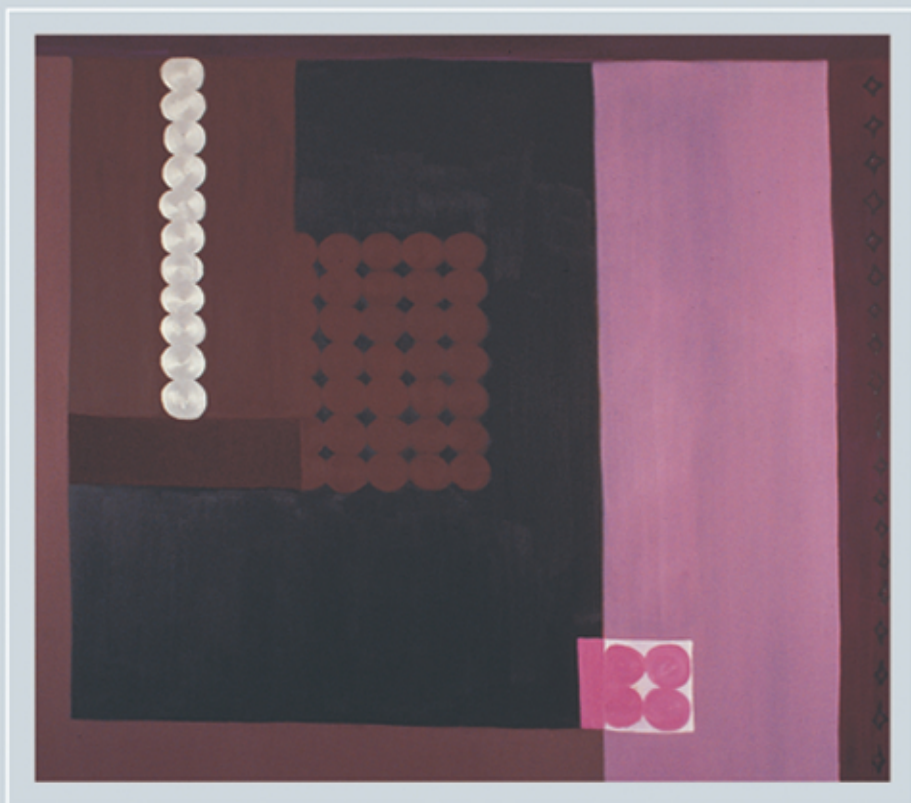


MARTHA C.
NUSSBAUM



UPHEAVALS
OF THOUGHT

THE INTELLIGENCE OF EMOTIONS

UPHEAVALS OF THOUGHT

Emotions shape the landscape of our mental and social lives. Like geological upheavals in a landscape, they mark our lives as uneven, uncertain, and prone to reversal. Are they simply, as some have claimed, animal energies or impulses with no connection to our thoughts? Or are they rather suffused with intelligence and discernment, and thus a source of deep awareness and understanding? If the latter, the emotions cannot be sidelined in accounts of ethical judgment, as they often have been in the history of philosophy. They must then form part of our system of ethical reasoning, and we must be prepared to grapple with the messy material of grief and love, anger and fear, and in so doing to learn what role these tumultuous experiences play in our thinking about the good and the just.

In her compelling new book, Martha C. Nussbaum presents a powerful argument for treating emotions not as alien forces but as highly discriminating responses to what is of value and importance. Beginning from an intensely personal experience of her own, the grief felt at the death of her mother, she explores and illuminates the structure of a wide range of emotions, in particular, compassion and love. She shows that there can be no adequate ethical theory without an adequate theory of the emotions, and that this involves understanding their cultural sources, their history in infancy and childhood, and their sometimes unpredictable and disorderly operations in our daily lives.

The range of reference in this book is remarkable. Nussbaum engages with recent research in psychology and anthropology, and examines what philosophers such as Plato, Augustine, and Spinoza have contributed on the subject. She also demonstrates through careful readings of Dante, Emily Brontë, Whitman, Proust, and Joyce, and musical works by Mahler, that a genuine grasp of the complex intelligence of emotions will lead us to reassess literary and musical works as sources of ethical education.

No professional in moral or political philosophy, psychology, anthropology, literary and religious studies, or music can afford to ignore this book. General, nonacademic readers interested in understanding the role of emotions will find here a lucid and stimulating account of a much-misunderstood subject.

Martha C. Nussbaum is Ernst Freund Distinguished Service Professor of Law and Ethics at the University of Chicago, appointed in the Philosophy Department, the Law School, the Divinity School, and the College. She is an Associate in the Classics Department, an Affiliate of the Committee for Southern Asian Studies, and a member of the Board of the Committee on Gender Studies.

UPHEAVALS
OF THOUGHT
The Intelligence of Emotions

MARTHA C. NUSSBAUM
The University of Chicago



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press
32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521531825

© Martha C. Nussbaum 2001

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2001
First paperback edition 2003
8th printing 2008

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Nussbaum, Martha Craven, 1947–
Upheavals of thought : the intelligence of emotions / Martha C. Nussbaum.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Emotions and cognition. 2. Emotions – Moral and ethical aspects.
3. Emotions – Sociological aspects. I. Title.
BF531 .N87 2001
152.4 – dc21 2001018087

ISBN: 978-0-521-53182-5

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for
the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or
third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication
and does not guarantee that any content on such
Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

For Cass

It is almost impossible to understand the extent to which this upheaval agitated, and by that very fact had temporarily enriched, the mind of M. de Charlus. Love in this way produces real geological upheavals of thought. In the mind of M. de Charlus, which only several days before resembled a plane so flat that even from a good vantage point one could not have discerned an idea sticking up above the ground, a mountain range had abruptly thrust itself into view, hard as rock – but mountains sculpted as if an artist, instead of taking the marble away, had worked it on the spot, and where there twisted about one another, in giant and swollen groupings, Rage, Jealousy, Curiosity, Envy, Hate, Suffering, Pride, Astonishment, and Love.

Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*

Thus, by being born we have made the step from an absolutely self-sufficient narcissism to the perception of a changing external world and the beginnings of the discovery of objects. And with this is associated the fact that we cannot endure the new state of things for long, that we periodically revert from it, in our sleep, to our former condition of absence of stimulation and avoidance of objects.

Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*

CONTENTS

Introduction	<i>page</i> 1
PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION	
1. Emotions as Judgments of Value	19
I. Need and Recognition	19
II. The Adversary: Intentionality, Belief, Evaluation	24
III. Necessity and Constituent Parthood	33
IV. Judging and Acknowledging, and Sufficient Conditions	37
V. Eudaimonism, Intensity, the Personal Point of View	49
VI. Are There Necessary Noncognitive Elements?	56
VII. Are There Other Cognitive Elements? Imagining the Object	64
VIII. Background and Situational, General and Concrete	67
IX. “Freshness” and the Diminution of Grief	79
X. Emotional Conflict	85
2. Humans and Other Animals: The Neo-Stoic View	
Revised	89
I. Animals Grieving	89
II. The Decline of Reductionist Theories of Emotion	93
III. The Resurgence of Intentionality: Seligman, Lazarus, Ortony, Oatley	100
IV. Nonreductionistic Physiological Accounts: LeDoux, Damasio	114
V. Animal Emotion in Narrative Form: Pitcher	119
VI. Revising the Neo-Stoic Account	125

CONTENTS

VII. Appetites, Moods, Desires for Action	129
VIII. Nonemotional Animals	137
3. Emotions and Human Societies	139
I. Grief and Social Norms	139
II. Human–Animal Differences: Time, Language, Norms	144
III. Sources of Social Variation	151
IV. Types and Levels of Variation	157
V. American Grief	165
VI. Culture and Understanding	169
4. Emotions and Infancy	174
I. The Shadow of the Object	174
II. The Golden Age: Helplessness, Omnipotence, Basic Needs	181
III. Early Emotions: “Holding,” Love, Primitive Shame	190
IV. Disgust and the Borders of the Body	200
V. Playing Alone, the Ambivalence Crisis, and the Moral Defense	206
VI. “Mature Interdependence” and the Facilitating Environment	224
VII. The Neo-Stoic View Revised Again	230
VIII. Imagination and Narrative	236
Interlude: “Things Such as Might Happen”	238
5. Music and Emotion	249
I. Expression and the Implied Listener	249
II. A Dilemma and Three Responses	254
III. Music as Dream	265
IV. Music and Human Possibilities	271
V. The <i>Kindertotenlieder</i> : Loss and Helplessness	279

PART II: COMPASSION

6. Compassion: Tragic Predicaments	297
I. Emotions and Ethical Norms	297
II. The Cognitive Structure of Compassion	304
III. Empathy and Compassion	327

CONTENTS

IV. Compassion and Altruism	335
V. Impediments to Compassion: Shame, Envy, Disgust	342
VI. Compassion and Tragedy	350
7. Compassion: The Philosophical Debate	354
I. Compassion and Reason	354
II. Three Classic Objections	356
III. Mercy without Compassion	364
IV. Valuing External Goods	368
V. Partiality and Concern	386
VI. Revenge and Mercy	393
8. Compassion and Public Life	401
I. Compassion and Institutions	401
II. Victims and Agents	405
III. Getting the Judgments Right	414
IV. Implementing Rational Compassion: Moral and Civic Education	425
V. The Role of the Media	433
VI. Political Leaders	435
VII. Economic Thought: Welfare and Development	438
VIII. Legal Rationality: Equality, Criminal Sentencing	441

PART III: ASCENTS OF LOVE

9. Ladders of Love: An Introduction	457
I. Love at Balbec	457
II. A Disease and Its Cure	459
III. The Philosophers' Dilemma	463
IV. Pupils of the Ascent	471
V. The Neo-Stoic Theory and the Need for Narrative	472
VI. Normative Criteria	478
10. Contemplative Creativity: Plato, Spinoza, Proust	482
I. Contemplative Ascent	482
II. Aristophanes: Love and Original Wholeness	483
III. Diotima: Love as Creation in the Fine and Good	486
IV. Spinoza: The Bondage of the Passions	500
V. Spinoza: Freedom through Understanding	507

CONTENTS

VI. Proust: Using Individuals as Steps	511
VII. The Pursuit of Wholeness	519
11. The Christian Ascent: Augustine	527
I. Omnipotence and the Sin of Pride	527
II. Hunger and Thirst	528
III. The Platonic Ladder and Rational Self-Sufficiency	531
IV. Incompleteness and the Uncertainty of Grace	535
V. The Virtue of Longing	543
VI. The Merely Provisional World	547
12. The Christian Ascent: Dante	557
I. Signs of the Old Love	557
II. Agency and the Romance of Grace	564
III. Perceiving the Individual	571
IV. Christian Love Is Love	575
V. The Transformations of Beatitude	577
13. The Romantic Ascent: Emily Brontë	591
I. The Leap of Desire	591
II. Dark Outsiders	594
III. Lockwood's Shame	596
IV. Pity and Charity	602
V. Our Own Heart, and Liberty	605
VI. "Don't Let Me See Your Eyes"	608
VII. Phantoms of Thought	611
14. The Romantic Ascent: Mahler	614
I. The Hot Striving of Love	614
II. The Redeeming Word	615
III. For the Sake of Striving Itself	622
IV. The Self in Society	623
V. A Cry of Disgust	624
VI. I Will Not Be Warned Off	626
VII. The Unseen Light	631
VIII. Imagination and Justice	642
15. Democratic Desire: Walt Whitman	645
I. A Democracy of Love	645
II. "I Am He Attesting Sympathy"	646

CONTENTS

III. A Counter-Cosmos: The Democratic Body	655
IV. The Reclamation of the Body	658
V. Caressing Death	662
VI. Mourning the Sun	671
16. The Transfiguration of Everyday Life: Joyce	679
I. Scholastic Questions	679
II. The Holy Office	681
III. A Dividual Chaos	684
IV. "The Love that Might Have Been"	693
V. Bloom's Spinozistic Ascent	697
VI. The Female Word	702
VII. The Opposite of Hatred	708
VIII. Ascents of Love	710
<i>Bibliography</i>	715
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	735
<i>Name Index</i>	739
<i>Subject Index</i>	745

INTRODUCTION

Emotions shape the landscape of our mental and social lives. Like the “geological upheavals” a traveler might discover in a landscape where recently only a flat plane could be seen, they mark our lives as uneven, uncertain, and prone to reversal. Why and how? Is it because emotions are animal energies or impulses that have no connection with our thoughts, imaginings, and appraisals? Proust denies this, calling the emotions “geological upheavals of thought.” In other words, what changes the Baron’s mind from a flat plane into a mountain range is not some subterranean jolt, but the thoughts he has about Charlie Morel, a person who has suddenly become central to his well-being, and whom he sees as inscrutable, undependable, and utterly beyond his control. It is these thoughts about value and importance that make his mind project outward like a mountain range, rather than sitting inert in self-satisfied ease.

A lot is at stake in the decision to view emotions in this way, as intelligent responses to the perception of value. If emotions are suffused with intelligence and discernment, and if they contain in themselves an awareness of value or importance, they cannot, for example, easily be sidelined in accounts of ethical judgment, as so often they have been in the history of philosophy. Instead of viewing morality as a system of principles to be grasped by the detached intellect, and emotions as motivations that either support or subvert our choice to act according to principle, we will have to consider emotions as part and parcel of the system of ethical reasoning. We cannot plausibly omit them, once we acknowledge that emotions include in their content judgments that can be true or false, and good or bad guides to ethical choice. We will have to grapple with the messy material of grief and love, anger and

INTRODUCTION

fear, and the role these tumultuous experiences play in thought about the good and the just.

To say that emotions should form a prominent part of the subject matter of moral philosophy is not to say that moral philosophy should give emotions a privileged place of trust, or regard them as immune from rational criticism: for they may be no more reliable than any other set of entrenched beliefs. There may even be special reasons for regarding them with suspicion, given their specific content and the nature of their history. It does mean, however, that we cannot ignore them, as so often moral philosophy has done. It means that a central part of developing an adequate ethical theory will be to develop an adequate theory of the emotions, including their cultural sources, their history in infancy and childhood, and their sometimes unpredictable and disorderly operation in the daily life of human beings who are attached to things outside themselves.

Proust's account of the Baron's mind issues a challenge to conventional ethical thought in yet another way. It tells us something about what texts we need to turn to if we are to arrive at an adequate account of the emotions. If emotions involve judgments about the salience for our well-being of uncontrolled external objects, judgments in which the mind of the judge is projected unstably outward into a world of objects, we will need to be able to imagine those attachments, their delight and their terror, their intense and even obsessive focusing on their object, if we are ever to talk well about love, or fear, or anger. But then it seems that we will have reason to turn to texts such as Proust's novel, which encourage us in such imaginings, deepening and refining our grasp of upheavals of thought in our own lives. If Proust is right, we will not understand ourselves well enough to talk good sense in ethics unless we do subject ourselves to the painful self-examination a text such as his can produce.

Furthermore, if emotions are as Proust describes them, they have a complicated cognitive structure that is in part narrative in form, involving a story of our relation to cherished objects that extends over time. Ultimately, we cannot understand the Baron's love, for example, without knowing a great deal about the history of patterns of attachment that extend back into his childhood. Past loves shadow present attachments, and take up residence within them. This, in turn, suggests that in order to talk well about them we will need to turn to texts that

INTRODUCTION

contain a narrative dimension, thus deepening and refining our grasp of ourselves as beings with a complicated temporal history. It is for this reason that Proust's narrator comes to believe that certain truths about the human being can be told only in literary form. If we accept his view of what emotions are, we should agree, to the extent of making a place for literature (and other works of art) within moral philosophy, alongside more conventional philosophical texts. Once again: an account of human reasoning based only upon abstract texts such as are conventional in moral philosophy is likely to prove too simple to offer us the type of self-understanding we need.

Some of these claims might be maintained even by people who think of emotions as totally noncognitive: even such people might think that we need to understand human psychology better than we often do in order to write well about ethics. But if a cognitive/evaluative theory of emotions is correct, these claims have a particular salience: for what they mean is that not just a psychological adjunct to emotional thought, but a part of ethical thought itself will be omitted with the omission of emotions. Emotions are not just the fuel that powers the psychological mechanism of a reasoning creature, they are parts, highly complex and messy parts, of this creature's reasoning itself.

Thus a theoretical account of emotions is not only that: it has large consequences for the theory of practical reason, for normative ethics, and for the relationship between ethics and aesthetics. Such an account has consequences for political thought as well: for understanding the relationship between emotions and various conceptions of the human good will inform our deliberations as we ask how politics might support human flourishing. If we think of emotions as essential elements of human intelligence, rather than just as supports or props for intelligence, this gives us especially strong reasons to promote the conditions of emotional well-being in a political culture: for this view entails that without emotional development, a part of our reasoning capacity as political creatures will be missing.

In the first part of the book I shall develop a conception of the emotions that fleshes out the insight expressed in Proust's description, suggesting that diverse phenomena of our emotional life are well explained by a view that has its antecedents in the ideas of the ancient Greek Stoics.

INTRODUCTION

This view holds that emotions are appraisals or value judgments, which ascribe to things and persons outside the person's own control great importance for that person's own flourishing.¹ It thus contains three salient ideas: the idea of a *cognitive appraisal* or *evaluation*; the idea of *one's own flourishing* or *one's important goals and projects*; and the idea of the *salience of external objects as elements in one's own scheme of goals*. Emotions typically combine these ideas with information about events in the world; they are our ways of registering how things are with respect to the external (i.e., uncontrolled)² items that we view as salient for our well-being. Focusing on a complex example of grief involving the death of a parent (an example chosen because of its ubiquity, as an apt device for encouraging readers to mine their own experiences of grief), I shall show how this particular type of cognitive account does justice to our experiences of emotion.

My strategy is to state the view initially in a relatively simple form, providing it with a preliminary defense (Chapter 1). Once we have seen its general structure, we can then consider several modifications that it needs to undergo in order to become more adequate. These modifications were not made by the Stoics themselves (so far as we know from the fragments of their work on this topic that survive). The view undergoes refinement and reshaping in four distinct stages. By the time we are finished with it, a general core will remain, but it will be a lot more subtle than the view first announced. The view that emerges may justly be called neo-Stoic, and I shall often use this term. But it has an independent character, emphasizing, as it does, the commonality between humans and other animals, the role of social norms, and the complexities of an individual human history.

To modify the view, we need, first, simply to elaborate it further, taking up issues the Stoics are not known to have addressed. We need to consider the role of imagination in emotions of various types. We need to make distinctions between general and particular emotions,

1 This analysis of emotion in no way entails the Stoics' controversial normative view that the evaluations involved in emotions are all false. It is this view that explains their recommendation that we extirpate all emotions, seeking an undisturbed life. For exegesis of both the analysis and the normative view, see Nussbaum (1994); for the normative view, and my critique of it, see Chapter 7.

2 Externality is a metaphorical way of referring to the fact that these elements are not securely controlled by the person's own will; in that sense many things inside the person's own body (health and disease, for example) are "external."

INTRODUCTION

and between “background” and “situational” emotions. We need to ask how the diminution of grief over time can be explained within a cognitive/evaluative theory. We need to ask carefully whether all the evaluations involved in emotion do indeed relate to uncontrolled “external goods,” and whether the object of emotion is always valued for some relation it bears to one’s own flourishing. And, finally, we need to devote a good deal of attention to the thorny question of whether there are elements other than cognitive attitudes that are involved in emotion: feelings, bodily movements, dense perceptions that are not exhausted by the emotion’s propositional content. In the latter half of the first chapter, I begin the refinement of the Stoic view – or, we might also say, the construction of a contemporary neo-Stoic view – by mapping out these further distinctions and confronting these further questions.

Second, any contemporary cognitive/evaluative view needs to advance a plausible account of the relationship between human emotions and the emotions of other animals. The original Stoics had an implausible account: they simply denied that nonhuman animals had emotions. This denial has led some thinkers to reject their view. But we need not take this course, since we may, instead, reject their low estimate of the intelligence of animals. At this point we need to turn to modern work in ethology and cognitive psychology, asking what forms of cognitive appraisal it is plausible to ascribe to animals of various types. I argue in Chapter 2 that we can give an adequate account of animal emotion in the general spirit of the Stoic view; but we need to broaden the Stoic account of evaluative cognition, focusing less on language and the acceptance of linguistically formulable propositions and more on the general ability to see X as Y, where Y involves a notion of salience or importance for the creature’s own well-being. At this point I also focus on some general issues of emotional content, addressing the connection between animal emotions and the perception of helplessness, arguing that emotional health requires the belief that one’s own voluntary actions will make a significant difference to one’s most important goals and projects.

At this point in the argument, we are also in a position to discuss three important distinctions that help us to map further the geography of the emotional life: distinctions between emotions and appetites, between emotions and moods, and between emotions and motives for

INTRODUCTION

action. Showing that the view can provide an adequate account of these distinctions helps to strengthen our claim that the view provides a good account of emotional experience. These discussions conclude Chapter 2.

But a contemporary cognitive/evaluative account also needs an adequate account of the role of diverse social norms in constructing a society's emotional repertory. The original Stoics gave an important place to social norms in their accounts of emotion, but they said nothing about how variations in norms entail variations in emotion. The third major modification we must make in the simple view first advanced is, then, to pursue this issue, offering a sensible account of the role of "social construction" in the emotional life. Anthropological studies of emotion have yielded rich material on emotional variety, which I draw on in the third chapter in order to pursue these issues. The simple view is transformed yet again: and yet its main features (its emphasis on appraisal and on the role of important goals and projects) remain constant.

The Greek and Roman Stoics had no apparent interest in childhood, nor did they ever ask how early experiences shape the mature emotional life. Indeed, they appear to have had the implausible view that children, like animals, do not have emotions. We can see that this was an error – that the "geological upheavals of thought" that constitute the adult experience of emotion involve foundations laid down much earlier in life, experiences of attachment, need, delight, and anger. Early memories shadow later perceptions of objects, adult attachment relations bear the traces of infantile love and hate. Although this narrative dimension is a ubiquitous part of adult emotional experience, and in that sense should be a part of the analysis from the beginning, it could not be adequately described before we had elaborated the second chapter's flexible account of cognition and the third chapter's account of social variation. At this point, however, we can ask how the human infant's combination of extreme neediness and cognitive maturity, of intense attachment and nascent separateness, shapes, for better or for worse, the geography of the emotional life. On these questions, rarely treated by philosophers and almost never treated well, a philosopher needs to turn to psychology and to literature for help. Recently there has been an unprecedented degree of convergence and even cooperation between cognitive psychologists and psychoanalysts, especially those in

INTRODUCTION

the object-relations tradition, where some of these issues are concerned. I draw on this material – but also, and centrally, on Proust, in some ways the most profound object-relations psychoanalyst of all. The simple view thus undergoes yet one more stage of modification – this one being perhaps the most dramatic.

My account of childhood emotions focuses on the role of the imagination in promoting a good outcome to early emotional crises. My later accounts of compassion and love develop this insight, focusing on the role of the arts in cultivating these emotions. The Interlude and Chapter 5 therefore turn to experiences of emotion we have in connection with works of art. The Interlude develops a general framework for thinking about emotions directed toward works of art. Chapter 5 then focuses on music, since this case is much more difficult to treat than the case of literature, and yet crucial if we are to satisfy ourselves that the account we are developing is on the right track. Music is an especially rich source of emotional experiences and has frequently been taken to offer us insight into the nature of the emotional life. Many cognitive/evaluative views of emotion have difficulty explaining these phenomena; I argue that mine does not, because of its flexible nonlinguistic account of cognition. Indeed, it enables us to cut through a dilemma that has vexed analysts of musical experience. Mahler's music, and his remarkably perceptive statements about his music, are my guides here, and I offer interpretations of two songs from the *Kindertotellieder* to show what the view can make of a complex case of the musical expression of grief, love, guilt, and helplessness.

Thus Part I ends: with a far more complicated version of the view first mapped out in Chapter 1 – incorporating nonlinguistic cognitions, social norms, and individual history – and with an example of the way that such a view can go to work explaining a harrowing and yet subtle experience.

It will be evident that Part I focuses on some emotions more than others. Grief plays an especially prominent role in all of the chapters, as do the closely related emotions of fear and hope. (The focus broadens in Chapter 4, when shame, disgust, envy, and anger all become prominent.) And yet, despite this focus on certain cases, it is also clear that my project is to construct an analytical framework for thinking

INTRODUCTION

about emotions in general. This procedure requires comment, because some would claim that there is no interesting common ground among such a wide range of phenomena.³ One can only defeat that kind of skepticism by forging ahead and proposing an account that is illuminating, and yet does not neglect significant differences among the emotions.⁴ Differences are repeatedly confronted by the fact that the account does draw on an increasingly wide range of cases as it goes along. Starting with a detailed mapping of a single type of emotion,⁵ it eventually includes analyses of many others. Parts II and III expand the range still further. I agree with the skeptical critic to the extent that I think any adequate account of emotions needs to go into complex details about the specific content of particular emotions; little of interest can be said without that. Nonetheless, when we do get into the analysis of particular emotions, we find that there are close relationships among them, both conceptual and causal, that we need to trace if we are to have a good understanding even of the specific varieties.

We will find, too, that the common ground within the class of emotions is actually greater than we might suppose if we simply looked at our casual and frequently loose use of words such as “feeling,” “emotion,” and “passion.” Although, as I shall describe shortly, I do rely on people’s ability to classify pretty reliably experiences of a particular type of emotion, even here my methodology makes room for error that will ultimately be corrected in dialogue with a theoretical account. Where large generic categories are concerned, ordinary use seems to me far less precise and thus less reliable than it is with the particular categories; so I will not take it for granted, for example, that every use of a term such as “feeling” designates a single phenomenon. There are multiple ambiguities in use, and a theory ought to be prepared to point this out.⁶ Such a critical theory can nonetheless arrive at an interesting

³ See Griffiths (1997).

⁴ See also Ben-Ze’ev (2000), Solomon (1999).

⁵ Of course, each single type has tremendous internal variety, as my account stresses. I argue in Chapters 3 and 4 that social norms and personal history are sources of great diversity in the experience of grief.

⁶ It is particularly odd that Griffiths, who is a stern critic of the reliance on ordinary use and ordinary conceptions, should rely on them himself in a quite uncritical way when arguing that the category “emotion” contains such great heterogeneity that no interesting single account is possible. He uses the word quite loosely in order to establish that the things falling under it are multiple and not unified; and yet it is he who holds that our loose use is to be distrusted.

INTRODUCTION

unified account of a core group of phenomena that do have significant commonalities. The reader must judge whether the theory has sufficient flexibility to explore differences among the different emotions, and among different experiences of a given emotion, while retaining enough definiteness to illuminate the diverse phenomena.⁷

What, then, is the starting point of the investigation? It is plain that it must be experience. Moreover, even when, as here, the results of scientific investigations are prominently consulted, the terrain of the *explanandum* has to be identified in some way that is, at least initially, independent of the explanatory theories scientists bring forward. Thus scientists who investigate the emotions typically rely on their subjects' (and their readers') ability to identify experientially instances of a given emotion, and to name them pretty reliably. The whole enterprise is one of establishing correlations – between a neural phenomenon, say, and the emotion of grief. So instances of grief have to be identified in some other way, usually by self-report. It is difficult to see how even the most parsimonious scientist could proceed otherwise: without experiential classification and the subsequent correlation, we would have simply a description of neural activity, and it would not hook onto any question that scientists typically ask. In a similar way, my own account assumes the general ability of readers to identify and classify instances of emotions such as grief, fear, and envy; intuitive judgments about these cases are consulted throughout, along with the results of philosophical and scientific investigations.

Two qualifications, however, must be firmly entered at this point. First, relying on people's ability to classify instances of emotion does not mean relying on people's theories about what emotions are.⁸ Consider field linguists: they rely on the ability of their subjects to identify more or less correctly instances of proper and improper use. They do not rely on their ability to construct a correct theory of the language in

⁷ Admittedly, it is not always easy to draw a line between emotions and other closely related experiences, such as moods and appetites. The distinctions are slippery, and some cases may be genuinely indeterminate. This situation obtains, however, with many complex phenomena of human experience that philosophers try to investigate. Concepts such as belief and consciousness, virtue and justice, look far more difficult to specify in any interestingly unified way. And yet this has not stopped philosophers from investigating commonalities and saying things that are genuinely illuminating as a result.

⁸ Surprisingly, Griffiths (1997) does not seem to notice this distinction; his attack on "folk psychology" would appear to cover intuitions of both types.

INTRODUCTION

question, and of course it would be ludicrous to rely on that. Most people have no idea how to write the grammar of their language, although it is to their competence that any grammar must be accountable. Consider, again, the career of Socrates. His procedure, as Plato records it, relied on the ability of his interlocutors to identify, more or less correctly, instances of a given virtue. Candidate definitions of courage, or justice, are standardly attacked by discovering what both Socrates and the interlocutor consider to be a genuine case of the virtue, not covered by the definition – or else by finding that the definition covers phenomena that neither Socrates nor the interlocutor is prepared to count as a genuine case of the virtue. What his procedure reveals is that people are more reliable when they are grouping instances than when they are trying to give them a theoretical explanation. That is not surprising, because the identification of instances is a ubiquitous part of their lives, part of being a competent speaker of that language and participant in that culture – whereas theory construction is usually something to which they have devoted no sustained thought at all. My procedure, then, is Socratic: it relies on the ability of readers to identify the instances that constitute the range of the *explanandum*, but it does not rely on them to produce good explanations. Indeed, my own explanation seems quite counterintuitive to start with, just as do many Socratic definitions. My hope is that it will ultimately seem convincing as a valuable explanatory theory.

Second, relying on people's ability to be generally correct in classifying phenomena does not mean assuming that they are always correct.⁹ If I am searching for a scientific definition of water, I will have to begin somewhere: presumably, with instances of water identified by competent speakers of the language. But once I get the definition, in terms of a chemical analysis of water, the phenomena will need to be regrouped: if the speakers didn't know that ice was an instance of the same chemical compound, their classifications will have to be corrected. A core range of phenomena will have to remain, or else we will wonder whether the explanation is really explaining the thing that we began to investigate.¹⁰ But it is only natural – given that people, as I've

⁹ Again, the possibility of an account of emotion that is both responsive to experience and critical seems to be ignored by Griffiths, in his contemptuous dismissal of most philosophical work on the topic.

¹⁰ That is the problem that has often been found in Plato's *Republic*: some interpreters hold that Socrates' definition of justice in terms of the order of the soul has moved so

INTRODUCTION

said, are often less than thoughtful about their classifications – that they will not draw all the boundaries in the right places, and that this error will be revealed by a correct account.

In this way, I will start from instances of emotion as people identify them in daily life, but I will ultimately argue that we should admit other instances that are not always correctly identified: an ongoing fear of death, for example, that persists unnoticed in the fabric of one's life, explaining many actions and reactions; a submerged anger at a loved one, which is not acknowledged as such, but emerges in the form of depression – a depression that seems like an objectless mood, but that turns out, on inspection, to be the legacy of a childhood loss. In such cases, I do believe that we need to return, at the end, to people and their judgments: we need to be able to show people that positing a fear of death is a good way of unifying diverse experiences in the given case, and explaining actions that otherwise would not be so well explained. If we do not come back to the phenomena with a sense of new illumination, then our own explanatory account is in trouble. Nonetheless, we should insist that philosophy may, indeed should, be responsive to human experience and yet critical of the defective thinking it sometimes contains.

Part I says little about normative questions. Establishing that the emotions have rich cognitive/intentional content helps dispel one objection to them as elements in deliberation, namely the objection that they are blind forces that have no selectivity or intelligence about them. But this is hardly the only objection that one might make. Seeing the emotions as forms of evaluative thought shows us that the question about their role in a good human life is part and parcel of a general inquiry into the good human life. One cannot, then, say what role emotions should play in morality (or in the nonmoral aspects of a good life) without defending an overall normative view. To defend such an overall view is beyond the scope of this project. It also goes against its spirit, which is to show what emotions may offer to views of a number of different types.

Nonetheless, it still seems right to ask whether there is anything

far away from the range of cases that the interlocutors initially used to locate justice that he has really defined a different concept. I think this charge can be answered – but not here!

INTRODUCTION

about emotions as such that makes them subversive of morality (or, in other ways, of human flourishing). If lack of discrimination or intelligence is not a fair complaint, are there other general complaints against emotions that should trouble us? In answering this question I make some assumptions about what an adequate normative view should be like. In particular, I assume that an adequate view should make room for mutual respect and reciprocity; that it should treat people as ends rather than as means, and as agents rather than simply as passive recipients of benefit; that it should include an adequate measure of concern for the needs of others, including those who live at a distance; and that it should make room for attachments to particular people, and for seeing them as qualitatively distinct from one another. These characteristics are left deliberately vague and general, in order to show that they can be exemplified by a number of different normative theories, and also (a separate point) that they can be further specified in many different ways.

To someone with these concerns (which a philosopher could associate either with a liberal brand of Aristotelianism or with a flexible virtue-oriented type of Kantianism), the emotions as I characterize them in Part I pose three problems. First, insofar as they involve acknowledgment of neediness and lack of self-sufficiency, emotions reveal us as vulnerable to events that we do not control; and one might hold that including a large measure of uncontrol in one's conception of a good life compromises too deeply the dignity of one's own agency. This is the reason why the original Stoics linked their extremely shrewd analysis of the emotions, which I follow here, to a radical normative thesis, that it is best to extirpate the emotions completely from human life. I do not accept that normative thesis here. I proceed on the assumption that at least some things and persons outside one's own control have real worth. But the Stoic challenge, drawing as it does on an attractive picture of agency and its integrity, raises questions that must be answered, in connection with any normative thesis that one does defend.

Second, emotions focus on our own goals, and they represent the world from the point of view of those goals and projects, rather than from a strictly impartial viewpoint. Moreover, they develop in connection with extremely close and intimate attachments, and my historical account suggests that these early, very particular attachments shadow later object relations. So the emotions seem to be too partial or unbal-

INTRODUCTION

anced, and one might suppose that we could do better with the guidance of more detached forms of reasoning. Again, this issue will be handled differently by different normative theories; but it is one that any theory meeting my thin constraints needs to worry about, since we do want to provide a basis for respect for the dignity of agency and for concern about human need.

Third, emotions seem to be characterized by ambivalence toward their objects. In the very nature of our early object relations, I argue in Chapter 4, there lurks a morally subversive combination of love and resentment, which springs directly from the thought that we need others to survive and flourish, but do not at all control their movements. If love is in this way always, or even commonly, mixed up with hatred, then, once again, this might offer us some reasons not to trust to the emotions at all in the moral life, but rather to the more impersonal guidance of rules of duty. Chapter 4 also offers some preliminary reflections about how these problems might be overcome, developing a tentative account of psychological health that involves a willingness to live in interdependence with others. But this norm remains fragile and elusive; and to that extent the role of emotions in the good ethical life remains unclear.

Part II and Part III investigate these three objections, but they do not do so in a linear way. Instead, using the account of emotions in Part I as a basis, they focus on two emotions that seem particularly pertinent in crafting a reply: compassion and love. There would be indefinitely many ways of investigating connections between emotions and morality; and a general discussion of this question could easily come to lack the kind of specificity and detail that would make such an account valuable. So my choice has been to narrow my scope, both by focusing on these two emotions (although others, such as shame and disgust, also play an important role in my account), and by talking about them in a way that is sometimes indirect and unsystematic, focusing on the analysis of historical debates and the interpretation of texts.

Compassion is an emotion that has often been relied on to hook our imaginations to the good of others and to make them the object of our intense care. In Chapter 6 I investigate the structure of that emotion, asking what prospects and problems it contains for morality. In Chapter 7 I turn to historical texts, tracing the ways in which all of my three objections have been raised in debates about the social role of compas-

INTRODUCTION

sion. I discuss arguments favorable and unfavorable to that emotion made by thinkers including Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Adam Smith, Rousseau, Kant, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche. I then assess the historical debate, examining each of the three objections in turn and concluding with a complex and highly qualified defense of that emotions' social role. Despite its potential for unevenness and partiality, I argue, compassion can be an invaluable way of extending our ethical awareness and of understanding the human meaning of events and policies. In Chapter 8 I propose some roles that compassion, in partnership with an adequate ethical theory, can play in the political life.

But defending compassion from the moral point of view is a relatively straightforward task. Far harder is the defense of the more intense and ambivalent emotions of the personal life, which are more thoroughly shaped by early object relations, with their intense delight and terror, their jealousy and frustration. Personal love has typically been thought too wonderful to remove from human life; but it has also been seen (not only by philosophers) as a source of great moral danger because of its partiality and the extreme form of vulnerability it involves, which make a connection with jealousy and anger virtually inevitable. There are indefinitely many ways in which a philosophical project might investigate this issue. I have chosen to focus on accounts of the "ascent" or "ladder" of love within highly restricted portions of the Western philosophical/literary traditions, asking which reforms in the structure of love seem to promise solutions to these problems, and whether, in solving the problems, they still leave in place the elements of life that I have said an adequate account must include. These attempts can be divided into three families: Platonic, Christian, and Romantic. Each family makes proposals of real merit, and yet all of them, in some ways, climb so high above real life that there are real doubts about whether they actually include, as they claim to do, everything that has genuine worth. Moreover, as we shall see, some of their proposals actually reinforce elements in the history of childhood emotion that (as I argue earlier) are especially dangerous to morality: in particular, shame at the limitations of the body and envy of others who control what we wish to control but don't. In that sense they make things

INTRODUCTION

worse rather than better. In the last two chapters, I therefore turn to two attempts to surmount shame and envy, and to propose, in the process, an inversion of the canonical “ladder,” restoring our love and attention to the phenomena of daily life.

In Part III, I develop this argument through a focus on particular texts, some of them philosophical/religious (Plato, Augustine, Dante, Spinoza) but others literary (Proust, Emily Brontë, Whitman, Joyce) or even musical (Mahler) – although my way of addressing the literary and musical texts is to focus on the conversation they have (in both form and content) with the philosophical/religious tradition. Running through the concrete textual investigations, however, and connecting them, are my own questions about the role of emotions in the good life, as generated by the account in Part I. In that sense, Part III is less an exhaustive account of the texts than a philosophical meditation on them, with my own normative questions in mind. The turn to literature and music is significant in the light of the role played by the imagination in the account of childhood development and the account of compassion: any program for the ascent of love that is likely to prove valuable will involve cultivating this faculty, as well as the capacity for argument.

All the normative material in Parts II and III presupposes the analysis of Part I, and assumes, for purposes of the normative debate, that some such story about emotions and their development is true. The idea is to show that understanding the emotions (their relation to judgment, their evaluative dimensions, their childhood history) in this way raises a definite group of normative questions and problems, and also offers a set of resources for their solution. A different analysis of the emotions might leave some of the normative arguments of Parts II and III unchanged, but most of them would have to be heavily revised. (If we thought of the emotions as innate bodily processes, for example, proposals to modify them by altering our perceptions of objects would not seem feasible.) In that sense, the analysis of emotions does moral work: we see clearly what problems we do and don’t have on our hands, we adopt plausible rather than implausible pictures of ethical change, and we understand (in connection with our normative arguments) what it

INTRODUCTION

might mean for a political community to extend to its citizens the social bases of imaginative and emotional health.

It is sometimes supposed that cognitive views of emotion are “Apollinian,” leaving out what is messy and ungovernable in the life of the passions.¹¹ I hope to show that this criticism is misguided – or at least that it would not be correct to aim it at my view. As the passage from Proust indicates, thinking of emotions as thoughts hardly leaves out what is sometimes unsettling, indeed excruciating, about them. Indeed, I suspect that the criticism should be aimed the other way around. If we really were to think of emotions as like bodily tugs or stabs or flashes, then we would precisely leave out what is most disturbing about them. How simple life would be, if grief were only a pain in the leg, or jealousy but a very bad backache. Jealousy and grief torment us mentally; it is the thoughts we have about objects that are the source of agony – and, in other cases, delight. Even the grief and love of animals, as I shall argue, is a function of their capacity for thoughts about objects that they see as important to their well-being. But the peculiar depth and the potentially terrifying character of the human emotions derives from the especially complicated thoughts that humans are likely to form about their own need for objects, and about their imperfect control over them.

As Freud writes, in my second epigraph, the story of human birth is the story of the emergence of a sentient being from the womb of secure narcissism to the sharp perception that it is cast adrift in a world of objects, a world that it has not made and does not control. In that world, the infant is aware of being an unusually weak and helpless being. Bodily pain is nothing by contrast to the terrifying awareness of helplessness, close to unendurable without the shelter of a womblike sleep. When we wake up, we have to figure out how to live in that world of objects. Without the intelligence of the emotions, we have little hope of confronting that problem well.

11 This term is used by Blackburn (1998), p. 89; but the sentiment is more broadly shared.

PART I

NEED AND
RECOGNITION

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

Emotions, I shall argue, involve judgments about important things, judgments in which, appraising an external object as salient for our own well-being, we acknowledge our own neediness and incompleteness before parts of the world that we do not fully control. I therefore begin with a story of such evaluations, a story involving fear, and hope, and grief, and anger, and love.

I. NEED AND RECOGNITION

In April 1992 I was lecturing at Trinity College, Dublin.¹ Because my mother was in the hospital convalescing after a serious but routine operation, I phoned at regular intervals to get reports on her progress. One of these phone calls brought the news that she had had a serious complication during the night, a rupture of the surgical incision between her esophagus and her stomach. She had developed a massive internal infection and a fever, and, though she was receiving the best care in a fine hospital, her life was in jeopardy. This news felt like a nail suddenly driven into my stomach. With the help of my hosts I arranged to return on the next flight, which was not until the next day. That evening I delivered my scheduled lecture, on the subject of the emotions – a blueprint for the series of lectures on which this book is based. I was not the exuberant self-sufficient philosopher delivering a lecture – or rather, not only that – but at the same time a person invaded by the world, barely containing tears. That night I had a dream

¹ Nussbaum (1998) recasts this material in the form of a philosophical dialogue; ultimately the dialogue will be revised for a book that I am writing on the topic of the dialogue form.

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

in which my mother appeared in my room in Trinity College, in her hospital bed, very emaciated and curled into a fetal position. I looked at her with a surge of tremendous love and said, “Beautiful Mommy.” Suddenly she stood up, looking young and beautiful as in old photographs from the time when I was two or three. She smiled at me with her characteristically embracing wit, and said that others might call her wonderful, but she very much preferred to be called beautiful. I woke up and wept, knowing that things were not so.

During the transatlantic flight the next day, I saw, with hope, that image of health before me. But I also saw, more frequently, the image of her death, and my body wanted to interpose itself before that image, to negate it. With shaking hands I typed out paragraphs of a lecture on mercy, and the narrative understanding of criminal offenders. And I felt, all the while, a vague and powerful anger – at the doctors, for allowing this crisis to occur, at the flight attendants, for smiling as if everything were normal, above all at myself, for not having been able to stop this event from happening, or for not having been there with her when it did.

Arriving in Philadelphia I called the hospital’s intensive care unit and was told by the nurse that my mother had died twenty minutes earlier. My sister, who lived there, had been with her and had told her that I was on my way. The nurse invited me to come over and see her laid out. I ran through the littered downtown streets as if something could be done. At the end of a maze of corridors, beyond the cafeteria where hospital workers were laughing and talking, I found the surgical intensive care unit. There, ushered in by a nurse, I saw, behind a curtain, my mother in bed, lying on her back, as so often I had seen her lying asleep at home. She was dressed in her best robe, the one with the lace collar. Her makeup was impeccable. (The nurses, who were very fond of her, told me that they knew how important it had been to her always to have her lipstick on straight.) A barely visible tube went into her nose, but it was not hooked up to anything. I wept uncontrollably, while the nurses brought me glasses of water. An hour later I was on my way to my hotel in a hospital van, carrying her red overnight bag, with her clothes and the books I had given her to read in the hospital – strange relics that seemed to me not to belong in the world any more, as if they should have vanished with her life.

In the weeks that followed, I had periods of agonized weeping;

whole days of crushing fatigue; nightmares in which I felt altogether unprotected and alone, and seemed to feel a strange animal walking across my bed. I felt, again, anger – at the nurses for not prolonging her life until I arrived, although I knew that they were following her written instructions not to take “extraordinary measures”; at the doctors for letting a routine operation lead to catastrophe, although I had no reason to suspect malpractice; at people who phoned on business as if everything were normal, even though I knew they had no way of knowing otherwise. For it seemed appropriate to be angry, and not possible to be angry at mortality itself. Above all, I felt anger at myself for not being with her on account of my busy career and my unswerving determination to work, which had always caused me to see her less frequently than my sister had. And though I told myself that I had in fact seen her often in recent months and had checked her condition carefully with the doctors before going to Ireland, I blamed myself still, for all the inattentiveness and the anger and all the deficiencies in love that I could find in my history with her, and some that I may possibly have invented. As I completed my lecture about mercy and forgiveness, I blamed myself most acutely.

I did, however, complete my lecture, and delivered it shortly after traveling with my daughter to the funeral. And I noticed this: that the ongoing structure of daily life with my daughter, with my work, with friends and colleagues and people I love, the relatively unaltered structure of my expectations as to what would happen in that daily life the next day and the next, made the grief less chaotic for me than it was for my sister, who had lived close to my mother and seen her almost every day. Although I believe we loved her equally, there was an asymmetry in the way life dealt with that love, and this brought about an apparent asymmetry in emotional duration. On the other hand, although my present life was less disrupted I had the odd sensation of having been robbed of a history, of being no longer a person who had a family history. For this reason the sight of my ex-husband, arriving at the funeral, filled me with joy, because I could recognize in him twenty years of life with my mother, and knew that he could recognize it in me, and prove that it had existed. At the funeral the speeches of many whose lives she had helped also gave me joy, since they proved the continuity of her influence in the world. And the exertion of something like my usual professional activity, as I gave a speech on behalf

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

of the family, made me feel less helpless, although I viewed this very fact with suspicion, as a possible sign of deficiency in love.

In this story we see several features of the emotions that it will be the business of my argument to try to explain: their urgency and heat; their tendency to take over the personality and to move it to action with overwhelming force; their connection with important attachments, in terms of which a person defines her life; the person's sense of passivity before them; their apparently adversarial relation to "rationality" in the sense of cool calculation or cost-benefit analysis; their close connections with one another, as hope alternates uneasily with fear, as a single event transforms hope into grief, as grief, looking about for a cause, expresses itself as anger, as all of these can be the vehicles of an underlying love.

In the light of all these features, it might seem very strange to suggest that emotions are forms of judgment. And yet it is something close to this thesis that I shall defend. I shall argue that all of these features not only are compatible with, but actually are best explained by, a modified version of the ancient Greek Stoic view, according to which emotions are forms of evaluative judgment that ascribe to certain things and persons outside a person's own control great importance for the person's own flourishing. Emotions are thus, in effect, acknowledgments of neediness and lack of self-sufficiency. My aim in Part I is to examine this view and the arguments that support it, adding some further distinctions and arguments to the original view.²

2 Some elements of a related philosophical position are in Lyons (1980), Gordon (1987), and de Sousa (1987). None of these, however, stresses the evaluative nature of the emotions' cognitive content. That aspect of emotions was already stressed in Pitcher (1965), one of the earliest and most forceful critiques of the dominant Humean view, and still one of the most interesting accounts of the emotions' intentionality; see also Kenny (1963), Thalberg (1964). Another pioneering work that stresses the connection of emotions to values is Solomon (1976, 2nd ed. 1993). Solomon also stresses the intentionality characteristic of emotions (pp. 111–19) and criticizes dominant "hydraulic" and "feeling" models (pp. 77–88, 96–102). But his approach is in other respects very different from the one taken here. Heavily influenced by existentialism, he thinks of emotions as involving value-positings that are willed and altogether subjective, and therefore speaks of emotions as "the source of our values" and things that "create our interests and our purposes," or even "constitute our world" (all p. 15). My approach does not take a stand one way or another on the nature of value, but tries to present the valuational nature of our appraisals from the internal viewpoint of the person having

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

As I shall argue in Chapter 2, we need to substitute a broader and more capacious account of cognition for the original Stoic emphasis on the grasp of linguistically formulable propositions. This modification is necessary in order to give an adequate account of animal emotions, of the emotions of human infants, and also of many emotions of adult human beings. Other modifications will involve investigating the role of social norms in emotions (Chapter 3), and providing an account of the development of emotions in infancy and early childhood (Chapter 4). Nonetheless, I shall argue that emotions always involve thought of an object combined with thought of the object's salience or importance; in that sense, they always involve appraisal or evaluation. I shall therefore refer to my view as a type of "cognitive-evaluative" view, and sometimes, more briefly, as a type of "cognitive" view. But by "cognitive" I mean nothing more than "concerned with receiving and processing information." I do not mean to imply the presence of elaborate calculation, of computation, or even of reflexive self-awareness.

My focus will be on developing an adequate philosophical account. But since any adequate account in this area must respond, I believe, not only to the data of one's own experience and to stories of the experience of others, but also to the best work done to systematize and account for emotional experience in the disciplines of psychology and anthropology, I shall turn, as well, to those disciplines, where it happens that views related to mine have recently been gaining the ascendancy – in cognitive psychology, in work on helplessness and control, and on emotion as "appraisal" of that which pertains to a creature's "thriving"; in anthropology, in work on emotion as an evaluative "social construction"; and in psychoanalysis, in work on early object relations and their evaluative dimensions.

Throughout, the *explananda* will be the genus of which some species

the emotional experience. More recently, Ben-Ze'ev (2000), in an excellent and wide-ranging book, has given appraisal a prominent role in his account, and has defended appraisal views against opponents. (See, in particular, his effective response on pp. 541–2, n. 49, to the objections against such views made by Griffiths [1997], with all points of which I am in strong agreement.) Although his account is more open-textured than the one to be presented here, and although he denies that the evaluative element is primary in distinguishing emotions from nonemotions (p. 70), he also grants, referring to the present book, that if the account of the appraisal or evaluation is sufficiently complex, his objections do not hold (p. 70 and p. 540, n. 44). Another significant recent account is Green (1992).

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

are grief, fear, love, joy, hope, anger, gratitude, hatred, envy, jealousy, pity, guilt. The members of this family are, I shall argue in Chapter 2, importantly distinct both from bodily appetites such as hunger and thirst and from objectless moods such as irritation and endogenous depression. There are numerous internal distinctions among members of the family; but they have enough in common to be analyzed together; and a long tradition in Western philosophy, beginning with Aristotle, has so grouped them. Nor is this grouping a peculiarity of the Western tradition: similar, though not identical, classifications also occur in other traditions of thought.³ We also find this grouping in everyday experience, where we do treat emotions differently than we do moods, appetites, and desires, although we may not have a good theoretical account of why we do so. Therefore, we have at least a roughly demarcated category of phenomena before us that can be scrutinized to see what their common features might be, although we should be prepared, as well, to find that the boundaries of the class are not clear and that there are noncentral cases that share only some of the features of the central cases.⁴ It is not to be expected that any explanatory theory will preserve all the phenomena intact; but my assumption will be that a criterion of correctness for a theory on this topic is that it should preserve the truth of the “greatest number and the most basic” of these experiences,⁵ and that it should be able to provide a convincing explanation for any errors in classification that it eventually ascribes to experience.

II. THE ADVERSARY: INTENTIONALITY, BELIEF, EVALUATION

The Stoic view of emotion has an adversary. It is the view that emotions are “non-reasoning movements,” unthinking energies that simply push the person around, without being hooked up to the ways in which

3 See Marks and Ames (1995) for Asian traditions. For conversations on this point about Chinese traditions I am indebted to Lothar von Falkenhausen, about Ghanaian traditions to Kwasi Wiredu, and about Balinese emotions to Unni Wikan (on whose work see further in Chapter 3). One salient feature of the Ghanaian tradition is that emotions are treated from the first as a sub-category of thought; this is apparently also the case in Bali.

4 See Pitcher (1965) for an excellent discussion of this issue.

5 See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1147a.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

she perceives or thinks about the world. Like gusts of wind or the currents of the sea, they move, and move the person, but obtusely, without vision of an object or beliefs about it. In this sense they are “pushes” rather than “pulls.” Sometimes this view is connected with the idea that emotions derive from an “animal” part of our nature, rather than from a specifically human part – usually by thinkers who do not have a high regard for animal intelligence. (I shall be arguing that animals are capable of a great deal of thought and discrimination, and that we have to invoke these capacities to explain their emotions.) Sometimes, too, the adversary’s view is connected with the idea that emotions are “bodily” rather than “mental,” as if this were sufficient to make them unintelligent rather than intelligent. Although I believe that emotions are, like other mental processes, bodily, I also believe, and shall argue, that seeing them as in every case taking place in a living body does not give us reason to reduce their intentional/cognitive components to nonintentional bodily movements.⁶ We probably do not have reason even to include in the definition of a given emotion-type reference to any definite bodily state – though this is a much more contentious point that will require further argument. Certainly we are not left with a choice between regarding emotions as ghostly spiritual energies and taking them to be obtuse nonseeing bodily movements, such as a leap of the heart, or the boiling of the blood. Living bodies are capable of intelligence and intentionality.

The adversary’s view is grossly inadequate, as we shall see. In that sense, it might seem to be a waste of time to consider it. The fact that it has until recently been very influential, both in empiricist-derived philosophy and in cognitive psychology⁷ – and through both of these

6 For my general position on mind/body reduction, see Nussbaum and Putnam (1992).

7 For a good account of why it assumed preeminence, see Deigh (1994), who argues that removing intentionality came to seem characteristic of modern scientific approaches, by contrast with their medieval predecessors. See the illuminating criticisms of both philosophical and psychological versions of the approach in Kenny (1963), who realizes that there is a close kinship between Humean philosophy and behaviorist psychology. See also the account of the “Traditional View” in Pitcher (1965); of the “hydraulic” and “feeling” models in Solomon (1976), pp. 77–88, 96–102; of feeling and behaviorist views in Lyons (1980), Chapter 1; and cf. also Green (1992). Hume’s own view is complex: see Davidson (1976) and Baier (1978). Kenny is certainly correct about some central passages, and these aspects of the view have had enormous influence; but Hume complicates his own account at crucial points, making it more plausible than some official statements suggest. A highly influential source of the adversary’s view, which I

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

in fields such as law and public policy⁸ – gives us somewhat more reason to spend time on it. An even stronger reason is given by the fact that the view, though inadequate, does capture some important aspects of emotional experience, aspects that need to figure in any adequate account. If we understand why the view has the power that it undeniably does, and then begin to see why and how further reflection moves us away from it, we will also understand what we must not ignore or efface in so moving away.

Turning back, now, to my account of my mother's death, we find that the "unthinking movements" view does appear to capture at least some of what went on: my feeling of terrible tumultuousness, of being at the mercy of currents that swept over me without my consent or complete understanding; the feeling of being buffeted between hope and fear, as if between two warring winds; the feeling that very powerful forces were pulling the self apart, or tearing it limb from limb; in short – the terrible power or urgency of the emotions, their problematic relationship to one's sense of self, the sense one has that one is passive or powerless before them. It comes as no surprise that even philosophers who argue for a cognitive view of emotion should speak of them this way: the Stoic philosopher Seneca, for example, is fond of comparisons of emotions to fire, to the currents of the sea, to fierce gales, to intruding forces that hurl the self about, cause it to explode, cut it up, tear it limb from limb.⁹ Such images, furthermore, are found in many cultural traditions, and thus cannot be explained away as idiosyncrasies of the Western tradition.¹⁰ It seems easy for the adversary's view to explain these phenomena: for if emotions are just unthinking forces

shall discuss further in Chapter 2, is Lange and James (1922). Psychoanalysis is another source of hydraulic and mechanist views of emotion: see Solomon (1976); Lyons (1980), Chapter 1; Kahan and Nussbaum (1996). In Chapter 4 I discuss psychoanalytic views that are not reductionistic in this way. For a very different nonreductionistic psychoanalytic view, see Wollheim (1999).

8 We see such views, for example, in the behaviorist psychology of Posner (1990), and to some extent in Posner (1992). For the role of such views in the criminal law, with many examples, see Kahan and Nussbaum (1996). The adversary's view is not the traditional common law view, but a recent incursion, under the influence of Humean and behaviorist psychology.

9 See Nussbaum (1994), Chapter 12, for discussion of these metaphors.

10 Lutz (1988) suggests that only the Western tradition treats emotions as forces of nature; but such metaphors are ubiquitous in poetry from India and China, in the African novel, and elsewhere.

that have no connection with our thoughts, evaluations, or plans, then they really are just like the invading currents of some ocean. And they really are, in a sense, nonself; and we really are passive before them. It seems easy, furthermore, for the adversary to explain their urgency: for once we imagine them as unthinking forces we can without difficulty imagine these forces as extremely strong.

By contrast, my neo-Stoic view appears to be in trouble on all of these points. For if emotions are a kind of judgment or thought, it seems difficult to account for their urgency and heat; thoughts are usually imagined as detached and calm. It seems difficult, too, to find in them the passivity that we undoubtedly experience: for judgments seem to be things that we actively make or do, not things that we suffer. And their ability to dismember the self also seems to be omitted: for thoughts are paradigmatic, it would seem, of what we control, and of the most securely managed parts of our identity. Let us now see what would cause us to move away from the adversary's view. Later on we shall see how a neo-Stoic view responds to our worries.

What, then, makes the emotions in my example unlike the thoughtless natural energies I have described? First of all, they are *about* something: they have an object. My fear, my hope, my ultimate grief, all are about my mother and directed at her and her life. A wind may hit against something, a current in the blood may pound against something: but they are not in the same way *about* the things they strike in their way. My fear's very identity as fear depends on its having some such object: take that away and it becomes a mere trembling or heart-leaping. The identity of the wind as wind does not in the same way depend on any particular object against which it may pound.¹¹

Second, the object is an *intentional* object: that is, it figures in the emotion as it is seen or interpreted by the person whose emotion it is. Emotions are not *about* their objects merely in the sense of being pointed at them and let go, the way an arrow is released toward its target. Their aboutness is more internal, and embodies a way of seeing. My fear perceived my mother both as tremendously important and as threatened; my grief saw her as valuable and as irrevocably cut off from me. (Both, we might add – beginning to approach the adversary's point about the self – contained a corresponding perception of myself

11 See Pitcher (1965) for an excellent formulation of this point.

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

and my life – as threatened in the one case, as bereft in the other.) This aboutness comes from my active ways of seeing and interpreting: it is not like being given a snapshot of the object, but requires looking at the object, so to speak, through one's own window.¹² This perception might contain an accurate view of the object, or it might not. (And indeed it might take as its target a real and present object, or it might also be directed at an object that is no longer in existence, or that has never existed at all. In this way, too, intentionality is distinct from a more mechanical sort of directedness.)¹³ Once again, we should insist that aboutness is part of the emotions' identity. What distinguishes fear from hope, fear from grief, love from hate – is not so much the identity of the object, which might not change, but the way in which the object is seen. In fear, one sees oneself or what one loves as seriously threatened. In hope, one sees oneself or what one loves as in some uncertainty but with a good chance for a good outcome.¹⁴ In grief, one sees an important object or person as lost; in love, as invested with a special sort of radiance. Again, the adversary's view proves unable to account either for the ways in which we actually identify and individuate emotions, or for a prominent feature of our experience of them.

Third, these emotions embody not simply ways of seeing an object, but beliefs – often very complex – about the object. (It is not always easy, or even desirable, to distinguish an instance of *seeing X as Y*, such as I have described here, from having a belief that X is Y. I shall deal with this issue in the next chapter; for now I continue to use the language of belief.) In order to have fear – as Aristotle already saw¹⁵ – I must believe that bad events are impending; that they are not trivially, but seriously bad; and that I am not entirely in control of warding them off.¹⁶ In order to have anger, I must have an even more complex

¹² See Solomon (1976), Pitcher (1965), and Lyons (1980), Chapter 9. Ben-Ze'ev (2000) has valuable discussions of this aspect of emotions throughout his book: see, for example, pp. 49–51, 106–9.

¹³ On the role of this independence of an actual object in the concept of intentionality, see Caston (1992).

¹⁴ Fear and hope can often involve the same set of facts, but differ in their focus – on the danger in the former case, on the possible good outcome in the latter. As Seneca said, "You will cease to fear if you cease to hope. Both belong to a mind that is in suspense . . ." (*Moral Epistle* 5.7–8, on which see Nussbaum [1994], p. 389).

¹⁵ *Rhetoric* II.5.

¹⁶ Aristotle adds that one has fear only when one believes there is some chance for escape (*Rhet.* II.5, 1383a5–6). One might argue with this one, thinking of the way in which

set of beliefs: that some damage has occurred to me or to something or someone close to me;¹⁷ that the damage is not trivial but significant; that it was done by someone; probably, that it was done willingly.¹⁸ It seems plausible to suppose that every member of this family of beliefs is necessary in order for anger to be present. If I should discover that not A but B had done the damage, or that it was not done willingly, or that it was not serious, we could expect my anger to modify itself accordingly, or go away.¹⁹ My anger at the flight attendants who smiled was quickly dissipated by the thought that they had done so without any thought of disturbing me or giving me offense.²⁰ Similarly, my fear would have turned to relief – as it so often has – had the medical news changed, or proved to be mistaken. Again, these beliefs are essential to the identity of the emotion: the feeling of agitation all by itself will not reveal to me whether what I am feeling is fear or grief or pity. Only an inspection of the thoughts discriminates. Nor is the thought purely a

one fears death even when one does know not just that it will occur but when. There is much to be said here: does even the man on death row ever know for sure that he will not get a reprieve? Does anyone ever know for sure what death consists in? And of course one never knows what death is like, or what may be beyond it. In that sense, there is always an element of uncertainty, since even the most determined atheist may hope for an afterlife. And yet Aristotle's assertion still seems too dogmatic: we fear bad things even when we know that they will happen. More precisely, we *dread* these things; if we should deny that dread is a species of fear, we might preserve Aristotle's claim. But I think we do think of dread as a type of fear.

- 17 Aristotle insists that the damage must take the form of a "slight," suggesting that what is wrong with wrongdoing is always that it shows a lack of respect (*Rhet.* II.2, 1378a31–3). This is a valuable and, I think, ultimately very plausible position for many cases, but I am not going to defend it here.
- 18 *Rhetoric* II.2–3. Aristotle adds that anger involves the thought that it would be good for the agent of the damage to be punished, and even that this is a pleasing thought (1378b1–2). The Stoics, similarly, categorize anger as an emotion involving thought about a future good event. This is plausible for some cases, but probably not for all. There may be genuine cultural difference between the *orgê* described by Aristotle and the anger described in my story; but in the anger I describe, the reactive side seems to be primary.
- 19 In my case, however, one can see that the very magnitude of an accidental grief sometimes prompts a search for someone to blame, even in the absence of any compelling evidence that there is a responsible agent involved. It seems better that there should be someone to blame than that the universe should be a place of accident in which one's loved ones are helpless. Blame is a valuable antidote to helplessness (see Chapter 2). One reason for our society's focus on anger associated with medical malpractice may be that there is often no way of proving that medical malpractice did not occur – so it becomes a useful target for those unwilling to blame hostile deities or evil spirits.
- 20 Anger at oneself is a more intractable phenomenon, since it is rarely about only the events at hand (see Chapter 4).

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

heuristic device that reveals what I am feeling, where feeling is understood as something without thought. For it seems necessary to put the thought into the definition of the emotion itself. Otherwise, we seem to have no good way of making the requisite discriminations among emotion types. Here again, then, the adversary's view is too simple: severing emotion from belief, it severs emotion from what is not only a necessary condition of itself, but also a part of its very identity.

Finally, we notice something marked in the intentional perceptions and the beliefs characteristic of the emotions: they are concerned with *value*, they see their object as invested with value or importance. Suppose that I did not love my mother or consider her a person of great importance; suppose I considered her about as important as a branch on a tree next to my house. Then (unless I had invested the tree-branch itself with an unusual degree of value) I would not fear her death, or hope so passionately for her recovery. My experience records this in many ways – not least in my dream, in which I saw her as beautiful and wonderful and, seeing her that way, wished her restored to health and wit. And of course in the grief itself there was the same perception – of enormous significance, permanently removed. This indeed is why the sight of the dead body of someone one loves is so intolerable: because the same sight that is a reminder of value is also an evidence of irrevocable loss.²¹

The value perceived in the object appears to be of a particular sort. It appears to make reference to the person's own flourishing. The object

21 One might wonder how value is being defined here, and whether it will not need to be defined with reference to emotion, thus creating a troublesome (though not necessarily vicious) circle. (For one version of this objection, see Gibbard [1990], pp. 130–1.) But this need not be so. Emotion judgments are a subclass of value judgments, on my view. They pertain to objects that figure in the person's own scheme of goals and projects – and, in central cases, to objects that are seen as not fully controlled by the person. There will therefore be other value judgments that won't involve emotion, and even other judgments involving the notion of the human good. For example, I might think that intellectual activity is a human good; for myself, however, I specify this good by doing philosophy; my attitude toward mathematics will be that it is very valuable, but I have no emotions about it one way or another, given that it isn't an important part of my life. Again, I might, as a musician, think that Indian classical music is very valuable – and yet have no emotions about it or its pursuit; I just don't know very much about it, I am not engaged in it. How to define value is yet another matter, not exactly the easiest definitional question in philosophy. We might mention notions of what's worth pursuing, what is a good use of someone's time, what it seems good to do or attend to.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

of the emotion is seen as *important* for some role it plays in the person's own life.²² I do not go about fearing any and every catastrophe anywhere in the world, nor (so it seems) do I fear any and every catastrophe that I know to be bad in important ways. What inspires fear is the thought of damages impending that cut to the heart of my own cherished relationships and projects. What inspires grief is the death of someone beloved, someone who has been an important part of one's own life. This does not mean that the emotions view these objects simply as tools or instruments of the agent's own satisfaction: they may be invested with intrinsic worth or value, as indeed my mother surely was. They may be loved for their own sake, and their good sought for its own sake. But what makes the emotion center around this particular mother, among all the many wonderful people and mothers in the world, is that she is *my* mother, a part of my life. The emotions are in this sense localized: they take their stand in my own life, and focus on the transition between light and darkness there, rather than on the general distribution of light and darkness in the universe as a whole. Even when they are concerned with events that take place at a distance, or events in the past, that is, I think, because the person has managed to invest those events with a certain importance in her own scheme of ends and goals. The notion of *loss* that is central to grief itself has this double aspect: it alludes to the value of the person who has left or died, but it alludes as well to that person's relation to the perspective of the mourner.

Another way of putting this point – to which I shall often return – is that the emotions appear to be *eudaimonistic*,²³ that is, concerned with the person's flourishing. And thinking for a moment about ancient Greek eudaimonistic ethical theories will help us to start thinking about the geography of the emotional life. In a eudaimonistic ethical theory,

22 On this aspect, see Lazarus (1991), to be further discussed in Chapter 2. Solomon (1976) holds that the goal of emotions is always to “maximize” “personal dignity and self-esteem” (see pp. 160, 181). This, I think, makes them far too egoistic, and my own account should be sharply distinguished from this one. Even compassion, as I argue in Chapter 6, is always eudaimonistic; but it can include the well-being of distant others as an element of value in my scheme of ends and purposes.

23 I retain this spelling, rather than using the English word “eudaemonistic,” because I want to refer directly to the ancient Greek concept of *eudaimonia*, which is compatible with as many distinct conceptions of what that good is as one cares to propose; the English word has acquired associations with one specific type of view, namely, the view that the supreme good is happiness or pleasure.

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

the central question asked by a person is, “How should a human being live?” The answer to that question is the person’s conception of *eudaimonia*, or human flourishing, a complete human life. A conception of *eudaimonia* is taken to be inclusive of all to which the agent ascribes intrinsic value: if one can show someone that she has omitted something without which she would not think her life complete, then that is a sufficient argument for the addition of the item in question.²⁴ Now the important point is this: in a eudaimonistic theory, the actions, relations, and persons that are included in the conception are not all valued simply on account of some instrumental relation they bear to the agent’s satisfaction. This is a mistake commonly made about such theories, under the influence of Utilitarianism and the misleading use of “happiness” as a translation for *eudaimonia*.²⁵ Not only virtuous actions but also mutual relations of civic or personal love and friendship, in which the object is loved and benefited for his or her own sake, can qualify as constituent parts of a person’s *eudaimonia*.²⁶ On the other hand, they are valued as constituents of a life that is my life and not someone else’s, as my actions, as people who are in some relation with me.²⁷ For example, an Aristotelian really pursues social justice as a good in its own right: that is why she has put it into her conception of *eudaimonia*. She doesn’t want just any old conception, she wants the one that values things aright, in the way that a human being ought to. Once she puts it into her conception, however, she both seeks the intrinsic good of justice and seeks to be a person who performs just actions for their own sake. It is not irrelevant to her that *she* get to perform those actions; if she is in prison and unable to act, she will view her life as incomplete. Her own presence in the action is ethically salient, although she does not view the action as simply a means to her own states of satisfaction. This, it seems, is what emotions are like.

24 On this see Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I; and for a particular case, IX.9, on the value of *philia*. For an excellent discussion of this aspect of Aristotle’s view, see Williams (1962).

25 For the misreading, and a brilliant correction, see Prichard (1935) and Austin (1970). “Happiness” is misleading if it is taken to suggest that the end or goal is a state of pleasure or contentment. As Austin shows, the English word once had a wider range, inclusive of fine actions that brought no pleasure in their train.

26 For a good account of this, where *philia* is concerned, see Cooper (1980).

27 The contrast between such eudaimonistic and more impartialist views is brought out, and distinguished from the contrast between egoism and altruism, in Williams (1973).

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

They insist on the real importance of their object, but they also embody the person's own commitment to the object as a part of her scheme of ends. This is why, in the negative cases, they are felt as tearing the self apart: because they have to do with me and my own, my plans and goals, what is important in my own conception (or more inchoate sense) of what it is for me to live well.²⁸

There is much more to be said about types and levels of eudaimonism, and about the relationship between the self-referential element (the "my" in "my plans and goals") and the element of general evaluation (that the object is important, or valuable) in emotions of many types; we shall return to these issues in section V. For now, I simply insist that emotions look at the world from the subject's own viewpoint, mapping events onto the subject's own sense of personal importance or value.

III. NECESSITY AND CONSTITUENT PARTHOOD

We have now gone a long way toward answering the adversary. For I have argued that his view, while picking out certain features of emotional life that are real and important, has omitted others of equal and greater importance, central to the identity of an emotion and to discriminations between one emotion and another: their aboutness, their intentionality, their basis in beliefs, their connection with evaluation. All this makes them look very much like thoughts, after all; and we have even begun to see how a cognitive/evaluative view might itself explain some of the phenomena that the adversary has invoked on his side – the intimate relationship to selfhood, the urgency. But we are far from being all the way to a neo-Stoic view, according to which the emotions are defined in terms of evaluative judgment alone. For the considerations we have brought forward might be satisfied, it seems, by a weaker or more hybrid view, according to which beliefs and perceptions play a large role in emotions, but are not identical with them.

²⁸ As we shall see, "have to do with" should not be construed as implying that the emotions simply take a conception of *eudaimonia* as their *object*, saying "X is part of my scheme of ends." If that were so, they would be in error only if they were wrong about what conception of value I actually hold. On the neo-Stoic view they are about the *world*, in both its evaluative and its circumstantial aspects.

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

We can begin to map the possibilities by posing three questions:

- (1) Are the relevant beliefs²⁹ *constituent parts* of the emotion in question?
- (2) Is having such beliefs a *necessary condition* for having the emotion in question?
- (3) Is having such beliefs a *sufficient condition* for having the emotion in question?

The answers to these questions are logically independent. One may hold that the beliefs are necessary with or without holding them to be sufficient, and vice versa. A claim of necessity is compatible with, but does not entail, a claim of constituent parthood, since the beliefs might be necessary as external causes of something that in its own nature does not contain belief. So much is also true of a claim of sufficiency. Beliefs might be a constituent part with or without being a *necessary* constituent of the emotion's identity. And they might be a part that does not guarantee the presence of the whole or, on the other hand, a part that by itself suffices for the presence of the whole (whether causally or because it is the only part there is).

We have gone far enough, I think, to rule out the external-cause form of necessity and of sufficiency: for I have argued that the cognitive elements are an essential part of the emotion's identity, and of what differentiates one emotion from other emotions. Examination of philosophical attempts to define the emotions over the ages confirms this hypothesis: for again and again, whether the view announces itself as a cognitive view or not, the cognitive content is brought into the definition. Aristotle, Chrysippus, Cicero, Seneca, Spinoza, Smith, even Descartes and Hume (for whom this creates some tension within their general theories of mind) – all of these figures define emotions in terms of belief. Nor, as we shall see in Chapter 2, have attempts in psychology to jettison the cognitive elements of the definition met with success. Neither a characteristic feeling nor a characteristic mode of behavior would appear sufficient to define emotions such as envy, hope, grief, pity, and jealousy, or to differentiate one of these from the others. In some cases (for example, anger and fear) there are at least *prima facie* candidates for such a defining feeling, although I have argued that the

29 As I have noted, I shall ultimately include forms of seeing X as Y that may or may not count as belief, depending on how one defines the notion of belief.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

full-fledged emotion requires more than this feeling (and shall later argue that this feeling isn't always present). In others, such as hope and envy, we can't even begin to specify such a defining feeling.³⁰ We seem to be left, then, at the least with constituent parthood, with, that is, the thesis that the cognitive elements are part of what the emotion *is* – whether in a form in which the belief part suffices for the presence of the other parts, or in a form in which it is merely necessary.

What might those other parts be? The adversary is ready with an answer: nonthinking movements of some sort, or perhaps (shifting over to the point of view of experience) objectless feelings of pain and/or pleasure. A number of questions immediately come to mind about these feelings: What are they like if they are not *about* anything? What is the pleasure *in*, or the pain *at*? How are they connected with the beliefs, if they do not themselves contain any thought or cognition? And so forth. I shall address those questions in section VI, arguing that no such feelings are absolutely necessary definitional elements in any of the emotion types.

A problem remains, however, for the claim of necessity, and we should investigate it before we proceed further. It appears that people sometimes change their minds about the beliefs that underlie their emotions, but continue to have the emotions nonetheless. Sandra, who was terrified by a dog during childhood, may learn that dogs are no danger to her well-being; but she still fears dogs. Jack may decide that he was wrong to accept his parents' belief that African-Americans are ruining the country; but he still has intense anger against them. Does this mean, after all, that one may remove the evaluative beliefs without removing the emotions?³¹

The examples do not support such a conclusion, for the simple reason that we may often hold contradictory beliefs, especially in cases involving long habituation. In childhood I came to think that the U.S. Supreme Court is in California. (I thought this because I often heard the words "Earl Warren" and "California," of which he had been the governor, coupled together, and also the words "Earl Warren" and "Supreme Court.") I put it on the map of my mind in that place, somewhere around Sacramento. To this day, whenever I hear the words

³⁰ See Pitcher (1965), p. 338.

³¹ See Greenspan (1988).

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

“Supreme Court” I see that dot on the map. I have known for about forty-five years that this is a false belief, and yet I still retain the belief in some form. I find myself using it to make inferences about how far colleagues will be traveling when they go there, and what sort of weather they are likely to encounter. I sometimes get to the point of making embarrassing blunders in speech. I make similar errors in other matters involving spatial beliefs that have become deeply habitual. Having lived for forty-eight years on the East Coast, I formed the habit of thinking that when I am away from home and set out to drive home, I will be driving east. I have the greatest difficulty to the present time not thinking that Chicago is east of South Bend and even of Ann Arbor. I get on the highway going the wrong way sometimes, and even when I don’t, I have the strong bodily feeling that I am driving east when I am on my way home. (When the sun is facing the wrong way, it strikes a dissonant note in my mental landscape, and I think that something is wrong with the sun.)

If this can be so with respect to matters on which nothing depends, it is likely to be far more true concerning the evaluative beliefs that we lay down in childhood, frequently in connection with attachment relations of deep intensity. Changing these, as Seneca knew, requires a lifetime of patient self-examination, and even that is not always successful. Sandra still sees dogs as dangerous to her well-being in particular cases, although she also holds a general belief that contradicts this. (And maybe it doesn’t, notice: it would be irrational to believe that dogs never cause harm, so what she probably believes is that many dogs don’t cause harm.) Jack may be teaching himself some moral truths, but his deep-seated habits wipe those off the slate at times, and he is again in the grip of his past. In the same way, Seneca believes that honor isn’t very important, but: when someone seats him at a place at table that he thinks insulting, he is in the grip of his habits.³² Here Seneca has no temptation to say that the emotion is nonjudgmental: the whole problem is that he *does* judge that he has been significantly insulted, even while he knows that the matter is not significant. So the case against necessity is unconvincing; to rebut it we need only point to the fact that the mind has a complex archaeology, and false beliefs, especially about matters of value, are difficult to shake.

32 See Seneca, *On Anger*, III.36.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

IV. JUDGING AND ACKNOWLEDGING, AND SUFFICIENT CONDITIONS

In order to prepare for a fuller elaboration and defense of the neo-Stoic view, we must now, however, say more about judgment. To understand the case for the view that emotions are judgments, we need to understand exactly what a Stoic means when she says that; I think we will find the picture intuitively appealing, and a valuable basis for a critique of a familiar Humean belief – desire framework for the explanation of action (see Chapter 2) – although the Stoic view will turn out to be overly focused on linguistically formulable propositional content, and will therefore need a good deal of modification. According to the Stoics, then, a judgment is an assent to an appearance. In other words, it is a process that has two stages. First, it occurs to me or strikes me that such and such is the case. It looks to me that way, I see things that way – but so far I haven't really accepted it. Note that this view does not require any metaphysics of internal representations that allegedly mirror the world: the Stoics are just talking about the way things look to people, and this way may or may not be conveyed to the mind through internal representational mechanisms.³³

At this point there are three possibilities. I can accept or embrace the way things look, take it into me as the way things *are*: in this case the appearance has become my judgment, and that act of acceptance is what judging is. I can repudiate the appearance as not being the way things are: in that case I am judging the contradictory. Or I can let the appearance hang there without committing myself one way or another. In that case I have no belief or judgment about the matter one way or the other.³⁴ Consider a simple perceptual case introduced

³³ See Frede (1986). On getting representationalism out of translations and interpretations of Aristotle, see Nussbaum (1978), essay 5.

³⁴ Aristotle points out that such an unaccepted "appearance" may still have some motivating power, but only in a limited way: as when a sudden sight causes one to be startled (but not yet really afraid) – see *De Anima* III.9, *De Motu Animalium*, ch. II. Seneca makes a similar point concerning the so-called pre-emotions or *propatheiai*: see *De Ira* II.3; it is remarkable that Richard Lazarus reinvents, apparently independently, the very same term, "pre-emotions," to describe the same phenomenon in the animals he observes – see Lazarus (1991), to be discussed in Chapter 2. The Greek skeptics suggest that one might live an entire life being motivated by appearances alone, without any beliefs – pointing to the alleged fact that animals are so moved. But their case is

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

by Aristotle.³⁵ The sun strikes me as being about a foot wide. (That's the way it looks to me, that is what I see it *as*.) Now I might embrace this appearance and talk and act accordingly; most children do so. If I am confused about astronomy, I may refuse to make any cognitive commitment on the matter. But if I have a confident belief that the sun is in fact tremendously large, and that the way it looks is deceptive, I will repudiate the appearance and embrace a contradictory appearance. There seems nothing odd here about saying both that the appearance presents itself to my cognitive faculties and that its acceptance or rejection is the activity of those faculties. Assenting to or embracing a way of seeing something in the world, acknowledging it as true, seems to be a job that *requires* the discriminating power of cognition. Cognition need not be imagined as inert, as it is in the Humean tradition. In this case, it is reason itself that reaches out and takes that appearance to itself, saying, so to speak, "Yes, that's the one I'll have. That's the way things really are." We might even say that this is a good way of thinking about what reasoning is: an ability in virtue of which we commit ourselves to a view of the way things really are.

Stoics thought that assent was always a voluntary act, and that we always had it in our power to assent or refuse to assent to any appearance. (Or at least adults had this power: for the voluntarist view was part of their argument for denying emotions to children and nonhuman animals.) Thus they developed an extreme voluntarist view of personality, coupled with an exigent doctrine of self-monitoring that Epictetus summarizes in the maxim, "Watch over yourself like an enemy lying in wait." We do not need to accept these aspects of Stoic psychology in order to accept their general picture of judgment. Indeed, we may remind Stoics that in other texts they spoke of appearances that "dragged us by the hair to assent" (although they did not include emotion-related appearances in that category). Even so, habit, attachment, and the sheer weight of events may frequently extract assent from us; it is not to be imagined as an act that we always deliberately perform.

When we understand assent in this broader way, we understand, too, how the view, so broadened, will ultimately be able to ascribe

dubious, since, for one thing, it seems to misdescribe the cognitive equipment of animals – see Chapter 2.

³⁵ *De Anima* III.3.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

emotions to young children and nonhuman animals, who, to a greater or lesser extent, lack the capacity to withhold assent from the appearances with which life confronts them. Whenever they accept a way the world seems as the way it is, they can be said to have judgment in my sense. We should notice, however, that the Stoic picture of animals and children is actually quite implausible: for very often, as soon as they gather experience, they are able to form thoughts of the sort, “This person is smiling, but he isn’t really a friend,” or “This looks good to eat, but it’s really not.”³⁶

Let us now return to my central example. My mother has died. It strikes me, it appears to me, that a person of enormous value, who was central in my life, is there no longer. It seemed to me as if a nail from the world had entered my insides; it also felt as if life had suddenly a large rip or tear in it, a gaping hole. I saw, as well, her wonderful face – both as tremendously loved and as forever cut off from me. The appearance, in however many ways we picture it, has propositional content or at least combination: it combines the thought of importance with the thought of loss, its content is that this importance is lost. And, as I have said, it is evaluative and eudaimonistic: it does not just assert, “Betty Craven is dead.” Central to the propositional content is my mother’s enormous importance, both in herself and as an element in my life.

So far we are still at the stage of appearing – and notice that I was in this stage throughout the night before her death, throughout the long transatlantic plane ride, haunted by that value-laden picture but powerless to accept or reject it; for it was sitting in the hands of the world. (There are not always two stages in this way: for often the look of the world and the inexorability of the truth of that look bear in on one simultaneously.) I might have had reason to reject the appearance – if, for example, I had awakened and found that the whole experience of getting the bad news and planning my return trip had been a nightmare. Or in a different way I might have rejected it if the outcome had turned out to be good and she had in fact no longer been threatened. I did accept that she was endangered – so I did have fear. But whether or not she was or would be *lost* – that I could not say. But now I am

36 For a detailed discussion of these aspects of the Stoic view of judgment, see Deigh (2000) and my reply in Nussbaum (2000b).

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

in the hospital room with her body before me. I embrace the appearance as the way things are. Can I assent to the idea that someone tremendously beloved is forever lost to me, and yet preserve emotional equanimity?

The neo-Stoic claims that I cannot. Not if what I am accepting is that very set of propositions, with all of their evaluative elements. Suppose I had said to the nurses, "Yes, I see that a person I love deeply is dead and that I'll never see her again. But I am fine: I am not disturbed at all." If we put to one side considerations about reticence before strangers and take the utterance to be nondeceptive, we should say, I think, that one among three things is very likely to be the case. First, this person may really not attach much importance to the person who died. For social reasons, she may be claiming to do so, but she may have long ceased to love the dead person. We could figure this out, if we had enough evidence about her other statements and actions.

Second, and a more common possibility: the person may in fact be grieving already, but may not be ready to acknowledge this fact to herself, because it is scary to be helpless. This case, like the other cases of nonconscious emotion that I shall consider in section VIII, must be introduced with great caution, since it would compromise the entire argumentative strategy if we were to recognize too many such cases, granted that we are commending our view for its superior power to explain experience. But, as I shall later argue, we may admit some such cases under specific conditions: if the person's pattern of behavior seems best explained by the hypothesis of an unconscious fear, or anger, or grief. We have an even more powerful case if the person can be brought under certain circumstances to acknowledge this fact about the pattern of her conduct.

So: John's mother has recently died. He knows that she is dead, but he says he is fine and sincerely denies having grief. Still, he acts strangely. He is unjustifiably angry with people and things around him. He shows an unusual determination not to be helped in any way. Under questioning, this person suddenly admits that he is experiencing grief and anger directed at his mother: grief at the death, anger at the fact that her dying has turned him into a needy and helpless child.

The third possibility, and perhaps the most common, is that the knowledge of the evaluative significance of the death has not yet sunk in. John sort of knows his mother is dead, and sort of doesn't. He is

not really assenting to propositions having to do with her central importance in his life, although she really was important in his life. He may be saying those words, but there is something in him that is resisting. Or if he assents to something, it is not to that same proposition. He may be assenting to the proposition, “Mrs. Y is dead” (his mother’s proper name). Or even (if we suppose that “my mother” could possibly lack eudaimonistic evaluative content) to the proposition, “My mother is dead.” What he is not fully acknowledging or taking in is the thought, “A person whom I deeply love, who is central to my life, is dead.” For to recognize this is to be deeply disturbed.

This case is very close to my second case. Both reflect the fact that people dislike being helpless and passive, and therefore characteristically resist the knowledge of deaths of loved ones, or of their own illnesses. The difference will be that in my second case John has internalized the knowledge and his actions have been changed by it; in the third case, the knowledge is still being kept at bay, and to that extent has not yet influenced the pattern of his other judgments and actions.

Notice, then, that it is of crucial importance to get clear about the precise content of the thought we ascribe to the person. For if we were to make the salient thought one with no evaluative content, say, “Betty Craven is dead” (my mother’s proper name),³⁷ we would be right to think that the acceptance of that thought could be at most a cause of grief, not identical with grief itself. Again, if we put value in without the reference to the self, saying that the content of the thought was, “Betty Craven, a most valuable person, is dead,” again – we would not have a thought that we could plausibly identify with grief. The neo-Stoic claims that grief is identical with the acceptance of a proposition that is both evaluative and eudaimonistic, that is, concerned with one or more of the person’s important goals and ends. We have not yet fully made the case for equating this (or these) proposition(s) with emotion: but so far it appears far more plausible that such a judgment could itself be an upheaval.

It is, and should remain, an empirical question whether one of these three possibilities must always be the case, when there appears to be

³⁷ Of course the minute we insert the name of a human being there is already some evaluative content; and some moral theories would urge that this is all the value that there should properly be, in any response to any death. I shall address this in Chapters 6 and 7.

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

belief without emotion. If we found a large number of convincing cases that answered to none of these three descriptions, we might have reason to cast doubt on the sufficiency thesis. But these phenomena of denial and avoidance are so well recognized, and so ubiquitous, that we do not yet appear to have a group of counterexamples that would cause us to lose confidence in it.

We must now add one further element. For the Stoics, the judgments that are identified with emotions all have a common subject matter: all are concerned with vulnerable things, things that can be affected by events in the world beyond the person's own control, things that can arrive by surprise, that can be destroyed or removed even when one does not wish it. These are the person's "external goods" – external not in the sense that they must lie outside the perimeter of the person's body, but in the sense that they elude the person's complete control. They held that when one's mind took as its intentional object an element of life that the person regarded as utterly secure – such as her own virtue – then the resulting state would not be an emotion. If we call it joy, we should recognize that it is a different type of joy, one that isn't really emotional.³⁸

Should we accept this further claim, defining emotions in terms of a definite subject matter? Here we come close to building surprise and change into the definition of emotion itself, a move that has recently been made by psychologist Keith Oatley and philosopher Aaron Ben-Ze'ev, but one that we will have reason to reject in Chapter 2.³⁹ And we also seem to compromise our methodology: for people do speak of joy at their own good character, as even Seneca acknowledges; so we are saying of a large class of experiences that people have classified them to some extent wrongly. It is a little difficult to assess the Stoics' move, since most of us do not agree with them about the fully controllable na-

³⁸ See Seneca, letter 39.

³⁹ Oatley (1992), Ben-Ze'ev (2000); see Chapter 2, section III. Particularly revealing is Ben-Ze'ev's attempt to account for the steady background fear of one's own death in terms of the change theory. He holds that all emotions involve "a *perceived change whose significance is determined by us*" (p. 16), but almost immediately states that "our possible death is always in the background of our existence: it reminds us of our profound vulnerability" (p. 16). Then, in the very next sentence, he continues as if no problem had surfaced: "This type of change expresses *our profound vulnerability* and dependence on external factors which we do not control" (p. 16). (A footnote at this point refers to the argument of the present chapter of this book.) Much though I admire Ben-Ze'ev's book, I do not find this particular move convincing.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

ture of our thinking and our virtuous inclinations; we tend to think that no mental state or activity is fully under our own control. Our idea that emotions take these as objects may be influenced by this difference. But it still seems to be a kind of dogmatism to assert in the very definition of emotion that the object must be vulnerable to reversal. It would be still more dogmatic to insist that the content of an emotion-thought must record a belief that some change has actually occurred.

We can say something close to this without that dogmatism. Many of the specific emotions have vulnerability to reversal built into their own characteristic definitions. Fear, hope, pity, anger, envy, jealousy, grief – all these must take an object of the sort that the Stoics demand, since their propositional content asserts that there is change or that change is a possibility. Some varieties of joy and love are like this as well: internal to their very specific cognitive structure will be the thought of perilous fortunes, or the likelihood of change. Erotic love notoriously involves the thought of instability in this way, as the Baron de Charlus's mind reports, linking love with envy, jealousy, suffering, and astonishment. Some varieties of joy and love, by contrast, will not be like this; their cognitive structure will differ in consequence, as will their relationship to other emotions, and the experience of being in their grip. This is really what the Stoics have said already; we have simply removed the dogmatic assertion, "and these are not really emotions." (Spinoza's view is closer, since he makes intellectual love of God a real kind of love, yet lacking in some of the baneful properties of other love.)

In short, most of the time emotions link us to items that we regard as important for our well being, but do not fully control. The emotion records that sense of vulnerability and imperfect control.⁴⁰ We will see shortly how this emerges in the complex combination of circumstantial and evaluative considerations that must be present in the relevant thoughts. For now, we can observe that this means that the acceptance of such propositions says something about the person: that she allows herself and her good to depend upon things beyond her control, that she acknowledges a certain passivity before the world.

At this point, we are in a position to conclude not only that judg-

⁴⁰ This is still not equivalent to the claim that emotions record a change that is actually thought to have occurred, as in Ben-Ze'ev's view (see preceding note).

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

ments of the sort we have described are necessary constituent elements in the emotion, but also that they are sufficient. For we have argued that if the emotion is not there we are entitled to say that the judgments themselves are not fully or really there. The arguments of the previous section suggested that we should view this sufficiency internally, as that of a constituent part that itself reliably causes whatever other parts there may be. For I spoke of the way in which the relevant judgments were at least a part of the identity conditions of the emotion. But we need to return to this issue now that we have elaborated the view of judging that underlies our claim, since it still may seem counterintuitive to make the emotion itself a function of the cognitive faculties (of thought, in its most general sense) rather than a nonrational movement produced in some way by cognition.

Well, what element in me *is* it that experiences the terrible shock of grief? I think of my mother; I embrace in my mind the fact that she will never be with me again – and I am shaken. How and where? Do we imagine the thought causing a fluttering in my hands, or a trembling in my stomach? And if we do, do we really want to say that this fluttering or trembling is *my* grief about my mother's death? The movement seems to lack the aboutness and the capacity for recognition that must be part of an emotion. Internal to the grief itself must be the perception of the beloved object and of her importance; the grief itself must estimate the richness of the love between us, its centrality in my life. The grief itself must contain the thought of her irrevocable deadness. Now of course we could say that there is a separate emotional part of the soul that has all these abilities. But we seem to have lost our grip on the reason for housing grief in a separate noncognitive part: thought looks like just the place to house it.

The adversary might now object that this is not yet clear. For even if we concede that emotion's seat must be capable of many cognitive operations, there also seems to be a kinetic and affective aspect to emotion that does not look like a judgment or any part of a judgment. There are rapid movements, feelings of pain and tumult: are we really to equate these with some part of judging that such and such is the case? Why should we not claim that the judgment is a cause of emotion, while identifying emotion itself with these movements? Or we might even grant that judgment is a constituent element in the emotion, and, as a constituent element, a sufficient cause of the other elements

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

as well, and yet insist that there are other elements, feelings and movements, that are not themselves parts of the judgment. I have already begun to respond to this point by stressing the fact that we are conceiving of judging as dynamic, not static. Reason here moves, embraces, refuses; it can move rapidly or slowly, it can move directly or with hesitation. I have imagined it entertaining the appearance of my mother's death and then, so to speak, rushing toward it, opening itself to take it in. So why would such a dynamic faculty be unable to house, as well, the disorderly motions of grief? And this is not just a cheat: I am not stuffing into thought kinetic properties that properly belong to the arms and legs, or imagining reason as accidentally colored by the kinetic properties of the bloodstream. The movement toward my mother was a movement of my thought about what is most important in the world; that seems to be exactly what there is to be said about it. If anything, the movement of my arms and legs, as I ran vainly through South Philadelphia to University Hospital, was a kind of vain mimesis of the movement of my thought toward her. It was my thought that was receiving, and being shaken by, the knowledge of her death. I think that if we say anything else we lose the close connection between the recognition and the being shaken that experience gives us. The recognizing and the upheaval, we want to say, belong to one and the same part of me, the part with which I make sense of the world.

It seems, moreover, that the adversary is wrong to think of the judgment as an event that temporally precedes the grieving – as at least some of the causal language suggests. When I grieve, I do not first of all coolly embrace the proposition, “My wonderful mother is dead,” and then set about grieving. No, the real, full recognition of that terrible event (as many times as I recognize it) *is* the upheaval. It is as I described it: like putting a nail into your stomach. The appearance that she is dead sits there (as it sat before me during my plane ride) asking me what I am going to do with it. Perhaps, if I am still uncertain, the image of her restored to health sits there also. If I go up to embrace the death image, if I take it into myself as the way things are, it is at that very moment, in that cognitive act itself, that I am putting the world's nail into my own insides. That is not preparation for upheaval, that is upheaval itself. That very act of assent is itself a tearing of my self-sufficient condition. Knowing can be violent, given the truths that are there to be known.

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

We have spoken of a judgment as an assent to an appearance: so we now have a question. Is the emotion the act of assenting, or is it a state that results from that act? The same issues arise about belief and judgment more generally, since both may persist through situations of many kinds. Although initially there may be an act of acceptance, and judgment is defined in terms of that act, there is also an ensuing state, namely of having that content inside, so to speak; one *accepts* or *assents to* that proposition continuously. It seems that emotions have exactly this twofold character: we initially assent to or acknowledge a proposition, and then there it is, part of our cognitive makeup. In grief, given our propensity to distance ourselves and to deny what has occurred, we may have to go through the act of accepting many times, before the proposition securely rests there; but all this is part of the life of an emotion, just as the initial acceptance and the ensuing retention are parts of the life of any judgment. But we should insist on two things: first, that even the initial act makes a claim – it says, yes, this is how things are; and, second, that even the subsequent retention involves the continuous acceptance of that claim, saying, again and again, yes, this is true, this is how things are.

I have spoken of truth. And it is, of course, a consequence of the view I have been developing that emotions, like other beliefs, can be true or false, and (an independent point) justified or unjustified, reasonable or unreasonable.⁴¹ The fact of having an emotion depends on what the person's beliefs are, not on whether they are true or false.⁴² So if I believe my mother to be dead and grieve, and she is not really dead, my emotion is in that sense false. We are not likely to speak of it as

41 On reasonableness, see the excellent discussion in Pitcher (1965), pp. 339–41. Pitcher notes that love, unlike other emotions, is not typically thought to be either reasonable or unreasonable, thus making the same observation that Adam Smith did about its difference from other emotions; I shall return to this in Parts II and III.

42 See the good discussion of this in Ben-Ze'ev (2000), pp. 15–16. Thus Gordon (1987), who insists on equating emotion with a certain sort of *knowledge* (and who makes it clear that he means to be distinguishing knowledge from simple belief), seems just wrong here: conviction and acceptance, not truth, are what carry the day. De Sousa's (1987) account of the "objectivity" of emotion seems to me to make a similar mistake, though in a far more subtle and elegant way. Emotions are part of my view of the world, and responsive to changes in belief in much the same way that other judgments are (though there are also some differences that I shall discuss in Chapter 4). But they are still beliefs about the world, not just about my conception of the world, and so they can be false.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

“false grief,” since the term “false” means both “not accurate” and “fraudulent,” and in this context we standardly use it to mean “fraudulent” or “feigned.” We do not want to confuse the important issue of sincerity with the issue of true or false content, and so we will call the grief “mistaken” or “inappropriate” rather than false. But the propositional content is nonetheless false.

In a different way, the judgment can be false if I am wrong about the evaluative aspects of the judgment: my emotion says (*inter alia*) something about mothers, namely that they have a tremendous value, and that this element too can be true or false. As I shall shortly elaborate in section V, eudaimonism has two aspects: we are saying that such-and-such is an important part of my own scheme of goals and ends, but we typically think that this is so *because* of some real value the item possesses: it is such that, without that thing (or a thing of that sort), my life would be incomplete. And in building a conception of *eudaimonia* for themselves people often seek to build in just those items about which such true evaluative claims can be made. I am not trying just to get any old conception, I am trying to get the one that values things aright. For this reason, Chrysippus plausibly said that grief (along with other emotions) contains not only the judgment that an important part of my life has gone, but that *it is right* to be upset about that: it makes a truth-claim about its own evaluations. It asserts the real value of the object, it says that getting upset is a response to something really important, not just a whim. Emotions can be true or false in that sense too. Often, trying to avoid the implication that statements about value can be true or false, we say instead that they are “appropriate” or “inappropriate.” The language of appropriateness, however, confuses the issue, since things can be appropriate or inappropriate in many different ways: it doesn’t single out the aspect of value-correctness that we want to single out. Chrysippus’s “and it is right to get upset” does very well, and makes a truth claim of the relevant sort.⁴³

43 Could an emotion mistakenly estimate the other aspect of a eudaimonistic judgment, the reference to one’s own scheme of goals and ends? Certainly I can be wrong about what is important to me. But this will frequently emerge in the fact that I don’t have emotions of the type I would have if such goals were important to me. I’m inclined to think that sometimes it is possible to have an emotion whose content does not accurately reflect my real scheme of ends – but that these will be cases of attempted self-persuasion, for example, talking oneself into liking or cherishing someone one really

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

A point commonly made about the emotions, purportedly in order to distinguish them from beliefs, is that they have a different “direction of fit”: in belief, we are trying to fit our mental attitude to the world; in emotion, we are trying to make the world fit our mental attitude.⁴⁴ I think that there are several confusions in this picture. First of all, as we have just seen, emotions do attempt to fit the world – both to take in the events that really do take place, and to get an appropriate view of what matters or has value.⁴⁵ Second, they really don’t try to get the world to fit them. Emotions may or may not engender desires for action, which might, if successful, make the world a better world for the *objects* of our emotions. (I shall discuss this issue further in Chapter 2.) But even when they do engender such desires: does the world thereby fit the emotions better? Fear says that there is danger at hand. If that emotion is correct, then the world right now does contain danger. If I change the world by successfully evading the danger, the emotion presumably will change accordingly. Now the world no longer contains that danger, so I don’t have fear any longer. But the idea that we are trying to make the world fit the emotions suggests, oddly, that it doesn’t fit them already. That was not so in the case of fear: what I was trying to do was not to make the world fit my fear, but to make it a place where fear is no longer appropriate. Fear already fit the world; that was the problem that gave rise to the desire for evasive action. Even in hope, where we focus on the good prospects, the content of the emotion is that there are these robust good prospects; and that is either true or false right now. If I make the good prospects realities, then hope will turn into joy. So I haven’t made the world more like the emotion, I have changed the world and the emotion.

doesn’t like, or talking oneself into grieving for someone one really doesn’t love – and the emotions will have to that extent a factitious and insincere character. They can thus be called “false” in the more usual sense, as well as in the sense that their content is inaccurate.

44 For a good discussion of this idea, and a much more subtle version of the distinction, see Wollheim (1999), pp. 45–51.

45 Thus I differ from Solomon (1976), who analyzes emotions as self-created valuations that are then subjectively posited. Whatever one ultimately says about the complex question of the objectivity of value, the experience of emotion does not have this free-floating existentialist character. In grief, fear, and so on, one feels bound by the world, by the way its important items are configured. Moreover, this idea of responsiveness to reality is probably intrinsic to the emotions’ adaptive evolutionary significance; see Chapter 2.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

In short: the objection denies the evident fact that emotions are responsive to the way the world already is. It does not succeed in establishing any interesting asymmetry between emotions and beliefs.

V. EUDAIMONISM, INTENSITY, THE PERSONAL POINT OF VIEW

Let us now return to the topic of eudaimonism. Emotions, I have said, view the world from the point of view of my own scheme of goals and projects, the things to which I attach value in a conception of what it is for me to live well. For Aristotle, these goals typically form a system of some sort, and they are always goals that the agent, in some form, commends to others. But real people are usually not this systematic. We value things, often, without asking how all our goals fit together; sometimes they do not fit together well, and sometimes painful emotional conflicts ensue. So we should distance ourselves from this part of the ancient eudaimonist idea: emotions have to do with whatever I do value, however well or badly those things fit together.

Next, we should also insist that not all the things that I value are things that I commend to others. For Aristotle, the search for value is the search for what is good for a human being. Often this search for value in general is indeed part of the emotional life. In my love for my mother, for example, is the thought that parents are extremely important, and that people should cherish their parents if they have them. Indeed, in much grief for parents this general element is very prominent: for people think, I no longer have a chance to love and cherish my mother, and this leads easily to the wish that one had cherished her more, which is often bound up, in turn, with the thought that people who have parents should cherish them while they have them. In love of children, this general element is also very important. Before people have a particular child, they usually wish for *a child*, sometimes for a long time. So when they have the particular one, and love that one, they also usually continue to value the idea of having a child, and to think this a valuable thing in life generally.

The same thing happens, frequently, with goals and attachments of other kinds. In an attachment to one's own country, there is frequently the thought that this country has valuable things about it, and that it is a good country. When a goal is freely chosen, we can expect this

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

element to become even more prominent: in opting for a given profession, I appraise it as containing something of value, sometimes just for me, but often for people more generally. These general thoughts come at many different levels of specificity and generality, a topic to which I shall return in section VIII.

However, these examples bring out some significant limitations of the ancient eudaimonist picture. I have already said that ancient eudaimonism overestimates the amount of order and structure in most people's schemes of goals. But in several further ways emotions diverge from the picture of a system of ends that I commend to others as valuable in a human life generally. First, my goals and ends, the things to which I attach importance, may contain some elements that I think good or valuable for myself, but do not especially commend to others. A career may seem valuable to me, and I may be able to say why, without my thinking that others have reason to pursue it. In some cases this will be because the goal is a concrete specification of a more general goal that I do commend to others. For example, I might think that everyone should have some interest in the arts, while being, myself, a passionate music lover with little interest in (and no emotion about) architecture. At the same time, internal to my passion about music are some general thoughts about the importance of art that represent common ground between myself and the lover of architecture.

We can develop this point further by speaking about the role of *specification* of general ends in a eudaimonist theory of value (and in many of our common deliberations in life).⁴⁶ In reflecting about how a human being should live, a person may commend some very general goals as good for human beings in general: for example, friendship, parental love, civic responsibility. But she will also deliberate about which more concrete specification of each of these general ends she will prefer; some of this work still involves asking which specifications are to be commended for human beings in general. At some point in the process, however, we get to items that are not commended for all human beings, but are just her own ways of realizing the general human ends in her situation and context. For example, if the general

⁴⁶ See Richardson (1994) for the best account of this, with reference to Aristotle, but offered as an account of a process we commonly undertake in life.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

goal were artistic cultivation and performance, she might realize this by playing the clarinet, but she would believe that other human beings can equally well realize it by dancing, or singing, or playing the oboe. (In fact, in this case she will actively wish that others do not *all* play the clarinet, since then the general good of musical performance could not be well realized.) The ancient eudaimonist picture does allow for this type of specification of ends; but it does not fully develop the idea.

Here, however, we arrive at a second, and more serious, limitation of the ancient eudaimonist project: people cherish and value things that they do not really think good, things that they would not be prepared to commend as good to others. Often they love a person, or a house, or a country, just because it is theirs, the one they have grown up with. At times they may actively disapprove of the person or country that they love – but, after all, it is theirs, and in some way or other they love and cherish it. And thoughts about the good may prove less powerful, in shaping a conception of importance for me, than habit and time. (I think Finland a fine nation, and in some sense I value it, on reflection, more than I do the United States. To some extent I also love it. But I still feel like a stranger there, and I have a certain love for the United States that is not at all proportional to my reflective evaluation.) Often thoughts about the good and thoughts about what I have lived with are entangled in countless ways, and it is hard for anyone to separate them.⁴⁷ Ancient eudaimonism has little to say about these complexities.

Third, it may be very important to certain emotions *not* to engage in a great deal of reflective weighing of the goodness of an object. Ancient accounts of love often seem lacking in the idea of the unconditionality of love. Whether the object of my love is a child, or a parent, or a lover, there seems to be something deficient about taking the inventory of the person's good points, as though the love is somehow based upon them. It isn't that the search for good points is totally irrelevant to love; but especially where the relationship is nonchosen, as in the love of parent for child or child for parent, it ought to take a back seat. We love the one we love, whatever bad traits they have and express. The failure to make room for this sort of unconditionality is a

47 See "Love and the Individual," in Nussbaum (1990), for some reflections on this tangle.

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

notorious limitation of ancient eudaimonism, to which I shall return in Part III.⁴⁸

In short, the ancient eudaimonist framework will be a good one for thinking about the emotional life only when we acknowledge that people's sense of what is important and valuable is often messy, disorderly, and not in line with their reflective ethical beliefs.

But so far we have left out, or so it seems, the most important thing of all, something that lies deep in ancient eudaimonism but that is never explicitly recognized. Emotions contain an ineliminable reference to *me*, to the fact that it is *my* scheme of goals and projects.⁴⁹ They see the world from my point of view. The fact that it is *my* mother is not simply a fact like any other fact about the world: it is what structures the geography of the whole situation, and we cannot capture the emotion without including that element. It's not just the fact that Betty Craven has died. It's the fact that Betty Craven is *my mother*. In short, the evaluations associated with emotions are evaluations from *my* perspective, not from some impartial perspective; they contain an ineliminable reference to the self.⁵⁰

Thus, in my grief I endow my mother with (at least) three different

48 See *ibid.*, and further discussion of this element of love in Chapters 11, 12, 13, and 16.

49 We might relate this point to John Perry's famous discussion of indexicality, "The Problem of the Essential Indexical" (1979). Consider a famous example of Perry's. He is in a grocery store. He notices sugar leaking out onto the floor. He decides to follow the trail of the sugar, so that he can tell the person that a bag is leaking. He follows the trail around and around the store – and eventually realizes that it is his own grocery cart that is the source. Perry's point is that the discovery that it is *him* is not just the discovery of the name of the person; it's a different kind of discovery, one that we cannot describe without the use of indexicals themselves. And this element is crucial to explaining what he does. Perry argues: if he had said, "I came to believe that John Perry is making a mess," he would no longer have explained why he stopped and looked in his own cart. We'd have to add, "and I believe that I am John Perry," bringing the indexical back again (pp. 4–5). Following Perry, we should then conclude that emotions can't be propositional attitudes in the classical sense, where propositions are understood to be detachable from their context and to have truth value in an absolute sense, rather than just for a person at a time (p. 6). As we have seen, emotions contain some elements that are detachable; but a crucial core is not.

50 See Foot (1988), with the example of cops and robbers: what is good for one is not good for the other, and up to a point they do not contradict one another – although, as Foot also stresses, a person's scheme of values also contains general interests that are interwoven with the personal interests. My account of the locatedness of the emotions is closely related to the distinction between "I-desires" and "non-I desires" in Williams (1973), who distinguishes aptly between the egoism/altruism distinction and the I/non-I distinction.

roles: as a person of intrinsic worth in her own right; as *my* mother, and an important constituent of my life's goals and plans; and as *a mother*, that is, a type of person that it would be good for every human being who has one to cherish (though obviously they shouldn't all cherish the same one). Only one of these three ways of focusing on my mother makes reference to me;⁵¹ and this one, I have insisted, does not consider her a person of merely instrumental importance. And yet, this one appears to be crucial in making the difference between love and nonlove, grief and nongrief.

Once again, then: my view emphatically does not make the emotions egoistic, unless one should hold that any attachment to one's own parents, by contrast to the parents of others, is a form of egoism – a harsh doctrine. It does make them localized, and in that sense in tension with completely impartialist forms of morality. It is clear that the mixture of self-referential and non-self-referential considerations may differ in different emotions, and also in the emotions of different people. But we must emphasize that the eudaimonism of emotions does not imply that grief is not really grief for the death of the loved person. Consider this passage from Proust:

The idea that one will die is more painful than dying, but less painful than the idea that another person is dead, that, becoming once more a still, plane surface after having engulfed a person, a reality extends, without even a ripple at the point of disappearance, from which that person is excluded, in which there no longer exists any will, any knowledge . . .⁵²

This emotion is still eudaimonistic: it is localized within Marcel's own life. It contains prominently and centrally the thought of a loss that looms large from the person's own viewpoint. But it sees the lost person's life as a feature of the world's landscape, and abhors the sight of a world from which that feature has been removed.

Are all emotions eudaimonistic? Do all, that is, make reference to my important goals and projects? Do all contain the self-referential element that lies at the heart of the eudaimonist structure? The most

51 Although, in the end, understanding why some of the other features get a grip on me may ultimately lead back to the self, as in, "Well, it's not a particularly great country, but it is the one I'm used to, the one I grew up in."

52 *Remembrance of Things Past*, III.519. References are to volume and page number in the Moncrieff/Kilmartin translation.

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

striking exception would appear to be the emotion of wonder, which I shall discuss further in Chapter 4. This emotion responds to the pull of the object, and one might say that in it the subject is maximally aware of the value of the object, and only minimally aware, if at all, of its relationship to her own plans. That is why it is likely to issue in contemplation, rather than in any other sort of action toward the object. Another related emotion would be reverence or awe: again, awe, for example in a religious context, is an acknowledgment of the surpassing value of the object, not just from the person's point of view, but quite generally.⁵³

Wonder is sometimes an important ingredient in other emotions. In grief there is, I think, often a kind of wonder – in which one sees the beauty of the lost person as a kind of radiance standing at a very great distance from us. Describing his mourning for Albertine, Proust's narrator writes:

My imagination sought for her in the sky, at nightfall when we had been wont to gaze at it while still together; beyond that moonlight which she loved, I tried to raise up to her my tenderness so that it might be a consolation to her for being no longer alive, and this love for a being who was now so remote was like a religion; my thoughts rose to her like prayers.⁵⁴

In this tender moment – one of the few times that Marcel gives the impression of really loving Albertine herself – we see a love that has moved not only beyond the egoism characteristic of Marcel, but also to some extent beyond eudaimonism as well, a fact well brought out by the religious imagery. It is still in the framework of a fundamentally eudaimonistic attachment, however, for it is for his Albertine, and not some chance woman, that he grieves.

In Chapters 4 and 6 I shall argue that wonder plays an important part in the development of a child's capacity for love and compassion. Children whose capacity for this response to the world is strengthened through imaginative play have a more robust capacity for nonpossessive love, and for bringing distant others into their system of goals and plans; in this way I shall qualify the eudaimonism of the account of

53 Wonder and awe are akin, but distinct: wonder is outward-moving, exuberant, whereas awe is linked with bending, or making oneself small. In wonder I want to leap or run, in awe to kneel.

54 *Remembrance of Things Past*, III.522.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

these emotions. But I shall insist that in love and compassion the object must ultimately be seen as a part of the person's own scheme of ends: a eudaimonistic judgment must ultimately be formed in order for the emotion to occur. Wonder, as non-eudaimonistic as an emotion can be, helps move distant objects within the circle of a person's scheme of ends. We may, then, maintain the eudaimonism of the theory in a general way, holding that it is essential to the explanation of why emotions such as grief, fear, and hope focus on some events and not others, without dogmatically forcing it into a case where it seems not to play a central role.⁵⁵

Finally, we need to discuss the issue of importance. For now that we have a fuller account of the emotions' eudaimonism, we can see that this feature also helps us to explain why some emotions seem like great upheavals, and others seem less momentous. For these *differences of intensity* themselves involve object-directed intentionality: they are explained by the importance with which I invest the object (or what befalls it) among my own goals and projects. If the importance is beneath a certain threshold, I will not have an emotion at all. The loss of a toothbrush does not occasion even a mild grief; someone who takes a paper clip off my desk does not make me even a tiny bit angry. But above that threshold, differences of intensity are occasioned by differences in the eudaimonistic evaluation. The anger we feel is proportional to the size of the harm that we think has occurred; the grief we feel is proportional to the extent of the loss. People grieve only mildly for a person who has been a small part of their lives.

Two nights ago, I went to bed thinking that Todd Martin had been knocked out of the U.S. Open (since he had lost the first two sets to a tough opponent.) I felt a little sad. When I woke up, I found out that he had won in five sets. I saw him on TV dancing around the court, and I felt a surge of joy. But of course it was a trivial sorrow and a trivial joy. While one watches a tennis match, one is intensely focused on the athlete one likes, and so an emotion can develop as one temporarily comes to think the match very important – and perhaps also

55 One might mention respect, too, as a non-eudaimonistic emotion, but I would disagree, since I think respect is best understood as a pattern of thought and action, rather than as an emotion.

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

identifies with the aging Martin, with his graying temples, so like one's own if one did not dye one's hair. But when normal life resumes, the evaluation assumes its usual low level. Todd Martin just isn't a very important part of my life.

Emotions are of course frequently disproportionate to their objects. But this is usually because the person has a skewed view of the object, seeing it as more or less important than it really is. People will often suffer greatly over trivial losses – if they are used to the things involved, or think them their due.⁵⁶ Again, they may make the object a vehicle for concerns and anxieties that come from their own lives, and thus invest it with a significance that seems peculiar – as one might do with a sports star or one's favorite team. But once again, it is the nature of the eudaimonistic evaluation that explains the intensity of the emotion.⁵⁷

To the extent that the emotional response seems out of line with the *person's own view* of the object, or with her own assessment of what has occurred, we typically suppose that she really had a deeper concern for the object than she had realized (Proust's account of self-knowledge through emotion); or that the present object has a symbolic significance, standing for another absent object; or that there is some further hidden content that really explains her emotion. We should not be dogmatic about this, since we would then be in danger of simply waving away objections rather than replying to them. But I think that once we have the historical materials of Chapter 4 on the table, we will see that the view contains rich resources for understanding such cases, and that we really can establish that such mistakes about significance occur, and why they occur.

VI. ARE THERE NECESSARY NONCOGNITIVE ELEMENTS?

We have now argued that judgments of the requisite sort are necessary for the emotion; that they are not external causes, but constituent parts of what the emotion is; and that they are sufficient for emotion, if they

⁵⁶ See examples in Chapter 6 where people ask for compassion in connection with trivial losses.

⁵⁷ Again, wonder is exceptional: the intensity of my wonder seems proportioned only to the value I see in the object, not to its value for me in my scheme of goals and ends.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

have the requisite eudaimonistic evaluative content. Now we must confront an especially difficult and delicate question: are there other constituent parts to the grief that are not themselves parts of the judgment (the evaluative thought)?⁵⁸

In any particular instance of grieving there is so much going on that it is very difficult to answer this question if we remain at the level of token-identities between instances of grieving and instances of judging. How do we decide which of the many things that are going on contemporaneously with the grief are or are not parts of the grief? Since we are talking about living sentient beings, and since having some feelings of some type is probably a necessary condition of waking mental life for any sentient being, we could assert that any instance of emotion, given that it is a part of the waking life of a sentient being, has as its necessary condition the presence of some feeling or other. But we don't have any clear reason to say that these things are parts of the grief itself. We do not seem to have said any more than that a pumping heart is a necessary condition of any episode of emotion; but we would not be inclined to say that a pumping heart is a constituent part of my grief. And yet if we confine ourselves to a particular episode of emotion we have difficulty finding arguments bearing on the question of whether a given feeling or bodily process is or is not a necessary part of its internal conditions of identity.

We have a more powerful argument – and also a deeper understanding of the phenomena – if we ask instead about the general identity conditions for grief, and whether there are elements necessary for grief in general that do not seem to be elements of judgment. In other words, if these elements should be missing, would we withdraw our ascription of grief? This is an extremely difficult question, about which we should be open-minded and humble, and prepared to change our minds. But I provisionally believe that the answer is that we do not find any such elements. There usually will be bodily sensations and changes of many sorts involved in grieving; but if we discovered that my blood pressure

⁵⁸ It is here that my view differs most from that of Ben-Ze'ev (2000): his view is more open-ended, including appraisals, feelings, and motivations into the account of emotion. Because he does not look for necessary and sufficient conditions for emotion, but instead for prototypes, which particular cases may resemble to a greater or lesser degree, it is difficult to compare our views, or to say how he would deal with the problems I raise here for claims that feelings and bodily movements are necessary for a given emotion type. To that extent, his view and mine may not really differ.

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

was quite low during this whole episode, or that my pulse rate never got above sixty, we would not, I think, have the slightest reason to conclude that I was not really grieving. (Quadriplegics lack altogether the usual connections between central blood pressure and heart rate regulatory mechanisms and peripheral effector mechanisms, and yet we have no difficulty thinking that such people really have emotions.) If my hands and feet were cold or warm, sweaty or dry, again this would be of no necessary criterial value, given the great variability of the relevant physiological connections.⁵⁹

And although psychologists have developed more sophisticated so-called measures, based on brain activity, it still seems intuitively wrong of them to use them as definitive of being in an emotional state. This is recognized in other recent work where a more cautious claim is typically made: for example, that the functioning of the amygdala is a necessary condition of normal emotional activity.⁶⁰ We do not withdraw emotion ascriptions otherwise grounded if we discover that the subject is not in a certain brain state. Indeed, the only way the brain state assumes apparent importance, in such experimental work, is through a putative correlation with instances of emotion identified on other, experiential grounds. Moreover, as we shall see in the next chapter, emotions cause physiological effects: so it is extremely difficult to say which effects are consequences and which are even plausible candidates for being parts of the experience itself.⁶¹

We should certainly grant that all human experiences are embodied, and thus realized in some kind of material process. In that sense, human emotions are all bodily processes. But the question is, are there any bodily states or processes that are constantly correlated with our experiences of emotion, in such a way that we will want to put that particular bodily state into the definition of a given emotion-type? And here we run up against an issue well known to biological researchers:

59 The psychologists' term "arousal" typically refers, often quite imprecisely, to changes of this sort: see Chapter 2. Gibbard (1990), p. 131, proposes that we think of evaluations as emotions minus "physiological arousal," but the precise meaning of "arousal," and its relation to the wide spectrum of the emotions, remains unclear.

60 See, for example, Pinker (1997), pp. 371–2 and Le Doux (1996), discussed in Chapter 2.

61 Seligman (1975) shows with powerful experimental evidence that the subject's cognitive condition may actually cause further physiological states that are sometimes (wrongly, in his view) identified with emotions.

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

the plasticity of the human organism, or, in other words, the multiple realizability of mental states. There is plasticity within a given subject: functions previously performed in one part of the brain may be assumed by another. Even in quite large-scale ways, the brain is a remarkably versatile and plastic part of the organism: people with damage to one hemisphere can frequently replicate a function associated with that hemisphere in the other hemisphere. Given this type of plasticity, there will also be variation between subjects: a function performed in one hemisphere in subject A may be performed in the other in subject B. For these reasons, if we said that grief is always of necessity accompanied by the firing of so-and-so many neurons of such and such type, we would be likely to find hundreds of cases for which this just isn't quite right. (And of course if we add to this reservation the fact that we will ultimately recognize in nonhuman animals emotions very similar to those we find in humans, the case for inserting a specific neural activity into the definition becomes weaker still.)

It would appear that the facts that prevent us from putting the physiological description into the definition are permanent facts about the type of organism we are, and the versatility of our design. However, we can certainly say that we are ready to change our minds, if things should turn out to be otherwise. In Chapter 2 I will return to the issue of physiological explanations, arguing that research in neuroscience in many ways confirms the type of view advanced here, and offers further illumination in connection with it.

(Another issue that arises here, and which will concern us in future chapters, is that much of the philosophical/religious tradition has ascribed emotions to god or gods,* often imagining god to be a bodiless substance. Thus if we should adopt an account that makes a particular physiological process a necessary condition for an emotion of a given type, its consequence would be that all of these thinkers are talking nonsense when they make these ascriptions. We may or may not believe that their accounts are correct, but it is a heavy price to pay to adopt from the start a view that entails that they are suffering from a profound conceptual confusion. I think that they are not confused.

*For the sake of evenhandedness toward monotheists and polytheists, I reject the convention whereby we standardly find 'God' but 'gods.' I depart from this practice when discussing historical texts in Part III, in order to follow standard usage in translating them.

PART I: NEED AND RECOGNITION

Whether we believe that bodiless substances exist or not, the reason it makes sense to imagine a bodiless substance having genuine emotions is that it makes sense to imagine that a thinking being, whether realized in matter or not, could care deeply about something in the world, and have the thoughts and intentions associated with such attachments. And that's all we really require for emotion. We can happily state that in human beings thought and emotion are, even necessarily are, enmattered forms, without concluding that this must of necessity be so for every emotional being. People who don't like this argument are free to ignore it, since it is not necessary for my conclusion.)

More plausible, perhaps, would be certain feelings characteristically associated with emotion. Anger is associated with a boiling feeling, fear with a chilled and queasy feeling. But here we should beware of the word "feeling," which is remarkably slippery and likely to mislead. We should distinguish "feelings" of two sorts. On the one hand, there are feelings with a rich intentional content – feelings of the emptiness of one's life without a certain person, feelings of unhappy love for that person, and so forth. Feelings like these may enter into the identity conditions for some emotion; but the word "feeling" now does not contrast with our cognitive words "perception" and "judgment," it is merely a terminological variant of them. And we have already said that the judgment itself has many of the kinetic properties that the "feeling" is presumably intended to explain. On the other hand, there are feelings without rich intentionality or cognitive content, let us say feelings of fatigue, of extra energy, of boiling, of trembling, and so forth. I think we should say about these exactly what we said about the bodily states: that they may accompany an emotion of a given type and they may not – but that they are not absolutely necessary for it. In my own grief, feelings of crushing fatigue alternated in a bewildering way with periods when I felt preternaturally wide awake and active; but it seemed wrong to say that either of these was a necessary condition of my grief.

We may want to grant here that there are some nonintentional feelings that are *frequently* associated with a given emotion: take boiling and anger, or trembling and fear. Nonetheless, it appears that here too the plasticity and variability of people (both of the same person over time and across people) prevents us from plugging the feeling into the definition as an absolutely necessary element. Many men report experiencing anger in connection with a boiling feeling; this seems to

EMOTIONS AS JUDGMENTS OF VALUE

be somewhat less true among women, or among people in general, who are taught to suppress or fear their own anger. My own experience of anger is that it is associated with tension at the back of the neck, or a headache that appears the next day. This doesn't mean that I am not really angry, as the further examination of the pattern of my statements and actions would show.

There are two distinct points here. First, if we are prepared to recognize nonconscious emotional states, such as nonconscious fear of death or nonconscious anger – as the next section will argue that we should, under carefully defined circumstances – then we cannot possibly hold to any necessary phenomenological condition for that emotion-type. Second, even if we don't like totally nonconscious emotions, we should recognize that there is a great deal of variability in the feeling states people characteristically experience in connection with a given emotion-type – variability both within a given subject and between subjects. My anger exemplifies both of these points: for at times it is entirely asymptomatic; and then, the following day, it will manifest itself in a headache. In neither case does it have the phenomenology of “boiling” that so many people report.⁶²

Do we get further by recognizing qualia, and saying that it's not *boiling* or *trembling* we're after, but the sui generis feeling of *anger*, which has a constancy across subjects, in something like the way that we imagine that seeing red has constancy? I don't feel that much is contributed by this move. So far as we can see, what has constancy across subjects is a pattern of thought, which is of course a type of experience. If we are to be convinced that there is anything further that

62. Of similar elusiveness is the concept of “affect” that is fundamental to the noncognitive account of emotion in Stocker (1996). Although Stocker announces his opposition to cognitive views of emotion, and introduces the psychological concept of “affect” as an element that will mark the difference between his view and cognitive views, it later becomes clear that the term is extremely capacious: he announces that “it is useful to have a common term for the affectivity common to emotions, moods, interests, and attitudes” (p. 20). When, finally, he insists that we should recognize unconscious affects, along with many contemporary psychoanalysts (p. 21), we seem to have lost our grip on the notion itself. Certainly it can't be a feeling, which we recognize by the way it registers in our awareness. Is it a kind of psychic energy? But what kind? And is the kind specific to each emotion-type, or is it something that distinguishes all emotions from nonemotions? Deigh (1998), reviewing Stocker's book, concludes that the term “affect” is a primitive term. I would say that if it is so understood, Stocker has not made out his case that we need to include it as a distinctive item in the definition of emotions, over and above the elements we have recognized already.