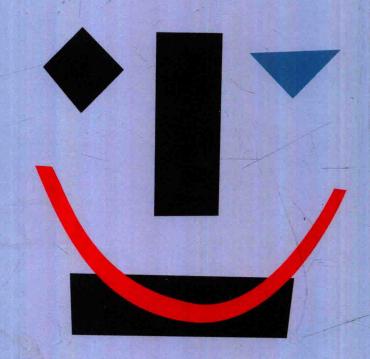
# The Power of Satire

**Edited by Marijke Meijer Drees** and Sonja de Leeuw



**John Benjamins Publishing Company** 

## The Power of Satire

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Marijke Meijer Drees and Sonja de Leeuw Groningen, Utrecht December 2014

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## Introduction

## Marijke Meijer Drees and Sonja de Leeuw

"Nothing is beyond satire [...]. The more lines crossed the better". With these words South Africa's senior satirist, Pieter Dirk Uys, commented on a controversy about a biting cartoon against president Jacob Zuma in 2012. Indeed, satire crosses lines, contests boundaries and it operates at the limits of cultural values and principles. As such, satire nowadays forms as much a topical as an explosive subject of national and transnational public discussions, in the press as well as on line (unless governments operate as censors). This makes it urgent to study satire beyond the heat of the day and to stimulate scholarly debate on satire, however, as we will argue, with the inclusion of wider geographical and temporal contexts than formerly, and with the main focus on its potentially divisive impact on societies.

This introductory chapter begins with a retrospective of previous research on satire by focusing on the main trends and developments since the mid twentieth century. From there we will outline our own approach. We consider satire as a socio-cultural mode of performance that is medially charged and possesses the power to cross and to contest cultural boundaries in different communities and periods of time. Furthermore, we explain why the empirical basis of satire research

<sup>1. &#</sup>x27;Boundary-issues: When should satirists just sit down?', in: *The Mail & Guardian Online*, 10 July 2012: http://mg.co.za/article/2012-07-10-zapiro-cartoon-zuma-spear; about P.D. Uys: http://pdu.co.za/CV.html; about the (in)famous cartoonist Zapiro: http://www.zapiro.com/about/About\_Zapiro/ 'Boundary-issues' stated: "Many (...) were not amused by the Zapiro cartoon published in the Mail & Guardian last Friday. The cartoon, which portrayed President Jacob Zuma as a penis and included a limerick referring to him as a "dick", again raised questions about the limitations of free speech and satire. Veteran satirist Pieter-Dirk Uys said that unlike comedy and humour, satire is brutal and is only appropriate as "topical, hard-hitting and without apology". "Nothing is beyond satire," he added. "The more lines crossed the better. Satire is meant to offend, upset, challenge, horrify, humour and force opinions for or against. It is a democratic right to cross a line of opinion," he said [...]." Swart (2014) discusses the context of this and earlier Zapiro-cartoons on president Zuma, which adopted sexual motifs that were prompted by very unfortunate, extreme circumstances.

needs to be extended in our view and how this has been realized in the four-year research program that we have recently conducted. This approach to satire, as we will explain finally, determines the organisation of this book.

### Research on satire: A retrospective

Throughout the middle of the last century, research on satire was primarily occupied with theorizing satire as a form of literary art. In the 1960s, satire criticism - mainly centered in literary departments of Anglo-American universities<sup>2</sup> - achieved to some extent a New Critical consensus in terms of assumptions about its generic properties and its ritual roots in ancient societies. In prestigious studies such as Northrop Frye's Anatomy of Criticism (1957: 223–239), Robert Elliott's The Power of Satire (1960), Gilbert Highet's, The Anatomy of Satire (1962), Alvin Kernan's, The Cankered Muse (1959) and The Plot of Satire (1965), and Ronald Paulson's The Fictions of Satire (1967), satire was investigated as an artistic, literary genre per se, an aesthetic textual form which originally - in the distant past of mankind - had emerged from the cultural phenomenon of oral magic and rituals. Distinctive for the genre of satire were, as was argued, its 'primitive' origins in ancient cultures on the one hand, and on the other the general artistic features that were mainly derived from the sophisticated works of a relative small and more or less fixed group of famous male satire authors from the western literary canon, such as Horace, Juvenal, Voltaire, Swift and Pope. The investigations of these specimens of 'high' satirical literature, were basically rooted in implicit assumptions such as the rational transparency of the rhetorical triangle of satirist – text – reader, and the mutual understanding of the satirist and the educated (civilized) reader, grounded on shared intellectual luggage, ethical values and sense of humor.

Nevertheless, as Ronald Paulson wrote in 1971 in the introduction of his anthology Satire: Modern Essays in Criticism:

Satire criticism (...) is very much in *medias res*. Satire continues to serve as a test case for methodological experiments of the New Criticism's revisionist heirs, as well as of critics drawing upon the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and philosophy.

(Paulson 1971:xv)

Since the seventies, "New Criticism's revisionist heirs" (and others as well) have increasingly questioned and modified the basic premises on satire. If its rhetorical situation was as clear and stable as formerly assumed, if satirists and their

<sup>2.</sup> This paragraph is mainly based on Connery & Combe 1995: 1–15; Griffin 1994: 1–5, 28–34; Gray, Jones & Thompson 2009: 8–19; Meijer Drees & Nieuwenhuis 2010.

readers shared norms, values and humor codes, how then was it possible that highly respected satires such as, for instance, Swift's *A Modest Proposal* needed ample explanation of its profound irony and unsettling paradox? (e.g. Booth 1974:105–120). Why consider satire so exclusively as a highly developed *literary* art form? Were cultural festivities such as carnival, traditionally saturated with satirical devices such as offensiveness and prominent attention to the lower strata of the human body, not relevant as well? (cf. Bakhtin 1984:368–436). And what about the satirical contests of pre-Islamic Arabs and in former European traditions that the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga had already noticed during the late thirties, in his famous study on the play element in culture, *Homo Ludens*? (Huizinga 1955 [1938]:66–71, 85, 86). Last but not least, the still never discussed convention of targeting (blaming, scolding) especially women, as practiced by canonized male satirists and in popular literature as well – wasn't it high time to stop taking this phenomenon for granted and to investigate the dominant discursive frameworks in which this misogynist satire traditionally could function? (Nussbaum 1984; Pollock 1985).

These (and more) upcoming critical questions have enriched and expanded the study of satire since the 1970s considerably, although its central object continued to be the canonized literary satire of Western Europe. In this context of growing complexity, the formerly cherished expectation that scholarly insights would provide for a clear and straightforward definition of satire was more or less abandoned. Illustrative in this respect is the very first line of Jürgen Brummack's philological in-depth study *Zu Begriff und Theorie der Satire* (1971): 'Der Begriff Satire ist von irritierender Vieldeutigkeit' (Brummack 1971: 275).<sup>3</sup>

From the nineties up to today, research on satire has become still broader, far more diverse and much more complicated (cf. Connery & Combe 1995: 1–15), further prompted and framed as it is by the comprehensive paradigm shifts (the socio-cultural and linguistic 'turns') since the 1970s. Assumptions about satire's sophisticated nature and straightforward literary rhetoric are definitely replaced by, for instance, approaches to satire as a culturally situated discursive practice (e.g. Simpson 2003), or as a basically unstable rhetoric of provocation and inquiry, in which cultural aspects of play and display are taken into consideration as well (e.g. Test 1991; Griffin 1994; Bogel 2001; Knight 2004).

These shifts in satire research have involved abundant specialist in-depth attention to different types and forms of satire, especially those from pre-modern times (e.g. De Smet 1991; De Smet 1996; Palmeri 2003; Freudenburg 2005; Quintero 2007; McLaughlin 2008; Renner 2009) and those articulated through various media such as manuscript lampoons and printed pamphlets (e.g. Love

<sup>3.</sup> Or, as George Test put forward two decennia later: 'attempting to define satire has been like trying to put a shadow in a sack' (Test 1991: 13).

4

2004; McRae 2004; Darnton 2010; Meijer Drees 2013), as well as graphics and caricature (e.g. Wood 1994; Donald 1996; Cillessen 1997; Pierce 2008; Baridon & Guédron 2009; Spaans 2011; Grijzenhout 2013).

Since the turn of the millennium, satirical television shows and series have increasingly drawn attention from media specialists (e.g. Behrmann 2002; McClennen 2011; Gray, Jones & Thompson 2009; Jones 2010; Baym & Jones 2012; Henry 2012). Simultaneously, however, former insights have been given a second life (Feinberg 2006, originally published in 1963; Hodgart 2010, originally published in 1969), which is significant for the ongoing (but, in some respects, also rather paralyzing) impact of 'grand' critics on current satire research. In 2010, Brian Connery described the actual value of such older satire research as follows in his Introduction to the reprint of Matthew Hodgart's *Satire. Origin and Principles*:

Since Hodgart's work, the electronic media have displaced print as the dominant cultural mode, but satire remains woven deeply into digital culture [...] Hodgart's work continues to help us make sense today of the conventions which seem to have been almost genetically transmitted to our digital contemporaries from their satiric ancestors especially in his repeated reference to satire's predilection for the ephemeral, for camouflaging itself among the everyday, for speaking to the moment, and thus for integrating itself as deeply as possible into society which both breeds and suffers its criticism. (Hodgart 2010:6)

## 2. The power of satire: The urgency of new satire research

In the springtime of 2006, the world was shocked by the so-called 'Danish cartoon controversy' (e.g. Berger 2006; Dommering 2006; Lewis et al. 2008). Twelve caricatures published on 30 September 2005 by the Danish news paper *Jyllands Posten*, in which Islam and its holy prophet Muhammad were satirized, caused profound disapproval among many Muslims all over the world. The reactions eventually escalated not only into diplomatic crises, but also into trails of violent protests and bloody assaults on embassies: 'the first transnational humor scandal' in history was born (Kuipers 2006; Kuipers 2011).<sup>4</sup>

The strong reactions to the cartoons derived (at least in part) from the dominant role and impact of new media. Internet, satellite TV and mobile phones provided virally spreading and unprecedentedly rapid worldwide availability of the prints and of news items about their effects. But, more importantly, this crisis demonstrated once and for all that in the perspective of global outreach, satire's force to contest cultural boundaries had to be taken in account more seriously than ever,

<sup>4.</sup> A press dossier about the cartoon controversy can be found on: http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/d/danish\_cartoon\_controversy/

because it triggered profound political conflict (e.g. Klausen 2009). Up to today, the cartoon controversy has had widespread repercussions on public debates about issues of blasphemy, tolerance, freedom of expression, responsible use of shared public spaces and (self-)censorship – whether satirically performed or not<sup>5</sup> (e.g. Dommering 2008; Asad e.a. 2009; Müller e.a. 2009; Marshall & Shea 2011).

Within this turbulent and fascinating context, we started in 2009 the interdisciplinary research program for which the current volume offers the final output: *The power of satire: cultural boundaries contested* (funded by the NWO, the Dutch National Research Board, as a free competition program for the period 2009–2013). We conceptualized satire as a culturally and medially charged mode with potentially powerful effects or impact. Satire, we proposed, plays with cultural forms and identities, it travels between media and through periods of time, it provokes critical reflection on authorities, tackles values, dogmas and taboos and disturbs power relations. In other words, it contests and challenges cultural boundaries in many respects: social, medial, temporal and spatial. This led to our central research question: how has the cultural impact of satire been framed and conditioned as appearing in multiple media (e.g. press, film, television, internet), in different communities (western and non western) and different periods of time (between the age of Enlightenment and the present)?

Hence we composed the program on the following basis.<sup>7</sup> Firstly, the main focus of our interest, satire's *functioning*, or its critical interfering in and workings on political and religious discourses as a mode of performance. Secondly, the general assumption that satire is not only temporally/historically charged and conditioned, but socio-culturally and medially as well. Thirdly, that present-day satire research should no longer stick to an exclusive western scope. The latter seemed particularly urgent, because the cartoon controversy had appealed to devastating ideas of Islam as 'a religion without humor' and of Muslims as fundamentally unable to 'get the joke'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5.</sup> Such as, for instance, the bear named Muhammad in Trey Parker and Matt Stone's notorious TVcartoon series *South Park*, season 10, 2006, 'Cartoon wars', and season 14, 2010, '200' (viewed on: http://www.southpark Further, in Klausen 2009, a (non satirical) statement of self-censorship by the publisher; see also: http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/13/books/13book.html?ref=danish cartooncontroversy

<sup>6.</sup> Amount of funding €500.000. See http://www.nwo.nl/en/funding/our-funding-instruments/nwo/free-competition/gw/free-competition.html

See www.nwo.nl/onderzoek-en-resultaten/onderzoeksprojecten/10/2300153710.html

<sup>8. &#</sup>x27;any response to these cartoons – even the most acculturated one – was destined not only to set protesters (and their communities) apart from Danish society as "not having the same values," but also to open the way for the devastating reproach of "not being able to take a joke," "not having a sense of humor," and "not being able to laugh at yourself" (Kuipers 2008:9).