

The Intense Longing for Authenticity or Why People Seek out Adventure

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The disenchantment of the world has intruded into everyday life up to its last recesses. The command of an instrumental rationality has led to cognitive and emotional structures of self-discipline and self-control. At the same time and parallel to it a need begins to grow, that justice must also be done in those areas of subjectivity which instrumental rationale has suppressed more and more in the process of civilisation. Individuals consequently look for situations from which they expect that their structural conditions would allow the experience of an authentic subjectivity. In this context, the adventurous contests with the sublime; this side of nature takes over an important function in the way individuals manage their feelings. The often very intense and deep emotional excitement of fear, thrill, pain, surprise, happiness, pride or powerlessness, which can arise during adventurous activities, because of their structural requirements, convey the feeling of experiencing pure authenticity. Since this adventurous search for authenticity is not only hard but also perilous, and because it belongs to the mentality of the time to present authentic identities, individuals willingly buy the products of the outdoor and culture industries. However, they don't use these implements to go out for adventures, but as aesthetic signs which allow them to present an identity which seems to be authentic and up to date.

Introduction

In the second half of the 18th century, at a time when Adam Smith was a professor in Glasgow, Edmund Burke not only criticised the French revolution but also wrote his aesthetic theory on the Sublime and Beautiful (which has continued to receive attention until today) when England lost its North American colonies and Josiah Wedgwood made his contribution to the process in which factory discipline began to give structure to people's everyday life. At that time, Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, wrote 14 remarkable letters to his godson, in which he wanted to prepare him for his future position in the aristocratic world. In these letters, which had been preceded by 400 similar letters to his illegitimate son, Lord Chesterfield, who had a seat in the House of Lords, who was lord lieutenant of Ireland and who counted Swift, Pope, Voltaire and Montesquieu amongst his friends, gives an account of his wide experience as a courtier (cf. Stanhope 1992; Vowinckel, 1983). The following are extracts from his attempt to impress on his godson the duty, the usefulness and the means of how to please his contemporaries: "who is not courteous is a nobody in society. Thus, it should be his wish to please at all times, because this would bring high returns" (3rd letter).

But the bourgeoisie also cried - and how it did cry! In the novel "Siegwart" published in 1776 crying is described 555 times on 1179 pages (Lepenies, 1972: 98). These emotional outbursts, however, whose examples were imported from England, among others, through the novels by Richardson, were not used as a lie detector as in the courtly model, but they were undisguised expressions of the "nobility of the soul". Based on this mentality Claudius, the poet, asked Gerstenberg, the dramatist, "please give us a tragedy or other tragic pieces that make one cry heartily" (Lepenies, 1972: 98). The letter and friendship cult developed, one's innermost thoughts and feelings were confided to diaries, in music the soft, elegiac weepy tones of the "adagio rapture" were becoming fashionable, Herder wrote that we should live in ourselves and not in our business (Pikulik, 1984), the Werther passion was rampant and caused a host of suicides. All these aspects are a documentation of the growing establishment of an inner counterworld, where the authentic ego can feel at home.

And if then, the "beautiful soul" did go to the outside it would go to a place where it could unfold free of society, e.g. 'there in this sweetly misty valley, where Werther can feel the uncountable little worms and midges at his heart and where in the dusk the whole sky rests in his soul' (Goethe, 1929: 10). The bourgeois invented going for a walk as his autonomous form of movement counter to the transportation by sedan chair or horse carriage of the aristocracy. (Until recently it has still been a symbol of bourgeois family culture in the form of the Sunday walk.) In order to experience sun rises as paradise, people climbed mountains, for sunsets the sea was preferred (König, 1996; 1996 a). After Franklin invented the lightning conductor one could even enjoy thunderstorms.

But the real green revolt against courtly forms took place in the conception of the English landscape garden. The grottoes and caves of William Kent, William Chambers or of "Capability Brown", their insinuations of the Alps, their Gothic ruins, the surprising views, the seeming lack of limitation and their winding paths and waters, which were meant to touch the sensitive authentic soul - they were all directed against the trimmed artificiality of the hedges and trees, against the centralistic overview of the grounds with its *grande axe*, which ends - as in Versailles - in the bedroom of the ruler, against the exact geometrical formations of flower beds and lines of trees of the French garden, which all gave evidence of the intended distance to the original natural state and of the obsessive domination over nature.

This conception of an undisguised ego, in opposition to the courtly model of behaviour, which has to assert its original and authentic wishes and needs against the demands of conformity and pressure of standardisation of society, has remained alive until today. One could also say: It had to remain alive, because the pressures confronting the individual today have not become less; one only needs to look at the seemingly trivial dress codes of large companies in the services sector, for example. The great importance attached, for example, to the outer appearance of staff can be seen in the fact that some firms have declared Friday as a "dressing-down" day, where the respectability of a suit or even a dark suit can be exchanged for the comfort of jeans, crumpled-look jackets or pullovers. For this, General Electric has coined the term "boundary-less" (cf. Siemons, 1997). Dress is part of

the self-presentation policy of a company and its employees. The purpose is effect; certain things are to be highlighted, others hidden. This demands a high degree of self-distance from the employees.

Successful impression-management needs constant self-monitoring in order to be sure to present the correct and appropriate facade in every situation. The facade-ego gets into a chronic state of alert. From this a host of advisers arises, who are promising remedies and reassurance, and who, like for example Mrs. Frau Veronika Zickendraht (1993) in Germany, offer advice on surface stage-management and professional masquerades. The guide she has written promises those seeking advice that they will develop a feeling for how to put their image in the right light or present an attractive image. The aim is better self-marketing in order to climb the career ladder faster than competitors. There is almost no limit to her advisory obsession: hair, figure, spectacles, travelling bags, use of language, tie, skin care etc. The functional ego is prepared and trained in such a way that it becomes possible to apply the imperatives of economic rationality almost perfectly; a rationality which is directed towards tireless work, denial of lust in favour of future gains, towards productive usefulness, material values and self-interest, towards making a career and a methodical lifestyle, and which even buys the emotions of individuals in order to ensure the improvement of the corporate financial statement.

At one point in her book "The Managed Heart" Arlie Hochschild (1983) wrote: "The more the heart is managed, the more we value the unmanaged heart." The more regulations of emotions are demanded, or the greater the demand to distance oneself from oneself, the greater the wish to satisfy what individuals consider their spontaneous, free, true needs and emotions. In their leisure time, temporarily freed from the rational monitoring of methodical lifestyle, they discover self-loyalty and start out to seek their own true ego. They are accompanied by a stream of individuals who do not take the detours of professional constraint in their search for their authenticity. These are the authenticity seekers who are called hedonist individualists in critical analyses of civilisation. The German sociologist Gerhard Schulze (1992) believes that this group - in contrast to individuals in former times whose orientation was coping with scarcity - are not interested in reaching external goals, but in the increase of our emotional states. For them the project of beautiful living has replaced the pressure of material reproduction - at least in affluent societies. In their search for beautiful and fascinating experiences these hunters of fun follow the basic motivation of "Enjoy your life".

I think that outdoor activities and the various forms of adventure offer enough opportunities to fulfil the wishes of the authenticity seekers. A short glance at everyday life shows the immense popularity of these out-of-the-ordinary activities. The following list is based mainly on German conditions but I think that it is the same picture in other European countries with comparable economic structures. On what is called "Volkswandertage", a day when the whole nation goes rambling, 3000 - 5000 participants turn up. Every year, 100,000 people go on a pilgrimage on Jacob's Way to Santiago de Compostela. Those who do not like the religious connotations and prefer the flair of expedition go trekking in Nepal, in Costa Rica

or on the Milford Track in New Zealand – but it always remains a procession. Every continent becomes a source of adrenaline-boosting challenges. Free climbing in the south of France, fighting deprivation in the water deserts of the Atlantic and the sandy deserts in Africa, searching for opals in Australia. The less courageous get their kicks not only on route sixty-six but also on the rattling tracks of the silk-route express from Urumqui to Beijing. There is such a crowd of canoeists that wild-water rivers are closed or people are given specific times for their turn. The same is true for climbing routes or areas which are closed because the ecological balance in these areas cannot withstand the crush of climbers. Sailing, climbing, surfing, snowboarding, paddling or adventure and the outdoors are represented by up to three glossy magazines. The slide shows and talks by Reinhold Messner and other gentlemen of the outdoor scene are always sold out. There are two television channels that regularly show extreme activities and trend sports. Constantly, new activities are invented: house-running, base-jumping, sky-surfing, snow canoeing, air-bagging, to mention only a few. Whoever in advertising shows a nice, prettily dressed nuclear family happily following some activity, sets off disaster fantasies in young people. What is demanded is the atmosphere and world of experience of adventure and action, no matter whether it is chocolate, watches, perfume or cars that are to be sold.

At this point I will interrupt the sequence of evidence and impressions which could easily be supported with the appropriate figures by a quantifying empiricist. In the following I want to give three examples to show what role adventure plays in the “project of authentic life”. They go under the following headings:

1. The confrontation with sublime nature
2. The stage-management of the state of emergency
3. The recovery of one's true ego in adventure laboratories

The confrontation with sublime nature

Whoever confronts the wild, relatively untouched side of nature, i.e. whoever goes down roaring white waters between rocky obstacles, whoever uses rough mountain and forest trails, whoever sails against strong winds, whoever is caught in a raging storm at high altitude, whoever climbs over deep precipices or spends days on end in a sea kayak must always be prepared for something unexpected suddenly to happen, that interrupts the action in such a way that reaction is necessary, otherwise their safety or even life would be at risk.

This expectation of a possible loss of control and the uncertainty of it happening is a constitutive aspect of adventure. Without it the adventure would be a Sunday walk. Its dominance determines the experience of time of the adventurers, which differs considerably from everyday experience. In contrast to the elongation of routine, eventless everyday life, in the experience of adventurers the passage of time is reduced to the pure present. At the boulder, in the surf, in the torrent of water or in the forest at night there are moments of “fulfilled time”, in which the subjects are completely involved, and which make the epic length of their usual everyday life seem like a collection of trifles. The American psychologist Csikszentmihalyi (1985) by using the example of rock climbing has shown how

the focussing of the attention on the demands of the situation automatically excludes the "other world" and does not allow awareness of other difficult life situations. "Because every slackening of concentration, every wandering off to everyday concerns could have dire consequences, every flight of thoughts is dangerous". (Csikszentmihalyi, 1985: 112). In the concentrated confrontation with the sublime situation the thought-rich ego loses much of the importance it normally has. In this context, Ulrich Aufmuth (1996), a very experienced mountaineer, points out that in contrast to everyday life, mountain adventures, for example, gain attraction because they make demands especially on the non-intellectual powers and functions as well as the intelligence of the senses.

Where the source of experience is not the talking ego but the body and the senses, that is where individuals have this feeling of authenticity. In the process of successfully coping with the dangerous situations of their adventures, individuals believe they can feel how the assertion of their undeceivable physical identity claims its right. These vital decisions, which often have to be made very quickly, cannot be resolved by talking; no modern contingency awareness that everything might be quite different can push in between decision and its execution.

This feeling of authentic being is strengthened through the strong emotions that accompany the sublime situation of the adventure: fear, pride, panic, powerlessness, disappointment etc are so far away from the reflecting ego that the impression arises that they are a part of the genuine original inner nature. Emotions are felt here and now, and especially in adventurous situations one can show them without sanctions. Nobody needs to apologise for their tears of happiness or disappointment. Emotions cannot be refuted, either you have them or you don't. What Luhmann has said about fear is true for all emotions: "fear communication is always authentic communication since one can confirm personally that one is afraid and nobody can refute this ... fear withstands all criticism by pure reason" (Luhmann, 1986: 240). The longing for the undisguised genuine finds an anchor in emotions. The intensely experienced present does not allow the application of a time concept in the sense of past and future.

The fright or shock caused by suddenly arising natural opposition is directed straight into the future because it destroys the targeted plan of action. It frustrates the positive expectation of "this is how it should continue". Sudden events cancel the everyday experience of continuity, of regularity - more pointedly, of boredom - through questioning the future. The suddenly arisen obstacle of external nature puts pressure on the ordinary, which is contained in routine, and draws attention to the extraordinary features of the situation. It announces a new experience (cf. about the category of "suddenness" Bohrer, 1981). Although this break in continuity throws the adventurer into a crisis which he must solve, it also creates the feeling of self-controlled authentic action at the same time. Perhaps these moments of crisis can be compared to the extraordinary moments that Virginia Woolf called "moments of being", in which the wadding of trivial being tears apart. If - as Virginia Woolf (1998: 95) writes "every day holds more non-being than being" then the days of an adventurer would have a more than average share of authentic being.

Many seekers of the genuine and undisguised travel half way round the world to experience a few days of authentic forms of life and virgin nature. They do this true to 18th century tradition which believed naturalness, e.g. the "originelle simplicité" was located in the South Seas, and to Romantic tradition which assumed the authentic to be in the Scottish Highlands or in the far and near East. Today's topography of authenticity is differentiated more finely. It comprises the countries of the Himalayas, small fishing villages on faraway coasts, the natural landscapes of New Zealand, the outback down under, the countries along the silk road or the mountains and countries of the condor and the llama. How disappointed must be the canoeist who has come all the way from Scotland and who, in the light drizzle of Glacier Bay, has just taken a photograph of the disappearing tail fin of a whale as proof of authenticity for the people at home, when, on turning his canoe around, he discovers a huge white luxury liner of an American shipping company, full of passengers admiring the heroic landscape of Alaska, which television cameras transmit to their monitors in their cabins. How frustrated must be the liker from the south of England when on her trekking tour in New Zealand she finds Maoris with their faces painted playing cricket. But even in places where there has been no contact between different lifestyles yet, which might have destroyed what the European, tired of civilisation, imagines to be natural authenticity, this virginity is a bit tricky. Since what has been touched once loses its authenticity status, there has been a rush on such places, which of course are destroyed in the process (cf. Enzenberger, 1976). Therefore practising followers of authenticity should be suffering from a permanent sense of guilt because they are at the same time authenticity destroyers when they book walks or boat trips into untouched landscape or when they extend hearty greetings to the first native they come across. The traveller seeking authenticity overlooks all too easily the Latin motto of "Tecum fugis" ("you can't get away from yourself"), which points to the ego as a tiresome travel companion (cf. Lambrecht, 1994). Whoever is constantly on the move searching for authenticity will forget to live in an authentic way. Perhaps the problem of authenticity does not lie in the places but with the travellers.

The stage-management of the state of emergency

For the last few years one piece of clothing has made a career in Germany – the Barbour jacket. You can see at first glance that everything about it is uncompromisingly functional and that it is of life-long durability. If you ask yourself who would actually need a jacket with such utility value, what comes to mind is people who work out of doors in all weathers. Here are some associations with the various models: shepherds guarding their flocks, farmers walking behind the plough, lighthouse keepers who keep an eye on the turbulent sea, anglers sitting under a huge umbrella, fishermen pulling in their nets, post riders who leave their station at day break etc etc. What is it that makes people who do not live under such conditions put on this jacket? Before I attempt to answer this question let me give some more examples.

Recently, I have been observing more and more people who are wearing bright yellow, bright red or very colourful Antarctic-proof anoraks; I have been

observing more and more people who are wearing trousers with big and small pockets in every imaginable place. I have seen even older persons wearing coloured Goretex shoes with soles that offer excellent grip on rocks or shoes whose height and treaded soles suggest that they have been made to afford sure footing on rough terrain. One can see extremely light fleece pullovers with shoulder protection against the impression of the shoulder straps of backpacks and with goretex lining against severe cold and just as cold storms, students carry their books and writing utensils in rucksacks. All these products carry brand logos like Wolfspaw, Fox and Eagle, creating the image of an untouched and intact nature.

Not only the type of clothing is striking. There are other products that don't seem to fit to ordinary everyday life. In earlier times we had pocket knives with two blades; today pocket knives look more like miniature toolkits, which, quite logically, cannot be put into the pocket any more but have to be carried on the belt. Ordinary watches have become quite rare; they are called chronometers today and do not only measure time but also altitude and depth, temperature and air pressure and allow determination of position. They send alarm signals at a certain time or when certain predetermined functions have come to an end or have not been reached. The watch producer Longines has resumed the production of their aviation watch, which almost seems antique today. In the asphalt streets of cities you can see an increasing number of mountain bikes with knobbly tyres and hydraulic suspension, as well as off-road cars with visible spare tyres and protection bars in front against large game, with wheel and engine fittings made to cope with the water, mud, sand and stony ground of the jungle and desert. They carry the telling names of Patrol, Trooper, Cherokee or Discovery.

Very few of the owners of this type of equipment, or parts of it, will ever come face to face with an anaconda or a panther. Most of them spend their free time with their families in the Cotswolds or on the edge of the Lakes. While there is a clear logical justification for the off-road car for a sheep breeder in Australia, or for the red signal colour for an adventurer in extreme situations, or for the watch with GPS for the person in the deep-sea kayak, they lose their proper function in the streets of cities and on the evening walk around the block. There must be something in the material aspect of adventure, which has been taken out of its functional context, that has an extra meaning.

The psychologist Friedrich Heubach (1987) has pointed out that the acquisition of certain products can take on a heraldic function. Just as in former times where the granting of a coat of arms represented the typical characteristics of a person, the acquisition of a product beyond its necessary utility value today is indicative of the way the buyers see themselves. In their turn they can use these things to present in a very expressive way an outline of themselves. They may not actually have the opportunity to prove themselves, as they would in the world of real adventure, but as owners of jeeps, Wolfskin trousers and pocket knives on their belts they can at least participate in an imaginary way and offer their identification with it to the outside world. The messages that can be read are manifold: here is somebody who is always prepared for any extreme, here is somebody who is not looking for a ready-made world, but who is seeking what is natural, resilient,

undisguised, here is somebody who relies on his own abilities, or here is somebody who is searching for the rough, dynamic, surprising, the pure and genuine.

The messages may be aimed at authenticity, but the chosen path to get there is not the one of adventurous self-seeking and self-creation, which is strenuous, but the broad highway of surface stage-managing. The desired image directs the choice of which articles to buy, which are offered by a market of identity creators. Social acceptance is part of the deal because the lifestyle patterns of unadulterated authenticity and of a constant state of emergency have long been in fashion. Where bought stage-managing replaces the uncertainty of self-created identity, the presence of an audience is needed. Purchased authenticity belongs to the market places of the cities, not to places of sublime nature. It disappears when the audience goes home.

If one takes a kind view of this method of identity creation - as does the German sociologist, Gerhard Schulze - then this is a cultural technique which promises an intensification of the discourse about the beautiful life and offers individuals the opportunity to express their own emotions and wishes. "The stage-managing of the present is not untruthful but playful; it does not deceive but wants to shape; it is an indigenous form of reality of our culture. The essence of this form is that people make themselves real by staging themselves" (Schulze, 1999:11). If one takes a less kind view of this, then these people fail to find their self and their individuation. When buying the appropriate articles with the aim to gain individuality through them - whether imaginary or real - individuals subordinate their desires and emotions to the general form of goods and the standardised lifestyle, and fail to achieve their own uniqueness, which they are striving so emphatically to find and express.

The surrogates of authenticity make what is special and unique become a problem. Magazines like 'Fit for Fun' or 'Men's Health' or the outdoor scene boutiques can only offer a limited solution. Since all pseudo-authentic individuals have the same problem with what is special they all use the same sources of information and shopping outlets - unless they have received a tip-off which will not remain secret very long anyway.

The recovery of one's true ego in adventure laboratories

The USA, where the search for happiness is even written into the constitution, has not only presented us with programmed adventure but for some years they have also been exporting the concept of a group event which makes use of adventure as the basis of processes where the self becomes the central theme. "Adventure Based Counselling" makes the claim to help people, "to break the cycles of failure and bring about an increase in that person's ability to feel good about himself" (Schoel et al. 1988: 14). This is not the stage-management of the facade of an adventure by means of the appropriate articles, but the adventure itself is stage-managed in such a way that it serves the interests of the organiser. It is all covered by the motto "Don't worry, be happy". I am ok, you are ok. Everything - at least in the programme - is "focused on success experiences".

In order to ensure that the goals of finding one's self and self-development can be attained, participants go to a place totally isolated from their everyday life where they usually spend several days involved in various activities. Similar to the medical

treatment of a patient in a hospital, participants are taken out of their everyday sphere of personal responsibility and are brought into a situation where different rules apply, which are determined at the beginning of the workshop. Typical rules are: to be open and truthful, to let go, i.e. not to cling to the past or present nor to preconceived opinions, to be fully committed, to give mutual support and to guard their own and others' security. By explicitly agreeing to these rules, which are further confirmed by rituals and which then form the interaction ethos for the following days, there is the almost automatic implication that these rules are not valid anywhere else. Thus the reality outside the workshop prevents authentic living, whereas in contrast the workshop is given an aura because it makes it possible. Since the people who developed the concept are not quite sure of their ground the participants have to agree to a contract committing themselves to keeping the rules. This conclusion of a contract leads to a situation that cannot henceforth be renegotiated. It turns those who want to find themselves into subjects of law, who can be forced by contract to behave authentically. A more classic situation of the double bind cannot be imagined. Besides destroying the sense of community, which is so important to be able to cope with adventures, it also creates a paradoxical situation for the development of trust. In order to organise processes of authentic self-revelation in the first place an atmosphere of trust is needed. How can this be possible by contract?

A central element of the workshops is climbing and balancing activities at considerable height in trees or between stakes. The participants believe that they are going through an adventure, but the ropes turn into places of self-revelation. The balancing person shows the attentive audience the mental distress he or she is suffering up there in the trees which reveals itself in tears, shaking knees, blocks and petrified faces. Forced through the arrangement they cannot show more than their natural physical being. But this is the intention, because it is not the objective content of the activity that is the focus but the pure emotionality of self-revelation, the felt authenticity of feeling.

Back on the ground sufferers and compassionate spectators sink into each other's arms. The body language of suffering - and this the earlier mentioned Lord Kames also realised - generates compassion and thus community feeling much more effectively than language could ever do. Where in our daily lives could something like this happen, would one find acceptance of all one's weaknesses in such a way?

Whereas the activities serve to make physical experiences of oneself and others, the debriefings - the group reflections that take place after all activities - serve as a merciless analysis of the emotions participants lived through and their interaction experience and ruthless confessions. The classic book of this programme, "Islands of Healing", which stresses the aura of the extraterritorial in its title, recommends its presenters to make participants dig deep into their emotions (Schoel et al. 1989 : 169). Some participants confess that they have violated the contract and vow to do better, ask for a new chance, confess that they have not reached their personal goal yet and that they have not done enough for it. They also promise to try harder. Others say how bloody awful they thought the behaviour of a person

had been and how fantastic the support of another had been. Others want feedback about their strengths and others help to reach their goals.

This urge to confess resembles the revivalist rituals of a sect. The group mirrors and monitors. Nobody can escape. For the duration of the workshop everything happens under the eyes of the group. There is no "place to hide from control" anywhere (Willems, 1999: 84) which would allow a retreat from the group. The participants accept this because seen from the psycho-hygienic aspect of marginal utility there are, on balance, more advantages for them, which in "ABC", just like in the case of other types of group therapy for normal people, seem mainly to consist of the fact that for the duration of the workshop the principles of civilisation have been cancelled. "Self-control is replaced by spontaneity; instead of a long-term view 'here and now' is postulated and practised; instead of postponement, immediate satisfaction; instead of distance, commitment". (Willems, 1999: 139)

There is an abundance of opportunities, which are mostly absent in everyday life: the freedom to present oneself and one's biography before the sure attention of an audience, chances to try out things, the experience of direct intimacy, the guarantee of being taken notice of, the licence for symbolic aggression, opportunities to regress, insights into the secrets of other people (Willems, 1999: 138).

This great popularity of ropes courses, at least in Germany, shows the enormous demand for self thematisation and self discovery. As an instrument of psycho hygiene, the stage management of adventure of the ABC workshops offers authenticity seekers assistance in answering their questions as to what they actually feel and who they really are when the adverse influence of society is excluded. However, participants overlook or do not want to see the fact that they are part of a stage managed reality. Even at the very beginning, the contract violates the social relations that are automatically formed when coping with adventure by formally committing participants to predetermined roles. The authenticity, spontaneity, openness and truthfulness generated under contractual terms in an artificially engendered area of communications reproduces the manipulation that everyday living with its alienating pressure to perform and competitiveness is attacked for. Thus the search for the unblemished ego must go on.

I will come to a close. As I hope to have shown, there is a great attraction in adventure for regulating the psychological balance of modern people. It makes it possible to put everyday life, which is all too familiar and stuck in a rut, at a distance and to see it in a different light. If one follows Victor Turner's analysis of symbolic activities, adventures have an anti-structural and proto-structural potential. Among other things, adventures are anti-structural in so far as they break through the time structure of everyday life and turn empty, continuously passing time into fulfilled moments. Whether this also gives them a proto-structural effect in the way that individuals make changes in their everyday life is something I wouldn't dare to say. It is true that adventures possess this disturbing potential, but one must not underestimate too readily the persisting tendency of social structures. Perhaps adventures only fulfil a psycho-hygienic function and create a store of dreams and utopias of lost time. In Goethe's *Elegy "Alexis and Dora"* (1995: 424) it says:

It was only a moment that I lived, it makes up for
all the days that flow by and leave me cold ...

These lines seem to me a dignified close.

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Editors

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