrait of her father and six other portraits of the peasant Anna Ioanovna in an epistolary message from 1738.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Princes Antioh and Maria Cantemir in Documents of the Period. Edited, Neatened, Prefaced and Annotated by Leonte Ivanov. Translations from Russian and Italian by Marina Vraciu, Leonte Ivanov, respectively Dragoş Cojocar. Afterword by Marina Vraciu, (2011). Iasi, „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University Publishing House, pp. 386-387.*

¹⁵ *Idem, p. 411.*

In turn, Antioh Cantemir (1708-1744), along with other artistic occupations, also had the gift of transfiguration into plastic images, which was confirmed by his biographer, the abbot Bernoulli, as the canvases made by the young prince “were appreciated by connoisseurs of painting.”¹⁶ Moreover, during the exercise of the Russian diplomatic mission in London and Paris as a plenipotentiary envoy, he is supported in his preoccupations by true masters of the brush. Giacomo (Jacopo) Amiconi (1675-1752), the painter-scenographer of the London theatre, took seriously “the development of Prince Cantemir’s talent as a cartoonist, as well as the collection of paintings for Princess Maria. Antioh sent his sister 13 Italian painting and canvas studies.”¹⁷ From the correspondence of the two brothers (letter of July 29, 1736), can be extracted another, quite relevant information on the pictorial occupations of the ambassador of the Russian Crown to England, in which Mary expresses her admiration for her younger brother, mentioning, between others, “it turns out from the small portrait (Prince Antioh was at that time seriously engaged in painting. With the help of the Italian artist Jacopo Amogoni (1682-1752), he made a miniature self-portrait in 1736, which he sent to Princess Maria - *footnote*) which I received, together with your dear letter of 25 last month, that you do not spend a moment in vain, except being forced to dedicate yourself to the learning of painting to perfection, an art that only by the desire to know it, and not for gain, is among the virtues or sciences.”¹⁸ From the regular exchange of postal messages between Maria and Antioh, we can realize the skills of the latter in the art and technique of graphics. Here is the edifying content of a letter: “Now it is too late, it is time to send this letter, which I conclude, thanking you again (...) for your 20 engraved portraits (...).”¹⁹ These are just some of the period documents that highlight the young Cantemir’s talent for the practical transfiguration of reality into visual images.

Smaragda-Ecaterina (1720-1761), daughter of D. Cantemir from his second marriage, was a convinced admirer of the fine arts, preferring, in particular, the collection of paintings. Being a woman with exceptional physical qualities, her portrait was painted or reproduced by several painters: Louis-Michel van Loo (1707-1771), Robert Gaillard (1722-1785), Jacques-Firmin Beauvarlet (1731-1797), James Macpherson (1736-1796), Jean-Charles Roettiers (? - 1770), Carlo Gregori (Gregorio, 1719-1759) and others. It is also known of the friendship that Smaragda-Ecaterina had established with the

¹⁶ Satyres de M-r le prince Cantémir. Avec l’histoire de sa vie. Traduites en Français. A Londres, Chez Jean Nourse, 1749, p. 65, apud Fomin, S. V., cited works, p. 63.

¹⁷ C. Cârstea, *Antioh Cantemir*, Craiova: Romanian writing, 1984, p. 28.

¹⁸ *Princes Antioh and Maria Cantemir in Documents of the Period. Edited, Neatened, Prefaced and Annotated by Leonte Ivanov. Translations from Russian and Italian by Marina Vraciu, Leonte Ivanov, respectively Dragoş Cojocar. Afterword by Marina Vraciu*, (2011). Iasi, „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University Publishing House, p. 388.

¹⁹ Idem, pp. 413-414.

French tragedian Clairon (pseud.; real name - Claire-Josèphe-Hippolyte L ris de la Tude; 1723-1803) after her arrival in Paris in 1757. In the French capital, Smaragda-Ecaterina inaugurates "a fashion salon, which she maintained until the end of her short life and which enjoyed great popularity."²⁰ The affiliation with the visual arts, in the case of other Cantemirian descendants, can be traced back for decades.

The conclusions that can be formulated at the end of this paper are summarized in some determinative ideas with a generalizing character for the approached subject. The brief historical-cultural incursion that we undertook denotes the cultivated spirit and the multiple, constant and consistent artistic preoccupations of the Cantemir family, and the suite of activities and data presented proves continuity and fidelity for culture and aesthetics.

What individualizes the image of this kin and enhances its value share in the annals of history refers not only to the extent of their dignity, but also to the fact that their representatives have established themselves as elite intellectuals of several cultures: Romanian, Russian and Oriental. From an imagological point of view, nothing defines the spiritual profile of the Cantemirs better and more faithfully than their involvement at the highest level of artistic culture in a remarkable continuity.

The evaluation of the Cantemir family's affiliation with the plastic arts through the grid of accomplishments places Dimitrie in the forefront, of course, although the latter concern remained secondary to that of a musician, which was a much broader and complex one. However, his interest in the visual arts and his achievements on this level unequivocally places him in the category of the promoter of aesthetic beauty-further proof of the dimension of the spirit and talent of the great forerunner.

The revelation that the artistic tradition was passed down from father to son, from one generation to another as a general rule imposed by the canons of the time, but also as a way in which the descendants of the family asserted themselves in the culture of the time, does not lack importance. Being of a special density and diversity, the spiritual-artistic approaches undertaken by the Cantemirs were focused on aesthetic knowledge and practices, offering an edifying example, which is part of the current of restitution and transmission to future generations of the national cultural heritage.

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DIMITRIE CANTEMIR ON THE PROJECT OF UNIVERSAL PEACE

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Ionuț Tatu**

*"God and nature do nothing in vain,
that is, without order"¹*

Abstract: *The 17th and 18th centuries were considered as being really "centuries of project makers." In the current text, we propose to analyze the Cantemir's project drawn up by the Moldavian Prince at Peter the Great's suggestion. Cantemir's project is an Eastern correlation of the great Western projects. By means of his project exposed in the famous work "Monarchiarum Psihica Examinatio" he extracts the prediction from a legitimacy and a quadrilinear theory of the empire. In Cantemir's vision order cannot be imposed, it stems from the law of the four great imperial stages. In his century, Cantemir prophesied the entry into the fourth "imperial stage." We appreciate that the essence of his project resides in the idea of the concept of order which the Romanian thinker claims, with scientific arguments, that it spreads from East to West and encompasses the whole world. Cantemir records, in his theory, the four great imperial stages which he calls "monarchies" (monarchatus) and which have historically asserted themselves as huge formations, with a sense of empire. Was the idea of a world empire the condition for achieving universal peace?! Time has shown that it was a utopian project, impossible to achieve in such a diverse world dominated by irreconcilable contradictions.*

Keywords: *universal peace, monarchy, order, legality, empire*

Lord of Moldavia between 1710-1711, *Dimitrie Cantemir* was a European personality of encyclopedic formation. Continuing the *humanism of the Romanian chroniclers*, *Dimitrie Cantemir* is preparing the appearance of the Enlightenment in the Romanian Principalities, contributing at the same time to the European and universal culture, through his exceptional work. Ethnographer, geographer, philosopher, historian and linguist, musicologist and politician, the Romanian writer, at Leibniz's proposal, was elected a member of

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** **Translator.**

¹ *Dimitrie Cantemir, in I. Șulea-Firu, A novel writing by D. Cantemir: Monarchiarum Physica Examination, in Studies and Research of Bibliology, V, 1962, p. 273.*

the Berlin Academy in 1714 for his scientific and literary merits. In the work of Dimitrie Cantemir, considered a synthesis between the West and the East, the most important issues raised by the social-historical development of Moldova from the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century were reflected. The history of the Ottoman Empire, written in Latin, between 1714 and 1716, is still a reference work today, through documentation, scholarship and the fact that it analyzed the causes that will lead to the collapse of the Empire, predicting its fall and the possibility of the oppressed to regain their freedom. Connoisseur of 12 foreign languages, including Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Italian, French, the Romanian scholar affirms and argues with a clear thought the Latin origin and the nobility of the Romanian people long before the Transylvanian School, looking beyond its qualities or weaknesses. The cultural vocation of the bridge between East and West will be concisely noted by Voltaire: *"Moldova was then ruled by Prince Cantemir who brought together the talents of the ancient Greeks, the science of letters and weapons"* (*Histoire de Charles XII*). *In essence, the life and work (historical, philosophical, literary, ethnographic, anthropological, musical, political) of the great Romanian thinker are united in an uninterrupted search for truth and ways of coexistence and collaboration, in all forms, taking the given world (of his time) as a case to project the features of a human world and of a truly cultural behavior.*

Aspects of the philosophy of history in Cantemir's thought

The topic chosen for this paper is not accidental. I opted to research an aspect of Cantemir's work that is somehow consonant with the context of this conference and why not, with the historical time in which Cantemir lived. Thus, the analysis we are going to present is part of the philosophy of history registry, trying to highlight the way in which his philosophical, scientific and theological thinking of Dimitrie Cantemir is reflected in the socio-political reality of his time. All the argumentation is based on the textual and contextual analysis of his first essay written in 1714: *"Monarchiarum physica examination"*, written by Dimitrie Cantemir at the court of Tsar Peter I of Russia, of whom he was an intimate adviser. Variants of the title which relates closer to the real intention of the essay are *"The Natural Interpretation of Monarchies"* or *"The Natural Research of Monarchies"*. It is a short essay with a political meaning, which also outlines of a philosophy of history. Here he tries to frame in a philosophical vision the idea - widespread in the epoch - of "the rise and fall of states, of empires". For all its modest proportions and the synthetic character conferred by the interweaving of medieval and modern ideas, *"Monarchiarum physica examination"* appears as an attempt to formulate a philosophy of history distinct from the traditional providential. At the same time, Cantemir resumes here the idea of Stolnic Cantacuzino about the three stages that states go through: "ascent", "state", and "descent", trying to substantiate it, like him, resorting to Aristotelian philosophy. The monarchies in question are the four universal monarchies, Eastern, Southern,

Western and Northern, which according to the prophecy of the biblical Daniel were to rule the world in turn. (The scheme of the four universal monarchies is based on the interpretation given by Jerome, in the fourth century, to the prophecy of the biblical Daniel). Therefore, the title actually means *The interpretation according to the physical philosophy of Daniel's prophecy concerning the four monarchies*. Cantemir changes the thought paradigm by bringing a rationalist interpretation consonant with physical philosophy. From this perspective, Cantemir applies to the philosophy of history the notions and theses of his natural (physical) philosophy, which we know (the order of nature, the law of cyclic motion), as well as the Aristotelian doctrine of generation and corruption. *The idea of the natural order appears* in this essay, where he will *talk about the uninterrupted natural order* (ininterruptus naturalis ordo)², which "can never be violated by nature itself (because nature can not change its rules)"³. This idea appears in fact in "Sacrosanctae"⁴ and in "Hieroglyphic History"⁵. The concept of the natural order outlines a deterministic conception that Cantemir also applies to history. Thus, all individual things are subject to the law of birth and perdition, "from the decomposition of one follows the birth of another."⁶ Among these particular things are the monarchies, which will go through, according to the "uninterrupted natural order, the cycle of birth, growth, decay, aging and destruction". In Cantemir's view, the center of power of the monarchies moves around the globe according to a circle that begins in the east: the first monarchy was the eastern one (Assyro-Babylonians, Persians), then the southern one (Egypt, the Macedonian Empire), western (Rome, the oily Roman Empire), and now to rule: the northern monarchy (Russia). **The concept of order of nature is not the one of modern science**, rather it has an Aristotelian-scholastic origin, having a finalist approach, illustrated by the notion of the "monster", as something that opposes the laws of nature which "does not grow according to nature's plan and core"⁷. One such unnatural monster is the Ottoman Empire and that is why it must perish. In our opinion, Cantemir proves to be a realist when opting for the law of sequences (geographical or spatial stages of the empire) and for the translation of the imperial order from east to west and from south to north which would have pacified the monarchies. Also, Cantemir's concept of the future of the Aquilonian empire was not refuted. On the other hand, Cantemir, as we have seen, admits the idea of those bellum justum whose

² Ibidem.

³ Ibidem p. 275

⁴ D. Cantemir, *Sacrosanctae, mss.lat.76 of the Romanian Academy Library, f.297, see also Locusteanu's translation, p. 143.*

⁵ Idem, *Hieroglyphic History*, Stela Toma–N. Stoicescu edition, 1973, p. 95.

⁶ Idem, *Monarchiarum Physica Examination, apud. The History of Romanian Philosophy, 3rd edition*, Bucharest, The Academy Publishing House, 1985, pp. 198-199.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 275.

purpose would have been to eliminate monstrous empires. From this perspective, the work could be framed in the literature of political prophecies, which was taking place at the time in Southeast Europe and Russia and is intended to demonstrate the imminence of the demise of the Ottoman Empire and urge Tsar Peter I to resume the anti-Ottoman struggle.

Analyzing the two sources of the Cantemirian theory: The book of Daniel and Aristotle, M. Joita⁸ notices that D. Cantemir took over from Daniel, the idea of transferring the imperial form from one cardinal point to another. At Daniil, it occurs from east to north, crossing south and west. At Cantemir it is about a solar evolutionism, from east to north, through forms that would tend to perfection. The empire thus becomes a progressive and perfectible structure. Here is the quote from Cantemir, “The Holy Scriptures of God (... from the time of Daniel the prophet, until the desolation of Jerusalem and the abolition of the people of Israel), lists four monarchies, the strongest and most perfect of all. Then, setting them as the last Aquillon monarchy, predicting that it will be victorious over the northern world. It is obvious that Cantemir paid dearly and premonitorily with the change from a holy war with the southern empire to the stage of sweet slavery because, unwillingly, his life ended in the captivity of the Aquillon monarchy, which was just beginning its cycle. (Prophet in captivity like Daniel!). Through this study Dimitrie Cantemir will have met Leibniz (himself at the court of Peter I to advise him on civil reforms and to propose the project of a Christian federation to reconcile the rivalry between East and West), not only as counselor of the tsar, but also in the methods of natural theology (see Theodicy), which he uses in this speech. A natural theology, however, within the limits of the Orthodox Christian faith, Cantemir being a brilliant exponent of the traditions of Orthodox civilization. In their imperial visions the two thinkers differ while Leibniz sees in Louis XIV the savior of Europe from the Ottoman danger (proposing to him a military campaign in Egypt), Dimitrie Cantemir, forced or not by circumstances, considers the tsar Peter I as the one called to defend Christendom.

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⁸ M. Joița, *Doctoral Thesis*, apud. Ilie Bădescu, Ioan Mihăilescu, in *Geopolitics, Integration, Globalization*, Bucharest, Mica Valahie Publishing House, 2011, pp. 68-71.

⁹ Ibidem.

predicting that it will be victorious over the northern world.”¹⁰ It is obvious that Cantemir paid dearly and premonitorily with the change from a holy war with the southern empire to the stage of sweet slavery because, unwillingly, his life ended in the captivity of the Aquillon monarchy, which was just beginning its cycle. (Prophet in captivity like Daniel!). Through this study Dimitrie Cantemir will have met Leibniz (himself at the court of Peter I to advise him on civil reforms and to propose the project of a Christian federation to reconcile the rivalry between East and West), not only as counselor of the tsar, but also in the methods of natural theology (see Theodicy), which he uses in this speech. A natural theology, however, within the limits of the Orthodox Christian faith, Cantemir being a brilliant exponent of the traditions of Orthodox civilization. In their imperial visions the two thinkers differ while Leibniz sees in Louis XIV the savior of Europe from the Ottoman danger (proposing to him a military campaign in Egypt), Dimitrie Cantemir, forced or not by circumstances, considers the tsar Peter I as the one called to defend Christendom.

The author states that unlike "the boundless monarchy of God, any government must have a boundary (...) to appear and disappear, to change and to reincarnate (...)". Thus, "monarchies go through a circle of natural and invariable development, having inside them the necessary order of succession of past, present and future because „*God and nature do not or do not know anything accidental, that is disordered*". However, the idea of a necessary natural evolution, the formulation of "increase and decrease as a universal historical law" marks a rationalist tendency. *The action of providence overlaps here with the rational necessity of nature.* "God and nature do nothing in vain, that is, without order".

The originality of the Cantemir project for world political praxis lies in understanding the concept of universal order that gives meaning to this world, the Romanian thinker being a follower of natural, historical and divine determinism. In fact, all eighteenth-century projects were new formulas for the reorganization of Europe and, intentionally, aimed at harmony, conciliation, balance, unity and peace in Europe and in the world.

The relationship between the idea of order and the project of universal peace

"God and nature do nothing in vain, that is, without order"

For Cantemir, the value of logic and reason is based on the rational order of nature. It is the natural order that is, in science, the object of rational knowledge "however, there may be no one (he writes in the *Monarchiarum physica examinatio*) to doubt that, from the beginning, in a justly known way, what will follow can be deduced and that a well-cultivated and penetrating

¹⁰ Ibidem.

intellect can see and discern for itself what accomplishes the uninterrupted order of nature according to the proper law of nature"¹¹. In *Monarchiarum* there is no longer a distinction between intellect, as a faculty of direct intuition and discursive reason, the function of the intellect being even rational deduction. The human mind, inspired by the light of divine wisdom, can understand the laws of nature, some of which are the basis of the study written by the ruling intellectual. The author states that unlike "the boundless monarchy of God," any government must have a boundary (...) to appear and disappear, to change and to reincarnate (...). Thus, "monarchies go through a circle of natural and invariable development, having inside them the necessary order of succession of past, present and future *because "God and nature do not or do not know anything accidental, that is disordered"*. However, the idea of a necessary natural evolution, the formulation of "increase and decrease as a universal historical law" marks a rationalist tendency. *The action of providence overlaps here with the rational necessity of nature*. "God and nature do nothing in vain, that is, without order"¹². Providence appears as distant, mediated by natural evolution. The evolution of monarchies corresponds to the rotational movement of the Earth, in other words, "the first monarchy moves circularly from the East in the direction of other parts of the world", which is a happy meeting between "scientific knowledge (Aristotelian type at that time) and revelation, for "this is admitted by nature itself, since the prime mover himself moves by the order of the Creator from east to west." However, the equally divine, natural and rational succession of the monarchies was disturbed by "something foreign, which" prevents the normal development, namely, the cruel monarchy of the Ottomans. And for the action of another law of nature to be accelerated, "which states that what is natural remains as it was born", meaning that "something which was conceived inconsistently with nature does not survive for long", leads naturally follows the implicit exhortation addressed to Peter the Great (named according to the customs, being one whom no one surpasses him in humanity and piety) to crush the Ottoman power, to impose the supremacy of the Northern Monarchy, the legitimate heir of the other three, to flourish in the times "when Mater Studiorum will come and greater deeds will shine than in previous *Monarchies*"¹³.

Although the phrase universal peace does not exist in the Cantemirian work, its meaning is found, in an implicit way in the Cantemirian text, by the fact that the Moldavian scholar's project has a spiritual and cultural

¹¹ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Monarchiarum Physica Examination*, op.cit., p. 273.

¹² Ibidem, p. 271, The phrase "God and nature do nothing in vain" (*Deus et natura nihil prorsus faciunt frustra*) is borrowed from Aristotle's „*About the Sky*“, but the end "that is, without order" (id est sine ordine), belongs to Cantemir.

¹³ *Encyclopedia of the fundamental works of modern political philosophy*, vol. coordinated by Ion Goian, Bucharest, The Social Theory Institute Publishing House, 2001, p. 192.

connotations, first of all, that emerge from the noological evolution of peoples. Thus, universal peace is founded on the concept of universal order, of spiritual order. Cantemir proved confident in the perfection of the human race, as Kant later did in the Little Treaty of International Law "Towards Eternal Peace."¹⁴

Instead of conclusions

In Cantemir's vision order cannot be imposed, it follows from the law of the four great imperial stages. In his century, Cantemir prophesied the entry into the fourth "imperial stage." We appreciate that the essence of his project lies in the idea of the concept of order that the Romanian thinker claims, with scientific arguments, that it spreads from east to west and trains the world as a whole. The concept of order of nature is not here that of modern science, rather it is of Aristotelian-scholastic origin, having a finalist collation, illustrated by the notion of "monster, as something that opposes the laws of nature" does not grow according to nature's plan and core"¹⁵. One such unnatural monster is the Ottoman Empire and that is why it must perish. Providentialist, Dimitrie Cantemir considers not only the historical mission of Peter the Great to fight against Muslims for the liberation of the subjugated Christian peoples from the Turks, but he provides sustained arguments with biblical references to Russian messianism: about the established Northern Monarchy, the culmination of the earth's circle, to the North, the (...) polar and Antarctic point, the divine psalmist prophesies that "her happy reign will last for many centuries." The fact that this writing¹⁶ is not a pure theoretical speculation or a cultural farce of conjuncture, rather represents a belief of its author, strengthened by the final words of the text. "But I accept what St. Gregory the Theologian says, that he who judges well, foretells well, "serving the expanded policy of modern Russia, convinced of its purpose to govern the world, until the moment when, "with pity and peace will shake hands. Peace and justice will be embraced." Through this study Dimitrie Cantemir will have meet Leibniz (himself at the court of Peter I to advise him on civil reforms and to propose the project of a Christian federation to reconcile the rivalry between East and West), not only as counselor of the tsar, but also in the methods of natural theology (see Theodicy¹⁷), which he uses in this speech. A natural theology, however, within the limits of the Orthodox Christian faith, Cantemir being a brilliant exponent

¹⁴G. Pohoată, *Imm. Kant or on "The International Peace Project", Cogito. Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, vol. II, no. 2/June, 2010, "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Pro Universitaria, Bucharest, 2010, p. 90-98.

¹⁵ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Study on the Nature of Monarchies*, in *Studies. History and Philosophy Journal* (Year IV, January-March 1951).

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 285.

¹⁷ G.W. Leibniz, *Theodicy, Theodicy's Essays on God's Goodness, Human Freedom, and the Origin of Evil* (translated into Romanian by Diana Morărașu, Ingrid Ilinca), Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 1997.

of the traditions of Orthodox civilization. In their imperial visions the two thinkers differ while Leibniz¹⁸ sees in Louis XIV the savior of Europe from the Ottoman danger (proposing to him a military campaign in Egypt), Dimitrie Cantemir, forced or not by circumstances, considers the tsar Peter I as the one called to defend Christendom. Ilie Bădescu, in a February 2018 article, entitled Geopolitics of the world empire in Cantemir's vision from Estica News¹⁹, claims that, only today, we have the framework of the predictive interpretation of the fourth empire, one above the others, which globalizes the imperial formula. Just now the idea of "*imperium mundi*", a world government and globalism really emerges. We do not share the idea of politicizing the Cantemirian text, because one cannot even intuit, in Cantemir's work, the idea of a world government that would dominate the world, because it would nullify the noological evolution of peoples. On the other hand, the freedom to behave as if order did not exist is not given to anyone.²⁰ It is not the problem of world domination that has troubled Cantemir, but the way in which the peoples of the world participate in the universal order, understanding their place and role in universal history, the meaning of their existence in the given historical time. The project of universal peace in Cantemirian thought is the prerogative of understanding the symbiosis between the natural and the universal order, between natural determinism, historical determinism and divine determinism; in other words, the Cantemirian approach combines science, philosophy, theology from the perspective of a conception based on reason and faith. The depth and complexity of the Cantemirian approach lead us to appreciate that Dimitrie Cantemir offers us not only a sketch of a philosophy of history in the **Monarchiarum**, but an attempt at metaphysics of history, admirably prefaced by his contribution in Sacrosanctae and Hieroglyphic History, anticipating the work that consecrated him as a historian, "*Historia incrementorum atque decrementorum Aulae Othomanicae*".²¹

Like Leibniz²², what Dimitrie Cantemir intended for the Europe of his time — the idea of a spiritual-cultural unity — remains at all times in the historical horizons of the world a valid project, however, to be pursued with the chance (not just as hope!) To be realized!

In addition to other great personalities (political, scientific, etc.) Cantemir's efforts shows the significance of the duty of a scientist and a man

¹⁸G. Pohoată, *G.W. Leibniz from Politics to Theodicy*, the Romanian Academy Philosophy Journal, no. 3-4, 2011, pp. 359-371.

¹⁹ Ilie Bădescu, *Geopolitics of the world empire in Cantemir's vision*, Estica News, February 2018.

²⁰ Andrei Pleșu, *Minima Moralia*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2002, p. 47.

²¹ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Works, Historia incrementorum atque decrementorum Aulae Othomanica*, translated by Dan Slușanschi, Bucharest, The Science Publishing House, 2019.

²² G. Pohoată, *Metaphysics and Science in Leibniz's Work*, Bucharest, Pro Universitaria, 2017, p. 17.

of culture in general to act at any time! Cantemir is a model, a standard fulfillment of values in a human personality.

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HUMAN PERSON AND THE METAPHYSICS OF SOCIAL ORDER AND DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract: *There are always indispensable links between the values of the human person and their sense of social orderliness, and such relationships define how considerable such development is to their existential and essential living. In our contemporary society, there are needs to understand the human persons and their metaphysical demands for social order and development. With this concern, the paper recognizes that human society has been advancing many mythologies and approaches toward development and growth, but the same human society has been neglecting the communal nature which it possesses, where many human values (the respect for human life, rights and dignity, sense of common good, socialization based on truth and trust, ascetic social continence, moral sincerity, etc.) are supposedly fading away, and some, culturally abandoned. This paper tries to explicate the metaphysical valuation of the human person in the pursuance of social order and development in our world of conflicting developmental ideologies interests that are dehumanizing and reducible. It projects that social order and development can be adequately realized when the human society reasonably and fully upheld the values of human togetherness, inter-subjectivity and inter-transcendence.*

Keywords: *human person, metaphysical valuation, social order*

Introduction

The knowledge of God in the affairs of the human person projects the theologization of the courses of social order and development. For the creation of the world was done through the employment of ontological reasoning by divine epistemic and metaphysical projections of interests and ideologies.¹ God reasoned the creation of the World out of Himself and by His

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¹ Cf, P.O. Isanbor and V.E. Obinyan, "African Meta-Ethical Appraisal of Echekwube's Regeneration Thesis for Global Peace Development." In F.O. Ekhaize, et al (eds). *Book of Proceedings of 3rd University of Benin Annual Research Day Conference*. Benin City: University of Benin, 2018, p. 238.

own nature. Through this theological understanding; and the World has remained within the valuation of the personhood of God. With such creative capacity inherent in the beingness of God, the world of experiences remains what the human person can make out of it in accordance with the very God's unending existence. Such gnoseological order of creation presents some unending theistic or theological discourses on the possibilities of local, national and global human togetherness, inter-subjectivity and inter-transcendence, when we philosophically and existentially consider all grades of exercises of actions and policies on the values of the human person- that is, the metaphysical, ethical, historical, scientific and theological projections of existence of oneself as being with others. According to Benjamin Ewelu,

The person with the spirit of philosophy is a man of reason rather than emotion. He is critical rather than emotional towards issues. To be led by reason rather than emotion is very important for a person in public service. Reason serves as light in all we do, especially in decision making. Where reason rules there is justice, order, harmony, peace, and progress. When, however, appetites and emotions rule, there is nothing but injustice, disharmony, disorder and chaos.²

With metaphysics, philosophy quests for meaning behind all things, events, and actions. With metaphysics, the philosophers and critical thinkers arduously search for meaning of material and immaterial realities, that is, for the reason underlying all that is, all we do, all we desire, all we possess and all we are.³ With metaphysics, philosophy is a synoptic knowledge of the whole reality, synoptic not in the sense of insignificant knowledge of existence, but in the sense of significant and whole knowledge of existence.⁴ Hence, the phenomenology of the human person indicates that it is only in the otherness of living is God known properly to the individual as a subject of lived experiences and as an *Actus Persona*, an active agent of development.⁵ Such development fashions the institutions for the protection, respect and promotion of human rights and dignity. This is thrust of morality. According to Pope Francis; analyzing the nexus of human nature and the values of the sustainability of the environment as our common home, asserts that;

Integral human development has a moral character. It presumes full respect for the human person, but it must also

² Benjamin Ike Ewelu, Philosophy, public service and peace in the society. *West African Journal of Philosophical Studies*, Vol. 18, 2016, p. 55.

³ P.O. Isanbor and V. E. Obinyan, "African Meta-Ethical Appraisal of Echekwube's Regeneration Thesis for Global Peace Development", p. 238.

⁴ See, Benjamin Ike Ewelu, Philosophy, public service and peace in the society, p. 56.

⁵ See, S.C. Chukwujekwu, "John Paul II and the human person." In S.C. Chukwujekwu (ed). *Personalism and humanism in the philosophy of Pope John Paul II*. Annual Memorial Lecture Series, No. 1. Okpuno-Awka: Pope John Paul II Major Seminary, 2007, p. 110.

be concerned for the world around us and take into account the nature of each being and of its mutual connection in an ordered system.⁶

The very nature of the world irrespective of its modeling and modification by the effects of human ingenuity, intelligibility and creativity, reflects the creative order, God. For God cannot be distant from the world He created for the purpose of being known through human rational and spiritual capacity and capability. This is evidently seen in the metaphysics of the otherness of development. The gnoseological order of creation always projects the courses for the “otherness” of development. Only the trends of individualism and isolationism try to destroy them in societal and governmental quests for relevance.⁷ Such ontological order of creation recognizes the indispensable presence of God in human development- an indispensable consideration of the divine being in relation with the human person, and which the worldly and historical courses of living in accordance with human self-dynamism and self-participation. The ontological dimension of creation showcases the indispensable limitedness associated with the human person or indispensably inherent in the existentiality of the human person as a being of lived experience and as a subject of development.⁸ Ontologically, no society develops beyond the values she places on the human person, just as no society develops above the level of her policies and ideologies of development. The human person directs the values he or she places on himself or herself through proper embrace of values of his or her education, politics, environment, commerce, culture and religion.

These developmental dimensions of the human person are more metaphysical than material in considering the social imports in order to know the true worthiness of the human person. Through the human person, only in God does the ontology of creation manifest the fullness of intelligence and rationality.⁹ The human person only finds his or her functional and teleological completeness in the beingness of God which is never subjected to the forces of cosmological reducibility and relativistic dynamism. For God is a pure creation from His pure existence without beginning and never with any possible ending. Although, the atheistic belief of the absence of the existentiality and personality of God in human affairs, in many cases, if not

⁶ Pope Francis, *Laudato si*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2015, no. 5.

⁷ Peter Costello, “Pope John Paul II’s participation in the neighbourhood of phenomenology.” In N. M. Billias, A.B. Curry and G.F. McLean (eds). *Karol Wojtyla’s philosophical legacy*. Washington: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2008, p. 50.

⁸ M. Dukor, “National and world peace: an ethical imperative of our time.” In P. Iroegbu and A. Echekwube (eds). *Kpim of morality: ethics*. Ibadan: Heinemann, 2005, p. 158.

⁹ See, P.O. Isanbor and V.E. Obinyan, “African Meta-Ethical Appraisal of Echekwube’s Regeneration Thesis for Global Peace Development”, p. 239.

for all cases, the same human person projects that it can obtain the qualities for all needed development only within its own very efforts.

When the human person ascertains that peace is possible without references to the divine illuminations of the human intellect and wisdom, only on the recognition that it is in the human hearts that war or reconciliation begins. They believe that a peaceful future is built on the basis of a 'new heart', and the new heart is able to recognize in every individual person a brother or sister with equal rights and dignity, with legitimate expectations to satisfy the individual's interests and values. This 'new heart' seems to be very far-reaching, because, the human person as a being of development through his or her intelligibility and rationality, can prevent the flow of godly achievements and replacing things in disorderly manner. Creating new hearts without references to God will create new world of greater conflicts and wars, because the human persons do not the capacity and capability to remain good without the Good, God.

Ontologically recognized, the human person is beyond his or her own understanding of his or her very nature. He or she receives from God or from nature, the capacity to transcend every social order so as to move toward the goodness of creation.¹⁰ He or she is also conditioned by the social structure in which he or she lives, by the education he or she has received and by his or her environment. These elements can either help or hinder his or her living in accordance with the truth the decisions which create a human environment can give rise to specific structure of social vices as against the values of virtues which impede the full realization of close who are in any way oppressed by them. To destroy such structures and replace them with more authentic forms of living in community is a task which demands courage and patience.¹¹

Hence, the thrust objective of the paper rests the importance of the existentiality and essentiality of the human person in order to understand the world around him or her. It is about the realization of a just world order and peace through the valuation of human authenticity and inter-subjectivity that are mainly dependable on the metaphysical understanding of the individual as a subject of lived experiences and an indispensable member of the human ecology. Thereby, this paper is hopeful in contributing to the dignity of the human person as an acting agent of development in the faces of conflicting developmental ideologies and interests, by analytically assessing the metaphysical quest for social order and development that are indispensably and conscientiously hinged on the values of human togetherness, inter-subjectivity and inter-transcendence.

¹⁰ P.O. Isanbor, "Functional Interplay of Peace and Human Rights in Context of Religion and National Security." In J.K. Ayantayo and S.A. Fatokun (eds). *Religion and Security Issues*. (2013 Biannual International Religious Studies Conference); Ibadan: Department of Religious Studies, University of Ibadan, 2015, p. 120.

¹¹ Pope John Paul II, *Centisimus Annus*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1991, no. 38.

Metaphysical Valuation of the Human Person in the World of Experiences

So convincingly, human person is a composite of body and spirit. He or she is a composition of material and spiritual natures. These natures are inseparable greatly interrelated and magnanimously interconnected. In-fact, one of them is meaningless without the other. So, the advancement of the human person is composite in consideration. Its development cut-across its twofold inseparable nature.¹² Spiritual development of the human person emphasizes the divine consideration of the dignity of human person in relation to the society, in which it founds a meaning of existence. The State is met to consider in its policies and legislations the spiritual component of the human person. Human's religiosity showcases this sense of belongingness and self-participation. The human person shows his or her dependency on the power of the supernatural forces and figures, in whom presence, the human person is limited in actualization of his or her interests and purposes. The human person strongly rely on faith and hope, and put his or her truth on the powers which are greatly powerful than him or her. In the words of the Fathers of the Vatican II Council;

Man's social nature makes it evident that the progress of the human person and the advance of society itself hinge on one another. For the beginning, the subject and the goal of all social institutions are and must be the human person which for its part and by its very nature stands completely in need of social life. Since this social life is not something added on to man, through his dealings with others, through reciprocal duties, and through fraternal dialogue he develops all his gifts and is able to rise to his destiny.¹³

Holistically put, within the effects of scientific and technological development, with atoms of relativistic consciousness in assessing what should be moral or not, and at such, "a vacuum was created as the search for a better material world was without a parallel spiritual advancement."¹⁴ With this vacuum of endless search for meaning of the human person in the material world of experiences, the understanding of the human person becomes very illusive.¹⁵ Hence, many cultural anthropological thinkers in the cause of history have perceived the human person in different ways and conditions. For it is a given fact, as culturally speaking, "the human person is a child of a particular culture, which shapes and orders his or her mode of

¹² Pope Benedict XVI, *Deus Caritas est*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2005, no. 5

¹³ Vatican II Council, *Guadium et spes*, Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1965, no. 25.

¹⁴ Charles Soyombo, Editorial preface, *NACATHS Journal of African Theology*, Vol. 18, March 2008.

¹⁵ J.Z. Young, *An Introduction to the Study of Man*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 12.

thought, his or her life, criteria of judgment, and assessment of experience.”¹⁶ The purpose of easiness of living has brought about the global philosophical concern of human cross-fertilization of interests and socialization for the institutionalization of *Culture of Peace*, John Ograh asserts that;

We live in the first century age is a truth of which we are deeply aware. This awareness is accentuated to by the very fact for the symbiotic interconnectedness of the language of globalization and multiculturalism which help us express the nature of our everyday lives. Whenever there is interaction between man and creation, then justice is involved—particularly because of the morality that surrounds our action; teaching man to do the good and avoid evil.¹⁷

Indubitably put, precisely in the words of Pope Benedict XVI that “man will always remain man because he is free in the faces of good and evil, recognizing the economy of power he has in making choices and decisions.”¹⁸ With this consciousness of development, no one has able to define the human person adequately without external contesting views and concerns. Any definition of the human person shows the some level of his or her existential complexity, just like Battista Mondin considers the human person is an “impossible possibility.”¹⁹ Hence, in a widely theological consideration of the human person: he or she is rationally believed to have been created by a supreme Deity, God, in His own image and likeness. These make-ups differentiated the human person from every other animal. The human person relates with God with these natures, and both are one in substantiating the God’s personality in the material world of experiences. One cannot be spiritual without the material body housing the human’s spirit. The human person is rational with divine consciousness which the body cannot give, but the spirit. It seeks the true nature of the human person that is collaboration of the will.²⁰ As a sequel to the global trends for industrial and technological development, much of the human person has turned to science and the applications of technologies as the very source for their fulfillment and hope of better future. Technology has seemingly offered power, control and the prospect of overcoming helplessness and dependency.

Understanding Social Order and Development

The common human idea of development indispensably brings about the idea of what it takes human society to be socially ordered and just. It is

¹⁶ John Ekei, *Justice in communalism*. Lagos: Realm Communication Ltd., 2001, p. 39.

¹⁷ J.E. Ograh. *Seduced by justice*. Benin City: Rehize Nigeria Limited, 2014, p. 111.

¹⁸ Pope Benedict XVI, *Spe salvi*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2007, no. 21.

¹⁹ See, Battista Mondin, *Philosophical anthropology*. Rome: Urbaniana University, pp.10-11.

²⁰ Vatican II Council, *Gaudium et spes*, no. 25.

envisage, generally, that “social order is refers to the social systems and schemes of social relations that define the political, economic and social roles, rights and duties of people in a society. It is a form of social organization established by man in order to facilitate the realization of certain social goods, for examples, security, peace, social cohesion, dignity of life and harmonization of interests.”²¹ Peace is far more than mere absence of war and violence, but it is mainly about the human persons and societies understanding the values of human life and rights and dignity.²² The conception of social order is linked with the sociological nature of the human persons who must be identified with the pursuance of what make human relationship and inter-subjectivity possible and culturally and socially conducive and homing. As John Kusumalayam will recognised the indispensable placement of development through the understanding the valuation of human life, rights and dignity, by asserting that;

The ultimate end of development is to have a better quality of life for everyone in the world. That would certainly mean that it is not only the development of material resources that is aimed at by the right to development, but the holistic of the human person involving his/her physical, moral, intellectual, social, political and cultural growth.²³

Hence, social order is conceptualized to mean the due process or right functioning of social and political issues or affairs.²⁴ This concerns itself with the management of human actions by social institutions in achieving societal justice, equity, and peace.²⁵ The unquestionable placement of morality as an indispensable foundation for social engineering promises societal peace, as “the world is governed by cosmic order so also human society is governed by social order.”²⁶ This brings the convictions that the human society is idealistically propelled by social constructs which are morally tailored towards societal flourishing, for every human person ontologically long for a peaceful human symbiosis and positive co-existence, whether at local, national or global level of human development and civilization.

²¹ P.U. Ujomu, Morality, democracy and the quest for social order in human society. *Enwisdomization Journal*, 6(2), 2015, 69-80, cf, p. 70.

²² See, Benjamin Ike Ewelu, Philosophy, public service and peace in the society, p. 60.

²³ John Kusumalayam, *Human rights*. Mumbai: St Pauls, 2008, p. 118.

²⁴ See, P.U. Ujomu, Morality, democracy and the quest for social order in human society. *Enwisdomization Journal*, 6(2), 2015, 69-80, cf, p. 70; M. Eribo and A. E. Iyare, A synergy of communitarianism and individualism for an idea social order. *Ewanlen: A Journal of Philosophical Inquiry*, 1(1), 2017, p. 27.

²⁵ See, P.O. Isanbor, “Functional Interplay of Peace and Human Rights in Context of Religion and National Security.” In J. K. Ayantayo and S. A. Fatokun (eds). *Religion and Security Issues*; Ibadan: Department of Religious Studies, University of Ibadan, 2015, p. 121.

²⁶ V.I.O. Edefejeko, “Morality as the foundation of social order.” In G. Ukagba, et al (eds), *The kpim of social order*. USA: Xlibris, 2013, p. 115.

Here, the conceptual usage of “social order” will be as an ideological basis and pragmatic applications of the factors for the ordering of human affairs and welfare for development; which infers that without peace and justice, no meaningful institution or organization is possible, and then, no man can think of achieving the organizational and political goals in a conflict-laden environment, at every level of human civilization and socialization. The pursuance of social order must be on the understanding of the factors that promote, protect and respect fundamental human rights and dignity in the world of conflicting ideologies and interests of development. Understanding of the philosophical dictum that “man is the measure of all things” which projects the fact that the human person is a being with all senses of rationality and intelligibility, and he or she is an ontological wisdom, a quality with which he or she associates his or her beingness in the created and creative world. The meaning of social order and justice in relation to global affairs holds that there is a need to understand global affairs from the operational meaning of globalization.²⁷ According to Pantaleon Iroegbu;

Globalization thinks global. It carries the globe. It charts the globe for a fair distribution of the things of the globe, there may not be perfect equality, such is not even necessary or desirable.... It is a global imperative. No one receives alone. No one discovers alone. No one produces alone. And then no one is endowed only for oneself.²⁸

Such conceptualization of oneself as a being of development, through global phenomenology of human living, recognizes that social justice is both the indispensable value of development and the intrinsic criterion of all political civilization. It is a foundational seat for true human solidarity. In solidarity, politics becomes more than a mere mechanism for defining the rules of public life. It is by its very nature has to do with ethics of living, that considers the other selves before oneself. It is in solidarity that oneself is participatory subsumed in the other selves, and the other selves in the same way subsumed in oneself. This is distributive justice in social relations and civilization.²⁹ This is on the quest for good human living that is indispensably linked the doctrine of social justice to the demands for proper management of human and national economies, for just distribution of commonwealth, a concern to eliminate common poverty in the human society: the culture for common embrace of peace, justice and equity.

²⁷ Pantaleon Iroegbu, *The kpim of personality: treatise of human person*. Owerri: Eustel, 2000, p. 100.

²⁸ P. Iroegbu, *Enwisdomization and African philosophy*. Owerri: Int'l Universities Pub., 1995, p. 14.

²⁹ See, Pope Benedict XVI, *Caritas in veritate*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2009, no. 35.

The ideas of social order centre on the kinds of social demands of existential harmony and peace that are associated with universal trends of development in politics, socialization, commerce, technologies, tourism, diplomacies communication, and the likes.³⁰ With the general imposition of the working and application of the idea of globalization; there are growing campaigns against world poverty, draught, climate change, pollutions, arm-race and nuclear weapons technologies, and other destructive technological and diplomatic political and economic policies, in order to institute the social harmony and integration.³¹ This is on the conviction that there cannot be meaningful and sustainable development in the faces of sociological factors that dehumanize humanities. The application of human rationality and intelligibility, demands some living conditions that promote and respect his rights and dignity as a person, not otherwise. The sense of common good and solidarity helps to promote the culture for the respect of human rights and dignity. There can be the culture of social order in the minds of all persons in a particular society because there is a common understanding and internalization of common public interests that are directed towards common development.

Metaphysics of Social Order and Development in a Conflict-Driven World

The societal consideration of social order means the state of human's existence where there is peace, justice and equity. It is selfless and non-egoistic state of existence. It suggests a cooperative and developmental society where every individual is regarded as a human entity with shared and divine duties in earthly participation and growth. In our today's socialization, in an age of globalization, the world finds itself being challenged by an ever-changing dynamic and complex multi-cultural global conceptualization and contextualization of an increasing interconnection between technology, people, organizations, cultures and society at large.³² The individual's role in the society is recognized and respected especially when it tends towards the common good, and with which his or her life is highly valued. In the faces of egoistic and hedonistic culture associated global trending of development, the doctrines of common good and solidarity are put forward to embrace and measure all human activities with sense of morality and purposefulness.

This measurement of development checkmates all forms of violation, especially in the engagement of science and technology in this contemporary society, and for his or her happy and purposeful transcendence. Spiritual

³⁰ Mike E. Abam, "A theoretical approach to the philosophy of peace." In M. A. Izibili, et al. (eds). *Studies in philosophy and society*. Vol. 1. Kagoma: Albertine Institute, 2018. See, p. 70.

³¹ P.O. Isanbor, "Functional Interplay of Peace and Human Rights in Context of Religion and National Security", p. 120.

³² See, Eugene Anowai and Raphael O. Maduabuchi, The role of philosophy in global reconciliation. *West African Journal of Philosophical Studies*, Vol. 18, 2016, p. 70.

development is advocated for, because, the human person is naturally religious, and religion is the building of the spirituality of the human person in his or her relationship within the human society. With nature, spirituality cannot be isolated, but find meaningfulness in its application in society. There is spirituality because the other persons are able to perceive its influences in the life of the individual. So, both the spiritual and material components of the human person advocate for holistic development.³³ It is the duty of the religion to be concern with human development. The spiritual growth shapes the tune of consideration of purposes, especially, in modern society, despite the influences of relativism and misplaced tools of globalization.

With the growing nature of development, social order becomes very illusive. It appears very fleeting, ephemeral, disappearing, and eluding commonsense of human togetherness. As Apostle wrote, “For when they say peace and safety, then sudden, destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child, and they shall not escape.” With this conviction, conflicts become very inevitable in the minds of people, and parts of their existence. Hence Paul VI says that,

As ministers of religions, we look on this very elect category of persons, devoted to the physical and mental health of mankind, with great admiration, with great gratitude and with great trust. In many ways physical health, the healing of sicknesses, the easing of pain, the energy of development and work, the duration of temporal existence, and even a great part of moral life depend on the wisdom and care of these protectors, defenders and friends of humanity. We are close to them and, as far as we can, uphold their toil, their honor and their spirit. We hope to have them in solidarity with us in affirming and in defending human life in those exceptional contingencies in which life itself can be jeopardized by deliberate and evil designs of the human will.³⁴

This consideration of social order at local, national and global level suggests the nature of any development needed to attain peace in human society. Peace has been generally understood as a state of being without conflicts and violence.³⁵ It is well possible in good reason and mutual trust to help individuals and nations to come closer together and thus aid the solution of various human problems including the extremely vital one of peace and industrial development. This outlook is on the existential communion of the human persons that can direct human responsible activities, including their

³³ See, Pope Benedict XVI, *Spe Salvi*, no 22.

³⁴ Pope Paul VI, *Message for World Day of Peace*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1978, no 3.

³⁵ John Kusumalayam, *Human rights*, p. 118.

engagement in science and technology into useful moral end and strengthens the bond of trust and reason.

On this global consciousness of the importance of science and technology, Iroegbu, in his analysis on the nexus of progress and development, explicates that “development is to a more advanced or a more highly organized state, to work out the potentialities of, to elaborate, to cause to grow or advance, to evolve, build up or construct to a greater magnificence or perfection.”³⁶ In a nutshell, the strength of any State is determined by the developmental policies and their implementations toward the betterment of the individuals of that particular State. All these are based on the value the State and the individual placed on human life and its rights. According to John Paul II, “respect for life, and above all for the dignity of the human person, is the ultimate guiding norm for any sound economic, industrial or scientific progress.”³⁷ The existential coordination of human affairs always infers the recognition of the placement of human rights and dignity, and it is an ethical engagement for the establishment of peace, justice and equity in the human society.³⁸

The recent outlook on the possible establishment of peace, equity and justice in human dealing depends on the absence of conflicts. It embraces the proper management of human and material resources toward holistic development under the guidance of morality.³⁹ A secure existence, free from physical and psychological threats to life and limb, is one of the most elementary desires of the human society. It is the fundamental reason why human persons choose to organize Nation States, sacrificing certain individual freedoms for the common good and security. It is a right shared by all persons and peoples - regardless of where they live, regardless of their ideological or political convictions.⁴⁰ Such consideration of social order in our world of conflicting interests and policies for civilization, demands that morality of development remain on the values of human life, rights and dignity, and as the only foundation for the security and social cohesion. As John Paul II asserts, for example, that morality will be the checkpoint of the working of science and other avenues of development and advancement with the consciousness of the values of the human person be the bedrock of adventure and invention, if human ecology will be sustained. He went ahead to posit that;

³⁶ P. Iroegbu, “Ethics of progress and development.” *Ibid.*

³⁷ Pope John Paul II, *Message for world day of peace*. VC: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1990, no. 6.

³⁸ P.A. Edema and P.O. Isanbor, “Philosophical conception of man: its contemporary African analysis.” In M.A. Izibili, P.O. Isanbor and S. U. Attah (eds.). *Studies in philosophy and society*. Vol. 1. Kagoma: Albertine Institute, 2018, p. 40.

³⁹ See, J. E. Ograh. *Seduced by justice*, p. 111.

⁴⁰ Common Security: A Programme for Disarmament. *The Report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues*. London: Pan Books, 1982. p. 8.

Only an awareness of the primacy of these values enables the human person to use the immense possibilities given him or her by science in such a way as to bring the true advancement of the human person in his or her whole truth, in his or her freedom and dignity. Science is called to ally itself with wisdom.⁴¹

For this, we recall the extensive UNO Programme of Actions in 2000 of *International Year of the Culture of Peace*, where the member-nations situated and agreed on the possibility of national building and development through the common understanding of our common existentiality and authenticity. Over time, the document has been translated in 50 languages, and the contents therein act as a guideline for practical actions and public awareness campaigns for social order, positive coexistence, cultural and religious tolerance, and peaceful symbiosis, and they are follows:⁴²

1. *Respect all life*: This is by respecting the factors, policies, laws and relationship that promote and protect the life and dignity of each human person without discrimination or prejudice, irrespective of gender classification, racial organisation, ethnic recognition, social status, cultural affiliation and political divides.

2. *Reject violence*: This is to create the consciousness of the social, political, cultural and economic tolerance by discouraging armaments and arm race among groups and nations. It is about practicing active non-violent policies of development, and rejecting violence in all its forms: physical, sexual, psychological, economical, and social, in particular towards the most deprived and vulnerable, such as children and adolescents.

3. *Share with others*: this is to eliminate the culture of isolationism and escapism in the minds of people. It is to destroy the walls of individualism and misguided particularism simply by creating the culture of the otherness of living which promotes oneself in the warmth of others. It is by sharing one's time and material resources in the spirit of generosity to put an end to exclusion, injustice, and political and economic oppression and social and cultural alienation.

4. *Listen to understand*: It is in listening to others with the sense of getting involved in their pains, fears and sufferings that the world is healed of conflicts and violence. This is defending the freedom of expression and cultural diversity, giving preference always to dialogue and listening without engaging in fanaticism, defamation, and the rejection of others.

5. *Preserve the planet*: This is on the recognition of the non-monopolisation of the common earth resources for integral human ecology.

⁴¹ Pope John Paul II, *Familiaris consortio*, Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 22 November, 1981, no.8

⁴² See, Douglas Roche, p. 107.

The earth is a common heritage of the humankind, and as such, our common home. We are to promote consumer behaviour that is responsible and to develop reasonable and moral practices that respect all forms of life and preserve the balance and the sustainability of the common environment for common human existence.

6. *Rediscover solidarity*: This is the recognition of the need for common survival of the human family. For life is always dependent on the values of others and their potentialities and sacrifices. It is about contributing to the development of one's community, with the full participation of all peoples and respect for democratic principles and precepts, in order to create together new forms of solidarity, interdependence and inter-subjectivity.

In all, the factors of the UNO Programme of Actions are hinged on the respect, protection and promotion of human life, through which the institutionalization of peace and social order is indispensably realizable. Peace is obtainable from what the human person makes out of morality, by initiating the avenues of human solidarity and social justice. It is this morality of purpose that controls human's activities and the respect of moral principles which resides in natural law limits the establishment of the cultures of conflicts and violence that are detrimental to the well-being of the human person and the society at large. According to Eugene Anowai and Raphael Maduabuchi;

We need solidarity and greater sharing of social justice today to ensure democratic and humanistic global citizenship. But the world that is coloured with social injustice will also present difficulties in globalization project. This is explained vividly by the exigencies of this global world of despair where men and women express themselves through violence and terrorism, through genocide and fundamentalism and act through exclusions of all kinds and where small minority possesses three-quarters of the wealth and riches of the whole world.⁴³

This is what morality of purpose can ensure by initiating human's endeavour to harmonize conflicting interests: to prevent conflict when it threatens, to remove conflict when it occurs, and to advance from the negative harmony of non-conflict to the positive harmony of cooperation.⁴⁴ It is because; from little things greatest things often occur. The refusal to resolve little misunderstanding of interests and mismanagement of information will

⁴³ Eugene Anowai and Raphael O. Maduabuchi, *The role of philosophy in global reconciliation*, p. 76.

⁴⁴ See, E.U. Ekuigbo and P.O. Isanbor, Sustainability of the human family for the realization of world peace. *Aworeb International Journal of Innovative Studies*, Vol. 1, Iss. 3, 2020, pp. 18-25.

generate to the societal and human conditions that one least expected. The establishment of cultural humanity is on the application of the elements of peacekeeping, peace-building and peace-management. At global level, the role of United Nations peacekeeping missions has expanded beyond traditional tasks to include political, economic, and humanitarian activities. With this expanded concern for peace, the human cultural organizations are expected to sustain the foundational principle of morality in valuing racial integration and cultural cohesion of peoples, and ultimately task the national governments to maintain good and effective relationships with United Nations Security Council in order to maintain zero-tolerance in conflict resolution and management when all diplomatic policies for peace and solidarity are adequately adopted.

Concluding Remarks

It becomes necessary, therefore, on the part of all, to recover an awareness of the primacy of moral values. The great task that has to be faced today for the renewal of society is that of recapturing the ultimate meaning of life and its fundamental values.⁴⁵ This is development in itself. Development is in and part of the nature of the human person; and the conception of human rights and dignity is about the respect of the human person towards development. Reasonably expected is that the whole affairs of humanity should be ontologically directed to affirm the culture of social order and development. With experiences, the human person is not static being but a progressive one, and anything against the institutionalization of social order and responsible courses for integral human development, is existentially against the relationship of the divinity with humanity, which establishes a supernatural investment in the human person to return to God with the aim of purposeful transcendental ending. All we really have in this World of experience and activities is each others as persons of hope and happiness.

Hence, the phenomenology of the society is always born out of the interaction of the people in love and care. This helps in the formulation of cultures that bind the people together in commonsense of survival. It develops the common cultural influence of the people and by the people. No culture is an exception of this conviction of development. With culture in sustaining social order, what we have in the present as development are products of our past, and what we will be in the future are products of our past and present. The culture of oneness in relationship and development recognizes this conviction and fashions the individual as a subject of lived experiences along what he or she acts on and capable of living on. We encounter ourselves in our broken world in the lives of others. For lives are fully integrated when fully enlivened in the warmth and valuation of human interconnectedness. We share our lives so as we share our death. We share or death in the suffering

⁴⁵ Pope John Paul II, *Familiaris consortio*, no. 8.

and pains of others, so as to live again. Our lives are lived by dying, and by dying, we live again, valuing the “whys” we live. The “whys” of living are ontologically situated on the development of oneself in reference to the lives of other selves. This is the mechanism on which God has been sustaining the world. It is in dying to the needs of others and the others considering you as themselves, as an indispensable part of their existence, that our pains, fears and sufferings are overcome by the good that are inherent in human interdependence and inter-subjectivity. It is in hoping to live again that dying to self comes with the development that never dies. It is a hope of better future existence and living that resides in the possibilities of common transcendence in the One who creates, God.

Therefore, it is true that today’s world is readily ambivalent and enlivened by crazy ideas and selfish consciousness of personal survival tendencies, egoistic civilization, individualistic socialization, and very individualistically-laden in diverse respects and interests of development. Nevertheless, everyone should try to desist from the culture of evil by embracing the values that promote common survival and development. For the purposes of the possible and positive realization of social order demand that every purposeful human person must be schooled on the values of “civilization of love.” by social institutions, especially the religious communities, owing that, the sustainability of the human family is human self-redemption. It is only when we recognize that we cannot live integrally and meaningfully without reasonable and meaningful consideration of the welfares and salvific development of others, even when it appears that we have what it takes for us to live alone. Only in living with and for others is when the life of oneself exacted in authenticity and subjectivity.

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ON CONSPIRACY THINKING IN THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF MODERN CULTURE

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Abstract: *The article analyzes the specifics of modern conspiracy thinking as a recognized object of humanitarian research. The authors traced the dynamics of the multi-aspect study of conspiracy theories against the background of the strengthening of conspiracy narrative in unstable ontologies. It is emphasized that periods of crisis actualize the conspiracy discourse with its paradoxical combination of rationalistic and affective-irrational thinking patterns. The factors contributing to the construction of a conspiracy narrative are considered. The social and personal-mental dimensions of conspiracy thinking are shown and substantiated. The characterology of conspiracy thinking is compared with the radical-constructivist and communicative-narrative logic of explaining the world. The difference between a conspiracy narrative and a political imaginary, as well as its connection with various forms of agency is shown.*

Keywords: *conspiracy thinking, conspiracy discourse, agency, modern political culture.*

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Introduction

In open societies with a stable democracy, provided with numerous checks and balances, conspiracy should be unlikely. Moreover, an educated audience gathered around authoritative scientific communities tends not to be interested in conspiracy theories, especially if they are based on unproven quasi-scientific assumptions.

For modern social science it is stranger to suddenly discover the stability of conspiratorial thinking. In a hyperconnected social environment, with its information and knowledge accessibility and transparency, there is a postmodern revival of premodern guidelines, and instead of an enlightened view of reality and reduced attractiveness of unproven hypotheses, there is a certain tendency to develop and disseminate self-made truths.

In addition, the increasing speed of communication and the general dynamics of modern social and cultural processes create a need for arguments and explanations that would make clear and personalized the impersonal effects of powerful economic and social change. Along with political mythology and political utopia as forms of political imagination, theories of suspicion are being actualized, the affective component of which shows a powerful potential for attractiveness.

Methodology

The purpose of the article is to highlight the specifics and features of the manifestation of conspiratorial thinking in the latest conditions of social and cultural development.

Our study is based on a multidisciplinary approach that allows us to understand the phenomenon of conspiracy in different perspectives. In particular, a significant body of work in the field of cultural, philosophical, political, sociological and literary studies devoted to the study of the phenomenon of conspiracy was used.

We use the terms “phenomenon”, “myth”, “narrative” and others in the general humanitarian sense, that is, regardless of the primary narrowly specialized conceptual paradigm that introduced them into scientific circulation. Among the many meanings of the term “discourse”, sometimes even opposite, preference is given to the Fukoldian understanding of discursiveness, which involves a certain social and historical experience, often associated with fear, uncertainty and not always articulated in acts of speech.

Theoretical basis

The attitude to conspiracy theories as a footnote in the conditional list of concerns about mass ignorance has been replaced by attempts to systematically study conspiracy theories as a cultural phenomenon. Conspiracy theories are recognized as the subject of interdisciplinary humanities research, and the dynamics of the multifaceted study of

conspiracy correlate with the growing awareness that conspiracy theories tend to grow significantly and affect society and culture.

Conspiracy is traditionally interpreted as a *paranoid style* (hereinafter italics – I.I. Kovalenko,... ..) that “... has to do with the way in which ideas *are believed* and advocated rather than with the truth of falsity”¹. Paranoidity is considered as a cultural phase and the cause of conspiratorial thinking², and the most effective socio-cultural factor in strengthening and spreading the conspiratorial mentality is the state of crisis.

The achievements of French philosophy are actively used in understanding the latest political and cultural realities, in particular, in describing “events” that give rise to many “conspiracy theories” and become a pretext for simulating its “real occurrence”, another “event”³. Particular attention is paid to the role of the media - the “machine of desire”, which, forming a virtual space, cultivates a regular “need for disaster” and confirms Fukoldian fears of total control by the “new panopticon”, which “invisible eye” observes the subject⁴. As a result, the paranoid narrative joins the power discourse, as does the all-seeing “eye of power” that once watched madmen, criminals, homosexuals, and other vulnerable groups⁵.

The postmodern tradition links the conspiratorial worldview to political mythology as the dominant explicit meta-narrative that reveals its meaning in a particular collective imagination⁶. Conspiracy settings are understood as a repetitive “interpretive and narrative practice in popular politics” that is “quite attractive, satisfying, and connected to everyday political and cultural life”⁷.

Today, in the mechanism of conspiracy discourse, the *enemy-revealer* opposition is singled out, as a result of which the modern bearer of knowledge and ideas sees history “as something controlled by massive, demonic forces, ...and the locus of evil lies outside the true community, in some (...) Other, defined as foreign or barbarian, though often distinguished as innocent and upright...”⁸. As a result, conspiracy becomes a phenomenon of modern mass culture, associated with the rereading or retelling of history as a global process of searching for narrative models and attempts to transform them.

¹ R. Hofstadter, *The paranoid style in American politics. The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996, p. 5.

² M. Barkun, *A Culture of Conspiracy. Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013.

³ J. Baudrillard, *La Guerre du Golfe n'a pas eu lieu*. Paris: Galilée, 1991.

⁴ M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Moscow: Ad Marginem, 1999, p. 288.

⁵ I.I. Kovalenko, YU.V. Melyakova, & E.A. Kal'nic'kij, *The phenomenon of corporeality in the performative paradigm: from gatherings to political issues*. Bulletin of the Yaroslav the Wise National Law University. Philosophy Series, 2020, 1(44), p. 86-119.

⁶ E. Soterias, *The political and religious stakes of conspiracy in the post-modern era*. Societes, 2018, 4(142), p. 7-18.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ M. Barkun, *Ibid*, p. 3.

In terms of terminological certainty, the conspiratorial conceptual apparatus remains an open topic for discussion. Representatives of the modern humanities are increasingly using the concept of *conspiracy theories*⁹, comparing it with the concept of paranoia and emphasizing the redundancy of definitions of both concepts. The cause of conspiracy theories is the “crisis of meaning production”¹⁰ combined with the experience of passivity, which is interpreted as “not only personal experience but also the historical experience of entire peoples and cultural constructs of reality”¹¹.

Conspiracy is defined as a secret plot of two or more *actors* with the aim “to usurp political or economic power, violate rights, infringe upon established agreements, withhold vital secrets or alter bedrock institutions”¹². And evidence of conspiracy is, as a rule, its failed result. A key point in the study of conspiracy is that conspiracies speak about actual events that have occurred or are occurring, what most definitions of this phenomenon “have in common in the notion that conspiracies compose the belief that actors, usually more powerful than the average citizen, are engaged in the wide-ranging “black boxes” activities to which individuals can attribute an insidious explanation to a confusing event”¹³.

Unlike conspiracy, which is a true cause-and-effect relationship, *conspiracy theory* is seen as an attempt to explain the ultimate causes of significant socio-political events by claiming a *possible* mysterious conspiracy of two or more influential actors¹⁴. In addition, conspiracy theory is interpreted as “ideological distortion of power relations, containing a populist identification of believers with the people as opposed to a mysterious elite power bloc”¹⁵, “cognitive reflection of the poor in the postmodern era”¹⁶, motivated by an understanding of the nature of modern global capitalism, but without the structure that was once provided by great narratives¹⁷.

In recent years studies, the concepts of *conspiracy belief*, *conspiracy theorist*, *conspiracy inclinations*, *conspiracy ideas*, *conspiracy ideology*,

⁹ J.E. Uscinski, & J.M. Parent, *American Conspiracy Theories*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

¹⁰ M. Zonis, & C.M. Joseph, *Conspiracy Thinking in the Middle East*. Political Psychology, 1994, 15(3), p. 443-459.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 453.

¹² K.M. Douglas et al., *Understanding Conspiracy Theories Advances*. Political Psychology, 2019, 40(1), 3-35, p. 4.

¹³ J.M. Miller, K.L. Saunders, & C.E. Farhart, *Conspiracy Endorsement as Motivated Reasoning: The Moderating Roles of Political Knowledge and Trust*. American Journal of Political Science, 2016, 60(4), p.825.

¹⁴ J. Walker, *What we mean when we say “conspiracy theory”*. *Conspiracy theories and the people who believe them*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

¹⁵ M. Fenster, *Conspiracy Theories: Secrecy and Power in American Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008, p. 67.

¹⁶ F. Jameson, *Cognitive Mapping. Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990, p. 355.

¹⁷ E. White, *The Value of Conspiracy Theory*. American Literary History, 2002, 14(1), p. 26.

*conspiracy mindset, conspiracy thinking*¹⁸ are actively used. There is also a typification of conspiracies depending on the scope and ways of their existence - the so-called semiotic models of conspiracy, represented by conspiracy theories, systemic conspiracies and superconspiracies as the main mythologisms of modern conspiracy vision¹⁹.

The subject of scientific discussions on conspiracy discourse is also the phenomenon of the attractiveness of conspiracy theories and their consequences²⁰. Most researchers agree that this aspect should be taken into account seriously because of its impact on individuals and key social institutions. Therefore, further research is needed to fully understand the importance of this widespread political and socio-psychological phenomenon.

Results and Discussion

The vector of conspiratorial thinking, conditioned by the desire to comprehend the truth and reveal the secret, moves to “knowledge”, which, according to J.-F. Lyotard, is differentiated into two types - the so-called scientific knowledge and the narrative knowledge which is closer and clearer, and which “model is associated with the ideas of inner balance and friendliness (convivialité), in comparison with which modern scientific knowledge looks pale...”²¹. The contradiction between these two types arises where “the status of knowledge loses stability and its speculative integrity is divided”²². Information flows fall into the force field of the struggle for legitimacy between the author/reader and the conspiracy myth itself as a message that ultimately causes a conflict of knowledge, a profound “loss of nostalgia for the lost great story”²³ and the transformation of language into a game with history or historical significance.

In addition, as J. Rogalla von Bieberstein observes, “the boundaries between those texts that should be taken seriously and openly conspiratorial publications... are blurred”; in such conditions, “a certain meta-world is constructed, where the facts are inseparable from the fabrication that subcultural supporters of such [conspiracy] constructs are not at all confused”²⁴. The anthropological process of truth-seeking within conspiracy thus leads to the construction of a very simplistic historical myth, where the

¹⁸ K.M. Douglas et al., *Ibid.*

¹⁹ M. Barkun, *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁰ M. Chayinska, & A. Minescu, «*They've conspired against us*»: *Understanding the role of social identification and conspiracy beliefs in justification of ingroup collective behavior*. European Journal of Social Psychology, 2018, 48, p. 990-998.

²¹ J.-F. Lyotard, *The state of Postmodernity*. Moscow: Institut eksperimental'noj sociologii; Sankt-Peterburg: Aletejya, 1998, p. 26.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 100-101.

²⁴ J. Rogalla von Bibershtajn, *The myth of the conspiracy. Philosophers, massons, Jews, liberals and socialists in the role of conspirators*. Sankt-Peterburg: Izd. imeni N.I. Novikova, 2010, p. 10.

key role is played by the reduction of complex reality, occultism, and the belief that “one can find access to a certain hidden reality in which the most important things happen”²⁵.

Conspiracy theories paradoxically combine irrational and rationalist ways of perceiving: sometimes even a purely intuitive sense of conspiracy is accompanied by analytical and moderate reasoning. Thus, many conspiracy theories “9/11” contained a number of scientific arguments about the steel structures of the former twin towers, maximum kerosene combustion temperatures and more. As a result, there is a great temptation to believe that the belief in conspiracy is closely linked to inquisitive thinking, which does not take as a proper official reading of significant events and critically analyzes evidence in favour of or against conspiracy theories.

Belief in conspiracy theory has a significant impact on the existential aspects of human life, correlating with the experience of subjective uncertainty - phenomenological experience closely linked to feelings of spiritual danger, fear of negative evaluations, fear of social exclusion and exhaustion of interpersonal functioning. The sense of powerlessness in the face of large-scale socio-economic events, T. Melley calls “agency panic”, which contains a weakened sense of self-power combined with the belief that the actions of the subject are shaped and controlled by other forces²⁶.

Conspiratorial beliefs also show their significance in the context of social events. Depending on the conditions, they can lead to feelings of alienation from politics (resulting in a decrease in civic activity) or contribute to the radicalization of society and violent tendencies in certain extremist groups.

Conspiracy theories are a social phenomenon in the sense that they reflect the basic structure of intergroup conflict, more precisely, are related to the general motives that cause intergroup conflict. The social dimension of conspiratorial beliefs is characterized by a combination of strong intragroup identity with a sense of extragroup threat. Such motives are highly felt in the political arena, particularly in the United States, where Republicans often believe in conspiracy involving Democrats and vice versa²⁷. In addition, populist leaders are actively using the electorate’s subjective conspiratorial preferences to mobilize hidden anti-establishment prejudices and strengthen their own support. This hypothesis is consistent with the general assertion that individual inclinations toward conspiracy are triggered in the context of power differentiation, when conspiracies are plausibly attributed to political competitors.

The conspiracy effect is exacerbated as citizens become increasingly polarized in their ideological preferences. As a result, there is an effect of

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 12.

²⁶ T. Melley, *Empire of Conspiracy: The Culture of Paranoid Postwar America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, p. 12.

²⁷ J.E. Uscinski, & J.M. Parent, *Ibid*.

collective narcissism, the tendency to social domination increases, stigmatized minority groups are formed, and a sense of social devaluation spreads. In turn, this suggests that, although beliefs in conspiracy theories do not always have prosocial consequences, they are based on the main social motivations that characterize intergroup conflict.

Conspiracy theories are sometimes seen not so much as a particular kind of error or delusion, but as a symptom of a real concern for the moral attribution and distribution of power in complex societies. The result of such searches is the statement of the question of semantic boundaries between conspiracy theories and more respectable forms of socio-political criticism. As B. Latour notes, "... we in the academy like to use more elevated causes - society, discourse, knowledge/power, fields of forces, empires, capitalism - while conspiracists like to portray a miserable bunch of greedy people with dark intents, but I see something troublingly similar in the structure of the explanation, in the first movement of disbelief, and then, in the wheeling of causal explanations coming out of the deep dark below"²⁸.

In addition, social theory tries to avoid the "Popper's curse" – with this phrase L. Boltanski defined the connotation between the way of interpreting the actions of informal collective entities and conspiracy theories stylistics. Formulating the problem, the author notes, "If the saddest known feature by which persons accused of paranoia are recognized is the fact that they attribute historical or personal events to the actions of large-scale entities, to which they give a kind of intentionality and ability to act, then how could we prevent such accusations towards sociologists?"²⁹.

It should be noted, however, that not all manifestations of conspiratorial thinking have a purely negative assessment. Sometimes conspiracy theories are a stimulus and justification for protest movements, while the consequences of civic activism are assessed depending on the type of social change pursued by such movements³⁰. In addition, conspiracy theories can increase government transparency and strengthen support for democratic principles.

Conspiracy theories have no specific time or cultural framework. However, this statement does not mean that people are equally sensitive to conspiracy theories, but only emphasizes that conspiracy theories are not specific to the digital age, as well as to any other specific culture. Some researchers, in particular, point to signs of conspiratorial thinking in the writings of the ancient Roman senator and historian Tacitus, who stated that Roman citizens believed that Nero and his servants deliberately lit a large

²⁸ B. Latour, *Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern*. Critical Inquiry, 2004, 30(22), p. 229-230.

²⁹ L. Boltanski, *Mysteries and Conspiracies: Detective Stories, Spy Novels, and the Making of Modern Societies*. Cambridge: PolityPress, 2014, p. 43.

³⁰ M. Chayinska, & A. Minescu, *Ibid*.

Roman fire in 64 BC³¹. Another example is the belief of Namibians that modern technology is a form of witchcraft developed by Western conspirators to harm or control people³².

Conspiracy theories emerge at very different social levels: government agencies can be suspected in conspiracies, industries (such as pharmaceuticals or oil), ethnic groups (Muslims, Jews), sports judges, teachers, and even managers of ordinary organizations can be suspected in a covert plan to lay off employees. We conclude, it indicates the universal nature of conspiracy theories.

As noted above, the conspiracy paradigm of thinking can explain, in clear terms and images, primarily political events. Such features of conspiratorial thinking bring it closer to the radical-constructivist specifics of explaining the world and events in it. In our opinion, there is a clear difference between belief in conspiracy theory and radical constructivism.

According to radical-constructivist epistemological guidelines, knowledge is constructed rather than “discovered”. In addition, knowledge is discussed regardless of where and by whom it is produced, as well as regardless of the ontological reality, which is fundamentally unknowable. As one of the theorists of radical constructivism, C. Holtorf, notes, “it is not knowledge that adapts to the real world, but the world itself that adapts to our cognitive needs. Human knowledge of the world corresponds to reality and is “imposed by it” as we *perceive* and *understand* it”³³. This view emphasizes the conditionality of reality by empirical experience, even their identification. Discourse, narratives, dialogue, and social practices play a crucial role, in which meaning-making is primarily concerned with the rehabilitation of the political imagination, the comprehension of new institutions, and positive rational pragmatics.

In contrast to the constructivist paradigm, the fascination with the belief in conspiracy as a cultural form is due primarily to affectivity, which also allows building of complex motivated narratives, is narratively attractive. Analyzing the mass nature of conspiracy theories as a tool to explain political events, L. Boltansky in his work “Mysteries and conspiracies - Detective Stories, Spy Novels and the Making of Modern Societies” asks, “Is the belief in the existence of a conspiracy more widespread today or is it more openly exposed? Should this question be formulated in terms of faith?”³⁴. The

³¹ J.-W. Van Prooijen, & K.M. Douglas, *Conspiracy theories as part of history: The role of societal crisis situations*. *Memory Studies*, 2017, 10, 323-333.

³² H.G. West, & T. Sanders, *Transparency and conspiracy: Ethnographies of suspicion in the New World Order*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

³³ K. Holtorf, *Radical constructivism. Knowledge beyond epistemology*. *Bulletin of Tomsk State University*, 2009, 329, p. 78.

³⁴ O. Kharkhordin, *Conspiracy is one of the tools of criticism: An interview with Luke Boltanski*, 2019. <https://gorky.media/context/zagovor-eto-odin-iz-instrumentov-kritiki-intervyu-s-lyukom-boltanski/>.

researcher offers a fictional story about the movement, the supporters of which claim that the Earth is flat, while the elites mislead people by claiming that the Earth is round. This raises the question: does it even make sense to speculate on whether people who make such statements really *believe* it? Do people really want *to know* that the Earth is really flat, and to accuse others of lying, or is their goal *to show* that they are well aware that they are lied everywhere and always?

In our opinion, such a situation should be considered in the logic of studying narrative, stories and communication. The distinction between knowledge related to *personal experience* and what the subject knows from *conversations* should be specially emphasized here. As L. Boltanski rightly points out, “the fallacy of sociology in general, and of phenomenological and pragmatic sociology in particular, lies in our excessive belief in knowledge based on personal experience”³⁵.

Thus, subjects receive the vast majority of knowledge not through strict logical Hegelian construction, but through communication - that is, from conversation. Thus, Herodotus’ history often resembles a purely fantastic story, in particular, about ants smaller than dogs but larger than foxes³⁶. Moreover, the author directly notes that he sometimes relies on *credible* stories of others. Knowledge from conversations, therefore, becomes the only form that replaces baseless knowledge: in the absence of access to the absolute, it is acquired through communication.

Modern reality, as it was already emphasized, does not have absolute knowledge, but in principle is built as a communicative or narrative, as an exchange of descriptions and evidence of reality itself in the system “author – reader” or “narrator – narratator”³⁷. Having become one of the most important concepts in structuralist and postmodern theories, the textualization of reality focuses on narrative and narrative understanding³⁸. Thus, in particular, the past is manifested as a comprehension of the missing “other”, which exists for the present only in the form of stories that archive and at the same time interpret it. The history itself is transformed into a narrative construct, formed by many private stories, heterogeneous chronologies and contradictory narratives.

As it can be seen, in the postmodern situation the narrative acquires an ontological status, and modern philosophical reflection addresses the

³⁵ O. Kharkhordin, *Ibid.*

³⁶ Herodotus, *History*. The Ancient East in the ancient and early Christian tradition (India, China, Southeast Asia). Moscow: Ladomir, 2007. Retrieved from <https://drevlit.ru/texts/g/gerodot.php>.

³⁷ R. Bart, *The discourse of history. Fashion system: statistics on the semiotics of culture*. Moscow: Izd-vo im. Sabashnikovoyh, 2003; M. Foucault, *The order of the discourse. The Will to Truth: Beyond Knowledge, Power, and sexuality*. Works of different years. Moscow: Kastal', 1994.

³⁸ R. Bart, *Ibid*; M. Foucault, *Ibid*.

problems of narrative construction, the role of fiction in it and the referential potential of its significance. Having become the core of the linguistic turn in philosophy, the narrative shows its essential appeal, allowing us to reach even the following conclusion: “today there is nothing that can not be narrated”³⁹.

According to this understanding, the objectivity of historical reality and the ability of a person to directly experience the historical past are questioned, and history itself and historical narrative are likened to verbal fiction, fantasies the forms of which are more like literature than science⁴⁰. In conditions when reality is formed by thoughts, actions and social institutions, the question of the struggle for the hegemony of certain meanings and the involvement of as many people as possible in a certain narrative is naturally actualized. The tools of such a struggle are, in particular, affected fictionalized information, bright news stories, and so on.

This situation is difficult to accept from a psychological point of view. Even in the late twentieth century, within the framework of constructivist philosophy, it was emphasized that the understanding of baseless reality is consistent from a logical point of view, but there is a psychological problem of *accepting* baseless reality and responsibility for the reality reproduced by the subjects.

According to this approach, the proposals of a more convincing conspiracy narrative become meaningless, which leads to the acceptance of reality as contingent and not having sufficient grounds⁴¹. Moreover, such a pragmatic-speculative decision is due to the inevitability of involving thinking in the construction of reality, which, accordingly, is not given as such or as some external object. Thus, subjects exist not so much in baselessness as in the dominant discourse. Even the discourse of baselessness in philosophy is today dominant, consensually accepted.

It should also be borne in mind that a conspiratorial way of explaining the world is psychologically more comfortable than a complex one. For all its apparent complexity, the conspiracy explanation is based on the simple assumption of something hidden. Conspiracy itself is understood primarily as a belief in mystery and is studied, in particular, by special services - intelligence, counterintelligence, if, for example, it is an information war.

If the central category of conspiracy is mystery, then a specific question arises: can mystery be the object of scientific study? This question is interesting from a philosophical point of view, because when a mystery becomes a given, is revealed, it ceases to be a mystery and, accordingly, can remain so only in the case of non-disclosure. Mystery as a scientific object is of interest to specialists in the field of research into the existence of mystery and the existence of people in relation to it.

³⁹ E. Domanska, *Philosophy of history after postmodernism*. Moscow: Kanon+; ROOI Reabilitaciya, 2010.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 32.

⁴¹ Q. Meillassoux, *Après la finitude. Essai sur la nécessité de la contingence*. Paris: Éditions du seuil, 2006.

A fundamentally different situation arises in the case of the implementation of the hermeneutics of the world, which is based on the presumption of mystery and provides an explanation in the modality of preference, when a person considers a certain method of decoding more convincing than available others. Hence the need to distinguish between a picture of the world formed by conspiracy theories and a picture of the world based on real communicative connections and belonging to an unstable ontology. Unstable ontologies presuppose significant ambivalence and diversity, are described in terms of differences, shortages and redundancies, and are based on the principles of radical anti-essentialism, radical pluralism, and contingency. Man himself manifests himself in post-classical culture mainly as “a multidimensional co-participatory polysubject”⁴², whose main way of being is primarily in the presence.

An example of such constructs is, in particular, the concept of *multitude*, the surge of interest in which is due to the crisis of the modern state as a form. The multitude, in contrast to the people (whose unity is reduced to the unity of the state), belongs to the general ancestral abilities (intellect, language) and determines the unity, not being directly related to the state. As P. Virno notes, analyzing the factors that destabilize reality, “In today’s world, impulsive changes do not overturn traditional and repetitive forms of life; what they do is to come between individuals who by now have gotten used to no longer having fixed customs, who have gotten used to sudden change, who have been exposed to the unusual and to the unexpected. What we have, then, at every moment and no matter what, is a reality which is repeatedly innovated”⁴³. It is the reality that is always and in every case updated. Accordingly, modern forms of life, marked by a constant sense of risk, are embodied, in particular, in the phenomenon of precariousness, which in conditions of blurring the boundaries between internal and external is more like living outside the community. In addition, precariousness as despair and anxiety causes a feeling of “not being at home”⁴⁴.

In this context, the category of being becomes unfounded, and the subject itself becomes contingent and incomplete, thus revealing ontological negativity. As a consequence of modern anthropological explorations, the criterion of ontological uncertainty has been introduced into philosophical discourse. As G. Agamben emphasizes, the suitability of philosophical concepts for new use is due to the situation of fracture of thinking⁴⁵. Instead of the basics, the theorists of unstable ontologies introduce the concepts of

⁴² Y., Meliakova et al., *Subject of Law as Homo Present*. Revista Inclusiones, 2020, 7 (Numero Especial: abril-junio), p. 191.

⁴³ P. Virno, *A grammar of the multitude: for an analysis of contemporary forms of life*. Moscow: Ad Marginem Press, 2013, p. 24-25.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 27.

⁴⁵ G. Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

confusion of the world, nonsense of sovereign operation, nomadic nomos of temporal actualizations⁴⁶, overcoming the tyranny of meaning⁴⁷, thinking in terms of the body⁴⁸.

Conspiracy is also a specific research object in an applied sense. The secret services try to expose the conspiracy, but their object is not the conspiracy itself, but various forms of social activity, which, in the end, indicates a substitution of concepts: special services primarily control the narrative, tracking the manifestations of non-standard behavioural practices and at the same time acting as a kind of critic of the “new novel” about reality. In addition, such services act as curators who write certain scenarios about reality, demonstrating a projective inversion.

Considering the specifics of conspiracy, we can argue about the legitimacy of abstraction, which acts as a certain level of narration, that is, literature, where any narrative becomes post-truth. The question of truth can be resolved in the case when the bodily reflection of the testimony is involved, which, in turn, involves access to another level of the text - the level of non-narrative. Going beyond conspiracy, respectively, is possible if you go to another level of experience. If, for example, utopian literature models the desired reality based on the hope of social justice, ecological balance, gender equality, physical upgrade, etc., it very quickly and successfully fits into new political programs.

It is very important, in our opinion, to distinguish between conspiratorial narrative and political imagination. The first turns out to be a certain trap, which they fall into, as a rule, due to distrust to authorities and lack of meaning; the second, aimed at productive reflection, tries to construct another reality in a revolutionary-utopian way and has a certain strategy of overcoming the current situation. This leads to another specific difference: if conspiratorial thinking does not require responsibility, then political thinking presupposes it in an attempt to build something new. The conspiracy theorist, operating on the totality of causal relations, does not accept contingency with its cognitive and socio-political correlates and pretends that what is desired is real.

It should also be borne in mind that one of the features of modern social development is the complication of agency, described in numerous theories of *structure-agency*, where the term *agent* denotes something that changes the configuration of the structure, and the concept of *agency* is used mainly in connection with *structure*, when it comes to action, independent of external pressure⁴⁹. Unlike *action*, *agency* can be measured in language by discourse

⁴⁶ A. Badiou, Deleuze, «*The noise of being*». Moscow: Pragmatika kul'tury, Logos-Al'tera, 2004.

⁴⁷ J. Derrida, *Writing and Difference*. Moscow: Akademicheskij proekt, 2000.

⁴⁸ J. Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* New York: Verso, 2009.

⁴⁹ N. Mouzelis, *Modern and postmodern social theorizing: Bridging the divide*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 2008; GH. Elder, & S. Hitlin, *Time, self and the curiously abstract of concept of agency*. *Sociological Theory*, 2007, 25(2), 170-191.

analysis in transitivity, modalities, nominalizations, etc., distinguishing between discursive and non-discursive, meeting the criteria of self-efficiency, locus of control, competence in decision-making, and so on.

Agency presupposes the ability of the individual to think critically and change social forms and is carried out in the following dimensions: existential (as a pre-reflective ability to challenge social dictation), pragmatic (as the ability to promising innovations), identity-related (as the ability to act within social proposed role expectations) and one that reflects the course of life (as a retrospective analysis of decisions made at turning points and transitions)⁵⁰ (Elder & Hitlin, 2007).

This ramified typification indicates a departure from a one-sided understanding of agency in a mode of resistance (as has been accepted in the context of youth feminist policies against a rigidly described and defined picture of a world in which there is no place for agency). Thus, for example, instead of one agency, the agency of certain groups to which the individual belongs is formed. This is evidence of the need to understand oneself, to present oneself to others, to understand the action as such and the participation of subjects in communication. In essence, there was a transition from a linear model to a multi-vector model; as a result, agency has become a very complex structure that tends to be commensurate with social position. Modern theory of agency sees many frames, together with their determinism, and such determinism is not final and can be re-read.

In this connection, questions naturally arise: is the frame chosen by itself or is it directed by someone? and is there any measure of agency? In our opinion, such a measure can be both the human body itself and its freedom, the condition of human existence. An example of this is single pickets, and such model behaviour must be carefully analyzed in terms of its effectiveness, which, in turn, involves complex engineering of choice of place, time, without excluding the factor of affect as opposed to painstaking logic. Single pickets are sometimes associated with the phenomenon of lobbying, a system that can include single pickets. Lobbying involves a complex political organization, as opposed to a simple unity of agents - the so-called collective agent, which seeks to achieve its goals, including the maximum use of the media. For example, in order to pass a law, parliamentary groups often consolidate with picketers. This allows neglecting conspiracy theories by combining pickets, parliamentary groups, consolidated actions, and the law into a single operation, which, in turn, works against a conspiracy ontology in favour of the utopia genre. As a result, conspiracy thinking sees the adoption of new laws as lobbying for certain ideological interests, while utopian thinking seeks to achieve an objectively good goal and change outdated practices.

⁵⁰ Elder, & S. Hitlin, *Ibid.*

Conclusion

The conspiracy narrative becomes a kind of evidence that human nature is characterized by stable mental and cognitive settings for belief in conspiracy theories. Such a belief is very sensitive to the social context, where, in particular, a feeling of vulnerability, powerlessness, alienation from social ideology, as well as a cynical attitude to political processes is formed. Conspiracy, on the other hand, interpreting current events, plays the role of a kind of hegemonic-explicative “sieve”, thanks to which the apparent and chaotic tangle of facts and events becomes clear and predictable.

The system of “stinginess” of evidence contained in the depths of conspiracy theories simplifies the process of spreading and engaging in conspiracy discourse. Together with the way conspiratorial ideas functioning, such a system forms an ideal model of postmodern hypertextuality: in conspiratorial discourse, everything is connected, each element exists in order for another to come into motion. This is the peculiarity of the conspiratorial mentality - to see everything in connection with each other, which becomes a kind of evidence base of conspiracy: everything is connected as if in a fairy-tale model, where any piece of text is a function in the overall architecture of the story.

In the conditions of extremely high dynamics of social relations a new ontological and artistic situation is formed: the reality in which there is no one authoritarian narrator or one center of knowledge is set in a communicative-narrative way. In turn, this implies signs of conspiratorial thinking, because conspiracy is based on a lack of evidence and incompleteness of any knowledge. On the other hand, such a process is accompanied by a sense of vulnerability and danger of being suspected at any time.

Conspiracy discourse has several dimensions. On the one hand, it can be imposed by a totalitarian system in order to subjugate the minds of citizens to certain goals. On the other hand, in the conditions of loss of trust in power structures, critical thinking presupposes recourse to conspiratorial discourse, thus demonstrating the awareness of delusion on the part of the authorities.

In addition, there is a segment of revolutionary-minded citizens who, through new ideologies, propose to change the world, thus demonstrating a high degree of political imagination. In our view, the political imagination is not necessarily embedded in conspiratorial discourse, but is a specific situation.

Conspiracy thinking is especially relevant in times of crisis, offering explanations for the causes of certain events, as well as threatening the public and individual consciousness with dangerous social consequences. Knowing the guidelines for approving specific conspiracy theories can help counteract their negative effects.

The way to construct a conspiratorial narrative is paranoia, which forms the characterology and cultural patterns of thinking, reinforcing the process of conspiracy and the emergence of various conspiracy theories. In a world perceived as an ensemble of characters that require decoding, subjects, exposed to subconscious or affective patterns of thinking, show a significant

tendency to motivate the conspiracy. Conspiracy theories, manifested in various ways of agent communication, range from simple conspiracy through complicity to structural prejudices and ideologies. The stability and success of the conspiracy narrative is ensured by the realization of the claim to “correct” understanding, which makes it quite convincing, and therefore in demand.

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LANDSCAPE OF SENSUAL BODY REFERENCES: THERMAL BATHS IN LESBOS ISLAND AND THEIR MULTI-HISTORICAL VALUE FROM HELLENIC ANTIQUITY TO OTTOMAN CULTURE

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Abstract: *"Culture, especially under the multiethnic conditions of East Mediterranean, was produced through previous millennia as it still does, as a trans-cultural palimpsest association. Landscape apperception and landscape formative practices, in the previous mentioned territory, are thus needed to be considered under the above described, generalized concept of multiethnic cultural influences and the same could also be valid, in particular, for the successive architectural paradigms, as well as for the formation of cultural habits and social morality. Insisting on the last remark, we could however comment that analogous influences, as those related to the body culture and to body treatment, had in the past a much more extended span of transference, travelling through the ages from East Mediterranean to post Renaissance and neoteric Western Europe. It is in this context that we shall comment in general the Western orientalist imagery of the Turkish baths. We shall present moreover, in detail, the landscape of Thermi in the Greek Lesbos Island; a natural thermal sources landscape, where successive installations of thermal baths facilities were erected, from the period of the Hellenic antiquity, though Hellenistic and Roman periods, till the early 20th century construction of the Turkish Sarligjé Palace Hotel and the end of the Ottoman control of Lesbos."*

Keywords: *Thermal baths and hammams, orientalism, Hellenic antiquity, Ottoman Culture, Lesvos Island, Thermi, Sarligjé Palace Hotel.*

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Introduction: Neoteric Western Eroticism and its correlation to previous historic periods or non-Western Cultural references

It is well-known that the cultural route from medieval religious prohibition to the Renaissance and neoteric liberal ethics was largely correlated to ancient references, i.e. to the Roman and ancient Hellenic antiquity. Venus emerged from the sea in Sandro Botticelli's depiction, directly associated to and deriving from the ancient Greek mythology. Its form kinetically reproduced Medici Venus ("Venus de' Medici"), a Hellenistic marble sculpture representing the Greek goddess of love Aphrodite, in full uncensored nudity.¹ This historic moral influence was prolonged with undiminished intensity throughout 19th century romanticism, constantly appearing up until within the contemporary cultural expression. However, its importance during the romantic era could be compared to a direction of equally dense sensual references, briefly described under the term 'Orientalism'. It is clear from the etymology of the word that this second approach was related to 'Orient' (orient in general), highlighting however the lure of the Arabic and Ottoman imagery, whose influence on Europeans and Westerners could be traced back to the Renaissance Italy.

Additionally, it would be worth noting that the liberation of the erotic body was largely correlated in European history to the interest for the libidinal naturalness of the landscape and though orientalist landscape depictions, as the ones by Edward Lear or Louis Dupré, were not inhabited by nymphs and naiads², those were usually attributed an indolent seductive sensation.

In our presentation, however, we shall refer in particular to the sensual imagery correlated with the Turkish thermal baths and more specifically, to the way that this body treatment was associated with previous historic paradigms in the Eastern Mediterranean, as in the case of the thermal baths of Lesbos Island. There a palimpsest of successive historic inscriptions may be noted, on the hospitable earth surface of the Mediterranean landscape, inviting the sequence of the successive cultures to the veneration of the corporal well-being.

Landscape apperception and landscape and garden art as Multiethnic Cultural Formations

Landscape apperception and landscape and garden art were produced in the course of Western post-renaissance and neoteric history not as practical 'real' place interventions solely. Instead, they were closely correlated to important aspects of the Western cultural and political ethics, as for example to the political sovereignty of the western neoteric states, to their demand for liberal governance comparable to the respect of natural qualities, or to the

¹ The sculpture is housed in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

² The tutelary deities of waters.

demand for physical pleasure.³ It was in this context that Western historiography has often presented the initial important paradigms of landscape and garden art interventions, as principally correlated to the initial period of the Italian Quattrocento.⁴ Nevertheless, even Petrarch (the early Italian humanist Francesco Petrarca), whose famous letter describing the landscape aesthetic evaluation from Mount Ventoux⁵ is usually considered as the starting point of the landscape ‘civilized’ concept, referred to the ancient Hellenic example.⁶ Moreover, it was through Moorish Spain that Arabic garden art entered the European continent, in a close didactic association to the future Western approaches of the formal garden art.

The latter is a rather interesting starting point for the theoretical investigation we should like to propose. Landscape apperception and landscape formative practices need to be considered and the same could also be valid for culture in general, in the context of multiethnic influences, which transcend national and religious differences and travel along interlocked geographical and historical itineraries. This is the founding concept of our approach, which will elaborate more on the interest for Ottoman landscape apperception and Ottoman garden art and equally importantly, to its correlation to the territory of the Balkan Peninsula and Eastern Mediterranean, where nowadays Hellenic state exists⁷.

Our focused research will refer to the Lesbos Island, a Greek island nowadays, close to the contemporary west Turkish coastline. Lesbos is an important place of reference, a significant ‘cultural landscape’ for ancient Greek, Hellenistic and Roman history. The island was part of the Byzantine world and for four centuries a part of the Ottoman Empire in close correlation to the interest of the Sublime Port and to the economic, cultural and political

³ As presented, for example, in the narration of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, translated in English as *Poliphilo's Strife of Love in a Dream* or *The Dream of Poliphilus* [Colonna, 2005], or through the sculptural decoration of the Renaissance, Baroque and English landscape architecture formations. Within this context, it is significant to refer to the neoclassical ‘folie’ structure, under the name ‘Temple d’Amour – Temple of Love’, in Marie Antoinette’s gardens in Versailles, in the Petit Trianon.

⁴ As for example presented in Kenneth Clark’s *Landscape into Art* (1949).

⁵ We refer to Petrarch’s ‘Ascent of Mont Ventoux in Provence, on 26 April 1336, described in a letter of his, published as one of his *Epistolae familiares* (IV, 1) [2005].

⁶ In comparison to the ancient king, Philip II of Macedon and his ascent to the Haemus Mountain (Balkan mountain ridge).

⁷ Img. 1: Sarligé Palace, the grandiose hotel designed by French architects and built next to the thermal sources of Thermi, in Lesbos Island in 1909. Its construction, supported by Hasan Efendi Mola Mustafa, brother of the Ottoman Grand Bezir Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa, took place on the site of previous installations tracing back to the Hellenic and Roman antiquity as well as to the earliest Ottoman years and was correlated to the use of the thermal sources. On the foreground, archaeological remains may clearly be seen

[<https://www.archaiologia.gr/blog/2020/07/03/> last retrieved 9/20/2021].

transformations of the Ottoman governance⁸. It was incorporated in the Hellenic State in 1912, retaining on its landscape the material reminiscences of a rich historical past.

A much more specific approach will examine the landscape of Thermi in Lesbos Island, insisting on the thermal therapeutic springs of the place, those being in extensive use from Greek antiquity till recently. Their use during the Ottoman period was prolonged till the middle of 20th century and allowed for the construction of Sarlidjé Palace, a famous thermal baths hotel, designed by French architects and constructed in 1909 in order to promote the use of the therapeutic springs in the touring ambience of the eastern Mediterranean. It is in this complex multi-cultural context that we may use the landscape of Thermi and the trans-historic experience of the thermal bath body treatment as a paradigm of the multi-ethnic formation of culture, i.e. the ‘rhizomatic’ influences exerted among various ethnic approaches in a multi-directional manner of continuous osmoses, many times in anon-hierarchical, non ‘arboreal’ way.⁹ It is in this context that we may correlate the Ottoman hammams and ‘Turkish baths’, as well as the use of the natural thermal springs as those existing in the territory of Thermi, with previous historic body treatment customs as those of the ancient Roman and Greek world. In addition, approaching historically the 18th and 19th centuries, we will attempt to associate this bathing physical experience with the seductive influence exerted to the Western imagery by the East, presented through the romantic expressive trend of ‘Orientalism’. In Orientalism’s descriptions, baths scenes seem to represent the Western observer’s fascination for a foreign culture, which in its non-developed character poses, nevertheless, an immediate erotic quality.

Ottomans and the Westerners after renaissance: Cultural Associations and landscape apperception

Western cultural and political arrogance often underestimates the important influences from the peripheral non-Western countries and the same is valid for the landscape references as well. Nevertheless, it is also well known that Westerners developed a keen interest for Ottomans, not only in the context of an orientalistic, sensually centered imagery as previously mentioned, but also for economic and geopolitical reasons. The latter present many cultural side effects in literature, representational arts and furthermore, in (garden and landscape) architecture¹⁰.

⁸ For the social and spatial development of the island during the Ottoman Period see Dimitrios Karydis, *Urban Description of Mytilene and Space Description of Lesbos (15th – 19th century)*, based on unpublished Ottoman and French Sources [ΚαρύδηςΔ.: Μυτιλήνης Αστυγرافία και Λέσβου Χωρογραφία (15ος-19οςαιώνας). Με βάση Αδημοσίευτες Οθωμανικές και Γαλλικές Πηγές – in Greek], Athens, Olkos Edit., 2000.

⁹ ‘Rhizomatic’ versus ‘arboreal’, or multi-directional versus a hierarchical, ‘tree like’ manner. A comparative approach as used by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Mille Plateux, capitalisme et schizophrénie*, Paris, Les Édit. de Minuit, 1980, pp. 25-27.

¹⁰ For a comprehensive study on the matter see Nebahat Avcioğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, (1728-1876)*, Surrey, Ashgate Edit., 2011.

Renaissance painting attests to the previous Western reference to Ottomans, as for example presented in Gentile Bellini's paintings and sketches¹¹. In the centuries to come, imitations of Turkish mosques would be proposed or built in Western gardens as in the British Royal Gardens of Kew¹² or in the 'Turkish garden' of the Schwetzingen Castle and castle gardens in the German state of Baden-Württemberg. We should correlate this architecture and garden approach to a general stylistic introduction of expressive tendencies of Ottoman reference, as described by the French term 'turquerie' or 'turquiserie, under the English term 'turkery', constituting an orientalist fashion trend rather extensive in Western countries in the 18th century.

These habits of imitation became even more popular through trade advancements and improved diplomatic relationships between the Ottomans and the European nations, as exemplified by the Franco-Ottoman alliance in 1715. Should we compare the previous terms, as for example the term 'turquerie', with other relatively stylistic descriptive expressions as the term 'chinoiserie' (Chinese like) or 'japonaiserie' (Japanese like), we may depict a multi-collective cultural approach, characteristic of the cultural cumulative, even 'devouring' character of the colonizing Western countries and also, typical of their landscape approach¹³.

Garden art and landscape architecture constitute a direct proof of the effort of the Western civilization to epitomize all possible cultural components from every part of the world, especially if those are considered to have obtained important cultural and political status. Archeological elements of foreign monuments, artistic creations and stylistic examples were continuously accumulated in the Western civilization center and further, 'acclimatized' in the European continent. 'To acclimatize' refers to a verb used for the transplantation of foreign vegetal species from a previous natural landscape to a natural and cultural landscape of a new possible plantation. The term 'acclimatization' is used for vegetal species for productive or aesthetic reasons and moreover, in a figurative way it is used for the characterization of the very process of acceptance and adoption of cultural and even political approaches. Typical examples of such a process include the 'tulip mania' in 17th century

¹¹ For the presence of Bellini in the Ottoman court see Sean Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World. Florence, Constantinople and the Renaissance of Geography*, Cambridge/London, Harvard University Press, 2013, pp. 122-139.

¹² It was built in 1761 three years after the construction of Alhambra, an imitation of a Moorish building. Both of them do not exist anymore R. Desmond, *The History of the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew*, Kew Publishing, 2007, pp.50-51 – also Avcioglu, op.cit, pp. 139-186.

¹³ Img. 2: The mosque of the English Royal Gardens of Kew, not existing anymore [https://londonist.com/2016/08/the-lost-mosque-of-kew-gardens – last retrieved 9/20/2021] and the 'Red Mosque in the Turkish Garden of the Schwetzingen Castle, in Baden-Württemberg, Germany [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schwetzingen_Palace#/media/File:Schwetzingen_-_Schlossgarten_-_Moschee_-_Ansicht_über_den_Moscheeweiher_im_Herbst_1.jpg – last retrieved 9/20/2021].

Netherlands, fruit plants' transfer from Tahiti to the West Indies¹⁴ and Washingtonian palm-trees imported from America to Greece after its liberation, in order to accentuate royal strength. In a figurative sense, legendary Arcadias and Elysian Fields were also 'transplanted' in post-renaissance Europe, as a reference to the ancient political and cultural vigor. Chinese garden art offered its supreme expressional forms to 18th and 19th British landscape architectural examples as a distant reference to the Chinese imperial supremacy¹⁵ and Ottoman paradigms were important to Europeans for similar reasons, as an indication of their admiration for the Sublime Port's strength.

In comparison to those distant influences, in many ways of ideological reference, Ottoman culture interventions to landscape in the Balkan Peninsula and Eastern Mediterranean and more precisely in the territory of contemporary Greece were of immediate structural importance. In Lesbos Island for example, the Ottoman intervention appears to be crucial at many levels of both the economic and cultural levels. It did not only transform the agrarian economy of the island and the rural landscape itself but also, offered an important variety of historical buildings and among them a large number of structures –hammams- dedicated to bathing facilities¹⁶.

From Central Asia to the Mediterranean Coast: an extended cultural itinerary, full of landscape experiences

Turkish nomadic tribes possessed a rather limited knowledge of agrarian cultivation and garden or landscape art interventions. We may nevertheless imagine an immediate conduct of those nomads with the primordial forces emerging out of the earth surface. We could even try to present in a poetic way the powerful spirits of the places, the 'genii loci' in plural, emerging from the surrounding landscape to enchant them. The influence of the thermal sources could be considered as an expression of a similar earthly deity, offering to the believer a meditative relaxation and a healing sensation. Bathing habits, however, possessed for the Islamic culture a much more developed religious importance than this first immediate primitive symbolism. They were rather correlated to the sacred purification of the body and they were closely related

¹⁴ As described in the fascinating narration of the 'Mutiny on Bounty'.

¹⁵ William Chambers' book *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* [1772], refers to the influence of the Chinese landscape and garden art to Westerners and the French description 'jardin anglo-chinois', 'English-Chinese garden', attributed to the English landscape architecture, tends to insist on this expressive influence.

¹⁶ For further information on the field see Ioanna Katsargyri – Markezini, *Baths and Hammams in Mytilene: Social and Cultural Practices (late 19th and early 20th century). A contribution to the folklore study of the Usage of Water and Body Cleaness* [Κατσαργύρη – Μαρκεζίνη, Ι.: Λουτρά κα Χαμάμ στην Μυτιλήνη: Κοινωνικές και Πολιτισμικές Πρακτικές (τέλη 19ου αρχές 20ου αιώνα). Συμβολή στην Λαογραφική Μελέτη της Χρήσης του Νερού και της Σωματικής Καθαριότητας – in Greek], Ioannina, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis at the Philosophical School, Department of History and Archeology, University of Ioannina.'s thesis on the *Baths and Hammams in Mytilene*, 2014.

to the cultural influences transferred to Arabs and Ottomans from previous cultures.

Water has always escorted all manifestations of Greeks' social life as references to baths and the purified properties of water can be traced back to Homer (Hector's sacrifice to Zeus is only made possible after he has washed his hands). Herodotus is the first person to mention the term "thermal baths", assigning a sense of high importance to such health practices. His suggestions are followed by similar ones by Plato (in his work "Politeia") and Aristotle who urges the use of thermal baths for the cure of various diseases. Asclepius' medicinal practices took place in specially designated places of worship and healing (rehabilitation) called "Asklepieia", with the one in Kos island being the most prominent centre of hydrotherapy. Yet, the father of the balneotherapy is considered to be Hippocrates, who divided water into potable, salty (referring to thermal water) and sea water¹⁷.

Bath facilities were not only a place of body cleaning but mainly, places of social gathering, leisure and pleasure, resembling –in terms of social importance- the role of ancient agora in greek cities and thus, reflecting the prevailing perceptions and customs of each era. Most importantly though, baths constituted a "landscape" of threshold: the bathing ritual demanded that the user left his earthly place and entered the world of purity and pleasure, deprived of any social status or luxurious properties.

In this sequence of transmitted cultural influences, we may comment that the Ottoman bathing use of the Thermi thermal sources in Lesbos Island was installed on the same spot with the ancient Hellenic temple of *Artemis Thermia (Diana of Thermi)*. The veneration of the ancient goddess was thus, connoted the association of the primordial, savage force of the landscape substratum, that of the healing thermal water emerging from the depths of the earth, with its cultural evolution, its cultural transformation to bathing activity.¹⁸

Consequently, we return to a crucial objective of this study, initially presented in the introductory chapter and referring to the exploration of the way the Ottomans were related to past cultures of their ruling area and in this overall context, to the ways through which they incorporated and attributed new meaning to already established spaces reflecting older cultural habits. It is clear that the Ottomans conquered no empty land. On the contrary, Eastern Mediterranean possessed a history of sedentary cultures existing in this part of

¹⁷ See also his work "On Airs, Waters, and Places" (400B.C.).

¹⁸ Img. 3-4: The *Aphrodite of Knidos* by Praxiteles of Athens (4th cent. B.C.). The goddess is preparing for her ritual bath, having removed her clothes and placing them over a hydria (water pitcher), while shielding herself with one hand. Ioanna Katsargyri – Markezini, op.cit, pp.245-254.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aphrodite_of_Knidos#/media/File:Cnidus_Aphrodite_Altemps_Inv8619.jpg – last retrieved 9/20/2021] and *The Four Rivers of Paradise* by Monk Jacobus (12th cent.), [<https://www.flickr.com/photos/quadrlectics/33033670524/> - last retrieved 9/20/2021].

the world for millennia, i.e. previous cultures that had created their own means of correlation to the surrounding landscape. In spite of the large number of new towns erected by the Ottomans, the basic urban net pre-existed and similarly, agrarian practices presented a long-existing historical depth. It was in this context of cultural wealth that the Ottomans fruitfully ‘acclimatized’ their own interventions, often related to previous historical practices.

The paradigm of the use of the thermal baths in Thermi in Lesbos Island may be considered as a similar trans-cultural example with prolific connotations. The Greek nomination of the place, ‘Thermi’, etymologically related to the word ‘θερμός–hot’ out of which the English term ‘thermal’ is produced, was transformed to the Turkish name ‘Sarlıdjé’, ‘Yellow Water’¹⁹(yellow water place) to describe the color of the water coming out of the sources, converting the surrounding soil to a muddy therapeutic substance. The healing properties of the location were also exploited during the Ottoman period, as indicated by the late 18th century Ottoman sheltered thermal bath facilities, erected by Cezayrli Hasan Pasa and still existing on the spot²⁰. It was only at the beginning of the 20th century that the use of the place turned from its previous traditional semi-practical, semi-symbolic reference to the consummative condition of the touristic installation for visitors of high social status. Thermi was not the only location that was acquainted with such development. It seems that at the turn of the 19th to early 20th century several locals, inspired by similar European trends, endeavored at investing into the development of similar bathing facilities, with the cases of Polichnitos and Kourtzi Baths, not too far away from Thermi, being the most well-known examples²¹.

In 1909, under the governmental support of Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa, a first small building that was constructed some years earlier, was supplemented by a much larger hotel structure, including the hotel rooms, the bathing facilities for the clients and leisure spaces both internally and externally, belonging to his brother, the eminent Hasan Efendi Mola Mustafa. It is significant to mention that the hotel bore the ambitious name of the ‘palace’, ‘Sarlıdjé Palace’, the palace of the Yellow Water thermal sources. Equally important is the fact that Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa, who was born in Lesbos Island, was ‘Grand Bezir’, i.e. the Prime Minister of the Ottoman state. It seems that his brother and he had a high esteem for the possible future development of their native place, a possible development associated not only with the vicinity of the island to the Minor Asia urban centers and the capital of the state but also, to its high cultural qualities and to the qualities of its natural surroundings.

¹⁹ ‘Sari Iludja’, is another description used for the sources of Thermi during the Turkish period. It can be translated as ‘yellow mud’.

²⁰ As described in Kostas Zacharopoulos and Elias Barbikas, Zacharopoulos, *Baths of Greece, a Touring Guide* [Ζαχαρόπουλος, Κ. & Μπαρμπίκας, Η. (επιμ.): Τα Λουτρά της Ελλάδας, Περιηγητικός Οδηγός -in Greek], Athens, Kastaniotis edit., 2001, p.105.

²¹ Ioanna Katsargyri – Markezini, *op.cit.*, pp. 245-255.

Those were the important qualities to which the prestigious identity of Lesbos was associated since antiquity, inscribed in Sappho's and Alcaeus' poetry, in Longus *Daphnis and Chloe*²² narrative and in the notes of the successive European visitors. Those important qualities were related to the terms of the economic and political transformations of the Ottoman Empire during the period of the construction of the Sarlidjé Palace, a period historically connected to the Young Turks' political reform movement;²³ i.e. a movement of modernization, characterized by intense bourgeois orientation, which besides the demands for the limitation of the Sultan's arbitrariness, insisted as well on the terms of the structural economic update of the state.

It was in this socio-political historical context that the construction of the impressive Sarlidjé Palace took place in Thermi, on the design proposals of French architects; a building which against its extreme structural deterioration, still keeps in its ghostly appearance the traces of its previous grandiose identity. The contemporary volition of the Hellenic State for the rehabilitation of the now severely damaged majestic building may be considered as a cultural effort to re-insert this monument of the neoteric East Mediterranean history to a long sequence of material indices and intangible recollections that has to be preserved, in an attempt to highlight the multicultural historic past of the Lesbos Island. At this point, it is crucial to stress that the erection of the new luxurious venues did not result in the demolition of the older Ottoman bathing facilities, as those were now aiming at a more local audience of lower financial status, who still frequented the place as they did for generations.

Western imagery, Orientalist sensualism and the geo-erotic landscape of the Arabic and Ottoman world

It was in late '70s that Edward W. Said published his book on *Orientalism* in 1978, insisting on a post-colonial critical examination of the subject. According to Said's proposal, Orient in general and Arabic or Ottoman culture in particular, was approached by westerners in a Eurocentric way, describing Orient as a romantic 'picturesque'²⁴ territory of reference, many times

²² *Daphnis and Chloe*, *Δάφνις και Χλόη* in Greek, is an ancient Greek novel written in Greek, in the Roman Empire, during the 2nd century AD by Greek author Longus, *The Pastorals, or the Loves of Daphnis and Chloe*, Cambridge, Parentheses Publications, 2002, longus_daphnis.pdf (yorku.ca) – last retrieved 8/4/2021.

²³ The reform movement of the 'Young Turks', in Turkish terms 'Jön Türkler' or 'Genç Türkler', was an early 20th century political movement that favored the replacement of the Ottoman Empire's absolute monarchy with a constitutional government. The final praxis of this transformative bourgeois oriented effort was the 1908's Young Turk Revolution, a rebellion against the absolute rule of Sultan Abdulhamid II. It succeeded to establish the Second Constitutional Era, and offered a multi-party democracy for the first time in the Turkish history.

²⁴ 'Picturesque'; suitable to be depicted in particular and romanticized in general, outside the rudimentary conditions of commonplace reality in a state of cultural idealization.

idealized, being however inferior than their own part of world. Therefore, it becomes apparent that we move from a previous admiration of the Ottoman sovereignty to the description of the East through fascinating yet inferior qualities. It was in this context that Orient could be represented as violent, despotic, primitive and irrational, associating the latter with an immediate body-centered sensuality. If Western civilization was assimilated to the political and ethical predominance of Reason, then oriental idiosyncrasy was rather closer to the unconscious instinctive mentality. The latter was usually depicted in reference to the female body, often described in correlation to the nonchalant hedonism of the oriental thermal bath, the hammam, also designated by westerners, as we have previously mentioned, with an immediate correlation to the Turkish culture as ‘Turkish bath’.

It would be rather significant to mention that Said’s book used on the cover of its first edition the reproduction of an oil-canvas orientalist painting by the 19th century French artist Jean Léon Gérôme, under the title *The Snake Charmer, Le Charmeur de serpent*. The painting presents a naked boy, standing in the center of a hall, watched by a group of armed warriors of obvious Islamic origin. The snake charmer, the boy, is facing away from the viewer of the painting, exposing to him his undressed body, holding a python which is also partly wrapped around his waist. Comments of art historians explain that his nudity is not related to an erotic display but rather, correlated to the effort of the performer to avoid charges of fraud. Nevertheless, the subtle treatment of the charmer’s naked body cannot abstain from the feeling of sensuality, as compared for example to *The Slave Market, Le Marché d’esclaves*, another well known painting also by Gérôme²⁵.

Another example attesting to the aforementioned arguments related to apperceptions of the Muslim Orient by the westerners is the work -in the form of letters- of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, an English aristocrat and writer who accompanied her diplomat husband to Istanbul in early 18th cent., where the latter was appointed the British ambassador. During her two-year stay, Lady Mary Montagu wrote extensively on her experience as a foreigner –and especially a woman- in a series of letters called *Letters from the Orient*, which essentially recorded her travels to “a new world”, eloquently describing the vivid atmosphere of pleasure and relaxation in public baths. This remarkable work full of witty observations not only constitutes the first record of the

²⁵ Img.5: Two depictions by Jean Léon Gérôme; *The Snake Charmer, Le Charmeur de serpent* (c. 1879) – [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Snake_Charmer#/media/File:Jean-Léon_Gérôme_-_Le_charmeur_de_serpens.jpg – last retrieved 9/20/2021] and the *The Slave Market, Le Marché d’esclaves* (c. 1866) –

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slave_market#/media/File:Geromeslavemarket.jpg – last retrieved 9/20/2021]. It would be interesting to remark that Gérôme executed, in 1857, a painting very similar to *The Slave Market*, in an ancient Greek or Roman setting. In the romantic 19th century cultural approach the feeling of nudity in correlation to the ancient Greco-roman context or in the Oriental world appears thus to be analogous.

Muslim Orient by a woman but also, inspired the painter Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, a century later, to create his masterpiece *Le Bain Turc, The Turkish bath*²⁶.

Ingres was fascinated by Lady Mary Montagu's detailed descriptions of nude oriental beauties in the Turkish bath in Adrianople (Edirne), where she stated "it is the women's coffee-house, where all the news of the town is told and scandal invented. They generally take this diversion once a week, and stay without getting cold by coming immediately out of the hot bath into the cool room, which was very surprising to me". It is clear that she was charmed by the beauty and hospitality of the Ottoman women she had encountered, acknowledging the role of those baths being both for entertainment and healing and at the same time, rejecting all the misconceptions previous (male) travelers had recorded about the customs, habits, limitations and moral ethics of women in the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish baths, according to her, seem to be a place where female authority is praised and beauty is admired uncensored. Her comments on her writings do not necessarily praise the Orient but most definitely, challenge western assumptions of the Muslim Orient, pinpointing social conventions and biased perceptions of the world order by the European-ruled territories.

In the previous historical context, harem and Turkish baths scenes were intensively centered on female body depictions as males were only presented in a barbaric or sexual relation to it, in a state of dominance towards women. We have to notice however that orientalism was an important trend of the 19th century academic art and that, besides its ruling connotations concerning either the dominance of the Western pictorial superiority over Orient, or of men's power over the objectified femininity, it also represented an imaginary land of erotic fantasies, at least partly censored by Western morality. Arthur Rimbaud's *Drunken Boat, Bateau Ivre*, finally sailed to the direction of Eastern Mediterranean and to the Islamic countries of the Middle East.²⁷

Orient was thus envisioned by the Westerners as the 'geo-erotic' landscape of promises, in many ways correlated to the sensual body treatment as the one offered by the oriental habit of the thermal baths. It was in this way that Ottoman and Turkish references represented for the Westerners the lost 'body' of their own civilization, the body which they were trying to retrieve and reinvent, introducing influential references from the antiquity and the East. It is

²⁶ *Img.6: Le Bain Turc, The Turkish bath*, by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (1852) [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Turkish_Bath#/media/File:Ingres_Marville_Bain_Turc_1859.jpg] as well as

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Turkish_Bath#/media/File:Le_Bain_Turc,_by_Jean_Auguste_Dominique_Ingres,_from_C2RMF_retouched.jpg - last retrieved 9/20/2021].

²⁷ Reference made to Arthur Rimbaud's famous poem *The Drunken Boat, Le Bateau Ivre*, as representative of the romantic volition for escape from Western cultural triviality. It is also well known that the last years of Rimbaud's life, were associated to his Near East adventures.

in this very context however, that Ottoman bathing scenes, as presented by the orientalists of 18th and 19th centuries, may be regarded as exemplary for the cultural distortion and deterioration projected by them on important aspects of the Islamic world. Orientalism thus, appears to completely ignore the religious part of the Islamic bathing customs, insisting on the image of a hyper-sexualized female identity. Such claim is further supported by the erection of modern bathing venues in Paris, London and other Western cities, more or less at the same period, which however were built in an Orientalizing-Ottomanized style, deprived of their original purified connotations and adapted to the contemporary European sense of cleanness²⁸. They were correlated, nevertheless, to the sensual image of the nude body²⁹.

In controversy to this distorted imagery *The Mysteries of Purity*, a text of the 11th century, described in detail the proper way for performing ablutions before prayer, insisting especially on the major ablution, ‘ghusl’, which had to take place after anything which renders it necessary, such as the emission of semen. The text was written by a famous Muslim theologian of the 11th century, of Persian origin, Al-Ghazzālī.³⁰ It was a part of his multi-volume work under the title *Revival of the Religious Sciences*, and thus, presented bathing customs as important rituals or even better, as an important expression of the Muslim religious life. According to this ritualized comportment, the hammam was considered as a primarily male practice, and was permitted to women only after childbirth or illness as an act of thorough purification. Even then however, Al-Gazali advised men to prohibit their wives or sisters from using the hammam, while he also insisted on the avoidance of nakedness. Male nakedness, according to him was decent only when the body part between the knees and the lower stomach of men was hidden, while for women, only exposure of the face and palms was appropriate.

We could thus return to Said’s cultural and political critic and accept his redefinition of orientalism as an academic and artistic approach, shaped in the context of the colonizing cultural attitudes of Western imperialism, during the 18th and 19th centuries. We could furthermore, associate Said’s critical

²⁸ Nebahat Avcioglu, op.cit., pp.182-252.

²⁹ *Img.7: Again by Jean Léon Gérôme; bathing scenes of orientalist sensual reference* [<http://www.mystudios.com/artgallery/J/Jean-L%C3%A9on-G%C3%A9r%C3%B4me/A-Bath%2C-Woman-Bathing-Her-Foot-%28or-Harem-Pool%29.html> - also – <https://www.wikiart.org/en/jean-leon-gerome/moorish-bath-1870> - as well as https://www.allartclassic.com/pictures_zoom.php?p_number=52&p=&number=GEJO24 – last retrieved 9/20/2021].

³⁰ In his *Kitab Asrar al-Taharah - On the Mysteries of Purity*; though this text is not considered as one of the more profound contributions of al Ghazzālī, it still remains an integral part of the *Ihya' 'ulum al-din* of his *Revival of the Religious Sciences*, previously cited. The *Revival of the Religious Sciences* is widely regarded as one of the most important work of Muslim spirituality, and is perhaps the most read work in the Muslim world, after the Qur’ān. According to the Muslim canons of purification, “religion was founded on cleanliness”. In *Revival of Religious Sciences* (ghazali.org) – last retrieved 8/4/2021.

thesis to Antonio Gramsci's theory of 'cultural hegemony', describing a politically oriented formation of cultural production, ideologically supporting the 'hegemony', the political predominance of one social class or one state over another.³¹ It is in the same context that Gauri Viswanathan [1989] insisted, in the case of India, to the way that English literary studies emerged as a discipline in colonial settings in order to strengthen Western cultural and consequently, political British hegemony. We could finally associate those critical approaches to Michel Foucault's theorization of the concept of 'discourse' presenting, in his writings, the relationship between the formation of knowledge and the political power, at any given historical period.³²

It would be unfavorable however, to reduce the value of the cultural association between East and West to the hegemonic approach of the latter upon the former. Even in the state of cultural distortion, the hallucinating imagery of Westerners for the Orient represented their volition of escapism from a state of existence being in many ways suffocating, especially during the period of the first industrial development. To this intense tendency of escape during the 18th and 19th century, we could easily associate the need of the Europeans to rediscover or 'reinvent' their body after the medieval period. To this end, any associations to ancient Greece and Rome and later on to the oriental seduction seem to offer an important context of references, even if approached in a biased cultural perception.

The historical cultural landscape of Lesbos and Thermi: the ancient past

Thermal baths and hammams were not an element of Arabic and Ottoman culture solely. Long before those, Spartans were using 'lacedaemonicum', the ancient Hellenic and Roman equivalent of the hammam, a practice well established in the east Mediterranean periphery and later extended in all over of the Roman world.³³ This multi-ethnic and multi-temporal custom, using the trans-cultural continuity of the relevant experience, constituted in a metaphoric description, the 'landscape' of the body in correlation to the material landscape of places, where thermal sources

³¹ As presented in his *Prison's Notebooks*, Hoare & Smith, 1971, pp. 258.

³² As described in a number of his most important theoretical contributions, as for example in his thesis for his doctorate, titled *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (trans. *Madness and Insanity: History of Madness in the Classical Age*), later on published under the abbreviated title *Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* [1972] An analogous theoretical orientation may be found in his book *Les mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines - The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, 1966, introduced through the concept of 'episteme – épistémè', as well as in his *L'Histoire de la sexualité- The History of Sexuality*; a study of four volumes, the first volume bearing the subtitle *La volonté de savoir- The Will to Knowledge*, 1976.

³³ They were extended as far as the territory of the city of Bath, in Somerset, England. The Roman baths, designed for public bathing in the small Roman settlement existing there, known as *Aquae Sulis*, were used until the end of Roman rule in Britain.

were offered for the creation of thermal bath installations. Such case study may be found in the territory of Thermi, in a cultural landscape that could be presented as a historical multi-layered 'palimpsest'. The ancient remains of Lesbos Island, together with the noticeable ancient literature references to it, were important attractions to visitors already since Renaissance period.³⁴ Ancient monuments are mentioned in their texts and cartography descriptions as early as in 15th century yet, the first systematic archaeological research had to wait until the 20th century to be conducted. It was focused in the territory of our interest, in Thermi and was organized by the renowned English archaeologist Winifred Lamb over a period of several years (1929-1933). The results of her research were initially presented in scientific journals and later on in her book under the title *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos*, published in 1936³⁵. Lamb principally referred to the prehistoric past of Thermi in particular, presenting her scientific approach for Lesbos Island in general. Her text was well supplied with drawings and plates of the various buildings and artefacts which were uncovered during the excavations, the majority of which tracing back to the Bronze Age.

The results of Lamb's research were historically significant. She uncovered the successive layers of five different superimposed cities, each one built on top of the other, from the beginning till the middle of the 3rd millennium. One more city, the sixth, appeared during the middle of the 2nd millennium, built over the ruins of the previous structures, while the first and the second cities were contemporary to the first formation of the city of Troy. The fifth city at Thermi, probably being the most prosperous of those Bronze Age installations, was contemporary to the second formation of the city of Troy. In the middle of the 2nd millennium new inhabitants arrived at the territory and created a settlement that survived till 1200 B.C. approximately, when the Homeric Troy was destructed.

The end of the second millennia was an important transitional historical period for Lesbos as Aeolians, one of the four major tribes in which ancient Greeks divided themselves,³⁶ arrived in the island and their installation initiated a new historic era of cultural development during the archaic years (7th – 6th century B.C.), which reached its peak in the next century. After their migration to Lesbos, Aeolians divided the island proportionally to the formation of their tribe subordinate clans and Thermi was inhabited,

³⁴ An important number of historic references of our presentation were found in Eirini Anomeritaki's diploma thesis, realized in the context of her post-graduate studies in the School of Architecture NTUA, under the title 'Sarlidjé Palace Hotel, the Spa-Town of Thermi in Lesbos, 2008.

³⁵ W., Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos*, Cambridge, University Press, 2012.

³⁶ Along with the Achaeans, Dorians and Ionians. Originating in Thessaly, a part of which was called Aeolis, the Aeolians often appear as the most numerous amongst the other Hellenic tribes of early times. During the Dorian invasion, Aeolians from Thessaly fled across the Aegean Sea to the island of Lesbos and the region of Aeolis, called as such after them, in Asia Minor.

according to this division, by the group of ‘Mytilineas’. The existence of the thermal sources and their obvious therapeutic qualities presented an important element for the creation of the surrounding Aeolic settlements and furthermore, for the creation of a religious and therapeutic centre dedicated to goddess Artemis, as we have previously mentioned. Artemis was venerated in this case as a tutelary deity of curative practices. During the 5th century, the previous uses of Thermi were intensified, as indicated by archaeological evidences such as shell objects from broken pottery, pieces of clay statuettes, sculptural marble members and underground pipe systems found during the excavations. These attest to the site being an important ancient centre of hydrotherapy, combining thermal bath facilities, with medical treatment and religious cult.³⁷

During the Hellenistic years, from 323-31 B.C., Thermi had to present an impressive development in immediate correlation to Artemis’ cult and surely, to the bathing function directly connected to the religious importance of the place. It was a development associated to the general flourishing of the cities of Lesbos, which at the end of the 3rd century B.C. came in alliance with other cities of the eastern Mediterranean in order to strengthen its political impact at the territory.

The Roman dominance of the isle, from 31 B.C. till 4th century A.D., rendered Lesbos more prosperous, especially the city of Mytilene, where a large number of important buildings were erected; a prytaneion,³⁸ a theatre, magnificent temples and luxurious houses. It was in reference to this glamorous development that Vitruvius described Mytilene as “built in grandiose and elegant style”, while Cicero expressed his admiration for its buildings as well as for the natural beauty of the surrounding countryside. We may cite again Longus’ novel *Daphnis and Chloe* written during this period, in 2nd century A.D., allocating the narration in the countryside around Mytilene.³⁹

During the Roman period, the cultural appeal of Thermi was extended to the whole Lesbos island and even further; its prestigious hydrotherapy and religious centre retained its attraction to the whole eastern Mediterranean periphery till the late Roman period⁴⁰. During this period, Lesbos could be

³⁷ I. Kontis, *Lesbos and its Minor Asia Territory* [Κόντης, Ι.: Η Λέσβος και η Μικρασιατική της περιοχή – in Greek], Athens, Athenian Centre for Ecistics Edit., 1978, pp. 236, 420.

³⁸ A ‘prytaneion’, ‘Πρυτανεῖον’ in ancient Greek, was the seat of the ‘prytaneis’, the executives, and thus the urban building used as the seat of government in ancient Greek and later on in Roman cities. The term was used to describe any ancient building where officials, related to the government of a city, were gathered and it was normally erected in centre of the city, in correlation to the agora.

³⁹ *Img.8: Landscape with Daphnis and Chloé - Paysage avec Daphnis et Chloé*, by Louis Français in 1897. Is it a sensual homage to the bathing experience and to the erotic adoration of the body as correlated, for the neoteric Western thought, with Hellenic and Roman antiquity? [[https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier: François-Louis_François - Paysage_avec_Daphnis_et_et_Chloé_\(1\).jpg](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:François-Louis_François_-_Paysage_avec_Daphnis_et_et_Chloé_(1).jpg) – last retrieved 9/20/2021].

⁴⁰ *Img.9: The interior of the 18th century Ottoman thermal bath installations, as existing nowadays E., Vouklari, Geodetic methodologies for the integrated documentation of*

described as an important recreational destination for rich visitors who arrived to the island from the whole surrounding region and most certainly included within their island tour a visit to the thermal baths in Thermi. We may even dare to admit that Longus narration could be regarded as an indirect fascinating early ‘place branding’ proposal, in an attempt to attract more visitors through this chronologically inconsistent description.

Recent excavations at the periphery of the Ottoman Sarlidjé Hotel certified the large extension of the bathing and religious centre of Thermi as formed during the Roman period, uncovering the two successive phases of its construction as well as a large number of portable archaeological finds. At the end of the 2nd century A.D. however, and especially during the 3rd century A.D., the decline of the Roman Empire took place, sweeping along both Thermi and Lesbos island in general.

The historical cultural landscape of Lesbos and Thermi:

From the Byzantine period till 1960’s through the period of the Ottoman occupation

From 4th century A.D. (1355), Lesbos was part of the Byzantine Empire, constituting an important pole of strategic reference due to its geographic vicinity to the capital city of Constantinople. Though we have not found important evidences concerning the residential network of the island during this period, we may nevertheless note that one of the few byzantine temples that survived is the one of ‘Panagia Troulloti - Παναγία Τρουλλωτή’ (Saint Mary of the Dome) at the territory ‘Ano Pyrgi – Άνω Πύργοι’ (Upper Towers) in Thermi. In the building masonry, walled-in parts of previous edifices are evident, as for example two marble bas-reliefs on the south part of the church narthex, representing both human forms as well as forms of wild animals, a deer and a bear, most probably originating from the nearby ancient temple of Artemis Thermia (Diana of Thermi).

In 1355 Lesbos was ‘offered’, by the Byzantine Emperor John Palaiologos V, to the Genoese adventurer Francesco Gattilusio and remained under the command of his noble family till 1462. Thermi during this period, as described in the notarary documents, was regarded as a suburb of the city of Mytilene and was fortified with a number of towers for the defence of the island against pirates’ invasions. In September 1462, nine months after the fall of Constantinople, the army of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed the Conqueror besieged the fortress of Mytilene, gaining absolute power over the whole island. The Ottoman governance of Lesbos initiated new socio-

monuments and complexes, the case of Sarligje Palace at Thermi in Lesbos [Γεωδαιτικές Μεθοδολογίες για την Ολοκληρωμένη Τεκμηρίωση Μνημείων και Συνόλων, η περίπτωση του Σάρλιτζα Παλλάς στη Θερμή Λέσβου – in Greek], Athens, Diploma thesis realized in the context of the postgraduate program of ‘Geospatial Technologies’ of the Univ. of Wets Attica, under the didactic guidance of Prof. V. Pagouni, M. Stakiri, E. Peppas, 2018, p. 51 - <http://www.gradreview.gr/2017/06/01215.html> - last retrieved 9/20/2021].

economic conditions. The first two centuries were characterized by slow-paced transformations which nevertheless, accelerated after the middle of the 18th century, in association to the similar development of the nearby important urban centers of the western Minor Asia coast. The territory of Thermi during this period was characterized by a loose building network, due to the large extension of the agricultural landownership organized around multi storey tower-form residences that succeeded the tradition of the fortified towers of the late Byzantine and Genoese occupation periods. It was due to those tower-form structures that Thermi was also known as the ‘Towers of Thermi’.⁴¹

To the previous, long-established Muslim tradition of the use of thermal baths, the neoteric orientation of the bourgeois vacation was integrated at the end of the 19th century, accompanying the innovative manners and morality of the upper classes of the Ottoman state. It was during those years, between 1885 and 1890, that the Governor of Lesbos, Yiachri Beitried to revive the intense use of the Thermi thermal springs and thus, constructed a new group of modest installations for the future visitors. To this first common-place construction, Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa (the innovator ‘Grand Bezir’) attributed to the legendary bathing sensuality of Lesbos a flamboyant neoteric donation⁴² through the construction of the Sarlidjé Palace Hotel, oriented towards Western-like bourgeois modernity rather than Ottoman religious tradition.

Culture may be developed in a palimpsest way, inscribing new acquisitions on the surface of previous cultural experiences yet, the sequence of this historical process does not necessarily result to the stability of the previous manners. New types of cultural behaviour may be disguised under the form of the previous historical expression, connoting a hypothetical continuity. It is important however to comment that even under this imitative way, the impact of the bathing oriental habits continued to persist in Thermi, even after the end of the Ottoman occupation of Lesbos.

The first known map where the territory of our interest was mentioned was that by Choiseul Gouffier, in his *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, published in 1782.⁴³ There, the existing village was designated under the name Sarlidja – Keui, meaning in Turkish the ‘Village of the Yellow Water’, while at the vicinity of the coast, the existence of the thermal sources was noted. It seems that the use of the thermal sources was spinning up during this period, while in the early Ottoman period the use of the water must have been less architectonically institutionalized; however, the importance of the

⁴¹ See also related presentation by Irimi Vostani-Koumpa, in Melissa editions *Hellenic Traditional Architecture, V.1.*, 1983, pp. 58, 79-86]. *Img.10: Çarşı Hamam, in Mytilne as it is today* [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Çarşı_Hamam,_Mytilene#/media/File:Mytilini_-_Tsarsi_Hamam01.jpg – last retrieved 9/20/2021].

⁴² As described by I. Markezini, Katsargyri, *op.cit*, pp. 245-253.

⁴³ S. Molinos, S., *Μυτιλήνη, Χάρτες και Τοπωνύμια* [Μολυνός, Σ.: Mytilene, Maps and Toponyms– in Greek], Athens, 1981, p. 83.

thermal sources as a distinctive landscape quality still persisted. Moreover, the loss of the ancient splendor of the Thermi focal point during the Ottoman period was replaced by a dense network of bathing hammam facilities dispersed all over the island. Among them, the Çarşı Hamam (the ‘Market Bath’) in the city of Mytilene was probably the most important, built in the first quarter of the 19th century. It was constructed as part of the nearby ‘New’ Muslim temple, the Mytilene Yeni Mosque complex, ⁴⁴ reinterpreting through its vicinity the ancient Hellenic and Roman correlation of bathing activity with religious ethics. Furthermore, the most astonishing fact was the density of the hammam constructions built not only in the central residential areas of the island but also at the agrarian periphery.⁴⁵

It was in November 1912, after the end of the First Balkan War, that Lesbos became part of the Kingdom of Greece. The impressive hotel was used in several cases to host Greek refugees from Minor Asia and continued principally its function as a hotel even during the darkness of the war years, reclaiming part of its past splendour till the decade of 1960. Afterwards, Sarlidjé Palace⁴⁶ reached a period of continuous deterioration and building destruction, till the recent decision of the North Aegean Prefecture to push forward the restoration of the hotel building, along with the rehabilitation of the surrounding archaeological site and the construction of a new, additional complex of bathing facilities.

Conclusive remarks: insisting on the connotation of the term ‘palimpsest’ in regards to the term ‘cultural landscape’

We have already justified the correct use of the term ‘palimpsest’ in our study; a palimpsest of successive cultural layers, which we tried to enrich and extend till recent times. We have equally justified the addition of the notion ‘cultural’ to the term ‘landscape’, referring to a natural land extension, continuously enriched by successive cultural interventions, many of which still able to prove their material substance while others solely surviving in the intangible realm of the universal history. The latter are not the less important; on the contrary, as it was exactly through the intangible reference to Artemis (Diana), venerated in the landscape of Thermi, that the ancient Greeks described the distinctive quality of a deity existing in the mid-space between

⁴⁴ The bath underwent a restoration in 2000–2001 and is open to the public for visits.

⁴⁵ Compare –I. Markezini, Katsargyri, *op.cit.*.

⁴⁶ *Img.11*: Drone photograph, looking backwards, from the mountains towards the side of the sea-coast The Sarlidjé Palace building is located in the center of the image. Extended ancient discoveries of the archaeological excavations are evident in front of it, on both sides of the hotel building. Next to Sarlidjé Palace, on its right side, the neoteric installation for the use of the thermal sources is also apparent, constructed next to the Ottomancistern, presented previously in image 9.

[28th photograph as presented in: https://prinarisioannis.gr/?page_id=734 – last retrieved 9/20/2021].

savage condition and cultural sophistication⁴⁷. More specifically, in our case, between the immediate natural condition of the thermal sources and their cultural transformation to an organized 'landscape' of thermal baths.

Western imagination continued to adore this virgin goddess for thousands of years... the most prominent example is in Publius Ovidius Naso's third book of his *Metamorphoses* (*Transformation*), where the meeting of Artemis with the legendary hunter Akteon was described, only to be represented one thousand eight hundred years later in the sculptural complex of the Italian baroque "Caserta Gardens". Did the nomads from Asia, later dominating an enormous part of the eastern world, have a similar religious belief or even a similar cultural-religious reference, connoting the need of reconciliation between nature and culture? Was their initial shamanic identity proposing a similar association between the savage substratum of the steppes and their tribal organization? We shall not reply turning back to the beginning of time, 'in illo tempore'. We shall only comment once again that their association with other cultural formations introduced them to a context of pre-elaborated landscape symbolism and to an already acquired knowledge of landscape intervention as in the case of Thermi in Lesbos Island. Between them and the distant prehistoric period in this part of the Aegean insular territory, a number of other cultural inscriptions had in the meantime, denoted their own existence.

Was the construction of Sarlijé Palace just the next layer added to the sequence of the historic palimpsest previously described or even more, to the continuity of the pre-existent cultural transformations of the Eastern Mediterranean? Or are we obliged to present its creation as a step towards the 'acculturation' process that was imposed on international scale, by the political and economic Western predominance? In a certain way, Sarlijé Palace refers to the leisure habits of the modern Western mentality, transplanted to the Ottoman Empire during the late 19th and early 20th centuries in accordance with the development of its own middle and upper bourgeois classes. However, during this cultural mimetic process, Western oriented formations still persisted on the correlation to a body-centred cult, whose reference to ancient and oriental paradigms initially created in the Eastern world, could not be effaced.

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⁴⁷ As described by Jean-Pierre Vernant, in his book *La mort dans les yeux: figures de l'autre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris, Hachette Publishing House, 1985.

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MORAL OBLIGATION AND DIGNITY OF THE SELF VIS-À-VIS 'PERSONHOOD' OF THE DEAD

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Abstract: *This work addresses the issues, whether dead persons have rights and moral obligations or could be accorded such, and whether the 'remains' deserve such dignity. The legitimacy of posthumous dignity and protection of personality will be interrogated from the vantage point of relevant questions, namely, Does a dead person have any rights over his/her body or remains? Who can claim to have any right over a corpse or the incorporeal entity (the post-mortem person)? If the living claims any right over the corpse, does it then make the dead person a mere object? Should an incorporeal entity (corpse) be subjected to violation in terms of defamation?, Should we (the living) be obliged to fulfil the 'will' or promise made to a person (when he/she was alive)? And lastly, why should one not speak ill about the dead? We approached these issues from the perspective of our sense of morality in relation to the concept of "self", "person", "death" and "dead body". The methods are expository and critical analysis. We conclude that our conception of memory of the self and its continuity as a conscious moral being is the impetus regarding our dignifying the dead and our belief in post-mortem personhood.*

Keywords: *Personhood, the Dead, Rights, Moral Obligation, The Self.*

Introduction

A concept of personhood may not be necessary for attributing someone with (human) rights. It is the component ideas such as the biological concept (being a human being), a rational agent and continuation of consciousness that influence the formation of the concept of "person" and the quality called "personhood", and therefore, motivating the possibility of extending someone with human rights¹. However, one cannot say with certainty how these component ideas may contribute in ascertaining a dead person's right to dignity. It becomes difficult to ascertain a dead person's right to dignity because the rational agent in us would immediately remind us of the fact that the dead are devoid of life and hence, do not have any feelings that can get outraged. However, other than being a rational agent, we are also moral agents and our thoughts and attitudes are as much driven by rationality as

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¹ Mitchell Travis, "We're all infected: Legal personhood, bare life and The Walking Dead." *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law-Revue internationale de Sémiotique juridique* 28.4 (2015), pp. 789.

they are by a sense of morality and ethics².

John Troyer (2020) wrote that human bodies after death often becomes the “property” of “next-of-kin” and many people would find this idea of objectifying the body of a person disturbing³. The point that somebody may find this idea disturbing is an issue which probably pertains to our moral, ethical and sentimental codes⁴. However, before analyzing such moral, sentimental and ethical standards, it is important to weigh the idea that “In the eyes of the law (for instance) in necrophilia cases, a dead body becomes a kind of “property” for a next-of-kin... Because necrophilia, in this sense, becomes an act of vandalism, not a sexual attack on a person”⁵. The statement that the dead body becomes the “property” of the family or any relative or friend, and thus, in cases where a dead body is subjected to sexual intercourse it is not actually an act of sexual abuse but an act of vandalism (if at all it is treated as vandalism), needs to be analysed from the perspective of our sense of “property” or the idea of owning something.

Consider the word “claim”. Linguistically, the word claim refers to the idea of a demand of ownership (made for something). We can claim land, victory, identity, compensation and such other things. Thus, the idea of demanding ownership is then intrinsically linked to a sense of property. However, as mentioned by Troyer (2020), is the dead human body a property of the family, or any other close kin⁶? In our language we often find statements where we claim a (dead) body, i.e. ‘In the absence of any close kin, Lily who is a friend of Mary, has come to claim the body of Mary’, or no one so far has come to claim the dead body.’ In the first sentence, does Mary or Mary’s corpse become some kind of property that is claimed by the family or a friend; or as in the case of the second sentence, is the dead body a “thing” that is not yet being claimed by the owner? Dead bodies are not people, then, are dead bodies “things”; even if “...they may be human”⁷, what kind of humans are dead bodies that has to be claimed (from some authority/institution)? Claiming something, i.e. either a dead body or a thing from some authority or institution renders a legal status to the object. Dead bodies in that case may be treated like a legal object which when claimed by anyone becomes the property of the state. Let us analyze Troyer’s statement. i.e. “In the eyes of the law many necrophilia cases, a dead body becomes a kind of “property” for a

² F., Idorenyin Esikot, Peter K. Bessong, and Emmanuel E. Ette. “An Examination of Spinoza’s Moral Philosophy.” *GNOSI: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Theory and Praxis* 2.1 (2019), pp. 10.

³ John Troyer, “Abuse of a corpse: A brief history and re-theorization of necrophilia laws in the USA.” *Mortality* 13.2 (2008), pp. 132.

⁴ Chris Abakare, “The Origin Of Virtue Ethics: Aristotle’s Views.” *GNOSI: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Theory and Praxis* 3.1 (2020): 98-112.

⁵ Ibid, p. 65.

⁶ Ibid, p. 66.

⁷ Moheb Costandi, “Life after death: The science of human decomposition.” *The Guardian* (2015), p. 05.

next-of-kin” with specific emphasis on the concept of “property”. This statement does lead to serious moral questions as well but such moral issues will be treated separately. These controversies surrounding dead body is what these work attempt to unveil.

Claiming a Person’s Body

How should we treat the idea of donating unclaimed dead bodies to medical institutions or hospitals for the purpose of research or organ transplantation? Perhaps the safest answer to this question would be that such unclaimed dead bodies which are used for research and organ transplantation add to the betterment of human kind - its longevity and well-being. In such a case, an unclaimed body becomes the property of the state (without any further ethical or moral dilemmas regarding the status of a dead person [dead body] as a property or object). The debates across most cultures against the idea that someone may be the exclusive owner of a dead body or its remains are motivated by the concept that the only lawful owner of a body is nature – “earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust.” However, this principle, “earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust” came into question when in 1998, an artist, named Anthony Noel Kelly was arrested for the theft of anatomical parts from Royal College of Surgeons⁸. Kelly did not deny the charge that he removed the specimens from the college basement but he denied to plead guilty as the common law in England still did not consider dead bodies or remains of human beings as something that can be owned by someone. Judge Rivlin, however, said that it was a case of theft as the anatomical specimens technically belonged to the Royal College of Surgeons because of the “skilled work” carried out upon these specimens by a surgeon of the previous generation⁹. The case of theft against Kelly was based upon the fact that he intended to deprive the owner of its property permanently by taking away the body parts dishonestly. Thus, a human body which is otherwise the natural property of nature was given to the college as its property on the basis of the fact that “skilled work” was carried out upon those specimens.

Let us refer to one more case to understand the ownership policy of dead bodies. In the year 1996, the city of Liverpool woke up to the Alder Hey Organ Scandal which allegedly kept several miscarried fetuses and body parts of children (who died after being operated for cardiac problems) without the knowledge of the parents. It could be possible that Alder Hey Hospital or many other children’s hospital in England kept the organs of the deceased to carry out medical research work. But what was unacceptable by the court of law, society and the family of the deceased that the hospitals and the research

⁸ Benedict Le Vay, *Eccentric London: The Bradt Guide to Britain's Crazy and Curious Capital*. Bradt Travel Guides, 2007, p. 68.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 69.

centres possessed the organs without the consent of the family of the deceased – who are the rightful owners of the bodies or the remains¹⁰. Medical historian, Dr. Ruth Richardson said that human corpse has a “commercial value” and it is important to ensure that a human body or its parts are never bought or sold¹¹. Organs or bodies can be used for “skilled work” only in case of “donation” or if there is none to claim a body. However, the idea of “donation” may expose several loopholes in the absence of sufficient legal, medical, social and philosophical research on the concept of “consent” and “ownership of the body”.

These landmark cases in England however, did not bring any change in the Common English Law which still maintains a “no-property rule” regarding the dead bodies. The above mentioned two cases were treated as cases of theft, yet theft necessarily requires an owner from whom something is being stolen. These judgements tried to moralize the cases as “skilled work” (Kelly v Royal College of Surgeons) and outraging the sentiments of the parents, family and the society (in the Alder Hey Organ Scandal)¹². Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that there is an active sense of ownership (however, subdued or unconscious it could be) regarding a dead body. Thus, the question still lingers – who is the owner of the dead body? It is either the family of the deceased or the state (in the absence of a claimant) owns the body. Unlike the English law, most American states and also in India, the dead body is viewed as a quasi- property of the survivors of the deceased for the purpose of providing a decent burial (a right of the dead as far as the Indian law is concerned). Thus, the “quasi-property” right over the body objectifies it and strips the body of its identity as a “person”.

The dead body is then only the human body which is objectified as a property, i.e. once the person dies, her body essentially becomes an object which is either owned by the kin or the state; however, this dead body is not an object or a property similar to a piece of land, a car or any other article that a person (in her lifetime) or the state may own. There is an essential sense of moral and ethical obligation attached to our concept of “person”. The human body is objectified, but it is objectified in such a way that it fits the parameters of our sense of morality and ethics¹³. A piece of land, clothes, or car not necessarily has to be put at a pedestal that should conform to the ethics of the human body. Thus, a human body post death is owned either by its family or the state but not in the way an inanimate object is owned. The corpse, although inanimate, still claims to the essence and dignity of life through its association with the living. To say that an unclaimed corpse is not the property of the state

¹⁰ Floris Tomasini, *Remembering and disremembering the dead: Posthumous punishment, harm and redemption over time*. Springer Nature, 2017, p. 106.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 109.

¹² Sean Wilentz, *No Property in Man*. Harvard University Press, 2018, p. 64.

¹³ Dennis Otto. “Ethics of Posterity for Environmental Development of the Niger Delta.” *GNOSI: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Theory and Praxis* 3.3 (2020), p. 94.

is to unnecessarily attach a sense of morality to the fact that the unclaimed bodies are kept by the state for “skilled works”. So far, the right to dignity of a corpse in terms of a decent burial and hence, the ownership of the body seems to be the only dignity that is accorded to the body. If we agree with the ideas of the American and the English court that the dead body is devoid of any feelings to be outraged or robbed, then any act of mutilation, necrophilia or desecration has to be treated as an act of vandalism to the property of the owner and not an attack to the dignity of the dead body. A decent burial is the only claim of a dead body’s right to dignity. However, there is another category called the “dead people” other than the deadbody.

A Dead Person’s Claim to Dignity

“Dead person” is a linguistic category, i.e. a certain entity that exists in our language and our way of addressing those who have died¹⁴. But in spite of being a category that technically exists in our language, it represents the “dead” who do not have any material body or anatomical remains to reach out to the corporeal world. The word “person” is inherently attached with the identity of a human being, irrespective of whether she is dead or alive. The notion of death and dying is such an essential concept of a human life that a dead body is not a requirement to emphasis upon the inevitability of the condition called “dead” for all human beings. However, as we have seen, the dead body is an important entity of medical, social and philosophical research.

A dead body can be harmed in many ways – by digging a grave, mutilating, desecrating a body, the act of necrophilia, trading dead bodies or its anatomical parts and keeping a body parts without the consent of the family or concerned authority (or as discussed above, in harming a dead body we attack the emotions and /property of the owner, i.e. the owner of the corpse). These are the circumstances under which we demand that the corpses be accorded with their right to dignity as the “body” whether alive or dead are an embodiment of our collective sense of us, and our idea of morality, ethics and humanity i.e. an assurance of the inviolability of the (dead) “body” is the tangible embodiment of our concept of harmony in the society.

“Dead person” can be both a tangible and an intangible category (the corpse or any anatomical remains renders the quality of tangibility to the “dead person”). As mentioned above, the violation of dignity to the corpse in terms of attacking the dead body (mutilation, desecration, trade and necrophilia) is directly conceivable by the living as one can relate with such violation through the imagery of the “body” (even if it is treated as vandalising the property of the living). Thus, the corpse, body or remains provides us with a tangible entity that can be violated and hence, requires to

¹⁴ Samuel Akpan Bassey and Emmanuel Efem Etta. “Body and Personhood: A Study of Dignity and Identity in Connection to the Dead.” *Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, XIII.2 (2021), p. 17.

be protected (either to protect the property of the owners or the sense of morality in the society). However, in case of an incorporeal entity like the linguistic category called the “dead person” the idea of violation of dignity and protection may get complicated because of the absence of any materiality. In relation to such an absence one may ask: *firstly*, what can be accorded with dignity when the body is unavailable; and *secondly*, can such an incorporeal entity be subjected to violation and hence would require to be protected from violation? The questions who or what can be ascribed dignity and protected from violation of dignity is presupposed by the question of what is that feature, character or quality that needs to be dignified and/or protected? It is certainly not a body or a bodily remains since the subject in question is incorporeal entities called “dead persons”.

The aspect which is often vulnerable to violation in a dead person is her “reputation” and “will”. Different countries have different approaches towards the reputation and will of a dead person. The U.S. law takes a very stringent look towards the “reputation” of the dead as it says that “the dead don’t hear” (Saunders 2008) and any slander is a matter only between those who are living. On the other hand, the German law says that “death does not stop the state’s duty to protect individuals from assaults on human dignity”¹⁵. Thus, the element in question here is reputation and will. However, one may ask: (1) should we protect the reputation of the dead at the cost of the freedom of the living? (2) Do we have any obligation towards the dead in terms of protecting their reputation and respecting their will? As we attempt to unravel this, it is important to note that there is a natural contention between the ideas of an “individual’s reputation” and the “right to freedom of expression.” Such a contention becomes even more conflictual when the subject of protection is an entity which as such does not have any tangible corporeal value.

Posthumous Dignity

Defamation is treated as a serious offence to the concept of human right to dignity (almost) universally¹⁶. However, there is a difference between slandering someone who can defend herself and defaming someone who cannot – in this case a dead person. Equations seem to change drastically and often beyond rational argument the moment a dead is put to analysis. *Firstly*, a dead can never know that she has been harmed through defamation; *secondly*, a dead person cannot react to defamation; and *thirdly*, under such circumstances, does it even make sense to say that a dead person can be defamed and thus, requires protection against

¹⁵ Doris Schroeder and Abol-Hassan Bani-Sadr. *Dignity in the 21st century: Middle east and west*. Springer Nature, 2017, p. 162.

¹⁶ Mathias Klang, and Andrew Murray, eds. *Human rights in the digital age*. Routledge, 2016, p.43.

defamation? Defamation laws for the dead have been an extremely complicated legal area, primarily because of the status of the “subject”, i.e. the dead person¹⁷. Philosophical analysis on this subject has to be derived from the legal cases as courts across the world have been dealing with defamation cases for centuries. Human being’s sense of dignity and its right to dignity has provoked the legal arena to think and re-think upon the subject of defamation every time it has come across with one such case. The posthumous personality right comes under serious scanner because it is difficult to categorize the dead along with the living (the living can be aware of libel and slander and thus, can be affected by such defamation in their lifetime). However, it is difficult to pursue a situation where a dead person gets affected by defamation. This situation is very similar to the situation of subjecting a dead body to mutilation, necrophilia or any other form of desecration. The dead body, like the disembodied dead person cannot feel any form of desecration, and hence, “harming” a dead body or a dead person where the dignity, personhood and emotions of a corpse or a dead person are outraged is difficult to conceptualize rationally. But, in relation to such unawareness on the part of the dead, one need to enquire about the consequences of a similar unawareness on the part of the living, i.e. for instance, imagine a situation where one (alive) is subjected to slander but he/she never came to know about it in his/her lifetime. Will his personality and dignity be outraged by such disparaged situation when he/she is unaware of it? Before addressing this question, let us look into the posthumous personality laws in some of the societies of the world.

Libel and slander belong to the English Common Law, so as the Nigerian Law, but in India they are not treated as different from each other. Saxena, Dr Ambrish, and Prince Shadwal wrote that in India, defamation can be treated as both civil and criminal offence; however, the treatment of defamation as civil and criminal offence is very unusual because defamation as a crime is almost non-existent in the world legal circle¹⁸. Generally, the posthumous personality law all over the world is very similar. Reputation is considered as extremely personal and hence, one follows the English tort law regarding the posthumous personality rights. Thus, the English Common Law says “*personalis moritur cum persona*” i.e. any personal action dies with the person itself. In his article, “Dignitarian Posthumous Personality Rights - An Analysis of U.S. and German Constitutional and Tort Law, Hannes Rosler wrote that the “*actio personalis moritur cum persona*” indicates that a dead person has no claim to personality rights; all her personality rights technically

¹⁷ Adrian Leka, “Defamation Laws and Practice in the Age of Internet in Albania.” *European Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 4.3 (2018), p. 64.

¹⁸ Saxena, Dr. Ambrish, and Prince Shadwal. “Criminal Defamation and its Constitutional Validity: Case Study of Judicial Interpretations.” *Amity Journal of Media & Communications Studies (AJMCS)* 5.3, 2016, p. 75.

die with her death¹⁹. This merely allows the heir to sue the defamer for damaging the memory of the dead. The deceased thus, has no surviving personality rights and the family or the heir cannot bring any suit of defamation if the statement does not even indirectly affect the survivors of the deceased. However, this rule has been continuously questioned. A defamation suit (either posthumous personality right or personality right of the living) works only under the conditions if *firstly*, the defendant has made a false publication against the plaintiff, *secondly*, the statement is of, or concerning the person who files the defamation suit, *thirdly*, such a statement has destroyed the plaintiff's normal functioning in the society and maintenance of relationship with a third party, and *fourthly*, the defendant has acted with a certain level of blameworthiness (Hall-Lipsy & Malanga 2017). However, notice that the plaintiff (naturally) has to be a living person (for posthumous personality rights) and the plaintiff has to be the one who is affected by the defamatory statement/s made by the defendant.

Although the impetus for defamation suit comes from the idea of protection of reputation, the concerned subject is the living and not the dead. The law strictly maintains that any personality right dies with a person's death and hence, a dead cannot be defamed as death strips one of any feelings of slander, libel, outrage. Historically most courts of law across the world reject any defamation right for the dead because generally the cause of action in the case of a defamation suit is a personal attack and it cannot survive death; furthermore, the reasons of such causes of action are difficult to establish and "allowing a cause of action for defamation of the dead would hamper historical research"²⁰. The fact about hampering "historical research" may lead to another recent legal controversy known as the demand for "Right to be forgotten". According to the demand for the "Right to be forgotten"²¹, a person may choose the kind of information that will be available about her (mainly in the internet). This right allows an individual protection against stigmatization because of some actions performed by her in the past. Such a right as the "Right to be Forgotten" is controversial because while it defends one's right to freedom, at the same time it also restricts the others to exercise their right to freedom in accessing information²². This particular right may raise questions about our approach to history, memory, relationship with the past and our right to freedom, such as (i) I may choose to forget something personal, but how should we deal with erasing/hiding collective memory of some incident (that the

¹⁹ Jan Halberda, "Dzieje doktryny actio personalis moritur cum persona w angielskim common law." *Krakowskie Studia z Historii Państwa i Prawa* 3 (2011), p. 54.

²⁰ Mary Catherine Joiner, and Ryan M. Seidemann. "Rising from the Dead: A Jurisprudential Review of Recent Cemetery and Human Remains Cases." *Ohio NUL Rev.* 45 (2019), p. 5.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 8.

²² *Ibid*, p. 10.

implementation of this right would ensure); (ii) from what Archimedean point should we choose the memory for preservation and deletion; and (iii) what are its repercussions on the right to freedom?

Nonetheless, returning to the question of posthumous personality right, as mentioned before, most courts of law of the world does not approach the subject from the perspective of the dead. In the landmark case of *Mrs. Pat Sharpe v Dwijendra Nath Bose*, the court ruled that “Even if Netaji is dead, it is defamation because the imputation would have harmed his reputation if alive and the imputation must be said to have been intended to be hurtful to the feelings of his family or other near relatives, thus, in any view of the matter the words used do amount to defamation”²³.

Thus, as far as the posthumous personality right is concerned it is similar to the right to dignity of a corpse where any form of claim to dignity is primarily a right of those who are alive and not the deceased. It is not just in our legal system, but even our rational approach to the dead cannot categorize them as entities that have any claim to such rights. Notions such as “defamation” or “praise” are presupposed by the ability to feel them and also judge them for what they are, and such an ability to feel and judge something is vested with the living. We raised a question a few paragraphs before going into some of the cases in India that dealt with the issue of posthumous personality right: We (alive) are subjected to slander but we never came to know about it in our lifetime. Will our personality and dignity be outraged by any form of disparaged situation if we are unaware of it? This question should either be necessarily approached from the perspective that “defamation” and “dignity” are concepts which are independent of the subject’s knowledge, or these are human agency dependent concepts. The concept of “defamation” and “dignity” does need a human subject but these are primarily the subjects of our moral and ethical understandings. We may not be aware of the libel about us, but that does not mean that we are not defamed or wrongly portrayed. In the case of “defamation” or “dignity” we are essentially pursuing the concept of “personalities”. The word “personality” (as it is known) refers to the qualities and features that forms a person’s distinct character. A personality does not die; also, the idea called “personality” constructs our social, ethical structure. For the question, whether I can be defamed if I never come to know about it is not so essential to the subject who is being defamed, but it is important to the socio-moral structure (called a society) that human personalities create. Harming the reputation of a dead person, or harming the reputation of someone (alive) who does not know about it are almost similar cases where the personality right is being attacked, and this “personality right” (post-mortem or pre-

²³ Prashant Kumar Varun, “Fundamental Right to Decent Burial and Right to Reputation of Deceased: A Legal Study during Covid.” *Indian Journal of Law and Legal Research* 2.1 (2021), p. 98.

mortem) forms the essential crux of our notions of morality and ethics²⁴. However, although the “personality right” is significant from the perspective of the notion of morality towards the concept of “person/personhood”, this right can also pose threats to the right to free speech. Furthermore, the matter that requires to be addressed in relation to posthumous rights is the right to protection of one’s interests and will. Protecting the interests and will of the dead is a way of “providing them with a form of virtual immortality”²⁵. Thus, the question now is: how far is the society and the law ready to take the issue of protection of posthumous rights, interests and will? Should a dead person have the right to exert control over what happens to her body and property?

Posthumous Control

It is a rational belief that death is the end of any kind of conscious existence. Should it then not also be the end of any kind of legal existence? We have been grappling with this question from the very beginning of the thesis. The question “Can dead people have right?” is a paradoxical question because not only does it challenge our rational concept of “death”, but also it questions the moral and ethical structure of our society and legal system. One of the key features of our moral system is to respect the interests and will of the other. But, should we be respecting the will of the dead at the cost of the living? Thomas Jefferson said:

That our Creator made the earth for the use of the living and not of [the] dead; that those who exist not can have no use nor right in it, no authority or power over it, that one generation of men cannot foreclose or burthen its use to another, which comes to it in its own right and by the same divine beneficence; that a preceding generation cannot bind a succeeding one by its laws or contracts; these are axioms so self-evident that no explanations can make them plainer: for he is not to be reasoned with who says that non-existence can control existence or that nothing can move something²⁶.

From a rational point of view, Jefferson’s approach to the dead does not require any explanation because the nature of the condition called death is self-explanatory. Technically the dead cannot control the living. However, Thomas Jefferson is not talking about a physical control that the dead might exert on the living. Posthumous control over the living binds the living by

²⁴ Francis Tete and Chrisantus Kanayochukwu Ariche. “Virtue Ethics as Philosophical Foundation for Environmental Education.” *GNOSI: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Theory and Praxis* 4.1 (May) (2021), p. 87.

²⁵ Ray D. Madoff, *Immortality and the Law*. Yale University Press, 2010, p. 4.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 6.

moral obligations towards the dead. But should our legal system be endorsing such a posthumous control over the living? If the dead lose all capacities of conscious existence at death, why the society or the legal system should be worried about protecting and respecting their pre-mortem wills? How rational will it be to safeguard the dead and actualize their will at the cost of those who are alive?

Control over Body

Our “body” is not only the quintessential part of our identity, but it is also our most prized property. During life, we have the fundamental right to control our body (whichever manner we want to) and other than us no one else can possess our body. But do we also have a right to control our body after death? We have already discussed that a dead body becomes a kind of property of the living, i.e. either the closest kin or the state authority. All decisions regarding the dead body are taken by those who are alive. But what if a person dies leaving instructions to the living to treat her body in a certain way mentioned by the dead person (during his lifetime)? Can a person have any controlling right to what happens to her body after death? What could be the extent of such a control?

History has mentioned of individuals who could direct what happens to their body after death. But does it not depend upon the whims of the living? Technically We may have certain wishes regarding the preservation or cremation of our body, but what happens to that body after our death is totally at the disposition of the living. Jeremy Bentham wished that his body be preserved and displayed in a glass cabinet at the University of London²⁷. Sandra West wanted to be buried in her Ferrari in her lace night gown and the seat slanted comfortably. Her burial request was carried out as she wished²⁸. Such happenings from the past give an impression that we may have the rights over our body even when we are dead, or more precisely, we have the right to execute control over the living. However, this may not be totally true. There have been numerous incidents when a person’s burial request has been ignored. For instance, take the case of Albert Einstein. Albert Einstein wanted to be cremated. But upon his death, before cremation, a pathologist (who conducted the autopsy) operated upon his body and removed his brain without any prior instruction from the scientist himself or his family. The pathologist preserved the brain in pieces in glass jars and distributed it to various scientists for study. The author of “Peyton Place”, Grace Metalious instructed in her will that her body be donated to the Dartmouth School of Medicine. However, upon her death, her family

²⁷ Ngaire Naffine, “When Does the Legal Person Die-Jeremy Bentham and the Auto-Icon.” *Austl. J. Leg. Phil.* 25 (2000), p. 79.

²⁸ Ray D. Madoff, “Immortality and the Law.”, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

refused to oblige her will regarding her body²⁹. But the executor of the Metalious' will tried to ask the court to respect the last wish of the author. The court refused any such requests and asked the family to conduct a funeral service.

The value of a corpse, either as a body or its state called "dead" is difficult to conceive, both in terms of law and societal standards of morality, ethics and obligation. A judge described this challenge of creating laws for the dead as:

A corpse in some respects is the strangest thing on earth. A man who but yesterday breathed and thought and walked among us passed away. Something has gone. The body is left still and cold, and is all that is visible to mortal eye of the man we knew. Around it cling love and memory. Beyond it may reach hope. It must be laid away. And the law – that rule of action which touches all human things – must touch also this thing of death³⁰.

As mentioned before, legal rules regarding the corpse are primarily concerned about who controls the disposition of the body and a proper dignified treatment of the corpse. Regarding the control over one's own (dead) body, the legal system of most countries of the world follows the English Common Law which states that a person cannot have any form of property interest over his or her own dead body. Madoff wrote, "The failure to recognize a property interest in a dead body has proven to be a significant impediment to the ability of an individual to control what happens to his or her body after death"³¹.

"De Mortuis Nil Nisi Borum"

Returning to the concept of the dignity of the dead, we often come across the phrase which says: "De mortuis nil nisi borum" meaning, do not speak ill about the dead. But why should one not speak ill about the dead. What is the utility of covering the truth only because the concerned subject is dead? Is our obligation to the dead more important than our right to freedom (freedom of speech)? Often, questions such as "can dead people have rights" or "why should one not speak ill about the dead" is brushed away at being irrational. Death is not a subject which cannot be conceived in life, no matter how inseparable it is from life; and furthermore, one has not found any scientific evidences (till date) that can confirm that dead people are affected by the deeds of the living. Technically speaking, our concern with death and the dead is a matter of a relationship that is based upon the

²⁹ Ibid, p. 18.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 20.

³¹ Ibid, p. 21.

thin threads of indulgence with one's own future death, rationality and morality. Thus, perhaps, instead of asking why one should not speak ill about the dead, one should rather ask why one speaks ill about the dead. If the dead is devoid of any conscious existence, then it does not matter to the dead whether someone praises her or not, obliges her wishes or not, harms her or not and protects her or not.

Our sense of rationality towards ourselves, i.e. our sense of well-being is a guiding factor in determining our relationship with death and the "dead". Intrinsically, death or a dead person is the future of the living present. The aspects of reputation, dignity and rights are the features of the living. However, we cannot conceive of a state where we will be devoid of our essential humanness, i.e. our dignity, reputation and rights. The questions – why should we not speak ill about the dead or why do we speak ill about the dead are related to the aspect of memory. What essentially remains of a person is memory – reputation of a dead person is affected by how we choose to remember a person. Remembering is therefore, an essential aspect of our relationship with a person, either dead or alive. The kind of moral, ethical, social and legal obligations that we believe we have towards a dead person is in reality the moral, social and ethical obligations that we have towards ourselves as the future dead; and this sense of moral and social obligation is guided by our sense of rationality that renders a sense of personal well-being to us.

However, this sense of personal well-being or self-interest is guided by the fact that there is a systemic interrelation among the various interests of the people who share a common space called the society, i.e. our sense of morality and ethics and obligation is guided by the fact that we are always ought to consider and include the interests of the other within our own space of interest. But the question is whether there can be a valid rational ground for obligation, i.e. if the obligation in question is a moral obligation (which it is), then the question should be what exactly a valid moral principle is? One possible reply to this question could be that x can be a valid moral principle if it ought to be (morally) endorsed by people. The precondition for valid moral rules and reasons is that such "moral rules and reasons has to be endorsed by people." However, this is a tautologous reasoning.

Nicholas Rescher in "Rationality and Moral Obligation" writes that if "a moral rule is valid" and such a moral rule is implemented by people in general, the result "would be conducive to the best real interests of the people-in-general"³². However, there would always be exceptions, that is, non-beneficiaries and such non-beneficiaries "must not be identifiable individuals." The identity of such individuals, according to Rescher, must be

³² Nicholas Rescher, "Rationality and moral obligation," *Ethics Matters*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2021, p. 84.

veiled in the “unpredictability that prevails in human affairs”³³. Thus, we have come to a sufficient condition regarding moral principle that people ought to endorse a certain moral principle whenever/wherever such a moral principle, if it were to be adopted and implemented in general, would “conduce to the best (real) interests of people in general.

Our obligation towards the dead (if any) is a part of our moral principle. The idea that the dead have a bodily and “personality” dignity is a part of a conditioning that the dead are valid entities of the system called society. Rationally speaking, such a thought might not hold any scientific validity, but all our thoughts on death are based on the grounds of morality. Let us divert a bit from the initial question of this section, that is, why should we not speak ill about the dead; and consider a question: are we morally obligated to keep a promise made to a person who now is dead? A question of this kind can be approached from dual perspectives, that is; *firstly*, our moral obligation to the dead, and *secondly*, understanding the personhood of the dead (if any). However, before asking whether we are morally obligated to keep a promise made to a person who is now dead, we need to ask if promise keeping is a matter of moral obligation or acknowledgement of personhood (in oneself and the other). Traditionally speaking, honouring a promise is considered as a moral obligation. But if a certain action is immoral, then undertaking the action itself is an immoral act. Thus, one should also be asking: should we have any moral obligation to oblige/or do what is intrinsically immoral, for example a murder? But nonetheless, such moral questions do not fall under the purview of the current research. But the question, whether we are morally obliged to keep a promise made to a person who now is dead is intrinsically linked to the question of whether we are morally obliged to the dead in any sense. Technically saying, it will again not make sense to say that our moral values towards the deceased and the future generation is similar in nature and degree. Thus, if we want to combine the two time frames under the same moral and ethical gamut, we would notice that our association with the past (generation) and sentiments for the future (generation) belong to two different categories. For instance, it might make sense to say that we should preserve the natural resources for our future generation because they will be benefitted from it, but it certainly does not make any sense to say that I must preserve the environment for my ancestors³⁴.

Jeremy Wisnewski in his essay, “What We Owe to the Dead” wrote, “Obligations to the dead seem to be far-reaching indeed. The dead have set many ends, and there are many dead. Centuries of obligation seem to fall upon the shoulders of the living: from a grandmother’s wish to be remembered on her birthday to the desire of an ancient Greek to have his

³³ Ibid, p. 33.

³⁴ Samuel Akpan, Bassey, “Technology, environmental sustainability and the ethics of anthropoholism.” *Przestrzeń Społeczna*, 1, 19, p. 4.

works read throughout history³⁵. There are perhaps as many obligations as there are persons who have set foot upon the earth”³⁶.

From the perspective of our analysis so far, it would be absurd to infer that my dead grandmother would be harmed if I did not keep a promise that I made to her when she was alive. H. Conway and K. McEvoy in their essay “*The Dead, the Law, and the Politics of the Past*” published in 2004 wrote that death transforms a person into an object; and while the dead (in terms of its body) can still be classified (biologically) as a human it is surely not a moral, conscious being³⁷. Thus, it would hardly matter to a dead whether a promise made to her while she was alive is fulfilled. Coming back to the question: why should one not speak ill about the dead? A question of this nature can be approached on the paths of the previous question, that is, are we morally obliged to keep a promise made to a (dead) person when he/she was alive? Slandering or defaming a dead person will not harm him/her as he/she is not a conscious moral being any more. Furthermore, the argument that since the dead cannot defend themselves, thus, one should not speak ill about them, is tautological in nature. Thus, the essential argument which logically follows from here is that since the dead do not have any consciousness of experiences, they cannot be considered as moral beings that can be harmed; and hence, technically we (the living) do not hold any moral obligation towards the dead.

Human Temporality and Memory

Almost all our discussions and analysis regarding the dead, so far, we could say that the primary focus seems to be concentrated upon either proving or disproving the “conscious” status of the dead. But proving or disproving the “conscious” state of the dead is a futile exercise as far as philosophy is concerned. We may rationally deny any state of being to the dead, but any philosophical analysis regarding death and personhood of the dead is not about the “being” which is devoid of any consciousness of experience; rather the intrinsic focus of such philosophical analysis is essentially the “being” that is capable of contemplating about death. A sense of the “self” is what makes a being capable of contemplating about death and her very “being” itself. Nicolas Russell in “Collective Memory Before and After Halbwachs” published in 2006 said that it is memory which has the capacity to create a sense of self. Questions about moral obligation towards the dead are essentially thoughts on the moral obligations towards one’s own

³⁵ J. Jeremy Wisnewski, “What we owe the dead.” *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 26.1 (2009), p. 56.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 53.

³⁷ Kieron, McEvoy, and Heather Conway. “The Dead, the Law, and the Politics of the Past.” *Journal of law and society* 31.4 (2004), p. 562.

“being” and the memory of the “self” which may outlive the “being”³⁸. Memory studies ever since the Greeks and especially by Halbwachs have brought significant changes in the way a social science subject is now being approached. Halbwachs’s philosophy of “collective memory” has rendered the concept of memory with a kind of character which is capable of granting people eternity of life³⁹. Although in the modern period or a little before then, memory and immortality shared a metaphorical relation, in the archaic Greek worldview, memory and the concept of immortality were closely linked to each other as inseparable elements.

Nicolas Russell wrote that the idea that collective memory has the capacity to grant to people, at least to their names and reputation is an extremely significant analysis of the early memory researchers primarily because it rendered memory an independent character distinct from the “contingencies of human experience”. This collective memory transcends human temporality and obtains its feature of immortality from its “inherent ethical and aesthetic value which naturally draws posterity to it and thus, sustains it”⁴⁰. Nicolas in his review of the science and philosophy of collective memory and memory in general says that there have been terms such as “La memoire des hommes” and “La memoire de la posterite” (memories attributed to groups), and “une memoire eternelle” and “une memoire perpetuelle” (implicitly attributed memories to groups) which indicated towards the understanding that memory that that element which passes from one generation to the other and it has the capacity to outlive any individual. This particular idea that memory has the capacity to outlive any individual human being is significant from the perspective of the question of why one should not speak ill about the dead (or why does anybody speak ill about the dead who do not possess any essence of conscious existence).

Studies on the concept of memory (ever since the Greek era) have rendered the analysis that memory essentially has the character of a self-sustaining entity and is thus, independent of the transitory nature of human existence and memory and also the fact that which group or person preserves the memories in which way. However, Halbwachs has given a very different analysis of memory in his work named “The Collective Memory”. According to Halbwachs, the science of remembering is dependent upon the dynamics of the groups, individuals and families. My social interaction with a particular “group” would determine how I might remember events, incidents and people from the past and what is it that I may remember⁴¹. Thus, for Halbwachs groups have the capacity to reconstruct memories.

³⁸ Nicolas Russell, “Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs.” *The French Review* (2006), p. 804.

³⁹ Jeffrey, Andrew Barash, “Collective memory.” *The Routledge handbook of philosophy of memory*. Routledge, 2017, p. 267.

⁴⁰ Nicolas Russell “Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs.”, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 42.

If memory truly has the capacity to transcend human temporality then it should be presupposed that the desire for immortality (as it has been mentioned by Nicolas Russell that it was believed by the archaic Greek worldview) can be fulfilled by keeping once memory alive and untarnished. We speak about the dead, either good or ill. While the praises do not affect the dead in any ways, the ill words also should not affect them. Yet we often tarnish the image of a dead person not with the intention of harming the person *per se*, but it is always an unconscious act of attacking the memory of the person. In the study of “death” and the “dead”, memory and our approach to the concept of body and personhood plays an important role in forming a conscious approach regarding the aspect of moral and ethical obligation and role towards the dead. It may be fairly derived (on the basis of the analysis made so far) that the statement “De mortuis nil nisi bonum”, that is, do not speak ill about the dead is intrinsically based upon this desire of preserving the memory and the reputation of “living” as it is (even after death). However, with such an analysis regarding the preservation of the body and memory of the dead, we are left with a significant question regarding the right to the freedom of speech and art: and that is; whether we are supposed to censor our speech, art and representation of history in order to preserve the reputation of the dead.

Conclusion

Legal obligation towards the dead is essentially motivated by our moral obligation towards our own selves. This work essentially was an analysis of our conception of ‘reputation’, ‘dignity’ and ‘memory’ of the dead. It raised many questions regarding the concept of the dignity of a dead human body and the incorporeal person (i.e. in the absence of the corpse). One may infer that the human body or the subject called the person (after death) essentially becomes an object, i.e. a property of the living. Either one’s family or relative/friends can claim a property right over the one once he/she is dead, or it is the state authority which owns his/her body. The very phrase “claim the dead body” renders a sense of objectification to the human corpse which otherwise was a breathing, thinking and feeling entity (before death). During one’s lifetime one is the owner of oneself, but once dead, he/she cannot claim to own any right (legally) over his/her body – it’s burial, preservation or donation (or any kind of commercial or non-commercial usage). One’s control over his/her body is a matter of temporality – it is limited by the aspect of death. However, one as a dead person may execute some control over his/her material property – i.e. the disposition of one’s property after his/her death. It is seen that a legal will regarding one’s “body” may or may not hold any legal obligation for his/her surviving kin, but a legal will describing the details of the disposition of his/her material property has immense value and obliges the law and the survivors to follow it. As far as the dignity of the dead is concerned (whether corporeal or incorporeal) it is

recognized by the law that a dead person's right to dignity is limited primarily to her right to a decent burial; any further right claiming a right over one's body, protection against defamation and such others are subjected to the whims of the living and the law. The posthumous-personality right is generally not recognized. However, even if all such rights and claims do not hold any legal validation, it cannot be disregarded that there is a growing philosophical, sociological and legal attention regarding the claim to personhood of the dead by the living. We conclude that our concept of memory of the self and its continuity as a "conscious moral being" inspires our thoughts and queries regarding death and our post-mortem personhood.

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OBJECTIVITY AND THE GREAT MAN THEORY IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

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Abstract: *The debate on objectivity and the great Man's theory in historical writing is of remote origin. Prominent historians and scholars have adumbrated different sides of this debate. The objectivity debate questions the historian's ability to present an entirely unbiased interpretation of historical facts and historical events in epistemology. It assesses the extent to which the historian resolves the "insider problems" in the reconstruction of a past which he (the historian) is a part of and also the degree to which the historian is influenced by his environment in the interpretation of historical facts. Simply put, objectivity in history evaluates the extent to which the historian reconstructs the past. The great man's theory on the other hand interrogates the selective focusing of history on the activities and exploits of great Men. It raises the question of a complete and comprehensive history of mankind. Carr's emphasis on Ceaser's crossing the Rubicon while many had crossed it before Ceaser buttresses the selectiveness of historical events and the great man's theory. This paper examines the notions and dialectics of objectivity and the great man's theory in historical writing and provides an explicatory critique on both concepts reflecting the views of modernist and postmodernist historians.*

Keywords; *Objectivity, Great Man's Theory, Historiography*

Introduction

The relevance of historical research cannot be overemphasized, historians and scholars of other fields alike are agreed on the fact that knowledge about past events of man in the society are cognate in finding answers to man's existential questions (who, where, what) as well as circumventing his numerous present and future existential challenges. It should be established that although not only the discipline of history concerns itself with the analytical study of past events, the task of unearthing, interpretation and documentation of historical facts rests with the historian, other disciplines merely take their bearings from

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the desk of the historian. Similarly, in keeping with the empiricist and scientific objective of reconstructed events, the historian in a symbiotic relationship, employs the knowledge and skills of other disciplines in analyzing and interpreting past events in what is described in scholarly parlance as an interdisciplinary approach to historical study.

However, the extent to which the historian engages with the above-crafted responsibility objectively has evoked intense debate and controversy. The debate takes its bearing first from the inextricable link between the historian and his environment that is the degree to which the environment of the historian influences his/her interpretation of facts. Secondly, the problem of knowledge in history, which questions how the historian reconstructs the past he/she did not witness and, what exactly, does the historian mean when he says he knows the past. In general terms, the argument is that we cannot have objective historical knowledge because we do not have access to a given past against which to judge rival interpretations¹. Historians are accused of not just been selective of their fact but of also the events which they study. The Past' does not have a consciousness, hence all we have is the history created by historians as the historians decide who are central to their narratives². It is the argument over the selective focusing of history on the activities of princes and nobles that constitutes "the great man's theory" of history which also reasserts the question of objectivity in history. Simply put objectivity and the great man's theory in history interrogates the extent to which the historian reconstructs the past as it happened. To lay a strong foundation for the discussion of this topic, this paper will take off by first providing a conceptual clarification and definition of the concept of Objectivity in history, thereafter the paper will provide an explicatory synopsis of the great man's theory. The third part of the work will focus on the critique and dialectics on objectivity and the great man's theory.

Notions and Dialectics on Objectivity in History

The concept "objectivity in history" suffers from a multiplicity of perspective. Even among historians, there is no consensus concerning the question of objectivity in historical writing. The objectivity debate questions the historian's ability to present an entirely unbiased interpretation of historical facts and historical events in epistemology. It interrogates the question of knowledge in history and assesses the extent to which the historian resolves the "insider problems" in the reconstruction of a past which he (the historian) never witnessed, is a part of and also the degree to which the historian is influenced by his environment in the interpretation of

¹ Mark Bevir, 'Objectivity in History' *History and Theory*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 1994, p. 335.

² Vincent Colapietro, 'The Historical Past and the Dramatic Present: Towards a Pragmatic Clarification of Historical Consciousness' *European Journal of Pragmatism and American Philosophy* VIII-2, 2016, p. 13.

historical facts. Therefore, it is imperative to define the term “objectivity” in order to appreciate as well as construe the various sides, controversies and dialectics over the subject concerning historical writing going forward. In doing this one must pose the question what is objectivity? According to Sakul Kundara;

“Objectivity means existing independently of perception or an individual’s conception. It is undistorted by emotions or personal bias and is related to actual and external phenomena as opposed to thoughts, feelings etc. something is objective insofar as it is independent of either a particular mind or minds altogether”³.

Based on the foregoing definition, the postmodernist historian debunks the idea of objectivity in history. Postmodernist apologists argue that we cannot have access to a given past because any understanding we develop of the past necessarily will be infused by prejudices arising from our particular historical situation⁴. They further contended that the idea of a definitive objective reconstruction of knowledge of the past is impossible. This is born out of their conception of what constitutes objectivity. To them, objectivity which is the dissociation of the investigator from the object of an investigation so that an independent investigator can reach the same conclusion⁵ is not a possibility given that the facts of history only speak through the voice of the investigator and multiple historians will produce multiple interpretations of the same facts. Christopher Blake in his book *Can History be Objective*⁶ is of the view that hence the historian is concerned with what happened how it happened why it happened and what it meant, written history can never be objective. Jenkins on the other hand argues that ‘history cannot provide any objective/universal idea of direction, aim, purpose, meaning, truth, etc.’⁷ According to him, historical representations always fail because ‘there is no possibility that any historicization of “the past” can ever be true, objective, fair, non-figural [or] non-positioned’⁸. E.H Carr succinctly argued that the historian is “incurably subjective”.⁹ Barraclough on the other hand asserted that the history we read though based on facts is strictly not factual but a

³ Sakul Kundara, ‘Objectivity in history’

<http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=389988> 20, February 2017 (accessed on 14 March, 2020)

⁴ Mark Bevir, cited work, p. 336.

⁵ Ogunyemi Olusegun S., “Postmodernism and the Validity of History”, *Journal of the Students Historical Society of Nigeria* University of Lagos chapter vol. 21, 2013, p. 8.

⁶ Christopher Blake, ‘Can History be Objective’ *Mind* Volume LXIV, Issue 253, 1955, p. 69.

⁷ Keith Jenkins, *At the Limits of History* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 15.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 150.

⁹ Edward Hallet Carr, *What is History* (England: Penguin Books, 1961), p. 93.

series of accepted truths¹⁰. Obiegbu is of the view that absolute objectivity is not attainable even if it were desirable¹¹. To the postmodernist, the historian cannot dissociate entirely from the subject he understudies. The historian is inherently predisposed to bias and external influence arising from his environment, his background or personal touch/ idiosyncrasy with the subject of study. He is also selective of the events as well as the sources he employs in his study. Against such a predisposition, it is impossible to produce an objective account of a particular event.

The postmodernist school of thought suffers a degree of limitation in their conceptualization and theorization of objectivity in history. Granted, from a philosophical point of view the past is inaccessible to us or as far as it is assessable it is not available in the same way the present is to us and its inaccessibility is of a different kind than that of the future.¹² The claim of the postmodernist at best is flawed to the extent that it denies the historians possession of hindsight and trivializes the relationship between the past and the present, the historian and his environment. Carr explains this better than the past which a historian study is not a dead past, but a past which in some sense is still living in the present¹³. The function of the historian is neither to love the past nor to emancipate himself from the past but to master and understand it as the key to the understanding of the present¹⁴. In other words, the historian is part of the past which he studies. Since a researcher cannot dissociate from the object of investigation and hence the researcher is susceptible to both deductive and inductive reasoning the postmodernist perception of objectivity in the absolute sense is rigidly implied and inapplicable not only to history but also to science. Passmore argued and one finds his view convincing that;

“If only those inquiries are objective in which the inquirer begins with a blank mind, then no inquiry whatsoever is objective. By the time we begin to inquire, we already have beliefs expectations, interests...even the average and mediocre historian who perhaps believes and pretends that he is merely receptive, merely surrendering to the data is not passive in his thinking [and] this applies to all scientists”¹⁵

¹⁰ Geoffrey Barraclough, *History in a changing world* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 114.

¹¹ James Ngozi Obiegbu, ‘Historiography and the Training of Historians’, in Olubomihien O.O. (ed) *Issues in Historiography* (Ibadan: College Press and Publishers, 2001), p. 51.

¹² Edward Hallet Carr, cited work, p. 95.

¹³ Ibid, p. 95.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 112.

¹⁵ John Passmore, “The Objectivity of History” in Patrick Gardner (ed.), *The Philosophy of History* (England, Oxford Publishers, 1974), pp. 145-160.

The postmodernist also deliberately trivialized the inherent relationship between the historian and his environment, wherein the latter finds expression in the former. Society and the individual are inseparable; they are necessary and complementary to each other, not opposites.¹⁶ The truth is that there is always an element of the human factor that is involved in historical as well as in scientific inquiry.¹⁷ The gifted scientist will usually develop a feel for his subject...his feel will take him in the direction of trying one kind of experiment rather than another...hence in physical science, the human subjective element can never be entirely excluded¹⁸. Moreover, the scientist has evolved pathways and methodologies that ensure that the same conclusion is reached by independent investigators; this is not true of history because of the nature of its object. Therefore equating objectivity in history to scientific or absolute objectivity is the greatest undoing of the postmodernist. The fact that the historian is part of the past he studies and the object through which his environment finds expression renders the postmodernist argument of inaccessibility of the past void. The existence of the human factor does not also imply subjectivity of history the duty of the historian to respect his facts is not exhausted by the obligation to see that his facts are accurate. He must seek to bring into the picture all known or knowable facts relevant, in one sense or another, to the theme on which he is engaged and to the interpretation proposed¹⁹. Herein lays the actual goal of history and a justification of the historian claim to the reconstruction of the past.

Similarly, the positivists differ remarkably from the views of the postmodernist. Von Ranke, a hardcore positivist and his cohorts insist that Objectivity is the goal of the historian, to look at the past and write history through an objective lens, to analyze and explain events without pre-judgment or bias²⁰. Ranke's work undoubtedly became a rallying point for the positivists who argue that through a conscious training (historical consciousness) of the mind of the historian and by following some scientific principles, the historian can attain objectivity. Olubomehin summarized the approach of the positivist when he wrote that since the interpretation of facts brings discrepancies in historical accounts, historians should avoid interpreting facts. They should merely present the facts as they were and if this is done then history would be able to achieve "scientific objectivity", one that implies the attainment of a single historical point of view²¹. The crux postulation of the positivist is that the historian should be able to recognize facts, to master them and display them,

¹⁶ Edward Hallet Carr, cited work, p. 132.

¹⁷ O.O. Olubomehin, "The Issue of Objectivity in History" in Olubomehin (ed) *Issues in Historiography*, (Ibadan: College Press and Publishers, 2001), p. 38.

¹⁸ Arthur Marwick, *The Nature of History*, (London, Macmillan Press, 1981), p. 100.

¹⁹ Edward Hallet Carr, cited work, p. 147.

²⁰ Andreas Boldt "Ranke: Objectivity and History", *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* Volume 18, Issue 4, 2014, p. 10.

²¹ O.O. Olubomehin, cited work, p. 43.

that historians are not supposed to be judges of the past, but merely to present what happened in the past. The historian should make use of sources and proper documentation²². This class of theorists equates historical research to scientific research. They hold that science is the only valid knowledge and that facts are the only possible objects of knowledge²³, therefore the historian should evolve a historical consciousness which would guide rational thought in history in other words they mean that knowledge should be communicated through general law²⁴. They claim that through the use of systematic investigative methods congenial with the natural and physical sciences the same conclusions can be reached by independent investigators.

Consequently, although the positivists appear optimistic in their approach to objectivity in history, their view is at best a conjecture of distorted views of historical research because it undermines the primacy of interpretation which is the bedrock of historical research. The positivists posit that the historian should merely present his facts as they are and not impose any interpretation on them. This exercise according to Collingwood is tantamount to the scissors and paste approach which deviates from what history is. Here the positivist equates the task of the historian with that of the chronicler who assembles facts. You cannot create history by simply collecting what has been written and documented before, cutting out different parts of it and then pasting them together into a more or less coherent narrative²⁵. Interpretation of facts is what distinguishes history from other forms of writing E.H Carr describes it as “the lifeblood of history”. The reconstitution of the past in the historian's mind is dependent on empirical evidence. But it is not in itself an empirical process, and cannot consist in a mere recital of facts...The relation between the historian and his fact is one of equality, of give-and-take. As any working historian knows, if he stops to reflect what he is doing as he thinks and writes, the historian is engaged in a continuous process of moulding his facts to his interpretation and his interpretation to his facts. It is impossible to assign primacy to one over the other²⁶. Indeed whether a fact is accepted as a fact of history depends largely on the question of interpretation²⁷. The fact that multiple historians give multiple interpretations to facts does not erode objectivity of history. Perhaps Carr's illustration in his work *What is History* is apt here;

It does not follow that, because a mountain appears to take on different shapes from different angles of vision, it has objectively either no shape at all or an infinity of shapes. It does not follow that, because interpretation

²² Arthur Marwick, cited work, pp. 39-40.

²³ Ibid, 100.

²⁴ Ogunyemi Olusegun S., cited work, p. 3.

²⁵ Edward Hallet Carr, cited work, p. 190.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 129.

²⁷ O.O. Olubomehin, cited work, p. 43.

plays a necessary part in establishing the facts of history, and because no existing interpretation is wholly objective, one interpretation is as good as another and the facts of history are in principle not amenable to objective interpretation²⁸.

Moreso, the positivist approach to the subject of objectivity also raises the question on the status of history as a science or not. The positivist merely equates the historical process to scientific process and advocates for a general approach to historical research based on general knowledge and methods like the sciences and the evolution of historical consciousness to guide rational thought. In doing this the positivist not only contradicted themselves but also fell into the same error as the postmodernist who view objectivity from the scientific perspective. The attempt to prescribe rules of engagement for the historian is a deliberate attempt to control the historian's thought which is in itself an interpretation of a kind, and hence the positivist does not subscribe to an interpretation of any kind by the historian their argument and claim to objectivity is baseless. The belief in a hardcore of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian is a preposterous fallacy²⁹. Scientific objectivity as argued by the positivist is not the goal of history.

Moreover, the perspectivist theorist disagrees with both the postmodernist and the positivist view and approach to objectivity. The thesis of this theory is that every historian considers the past from a particular standpoint. According to the perspectivist, any historian is a product of two factors viz: the first is the subjective element of the historian what Walsh describes as "point of view, and second the evidence upon which his account is based³⁰." This school of thought differs sharply from the postmodernist view that interpretation of facts breeds subjectivity. To them, the idea of interpretation does not negate objectivity in history. They also differ from the positivist who argues that the historian should refrain from interpretation in order to evade bias. The perspectivists contend that it is not enough for a historian to collect his materials and write them down as they occurred. That would amount to what Collingwood calls the scissors and paste approach to history³¹. According to this school of thought, objectivity is perspectival that is objectivity in history is a function of the historian's standpoint informed by the materials and facts at his disposal. They opine that whatever interpretation a historian gives to an event must be based on the available facts and evidence at his/her whims and the historian should allow

²⁸ Edward Hallet Carr, cited work, p. 127-128.

²⁹ Edward Hallet Carr, cited work, p. 212.

³⁰ O.O. Olubomehin, cited work, p. 44.

³¹ Ibid, p. 44.

intellectual honesty to guide his interpretation. The important point is that regardless of what the perspective of the historian is, he/she must allow himself to be led by the evidence at his disposal. If the evidence at his disposal is at variance with his/her point of view, intellectual honesty and the need for objectivity demand that the historian should base his account entirely on the evidence before him³². To achieve objectivity in history, Walsh a protagonist of the perspectivist theory suggested that;

“First the historian must properly scrutinize his evidence, secondly he accepts conclusions only where there is good evidence for them and thirdly he must maintain intellectual integrity and honesty in his arguments and presentations”.³³

Although the argument of the perspectivist appears immensely compelling, their postulations are not without limitations. The danger in accepting the truth of the perspectivist is that it pigeonholes history writing to the social sciences where theories are formulated to explain historical events based on certain points of view or perspectives. Admittedly, the use of theories are often not enough aid to the historian’s interpretative process, the historian may have to brook with substituting real events with imagined reality (even when the facts suggest the former) in keeping with the theory in use. When this happens, objectivity becomes a mirage and reconstructing the past may be reduced to mere fiction or propaganda which negates historical research. Similarly, the idea of writing history from a point of view is a strong limitation for the historian whose job is to present the multiple interpretations of events. Here again, Carr’s definition of history as a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the past the present becomes imperative in grasping the essence of historical research. By approaching history from a perspective, the historian automatically limits his interpretations to his point of view neglecting other important points of view which may also be critical in grasping the past. This in itself portrays the historian as biased from inception and rubs the historian of the cognitive process of history writing.

Synoptic Overview of the Great Man’s Theory

The idea of the “great man’s theory” is credited to Thomas Carlyle a nineteenth-century historian who opined in his lecture published in 1841 that “no great man lives in vain. The history of the world is but the biography of great men”. Carlyle further argued that “heroes shape history through the vision of their intellect, the beauty of their art, the prowess of their leadership

³² Ibid, p. 45.

³³ William Henry Walsh, *An Introduction to Philosophy of History*, (London: Hutchinson’s University Library, 1951), p. 95.

and, most importantly, their divine inspiration”³⁴. The trappings of this theory are first; that the experiences and exploits of great men constitute the subject of history, secondly the activities of great men were instrumental in the making of societies and thirdly that man, was at the centre of history-making an attempt which we describe as “gendering pattern of history” based on the assumption of patriarchal superiority. Carlyle elucidated on these tenets in the following lines

“For, as I take it, Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at the bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, patterns, and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and embodiment, of Thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world”³⁵

Carlyle’s aphorism undoubtedly was elicited from the nature of written historical works that predominated the nascent evolution of historiography particularly in the oriental and later occidental hemisphere in the periods before the 19th century. Perhaps the offshoot of the great man’s hypothesis can be credited to the oriental (western) historical tradition which dates back to the writings of Herodotus (C.487 BC- C 425. BC), Thucydides (C453.BC), Polybius (198 B.C- 117 B.C), Livy (59 B.C- AD. 17), and Plutarch (AD. 50-120)³⁶. Historical works produced within these periods placed a premium on significant and monumental deeds of warlords, kings, princes, the rise and fall of empires and territorial expansion. For instance; Thucydides in his seminal works paid more attention to the heroic events of the Peloponnesian war, Livy on his own focused more on the glorification of Rome and their exploits in territorial expansion, Herodotus, on the other hand, documented much of the Persian Wars.

Although the period of humanism opposed the western and medieval historical traditions, the humanist historian could not liberate themselves from the “great man’s” hypothesis. The proliferation of biographic writings during the humanist period added impetus to the adumbration of Carlyle. As man became the centre of humanist historical works, during this period, history was not only selectively written but also selectively thought in the palaces of kings, among princes, statesmen and warlords. Great Man Theory

³⁴ Thomas Carlyle, ‘On Heros, Hero Worship and the Heroic in History’ in David R. Sorenson & Brent E. Kinser (eds) *Rethinking The Western Tradition* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 137.

³⁵ Thomas Carlyle, cited work, p. 142.

³⁶ James Ngozi Obiegbu, cited work, pp. 2-3.

reigned as the most popular theory of explaining leadership well into the mid-20th century, supposedly explaining the influence of big names such as Abraham Lincoln, Julius Caesar, and Alexander the Great³⁷. More importantly, the huge market for historical biographies indicates that the ‘Great Man Theory’ continues to resonate with readers outside the narrow confines of academia³⁸. However, of note in the modern and postmodern era of history writing is the liberation of history from the confines of the great man hypothesis. Historians are much more aware than they used to be of the role played by women, not just in society generally but within areas of history including politics, religion and even military history from which it had long been assumed that they were excluded³⁹. Therefore, Thomas Carlyle great man’s theory seems a piece of romantic claptrap. It is interesting for what it tells us about Carlyle and his place in the history of ideas. But it is certainly not a working theory of history⁴⁰.

Clarifying the Goal of History: Between Historical Objectivity and Scientific Objectivity

Moreover, having shown the various arguments over the debate of objectivity suffices it to state that historical objectivity is distinct from scientific objectivity; the claim to objectivity in history is not total or absolute as in the sciences. Mark Bevir argued convincingly that even though we cannot grasp historical facts as immediately present truths, we can have objective knowledge of the past that is neither relativistic nor irrational⁴¹. He further argued that objective interpretation of history are those which best meet rational criteria of accuracy, comprehensiveness, consistency, progressiveness, fruitfulness and openness⁴². Therefore the postmodernist and positivist conception and approach to the subject of objectivity in terms of scientific objectivity is highly problematic, misleading and an aberration of the historical process. History gives a series of different but not incompatible portraits of the past; each reflecting it from a different point of view i.e. the contention would be that objectivity in history is achieved if the facts are depicted accurately and that disagreements in history would not contradict each other but complement one another to attain objectivity⁴³. At this

³⁷ Historical snapshots “The Great Man Theory”, IMSA Leadership Education and Development (2019), p. 1.

³⁸ Sarah Brown Ferrario, *Historical Agency and the ‘Great Man’ in Classical Greece* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 87.

³⁹ “Is there still value in Great Man History”, History today vol.69, (2019) www.historytoday.com. (Assessed on 3 July, 2020).

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Mark Bevir, cited work, p. 338.

⁴² Ibid, p. 291.

⁴³ Philosophy of History *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* 2007

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/history/> (accessed on 11 April, 2020).

juncture, it is imperative to consider the reason why scientific objectivity is difficult to reach in history.

To begin with, scientific or absolute objectivity in history is problematic because of the intricate relationship between the historian and, the past and the environment. It follows that a historian's environment influences the kind of history he writes and the interpretations he gives to facts. Separating from the environment in order to write an objective account of an event embedded in his environment is the first challenge which confronts the historian in writing history. Herein is the challenge of "insider problematics" in history. Carr validated this assertion when he wrote that;

The predicament of the historian is a reflection of the nature of man. Man, except perhaps in the earliest infancy and in extreme old age, is not involved in his environment and unconditioned subject to it. On the other hand, he is never totally independent of it and its unconditional master. The relation of man to his environment is the relation of the historian to his theme. The historian is neither the humble slave nor the tyrannical master of *his* facts⁴⁴.

However, against the widespread perception that interpretation of facts is subjective, the historian who understands his responsibility must interpret facts within the context of the environment whose past is studied. This is because events and their interpretations vary from one environment to another. Carr remarked that the function of the historian is neither to love the past nor to emancipate himself from the past but to master and understand it as the key to the understanding of the present⁴⁵. This approach is different from scientific experiments and research where the investigator or researcher has no direct relationship with the variables he understudies.

Secondly, the ideological inclinations of historians arising from their membership of a particular race, religion, social status, class, etc. are potential inhibitors of absolute objectivity in history. Ideology generally denotes a system of practical beliefs developed by and characterized by a group whose members share common practical, economic, religious, or cultural bonds⁴⁶. As a result of the nature-nurture controversy, individuals are intoned towards the prevailing ideological atmosphere of their various environments. It is practically impossible that historians would free themselves from ideological inclinations⁴⁷. While some historians are attracted and influenced by the doctrine of Marxism, socialism, capitalism, others are influenced by the ideological appeals of racialism, religion,

⁴⁴ Edward Hallet Carr, cited work, p. 229

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 26

⁴⁶ Patrick Corbett, *Ideologies* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), p. 124

⁴⁷ Muyiwa Okuseinde "Ideological Issues in African Historiography" in Olubomehin, O. O. (ed) *Issues in Historiography* (Ibadan, Print Mark Ventures, 2007), p. 64

nationalism, among others. It has been shown how imperial historians chose to be ignorant of the African past to be able to justify colonial rule; how the nationalist historians often make ridiculous and sometimes extravagant assumptions to glorify the pre-colonial era; how Marxist historians cannot see beyond modes of production and relations of production theories which they impose on⁴⁸. The point has been made is that a historian often does not rise beyond his ideological learning which is often reflected in his writings. It is also instructive to point out that an ideology provides a pathway to understanding the historian as a person and a standpoint for the understanding and critiquing of his work. However, it must be said that unbounded ideological commitment only serves to destroy history. The purpose of historical research and writing is not to vindicate a point of view of personal prejudice but to provide knowledge about the past⁴⁹. Historians seeking to be objective must divest from the limitations which underline ideological inclinations.

Moreso, the argument over the selectiveness of historical events presents another challenge to the attainment of scientific objectivity in history. The argument here is that no single historian can write down every detail concerning a particular event. It used to be said that facts speak for themselves. This is, of course, untrue. The facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context⁵⁰. The historian selects only the facts and events which he considers important in the reconstruction of the past; therefore, by being selective of his facts, the historian is accused of undermining certain facts or events as a result of his reasons hence the subjectivity of history. Atkinson puts this clearer that “in making selection, historians will be expressing their personal and class prejudice”⁵¹. Although all forms of research and inquiry are selective, the selection which the historian makes is of a different kind from that of the scientist. Whereas the selection of the scientist may not influence the results of his investigation, the historian’s selection will to a large extent determine the form which his account takes⁵². However, it should be stressed that historians are rationally and naturally selective of facts. By natural selection, the historian selects only facts which relate to his subject and rationally subjects them to interpretation. This is what distinguishes history writing from other forms of fictitious writings in the Arts. In doing his work the historian is encouraged to downplay his idiosyncrasies in order to produce an account that is neither “relativistic nor irrational”.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 62.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 64.

⁵⁰ Edward Hallet Carr, cited work, p. 211.

⁵¹ Ronald F. Atkinson, *Knowledge and Explanation in History: An Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, (London, Macmillan Press, 1978), p. 73.

⁵² O.O. Olubomehin, cited work, pp. 40-41.

Going forward, scientific objectivity is problematic in history because of the multiplicity of interpretation which historians bring to bear on events. It is often the case that no two historians investigating an event will produce the same results. This is as a result of the diversified methodologies applicable in historical research. While the sciences may have evolved generally accepted methods of research to arrive at a given conclusion, the historian must interpret his facts and hence he does not have direct access to the past which he studies, his interpretation is based on the available sources (in form of oral traditions, artefacts, numismatics, language, etc.) at his disposal and usually from his standpoint or point of view. Against this background, two or more historians are likely to give different interpretations to the same events which automatically questions the objectivity of such interpretations. This is not so in scientific research where one follows a general rule to arrive at a conclusion or interpretation which is scientifically objective. Notwithstanding the strength of this argument, it should be emphasized that the existence of multiple interpretations to facts does not undermine objective knowledge of historical events; even the science is not free of this predicament. Interpretation of facts is the only way the historian makes sense of his facts. Robert Smith describes it as the “Why” and “How” aspects of history. The historian must therefore endeavour to downplay his emotion and sentiments on his subject of study. A historian must demonstrate a high degree of intellectual integrity and honesty in his work. When a historian has followed these procedures, his account becomes objective. On the contrary, if he ignores them in his work, then his account may be considered subjective⁵³.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the pursuit of objectivity in history has preoccupied the mind of the historian for ages. There is no denying the fact that absolute objectivity in history is as much problematic as it is desirable. The nature and the associated methods of writing history even though it compounds the challenge of objectivity do not deny the reliability of written histories. This is because the past which the historian studies is not a dead past and hence the historian is part of the past which he studies he can relate with events in line with Carr’s imperative of history as a continuous interaction between the historian and his facts and an unending dialogue between the past and the present. Any historian who desires to be objective in his account must resist the inclination towards bias, personal interest, class, prejudice, among other functional indicators of subjectivity discussed in this paper. To attain this level of intellectual honesty and sophistication, historians must see themselves as a special breed of personalities for expressing the good, the bad and ugly sides of the society to provoke a genuine desire for societal progress.

⁵³ Georg Wilhelm Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* (New York: Dover Publications Inc, 1956), p. 124.

Conclusion

This paper has presented the various sides to the debate on objectivity and the great man's theory in history. Among other things, the paper clarified the various notions of objectivity in history citing the various schools of thoughts and their limitations in demystifying the concept. Let it sit well here that the paper did not favour one school of thought against the other but merely exposed the neglected sides to the arguments thereof. This paper has established that scientific or absolute objectivity as prescribed by some historians is not the goal of history and that multiple interpretations of facts by historians do not undermine the objectivity of historical documents. Carr's imperatives that "because a mountain appears to take on different shapes from different angles of vision, does not imply that it has objectively either no shape at all or infinity of shapes" is pertinent in any understanding of objectivity in history. The great man's theory, on the other hand, is an extension of the argument over objectivity in history but the theory itself does not hold sway because historians have liberated history writing from the confines of the great man in history and from the patriarchal superiority which pervaded the period up to the twentieth century. This is evinced in the upsurge in gender studies as a branch of history. The imperative, going forward is that historians should divest themselves from the subjective tendencies and elements which may impinge on their interpretation of facts.

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EFFECT OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA BETWEEN TRUTH AND FALSE

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Abstract: *The actuality of the subject proposed to the discussions in this article represents on the one hand the daily life that it lives in, and on the other hand, the phenomenon with which humanity collides every century, for which it must be analyzed multilaterally. The interest with which the authors treated the subject of a global nature – the COVID-19 pandemic was focused on the analysis of the objective and subjective factors that influenced the economic and social development of the Republic of Moldova in the last 2 years with conditional effect.*

Keywords: *COVID-19 pandemic, social aspect, economic processes, political factors, management, crisis.*

Introduction

The reason for this study summarizes from the socio-political situation in the Republic of Moldova during the period of the pandemic created by the COVID-19 virus. Economists by profession and didactic-scientific holders cannot be indifferent to the situation created in our society. Between statements and reality there is often a mountain or a gap that not everyone knows, understands and calculates. Manipulation is one of the most dangerous weapons in the world, and in this period, we are talking about the pandemic period, it was felt the most on the skin of the citizen. Are we or are we not honest with ourselves?! It remains to be realized, but from the very end of this is our life, our history and we assuming our future. Sharing the experience of going through the pandemic stage without medical tinge is also an important topic that requires history to prevent further errors in the management of similar situations. The study can attract the attention of researchers from several fields such as social, political, economic, which are combined in the argumentation of the partially unknown phenomenon

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unexpectedly in our modern and practically controlled world. Through this study, the authors want to express the position and finding of post-effect facts, which can be a source in the experience of other generations when managing similar situations or in the daily decision-making process.

Initiation of the COVID period in the Republic of Moldova

The world was facing the COVID virus between November and December 2019, and the Republic of Moldova did not know anything about this phenomenon. Only some news stories in the media were going to let us know about the danger of health brought by this virus. In this period for the Republic of Moldova there was no danger, which is why there is a distance of several thousand kilometers from the outbreak. Without considering the intense movement of people, through the actions taken by the countries of the world on socialization, and the development of intercultural knowledge through both governmental, and private programs. The partnership relations between Moldova and China have taken on a vigorous format since 2014, which means that the economic agents from both countries have managed to conclude an imposing number of contracts, economic transactions to travel very often from one country to another without feeling this rather large distance.

There is no talk of bans, precautionary steps, etc. neither for people returning from China, non for the international passenger traffic through the international airport Chisinau, non for other means of transport of the passengers from the diaspora who return and leave the people of the Republic of Moldova. The situation does not change even when some countries on the continent has declared people infected.

The first confirmed case of infection in the Republic of Moldova was on March 7, 2020 at a passenger who traveled by the Bologna-Chisinau route, and the citizens found out about it from¹ mass-media sources. The fact that the authorities were not prepared for the initiation of the pandemic period was proved by the declaration of the state of emergency on March 13, 2020 almost a week for a while, and if the infected person did not declare alone that he was infected, it is not known when in our country he was to initiate the pandemic. At the time of the first case in The Republic of Moldova, the National Extraordinary Commission of Public Health was already established, which on² 02.02.2020 approved the first Decision on the epidemiological situation in the infection with Corona of the new type of virus, the measures of prevention and response said Coincidentally or not on March 13, 2020, the World Health Organization approved the protocol on the organization of the clinical treatment on the respiratory infection COVID-19. Starting with

¹ The first case of coronavirus in Moldova, available <https://romania.europalibera.org/amp/primul-caz-de-coronavirus-moldova/30475712.html> Viewed 05.07.2021

² Decision No 1 of National Extraordinary Public Health Commission from 2 February 2020, available at https://gov.md/sites/default/files/hot_cnesp_nr.1.pdf, Visited 11.07.2021

13.03.2020 in the Republic of Moldova, the "Code red" alert degree was established³ at national level regarding the epidemiological situation at only 6 confirmed cases of COVID-19, on 15.03.2020 being established the rules of behavior for individuals and legal entities that will work in the next period, including for the persons who have been in contact with the infected person. Thus, by the Decision of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova no. 55 of 17.03.2020 on the declaration of the state of emergency⁴ was declared a period of 60 days from March 17 to May 15, 2020. A commission for the management of the situation regarding the pandemic created by the SAS-COVID-19 virus called the Commission for Emergency Situations of the Republic of Moldova was also established. This period, which took the Moldova's authorities by surprise, was to be not taken too seriously by most of the citizens. The panic wave began with the daily reporting of the number of infected people, presented every hour through the media by the Commission for Emergency Situations of the Republic of Moldova. The lack of treatment, the launch of hypotheses regarding the aggravation of the situation, "many speculations that failed in amplifying the confusion" followed between March and⁵May 2020. There have been various actions of the citizens from storming the shelves of products and first-need measures in stores to entering the depression, being isolated in their homes, and put in the situation of communication with family members 24/24. The authorities through the media reported daily the statistical situation regarding the infections, deaths, and the cured people instilling more fear, panic, and uncertainty in the citizens. No one took the situation seriously and did not comply with the established rules, or the citizens of the Republic of Moldova are not respectful of the law, or they did not have confidence in the authorities, who did not have similar experiences. Due to the less stable experience of managing the pandemic period in the European countries where there were and continue to be more of our fellow citizens, the events of the period of restrictions were starting to get out of control. Every day, there were new and public address of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova stranded in several European countries who wanted to return to the country and who accused the authorities of lack of responsibility for the citizens of the country. The intentions of those who wanted to return to the country being even provoked by the fear and the urge for isolation, and of most of the boredom to stay isolated in the house or to take advantage of the situation to see their native

³ Clinical management of severe acute respiratory infection (SARI) when COVID-19 disease is suspected, available at https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/clinical-management-of-novel-cov.pdf?sfvrsn=bc7da517_2

⁴ Decision no. 55 of 17.03.2020 of Parliament of the Republic of Moldova instituted State of Emergency.

⁵ Gabriela Pohoată, *Why is there evil in this world, the best of all possible worlds?!*, Cogito – Multidisciplinary Research Journal, Vol. XII, no. 3/September, 2020, p. 39

places, relatives, friends, which is why they were not classified in the temporary work during the pandemic period in the country where they were at work. All these manipulation unfolding events, comments on social networks, challenges from some stakeholders have made it possible for the 60 days of the state of emergency to be hellish handweave the relations between people, to provoke hatred over those who want to return homeset.

Politics during the pandemic period

As soon as the disease spread, manifesting itself on several continents, theories related to both its origin and its connection with geopolitics appeared. International speculation has been transmitted by the media since the first infected patients appeared in December 2019. The politicians did not hesitate to manipulate even in this case perhaps less recommended for this kind of speculation. I mention among them the fight of the biggest "titans" the US and China who blame each other for the origin of the virus and the intentions to spread it being an error or an intention. There is no⁶ evidence, only suspicions and accusations, but the world is trying to bring versions, stories and hypotheses that convince themselves more and more that it is a laboratory product and less a world appearance.

The politics of Moldova are not concerned about the origin of the virus and the pandemic, even if it came at a suitable time for our country. In the foreground is the fight with the oligarchs and corruption, and on the second plane the health and the health of the country. During the pandemic, the Republic of Moldova managed to conduct² elections for the election of the president, when the average weekly infections exceeded⁷ the number of 700-900 infected. The increase⁸ in the number of infections in the latter countries did not create political concerns to act in this direction, but more in the fight for position and slogans from the electoral campaign regarding the triggering of early parliamentary elections. Thus, on December 23, 2020, the Republic of Moldova remained without the incumbent Prime Minister and in the situation of over a thousand infections in the country on average for a non-functional government, but at least the budgetary-fiscal policy for 2021 was approved. Citizens entered the new year 2021 not only with the financial situation resolved but also with an interim Prime Minister. According to the statistical data in November-December 2020, there was the first wave of COVID-19

⁶ President Biden asks the secret services for a report on the origin of the Covid. Clues appear that fuel the theory of the virus dropped from the laboratory, available at <https://www.digi24.ro/stiri/externe/mapamond/biden-cere-serviciilor-secrete-un-raport-despre-originea-covid-apar-indicii-care-alimenteaza-teoria-virusului-scapat-din-laborator-1542179> accessed on 27.05.2021

⁷ Presidential elections in the Republic of Moldova, 2020 available https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alegeri_preziden%C8%9Biale_%C3%AEn_Republica_Moldova,_2020 visited on 11.07.2020

⁸ Statistics <https://github.com/CSSEGISandData/COVID-19>

disease of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova, and⁹ in March-April 2021 the second wave of virus infections throughout this period the political in Moldova was concerned with the dissolution of the parliament by all possible methods, by referring and consulting the Constitutional Court almost weekly on political decision-making. Maybe this was a strategic maneuver or a tactic of the Moldovan polity regarding the evasion of the attention of the citizens from the COVID-19 pandemic situation or maybe another reason?! It cannot be determined. It is important that the much-desired elections on the parliamentary elections took place on July 11, 2021, and for which¹⁰I hope for a maturity of the Moldovan political class.

Economy during the pandemic period

The start of the pandemic period in the Republic of Moldova in March 2020 faced several economic problems. According to the analysis of the economic situation in the most affected period, due to the restrictions on the activity of economic agents carried out by the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Moldova resulting from the statistical data, there is a decrease in the contribution of internal trade, transport, and storage and the Hospitality sector to GDP by 8.2% overall. With the end of the restrictions imposed by the Public Health and State of Emergency Commissions, the Hospitality sector also resumes its activity and registers in the first half of 2021 an increase of 52%. Not looking for reduced consumption of goods during the pandemic period, there have been sectors that have increased considerably, for example investments in the construction sector that increased by 6.2% in the first half of 2020, so not always a negative situation creates precedent in all areas. In 2021, the construction activity has evolved even more, being estimated at an increase of 15% per cent compared to the previous year. The fact that the population redirected the expenditures to another area represents a normality of a period of economic crisis, when the population wants to save the financial reserves, transforming them into investments.

The main problems faced by the economic environment of the Republic of Moldova represented more external factors than internal factors, due to the decrease in exports to partner countries, the restriction of the activities of companies in the industrial sector, the decrease in the volume of goods traded globally, etc. At the same time, analyzing the operative information on the social economic evolution of the Republic of Moldova made available by the Ministry of Economy, we note that the first quarter of 2020 according to the data available on 30.06.2020, however, it registered an increase of GDP by 0.9%. The same period of 2021 their registers the same increase already 1.8%

⁹ Maia Sandu appointed the current Foreign Minister, available, <https://www.digi24.ro/stiri/externe/moldova/maia-sandu-l-a-numit-premier-interimar-al-republicii-moldova-pe-actualul-ministru-de-externe-1426428> visited 11.07.2021

¹⁰ Parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova 2021

http://alegeri.md/w/Alegerile_parlamentare_din_2021_%C3%AE_n_Republica_Moldova

from the first quarter of the previous year. These figures confirm that economic activity is not decreasing, and it was speculation and panic created¹¹ during the period of the forced cessation of activities that influenced the most, once activities resumed, the relaunch of certain sectors such as the industrial sector was immediate.

The inflation rate in May 2020 did not exceed the value estimated by the National Bank compared to May 2020 and constituted 4.1%. In 2021, the inflation rate is 3.1% in May and is within the range of the inflation target. In the first 5 months of 2020, revenues to the state budget decreased by only 3%, and expenditures increased by only 2.6% in the register of a minimum deficit. In the same period of 2021, the budget deficit had an even lower value of only 3160.7 million lei, called "historical minimum" because such low values of the budget deficit have not been recorded in recent years. The revenues to the public budget were from the VAT revenues on goods and services produced on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, the imports, the income tax of individuals, the increase of excise duties brought collections. Both for 2020 and for 2021 the expenditures of the public budget are oriented towards the field of health and social protection. Foreign trade was significantly affected, with a value of 826 million U.S. dollars in 2020 or 11.5% lower than in the previous year 2019. In the first semester of 2021, due to the resumption of exports and the relaunch of domestic consumption, the internal and external trade managed to bring an increase in revenues in the public budget and, respectively, to increase GDP. So, we conclude that it is not the pandemic factor that brings the number of infections that is the negative factor of the economic activity, but the correct management of the actions during the pandemic period plays the decisive role in the economic survival of a third state.

The industrial sector has also been affected, as external demand has decreased, and enterprises in the machine-building industry, light industry, processing and preservation of fruits and vegetables have suffered losses.

The social aspect, the average gross monthly salary in the first half of 2020, calculated at the average level was one with positive indicators and increased by 10.3% compared to the same period of the previous year 2019 reaching 7633 lei or equivalent to 394 EUR. During the first quarter of 2021, the value of the salary continues to increase in the same tempo with 10.9% reaching 8464 lei or the equivalent of 401 EUR.

Education in the pandemic period

Of course, life has priority, but education is also continuity and future generations, so we classify them as equal priority. The education system in the Republic of Moldova was not prepared to face the COVID-19 pandemic and I believe that it cannot eliminate the consequences even two years after its onset.

¹¹ Monthly report on socio-economic developments of the Republic of Moldova https://mei.gov.md/sites/default/files/document/attachments/raport_lunar_2021-05.pdf

The use of information technologies in the teaching-country-assessment processes did not have priority and have not been developed by institutions providing educational services at any level. In the preschool world, it does not require much INVOLVEMENT of IT in the teaching activities. In the middle and high school, having only two basic profiles (real and human) has not been fixed on the development of information technologies in the teaching process being monopolized by the national curriculum, founded on other priorities, and in the upper territory, outstanding in this chapter (there are no accredited distance learning programs at any of the 20 higher education institutions). The start of using educational platforms was literally initiated with the declaration of the state of emergency and the closure of schools, kindergartens, high schools, colleges, universities, etc. The students woke up on a first-of-the-year vacation lasting 3 months just like the period of the summer holidays. The low level of teacher training on the use of IT, the reduced possibilities of the institutions to ensure the safe conduct of the educational process, the lack of technology that can ensure the delivery of educational process at a distance, the reduced financial possibilities of the parents to ensure that even more children in the family have gadgets or computers that would allow connection to educational platforms, health, fear, etc. were the basis of the negative factors of affecting the online learning process during the pandemic. The inability to organize the online education is also demonstrated by the fact that in 2020 the graduates of the high schools did not take the baccalaureate exam, but had an average calculated based on the performances accumulated over the years in the subjects of the baccalaureate exam, which diminished the chances of the promotion of high school graduates to be admitted to studies in the higher educational institutions in the EU countries. The academic year 2020-2021 was promoted by pupils and students in the ratio of 90% percent through the online way, which contributed negatively to the responsibility of pupils and students, to the lack of development of communication and teamwork skills, etc.

Solutions to get through the pandemic condition

The first solution and concern regarding the overcoming of the pandemic situation is the scientific research in the field regarding the creation of the vaccine against COVID-19, which has been worked on by researchers from all countries of the world, which is demonstrated by the variety of vaccines existing now.

Mutual aid from state governments and international organizations in the year in which the world was affected by the pandemic increased the spirit of solidarity.

One of the solutions is to use more IT resources and the Internet. Despite the risk of harm of the Internet browsing, it becomes just as useful in the common case of combating and overcoming the pandemic situation created by the COVID-19 virus and creating groups, blogs, libraries, communities that will share ideas, results research, practical experience, symptoms and periods of

illness and treatment, etc. what will create teamwork. The global mobilization on the search for treatment and vaccines for prevention has been the basis of several grandiose projects, one of which is sas.com a source of scientific literature¹² and analyses carried out in the field free of charge and very easy to use, and those concerned about saving lives can be of great benefit.

Another solution is the funds, and financial sources identified to combat the pandemic, and save people infected with the COVID-19 virus. Developed countries, international organizations, and other non-governmental structures have demonstrated an act of solidarity at a very high level, in terms of aid directed to less developed countries. Foreign aid, regardless of its value, is felt only then that there is transparency and effective management. In this context, the Republic of Moldova has created the Center for Coordination of External Assistance, which streamlined the directing of the external assistance provided to international partners to eliminate the consequences of COVID-19. The management of such a center is directed to communication, information, coordination, monitoring and decision-making actions, strategic and current to make the¹³most correct use of the financial sources arrived in the country in the form of donations or grants. Most of the donations were for the 120th health domain¹⁴and110 health followed by other sectors of the national economy such as infrastructure, business, services, transport, and agriculture.

Conclusions

Regardless of how we have learned, managed, and are affected by the pandemic created by the COVID-19 virus, we must draw conclusions from the facts, deficiencies, and errors committed during this time. Civilization is advancing, times are changing, but the lost human lives you cannot return, namely these reasons must be the foundation of the management of atypical situations faced by the modern world and including the Republic of Moldova. Besides facing problems on all dimensions of the branches of the economy, humanity has shown solidarity and mutual support, yet we have not become robots once with the use of information technologies. Isolation in the family also had an important role, the fact that we stayed more with family members and knew the problems they face, we communicated and interacted, we became closer, while we previously lacked. The economic effects are not without reason either, we have concluded that we do not study so much the environment in which we live, and we cannot insure ourselves for pandemic situations or other kinds of atypical situations. We managed to introduce digitalization and information technologies in any activity, field or action,

¹² SAS launches free AI-driven environment to mine COVID-19 research, https://www.sas.com/en_za/news/press-releases/2020/may/sas-launches-free-ai-driven-environment-to-mine-covid-19-research.html

¹³ Commission for Exceptional Situations of the Republic of Moldova Provision no. 15 of April 8, 2020, https://gov.md/sites/default/files/dispozitia_15_08.04.2020_o.pdf

¹⁴ AID MANAGEMENT PLATFORM, <http://amp.gov.md/portal/organizations>

which has benefited some and diminished others. I've gotten closer and very far away.

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THE CHALLENGES AND RELEVANCE OF TECHNOLOGY IN ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND HUMAN SECURITY IN NIGERIA: AMIDST THE COVID19 PANDEMIC

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Abstract: *Technology has necessitated and intensified changes in all spheres of human endeavors, including administering justice and ensuring human security. However, before the outbreak of the Covid-19, technological advancements have not significantly impacted the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria. The administration of justice and human security in Nigeria was manually operated with minimal or no digital input. In this regard, this study employs a doctrinal and non-doctrinal method in examining how has technology impacted on the administration of justice and human security during the Covid19 experience. The study uses an online questionnaire survey sent to 321 respondents (randomly selected) who reside in Nigeria. Analytical and descriptive methods were utilised in analysing data obtained. The study found that the outbreak of the covid19 in Nigeria has necessitated the use of technology in the administration of justice and human security. Although, some institutions in Nigeria are not effectively utilizing technological facilities in the administration of justice and human security, giving some inherent challenges. The study therefore concludes and recommends that, though the COVID-19 affected the smooth administration of justice and human security, it has led to the use of other faster and possible ways of administering*

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justice and human security in Nigeria. In this regard, the Nigerian government needs to embrace and intensify technology in the administration of justice and human security.

Keywords: *Technology, administration of justice, Covid-19 Pandemic, Security, Nigeria.*

Introduction

It is no news that the Covid-19 pandemic has ravaged and caused untold catastrophe to man, that the usual ways of man operation have been severely altered. However, the advancement of technology has brought about a paradigm shift from a rigid system to a fluid and more flexible one that allows people across the globe to exchange ideas and communicate¹. Technological advancement is a product of globalization that has necessitated and intensified global changes in all spheres of human endeavours and including the administration of justice within the global society². The fluidity of ideas and communication generally that society enjoys around the world today is a landmark achievement of technological development and advancement³. Technology has also enhanced some fundamental changes in global security and the administration of justice. This technology advancement is enabled with the use of sophisticated technological facilities, which include; Artificial Intelligence (AI), Close-Circuit Television Cameras (CCTV), big data, Global Positioning Systems (GPS), Drones, and telecommunication virtual conferencing device⁴.

However, in Nigeria, technological advancement has also enhanced positive development in all spheres of human endeavours, including the justice system⁵ and human security. This is concerning the fact that human security

¹ P A. Aidonojie; O.O. Anne, and O.O. Oladele, "An Emperical Study of the Relevance And Legal Challenges of an E-contract of Agreement In Nigeria", *Cogito Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, (2020). Vol. XII. No. 3, p. 170.

² S. Antonio & T.A. Estrella, "Business and Labour Culture Changes in Digital Paradigm: Rise and Fall of Human Resources and The Emergence of Talent Development", *Cogito Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, (2020), Vol. XII, No. 3. P. 225; O.O. Ikubanni, and P.A. Aidonojie P.A. "The Legality of Virtual Marriage in Nigeria given the Covid-19 Pandemic Social Distancing: An X-ray of the Matrimonial Causes Act", *Madonna University, Nigeria Faculty of Law, Law Journal*, (2021), 6(1), pp. 123-129.

³ D. Halima "Enhancing Justice Administration In Nigeria Through Information and Communications Technology", *The John Marshall Journal of Information Technology and Privacy Law*, (2016), Vol. 32(2), p. 90.

⁴ J. Mcmillan, "The Impact of Technology on Administrative Justice System" being a speech presented to AIAL National Administrative Law Forum, Canberra on 18th July, 2013, AIAL Forum No. 75 available at

<http://classic.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/AIAdminLawF/2013/23.pdf> accessed 20th August, 2021

⁵ C.A. Aniekwe, "Legal Framework for The Use of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) In The Nigerian Justice System: A call For Review", *International Journal of Comparative Law and Legal Philosophy*, (20213), Vol. 1(3), p. 145.

and the administration of justice is a very integral part of any society. Although, Nigeria has also had its fair share of the current Covid-19 pandemic that is currently ravaging the global environment. It suffices to state that technological advancements have been used in the administration of justice in Nigeria⁶ before the Covid 19 pandemic, but not as significant as it is experienced today. Though, there are local laws⁷ in Nigeria recognizing the use of digital operation of the justice system and ensuring human security in certain ways. However, it is apt to state that security agencies and those saddled with the responsibilities of administration of justice often underutilized technology in the discharge of their duties until the pandemic outbreak.

It must be noted the severe outbreak of the Covid-19 resulted in a total lockdown and social distance enforced by the government of various countries⁸, including Nigeria. Given the total lockdown cause by the Covid-19 pandemic in Nigeria, it further led to the commission of crimes and terrorism of various forms⁹. In this regard, the institutions' charges with the responsibility of administration of justice and human security had no choice to result and adapt to the use of technology to discharge their duties in curbing the rate of insecurity and crime rate. However, it has been observed that the use of technology in Nigeria is with a lot of challenges; this is concerning the fact that the technical facilities and the facilities to ensure a smooth operation or use of technology in Nigeria are inadequate or sufficient.

Given the above, this study examines the relevance and challenges of the use of technology by institutions in the administration of justice in Nigeria during the Covid-19 pandemic. Furthermore, the study will also proffer some possible suggestions that may enhance the use of technology in the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria.

Methodology

The study will generally focus on the relevance and effect of virtual learning in legal education in Nigeria. In this regard, we employ a hybrid research method consisting of a doctrinal and non-doctrinal method. The doctrinal method was achieved by examining primary sources of legal authorities such as; relevant statutory laws and judicial officers where necessary. Furthermore, the study also used secondary sources of power such as; textbooks, articles from the journal, the internet, and other materials relevant to this study. The doctrinal research method enables the researchers

⁶ O. Olugasa, "Utilizing Technology in Making the Nigerian Administration of Criminal Justice Act Effective for Criminal Trials" Available at

<https://www.iacajournal.org/article/10.36745/ijca.332/> Accessed 21st August, 2021

⁷ Evidence Act, 2011, Administration of Criminal Justice Act, 2015 and its equivalent in various state of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

⁸ H.E. Inegbedion, "Covid-19 lockdown: implication for food security, Journal of Agribusiness in Developing and Emerging Economies", (2020), Vol. 5, pp. 54-71.

⁹ Ibid.

to analyse and examine the relevance of technology in the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria during the Covid19 pandemic.

However, the non-doctrinal (empirical method) method enables the researchers to gather extensive data using online (google form given the Covid19 social distance) questionnaire surveys made use of analytical. An analytical and descriptive approach was employed to enable the researchers to mathematically, statistically, and numerically analyse the data obtained through the online questionnaire. The doctrinal research method enables the researchers to effectively ascertain and examine the impact of technology in the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria during the Covid19 pandemic. Furthermore, it will enable the researcher to ascertain the challenges and bottlenecks that may likely occur in using technology to administer justice and human security.

The use of Technology in curbing Insecurity in Nigeria during the Covid19 Pandemic

Nigeria has had its fair share of modern security challenges, ranging from banditry, kidnapping, farmers and herders clash¹⁰, insurgency, food shortage, diseases, armed robbery, ritual killings¹¹, militancy oil theft¹², etc. It must be noted that an uncontrolled incidence of criminality amongst its citizens has led to high kidnapping rates and constant attacks, particularly on farmers, travelers, and some communities in Nigeria¹³. Unfortunately, this has been made possible because of the porous nature of Nigeria's system of administration and the complicity of the security agencies¹⁴. Furthermore, other contributing factors to insecurity in Nigeria include resistiveness among the youth and the staggering rate of unemployment. While the Government of Nigeria may have acknowledged this as a major factor, however, the menace

¹⁰ T. Kegnku, K. Alom, and J.D. Fanafa, "Herders And Farmers Conflict And Its Implication For The 2019 General Elections In Nigeria: What Can Public Relations Do?", *American International Journal of Social Science*, (2019), Vol. 8(1), 16; P. A. Aidonojie & P. Egielewa, Criminality and the Media: Perception and Legality of the Amotekun Security Agency in Nigeria. *International Journal of Comparative Law and Legal Philosophy*, (2020), Vol. 1 (3), 47-56

<https://www.nigerianjournalsonline.com/index.php/IJOCLLEP/article/view/1089>, accessed 20th September, 2020

¹¹ P.A. Aidonojie, O.P. Agbale, O.O. Ikubanni, "Analysing the land use act, the grazing reserves act and the proposed Fulani cattle colonies (RUGA settlement) and NLTP", *Nnamdi Azikiwe University Journal of International Law and Jurisprudence*, (2021) Vol. 12(1), 138-148.

¹² P.A. Aidonojie, O.A. Anani, O.P. Agbale, J.O. Olomukoro, and O.C. Adetunji, "Environmental Law in Nigeria: A Review on its Antecedence, Application, Judicial Unfairness and Prospects", *Archive of Science & Technology* (2020)1(2) 212 – 221.

¹³ O.E. Okeke, "Conflicts between Fulani herders and farmers in central and southern Nigeria: Discourse on proposed establishment of grazing routes and reserves", *International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, (2014) Vol. 3(1), 66–84.

¹⁴ G.B.O. Aluyor, "Performance evaluation of the Nigerian police in crime prevention in urban centres", *Journal of land use and development studies*, (2005) Vol. 1(1), 23-45.

of human insecurity is yet to be curtailed. These challenges have the capacity of depleting the nation's population, crippling the social, economic, and political stability of the country into a menacing state. Furthermore, it could toss the nation into anarchy and lead to a heightened influx of undocumented and uncontrollable incidence of criminality.

However, according to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report 1994, human security means "safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression" and also "protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of daily life.¹⁵". Human security for all intent and purposes, therefore, focuses primarily on protecting people while promoting peace and assuring sustainable development in human society¹⁶.

Given the above, it must be noted that the traditional methods of crime control of stop and search have proven unfruitful and unproductive owing to the organized manner in which the assailants operate¹⁷. This has been worsened by the ineptitude and corruption of most security agencies who collude with the suspects for their gain, thereby failing in their statutory responsibility to protect lives and properties¹⁸. In this regard, to effectively counter the current security challenges in the country, security agencies/law enforcement officer needs to adopt a more realistic and sophisticated approach through active surveillance and intelligence gathering using technology. However, some of the technologies facilities that may be relevant in the administration of justice and ensure human insecurity are addressed as follows:

i. Global Positioning System (GPS)

GPS is an electronic device that can calculate the position, time, and velocity of any GPS receiver¹⁹. In advanced countries, GPS is predominantly used for tracking accused persons on bail, offenders on parole, and suspected members of terrorist groups²⁰. In Nigeria, the potential of GPS has not been fully utilized because it is majorly used for car and phone tracking. It is safe to say that the federal government of Nigeria could have also deployed the device

¹⁵ R.O. Adeowale, "Analysis of the impact of Global insecurity on the optimization of the Right to development in the 1st century from Nigeria perspective", *Calabar Journal of Public & International Law*, (2017) Vol. 4, 46-59.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ E.A. Ubong and J.D. Inyang, "Policing Nigeria: A Case for Partnership Between Formal and Informal Police Institutions" *Merit Research Journal of Art, Social Science and Humanities*, (2013) Vol. 1(4), 53-58.

¹⁸ D. Ojo and M. Olufemi, "The Nigeria Police and the Search for Integrity in the Midst of Diverse Challenges: An Effective Police Management Approach" *International Journal of Police Science and Management*, (2014)16(2), 87-100.

¹⁹ A. Borgmann, "Justice and technology", *The Routledge Handbook of Technology, Crime and Justice*, (2017), 674-682.

²⁰ C. Mackay, "The pixilated prisoner: Prison video links, court appearance and the justice matrix", *Routledge*, (2018), 21-34.

in tracking or monitoring people who returned to Nigeria during the pandemic from infected countries to monitor their movement and prevent the spread of the virus.

ii. Closed- Circuit Television Cameras (CCTV)

CCTV captures live video footage of any person who walks into the vicinity covered by the camera²¹. The camera depending on its nature may capture the photographic images, behavioral mannerisms, and activities done by a person who walks within the vicinity²². While it may not be unlawful to procure a CCTV in private space, its use in public places must, however, comply with The Nigerian Data Protection Regulations (NDPR) because the right to privacy is a constitutional right²³. CCTV has a crucial role in helping law enforcement officers in surveillance, detection, and investigation of crime in a public place or confined location like hotels, Bars, supermarket Banks, etc. However, despite its usefulness in crime prevention and detection, it has its peculiar challenges. Firstly, the CCTV cannot work effectively where there is an inadequate power supply. Secondly, CCTV is also seen as a violation of Peoples' right to privacy because it records the activity of people who may not have the intention of committing a crime²⁴. Although it can be cured by placing a notice in the vicinity informing the public was entering the vicinity to be aware that they are being monitored. Thirdly, if the data and information are not properly stored, they could be lost or stolen by an unauthorised person(s).

iii. Drones

Drones are flying robots that can be remotely controlled or fly autonomously using software with sensors & G.P.S. technologies²⁵. They are also known as unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) or Unmanned aircraft systems (UAS)²⁶. They were initially developed for military operations and surveillance, but they have also been adopted for civilian uses in the area of videography, agriculture, and delivery services²⁷. During the Pandemic,

²¹ S. Moore, "Digital government, public participation and service transformation: the impact of virtual courts", *Policy and Politics*, (2019) Vol. 47(3), 495-509.

²² K. Kamber and L.K. Markic, "Administration of Justice during the Covid-19 Pandemic and the Right to a fair trial", *EU and Comparative Law Issues and Challenges Series (ECLIC)*, (2021) Vol. 5, 1049-1083.

²³ Section 37 of Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended 2011).

²⁴ Y. Mansur, "Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) and Crime Detection in Nigeria: A Conceptual Analysis. Crime Preventer", *A Journal of National Association of Criminology and security studies*, (2019) Vol. 1(2), 32-49.

²⁵ W. Tyler and M. Torin, "Surveillance and Violence from afar: The politics of drones and luminal security-scapes", *Theoretical criminology*, (2011) Vol. 15(3), 239-254.

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ W.G. Voss, "Privacy law implications of the use of drones for security and justice purposes" *International Journal of Liability and Scientific Enquiry*, (2013) Vol. 6(4), 171-192.

Drones were used to deliver medical supplies to remote communities in Ghana and Rwanda. The drones could serve as a viable technology tool in tracking some incidence of criminality in Nigeria by relevant security agencies.

iv. Artificial Intelligent (AI) and Big Data

AI refers to the simulation of human intelligence in machines programmed to think like humans and mimic their actions²⁸. On the other hand, big data, as a technological tool, focuses on managing a large amount of data from different sources. During the COVID-19 Pandemic, AI and Big Data were used for screening patients, monitoring the outbreaks, tracking and tracing cases of the diseases, predicting its evolution, and assessing infection risk²⁹. Although it suffices to state that Nigeria may not have advanced to the stage of using sophisticated technology of AI and big data, however, given the level of crisis and pandemic, there is a need to adapt in using such technology.

v. Technology as Communication enabler in the face of Covid-19 Pandemic

Since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, the world, including Nigeria, has not remained the same³⁰. The Pandemic has unceremoniously ushered us into a new era, whereby the world is forced to discover new means of survival and new ways of living³¹. Also, Nigeria as a country has had its fair share of the Covid19 pandemic. For instance, in a bid to comply with the Federal Government's directive of social distancing and the total lockdown of the country, as a response to curtailing the spread of the virus, most government agencies were required to utilise technology in communication. In this regard, an official of the Nigeria Police Force, Correctional Centres, the Courts, and other relevant agencies in ensuring continuity of their essential service to the public has migrated to a virtual environment. Some of the technological facilities often use in the administration of justice, and human security includes; Zoom, Google Meet, WebEx, and WhatsApp for virtual conferencing and proceedings.

Given the above, it suffices to state that in alternative to cancellations of important meetings considering the policy of social distancing, virtual

²⁸ C. Mckay, "Predicting risk in criminal procedure: actual tools, algorithms, AI and judicial decision-making", *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, (2020) Vol. 32(1), 22-39.

²⁹ Amitav Mallik SIPRI Research Report No. 20 Technology and Security in the 21st Century, A Demand-side Perspective.

³⁰ M. Legg M., The Covid-19 pandemic, the courts and online hearings: maintaining open justice, procedural fairness and impartiality, *Federal Law Review*, 2021, 006725x21993139.

³¹ H.A. Moruf, and L.A. Adeleke, "Electronic Information Resources and the Legal Profession: The Case of Oyo State High Courts, Nigeria", *Journal of Information and Knowledge Management*, (2018) Vol. 9 (1), pp. 26-34.

conferencing, meetings, and proceedings. Communication technological facilities have been adopted as one of the unprecedented measures to circumvent the impact of the pandemic in Nigeria³². Most of these digital tools are easy to operate and use once internet access is connected to gadgets like the PC or Android smartphones. Usually, the user must either download the software or app., depending on the platform and then live. Suffice to say that most of these apps are free to use.

Given the above, it suffices to state that there is a need to utilised adaptable technologies in the administration of justice and ensure human security³³. Given the urgency of this present crisis that demands the deployment of advanced technologies. Furthermore, it also concerns the fact that the crisis of insecurity appears to have spiraled out of control like a whirlwind, causing a progressive, devastating effect on the nation's economy³⁴. This has resulted from food shortage arising from attacks on farmers by bandits, increasing the numbers of internally displaced persons due to religious crisis and tribal violence³⁵ coupled with the reduction in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

In this regard, it is apt to state that the deployment of viable advanced technologies in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria is apt and long overdue. This is concerning the fact that technologies such as; GPS tracking system, CCTV Cameras, Drones, and frontline technologies such as Artificial Intelligence (AI) and Big Data, has been identified for effective crime detection, investigation, and surveillance in most developed countries³⁶. Although, currently, the Nigerian government, through the effort of a private company (Aiteo Global Group), acquired some sophisticated technological hardware devices such as; 4-speed interception, 14 inshore patrol boats, seven houseboats, four airboats, long-range surveillance drones, and six high definition cameras to combat piracy and sea robbery along the nation's territorial waters. This acquisition underscores the recognition and relevance of technology in the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria. However, given the crime rate, the Nigerian government needs to intensify the use of technologies in the administration of justice and the facilitation of human security.

³² M. Rossner, D. Tait and M. McCurdy, "Justice reimagined: challenges and opportunities with implementing virtual courts", *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, (2021), Vol. 33(1), 94-110.

³³ Ibid

³⁴ D.B. Ewubare, and S. Kakain, "Natural Resource Abundance and Economic Growth in Nigeria (1980-2015)" *Global Journal of Agricultural Research*, (2017) Vol. 5(3) pp. 1-11.

³⁵ A.N. Aniche, and U.L. Ngwu, "Herdsman and Farmers Conflicts in Nigeria: The Implications for Social Work Practice"

http://eprints.gouni.edu.ng/2154/1/Conflict_between_farmer_and_haerdsmen-4%5B1%5D.pdf retrieved 7/12/2019

³⁶ D. Tait and M. Rossner, "Presence and Participation in a Virtual Court", *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, (2021) Vol. 6, 41-65.

Legal Framework concerning the use of Technology in Administration of Justice and Human Security in Nigeria

In Nigeria, although the constitution does not have any sections as it relates to technological development. However, it suffices to state that, by section 4 of the Nigerian constitution³⁷, the Nigerian legislator is empowered to make laws to ensure peace and good governance. In furtherance of this legislative power, several laws or regulatory framework as it relates to technological development and its uses has been enacted. One of such laws is the National Information Technology Development Agency Act³⁸. The Act established the National Information Technology Development Agency, the essence of the establishment of the agency is provided for in section 5 of the National Information Technology Development Agency Act³⁹, and it stipulates thus;

- i. The National Information Technology Development Agency is to ensure that there is sufficient framework to enhance the planning, development, research, application, monitoring, and regulating the practices of information technology activities in Nigeria;
- ii. To facilitate and enhance the development and maintenance of relevant infrastructure with information technology in the private and public sector;
- iii. To set up or develop a framework for electronic governance and promote the use of information technology;
- iv. To monitor the use and application of information technology;
- v. To advise the government concerning relevant ways of intensifying the development and use of technology in enhancing national security and legislation.

Furthermore, the National Space Research and Development Agency Act⁴⁰ is another relevant legislation that provides for the recognition and regulation of the National Space Research and Development. The essence of the National Space Research and Development Agency Act is aimed at fostering and intensifying the development of space science and satellite technology. In this regard, section 1 of the Act⁴¹ establishes an agency known as the National Space Research and Development Agency. However, section 6 of the Act⁴² further mandated the agency with the following responsibilities as follows;

- i. To ensure an effective building of space science technology;

³⁷ Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended 2011).

³⁸ National Information Technology Development Agency Act, CAP. N156 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ National Space Research and Development Agency Act, CAP. N157A, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid

- ii. The agency is mandated to set up and enhances satellite technology for its application and operation in Nigeria;
- iii. To ensure the erection and development of research centre concerning satellite and space science technology for national economic and social development;
- iv. To ensure that there is an established information network that will promote and enhance information network between the agency and other relevant agencies in Nigeria;
- v. To collaborate with an international organization and non-governmental agencies in promoting capacity building concerning satellite and space science technology;
- vi. To undertake such activities that are considered expedient in implementing its functions.

To achieve the above responsibilities, section 11 of the National Space Research and Development Agency Act⁴³, further provide for the establishment of six (6) centre or branches within the various states in Nigeria. The essence of the centre is to facilitate, enhance and intensify the development and establishment of satellite and space science technology in Nigeria.

It is very imperative to emphasize that besides the above legislation that tends to relate to the establishment and development of technology, there is other legislation in Nigeria that recognizes the use of technology in the administration of justice. The chief of these legislations is the Evidence Act⁴⁴ and the Administration of Criminal Justice Act⁴⁵. These legislations are Act of the National Assembly. While the former regulates the admissibility of evidence before courts in Nigeria, the latter borders on the speedy dispensation of justice in criminal matters being procedural law.

The Evidence Act contains some salient provisions that recognize the admissibility of the computer-generated document, documents from the internet, Videotapes, photographs, etc., and any other document produced through any electronic means⁴⁶. The Administration of Criminal Justice Act, 2015, on the other hand, recognizes the electronic recording of the Statement of suspects and the general use of technology in the discharge of the police statutory duties, which shall be admissible in a court of law⁴⁷. By and large, it

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Evidence Act, 2011

⁴⁵ Administration of Criminal Justice Act, 2015.

⁴⁶ See Sections 84 and 258 of the Evidence Act, 2011. Z. Adanagor, "What is Innovative in the Evidence Act, 2011? Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization, (2015) Vol. 43, P. 39. Available at www.iiste.org. ISSN2224-3240(Paper) ISSN 2224-3259 (Online) cited in C. A. Aniekwe, "Legal Framework for the Use of Information and Communication Technology In The Nigerian Justice System: A call For Review" International Journal of Comparative Law and Legal Philosophy, (2019) Vol. 1 (3), P. 127.

⁴⁷ See Section 232 and 234 of the Administration of Criminal Justice Act, 2015.

is safe to say that the use of technology for the administration of justice in Nigeria is not exactly novel. However, it holds not much value until the advent of the Civil-19 pandemic.

Challenges of using Technology in Administration of Justice and Securities in Nigeria

Given the crucial role and the overall benefit in the fight against insecurity and the administration of justice in Nigeria, investment in ICT in Nigeria by the Government and Private Corporations in the Country becomes imperative.

However, it must be noted that engaging and deploying these technological facilities effectively may not come cheap for a developing country like Nigeria. Consequently, the following has been identified as some of the factors that may hinder the effective deployment and use of Technology in this space:

- High cost of procuring and maintaining ICT tools,
- Internet modem/router,
- Irregular power supply,
- Poor network bandwidth,
- Internet fraudsters,
- Corruption
- Poor ICT skills among security personnel and
- Inadequate regulations.

For instance, the use of drones in Nigeria is still subject to debate when other Africa countries like Rwanda are paving the way in the use of ICT. While some of these challenges are considered perennial challenges facing the use of ICT in Sub-Saharan Africa⁴⁸, other challenges like inadequate managerial support, technological apathy among the security agents, and lack of training and re-training of security Agents are among peculiar challenges in Nigeria.

Sample Size and Technique

Concerning the sample size and techniques, the researchers design an online questionnaire survey distributed to various respondents residing in the various states in Nigeria. The researcher selected the respondents in the various states to respond to the questionnaire via simple random sampling techniques. According to Aidonojie *et al.*⁴⁹, in their study, they stated that

⁴⁸ M. Duffield, "Human security: linking development and security in an age of terror", *New interfaces between security and development*, (2006) Vol. 11

⁴⁹ P.A. Aidonojie, O.O. Anne, and O.O. Oladele, "An Empirical Study of the Relevance and Legal Challenges of an E-contract of Agreement in Nigeria", *Cogito Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, (2020) Vol. 12(3), P. 181; P. A. Aidonojie, A.O. Odojor, and P.O. Agbale, "The Legal Impact of Plea Bargain in Settlement of High Profile Financial Criminal Cases in Nigeria" *Sriwijaya Law Review*, (2021)5(2), 161-174,

DOI:10.28946/Slrev.Vo15.Iss2.852.pp161-174

using a simple random sampling technique is said to be best for selecting respondents from various states of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Furthermore, according to Bajpai *et al.*,⁵⁰ stated that a simple random sampling technique has the following advantage as follows:

- i. It is a hassle-free method of sampling the population.
- ii. There is no chance of a personal bias of the researcher to influence the sample.

Given the above, 321 respondents in the various states of the Federal Republic of Nigeria that were randomly selected were required to respond to predetermine options of questions and a free opinionated cluster of questions. This is to enable the researchers to arrive at an unbiased general conclusion successfully.

Data Presentation/Analysis

The following research questions were formulated for this study, and data obtained via questionnaire are analysed as follows;

Research Question One

Which part of the states in Nigeria are the respondents to the questionnaire residing?

What State do you reside?

321 responses

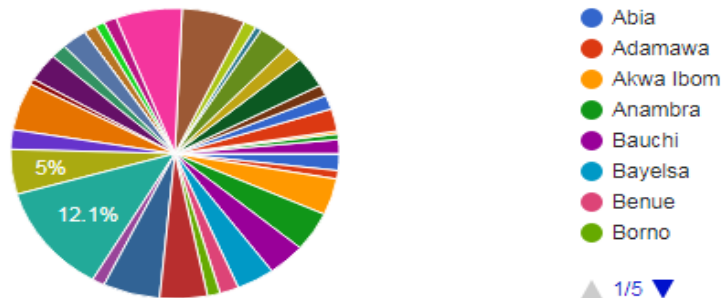


Figure 1: responses of respondents identifying the various states they live or reside in Nigeria

⁵⁰ Bajpai G.S. Maanvi M.T., “Law Research Methodology: ‘Sampling Techniques’” http://epgp.inflibnet.ac.in/epgpdata/uploads/epgp_content/law/09_research_methodology/12_tools_and_techniques_of_data_collection/et/8171_et_et.pdf accessed 3rd June, 2020

Table 1: Valid responses of respondents identifying the states they reside in Nigeria

S/N	The various States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria	Respondent's Response	Percent
1	Abia	6	1.9%
2	Adamawa	3	0.9%
3	Akwa Ibom	13	4%
4	Anambra	14	4.4%
5	Bauchi	12	3.7%
6	Bayelsa	12	3.7%
7	Benue	6	1.9%
8	Borno	4	1.2%
9	Cross River	15	4.7%
10	Delta	18	5.6%
11	Ebonyi	4	1.2%
12	Edo	39	12.1%
13	Ekiti	16	5%
14	Enugu	7	2.2%
15	(FCT) Abuja	17	5.3%
16	Gombe	Nil	Nil
17	Imo	12	3.7%
18	Jigawa	5	1.5%
19	Kaduna	8	2.5%
20	Kano	Nil	Nil
21	Katsina	4	1.2%
22	Kebbi	Nil	Nil
23	Kogi	7	2.2%
24	Kwara	21	6.5%
25	Lagos	20	6.2%
26	Nassarawa	4	1.2%
27	Niger	2	0.6%
28	Ogun	10	3.1%
29	Ondo	6	1.9%
30	Osun	11	3.4%
31	Oyo	4	1.2%
32	Plateau	5	1.6%
33	Rivers	8	2.5%
34	Sokoto	8	2.5%
35	Taraba	Nil	Nil
36	Yobe	Nil	Nil
37	Zamfara	Nil	Nil

Figure 1 and Table 1 represent the valid respondents' responses identifying the various states they reside in the various state of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Research Question Two

Do you agree that technology has to an extent impacted on the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria, given the COVID19 pandemic

319 responses

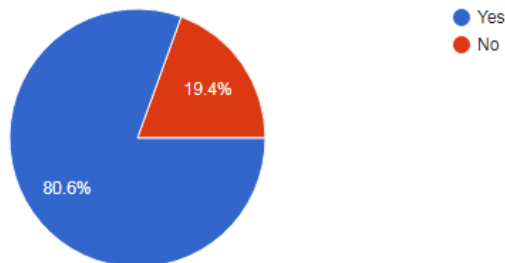


Figure 2: respondents' response identifying whether technology has enhanced administration of justice and human security

Table 2: Valid response of respondents' stating if the use of technology has enhanced administration of justice and human security

	Response	Percent
Valid Yes	257	80.6%
Valid No	62	19.4%
Total	319	100%

Figure 2 and Table 2 represent the valid responses of the respondents identifying that the use of technology has aid and enhances the administration of justice and human security, given the Covid19 pandemic.

Research Question Three

Which of the following Nigerian Institutions have been well inclined in using technology in the administration of justice and human security during the COVID19 pandemic? You can tick more than one

312 responses

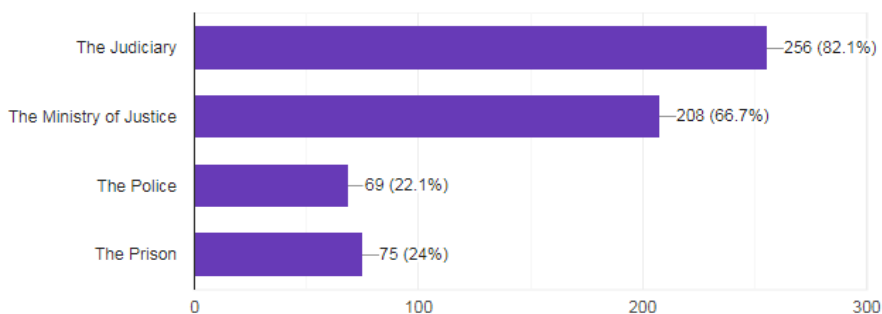


Figure 3: Cluster of respondents' identifying institutions that use technology in justice and security delivery in Nigeria

Table 3: Valid clusters of responses of respondents' identifying institutions that use technology in justice and security delivery in Nigeria

Institutions	Cluster of Response	Percentage
The Judiciary	256	82.1%
The Ministry of Justice	208	66.7%
The Police	69	22.1%
The Prison	75	24%

Research Question four

Which of the following technological facilities have been effectively utilised in the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria? You can chose more than one

321 responses

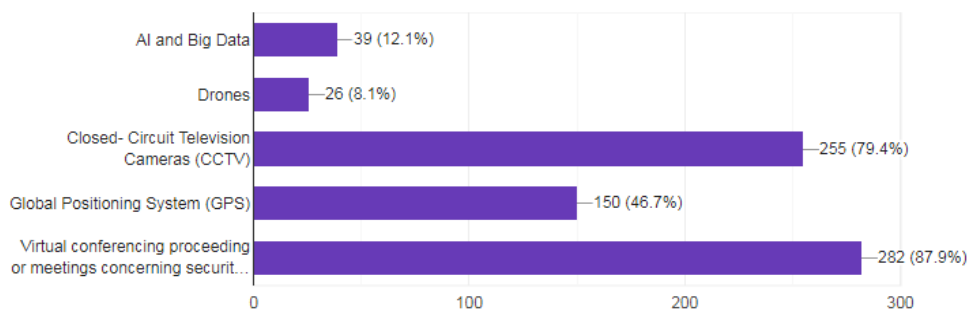


Figure 4: Cluster of responses of respondents' identifying technological facilities often used in the administration of justice and fostering of human security

Table 4: Valid clusters of respondents' responses of respondents' identifying technological facilities often used in the administration of justice and fostering of human security

Technological facilities	Cluster of Responses	Percentage
AI and Big Data	39	12.1%
Drones	26	8.1%
Closed- Circuit Television Cameras (CCTV)	255	79.4%
Global Positioning System (GPS)	150	46.7%
Virtual conferencing proceeding or meetings technological facilities such as; Zoom virtual conferencing, Google Meeting, Webex Meeting, WhatsApp, and Skype	282	87.9%

Figure 4 and Table 4 are a representation of cluster responses of respondents identifying the various technological facilities often use in the administration of justice and fostering human security in Nigeria.

Research question 5

Do agree that the use of technology in the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria have several challenges?

319 responses

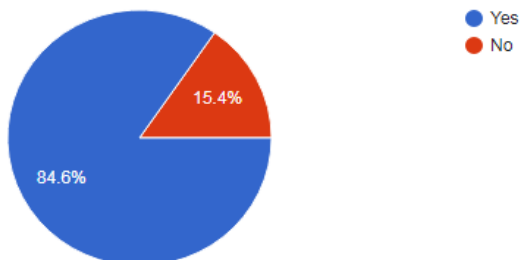


Figure 5: represent respondents’ responses identifying that there are challenges in using technology in the administration of justice and human security

Table 5: is a Valid respondents’ responses identifying that there are challenges in using technology in the administration of justice and human security

	Response	Percent
Valid Yes	270	84.6%
Valid No	49	15.4%
Total	319	100%

Figure 5 and Table 5 represent the respondents’ responses in attesting to the fact that there are challenges often encounter in using technological facilities in the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria.

Research question 6

Which of the following serves as challenges in using technology in the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria? You can tick more than one option

296 responses

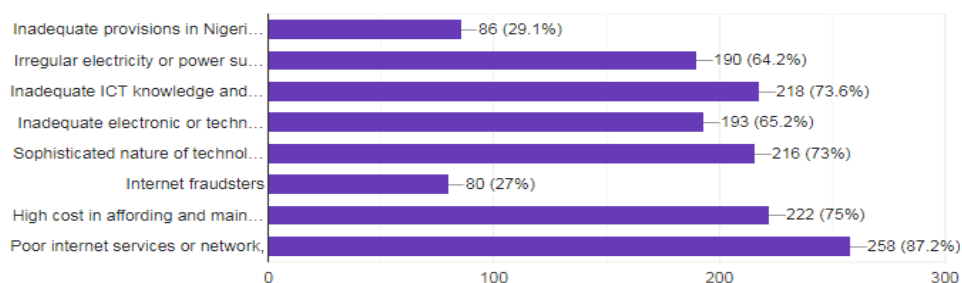


Figure 6: is a representation of respondents identification of some challenges often encounter in using technological facilities

Table 6: Valid cluster of respondents identification of some challenges often encounter in using technological facilities

Challenges of using Technological Facilities	Cluster of Responses	Percentage
Inadequate provisions in Nigerian laws that recognize technological facilities as tools in the administration of justice	86	29.1%
Poor internet services or network,	258	87.2%
Irregular electricity or power supply	190	64.2%
Inadequate ICT knowledge and formal training	218	73.6%
Inadequate electronic resources,	193	65.2%
Sophisticated nature of information communication equipment may lead to permanent loss of vital information	216	73%
Internet fraudsters	80	27%
High cost in affording and maintaining technological facilities in the administration of justice	222	75%

Figure 6 and Table 6 represent respondents' responses identifying some of the challenges often encountered in using technological facilities in the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria.

Research question 7

Which of the following can aid in improving the use of technology in the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria? You can tick more than one options

304 responses

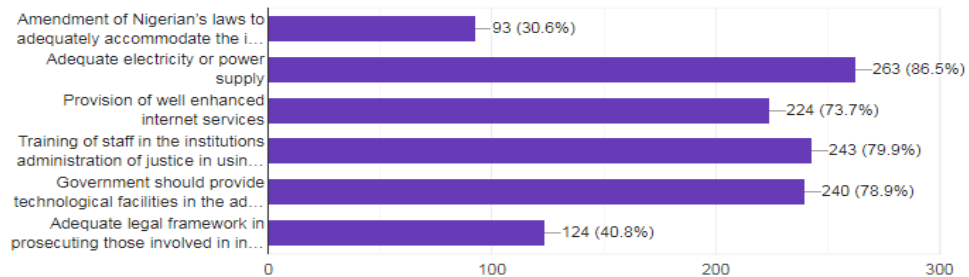


Figure 7: represent respondents identification of possible solution in resolving the challenges in using technological facilities

Table 5: Valid cluster of respondents' identification of possible solutions in resolving the challenges in using technological facilities

The Relevance of Educational Facilities/Resources	Cluster of Responses	Percentage
Amendment of Nigeria laws to adequately accommodate technology in the administration of justice and human security.	93	30.6%

Adequate electricity or power supply	263	86.5%
Provision of well-enhanced internet services	224	73.7%
Training of staff in the institutions' administration of justice in using technological facilities	243	79.9%
Government should provide technological facilities in the administration of justice	240	78.9%
The adequate legal framework in prosecuting those involved in internet fraud	124	40.8%

Figure 7 and Table 7 represent the respondent response identifying some of the possible ways of resolving the challenges often encountered in using technology in the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria.

Discussion of Findings

Given the above data presentation and analysis, figure 1 and table 1 represent the fact that the respondents are drawn from the various states of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In essence, it gives credence and credibility to the fact that the respondents living within Nigeria will be well informed to respond to the question put before them in ascertaining relevance and challenges of technology in the administration of justice in Nigeria given the Covid19 pandemic. However, in ascertaining if the use of technology has impacted the administration of justice in Nigeria, despite the Covid19 pandemic, figure 2 and table 2 shows that a large number of the respondents (80.6% respondents) agreed or responded yes. This further reveals that the use of technology in the administration of justice and human security is an essential tool that can aid in curbing crime in Nigeria and ensure an effective administration of justice in Nigeria. Furthermore, from figure 3 and table 3, the respondents were able to identify the institutions in Nigeria that are currently using technology in the administration of justice and ensuring human security given the Covid19 pandemic. 82.1% and 66.7% identified the judiciary and ministry of justice respective as one of the institutions that made use of technology in the administration of justice. However, it was noticed that 22.1% and 24%, which represent a smaller percentage of the respondents, identified the fact the police and prison made use of technology in justice delivery and ensuring human security. In this regard, this is a clear reflection that the majority of the respondents are not pleased with the poor rate at which the police and the prison made use of technology in the administration of justice and ensuring human security. Also, having identified the institutions that often used technology in the administration of justice and human security, question four further requires the respondents to often use it in the administration of justice and human security. Figure 4 and table 4 further present technologies identified by the respondents as often used in the administration of justice and safeguarding human security. 87.9% identified

Virtual conferencing proceeding or meetings technological facilities such as; Zoom virtual conferencing proceeding, Google Meeting, Webex Meeting, WhatsApp, and Skype. Furthermore, 79.4% and 46.7% identified Closed-Circuit Television Cameras (CCTV) and Global Positioning Systems (GPS), respectively. However, 12.1% and 8.1%, which represent a minimal percentage of the respondents, identify AI and Big Data, and Drones as some technologies often used in the administration of justice and human security. In this regard, it is apt to state that given the poor rate of the use of drones and AI in the administration of justice and fostering of human security is very poor. However, given the pace of human insecurity in Nigeria, drones and AI technological facilities are ideal technology required to curb the insecurity menace in Nigeria.

However, figure 5 and table 5 confirm that the use of technological facilities has enhanced and fostered the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria (84.6% respondents). But there are a lot of challenges often encounter in the use of these technologies. Furthermore, figure 6 and table 6 represent respondents' responses in identifying some of these challenges in using technology in the administration of justice and human security. 87.2%, 64.2%, and 73.6% identify poor internet services or networks, irregular electricity or power supply, and inadequate ICT knowledge and formal training, respectively. These challenges identified are often a significant problem that is very common in the use of technological facilities in all sectors in Nigeria. These findings are very similar to Aidonojie and Odojor's⁵¹ findings in their study when they identify that epileptic power, poor internet services, and lack of formal training often affect the use of technological facilities in Nigeria. Furthermore, 65.2%, 75%, and 73% identify inadequate electronic resources, High cost in affording and maintaining technological facilities, and sophisticated nature of information communication equipment, respectively, could also pose a challenge in using technology.

However, in ascertaining to resolve the challenges often pose in using technology in the administration of justice and human security. In this regard, 86.5% and 73.7% stated that the government needs to ensure that there is adequate electricity or power supply and provision of well-enhanced internet services, respectively. Also, 78.9% and 79.9% stated that government should provide sufficient technological facilities and training of staff in the various institutions on how to use technological facilities, respectively. Furthermore, 40.8% said that an adequate legal framework in prosecuting those involved in internet fraud should be enacted⁵².

⁵¹ P.A. Aidonojie & O.A. Odojor, "Impact and Relevance of Modern Technological Legal Education Facilities amidst the Covid-19 Pandemic: A Case Study of Law Students of Edo University Iyamho", *KIU Journal of Humanities*, Vol. (2020)5(4), 7-19.

⁵² H.A. Moruf and L.A. Adeleke, "Electronic Information Resources and the Legal Profession: The Case of Oyo State High Courts, Nigeria", *Journal of Information and Knowledge Management*, (2018) Vol. 9 (1), pp. 26-34.

Given these findings, it suffices to state that technology is a vital tool that is very promising in the administration of justice. Though there are challenges of using technological facilities in the administration of justice and human security, given the relevance, there is a need for government to step up in savaging these challenges for smooth use of technology.

Conclusion/Recommendation

In this study, it has been highlighted that the establishment and development of technology have significantly impacted all aspects of human affairs. In this regard, the study further examined how and to what end technology has impacted the administration of justice and human security in Nigeria, particularly in the current Covid-19 pandemic experience. The study reveals that though the use of technology in Nigeria is not novel, however, there is minimal usage of technology in the administration of justice and human security before Covid-19. However, given the Covid-19 pandemic that causes several challenges in the conventional *modus operandi* of administration of justice and human security. The institutions and agencies responsible for the administration of justice and human security had no choice but to adapt to the usage of technological facilities. Although it was further revealed in this study that several institutions in Nigeria still minimally apply the use of technological facilities in the administration of justice, given some challenges often encounter in relying on technological facilities.

However, the Covid-19 pandemic though it affected the smooth administration of justice, also brought about the blessing of discovering other faster and possible ways of utilizing technology in administering justice and human security in Nigeria with minimal human inputs. In this regard, the study, therefore, recommends amongst others that there is the need for the Nigerian government to be intentional about embracing this digital transformation that Covid-19 has brought.

Given the above, the study, therefore, recommends as follows;

1. Provision of all necessary digital tools and facilities required for the smooth running of a technologically motivated administration of justice and human security.
2. Stable electricity or power supply.
3. Provision of well-enhanced internet services.
4. Training of various institutional personnel whose responsibility is to administer justice and ensure human security.

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PARADIGMATIC RELATIONS IN THE ENGLISH TERMINOLOGY OF BIOTECHNOLOGY

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Abstract: *The article deals with paradigmatic relations in the English terminology of the biotechnology sphere. The aim of this work is to study such paradigmatic relations in biotechnological terminology as synonymy and antonymy. The author focuses on the generalization of theoretical views on the essence of the phenomena of synonymy and antonymy in terminology in general. Using the example of terminological units in the sphere of biotechnology, the features of the use of synonymous and antonymic units in English for the purpose of differential nomination of a fragment of the linguistic picture of the world are shown. The author identified and analyzed the main types of synonyms and antonyms and their structural features in the studied term system. Synonymy and antonymy are typical phenomena in terminology. The frequency of use of synonyms in the language is higher than that of antonyms. This testifies to the existing flexibility of terminology, which allows, in the case of synonymy, to interchange terms, in the case of antonymy, to structure concepts based on the opposition of their meanings. Both synonyms and antonyms in the terminology of the English language are characterized by sufficient consistency and orderliness.*

Keywords: *term, terminology, paradigmatic relations, synonymy, antonymy, biotechnology, structural types.*

Introduction

The terminology of biotechnology is a relatively new area of linguistic research that requires comprehensive scientific study. "At almost every stage of development of science necessarily raises the question of its terminology, the conformity of the metalanguage to the state of development of scientific problems, the reaction to which is the desire of scientists to improve terminology by correlating it with new scientific concepts and agreeing on its use in certain areas of science"¹.

The study, classification, description of terms that emerge in new fields of knowledge, which, of course, includes biotechnology, is one of the current areas of modern linguistic research, which led to the emergence of numerous works by linguists.

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¹ V. Fedonyuk, *About the terminology system in the period of formation of science.* Collection of scientific works "Problems of Ukrainian terminology". Lviv: Nat. Lviv Polytechnic University, 2006.p. 20.

It should be emphasized that the study of the English language terminology in the field of biotechnology is no longer at an early stage. The relevance of the study of language in the field of biotechnology is evidenced by the numerous works of S. Vasilieva^{2,3}, A. Gainutdinova, Mukhtarova A.⁴, T. Kudinova⁵, E. Myshak^{6,7}, L. Rogach⁸, L. Rytikova^{9,10}, A. Syrotin¹¹, E. Syrotina^{12,13,14}, who have recently paid some attention to this problem.

However, despite a significant number of scientific works devoted to the study of the biotechnology terminology, linguists have not yet considered the lexical-semantic combinations of words based on paradigmatic relations, for example, synonymy and antonymy), characteristic of its terms. The problems of synonymy and antonymy of the English-terminology in the biotechnology field still remain unresolved, which determines the relevance of the study.

Our analytical review of the special scientific literature on terminological synonymy and antonymy indicates an insignificant degree of development of a number of such problems as the role of synonyms and antonyms in various terminological systems, sources and ways of their appearance, classification of terminological synonyms and antonyms, trends in their development.

² S.L., Vasil'yeva, *Morphological features of single-component terms in the field of biotechnology in Russian and English*. Philological sciences. Questions of theory and practice. 2015, No. 2 (44), p. 53.

³ S.L. Vasil'yeva, D.F. Mymrina, *Motivation of terms in the field of biotechnology*. Philological sciences. Questions of theory and practice, 2015. No. 9 (51): v 2-kh parts. Part. 1. pp. 52-55.

⁴ A.Z. Gainutdinova, A. D., Mukhtarova, *Structural and semantic features of multicomponent terms in the field of biotechnology*. EurAsian Journal of Biosciences, 2019. Vol. 13 (2). p. 1463.

⁵ T.A. Kudinova, *Structural and semantic features of multicomponent terms in the "language of biotechnology (based on the Russian and English languages): author. Dissertation ... Cand. Philol. Sciences: special. 10.02.19 - theory of language"*. Orel, 2006, 21 p.

⁶ O.O. Myshak, *Structural-semantic especially modern biotechnological terminology*. First independent scientific journal, 2017. No.21. p. 27.

⁷ O.O. Myshak, *The classification of English biotechnological terminology*. Studia Humanitatis, 2019. (2).

⁸ L. Rogach, *Semantic Phenomena Characterizing English Terminology of Biotechnology*. Modern research in foreign philology. Vol. 17, 2019, p. 113.

⁹ L.L. Rytikova, *Features of formation of biotechnological terminology of English language*. Agricultural science and education. 2008, Vol. 9. No. 3-4. p. 122.

¹⁰ L.L. Rytikova, *Biotechnological terminology in the context of the formation of the scientific field, 2010*. Retrieved from. Rusnauka.com. URL: <http://bit.ly/2X2Vl6E>

¹¹ A. Syrotin, *Multi-Component English Terms of Biotechnology Sphere*. Cogito. Multidisciplinary Research Journal, 2017. Vol. 9, No 3, pp. 78-86.

¹² E. Syrotina, *Linguocognitive aspect of metaphorization in the English language terminology of biotechnology sphere*. Cogito-Multidisciplinary research Journal, 2020, Vol. 2, p. 202.

¹³ E. Syrotina, *Synonymic relations in the English language terminology of biotechnology field*. Studia Humanitatis, 2020, (2).

¹⁴ O.O. Syrotina, *Anthropomorphic metaphor in the English terminology of biotechnology*. The journal of V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University Series "Philology", 2020, Vol. 84, pp. 62-65.

The solution of these issues will first contribute to the development of the principles of ordering (unification) terminology, which is one of the most important tasks of modern linguistics.

The theoretical significance of studying the phenomena of synonymy and antonymy in the English biotechnology terminology is characterized by the lack of study of these phenomena in this area of knowledge. In this article, we will consider these processes in terminology in general and in the field of biotechnological terminology in English.

The purpose of our work

The purpose of our work is to study such paradigmatic relations in the biotechnological terminology as synonymy and antonymy.

Achievement of this goal involves the solution of the following tasks: to establish synonyms and antonyms in the terminology of the biotechnology sphere and to determine the specifics of their systemic relations, to identify the causes of the occurrence of synonyms and antonyms, to determine their lexical-semantic and structural features.

Materials and methods of research

The material for the study of paradigmatic relations was a sample selected from specialized dictionaries, scientific publications and articles on biotechnology.

The main methods used in the study were sampling of language material, definition analysis, classification as well as word-formation and term-component analyzes.

The analysis of the scientific literature

One of the types of systemic relations in the vocabulary is paradigmatic relations, which "connect language units on the basis of commonality / difference in form or meaning or in both at the same time"¹⁵. In particular, paradigmatic in the lexical-semantic system are synonymous, antonymous, hyponymic, convertible and other relations. Within such connections between biotechnological terms, we distinguish synonymy as a relation of semantic similarity and antonymy as a relation of semantic opposition.

The works of D. Lotte, A. Akhmanova, S. Grinev, D. Shmelev, T. Kandelaki, A. Superanskaya, A. Reformatsky, V. Danilenko, T. Kiyak, B. Golovin, I. Kochan, V. Leichik, S. Shelov, L. Alekseev and others are devoted to the study of synonymy and antonymy.

Analysis of modern linguistic literature indicates two absolutely opposite points of view regarding the essence of terminological synonymy and the

¹⁵ V.M. Rusanivs'kyi, O.O. Taranenko, M.P. Zyablyuk, *Ukrainian language: entsyklopediya. 3-tye vyd., Zi zminamy i dop. Kyiv: Ukr. encyclopedia im. M.P. Bazhana, 2007, p. 458.*

classification of synonymous terms. Some researchers (D. Lotte, V. Danilenko, S. Grinev, A. Lagutina, A. Reformatsky, etc.) recognize the existence of terms-synonymous, but at the same time consider synonymy as an undesirable phenomenon in terminology. Other linguists (V. Favorin, A. Shapiro, E. Tolikina, V. Molodets, O. Akhmanova and others) deny synonymy in terminology.

The works of Yu. Apresyan, Sh. Bali, L. Vvedenska, V. Danylenko, E. Derdy, L. Novikov, O. Taranenko and others are devoted to the study of the theoretical foundations of antonymy on the material of different languages. Terminological antonymy as a systemic phenomenon was studied on the material of the English language by R. Dudok, Yu. Melnikov, R. Shutnikov, S. Shabarzina, and others.

The need to study the problems of synonymy and antonymy is caused by the fragmented coverage of this issue, different approaches and attitudes to lexical and semantic processes in terminology, especially to synonymy.

Synonymy in paradigmatic relations of the English terminology in the biotechnology field

Terminological synonymy is a widespread phenomenon in the biotechnological terminology of the English language. Synonyms are, as you know, words that have the same or similar meaning. Terms expressing the same concepts, denoting the same objects and phenomena of reality are synonymous-terms. T. Pan'co defines synonyms in terminology as "terms referring to the same denotation, but having differences in conceptual terms, and also differing in the semantics of word-formation elements, etymology, degree of modernity and features of functioning"¹⁶.

The emergence of synonymy in the biotechnology terminology is caused by linguistic and extralinguistic factors. First, this is due to the constant development of scientific knowledge, which is accompanied by the emergence of new realities and the need to provide new concepts with an accurate nomination. It should also be noted the lack of unification of some terminological systems and the presence of outdated names that function in parallel with the new ones. Also, synonymy is due to the parallel use of a borrowed and truly national term, the preference for short forms convenient for professional communication, etc.¹⁷ [4, p. 10].

Among researchers of terminology, there is an ambiguous attitude towards synonymy. Until recently, the prevailing opinion was that this phenomenon is undesirable in terminological systems, since it violates one of the mandatory requirements for terms¹⁸. From another point of view, in the

¹⁶ T.I. Panko, I. M. Kochan, H.P. Matsyuk, *Ukrainian terminology: a textbook*. Lviv: Svit, 1994, p.181.

¹⁷ N.O. Zanizdra, *The phenomenon of synonymy in Ukrainian terminology*. Bulletin of Kremenchug State Polytechnic University. 2008, Vol. 2 (49). Part. 2. p.10.

¹⁸ T.I. Panko, I.M. Kochan, H.P. Matsyuk, *Ukrainian terminology: a textbook*. Lviv: Svit, 1994, p. 147.

paradigm of cognitive science, synonymy is treated positively. In studies conducted in the mainstream of cognitive linguistics (L. Alekseeva, S. Grinev, V. Leichik, S. Madzhaeva, Yu. Slozhenikina, S. Shelov, etc.), it is indicated that the processes of synonymy and variance are active processes and testify to the constant nature of the development of the language of science. Synonymous relations are considered "backbone"¹⁹, and the ability of synonyms to name the same special concept, highlighting its individual features from different sides, is necessary in the scientific process²⁰.

The central word in the synonymous series of terms is characterized by invariant relations. Such a dominant term has common semantic features characteristic of the entire series. Other terms in the synonymous series, called constituents, differ from the dominant in certain differential semantic features. Depending on the distance from the dominant term the synonyms with differential features are located, we distinguish between absolute synonyms that have the smallest discrepancy between seed characters with the dominant and relative (partial) ones that are on the periphery and differ more in differential features²¹. Let's take a closer look at absolute / relative synonyms in the biotechnological terminology.

Absolute synonyms, which completely coincide in meaning and use, arise as a result of the existence in the terminological system of borrowings, cripples and terms created on the basis of their own language to denote the same concept. As the analyzed results of our research have shown, the synonymous series of absolute synonyms, as a rule, include terms formed using Greek-Latin elements and national terms.

In the biotechnological terminology, absolute synonyms account for 56% of the total number of synonyms that are interchangeable. Examples of absolute synonymy are: anaerobic – anoxic, false fruit – pseudocarp, fascicle – vascular bundle, assortment – segregation, ampometric – enzyme electrode, base substitution – transition – transversion (replacement of one base in the DNA molecule with another).

Relative synonyms are synonyms in which the identity of individual lexical and semantic meanings is found, that is, incomplete coincidence of the component composition of denotative meanings²².

In A. Zayed's specialized dictionary, these terms have the following characteristics, respectively:

¹⁹ Yu.V. Slozhenikina, *Terminological variability: semantics, form, function*. Ed. 2nd, rev. Moscow: Izd-vo LKI, 2010, 288 p.

²⁰ V.A. Tatarinov, *General terminology: an encyclopedic dictionary*. Moscow: Moscow Lyceum. 2006, pp.172-173.

²¹ M.Ya. Salamakha, *Synonymous visions in the English-language terminological field of environmental protection*. Scientific Bulletin of Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University. German philology, 2013, p.131.

²² Ibid, p.130.

“Biotechnology 1. The use of biological processes or organisms for the production of materials and services of benefit to humankind. Biotechnology includes the use of techniques for the improvement of the characteristics of economically important plants and animals and for the development of micro-organisms to act on the environment”²³.

"Genetic engineering changes in the genetic constitution of cells (apart from selective breeding) resulting from the introduction or elimination of specific genes through modern molecular biology techniques"²⁴.

In the English biotechnology terminology, these terms denote concepts that have meanings that overlap. In particular, the semantic analysis of these key terms showed that these units with their own semantic volume differ in shades of meaning, have different origins and are characterized by different combinatorial compatibility.

The scientific literature distinguishes between absolute synonymy, or doublet, and variance. The term "doublet", in our opinion, is inappropriate to use in the analysis of terminological systems because of its ambiguity in linguistics. In addition, this concept does not exhaust the entire variety of linguistic forms of some synonymous terms.

The synonymy of the studied terminology is characterized by the variability of the form of terms, by which we mean formal modifications of the same linguistic sign²⁵. Such relationships of variability arise between units that are identical in terms of content and different in terms of expression.

Consider the types of formal-structural options presented by examples of the English terminology in the biotechnology field:

1. Graphic variants that differ in spelling, but have the same pronunciation. Such variants are written as one word, as two separate words or a word separated by a hyphen: biocontrol – biological control, biodiversity – biological diversity, bioengineering – bio-engineering, by product – by-product, microorganism – micro-organism, subcellular – sub-cellular, antisense – anti-sense, antibody – anti-body, nonlinear – non-linear. It should be noted that those words of the English language, which in the English version have hyphenated prefixes, in the American version are written separately or together.

2. Phonetic-graphic variants differing in pronunciation and spelling, for example: chloroplastid – chloroplast, allelomorph – allele, cellulose nitrate – nitrocellulose, estrogen – estrogon, fetus – fetos, four-base cutter – four-base-pair-cutter – four- cutter.

²³ A. Zaid, H.G. Hughes, E. Porceddu, F. Nicholas, *Glossary of biotechnology and genetic engineering*. Ed.: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1999. p.31.

²⁴ Ibid, p.106.

²⁵ N.R. Biyan, *Synonymous and antonymous reproduction in the modern English terminology of tourism*. Scientific Bulletin of Volyn National University named after Lesya Ukrainka. Section II. Terminology, 2011. No. 6. Part 2. p. 119.

3. Word-formation variants of synonyms in the English terminology of the field of biotechnology, to which we include those that differ in word-formation affixes, that is, these are terms denoting identical concepts, but having certain differences at the level of affixes, for example: biotechnologic – biotechnological, fertilize – fertilise, metabolize – metabolise, synthesise – synthesize, sterilise – sterilize.

4. Syntactic variants of synonyms that differ in the syntactic position of the dependent word, for example, rate of decay – decay rate, behavior of plants (English) – plant behavior (Amer).

5. Variants of using terms of full and short forms (reduction by means of word formation, full form and abbreviation). These professional synonyms include laboratory (English) – lab (American), biotechnology (English) – biotech (American). Examples of full form synonyms and abbreviations are: genetically modified organism – GMO.

An analysis of the factual material gives grounds to single out the following structural types of synonymous terms in the biotechnology field:

1. One-word synonyms of the same root. Their number in the studied terminology is insignificant, for example, megaspore – macrospore, geotropism – gravitropism, radioimmunoassay – RIA, plant variety protection – PVP.

2. One-word synonyms with different roots: progeny – offspring, isoform – isoenzyme, tag – label. One-word mixed-root synonyms make up approximately 50% of the total number of synonyms in the studied terminology.

3. Word and phrase: allosome – sex chromosome, gynandromorph - sex mosaic, ortet - donor plant, senescence - biological aging, radioisotope - radioactive isotope.

4. A word and two phrases: ibozyme - catalytic RNA, gene shears; biodiversity - biological diversity, ecological diversity; sporocyte - spore mother cell, prion - proteinaceous infectious particle.

5. Synonyms term- combinations, that is, syntactic synonyms. The same concept is denoted by two different phrases, most of which differ in only one component. For example: semen sexing – sperm sexing, shuttle vector – bifunctional vector, terminal transferase – homopolymeric tailing, recombinant protein – heterologous protein, restriction site – recognition site, insertion element – insertion sequence, monozygotic twin – identical twin, cell fusion – cell hybridization, cloning vehicle – cloning vector, allosteric control – allosteric regulation, tivated carbon – activated charcoal, disulphide bridge – disulphide bond.

Synonyms of term – combinations can consist of the same attribute and different nouns: allosteric control – allosteric regulation, anaerobic digestion – anaerobic respiration and from the same nouns and different attributes:

bifunctional vector – shuttle vector, freeze preservation – cryobiological preservation, anti-oncogene – recessive oncogene, flush-end cut – blunt-end cut, affinity tag – purification tag.

A small number of synonyms of term - combinations are three-component ones, for example: dominant selectable marker – positive selectable marker, plant variety protection – plant breeders' rights.

6. Abbreviation and full form of the term: ACP – acyl carrier protein, ADP – adenosine diphosphate, bp – base pair, BAC – bacterial artificial chromosome, CTP – chloroplast transit peptide, AI – artificial insemination, EGS – external guide sequence, HGH – human growth hormone, IGS – internal guide sequence, IVEP – in vitro embryo production, LCR – ligase chain reaction.

Based on the analysis of the biotechnology terminology, it can be argued that synonymy is a widespread phenomenon that requires attention from linguists. The presence of a large number of synonyms is explained by the fact that the biotechnological terminological system is a complex phenomenon, since the science of biotechnology itself at the beginning of the 21st century was transformed into a complex integration science, combining several dozen sections and directions and characterized by the use of terms borrowed from the terminologies of related disciplines – biochemistry, genetics, microbiology, biology, bioethics, medicine and other sciences.

The examples at our disposal clearly indicate that the scientific terminology of biotechnology differs in general, in comparison with other areas of the vocabulary of the English language, in the degree of organization and unification. It should be noted that synonymous relations include terms of different structure, among which one-word synonyms of different roots prevail, two-component terms and synonyms, represented by the terms and the corresponding abbreviation.

Research and classification of synonymous terms allowed us to determine the reasons for the emergence of terminological synonyms. The first reason for the formation of synonyms is that synonymy reflects the cognitive activity of a person, and human thinking tends to reveal new sides and signs of an object or phenomenon that already has a terminological name, and give it a different name. Secondly, the reason for the emergence of numerous morphological and syntactic variants, such as elliptical, abbreviated, nomenclature, is explained by the trend towards brevity of technical terms, the desire of native speakers, in particular biotechnology specialists, to save language resources. Third, the intensity of the manifestation of synonymy in the terminology of biotechnology is caused by the complex multidimensional concepts of the sample under study, which can be expressed in different terms depending on various aspects of consideration or situations in which the denotation is located.

Antonymia in paradigmatic relations of the English terminology of biotechnology sphere

Let's turn to another type of paradigmatic relations in the English biotechnological terminology – antonymy, which means "opposition of meanings, in particular, words, sentences and phrases"²⁶. The antonymous relations of words are based on the opposition of specific properties, qualities, so they do not contradict the specifics of the term and do not violate the basic principles of terminology: accuracy, unambiguity, stylistic neutrality.

While terminological synonymy deprives terminology of accuracy, introduces variability, antonymic relations are a manifestation of its systemicity and integrity. The creation of antonymous pairs in terminology is always purposeful and justified, because it is used to denote the extreme poles of the terminological field, taking into account the logical capabilities of the terminological system. Each component of the antonym pair acts as a separate full-fledged term and is characterized by stylistic neutrality. This is how antonymous pairs in terminology differ from similar ones in literary language, where lexical units acquire stylistic nuances. Antonymy is one of the problems that attracts the attention of researchers, semasiologists and terminologists.

Scholars studying terminology emphasize that the phenomenon of antonymy (along with homonymy, synonymy, paronyms) is characteristic of terminological vocabulary. N. Kotelova believes that the specificity of the terminological system, in which the opposition of concepts is an element of the scientific description of objects, determines the existence of antonyms-terms²⁷.

A. Deborin opines that "concepts are born in pairs" and that in the very nature of scientific concepts there are already prerequisites for the creation of antonymous relations²⁸.

Antonymous pairs form terms that are characterized by homogeneous features, incompatible features and the dichotomy of a common generic feature. For example, the terms sexual propagation and asexual propagation are the specific names of one generic concept (reproduction) and at the same time indicate its opposite features in the mode of action (sexual and asexual), with the generic feature inherent in the dichotomy.

Antonyms, in contrast to synonyms, which form synonymous series, form a group of words of two units, opposite in meaning. In such an elementary antonymous microfield, relations of opposites are realized, which are based on differences within the same phenomenon. A necessary condition for antonymic oppositions is the presence in their component structures of an invariant seven, which conveys a common generic feature for a given pair of

²⁶ Ye. I. Golovanova, *Introduction to cognitive terminology*. Moscow: Flinta: Nauka, 2011, p. 224.

²⁷ N.Z. Kotelova, *On the question of the specifics of the term. Linguistic problems of scientific and technical terminology*. Moscow: Nauka, 1970, p. 122.

²⁸ V.P. Danylenko, *Russian terminology: the experience of linguistic description*. Moscow: Nauka, 1977, pp. 79-80.

antonyms, and differential species seven, between which there is a relation of implication²⁹. Highlighting the terms-antonyms of the field of biotechnology, we take as a basis the sign of semantic polarization, which operates within a common semantic field. Thus, terms whose meanings are contrasted at the level of a certain seven are considered antonyms.

In the English language, antonyms are traditionally classified according to the nature of the opposite into complementarities, contraries, directional opposition and converses³⁰.

In the Russian language, L.A. Novikov³¹ classified antonyms into antonyms expressing complementarity, antonyms-conversions, antonyms expressing the gradual qualitative opposition and opposition of coordination concepts, antonyms expressing the opposite direction of actions, signs and properties. Comparing the existing classifications, we saw the full correspondence of the name and content of antonyms-conversions and complementary antonyms in Russian and English; the similarity of the content of gradual antonyms in Russian and contraries in English. At the same time, we noted the correspondence of two subclasses in the Russian language (antonyms expressing the opposite direction of actions, signs and properties; antonyms expressing the opposite of coordination concepts) to one in English called the vector opposition.

V. Tatarinov distinguishes the following types of antonyms: contradictory, contrarian, complementarities, and convertible³².

The contradictory type of antonyms is the simplest category of opposition in its semantic structure (in logic, these are contradictory concepts). The opposition goes along the line of presence - negation of a property or attribute³³.

Convertible antonymy stands out as an independent type of opposition in the language of technology. This type of antonymy consists in the expression of oppositely directed properties of the "up - down" type³⁴.

Contrarian antonymy – the essence of this semantic type of relationship lies in the fact that two antonymic concepts cannot exhaust the whole kind (for example, types of attitudes), but they necessarily deny each other³⁵. The essence of contrarian antonymy is as follows: opposed concepts deny each other, but cannot exhaust the entire genus. Contrarian antonyms express qualitative opposition.

²⁹ R. S. Tsagolova, *Lexical and semantic features of political and economic terminology*. Moscow: MGU, 1985, p. 106.

³⁰ S. Jones, M.L. Murphy, C., Paradis, C. Willners, *Antonyms in English. Construals, Constructions and Canonicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 13.

³¹ L.A. Novikov, *Semantics of the Russian language, study guide*. Moscow: Vysshaya shkola, 1987, p. 13.

³² V.A. Tatarinov, *General terminology: an encyclopedic dictionary*. Moscow: Moscow Lyceum, 2006, p. 16-17.

³³ Ibid, p. 16.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 17.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 17.

Another type of antonymy – the complementary opposite – is built on the basis of a category, which in logic is called a relative term. If a relative term presupposes the existence of an opposing term, then a complementary antonymy arises³⁶.

Depending on the revealed type of opposition in the term system of the biotechnology sphere the following semantic classes of antonyms were identified:

1) contradictory. The relationship between such antonyms is contradictory. These antonyms form pairs whose members denote polarly opposite concepts and are mutually exclusive. There is no middle term in these oppositions, and their contrast is provided by the interpretation that contains the part of the definition of the oppositional element that does not deny, but complements the first³⁷.

One of the pair of terms is formed by a negative word-forming prefix, which has the meaning of denying a feature, and therefore correspond to the following scheme: "token" - "negative prefix" + "token". Examples of contradictory antonyms are pairs of cognate terms, one of which is formed by a word-forming prefix with the meaning of negation or the absence of a certain feature, for example: determinate growth – indeterminate growth, organized growth – unorganized growth, template strand – non-template strand, coding strand – non-coding strand, target organism – non-target organism.

In addition, contradictory terms can also be expressed by multi-rooted tokens with opposite meanings and complex terminological compounds, in which only one of the components of a complex term is in antonymous relations: antagonism – synergism, anneal – denature, dominant oncogene – recessive oncogene, bound water – free water, vegetative propagation – sexual propagation, recessive allele – dominant allele.

2) contraries, which are not typical for the studied terminology. The main differential feature of contrasting antonyms is the gradualness of values. Between such antonyms, which are at the extreme poles of the lexical paradigm, there may be words, i.e. intermediate terms – mesons (denoting different degrees of this feature), from which in opposite directions extends gradual (step) characteristics of the phenomenon, action, feature.

Examples of contraries antonyms are the following: growth phase – deceleration phase – death phase, maximum – median – minimum (concentration of substance); high yield – average yield – low yield, euploid – diploid – triploid – tetraploid – aneuploid, complete – partial – incomplete treatment.

³⁶ Ibid, p.17.

³⁷ L.I. Fursova, *Features of antonymous attributions in the modern English economic sublanguage (paradigmatic aspect)*. Bulletin of Zhytomyr State University. Philological sciences. Zhytomyr, 2008, Vol. 39. p. 223.

Thus, in the contrasting comparison, an antonymous series is formed, where only the extreme members express the antonymy, and the middle ones indicate an increase or decrease in the qualitative feature.

3) complementarities, which do not involve contradiction, but additionality (complementarity), i.e. the components of such pairs do not contain any negative feature, but only a neutral essence. In such antonyms, the units of a pair of complement each other in the expression of one or another essence, that is, one word is necessarily "complemented" by another, without which it loses the meaning of its own existence. The basis of complementary antonyms is species opposite concepts. Such antonyms complement each other to express the limits of manifestation of a particular feature. Thus, complementary antonyms reveal one side of the concept verbalized by the generic term. It is impossible to expand the complementary antonymous pair at the expense of the neutral member³⁸.

For example, heterozygote – homozygote, hyperploid – hypoploid, unicellular – multicellular, multigenic – monogenic, eukaryote – prokaryote, codon – anticodon.

4) converses, expressing the opposite direction of actions, signs, properties. Converses antonyms are based on logically opposed concepts. They have all the semantic characteristics of complementary antonyms, which are supplemented only by the presence of direction, so their full right can be considered a variety of the latter³⁹, for example: anticlinal – periclinal, forward mutation – reverse mutation, direct organogenesis – indirect organogenesis, direct embryogenesis – indirect embryogenesis.

This classification gives grounds to assert that in the studied terminology the antonymous relations of contradictory type are represented most widely and complementary, contrarian and converses type are represented much less often.

According to the structure, or according to the plan of expression the antonyms of the English biotechnology terminology is divided into multi-rooted and common-rooted antonymous pairs. In multi-root antonyms, the meaning of the opposite is realized by semantic opposition of multi-root morphemes. Examples of this type of antonymy are the following antonymous pairs: vegetative – sexual, to anneal – to denature, antagonism – synergism, dominant – recessive, to decelerate – to accelerate.

Common root antonyms in the studied terminology are realized as follows: 1) by using paired polar prefixes: codon – anticodon, body –

³⁸ G.I. Odinkova, *On the question of the types of antonymic opposites in terminology*. III Int. Baudouin readings: I.A. Baudouin de Courtenay and sovrem. problem theorist. and applied. linguistics (Kazan, May 23-25, 2006): Proceedings and mater.: in 2 volumes. Kazan. state un-t; under total. Red. K.R. Galiullina, G.A. Nikolaeva. Kazan: Publishing house Kazan. University, 2006, Part. 2. p. 218.

³⁹ T.V. Lepekha, *Lexico-semantic and word-virus-structural features of ship medical terminology: abstract of Ph.D. dis. to get the sciences. steps of Cand. philol. Sciences: spec. 02/10/01 Ukrainian language. Dnepropetrovsk State University. 2000, p.8.*

antibody, cellular –acellular, gen – antigen, virus – antiviral, oncogene – anti-oncogene, microbial- antimicrobial, toxin – atoxin, sexual – asexual, coding – non-coding, aerobe – anaerobe, biotic – abiotic, euploid – aneuploid; 2) by creating complex words: heterozygote – homozygote, hyperploid – hypoploid, unicellular – multicellular, multigenic– monogenic, eukaryote – prokaryote.

Our analysis gives grounds to claim that common-root antonyms in the studied terminology are represented by a much larger number of pairs than multi-rooted.

The core of the biotechnological terminology is antonymous terms-phrases with contrasting meanings, which consist of the main component and the dependent. Usually the main component is the noun, which is an expression of the generic concept of this terminology. Dependent components are represented by adjectives and verbs and express opposite features of the generic concept. Among such terms, two-component formations are the largest group: forward mutation – reverse mutation, direct organogenesis – indirect organogenesis, determinate growth – indeterminate growth, organized growth – unorganized growth, direct embryogenesis – indirect embryogenesis, template strand – non-template strand, dominant oncogene – recessive oncogene, bound water – free water, vegetative propagation – sexual propagation, recessive allele – dominant allele.

Thus, antonymy in the terminology of biotechnology performs the function of systematization, which provides a comprehensive description of concepts, phenomena, processes of the biotechnology field. Analysis of biotechnological terms-antonyms of the English language at the semantic level indicates the presence of contradictory, contrarian, complementary and converses antonymous relations. Terms-antonyms of the contradictory type, formed with the help of negative prefixes, are presented in the studied terminology much more widely than other types. It is established that common root antonyms are dominated in the terminology of the biotechnology field. From the results of the study it is obvious that the most regular are two-component dominated phrases.

Conclusions

Thus, synonymy and antonymy are typical phenomenon in terminology. The frequency of the use of synonyms in the language is higher than that of antonyms. This testifies to the existing flexibility of terminology, which allows, in the case of synonymy, to interchange terms, in the case of antonymy, to structure concepts based on the opposition of their meanings. For the mutual understanding of specialists, the ordering of special vocabulary is of great importance. Both synonyms and antonyms in the terminology of the English language are characterized by sufficient consistency and orderliness. But unlike antonymy, which does not raise controversial questions, terminological synonymy is assessed ambiguously.

On the one hand, this is a process that deprives the terminology of the consistency, on the other, the possibility of expanding vocabulary in order to meet certain tasks in the implementation of a high-quality process of information exchange. Linguists who study the sphere of terminology of a language or several languages speak of a kind of "explosion" of synonymy in the sphere of terminology. This is due to the rapid development of sciences and the expansion of scientific knowledge.

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WRITING, AS A MEANS OF SURVIVAL AND GROWTH: A STUDY OF SUBLIMATION OF TRAUMA IN THE WORKS OF MAYA ANGELOU

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Abstract: *Trauma and pain are subjective reactions to objective events. Even though a traumatised person might want to repress their pain, the effects and manifestations of trauma could be varied. Maya Angelou underwent personal and collective trauma, as an African American woman who was to face consequences for every bit of her identity. She is known today as a symbol of strength and compassion. However, her story of survival and growth are incomplete without her persistent attempts at it, through the act of sublimation. Her creative expressions, especially her writings invariably circle around the trauma that shaped her. They not only acted as a means for her to comprehend her own past, but also helped her forge her way through it and become a beacon of hope, strength and compassion.*

Keywords: *sublimation, trauma, subjectivity, growth, African American, writing*

“If one has the fortune, good or bad, to stay alive one endures, but to continue to write the books and get them out - that's the productivity and I think that is important to link with the endurance.”¹

Maya Angelou is a name that the world recognises with honour, inspiration, brilliance, and compassion. As a woman who knew pain, she lived to alleviate it in the lives of others through her works as a poet, singer, dancer, producer, screenplay writer, actor, feminist, apartheid activist, and literary writer; one of the most inspirational women the world has seen. Angelou, through her life and her works, rose and transformed herself from a mere person to an idea – hope, that lives on even after years of her demise and will live on.

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¹ Maya Angelou, “Interviews: Maya Angelou”, *The Black Scholar*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1977, p. 44.

Literature and psychology

Literature is an expression, and a representation, primarily, of human experience. The different areas of social sciences are all only varied reflections of this primary subject and therefore, depend on each other to make it more comprehensive. It is in this context that psychology finds relevance in the study of literature. Both literature and psychology seek to study and understand what it is to be human.

Psychology is the science that studies human behaviour and the human mind. Literature is an art form that represents the same through the means of words, through fiction or even non-fiction. Literature has three primary aspects that have necessary psychological perspectives. Despite the structuralist and semiotic Roland Barthes' proclamation that a text becomes dissociated with the author as soon as one completes the task of writing it, there are several other styles of criticism that look at a text as a reflection of the author's mind. Apart from this, the true understanding of a work is complete only after a psychological understanding of the characters of the story or a text in general. Also, it is not only the creator, or the work or the created, but even the readers of the text, whose personal inclinations and interpretations play a pivotal role in the acceptance of popularity of a work or an aspect of that work.

The word "trauma" is originally a Greek word, which means "wound". From the physiological perspective, it could mean a wound or a rupture that disrupts the natural functioning of a human organ. From a psychological perspective, however, it signifies a state of emotional shock which scars the psyche of an individual. When one discusses trauma, one primarily focuses on the preliminary consequence of the same – PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder). A traumatic event causes biological and psychological alterations in a person. Freud calls trauma a result of an extensive breach that is made in the protective shield by an external stimulus. While some create an intense image of the reality and drown in the depths of depression, others fight the natural current and rise out of it in flames of glory. They are re-born to new life and vigour. Trauma is, however, a subjective reaction to objective events.

Subjectivity in trauma

Trauma is a subjective and personal reaction that a person has, to an objective event. It affects different people who might have undergone the same or similar event differently and therefore draws out different, and unique responses from them. The term "trauma" is the Greek word for "wound". From the physiological perspective, it could mean a wound or a rupture that disrupts the natural functioning of a human organ. From a psychological perspective, however, it signifies a state of emotional shock that scars the psyche of an individual – a wound that is invisible to the naked eye – a "hidden wound", or a "silent scream". Such a wound could dissolve any ground one might stand on, due to the "temporal gap" and "a dissolution of

the self”², says Balaev. This means that trauma could result in one’s identity being torn to shreds; the principles of the world one lives in, of the people around one shredded; and one’s purpose in this world turning into a painfully, incomprehensible chaos.

In his work, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, Freud states that “the living vesicle... is provided with a protective shield against stimuli”³ from the external world. This shield is often, the illusory sense of safety that one believes in with an “unrealistic optimism”⁴. Janoff-Bulman believed that “people develop a core sense of themselves based on the moral universe that they think they love in. She calls it the assumptive self...”⁵. Whether an event breaks through it or not, depends on the history of beliefs of a person. However, when an event – no matter how big or small, breaks through that shield, the person’s very idea of existence undergoes a fissure. Cathy Caruth says that “trauma is not locatable in the simple violent or original event in an individual’s past, but rather in the way its very unassimilated nature - the way it was precisely not known in the first instance - returns to haunt the survivor later on”⁶. In several cases, when one is traumatised, one might undergo PTSD (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder). In *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, Caruth writes,

“While the precise definition of post-traumatic stress disorder is contested, most descriptions generally agree that there is a response, sometimes delayed, to an overwhelming event or events, which takes the form of repeated, intrusive hallucinations, dreams, thoughts or behaviors stemming from the event, along with numbing that may have begun during or after the experience, and possibly also increased arousal to (and avoidance of) stimuli recalling the even”.⁷

It has been popularly contended that studying an individual’s pain through the narratives that the individual presents, is a faulty attempt. In *Worlds of Hurt*, Kali Tal writes, “Accurate representation of trauma can never be achieved without recreating the event since, by its very definition, trauma

² Michael Balaev, “Trends in Literary Trauma Theory”, *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2008, p. 150.

³ Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (US: W.W. Norton and Company), 1961, p. 22.

⁴ Jim Rendon, *Upside* (New York: Touchstone), 2016, p.70.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 71.

⁶ Michael Balaev, “Trends in Literary Trauma Theory”, *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2008, p. 151.

⁷ Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. (US: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 1995, p. 4.

lies beyond the bounds of 'normal' conception”⁸. In his work, Michael Baleav writes, “Traumatic experience becomes unrepresentable due to the inability of the brain, understood as the carrier of coherent cognitive schemata, to properly encode and process the event. The origin of traumatic response is forever unknown and unintegrated; yet, the ambiguous, literal event is ever-present and intrusive”.⁹

Angelou and trauma

Psychiatrist Lenore Terr discusses the styles of trauma: single-blow trauma and repeated trauma. While the former refers to a single shocking event, the latter refers to the kind of trauma that entails repeated, multiple, prolonged shocking events occurring over a longer period of time. This could be caused because of combat, war, sexual assault, childhood maltreatment, and so on. Throughout her life, Maya Angelou suffered varied and repeated trauma.

Maya Angelou, through a life filled with incidents that sought to tear her down, strove to rise above them all, “like air”¹⁰ itself. She was born on the 4th of April, 1928, in St. Louis, Missouri to Bailey Johnson, a navy dietician, and Vivian Baxter, a nurse and a card dealer. At the age of only three, she and her brother, Bailey Jr. were met with the first tragedy of their lives – the separation of their parents. A little later, both of them were sent South, to Stamps, Arkansas, to their grandmother – Annie Henderson.

The Tearing Away From “Home” and the Perpetual Search for It

The abandonment from her mother was one of the first trauma which she underwent as a three-year-old. It is due to this that even when Maya and her brother were taken back to St. Louis, she could hardly relate to her mother. Maya found herself calling her “Lady”. In one of her interviews, Maya talks about how Vivian did not look like her mother, with the difference she portrayed in the presentation of herself. Vivian Baxter belonged to a higher economic class than Maya’s grandmother or the blacks who resided in Stamps then. Also, Maya had said, that Vivian could not be her mother as she called her grandmother “Momma”. Maya did grow up to understand Vivian better and eventually even developed a very loving relationship with her. She would call her her “great protection”, but never called her a mother. She called herself and Bailey the “unwanted children”.¹¹

⁸ Kali Tal, *Worlds of Hurt: Reading the Literatures of Trauma*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 15.

⁹ Michael Balaev, “Trends in Literary Trauma Theory”, *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2008, p. 151.

¹⁰ Maya Angelou, *The Complete Collected Poems of Maya Angelou (US: Random House)*, 1994, p. 159.

¹¹ Maya Angelou, *The Collected Autobiographies of Maya Angelou* (New York: The Modern Library), 2004, p. 50.

As a child, she would try to recall the face of her mother but would only be able to conjure a faceless, bewildering image. “The face was brown, like a big O, since I couldn’t fill in the features I printed MOTHER across the O, and tears would fall down my cheeks like warm milk”¹², writes Angelou. While talking about her father, Maya speaks about how “not only did I not feel any loyalty to my father, I figured that if I had been Uncle Willie’s child I would have received much better treatment”.¹³

Psychologist Paul Maclean calls ‘family’ a biological institution that goes back to 180 million years. His study particularly revolves around the kind of trauma one might undergo if separated from one’s parent – especially, one’s mother. Psychologist Deborah Rose calls home one of the most dangerous places to be, due to the amount of damage it has the potential of causing to a person, especially a child. The separation of Maya from her mother, caused her to believe that she was insignificant to her.

Every incident one comes across leaves a mark on that person’s heart and one’s psyche. However, incidents and especially trauma could leave a doubly deep mark on the mind of a child. A child is usually, neurologically unable of understanding, and therefore handling one’s emotions. Incidents that might give rise to doubts and confusion, incidents of pain and hurt, and trauma could leave the child feeling lost despite everything and since this confusion remains unprocessed and unresolved in those early years, gradually it usually becomes the essence of their subconscious personality.

With time she developed a loving relationship with her mother. She spoke about how her mother was not a parent for small children but maybe, was meant to be the parent of a teenager. However, even while her relationship with her mother grew to have sweetness, the loss of the sentiment of love that a child needs from their parents was always regretted by Maya. It remained as one of the first traumatic memories of her life.

With time, their relationship found new meaning, however. In *Mom and Me and Mom*, Angelou (2013) writes about the courage that her mother had gifted her with; how it was woven subtly into the very fabric of her psyche. She writes about how she derives strength from her as a young adult. She writes, “You were a terrible mother of small children, but there has never even anyone greater than you as a mother of a young adult”.¹⁴

Through her many autobiographies, one finds Angelou elbowing her way through life with dignity but not without a constant search for a home. One might say that her primary experience of abandonment and dissociation remained as one of her core identities. Angelou traveled to different places and countries. This allowed her to have a physical, even geographic distance from the spaces she underwent trauma in, and owing to it, she found more

¹² Ibid, p. 44

¹³ Ibid, p. 15

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 135

opportunities to heal devoid of them, due to the essential displacement she felt as a child, she always longed for a home – in geographical places, in people, in cultures; till she found it in herself.

The Perpetual Effort at Coalescing of the “Other” – The African American Story

The human civilisation has spent centuries in a blind, persistent pursuit for power. The act of “othering” communities, nations and people, is essentially an attempt at achieving a status of power. The Dalit community in India, who were once, infamously called “the untouchables”, were strategically segregated from the rest of the community and “othered”. It is unfortunate that several cases of communal brutality with relation to Dalits is still rampant. The apart from communities the idea of “otherness” continues to affect various genders – the fight for equality of women, the LGBTQ movement, the fight against patriarchy by men to get rid of the emotionally brutal hierarchy it brings about within the community of men in general. The “white-man’s burden” is another instance of labelling oneself as a more superior race in comparison to the “other”. As a matter of fact, almost every act of revolution on the social front is a fight for equality, and to be accepted as belonging to the primary community – humanity.

Particularly, in the context of America, this problem has affected generations of the Black Community. The African American community has undergone years of collective trauma, due to the colour of their skin. It might be Phillis Wheatley’s *Poems on Various Subjects, Religions and Morals* published in 1773, Fredrick Douglas’ *Narrative of the Life of Fredrick Douglass, an English Slave, Written by Himself* published in 1845, James Weldon Johnson’s *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* published in 1912, James Baldwin’s *The Fire Next Time* published in 1963, or Angelou’s *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* published in 1969, the perspectives keep shifting, the styles might vary, but the subject remains constant; the trauma deep rooted in the collective consciousness unfailingly resurfaces in their work.

From the blatant, once prevalent practice of slavery to brutal segregation, to the heinous act of lynching, to the veiled discrimination of the present day, and the ceaseless cases of race related killings continue to disrupt the social balance and therefore, harmony of America as a nation. Initially, the “slaves” were dehumanised through the term “negro”, and then “the blacks”. The colour of their skin, their texture of their hair, their language, their accent and style of speaking the English language came to be not just mocked but lampooned. Gradually, however, the community stopped being a victim of their derogatory badges and wore it with pride. They grew to pronounce themselves as the Black community.

The fight for equality has been an on-going crusade. From the silent attempts to live with human dignity to the civil wars, from the formation of the National Association for Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) to the

outstanding and significant blossom of Black culture in the Harlem Renaissance, from the Black Art Movement of the 1960s and 1970s to the present decentralised revolution of Black Lives Matter, this community has been battling prejudice, stigmas, stereotypes, and discrimination.

The point in time, when Angelou was in Stamps, America had already witnessed the Emancipation Proclamation. It had witnessed the illegalisation of slavery. However, even though the law had sought to help the Black Community, discrimination was on the rise. It was during the same time, that not just America but the world lived the horrid years of the Great Depression. The unemployment rates had risen greatly. The Black community were the first in America to face the brunt of this economic crisis. This period is also distinct because its rampant and normalised practice of segregation and lynching.

Kali Tal, in his *Worlds of Hurt: Reading the Literatures of Trauma*, speaks of how to truly comprehend the literature of trauma, one must understand the history and origin of the author. She talks about how a literature of trauma springs from the need to tell and retell one's story; to testify the ordeals one, or one community underwent. However, she raises questions as to who a 'trauma survivor' is. The comprehension of the trauma in such literature, she argues, lies in the context of the trauma – collective trauma.

Maya and Bailey Jr. spent their next four years in Stamps. In her autobiographies, especially in *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, Maya describes her grandmother, Annie Henderson as a woman of strength and power. In an age of Economic Depression and inhuman segregation, hers was the only store which was owned and run by a Black in that entire region. As Maya narrates, in her first autobiography, this privilege did not make her immune to the torturous insults shot at her by the whites of the region, especially their children, who would come to her to satisfy their sadistic urge to mindlessly abuse her. She writes, how,

“In Stamps, the segregation was so complete that most Black children didn't really, absolutely know what whites looked like. Other than that, they were different, to be dreaded, and in that dread was included the hostility of the powerless against the powerful, the poor against the rich, the worker against the worked for and the ragged against the well dressed.”¹⁵

It was a place where lynching and barbaric beatings were, sadly, considered to be an everyday, factual condition. Maya recounts how her Uncle Willy had “moaned the whole night through as if he had, in fact, been guilty of some heinous crime”¹⁶ after witnessing the brutal assault of lynching that

¹⁵ Maya Angelou, *The Collected Autobiographies of Maya Angelou* (New York: The Modern Library), 2004, p. 24.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 19

another Black had been exposed to. The description of her uncle dreaming of such a situation befalling him, is a clear sign of PTSD that befell him due to the deep-rooted fear of being robbed of one's dignity as a human and of such an insulting death.

Maya grew up in an environment where the Blacks were hardly met with respect or dignity. Maya quotes incidents from the unfortunately usual insults that her dear grandmother would often undergo. The effect of the awareness that she had been left in such a dreaded pit by her mother, only intensified her pain. Maya was a child but was terribly aware of the condition of her people.

In one of her famous poems, "When I Think About Myself", Angelou essentially presents the problem of racism - the torment and trauma that her community underwent at large. Angelou lived through the troubled period of remorseless segregation. In the poem, Angelou assumes the voice of the Black community as a whole, not just through her narrative technique and the point of view she speaks from, but also through the unabashed usage of African American English. She speaks of the "great big joke"¹⁷ that their life was turned into, because of the systematic oppression that her community had undergone in the past, and continued to undergo.

The poem progresses from a choke to the speaker laughing hard enough for her stomach to ache, to her starting to cry. Every verse ends with the refrain - "when I think about myself"¹⁸, suggesting an inability to think anything else. There is a repetition of thought. One of the primary effects of PTSD is being flooded with uncontrolled memories. In the book *Upside*, Jim Rendon says, "these memories, full of dense information and thick with emotion, are much stronger than normal memories".¹⁹ There are instances of flashbacks, and a sense of immense powerlessness, which she presents to the readers, wrapped as a contorted, and bitterly sarcastic poem.

In his seminal work, *The Fire Next Time*, James Baldwin writes, "Colour is not a human or a personal reality; it is a political one".²⁰ However, the prejudice against colour is a racially specific beauty standard; a construct that haunted the space Angelou was born in. In the first chapter of her first autobiography, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, Angelou writes about how young Rittie had unconsciously sought to protect her confidence by deluding herself. She talks about how she had sought to believing that she was merely living a "black ugly dream"²¹ which she would wake up from, one day. She makes use of her imagination and goes into denial even when her grandmother is insulted by the white-dentist who practiced close by, due to

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 29.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Jim Rendon, *Upside: The New Science of Post Traumatic Growth* (New York: Touchstone), 2015, p. 49.

²⁰ James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*. (UK: Penguin Books), 2017, p. 88.

²¹ Maya Angelou, *The Collected Autobiographies of Maya Angelou* (New York: The Modern Library), 2004, p. 8

the immense pain in young Angelou's tooth. She writes about how they had prayed and waited through her intense toothache, because of the awareness of what they would be met with, at the clinic. However, when Angelou says, "It is in the click of my heels,/ The bend of my hair,/ the palm of my hand,/ The need for my care./ 'Cause I'm a woman/ Phenomenally./ Phenomenal woman,/ That's me"²² she makes it known that she has fought the battle against arbitrary constructs and her own prejudices and has won over them.

The Unprepared Sexual Encounter and the Survivor's Guilt

When after around four years, her father took them away from Stamps, it left an impression of being violently uprooted from her ground in her mind. She recalls how at the thought of being taken away her "seven-year-old world humpty-dumptyed, never to be put back together again".²³ The sentence signifies the crashing of her identity into an unrecognisable mess. The economic difference that her parents represented for her, has been portrayed succinctly on the work. The car in which her father drove, the lipstick on her mother's lips, the record players that she owned, the loud music that her house reverberated with, were elements that Maya could not relate to. For her, Vivian belonged to a world that was closer to the one the whites lived in. The feeling of alienation that overtook her at her return to her mother, in her house, has been carefully woven.

However, out of all the traumatic circumstances, the one incident that hit her core was when she was raped by her mother's then boyfriend – Mr. Freeman. Maya narrates the incident with tremendous meticulous confusion. While Maya narrates the other incidents with preciseness and clarity, one can evidently find elements of blurred understanding when she narrates this event. The understatement of Maya Angelou present the cold, grotesque crime from the perspective of the ignorant, innocent eyes of a child.

Maya Angelou's autobiographies have been written in imitation of real time. It is this that intensifies the effect of especially her first work, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*. The work has been written from the perception of a child. It has enabled the readers to perceive the horrors and the grim reality of the diabolical pervasiveness of racism of the 1920s and 1930s. Maya has successfully presented the work as an innocent reception of some of the most gruesome and traumatic events of her life. The success of the work lies in its understated expressions of pain.

The presentation of the naïve understanding of severe wound these incidents verily left on her psyche is marvellous. The impact of one's childhood on one's life is tremendous. One's primary beliefs and understanding of the world, oneself and one's place in the world gets defined

²² Maya Angelou, *The Complete Collected Poems of Maya Angelou (US: Random House)*, 1994, pp. 126-127.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 45.

by the experiences of the childhood. In one of the chapters Maya beautifully describes this. She writes,

All of childhood's unanswered questions must finally be passed back to the town and answered there. Heroes and bogey men, values and dislikes, are first encountered and labelled in that early environment. In the later years they change faces, places and maybe races, tactics, intensities and goals, but beneath those penetrable masks they wear forever the stocking-capped faces of childhood.²⁴

In their work, "I Still Feel Like I Am Not Normal": A Review of the Role of Stigma and Stigmatization Among Female Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse, Sexual Assault, and Intimate Partner Violence", Kennedy and Prock write that self-blame is a "cognitive attribution by a survivor, in which she places blame for the abuse/assault on herself".²⁵ It is interesting to note how Rittie's innocent mind is unable to comprehend the intensity of the crime she had been a victim of, and is more affected by the death of her perpetrator. According to Angelou, to her, it had looked like it was her word that caused the death of a man.

Angelou was growing up, gripped by the societal construct that is rooted in gendered prejudice. This is usually ingrained in women from a young age. It is this same idea that affects young Rittie's perception of truth and her role in the crime. She was a little girl who was hardly aware of the grotesque crime that Mr. Freeman was committing, through emotional manipulation, through violence or threat. The motivation behind the crime was the true, and only reason behind the crime and this was a difficult concept for young Angelou to comprehend. Unfortunately, this is a difficult concept for most of society to comprehend too, even today. Following this, however, due to her guilt, Angelou went into a deliberate muteness that lasted for around five years.

It was through her return to Stamps, and her introduction to Mrs. Flowers, that Angelou found a space to immerse herself into forgetting her pain. She fell in love with books and art, and creative expression. In *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, she fondly writes about what Mrs. Flowers told her, that not just gave her strength, but purpose too. Angelou recollects Mrs. Flowers telling her, "Your grandmother tells me you read a lot. Every chance you get. That's good, but not good enough. Words mean more than what is set

²⁴ Ibid, p. 20

²⁵ Angie C. Kennedy, Kristen A. Prock, "I Still Feel Like I Am Not Normal": A Review of the Role of Stigma and Stigmatization Among Female Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse, Sexual Assault, and Intimate Partner Violence", *Trauma, Violence and Abuse*, vol. 19, no. 5, 2016, p. 2.

down on paper. It takes the human voice to infuse them with the deeper shades of deeper meaning”.²⁶

Trauma and sublimation

While both “defense mechanisms and coping strategies are processes that are aroused when there is a situation of psychological disequilibrium”,²⁷ differ at the point of intentionality. While defense mechanisms are primarily a reflexive response to a situation, in an attempt to protect oneself, coping mechanisms are rather deliberate. They are one’s attempt to recover or heal. Sublimation is popularly accepted as a matured defense mechanism or a coping mechanism wherein one channels one’s pain or rage, or an psychologically disruptive sentiment or urge into a socially acceptable, productive one. Art is one of the many ways that one could sublimate these sentiments or urges.

Maya Angelou is known today as a phenomenal woman who tore through everything life threw at her. While this is inspirational, it would be unfair to draw a comparison between her and any other artist or person who, maybe, could not survive their trauma as well as her. Trauma is subjective and so is the process of healing. Both of these depend greatly on the one’s emotional history, one’s core ideas, and assumptions primarily about myself. The environment one dwells in, or gets influenced from also plays a vital role. Maya Angelou was greatly influenced by her grandmother Mrs. Henderson, her tutor Mrs. Flowers, the books she fell in love with. The constant geographical distance she could give herself from the spaces where she underwent trauma, with to her constant travels, gave her time and space to heal too.

Her creative identity is closely linked to her traumas. While initially, her creations were only a means of expression, it helped her comprehend her past and eventually, served as a means to assist many others to rise out of their pain. While she was initially limited to the Black Movement, later, she took up a more humanitarian responsibility. In “In Memoriam: The Power of Testimony: Maya Angelou”, Emilie M. Townes writes, “Her testimony was the power of endurance and hope, and she was relentless in urging us to be our better selves as individuals and as a nation. She also understood the importance of blending determination with play”.²⁸

In the work *Hidden in Plain Sight*, Barbara Bennett Woodhouse writes, “While young children may lack the tools to understand maltreatment, fortunately, they have tools of imagination and instincts for survival that allow them to cope with things beyond their capacity to comprehend. Play can be a

²⁶ Maya Angelou, *The Collected Autobiographies of Maya Angelou* (New York: The Modern Library), 2004, p. 78.

²⁷ Phebe Cramer, “Coping and Defense Mechanisms: What’s the Difference?”. *Journal of Personality*, vol. 66, n. 6, 1998, p. 923.

²⁸ Emilie M. Townes, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 82, no. 3, 2014, pp. 579.

serious, even a life-saving business”.²⁹ While imagination could help one cope with a situation at hand, research proves that creative expression is an important tool to come to terms with, and even grow from a painful past.

In most cases, PTSD is a mere diversion on the road to healing and growth. However, even this journey – whether one finds enough respite from trauma, is unable to cope with it or if they grow from it, is as relative as the experience of trauma itself and varies from person to person. In his book, *Upside*, Jim Rendon talks about how deliberate rumination is crucial to one’s journey to growth or healing. One of the most important ways to do this is by expressing oneself – either verbally, or through writing. According to Pennebaker³⁰, writing is different than talking, since it requires one to delve deeper and into much detail. This is particularly true, in the case of expressive writing. Writing is a secondary process. The primary essential to which, is thought. One needs to delve into the idea, re-evaluate it, and find one’s patterns or meanings in it, to be able to give them words. This, in the process, makes the idea, event, or incident more comprehensible, sometimes, even to the writer. MacCurdy says that “most traumatic events are stored as non-verbal images in the brain. Thus, when victims speak of traumatic events, they do not produce clear narratives but rather describe pictures and images ‘which remain permanently encoded in their minds’”.³¹

In her work, *All My Puny Sorrows*, Miriam Toews writes about the beauty of sublimating pain into an artistic expression. It speaks volumes about the essence and purpose of trauma literature as a whole. She touches upon the crucial element of trauma literature, by writing about the comfort that sublimation provides the receivers and readers with. When Yolandi narrates her recent experiences to her sister, Elfrieda, who is bound to the hospital bed after having undergone a suicide attempt, she remembers a song that she had heard a man sing in the park. She speaks about how even though, the song was about the darkness that is universal, as the man sang, “we all have holes in our lives”³², due to sublimation, this harsh truth becomes agreeable to the listeners, who not only appreciate it but even begin to sing it in a chorus. In the work, she writes,

I thought that people like to talk about their pain and loneliness but in disguised ways. Or in ways that are sort of organised but not really. I realised that when I try to start conversations with people, just strangers on the street or in the grocery store, they think I’m exposing my

²⁹ Barbara Bennett Woodhouse *Hidden in Plain Sight: The Tragedy of Children’s Rights from Ben Franklin to Lionel Tate*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 2008, p. 272.

³⁰ Jim Rendon, *Upside* (New York: Touchstone), 2016, p. 116.

³¹ Limor Pinhasi-Vittorio, “Writing, sharing, and healing: the interplay of literacy in the healing journey of the recovering from substance abuse”, *Journal of Poetry Therapy*, vol. 31, no. 4, 2018, p. 212.

³² Mirium Towes, *All My Puny Sorrows* (London: Faber and Faber), 2014, p. 80.

pain or loneliness in the wrong way and they get nervous. But then I saw the impromptu choir repeating the line about everyone having holes in their lives, so beautifully, so gently and with such acceptance and even joy, just acknowledging it...³³

Conclusion

Regardless of living through several traumatic events throughout her life, Maya Angelou found courage and strength in the creative arts. She is one of the most inspirational individuals that the world was fortunate to witness. Emerging from the dark, swimming across turbulent oceans, she rose like dust to create an unforgettable history. Separated from her divorced parents at a young age, living in a racist environment, getting sexually assaulted, surviving broken marriages, living through pain and poverty and some, fortunately, short-lived compromising professions, surviving the agony of seeing her son meet with a devastating accident with a recovery process that was as slow and discouraging as it was, she thrived as a singer, dancer, producer, screen-play writer, actor, feminist, apartheid activist, and literary writer, apart from being a single mother. Every time pain pulled her to the ground she bounced back, higher. After remaining buried in survivor's guilt, after the mysterious death of Mr. Freeman, Angelou found an escape in books and later, in other creative expressions. Be it *Porgy and Bess*, or *Calypso*, joining the Harlem Writer's Guild, writing and performing poetry, narrating her life in seven exceptional autobiographies, Angelou's art gave her the space to deliberately ruminate on things that had pained her. It gave her courage to rise above it, and became the beacon lights of hope and inspiration for many others who read them who and find a sense of companionship in them. In her electrifying poem, "Still I Rise", Angelou writes, "I'm a black ocean, leaping and wide./ Welling and swelling I bear in the tide/...I rise/ I rise/ I rise".³⁴ Angelou did rise, and through her writings, on-screen or on-stage performances, and through her activism, gave others the courage to rise too.

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³³ Ibid, p. 81.

³⁴ Maya Angelou, *The Complete Collected Poems of Maya Angelou (US*: Random House), 1994, p. 160.

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THE AESTHETICS OF IMMORTALITY IN THE NOVEL *THE PICTURE OF DORIAN GRAY* BY OSCAR WILDE

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Abstract: *The aim of this paper is to reveal the artistic effects that the concepts of eternal youth and immortality have in the novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde from the perspective of their aesthetics. As critical reception has been diverse in comprehension and evaluation it becomes obvious that the multifaceted literary work from the end of the nineteenth century is profound in both its composition and thematic structure.*

Keywords: *Oscar Wilde, aestheticism, immortality, eternal youth, deception*

The Picture of Dorian Gray is the only novel written by Oscar Wilde and a great work of art with a controversial reception. Some newspaper critics found this novel scandalous, that it should be forbidden while others gave a good feedback since people were intrigued by this novel so different, totally new for that period, end of Victorianism. Oscar Wilde is one of the most famous writers associated with literary Aestheticism. He was generally viewed as a controversial representative adopting the aesthetic principles of his professor Walter Pater. For Wilde, the contemplation of beauty for its sake was more than the foundation for much of his literary career; he once stated, "Aestheticism is a search after the signs of the beautiful. It is the science of the beautiful through which men seek the correlation of the arts. It is, to speak more exactly, the search after the secret of life."¹ The story's main characters are three men seeking beauty in life; Lord Henry, a wise teacher of aesthetic principles, Basil Hallward, an artist, and Dorian Gray, a model learning about aesthetic values.

The novel mainly concerns a discussion among these three men, who are fascinated by each other's beauty and opinions. The story was highly debated regarding whether it is morally repulsive, due to the focus it places on fascination between men, or a work of Aestheticism. Wilde advocated freedom from moral restraint and the limitations of society concerns the issue of devotion to art. This point of view contradicted Victorian convention in which the arts were supposed to be spiritually uplifting and instructive. Wilde went a step further and stated that the artist's life was even more important than any

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¹ Hesketh Pearson, *The life of Oscar Wilde*, Trans. Soja Bergvall Stockholm: Haberg. 1998, pp. 35.

work that he produced; his life was to be his most important body of work. Aestheticism attempts to separate art from life in order to reduce moral implications. Aestheticism seemed to threaten Victorian respectability and morality principles as opposed to sensuous pleasure and beauty as a life ideal and source of happiness.

However, by the nineteenth century, a very different and even opposed perspective began to take hold and to manifest its influence. The philosophical foundations of Aestheticism were formulated by Immanuel Kant, who advocated autonomy of art. Art was to exist for its own sake, for its beauty and the artist was not to be concerned with morality or usefulness but its only purpose is to be beautiful. At the end of the nineteenth century, the idea of "art for art's sake" flourished, into the aestheticism of famous name like Walter Pater, James McNeil Whistler, and Oscar Wilde.

The main characters in the novel are a reflection of the writer especially in what concerns the philosophy of art and its aesthetics, living in accordance with this idea that is contradictory to the mainstream ideology of the Victorian era. Anything beautiful pleases the senses: "Only the taste for the beautiful is a disinterested and free satisfaction"². Therefore the beautiful is appreciated by taste not a logical judgment. The protagonist of the novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* lives a life of pure pleasure free from morals, and becomes interested in beauty and pleasure:

Live! Live the wonderful life that is in you! Let nothing be lost upon you. Be always searching for new sensations. Be afraid of nothing...A new Hedonism- that is what our century wants"³.

This is what Lord Henry advises Dorian to do. He believes that pleasure is the highest aim for in a person's life. Lord Henry thinks that beauty is a form of genius and criticizes other people's views on this matter as follows:

People say sometimes that Beauty is only superficial. That may be so. But at least it is not so superficial as Thought is. To me, Beauty is the wonder of wonders. It is only shallow people who do not judge by appearances. The true mystery of the world is the visible not the invisible⁴.

Beauty can be experienced aesthetically through its pleasures. There is also a "mystery" in whatever is beautiful since it appeals to discovery through senses and cannot be grasped by reasoning. This novel really is not didactic as it was not meant to instruct and should not concern itself with social, moral or

² Immanuel Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*.ed, Paul Guyer. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 95.

³ Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.ed. Norman Page. Peterborough, Broadview Editions. 1998, pp. 63.

⁴ Ibidem, pp. 62.

political issues, but an art for art's sake type of writing. Wilde's humanistic aesthetics was more concerned with the individual, the self. Characters' language, choices of lifestyle are unusual but in accordance with Wilde's art and not designed to serve any practical, ethical or moral purpose. He does not aim to educate the readers but to please them. Lord Henry even aestheticizes a woman's suicide:

Someone has killed herself for love of you. I wish that I had ever had such an experience. It would make me in love with love for the rest of my life. The people who have adored me [...] have always insisted on living on, long after I had ceased to care for them⁵.

Dorian Gray shows more resemblance with the writer, especially in the way he as a young man adopts the aesthetic principles in art and life. His relationship with actress Sibyl Vane reflects his views of aestheticism in art as well. Dorian Gray falls in love with the lady when he first sees her perform at the theatre, though in the end Sibyl commits suicide for him for unrequited love. Dorian is interested in her art more than in her as a person:

Tonight she is Imogen [...] and tomorrow she will be Juliet
When is she Sibyl Vane? Lord Henry asks.
Never⁶.

The theme of 'art imitating life' is prevalent throughout the novel. Once Dorian becomes aware of his own beauty he wishes that his beautiful portrait would age while he remains young. The portrait then becomes the physical manifestation of Dorian's sins as he stays young while the portrait ages. As the portrait stop reflecting life it restores the aesthetic ideal; when Dorian stabs the paintings he dies and the portrait gains back its original beautiful form. Dorian's admiration for his own personal beauty leads him to trade his soul for beauty, allowing for his beautiful picture to suffer the consequences of his hedonistic acts. Thus, it is his picture and not Dorian what will show his near-demonic search for sensations. Moreover, he visits opium dens, engages in orgies, drinks, dances, and mainly lives like a sybarite. The search for all the dimensions of beauty are mainly what embody Dorian's personal story; a search for the beauty of emotion, the beauty of things, the beauty of sensations, and the beauty of art imitating life.

Wilde states in the preface of the novel that there are no moral or immoral books, so they should not have a moral value. The main characters of the novel are created as aesthetes and he puts strong emphasis on pure-sensory response to his work, rejects the idea of "moral" or "ethical".

⁵ Ibidem, pp. 136.

⁶ Ibidem, pp. 93.

Yes, Mr. Gray, the gods have been good to you. But what the gods give they quickly take away.... When your youth goes, your beauty will go with it, and then you will suddenly discover that there are no triumphs left for you... Time is jealous of you, and wars against your lilies and roses. You will become sallow, and hollow-cheeked, and dull-eyed. You will suffer horribly⁷.

Dorian at the beginning is presented like a young man with a great quality, purity of soul. What Dorian did was to wish for something impossible to happen, to keep his youth forever. Dorian Gray became selfish and a narcissist due to his friendship with Lord Henry who heavily influenced his view of life and Lord Henry allures him to wish eternal youth and beauty but all happens for a price. Unfortunately he understands that too late. Dorian is confronted with Henry's ideas about soul and his words sparked his imagination and turns towards evil when his alter ego was created. Dorian in his naivety embraced a new way of living, an immoral one, filled with pleasures, a path of no return. The lily in the garden contains a strong message about love's mystery and harmony. This flower is left behind by Dorian, when Lord Henry was talking about the importance of the soul, just in the way in which he turned his back to a pure and moral life.

According to lord Henry, the idea of purity of soul is something childish, he thinks that only as a child can have a clean soul, and that the brain the more important, the mind takes control over the soul. Therefore Dorian started to change and feel the burden of his own life at his friend's influential views.

Gradually, the portrait will become the carrier of Dorian's soul, and his sins of youth, were transferred to art, according to his way of passing through life carelessly and immorally. His hedonism has a bad omen while the story unfolds. At a certain point he realized that all the bad things he had done returned to hurt him and destroy his soul, while his long-lost pure and innocent self was corrupted and ugliness replaced beauty.

The picture showed the crude reality Dorian had to confront at the end of the novel.

He saw the portrait he decided to destroy but when he tried to destroy the painting, he destroyed himself. When he lay dead on the floor his body grew old and his youth was transferred back to his painting as it was at the beginning, a relation in which art and real life used to be interchangeable, a powerful dramatic element.

The myth of immortality is the dream of mortals. Basil and Lord Henry made Dorian see his dream possible and think of his own beauty in a

⁷ Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. ed. Norman Page, Peterborough, Broadview Edition, 1998, pp. 25.

different, new way, since he was seduced by the idea of eternal beauty, where appearances blended with reality in a very unfortunate way.

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