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MEAT, MUSCLE AND MIND: DIOGENES AND THE ATHLETES

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Abstract

The ancient Cynics occupy a unique place in Hellenistic thought for the physicality of their self-representation. On the one hand, Diogenes is depicted accusing philosophers, in particular Plato, of idle talk, himself advocating double training (mental and bodily), and performing his philosophy through acts of "street theatre" in various public spaces. On the other hand, he derides athletes and the folly of those following them to athletic festivals. While the two directions of criticism differ in aim and scope, they must be viewed in tandem to establish the Cynic view of the body.

Keywords: Diogenes, Cynics, Greek Philosophy, Ancient Athletics, Body Culture, Body Rhetorics

In the transmitted material on Diogenes of Sinope, the early Cynic is more than once pitted against athletes and athletic culture. In this paper, I attempt a more precise understanding of why the tradition considered such encounters important. They are obviously utilised as opportunities for displaying the verbal wit so intimately associated with Diogenes. But they also signify in the context of the Cynic notion of excellence and the Cynic position on the body. Diogenes advocates a strict integrity of the human person, coherence between body and (Cynic) excellence that threatens to become lost in excesses of culture. As such, Diogenes *vis-à-vis* the athletes offers a particularly illuminating angle for investigating the classical body. It most certainly questions the view that ethical self-realisation through ascetic and aesthetic bodily self-fashioning does not have a history earlier than Winckelmann and the classicizing German humanism of the late eighteenth century.[1]

Cynic Rhetoric of the Body

In a seminal article on the rhetoric of Diogenes, Branham notes the central role occupied by the body, and comments on various aspects of the Cynic's use of the body: It puts him at odds with society, he employs it performatively, he mocks the bodies of others.[2] Examples of the Cynic's street theatre performances abound. A famous anecdote depicts Diogenes carrying a lamp in the market-place, purportedly looking for a human being.[3] In another, Diogenes walks into the theatre when everybody else is leaving, to illustrate what he has

1 *Pace* Porter (2002, 16, footnote 12). One suspects that Porter's view relates to an understanding of ancient Greek philosophy as a strict exercise in mind over matter, for which Plato usually gets the blame, but which does not take account of the criticism and various permutations in antiquity of the mind-body hierarchy. Cf. Porter (2000, 233-235). On continuity and change between ancient and modern positions on the body, cf. Richlin (1997, 17, 26-34).

2 Branham (1996, 100).

3 D.L. 6.41.

been doing all his life.[4] In many stories, the bodies of other people, often representatives of social groupings, are pivotal in communicating Cynic wit.[5]

His own bodily functions become a tool in challenging societal conventions, in breaking down barriers between private and public spaces. Two anecdotes in Laertius recall his habit of using any place for any purpose, both the "works of Demeter and those of Aphrodite."[6] As Branham says, "That Diogenes is the only philosopher, ancient and modern, we see eating, masturbating, urinating, expectorating, and ...defecating in public is of more than incidental interest for understanding Cynic ideology and its reception by ancient audiences."[7] When used in provocative humour, the body is an unfailing instrument of subversion. It confronts the moral order with the universal, and without fail it manages to bring down the edifices of propriety. The body – his and those of others – is the Cynic weapon against conventional morality.

A major part of the Cynic programme consists of attacking, provoking, and exposing folly. Diogenes was said to have been sent into exile after defacing the currency of his home town, and this became the Cynic slogan: παραχαράττειν τὸ νόμισμα, "to alter the coinage," applied in Cynic practice to obsolete opinions and behaviour.[8] So dominant is the theme of attacking convention, that it is no easy task to establish the positive content of early Cynic thought. This fact led to the thesis that Cynic rhetoric *is* the Cynic stance; that it is not a philosophy in the traditional sense of the word at all, but rather a way of reacting to the contingent situation, the *ad hoc* performance, the embodied outlook.[9] However, in order to maintain this view, one has to gloss over prominent aspects of the tradition, such as Diogenes' literary output, the Socratic influence, and the illusive set of core principles that seem to drive the rhetoric. Ancient Cynicism should be viewed as more than subverting rhetoric; the endeavour to formulate its positive content cannot be given up.[10]

Diogenes and Plato

A substantial number of anecdotes depict Diogenes in dispute with Plato.[11] The fact that these stories are probably fictional, in this case adds to their significance. They show that, even in antiquity, Plato was felt to represent the Cynic counterpart.[12] Plato and Diogenes, both heirs of Socrates, represent opposite views on either side of a fault line in the Socratic legacy: Theory and practice, idealism and materialism, thought and action. While the focus

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4 D.L. 6.64.

5 E.g., orators, demagogues, philosophers, politicians, musicians. Some of these illustrate the type of religious discourse the Cynic gets involved in. Cf. D.L. 6.37-38: "When once he saw a woman kneeling before the gods in an unseemly fashion, and wishing to free her of superstition, according to Zoilus of Perga, he came to her and said: "Are you not afraid, dear woman, that a god may be standing behind you – for all things are full of his presence – and you may be put to shame?" D.L. 6.38: "He dedicated to Asclepius a bruiser who, whenever people fell on their faces, would rush up and rub their noses on the floor" See also D.L. 6.39, 42.

6 D.L. 6.22, 69.

7 Branham (1996, 100-101).

8 D.L. 6.20-21, 56, 71; Lucian, *Dem.* 5; Julian, *Or.* 6.188.

9 Branham (1996, 103-104) and Von Fritz (1991) regard the Cynics as a series of personalities with a particular *modus vivendi* rather than original thinkers. Cf. Billerbeck (1991, 7).

10 Cf. Döring (1993, 338); Branham and Goulet-Cazé (1996, 23-27); Long (1996, 29-30); Moles (1996, 111-120).

11 Cf. Giannantoni (1990, 251-256); Branham (1996, 88-89).

12 Cf. Niehues-Pröbsting (1988, 20-21). Similarly, Alexander plays Diogenes' true rival on the topic of power, possession, and status.

may often be on personal animosity, virtually all anecdotes suggest the rivalry to be based on philosophical content as well. Plato calls Diogenes "dog" or "Socrates gone mad," while Diogenes accuses Plato of hypocrisy and conceit.[13] Accusations of idle talk illustrate the Cynic's emphasis on enactment, while his insistence on the empirically perceptible leads to the rejection of speculative theory: "Your table and your cup I can see," says Diogenes, "but tablehood and cuphood, I cannot."[14] The most famous of these, perhaps, is the story of Plato coming to the definition of a human as a two-legged animal without feathers. Diogenes plucks a chicken, holds it up in the classroom, and declares: "This is Plato's man." To which the latter, unperturbed, extends his definition: "A featherless biped – with flat nails."[15]

The Platonic rivalry is illuminating with regard to the Cynic position on the body. However, viewed in isolation, it may lead to a lopsided idea of what Cynicism entails. Connecting Diogenes' anti-theoretical, body-centred view to the philosopher's nickname, Niehues-Pröbsting has argued that the Dog (as Diogenes was known in antiquity) advocates a return to animalism – the human body acting the animal body.[16] But the Cynic tradition defies the simple solution. While Diogenes embraces the physical body, he binds it uncompromisingly to the ethical life.[17] He despises culture, but he does not withdraw from society. On the contrary, he deliberately goes to the public spaces to confront his contemporaries. One such group of confrontational performances are his interactions with athletes. An analysis of these may further clarify the Cynic's rhetoric of the body, of which the Platonic opposition provides only one angle.

Diogenes and the Athletes

The Anecdotes

The stories and portrayals of Diogenes confronting athletes and their glorification, are scattered among various sources.[18] As is usually the case, Diogenes Laertius (D.L.) is our primary source, with a variety of anecdotes. In D.L. 6.49, the following is recorded:

> Being asked why athletes are so insensible (ἀναίσθητοι), he said: "Because they are built up with pork and beef."

As is customary for the χρεῖαι, the line packs the philosopher's pithy remark into the briefest context.[19] We are not told the reason for anyone wanting to know from Diogenes why athletes are so ἀναίσθητοι. The joke turns on the ambiguity in the meaning of ἀναίσθητος. In this context, the term would have been associated with numbness of the senses, that is, with the athlete's ability to endure pain. Ancient athletics, especially the so-

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13 D.L. 6.26, 40, 54, 67; Aelian, *Hist. Var.* 14.33.

14 D.L. 6.24, 26, 53.

15 D.L. 6.40. The term πλατυώνυχος, "flat-nailed" plays on the name of Plato. The scene might originally have been from a comedy or a Cynic parody. Plato shares this criticism with other philosophical schools of the theoretical kind. Cf. D.L. 6.38-39.

16 Niehues-Pröbsting (1988, 173-174, 184-189, 198-206), relating it to the Cynic's attitude towards death, and his conception of αὐτάρκεια, and sexuality and ἀναίδεια. In Niehues-Pröbsting's (1988, 208-210) view, the Cynic escapes from pure animalism through humour.

17 Hoïstad (1948, 45).

18 Some of these are brought together by Giannantoni (1990, 396-398) under the heading "De athletis et citharedis."

19 For discussions of the genre, cf. Kindstrand (1986), Hock and O'Neill (1986, 23-47).

called heavy events, were rough on the body, and often involved extreme pain.[20] Diogenes, faced with this – probably admiring – question, turns it against the athletes by referring to their diet.

Despite of how we might have been conditioned to think of the typical Greek athlete, many would not have had the perfectly sculpted torsos of idealising art. The heavy events were called that because the individuals competing in them were in fact heavy. And the heavier the better: The ancients did not have weight categories, so that a weight advantage added considerably to the contestants' chances. To gain a bulk, these athletes had to eat a lot more than the average Greek, earning them the reputation of gluttons.[21] As the following telling epitaph for a pentathlete illustrates:

> After much drinking, much eating, much abuse of mankind, I now lie dead, Timocreon of Rhodes.[22]

Not knowing the details of nutritional values that we possess today, some athletes preferred to eat cheese, figs and grain. The majority, however, stuffed themselves with meat. One of the most famous athletes of antiquity, Milo of Croton, was notorious for his consumption. His daily diet was said to have been twenty pounds of meat, the same mass of bread, swallowed down with three pitchers of wine.[23] In contrast, the Cynics' meagre diet consisted of the barest necessities: Lentils, lupins, dried figs, barley-cakes, and water, while gluttony and feasting was regarded as harmful of health.[24]

Diogenes' jesting at the athletic diet depends on the double meaning of ἀναίσθητος, which is deliberately understood by the philosopher to refer to the stupidity of sportsmen. Whereas the question was probably intended as "how do athletes manage to endure so much?", Diogenes answers it as "why are they such blockheads?" by insinuating that their diet affects their mental capacity.[25] The latter is, of course, something the Cynic prides himself in.[26]

In other anecdotes Diogenes goes on to attack the – to him – wrongfully attributed social status of athletes. In Diogenes Laertius 6.49, Diogenes dryly remarks on the fall from grace of an Olympic champion:

> On seeing an Olympic victor tending sheep, he said: "Quickly, my best man, have you gone from the Olympians to Nemea."

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[20] The pancration allowed just about any tactic, except biting and eye-gouging. We might recall the warning of Epictetus to anyone who lightly wants to take up the sport. First, you must submit yourself to rigorous training, you must be willing to forgo luxuries, and to subject yourself to your trainer. "Then in the contest itself you must face being gouged, sometimes dislocating a wrist or twisting an ankle, swallowing lots of sand, being flogged, and with all this very often being defeated" Epictetus 3.15.2-5.

[21] Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* 10.412d-413c. Cf. Golden (1998, 157-158).

[22] Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* 10.415f.

[23] Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* 10.412e-f.

[24] D.L. 6.28. Fat people are more than once the objects of Diogenes' mockery, cf. D.L. 6.47; 57. In Eubulus' *Sale of Diogenes*, it is told that during his (probably fictional) sojourn with Xeniades in Corinth, the philosopher taught the boys in his care to be content with plain fare and water; D.L. 6.31. In this regard, the early Cynic prefigures the Epicurean view that the means of living should be limited to what is natural and necessary. Cf. Epicurus, *Men.* 130-132.

[25] Interestingly, against the idea that Diogenes unconditionally glorifies the animalistic state, is that animals are in this case referred to in derogatory manner. Another anecdote (D.L. 6.62) swipes at an ἀφυής (untalented or stupid) wrestler practising as a doctor: "Is this how you get back at those who beat you?" Diogenes asks.

[26] The story recorded in Aelian, *Hist. Var.* 9.34 has a similar purport: both the smartly dressed athletes from Rhodes, and the Spartan athletes in dirty rags have him see τῦφος. To be fair, from a Cynic point of view these athletes share the attribute of τῦφος (delusion, folly) with all of humankind. Cf. Navia (1998, 140-142).

Again, the anecdote involves clever word-play. The Olympic and the Nemean festivals were both crown games, the four most renowned athletic spectacles in antiquity. Olympia was regarded as the most prestigious of these, so a movement from Olympia to Nemea already indicates a degradation of some sort. But Diogenes also puns on the proper name Nemea, derived from the Greek word meaning "glade" or "wooded pasture." The line in this sense means "from the mountain to the valley," or, even better, "from the gods to the pits." In exposing the lack of use the once highly-honoured Ὀλυμπιονῖκος now has for society, Diogenes criticises the misplaced value attached to athletic skills.[27]

The criticism of athletes is much older than the Cynics. Already the 6th century BCE philosopher, Xenophanes, was bitter about the fame bestowed on athletes, who he felt contributed nothing to the welfare of the city.[28] Xenophanes fought the losing battle against the intellectual's lack of influence. Diogenes' emphasis is different: He laments people's lack of commitment to a particular ideal, as in the next passage:

> He used to say that people were forever willing to compete in digging and kicking, but no-one in attaining καλοκἀγαθία.[29]

Of particular interest to our purposes is the term καλοκἀγαθία, which is also found in another transmitted saying:

> Diogenes once at Olympia, after the hoplite race, ran onto the track and declared himself to be the Olympic victor over all men, in καλοκἀγαθία.[30]

Diogenes' claim to καλοκἀγαθία is in terms of the notion of ἀρετή, virtue or excellence. However, by using this term, he puts a particular spin on the notion. The compound form καλὸς κἀγαθός ("beautiful and good") was long considered to be an aristocratic value, referring to the nobleman who embodies the excellences in his complete make-up: Character, appearance, skills.[31] The word's history, however, reveals a more complex picture: Originating in Sparta and employed for the first time in literature among Athenian sophists, the term was even shunned by aristocrats until it became attached to the hoplite class.[32] Its use in the anecdote transmitted by Demetrius alludes to the latter meaning; the Cynic's performance seems to aim at parodying the hoplite claim to be both "beautiful" and "good." But many a true word is spoken in jest, more so since other anecdotes indeed depict a Diogenes claiming victory "over men," as opposed to the athlete's victory over "slaves."[33] Furthermore, the Cynic was renowned for his original use of language, and many Cynic jokes work on giving commonly used words new meanings. The term

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27 *Pace* Navia (1998, 175).

28 Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* 10.413f-414c. Such criticism must have been heard frequently in circles where the advantages to a state of an Olympic victory were slighted. Often, the criticism was that athletic prowess meant nothing on the battlefield, cf. Tyrtaeus 12.1-2; 10-14; Euripides, *Autolycus,* in Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* 10.413c-f also accuses them of not ever learning to live well, and of being unable to cope with poverty and misfortune. Cf. Golden (1998, 28); Scanlon (2002, 14).

29 D.L. 6.27. The "digging" and "kicking" referred to were in all probability part of an athlete's training programme, cf. Epictetus 3.15.4. The saying is repeated in a slightly different format in Stobaeus 3.4.3: "Diogenes used to say that he saw many who kept on wrestling and running, but not vying with one another in attaining nobility of character." On the basis of the obscurity of its references to digging and kicking, the form in Laertius is probably older.

30 Demetrius, *Eloc.* 260.

31 Liddell, Scott and Jones (1968, 869).

32 Bourriot (1995, 239-242) and Meier (1999, 209-210).

33 D.L. 6.33; 67; ἀνδράποδα, "slaves," literally means "feet of men"; another suggestive play on the double meaning of a word, by which Diogenes attempts to degrade the accomplishments of athletes.

καλοκἀγαθία should, I think, be allowed to give us a clue as to how the Cynic saw the role of the body in attaining excellence.

In this instance, therefore, Diogenes criticises the particular notion of ἀρετή the athlete embodies: Over-specialised, one-sidedly aimed at useless bodily skills. When Diogenes conducts the παιδεία of Xeniades' children by prohibiting full athletic training, and allowing "only so much as to heighten their colour and keep them in good condition," it comes close to Galen's criticism of athletic training.[34] While both aim at balance and moderation, Diogenes has a moral intent absent from the physician. Yet another anecdote illustrates this point vividly:

> Diogenes used to say how terrible it is that athletes and musicians would master the stomach and the pleasures, the musicians for the sake of sound and the athletes for the body. No-one, however, would look down on these things for the sake of self-control.[35]

Such specialisations of culture miss the Cynic goal of training, namely the excellence of the whole person in squaring up with what fate might throw at you.

Dio Chrysostom

Apart from the anecdotal evidence, we also possess longer depictions of Diogenes' polemics against athletes.[36] Dio Chrysostom, himself forced into the vagrant life for about fourteen years, during that period became a devotee of the Cynics. While his depictions of Diogenes are fictional, the insights they contain are intelligent and penetrating. Without any doubt, he alludes to authentic Cynic material.[37]

The eighth and ninth orations depict Diogenes at the Isthmian games. In the ninth oration, Dio Chrysostom describes the Cynic's method of teaching and the reactions of the crowds towards him, and gives a short example of how Diogenes refutes a victor's claim to glory. The eighth oration contains more useful information on the content of what might have been typical Cynic argument, as the major part consists of Diogenes in conversation with an unnamed interlocutor. The man asks Diogenes whether he came to watch the competition. "No," says Diogenes, "to take part." Laughing, the man asks who his competitors are. Diogenes replies:

> "The toughest there are, and the hardest to beat; men whom no Greek can look straight in the eye; not competitors, however, who sprint or wrestle or jump, not those that box, throw the spear or hurl the discus, but those that chasten a man." "Who are they, pray?" asked the other. "Hardships," he replied, "very severe and insuperable for gluttonous and folly-stricken men who feast the livelong day and snore at night, but which yield to thin, spare men, whose waists are more pinched in than those of wasps. Or do you think those pot-bellies are good for anything? – creatures whom sensible people ought to lead around, subject to the ceremony of purification, and then thrust beyond the borders,[38] or, rather, kill, quarter, and use as food just as people do with the flesh of large fish, don't you know, boiling it in brine and melting out the fat, the way our people at home in Pontus do with the lard of pigs when

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34 D.L. 6.30, Galen, *Adhor. ad art.* 11-12. Cf. Scanlon (2002, 15).

35 Stobaeus 3.5.39 and D.L. 6.70.

36 The pseudonymous Letters of Diogenes, from around the first century A.D., record Diogenes' fondness for the great spectacles; cf. *Epistle* 38.2. The 31st epistle has the Cynic in a dialogue with Cicermus, the pancratiast, on the way to Olympia. Unfortunately, the dialogue does not yield much in terms of our topic.

37 Dudley (2003, 148-158), Hoïstad (1948, 50-61, 150-220) and Billerbeck (1996, 211-213).

38 Dio might allude to the scapegoating ceremony held in Athens on Thargelion 6th. Cf. Cohoon (1971, 382-383), but gives it new meaning in the context of the gluttony of athletes.

> they want to anoint themselves. For I think that these men have less soul than hogs. But the noble man holds his hardships to be his greatest antagonists, and with them he is ever wont to battle day and night, not to win a sprig of parsley as so many goats might do, nor for a bit of wild olive, or of pine, but to win happiness and virtue throughout all the days of his life..."[39]

Again we see how the purposes and outcomes of Cynic philosophy are contrasted with those of athletics. The hardships or toils are identified a little further on as hunger, cold and thirst, and physical punishment, but also as the discomforts, social alienation and loss of reputation of the exile.[40] The rewards of Cynicism impact on the whole person: Not only happiness and virtue, the traditional ideals of philosophy, but also a strong, lean body. Diogenes continues by describing life's other major battle, namely that against the pleasures.[41] The twofold struggle against πόνοι (toils/hardships) and ἡδονή (pleasure) is a common theme in Cynic literature, and constitutes the definition of Cynic ἄσκησις (training). Equally significant is the recurrent double emphasis in the passage on both the physical and the mental.

The Cynic Training

In the doxography of Diogenes Laertius' *Live of Diogenes* (6.70-73), Cynic ἄσκησις is described as both mental and bodily training, the one incomplete without the other.[42] The passage illustrates the theoretical issue confronting the Cynic: How to formulate the connections between body and mind, that is, how bodily training can lead to virtue.[43] The line supposed to clarify the issue, Diogenes Laertius 6.70, is famous for its obscurity. It has been variously translated, as:

1) "a good physical condition helps to promote a steady flow of 'mental impressions that provide easy access to virtuous deeds,'"[44]
2) "with constant exercise, perceptions are formed such as secure freedom of movement for virtuous deeds,"[45]
3) "the *askesis* of gymnastics gives rise to a set of *phantasiai* in the mind that make easy ...the performance of virtuous acts."[46]

If the line exhibits technical philosophy "to a degree one does not associate with Diogenes,"[47] this may give an indication why the Cynic rather kept away from theory. There seems to be analogy at work: Just as athletes and musicians acquire their skills

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39 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 8.12-15, transl. Cohoon (1971, 383-385).

40 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 8.16.

41 In contrast to the hardships, which must be faced head-on, one should rather keep away from the pleasures as far as possible, for they are like Circe ready to enslave even the toughest of men and pen them up in a sty, Dio Chrys., *Or.* 8.20-26. I do not agree with Hoïstad (1948, 51) that all themes in the oration are subjected to the struggle against ἡδονή.

42 The passage is considered to be reasonably free from Stoic contamination and may have been extracted from Diogenes' own works. Cf. Dudley (2003, 216-220), Hoïstad (1948, 38-47) and Long (1996, 37 footnote 24).

43 Cf. Long (1996, 38-39).

44 Long (1996, 38).

45 Hicks (1979, 71).

46 Dudley (2003, 217).

47 Dudley (2003, 216).

through incessant training, so training of the body leads to the capacity for deeds of virtue, presumably by fostering an attitude of hardiness.[48]

Dio Chrysostom's eighth oration reflects a common attachment of the Cynics to the great popular hero Heracles, who reached the status of demi-god by overcoming the famous twelve labours. It might be that Diogenes saw in Heracles the embodiment of the καλὸς κἀγαθός, as he was said to share his preference for freedom above anything else.[49] Dio argues that the Cynics are the true heirs of Heracles by redefining the hero's labours "as distinctly Cynic achievements":[50] while the people of old also rather admired the runners and the wrestlers, the beautiful and the wealthy, they pitied Heracles during his life for his trouble-ridden existence. Heracles, says Dio:

> did not look at all like any of these athletes; for where could he have penetrated, had he carried so much flesh or required so much meat or sunk into such depths of sleep? No, he was alert and lean like a lion, keen of eye and ear, recking naught of cold and heat, having no use for bed, shawl, or rug, clad in a dirty skin, with an air of hunger about him, as he succoured the good and punished the bad.[51]

Finally it was this hero, and not any of the others, who came to be deified. Likewise, the analogy seems to run, the Cynic struggling against hardships may appear pitiful, but he will eventually reap his reward. Dio, however, does not bother with any further exposition of the comparison. At this point in the discourse, his hero, while relating the task of Heracles to clean the Augean stables, is reminded of his own bodily needs. He squats and performs "an indecent act," adding a true Cynic ring to what almost became a respectable moral sermon.[52]

Conclusion: Cynic Aesthetics of the Body Revisited

The *topos* of Diogenes against the athletes became part of the Diogenes legend to balance his depiction as being anti-theoretical and praxis-oriented. These encounters define the Cynic purpose against those of body culture. It clarifies his position on the body as bearer of philosophy, and his definition of *askesis* (training) and *arete* (excellence). The toils that the Cynic faces are natural ones, and the excellence he aims at is not of the kind awarded or recognised by society. He trains his body to be able to face the hardships of life. The Cynic body is constantly on the line: In teaching, in guaranteeing truth, in achieving virtue. Therefore, he scorns the specialisations of contemporary culture, whether that be in the direction of the mind, or of the body.

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48 D.L. 6.70.

49 D.L. 6.71. Incidentally, Heracles was also a patron of the games, featuring in foundation myths and sanctuary art at Olympia. Cf. Scanlon (2002, 32, 250-255).

50 Branham (1996, 102).

51 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 8.30, transl. Cohoon (1971, 393-395).

52 Cf. Branham (1996, 102-103).

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