



**Principles of Liberty: A Design-based Research on Liberty as A Priori Constitutive**

**Principle of the Social in the Swiss Nation Story**

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### Abstract

One of the still unsolved problems in liberal anarchism was to provide a definition of social constituency in positive terms. Partially, this had been solved by the advancements of liberal discourse ethics. These approaches built on praxeology as a universal framework for social formation detached from the need of any authority or rule, previous or external to the discursive partners. However, the relationship between action, personal identity and liberty within the process of a community's becoming solely generated from the praxeological a priori remained largely disputed. In order to develop a testable constitutional model, this study revised how the "ontological turn" was introduced into liberal theories and redefined the concept of liberty, usually understood as a moral goal or measurement for just actions, as the generative principal of all social existence; individual and interpersonal. For this purpose, the function of performative contradiction within the mechanism of interpersonal "encounter", as part of the co-generative process of individual becoming and social formation, was explored through the production of a game-based narrative historiography grounded on 19<sup>th</sup> century life writings, in the context of Swiss history, with a "design-based" research approach, resulting in a prototype for networked storytelling through which the transformative learning process could be made visible and the negotiation of competing individual visions of the future could be re-enacted.

*Key words:* social constituency, liberal anarchism, transcendental pragmatism, discourse ethics, Switzerland

**Declaration - Signature**

“I declare in lieu of an oath that I have written this doctoral thesis by myself, and that I did not use other sources or resources than stated for its preparation. I declare that I have clearly indicated all direct and indirect quotations, and that this thesis has not been submitted elsewhere for examination purposes or publication.”

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## List of Abbreviations

AI	Artificial Intelligence
ARG	Alternate Reality Game
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CoP	Community of Practice
DA	Discourse Analysis
GAS	Grand Argument Story
NRT	Non-Representational Theory
OOO	Object-Oriented Ontology
PAR	Participatory Action Research

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**Dedication**

In dedication to those who we are going to be and in honour of those who we have been.

*“God Is Alive, Magic Is Afoot”*

*(Cohen, 2011; Saint-Marie, 1969)*



## Chapter 1: Overview

Principles of Liberty: A Design-based Research on Liberty as A Priori Constitutive

Principle of the Social in the Swiss Nation Story.

### Problem Statement

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, liberal anarchism looked back to a proud tradition in theories, and a series of divergent approaches to set those theories into practice (Alexander, 2014; Heywood, 2012, pp. 160 ff.; Marshall, 2009, part 3 and 6; H. White, 2014, p. 22). Nevertheless, it was still considered a minor and rather eccentric approach in political philosophy. Sometimes falsely marked as a violent movement, in other occasions done away as a romantic utopian idea, its position within democratic studies was disputed (Red Jack, 2011; Springer, 2011). One of the major reasons for rejecting liberal anarchism was the lack of theories that could explain mechanisms of self-regulation in society and define social constituency under a liberal anarchist paradigm.

In the last few decades, the fusion of discourse ethics with liberal political philosophies offered new, promising approaches to this problem, advanced by Frankfurt school (Ramberg & Gjesdal, 2005). Nevertheless, their search for an escape from the relativism in Heidegger's (1962) "ontological turn", by transcending "norms" into "facts", remained fully a formal approach (Habermas, 1998). Liberal anarchist Hans-Hermann Hoppe (2006) proposed later a method that linked the a priori of mind with the concrete application of the speech act, which allowed him to demonstrate that the epistemological discrepancy between knowing and doing could be leaped. However, the gap between knowing and being remained still ambiguous. The existential question about becoming, i.e. constitutional processes as a general phenomenon, required precisely this link of epistemology with ontology in a universal, objective way. This

was intended, in Chapter 2, Sections *Ontological assumptions* and *Epistemological assumptions*, by introducing the “ontological turn” to Hoppean transcendental pragmatism through a discussion of the position of liberty within the logical framework of Austrian apriorism.

### **Purpose of Research**

In this research, the phenomenon of social constituency was explored primarily with the main goal to defend liberal anarchism as a viable and democratic social model. For this purpose, the current approach to concepts of social constituency was changed in two ways. First, instead of comparing forms of society, its constituent principle was analyzed at different levels of society, throughout different steps of the process; from the individual person towards the social community and its environment. Second, even unorthodox for liberal anarchist theories, this study proposed to understand liberty neither as a goal, nor as a value, but as the underlying first principle constituent for all forms of social life. At the heart of this study lied the entanglement of the phenomena of personhood, liberty and justice in social action. Through this, Mises’ (1949) idea of praxeology as “game” was retrieved, and beyond its methodological implications, it was used to describe society as a form of narrative game, based on the a priori of mind, in Chapter 2, Sections *Axiological assumptions* and *Rhetorical assumptions*, in which the game rules themselves advocated policies for self-guided governance based on humanist ethics.

### **Significance of the Study**

The most significant result of this research was the definition of regulative mechanisms in self-organized societies and potential points of intervention, leading towards a model for practical application of self-governance; defined as a liberal “covenant community” (Kinsella, 2010). Furthermore, this research was concerned in finding an alternative to the current paradigm of society as a “war in suspense” and progress as a form of “creative destruction” on which

most revolutionary theories based (Spencer, Kirchhoff, & White, 2008; M. Weber, 2003, p. 324). Thus, from the overall idea, linking theory and methodology, resulted the conception of governance as an alternate reality game (ARG), in which the constitutional dynamics emerged from a genuine act of liberty and mutual interpersonal cooperation (Hansen, Bonsignore, Ruppel, Visconti, & Kraus, 2013).

In addition, the approach of this study, offered a possibility to ground ethics on rational principles, even though their specific character was to take decisions that went beyond rational thought (A. Schweitzer, 1960). Therefore, it defined ideal liberal communities as a transcendental covenant in Chapter 2, Section *Theoretical orientations*, and searched for measurements or orientation for ethical actions that set a counterpoint to the general tendency of relativism in current social sciences. As a practical conclusion, the study here provided further insight into current questions of ethics at the angular point between the field of social organization, security studies, law and education as discussed in Chapter 2 *Critique of previous research*. As such, this study drove the Schutz-Lavoie approach in Austrian school further, in a way that could not only leap the “ontological gap”, but also give a clear orientation in Austrian ethics (Lavoie, 2005).

### **Research Design**

Inspired by the analogy with a narrative game, the research design was planned as an engaged inquiry within action research, based on a non-representational (NRT) design approach with a multimodular orientation (Ingold et al., 2015). Defined in Chapter 3, empirically, the research process was grounded on historical, autobiographical texts, written within the context of the Swiss people’s socio-political transition from the *ancient regime* towards the modern nation state, during the long 19<sup>th</sup> century (Eibach & Cottier, 2013; Schelbert, 2014). Detailed in Chapter

5, along different modules, the data were analyzed as discourse with techniques of Goffman's (2005b) and Burke's (2005) dramaturgical analysis, and as existential performance based on Frankl's (2010) logotherapy. Unlike conventional research strategies, the principle result were not the data or the answers to concrete questions, but a justified and tested research design which itself became a tool for self-guided social interaction with the aim to improve self-governance, outlined in Chapter 5, Section *Summary of results*.

A key issue was to frame the “ontological turn” within a liberal mind set, conserving the basic principles of the Austrian methodology, which was exposed in Chapter 2, *Methodological assumptions*. Such a framework for the universal a priori of mind was given by the narrative theory of Phillips and Huntley's (2014), starting from the concept of the “story mind”. This was further explored through Hoppe's (2006) concept of “performative contradiction” as a sign of Propaganda in social constituency (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 253).

### **Research Questions**

The key questions to be explored, in Chapter 3, *Research questions*, were the constitutional function of liberty within the phenomenon of personal “encounter”, as described by Laín Entralgo (1983), and the specific role of “conflict”, resulting from the plurality of personal existence within the constitution of the social; already discussed in Chapter 2, *Ontological assumptions*.

A mean to solve this question was the design of a framework for scientific interaction, in a “design-based” research approach, which allowed to explore, on the one side, the moment of “performative contradiction” as the expression of a person's intent to overcome a perceived noo-dynamic tension within the experience of interpersonal “encounter”, following Frankl's (2011) logotherapy, and, on the other side, to create an opportunity for such an “encounter” in which

social constituency could be re-enacted as a transformative learning process, using Fulda's (2014) a game-based "historiographic narration", set up on life writings produced during a phase of significant socio-political change, concluding in a general qualitative description of the formative framework of social constituency represented in the national story, as the materialization of a "meaning context", resulting from the negotiation of ethical decisions taken, by participants, mitigating the "performative contradiction" in the "encounter" of competing "vision[s] of the future"(Makinde, 1990, p. 120).

Special attention was given to the confrontation of subjective, present and individual meaning with the objectiveness and radical "otherness" of future meaning; which were two mutually interdependent requirements for subjective self-understanding causing tensions between experiences of liberty and justice (Lain Entralgo, 1983, 1999, 2013a).

### **Assumptions and Limitations**

The main assumptions, as defined in Chapter 2, *Epistemological assumptions*, were the a priori of liberty, resulting from this the interdependence of personal and social identity, and the "crisis of performance" as an essential effect of liberty, experienced as "existential frustration", necessary for the individual's development of a creative solution to ethical dilemmas (Leach, 2013, pp. 6-7). Further, it was assumed that a twofold opposition of mutually exclusive values formed a logical set of tasks, a kind of tetralemma, necessary for social constituency, which could not be solved by logic but only through a personal ethical decision. These dimensions of conflict were reflected within this study at the theoretical, methodological and practical level, and conceptualized in Chapter 2, Section *Axiological assumptions*.

The impossibility to simulate "encounter", and the delineation of a dissertation research as an individual work, posed an important methodological limitation to this study, which could

only be partially overcome by the engaged approach. Therefore, it invited to develop the design further a participatory action research (PAR), as explained in Chapter 3, Section *Rationals for a non-representational performative methodology* (Kindon, Pain, & Kesby, 2007). The theoretical foundation of liberal anarchism as a utopia based on “tragic optimism” deprived this study from the possibility to offer any final solution or best practices, which could easily be copied (Wong, 2014). The research results suggested that, in last consequence, social constituency relied on the personal willingness of a society’s members to try to overcome a logical problem, also known as the “tragic triad”, of which the only universal ethical test was the evidence of Reverence for Life, which as an absolute term was practically unachievable degrees of relative compliance existed, and for which no (Frankl, 2014a; Lukas, 1990; A. Schweitzer, 1965; Taylor, 2009). As a conclusion, this research approach could only provide orientation for the individual decision maker, but never offer objective measurements to judge on others, who in reality would always escape control.

Another difficulty, was the need of a broad an in-depth data collection and analyses, whereas the results did apparently rely only marginally on the empirical findings given in Chapter 4. Kinsella’s (2010) introduction of the “covenant community” was proposed as a mental model to describe and analyze a society’s “peacefulness” (non-violence), as a liberal anarchist option to the general Weberian (2003) paradigm of democracy as a “war in suspense” (p. 324; see Chapter 3, Section *Research questions*). But, rather frustrating for the researcher, there were no empirical measurements of the “covenant”, at least none that were practicable. The “covenant” was rather something that had to be experienced through the intent modifying a narrative account of the past and its limitation by (a) the factual relicts of past actions, and (b) the universal framework of the mind. As such historiography became a unique tool for political

constituency. The question, if the comparison of historiographic narratives would allow some approximation to the question of more or less successful, i.e. ethical, societies, had to be handed over to future research.

### **Operational Definitions**

The most important operational definitions were discussed in the Subsections of the Section *Research Paradigm Assumptions* in Chapter 2, and laid out around the philosophical concepts of (a) Austrian apriorism, resumed in *Theoretical orientation*; (b) action, as discussed in *Ontological assumptions*; (c) personhood, in *Epistemological assumptions*; and (d) rights *Axiological assumptions*. The divergent theoretical background of this study included Kantian transcendental philosophy, existential psychology, as well as social and literacy theories related to discourse and performance analyzes, which marked the set of technical terms required for a proper understanding of the argumentative flow within this study.

#### **Terms from political philosophical.**

A series of terms with an ample frame of interpretation in natural language, were also highly controversial in its use in political philosophy. Therefore, the application of the most crucial ones, for the study in here, should briefly be defined in this section.

***Apriorism.*** Apriorism was defined here in the sense of Aristotelian apriorism as shared by the Austrian school (Rothbard, 1957; B. Smith, 1996). The theoretical foundation of the term was applied in consistency with modern logic and philosophy of language which took logic no longer for an apriori (Bueno & Colyvan, 2004; McKinsey, 1987).

***Action.*** Based on Plotinian apriorism, “action” discerned “pure action” or action proper and “action” (de Garay, 1989; Gurtler, 2009; Remes, 2013). The first was understood as the logical implication of total potentiality, an eternal performance of becoming. The second was

reckoned as a performance existentially limited by the material boundaries of the concrete world. Further, following Schutz's (1967) use of the term, "action" was defined as purposeful and performative; distinguished from "act" as its product or completion, as well as from "conduct" or "behavior" as non-teleological and consciousless (pp. 53-69).

***Personhood.*** Person or personhood was used as a technical term here that defined any entity with the quality of liberty from which the ability to discursive performance arises and distinguishes it as a subject from objects. Given that from the scientific point of view there was no evidence why a biological category, the species, should determine a metaphysical phenomenon, this term was preferred over the general understanding of persons as human beings, mankind or similar expressions that limit beforehand the phenomenon of personal identity to a species (Laín Entralgo, 1999; Martínez, 2004). By stretching the meaning of this term, it was possible to define the person formally as an entity which included the qualia of mind; a quality that could be tested performatively through the engagement in individual interpersonal "encounter" (Hutter, 2006).

***Rights.*** In philosophical writings, there were three terms which remained often ambiguous and led to confusions; liberty, rights and power.

Liberty, was understood in here as absolute power, but as power in potentiality (de Garay, 1989). Generally, in liberal thought, injustice was a result of some sort of coercion, i.e. limitation to liberty. This included the assumption that under certain conditions the limitation of liberty was just. To establish criteria which defined these conditions was the main function of rights in formal ethics. In this study here a completely different approach had been chosen, based on a shift in the understanding of liberty as the first principle of any system of rights, and identical with action. Coercion was, in first place, not understood as the result of a concrete



action, but as generated through the materialization of pure action in the concrete execution of an act in the world. This implied, that the potentiality of materialization included an intrinsic potential for conflict between its a priori origin, liberty, and its self-coercing quality. From this could be derived that just actions in the strict sense belonged to a formal category, which could not be realized pragmatically; they could not exist. In turn, obligations, in philosophy, could be defined as an action that must be executed in order to justify its rightfulness. By defining the phenomenon of personhood as discursive, the obligation that endowed an entity with the right to exist, was the act of materialization. This very act, simultaneously, was also the origin of the person's limitations. Therefore rights and obligations were always understood a co-constitutive. Further, it had to be remarked here, that this research was not interested in rights as part of a positive law, but only in the universal principles which justified a positive law system (e.g. Kelly, 2014 on ethics and responsibility).

**Terms from Dramatica's theory of story.** Dramatica was a tool for creative writing and literary critics which defined a universal framework and dynamics for the process of story writing, which based the story structure on a theory of the universal structure of mind (K. E. M. Huntley, 2014; M. A. Phillips, 1997). This theory used an extended and complex set of terms which were drawn from common language. It layed the ground for the methodological approach in here, especially orientating the structural coding process and discovering game dynamics. A complete reference system of the Dramatica terminology was published in the *Dramatica Dictionary*; also available online (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2004). As a further resource serves Cuddon & Habib's (2013) *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. In order to discern them from the common use of the words, they were capitalized in here. A few key terms should

be anticipated her: Story, Character, Role, Themes. Other terms will be explained where they apply or are referred in the *Dramatica Dictionary*.

**Story.** A Story is a mental model of reality. It was distinguished from a Tale insofar that it “seeks to make an argument” while a Tale did not. A “story acts as a message” that proposes a unique solution to a problem which was carried out by the main character in the Story. Where Tales offered alternative views on problem-solving approaches, stories defended a theory in which a concrete and “particular approach”, and only this approach caused a specific positive or negative outcome (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). A special form of story was the Grand Argument Story (GAS) which was defined as an internally complete and coherent presentation of a theory and its proof by the coherent arrangement of all possible perspectives on this problem. In short, it defends a world view (K. E. M. Huntley, 2014). A Grand Argument Story was defined by sixty four “dramatica elements” which were the building blocks that defined the story in Dramatica structure.

**Character.** Character in Dramatica theory was “a specific perspective or collection of dramatic elements that are embodied by a player”. Character retained stable characteristics and maintained “consistent viewpoint (with regards to the story goal/problem)” throughout the story (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2014). Further had to be distinguished between Player and Role. The Player was the real person behind a Character, the Role was a more or less archetypal function she had within the dramatic structure of a Story. Sixty of the sixty four “dramatica elements” defined the character which converted Dramatica in a strongly character driven approach for analyzing dramatic actions.

**Role.** The Role was the way in which and by which a player presented him or herself to the audience and engaged in a performance. A Role was defined as a consistent form of

performance (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2014). This term revealed to be congruent with its use in Goffman's dramaturgical analysis (Goffman, 2006; Jones, 2012; R. Smith, 2011).

**Themes.** A Theme was "an argument about the relative worth of different value standards" (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2014). Themes were understood within Dramatica as context independent and served as comparative units. They should not be confused with the use of theme as in the theme-rheme structure of sentences in linguistics (Berry, Thompson, & Hillier, 2014; Halliday, Matthiessen, & Matthiessen, 2014), neither with theme as unit in "discourse topicality" (Dooley, 2007). Even though Themes hold a very loose relation to both, Dramatica used Themes as basic units with structural functions, limited to a given number of sixty for Themes that comprise a clearly demarcated definition for each of them (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2014). Wherever Themes were addressed in another sense than the one defined by Dramatica, then they were referred preferably with their synonymous term topic and in small letters.

**Terms from Goffmanian Dramaturgy.** Dramaturgical analysis was originally based on the work of Erving Goffman (1956) and had already a respective tradition. It included a specific terminology which was not always intuitively understandable. A primary source for the use of this terminology was the extended corpus of works by Goffman (1956) himself especially his core work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Besides original sources written by Goffman, there existed a series of comprehensible handbooks which were used as references in this research (Chemers, 2010; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Irelan, Fletcher, & Dubiner, 2010; J. G. Knowles & Cole, 2007). For the methodological aspects of the terminology especially Brisset & Edgley's (2005) handbook was consulted. For special uses in the context of digital reality references were found by Markham (2013) and for an application in the field psychotherapy Angus and McLeod (2004) offered a practical handbook. A further important source was

Schwalbe (2013) who was especially concerned with the terminology of identity and situation. White (1995) had developed a dictionary for dramaturgical terms which unfortunately were not updated. Also the Cuddon & Habib's (2013) Dictionary mentioned above should be recommended here. Dramaturgy was an important element of the hermeneutic analysis used in this research. The terms from Goffman's theory which were most relevant in this research were: "footing", "impression management", "encounter", and "performative contradiction".

**Footing.** Footing was largely explained by Goffman (1981a) in his article of the same name published in *Forms of Talk* (pp. 124-159). It expressed alignment of an author with a given setting and changed when the situation or the audience changed. Related terms were framing and alignment. Wine (2008) dedicated a complete work to the analysis of the phenomenon of footing in context. Footing was for example expressed by the use of register. It could be a verbal or a non-verbal phenomenon (Hoyle, 1998).

**Impression management.** "Impression management" was part of Goffman's (1956) core work and a compact introduction could be found in Schlenker's (1980) *Impression Management: The Self-Concept, Social Identity, and Interpersonal Relations*. The comprised techniques that an author used to shape the presentation of his or her self to the audience in order to manipulate the audience perception. As such it involved not only knowledge, skills and abilities about personal identity and its limitations, but it also required also empathy with the audience in order to calculate audience expectations adequately. The intention to manipulate audience perception was also defined by Dramatica's term Propaganda (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2014). However, their explanatory approach was different. "Impression management" concentrated on specific tactics in the use of language and semantics, as for example one's "self-enhancement" or an "excuse" (e.g. Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007, pp. 486-487). Propaganda in turn was a wider concept. Even though

semantics played a role, it was further directly linked to the organization and presentation of an argument within the structure of the Grand Argument Story (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2014).

***Encounter.*** “Encounter” was a term where methodology (dramaturgy) and theory (existential philosophy) overlapped in the most evident form. According Goffman (2009), “encounter” occurred between a performer and the audience who defined a standard as a quasi objective frame. “Encounter” was a potential risk for the integrity of the role. Where a performance failed to meet the standard it resulted in a “crises of performance” which could cause feelings of shame which were materialized in the phenomenon of stigma. Through the techniques comprised in “impression management”, stigma should be mitigated by concealment, which signified actually a form of disrapture of the discourse, i.e. a limitation of personal liberty. Thus, stigma were a symptom that signalized a failure in interpersonal “encounter”. In existential philosophy especially Pedro Laín Entralgo dealt with this problematic and identity threatening aspect of “encounter” under the term of the Other through which he could describe the paradox effect of “encounter” as equally threatening and constitutive (Laín Entralgo, 1978, 1983, 1999; Martínez, 2004). Whereever the Other or Otherness were mentioned in the sense Laín used it, the term was capitalized. Through “encounter” dramaturgical analysis and existential philosophy were largely overlapping, even though from different perspectives. “Encounter” played also a major role in relation to understanding the Hoppean (2006) term of “performative contradiction”.

**Terms from Franklian existential psychology.** Logotherapy was developed by Viktor E. Frankl (2010) as an alternative approach in psychotherapy to Freud’s (2013) approach of psychoanalysis and Adler’s (2013) individual psychology. Logotherapy was primarily not meant to be an analytical tool but to be a therapeutical tool. It did, therefore, not offer standards by which psychological states or problems were objectively defined but rather seeked to give a

framework to therapeutical inquiry that enabled the other to find meaning in his or her current situation. For this purpose, logotherapy introduced a third category apart from physical and psychological phenomena; mental phenomena or noetic phenomena, related to the mind or noos. Besides Frankl's (2010) extended works, there existed a number of handbooks in very divergent fields that assessed the right approach to Franklian terminology (Biller & Stiegeler, 2008; Crumbaugh, 1979). In existential philosophy Batthyány, Kaslow and Ponsaran should be mentioned here (Batthyány, 2009; Kaslow, Massey, & Massey, 2004; Ponsaran, 2007). Schulenberg (2003) evaluated especially the empirical potential in Franklian theory, while Roberts (2000) offered a practical introduction. The application of logotherapeutical concepts by Frankl's scholar Elisabet Lukas (2014) had found special attention in this study here, as well as the comprehensible compendium edited by Wolfram Kurz and Franz Sedlak (Wolfram Kurz et al., 1995). The most relevant terms used were "nous", "noodynamic tension", "neurosis" and "meaning".

*Noos.* The term "nous" could also be found in literature written as noos or as noös. It referred to the mind in an existential sense. As such "nous" was distinct from mind the object of investigation in neuroscience. It was also understood as a separate category from psych as a physical phenomenon; comprising broadly as emotions as an independent category from sensations. Both categories were also controversial topics in other schools of psychology. However, they were not the primary goal of inquiry in logotherapy. "Nous" was an existential category that drove persons to strive for meaning as a condition for being. In order to keep "nous" oriented towards meaning, assumingly a special attitude was required. Therefore, logotherapy was mainly a motivational and rather future oriented therapy in comparison to other schools.

**Noodynamic tension.** The “noodynamic tension” was a tension in the mental process between what is and what should be. It was caused by the intrinsic ethical quality of the person and was as such a constant. The “noodynamic tension” was a positive aspect, a driver for action. It was not analogue to the concept of “performative contradiction”, which was rather similar to the logotherapeutical concept of “tragic triad” and “neurosis”.

**Neurosis.** Following its use in logotherapy, the term “neurosis” was defined as a symptom that arose from the lack of “noodynamic tension” and the absence of individual meaning in life. It was closely related to the concept of “performative contradiction”.

**Meaning.** Meaning in logotherapy, drew originally on Kierkegaard’s concept of will to meaning as an alternative to Freud’s will to pleasure and Adler’s will to power and was developed by Frankl (2014) in his work *Man’s Search for Meaning* (see also: Viktor E. Frankl, 2014, preface). It was the central focus of logotherapeutical activity which defined its goal as to support the finding of meaning in life. As Wolfram Kurz et al. explained, logotherapy had its name from the Greek translation of the word meaning; “logos”. Meaning was discerned as a personal, subjective and individual phenomenon (Wolfram Kurz et al., 1995). It was a representation, or performance, that unified practical reality with an abstract ideal. Meaning was explained along the model of a triangle in logotherapy that included creativity, experience and attitudinal change in a dynamic relation. Meaning was closely related to the “tragic triad” (Lukas, 1979, 1990) and overlapped with the Burke’s cycle in dramaturgical analysis (Bobbitt, 2007; Brock, Burke, Burgess, & Simons, 1985; K. D. Burke, 1969; C. Carter, 1992).

## **Summary**

In sum, the reader would not be provided with final answers to concrete ethical questions, but with a model for a game which allowed to re-enact the research experience exploring the

constitutive moment of society and negotiating a “vision of the future” in a “networked collaborative narrative” (Makinde, 1990, p. 120). This game allowed a controlled practice of emergent social dynamics, which aimed to serve as a didactic method for social learning and the development of peaceful societies, as exemplified in the suggestions in Chapter 5, especially Section *Conclusions and Practical Recommendations*. Finally, this research nurtured the hope, to provide a model within which anarchist theories could not only be experienced as a constitutive practice, but that it was also able to reveal that at the root of true anarchism lay necessarily a radical pacifist movement.



## Chapter 2: Literature Review

The scope of this research was to explore the relation between the constitution of personal identity and the constituency of society under consideration of the “noetic dynamics” between the abstract and the concrete, along with the creation of meaning as a binding act (Frankl, 2011, pp. 126, 262, 2014), based on a libertarian approach within the tradition of the Austrian school of economics. In the following, the Section *Research Paradigm Assumptions* reviewed Hans-Hermann Hoppe’s (1989, 1993, 2004) “argumentation ethics” from the view point of Lavoie’s (2011) “ontological turn” (P. A. Lewis, 2005, 2011). Subsequently, the Section *Theoretical Orientation* gave an overview of the theoretical framework that informed the latter “performative exploration” of the societal constituency (Gergen & Gergen, 2012, p. 261). Key theoretical elements, therein, were: (1) strict apriorism based on “liberty as [a] first principle” (de Garay, 1989) generating personal identity in reply to a “crisis of performance” (Leach, 2013, pp. 6-7); (2) formal and pragmatic interdependence between individual and societal constituency materialized in the phenomenon of “encounter” (Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2014); and (3) a description of the ideal libertarian society as a “covenant community” (Hoppe, 2001, pp. 215-218; Kinsella, 2010). Recapitulating, this theory could be defined, along with Prychitko and Storr (2007), as “rational mysticism” in “transcendental-pragmatic” (p. 270); triangulating Austrian praxeology with Schweitzer’s (2009) ethics and Franklian (2011) individual psychology. Concluding, this chapter included a *Critique of Previous Research* in which praxeology as the ritual performance of mutually constitutive interpersonal “encounter” was positioned with the current trends of the Austrian school.

### Research Paradigm Assumptions

Starting from the basic assumption that personal identity was co-constitutive with social identity and based on an individual ethical action, this research inferred that ethics depended on three entangled theories: namely, (1) a theory of liberty; (2) an action theory and; (3) a theory of sovereignty (see Kaplan, 2013; Lipari, 2012). This section explored personhood, or the phenomenon of personal identity in relation to societal constituency from five different theoretical perspectives. First, along philosophical apriorism in the *Ontological assumptions* (p. 33) the interpersonal dynamics of the phenomenon were uncovered. Second, in the *Epistemological assumptions* (p. 44), the problematic concept of consciousness was further defined through the controversy about praxeology as either an ontological or an epistemological theory. Third, under *Axiological assumptions* (p. 49), the concept of “*guilt*” was suggested as a categorical higher analytical tool in action theory that included the entangled concepts of coercion, duty and responsibility. Fourth, in the paragraph *Methodological assumptions* (p. 57), the effects of the “ontological turn” on Austrian praxeology were discussed. And fifth and least, in *Rhetorical assumptions* (p. 65), the aprioristic structure of action was describe as a narrative structure; based on liberty as intrinsic to the person’s mindfulness and generative for the phenomenon of societal constituency. Concluding, it was assumed that praxeology in essence was the performance of a story, or a storytelling action, in which a person presented its own life as the main argument and from which, through successful negotiation, society emerged. For a systematic overview on the logical order of liberty and where the different schools positioned refer to *Appendix A*.

**Ontological assumptions.** The earliest Austrian tradition was based on Ludwig H. E. von Mises (1881-1973) and his scholar Friedrich A. von Hayek (1899-1992) giving special focus

on choice-making and exchange within “spontaneous order”, and offering a developed opus on game-theory and their unique action theory; praxeology (Hayek, 2014a; Mises & Mayes, 1990). This tradition was a formal contract-based approach relying on a Popperian philosophy of science (K. R. Popper, 1961, 2013; Gerhard Radnitzky, 1976). Characteristic for this approach was the return to the original project of classical liberalism, which understood the purpose of societal constituency out of a strategical-defensive motivation and in consequence searched for a definition of the state constitution which would not conflict with individual liberty; strictly understood as negative liberty or “libertas a necessitate” (Hayek & Hamowy, 2011; Hayek, 2014, pp. 59-65). A further important contribution was Bouillon’s (2011) exact localization of morally relevant actions through his distinction between “object-decisions” and “meta-decisions” in relation to the differentiation between natural from man-made restrictions, and further, coincidental “spontaneous” restrictions from intentional ones (pp. 43-45). Even though Hayek (2014) worked on a concept of “ability”, and de Jasay had formally proved that a State was not a necessary feature of society, it seemed neither possible to give a positive description of a spontaneous societal constituency nor to explain what would motivate its emergence (de Jasay, 1985, 2013; Hayek cited in Wootton, 1945, p. 10).

In order to explore the phenomenon of social constituency it was necessary to define the ontological framework that could account for communicative actions. However, political philosophy seemed to run in circles when explaining the related phenomena of personal identity, societal constituency, human action and ethics. Three grand questions could be discerned: (1) how to explain the entanglement of knowing and being as claimed by the supporters of the “ontological turn”; (2) how to describe the relation between body and mind within the phenomenon of communicative action; and (3) which function liberty had in the distinction

between personal existence and objects deprived of personal identity within the larger framework of science.

It was Hoppe's (1993a) life work to solve circularities in the definition of social constituency. He based his theory on Rothbard's (1994) economic approach and the transcendental philosophy of Habermas' colleague Karl Otto Apel (1980a, 1980b, 2001). Hans-Hermann Hoppe (2004, 2006) described his own, libertarian, discourse ethics as an alternative to Habermasian "communicative action" and a further development of Misesian praxeology (J. Habermas & Melo, 2013; J. Habermas, 2014a, 2014b). Hoppe and his fellow scholars dealt especially with problems of "proportionality" (Kinsella, 1996, 2013), and the formal definition of the liberal concept of "self-ownership" (van Dun, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c). Hoppe's (2004) major effort lied in defining a universal ethical principle, free from the suspicions of relativism or the use of utilitarian arguments (Prychitko & Storr, 2007). Key for this study, however, was that he inspired intensive debates in the function of liberty in relation to "understanding" and "truth" Prychitko and Storr (Habermas, 1992, p. 11; Prychitko & Storr, 2007, pp. 257, 261). The compelling theory of "argumentation ethics", however, seemed rather to justify the classical liberal right of "self-defence" than to describe the libertarian community in its making of society. The researcher here believed that through Lavoie's (2011) "ontological turn" Hoppe's (2004) theory could finally lead towards it.

***A priori of meaningful action.*** Hans-Hermann Hoppe (2004) had described how social norms, a "rule" or a "law", were constituted through communicative actions when he delineated a general theory of justice, through a "Theory of Propositional Exchange" in his "argumentation ethics" (pp. 4-5). This idea was originally introduced by Mises as the "law of catallactics" (Mises, 1949, p. 233) and, later, by Hayek (2012) as "catallaxy" (p. 267). Rothbard (1994) had

developed the concept when he resumed Mises' (1949) book *Human Action* as a “general formal theory” in which he distinguished five categories of action within praxeology: (A) “The Theory of the Isolated Individual”, (B) “The Theory of Voluntary Interpersonal Exchange”, (C) “The Theory of War”, (D) “The Theory of Games”, and (E) an “unknown” category (Rothbard, 1951, pp. 943-946).

The claim for universal rights in the Rothbard-Hoppe approach came not out of nothing but was based on its implicit anthropology. As such, Rothbard (2003) stated that “individuals possess[ed] rights not because we [felt] that they should, but because of a rational inquiry into the nature of man and the universe” (p. 155).

Already in his commitment fighting against animal rights, Rothbard (2007) remarkably tried to define consciousness universally, but just to narrow it down, immediately after to the human species (see also Rothbard, 2003; Sciabarra, 2000, pp. 210-217). He based his argument on the observation that animal behaviour would be lacking “respect for the “rights” of other animals (Rothbard, 2007). In this illustration it seemed that some sort of “*informal fallacies*” had been smuggled in into Rothbard's (2007) statement. Firstly, he expressed a “*naturalist fallacy*” thinking that from the observation of an action one could conclude about its meaning; for example by distinguishing murder from killing. Secondly, he used a “*moral fallacy*” when concluding that an entity, assumingly a moral entity, had to behave according to its moral standards, just because it was able to recognize them. Whatever Rothbard (2007) had observed as animals' mutual disrespect, it was no prove for their inability to understand moral concepts. Thirdly, in Rothbard's (2007) observation it was not clear if the disrespectful behavior was due to (a) a certain state (or lack) of consciousness; (b) because of the relation between the agent and the object of action as intra-species; (c) because of the purposefulness of the “disrespect”. The

given example was just too ambiguous and incomplete to serve as valid comparison (on fallacies see e.g.: Ayer, 2012; Blair, 2012).

These kind of argumentations revealed the importance between a definition of action, or “human action”, a moral philosophy, meaning and anthropology, when concrete philosophical problems should be linked to theory. The naturalistic fallacy was related to the definition of personhood in Hoppe’s (2004) theory. (A) “The Theory of the Isolated Individual”, also defined by Rothbard (2003) as “Crusoe Economics”, posed the core problem to the ontological assumptions, in here. (B) “The Theory of Voluntary Interpersonal Exchange”, broadly known as “market economics” or “economics of the free market”, understood economics as a dynamic of the interpersonal exchange of mutually complementary values. The naturalistic fallacy was originated by a problem also known as “ontological gap”. It described the missing link between (a) empirical data, or the observation, (b) the ontological fact, i.e. the actions and the actors, and (c) its meaning, which was based on some process of data interpretation or decodification which led to knowledge; epistemology. The moral fallacy originated in the problem that liberty and coercion were concepts interdependent with moral agency. This, implied that from the finished act one’s moral ability could not be traced back. At that time two different approaches to moral actions existed within the Austrian school. One would start with the agent and define, if it was a moral entity or not, and in what relation the agent stayed to the object that suffered the action (van Dun, 2009b). The other approach, developed the concept of morality further on a distinction of actions as intended or unintended (Bouillon, 2011). But neither of them promised any decisive criteria on this problem. There was simply no objective distinctive between unwillingness and inability to a concrete action, which could discern the ethical dimension. The incompleteness of

Rothbard's (2007) argument induced that action theory required a solid theory of consciousness and an anthropology. These same inconsistencies could already be traced back to Mises (1949).

Heretofore, Alfred Schutz (1967) worked out inconsistent or unclear concepts in Misesian praxeology by making the phenomenon of "meaning" in action theory explicit (see Storr, 2010a, pp. 8 ff. for a detailed discussion). Since the late 1980s, and Heidegger's (1962) introduction of the "hermeneutic circle" a number of researchers tried to develop an Austrian approach to hermeneutics (Antiseri, Di Nuoscio, & Di Iorio, 2011). Especially theorists around Hayek, prominently Ludwig Lachmann and later Don Lavoie, and Richard Ebeling, inspired hermeneutic inquiry; mostly in the field of history and ethnography (e.g. in: Lavoie, 2005, chps. 1, 7 and 9). These intents were fiercely rejected as nihilism by the main stream Austrians, foremost by Murray N. Rothbard (Antiseri, 2011). By end of the last century, the Austrian hermeneutic project was almost given up and Schutzian theories survived only outside the school (Augier, 1999). Against all forces, Boettke (1990), as well as Callahan and Horwitz (2010) and, later, Virgil Henry Storr (2010a, 2010b) defend the importance of the "cultural" for praxeology building on Mises' (1985) thymology by reintroducing Alfred Schutz's (1967) interpretative sociology as an Austrian approach. Rothbard's (2003) resistance was not unjustified, for Schutz's (1967) approach included a relevant shift in orientation of actions from strategic "success" towards "meaning" or "identity" which Rothbard (2003) was not willing to join in (López, 2014b).

Smith (2011) suspected that this resistance was caused by a Kantian body-mind distinction, implicit in the Rothbard-Hoppe approach, which could not account for the phenomenon of communicative action (p 65). Hoppe's (2006) concern was not so much to explain societal constituency than to develop a universal ethics for societies. This research

assumed that these were simply two sides of a coin which could be disentangle by contrasting Hoppe's (1993b, 2004) transcendental pragmatism with developments in Austrian hermeneutics.

*A priori of communicative action.* There seemed to be a large consensus within liberal thought, assuming that only mindful beings could be moral agents. Smith's (2011) suspicion of a body-mind dichotomy in "argumentation ethics" was best analyzed in Hoppe's (2006) conception of "self-appropriation". Hoppe's (2006) theory had redefined action in a way that, beyond the epistemological dimension, included also an ontological one; an idea that originated in controversies about the "ontological turn" at the Frankfurt school.

*The "ontological turn".* In hermeneutics, through Heidegger (1962) and his entanglement between ontology and epistemology, it became relevant how "meaning", here as a synonym for "understanding", was generated. *Dasein* by Heidegger (1962) implied understanding, not simply as an epistemological category, but as an ontological condition for, or an additional quality in, acting subjects and distinguished the person from the object as a product of sole mathematical-logical causal relationships of physical forces. By this, hermeneutics became more than a scientific method, it became an existentially constitutive action. Ramberg and Gjesdal (2005) explained this by suggesting that Gadamer (1975), in critical theory, had explored Heidegger's (1962) rediscovery of Augustinus' (2003) "connection [...] between language and interpretation" and the possibility to deduce a "universality-claim of hermeneutics" as an existentialist implication in "self-interpretation". Or in other words, understanding in interpersonal communication was not only epistemologically constitutive for truth-claims, but also ontologically constitutive for the person who made these claims.

Beyond the existentialist dimension, with Gadamer's (1975) humanist hermeneutics, "understanding" became primarily an ethical project (Kaplan, 2013; Lipari, 2012). Gadamer's



(1975) theory would have promised to become a foundation for universal ethics, had there not been the apparently inaccessible problem between the claim for rationality and the compelling relativist conclusions which were drawn from his theory. Since the early 1960's critical theory, especially Frankfurt scholars Jürgen Habermas (1974, 2014a) and Karl-Otto Apel (1980a, 1980b, 2001) tried to solve this internal contradiction between theory and application of interpretative phenomenology in which the question for "an adequate standard of validity", as an act of self-objectification, became central. It could be said that Habermas was working on a space-transcendent approach, at the same time as Apel concentrated on time-transcendence of validity (Ramberg & Gjesdal, 2005). Through Gadamer (1975) this limitation by space and time, as "situatedness within history", became constitutive to the human being. However, this stood diametral to the categorical rejection of coercion in liberalism. Furthermore, it threatened Gadamer's (1975) own claim to universalism when gradually their relativism dropped from the epistemological into the ethical (Ramberg & Gjesdal, 2005).

*Hoppe's transcendental pragmatism.* Based on Apel's (2001) concept of the "pragmatic [...]" or "performative contradiction", Hans-Hermann Hoppe (1993b, 2004) worked on a solution for this problem. Apel tried to reproach statements of fallibilism by Karl Raimund Popper, Bartley and Hans Albert through a kind of "transcendental language game" (K.-O. Apel, 1998, p. 19; Gerard Radnitzky, 1987, pp. 314-316). He implied that communication presupposed the existence of universal rules that would make intersubjective "understanding" possible (K.-O. Apel, 1998). In reality, Popper and Apel were addressing two different problems in epistemological questions in science and ethics (Paolicchi, 2013). In any case, for Hoppe (2006) the central issue was "truth" as an epistemological tool for interpersonal recognition of the universal right to life, or as Hoppe (2006) named it, "self-ownership". If the establishment of

original rights was understood as a mind's act of the "acquisition" of a body, Smith's (2011) suspicion of a possible mind-body dualism in Hoppe (2006) seemed to be justified. Yet, the problem was, that the characteristics of having rights determined an entity as a moral agent; distinct from mere objects, which did not have a right to be in this world. They simply existed or not. If such a right was constituted by purposeful action, this led to a circular argument, unless it could be understood as co-constitutively entangling of the epistemological and the ontological dimension through the "ontological turn".

*A priori of liberty as pure action.* An "ontological turn" in Austrian praxeology, was introduced by Donald C. "Don" Lavoie from the Cato Institute, and further developed by David Prychitko and Virgil H. Storr (Cachanosky & Padilla, 2015; Storr, 2011). Their approach was a reintroduction of the sociologist Alfred Schutz to Austrian philosophy and his analysis of intersubjectivity which they applied within the Aristotelian-Kantian tradition (Callahan & Horwitz, 2010; Horwitz, 2011; Zanotti, 2012). From this also a first positive definition of the liberal society resulted. Boettke, together with Lemke and Palagashvili (2014), modelled the anarchist society as a polycentric system and, along with Candela, he emphasized the importance of competition in societal constituency (Boettke & Candela, 2014). Further Horwitz, Roger Kopple and Laurent Dobuzinskis (2012) forwarded Austrian philosophy in applied ethics, through their suggestion that dynamics of the sort of a spontaneous order of Austrian style were "psycho-social and ethically grounded" (chps. 9, 13).

They showed special interest in applying Austrian theories to real world research which made the discrepancies between theory and application evident (Prychitko & Storr, 2007; Storr, 2010a, especially pp. 8 ff., 2010b). Lavoie (2011) introduced the "ontological turn" and (P. A. Lewis, 2005, 2011). Lavoie (2005) reinterpreted Austrian game theory as a form of applied

praxeology, an idea originally derived from Neumann and Morgenstern (Lecouteux & Moulin, 2013; P. A. Lewis, 2005, 2011). His narrative approach opened up a very different view on the play as drama in which the subjective role and the situational background were interdependent (Lavoie, 2005, 2011). This prepared the ground for a dramaturgical analysis in the methodological tradition of Erving Goffman (1956) and made Austrian theory accessible also to questions on how the body-mind dualism or the space-time continuum related to issues of subjectivity (Mote, 2001).

Whereas the ontological assumptions in here, remained critical with the concept of the “cultural” as used by Storr and the “hermeneutical” Austrians, the integration of a Schutzyan approach, grounding action on meaning, sounded enriching and not necessarily inconsistent with a Rothbardian praxeology (Prendergast, 1986).

Lavoie’s debates on “rivalry”, and the question how this would be expressed in societal constituency beyond economics (Lavoie, 1985, 2005), led further to the key idea within this research that personal identity was intrinsically conflicting. Yet, conflict needed not merely be a problem but could, as stirred by Christie (1977), in itself be understood as a private “property” or a scarce “good”; under the condition that it was not perverted by institutionalization and external intervention. This idea was driven further in contemporary conflict studies under the concept of “restorative justice” (Hunsberger, 2013; D. Sullivan & Tifft, 2007). These assumptions, however, challenged the role of “performative contradiction” within the formal framework seriously and raised the question, what the final goal of society could be, if not the absence of conflict, or coercion as largely assumed within the liberal tradition (see especially Hoppe, 2004). A positive and formally justified motivation for social constituency was finally found reviewing the Scholastics, by reading Plotinus (1857) through an interpretation of Jesús F. de Garay Suárez

Llanos (1989), professor for cultural philosophy at the University of Seville. Through Garay's (1989) re-interpretation of Aristotelian action theory in Plotinus (1857), the author here deemed that the ontological turn, as much as Austrian praxeology, required a reconsideration of the synthetic geometry on which these theories grounded. A solution came from Schutz's (1967) understanding of the Bergsonian concept of time.

Unique in Schutz's (1967) *Phenomenology of the Social World* was that the "ontological turn" was not done through a self-reflexive power relation as in Heidegger (1962), but by redefining the synthetic geometry on which action was developed. Time and space in themselves became emergent phenomena coordinated with the phenomenon of subjectivity or personal being; which was the acting entity and the basic unit of meaning. Society was understood as a larger context of meaning which emerged as a secondary phenomenon from the former. Schutz (1967) made explicit that the axiom on which space, time and subjectivity were triangulated, was action, true to the principle of praxeology. The key for the theoretical development in Austrian school was that action, in Schutz (1967), was primarily understood as communicative; unlike the Misesian conception of communicative action as a special (sub-)type of action in general. However, Schutz (1967) was not very clear in explaining how this first principle related to the acting being, the subject. At an abstract level this was formally proved by Jesús de Garay's (1989) reading of Plotinus' (1857). Central was Garay's (1989) observation that Plotinian "pure action" was identified with the a priori of "liberty" through which the epistemological and the ontological dimension of being were linked formally in a discursive definition of the person. "Life", as personal existence was constituted by an original act of the eternal category of becoming to manifest as a concrete and limited being in the world; an act that leaped the "ontological gap" by transcending the rational (see also Cox Miller, 1986, p. 482). It was

important to remark that the mind as cognition belonged as much to the category of existence as the body and should not be confused with the mind as *nous*, belonging to the infinite category of becoming. In order to understand how the “ontological turn” was applied in this research, it was necessary to have a look at the epistemological assumptions first.

**Epistemological assumptions.** The precedent in Plotinian apriorism was not only that he defined liberty as the first principle, but also that he suggested it as the binding principle between “ontology, epistemology and moral theory” (Heinämaa, Lähteenmäki, & Remes, 2007, p. 13). This gave hope, that the hoary dilemma between freedom and bindingness in liberal theories of law and the state could be dissolve, by introducing Plotinian apriorism. As already learnt from Hoppe (2006), a key to this was the transcendental character of language.

In this sense, the linguist Cox Miller (1986), in her analysis of the Nag Mahadi, observed that “words cannot capture truth”, yet she remarked also that already Plotinus’ (1857) in his *Enneads* (V, 5 [32], 5) developed a form of transcendental linguistics in which language was a medium for the discovery of truth (p. 482). She further highlighted Plotinus’ (1857) interpretation of language as “magic” (VI, 8 [39], 13) in the sense of genuine creation, and not only as a tool to select and ordered reality into a meaningful abstraction (p. 487). Language was a kind of link between mental abstraction and the meaning embodied in sound, and it included even a restorative power (see Cox Miller's (1986) reference of Laín Entralgo, 1970, 2005, pp. 493, 501)(See Cox Miller’s reference of Laín Entralgo, 1970, 2005 pp. 493, 501). It was assumed that Ancient Greek language philosophy, as much as the Buddhist Dharma tradition, focused on the performativity of language (see e.g. Ahlström, 2014; de La Tour & de La Tour, 2011; Park, 1980; Suzuki, 1991, p. 88; Wallace, 1970). Central were often language games that played with performative contradictions (Hori, 2000, p. 285; further Cho, 2014 for the discussion

on preformativity vs. metaphysics in Buddhist thought). In essence, language was not only a mean to transmit conceptual information, but foremost an interpersonal transformative exchange. A rational analysis of the performative, discursive and co-constitutional phenomenon of personhood was found in the anthropology and ontology of Pedro Laín Entralgo especially in his works *Teoría y Realidad del Otro [Theory and Reality of the Other]* (1961a, 1961b) and *Qué es el Hombre [What is Man]* (1999). He did this along three aspects: (1) the relation between truth and “Otherness”, as consequence of the a priori of liberty; (2) the epistemological and the ontological aspects of the phenomenon of “encounter” and “understanding”; and (3) “meaning” through “dar de sí” [self-giving]; Laín’s (1983) definition of love.

***Consciousness & Truth.*** In a speech in honour of the Spanish practitioner and philosopher Gregorio Marañón, Pedro Laín Entralgo (2013b) revised the concept of truth defining it in essence with the words: “qué es, en definitiva, la verdad de un hombre sino lo que él como persona es [What is, definitely, the truth of man, if not that what he, as person, is]” (0:08:10 – 00:08:25 h).

Pedro Laín Entralgo (2013b) defined the person as an “ente capaz de decir me, [...] mí, [...] yo [an entity able to say me, [...] mine, [...] I]” (00:09:10 – 00:09:35 h). In short, the distinctive was self-consciousness. In Laín’s (1961a) philosophy “consciousness” was not self-reflexive (p. 353). It depended on the a priori antagonism implied in the reign of logic in which truth was a dialectical concept as opposed to falsehood. In order to know of, and to think about, “truth” it was necessary to imply its alterity. The conception of the “I” was an act of objectifying one’s Self and contrasting it with the conception of a universal abstract principle of being (Laín Entralgo, 1961b). Therefore, it could be said that the act of naming oneself was a dialogue between a concrete person and the abstract idealization of all other “I” that were not

consistent with the concrete Self (p. 40). Based on the metaphysics of Zubiri (2008), Laín Entralgo (1961b) described the phenomenon of “original appropriation” as the “expression” of the “liberty of appropriation” (p. 155; compare: Hoppe, 2004, pp. 2 ff.). Elsewhere, he also described it as the “potentiality of reality of matter” (1991, p. 243). This could be read in two ways: firstly, as reality’s potentiality in matter or; secondly, the potentiality in matter’s reality, i.e. concreteness. It was believed, in here, that he referred to the latter. Ayala (1998) defined Laín Entralgo’s “anti-dualism” (p. 289-290) as “integrable” monism. A deliberate intent to describe such a non-dualistic metaphysic, as suggested here, and congruent with Laín’s (1983) position, was found in Hutter’s (2006) “critical monism”. In his approach, body and mind were understood as qualia of the same entity; the person. This constitutive expression of the Self was as much a performative as also a substantive truth. Therefore, Schweitzer (1960), who built his universal ethics on a similar conception of personhood, could conclude that there was a logical “connection between veracity towards oneself and activist ethics” (p. 314).

***Consciousness & Understanding.*** Pedro Laín Entralgo (2013b) implied the a priori of liberty in the constituency of personhood when he said that the person “es un ente sustantivo y libre [is a substantive and free entity]” (00:09:35 –00:09:42 h). Laín Entralgo’s thought lends much from Zubiri (1996) who defined an intrinsic conflict in material existence, when he stated that “[l]a materia tiene intrínsecamente un sistema de capacidades de dar de sí [matter has inherent a system of a self-giving potentiality]” (note 53, p. 348). “Consciousness”, for Laín Entralgo (1961a), was the presence of the abstract totality of all possible forms of matter in a concrete material manifestation. This “consciousness” was in first place performative (p. 61). As such, potentiality was a promise of what could be, but it was also a limitation reminding what could have been, challenging the conscious entity to act. This conflict was determined by Laín

Entralgo (1961a) as “encounter”. What was opposed in “encounter” was not some logical question of truth-statements, as in Hoppean argumentation, but the expression of an Other’s “act of liberty” (p. 87). Therefore, in anthropology, according Laín Entralgo (1961a), cognition was emerging throughout human development based on the existential experience of concrete alterity in others who limited one’s potentiality, or made one aware of it (p. 124). This experience challenged the person to respond to this “encounter” (p. 73). By finding an alterity of our Self in the Other the “encounter” became “petitive”. This was not understood as alterity in the sense of another version of our Self, but as another version of Self; the “I” as abstract category to which one’s concrete, personal “I” belonged (p. 95). Without the “Other”, the “I” would not remain free, but rather it would lack the necessary stimulation ever to become a person. Because the ontological constitution of the person came through an act of “dar de sí [self-giving]”, (Martínez, 2004, pp. 118, 152). Therefore, individual personality was constituted through the stimulating opposition by otherness, as mental and physiological phenomenon. “Understanding” was in first place, for Laín Entralgo (1961a), “understanding” one’s Self in the “encounter” with the Other: “El requerimiento de la presencia del otro me obliga a entenderme y a crearme a mí mismo, [...] me hace ser [The requirement of the presence of the other forces me to understand and create myself, [...] to make me being] (p. 125).” Laín Entralgo’s concept of “understanding” was equally an epistemological and an ontological phenomenon. This discursive process in “encounter” was not only constitutive for the Self but also for one’s world, the experience of reality as meaningful (Laín Entralgo, 2013a). From this could be concluded that existence was limited being in which the phenomenon of personal identity was the performance of liberty from existence transcending towards total being; as eternal becoming.



*Consciousness & Meaning.* Meaning of the world and of one's Self, in Laín Entralgo (1983) was "encountered", not in the sense of being found, but rather in the sense of being held against, "in countering" the "petition" of otherness, to give one's Self, one-self away, to reveal one's identity. Life was, in this sense, a product of the individual, personal solution that cognition, as mind or nous, gave to the challenge of otherness. Pedro Laín Entralgo (2013b) described therefore the person as

"[...] un alguien que, siendo sin cesar él mismo, va realizandose en el mundo en varias vidas sucesivas y en varias vidas complementarias [a someone that being without cession himself, is realizing himself within the world in various successive lives and in various complementary lives]" (00:10:40 – 00:11:00 h).

Doesn't this resound Albert Schweitzer's (1960) "I am life which wills to live, in the midst of life which wills to live" (p. 309)? He also came close to Schutz's observation of the phenomenon of "simultaneity". Such a reckoning remembered the gnostics.

Let aside this digression, if Laín Entralgo's (1983) conception of personhood should be considered a form of Gnosticism depended actually on the definition of the "gnostic" ( see comparison between Plotinian and Gnostic "emanation" in: Arthur Hilary Armstrong, 2013; Narbonne, 2011). But it was certainly a strict logical reasoning that induced the a priori as necessary for the thought process itself. Laín Entralgo's (1999) eloquent exposition of the ontology of personhood, which in his case was at the same time anthropology, illustrated with empirical data from his psychiatric experiences and observations, could be formally resumed through the apriorism of Plotinus (1857). Even though, there were no references about Plotinus known from Laín Entralgo, there was an influence of Plotinian thought in Zubiri; especially in his discussions about moral "badness" (Castillo, 1997, pp. 25-28). Admittedly, it was

controversial if Plotinus was dealing with “consciousness” in the same way modern philosophy addressed the concept, as Muñoz-Hutchinson (2009) assumed ( Thiel, 1991, pp. 159, 175 in Heinämaa et al., 2007, p. 9; see for formal rationalism in Plotinus also Álvarez Munárriz, 1993, p. 11). Still, it was an inspiring thesis to state that Plotinus discussed the mind-body problem long before Descartes through a discursive theory of mind and language (Muñoz-Hutchinson, 2011). Hutchinson’s (2011) conclusion that rather than metaphysics, Plotinus (1857) theory was a formal description of the mind, “nous”, should be shared in here.

Concluding with de Garay’s (1989) reading of Plotinus (1857) the person could be defined as argumentation about the conflict between liberty as a first principle and its material manifestation. To specify, liberty was understood as total, infinite potentiality, which was “will to live”, i.e. unlimited potentiality to manifest, and material manifestation, actuality, was understood as limited and forced to reunite with its universality. The dilemma included in this assumption was know as the problem “actual infinity” (B. Hall, 2009). This argumentation included simultaneously cognition and performance; strictly conceived as qualia of personal entities, in the sense of Hutter (2006). Truth was the reality that transcended in the discursive process of co-science-ness, as knowing together with an “Other” one’s personal identity, or uniqueness as a dis-course, in the sense of interruption or limitation to unity.

**Axiological assumptions.** Hoppe’s (1989) deontology dealt with a series of concepts like “property rights”, “non-agression” and “truthfulness”, which led often to unnecessary semantic controversies (pp. 133-136). He suggested to understand these terms not as moral values but rather as universal principles in discursive practices. In “argumentation” one needed to be oriented towards truth in order to express something meaningful. Hoppe (1989) followed that it was not possible to deny one’s property right to one’s Self argumentatively without

committing “contradiction” (p. 133); what he later called “performative contradiction” (Hoppe, 1993b, pp. 384-386; see also commentaries of van Dun, 2009a). Ergo, it was not possible to formulate a universal standard that denied the other’s discourse participant’s right to property, or “self-ownership”. Certainly, it was possible to be done, but then it would literally become meaningless within the argumentation. This thesis, tried to extend Hoppe’s (2006) theory by explaining why it was compulsory to act in a meaningful way; i.e. not to step out off the discourse. Truth could be defined as mathematical-logical and content oriented, or it could be described as an interpersonally validated creative performance (Schweitzer, 1960, p. 314). Herein, it was believed that Hoppe (2006) referred to the second, because what failed in his “performative contradiction” was not the validation of the truth-claim, but the performance of argumentation as such. This kind of understanding was “truth” in a broader sense, as meaning. It was concerned not only with what one said about something, but also what one meant by it. Following Laín Entralgo (2013a), the most basic truth was the truth of one’s own person, one’s self-expression, or more precise one’s self-manifestation. Therefore, meaning as interpersonal and performative truth, was constitutive for the person. The consequence of disrespecting this rule was to disintegrate, until one’s complete destruction, one’s Self. Yet, unlike Hoppe (2006) thought, it was not possible to turn this argument to its contrary by assuming that “performative contradiction” was not allowed. The reason, besides arguments from formal logic, was that the breaking of rules was an intrinsic quality of the person; a kind of “original sin” (e.g. in: Claussen, 2013; D. Schweitzer, 2012).

***Guilt: consciousness of a noetic tension.*** There was a relevant difference between deontology and other normative ethics. Usually ethics was prescriptive: it promoted or inhibited attitudes, actions and/or goals. Deontology was, at first hand, descriptive. This led to the opinion

that deontology was not apt to orient human action and make social rules binding (Dürr, 2004, especially section 4.1). Through Viktor E. Frankl (2010) it could be learnt that this was a misconception. There was, in fact, a binding force a priori in personhood; the intrinsic motivation to be oriented towards meaning. Already, Plotinus (1857) dealt with this problem exposing his a priori of liberty. Unlimited, total liberty as the generating origin of persons was, in this theory, limited or interrupted through materialization. All material existence contained therefore an intrinsic contradiction which generated a motivation to strive for reunification. The consequence of unethical actions was usually described as “guilt” (e.g. Bobbitt, 2007; Klein, 2002). In other normative ethics, “guilt” was a sanctionable action (Block, 2000). For example, Hardy Bouillon (2011) described restrictions as a ”cost” to otherwise free actions imposed by others. In deontology the case was different. “Guilt”, in the philosophy of Plotinus (1857), was an intrinsic contradiction in personal identity; one’s simultaneous awareness of one’s own abstract being and one’s concrete existence. Frankl (2010) described this internal contradiction as “noetic tension”. “Consciousness” for Frankl (2010) was a sense-organ (“Sinnorgan”), a function that created meaning (see entrance *Gewissen oder "Sinnorgan"* in: Biller & Stiegeler, 2008, pp. 111 ff.; also Biller, 1995a, 1995b). This included, that it was “irrational or pre-logical” (p 117). Frankl (2014) mentioned that “consciousness” was based on a priori grounds. Here it was believed, that this grounds or reasons were the a priori of liberty as defined by Plotinus (1857). Therefore, Schweitzer (1960) could alert that “good conscience [was] an invention of the devil” for the “freedom of guilt [was] not honestly obtained” (pp. 318, 326).

***Ethics: the promise of a covenant.*** Hoppe’s (2004) approach to the concept of “guilt” could be paraphrased as a rule that decided on the permissible, in the sense of consistent, actions in argumentation (pp. 4-5; the "first-user-first owner rule" (p. 6) as part of the "principle of

original appropriation" (p. 6 in footnote). This research started from a different understanding of "guilt", due its different approach to the mind-body dilemma, as expound earlier, in Paragraph *Consciousness and Truth* (p. 45). "Performative contradiction", according Hoppe (2004), was defined as an inconsistent action and could not be permitted; given that it automatically would break down the argumentative performance. It was pragmatically impossible to argument by a "performative contradiction". What was clear, the "contradiction", here, was understood as an inconsistency in predicate logic and not as the act of contradicting to another person, which was an implied action in argumentation. Thus, it was not the act of contradicting but the way in which it was done that was in contradiction. One had to be free, but only within the borders of "natural rules". Hoppe (2004) therefore, defined liberty in relation to action; as act and not as action, not to be confused with the Plotinian totality of absolute power and potentiality, but rather as an individual, strategic deed. A more in depth discussion about the underlying system of logic in Hoppe's (2004) philosophy could not be conferred in here. For the interested in discussions on paraconsistent logic and dialetheism in relation to ethics, the contemporary Indian philosophers Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1961, 2012), who related ancient Indian philosophy with modern liberal thought, and Bimal Matilal (2002), who analysed ideas very similar to Plotinus (1857), were probably good points to start (see citations in: Srinivasan, 2014, footnotes 7-12, pp. 4-5; on dialetheism see Garfield & Priest, 2003; Priest, 1995, 2007). Hoppe's (2004) view on ethics conceived moral relations mainly contractual; what might do be done and what not. The existential philosophy in Schweitzer (2009), Laín Entralgo (2013) and Frankl (2014) had a different approach. They asked as Shakespeare did if "to be or not be" (Witmore, 2012). In order to be a person it was compulsory to create meaning out of a logical inconsistency, i.e. to make the chaotic reality a meaningful place of dwelling, a "life-world" (Schutz, 1967). This was a

personal acting. On the contrary, contractual relationships could be delegated. This possibility was given by their characteristic being abstractions of an agreement; artefacts, that could be transferred ( de Jasay, 1991, p. 92; in: Bouillon & Kliemt, 2007, p. 8). To illustrate this with an example, Hoppe's (2004) property rights could be analysed by an independent expert who was not involved in the conflicting "encounter" of two or more parties. Therefore, Hoppe (2003) could advocate for "private defence" as a kind of subcontracted service. As soon as the "ontological turn" was made, prove of rights had also to be performative. What constituted the right of a person to live, was that it was encountered as such; a personal entity. Therefore, from an existential point of view, the situation was slightly but significantly different. An important point in Hoppe's (1999) *The Private Production of Defense* was the relevance of the question about who had to "pay for" in a conflict (p. 338, italics by author). Likewise, it was considered equally relevant to ask who *fought* the conflict. "Truth" was nothing external to the discursive partners, but something established within the discourse. An "encounter" was nothing that could be delegated, for the primordial reason that it was a constitutive activity for personal being. No one could be a person in place of anybody else. Therefore, this research advocated not only against "state-controlled" defence, but also against institutionalized justice in general. This idea was foremost owned by Christie (1977) who argued that delegating decision on just actions in others who were not directly participating in the actions would only increase violence and injustice. "Ethos" was something personal and individual ( Zubiri, 1981, p. 22 as cited in Quintero-Montilla, 2014, p. 131). The "conflict" in "encounter" was a "property" in itself that had to be cultivated (Christie, 1977). More than contractual agreement, social relations should be considered covenantal, as a promise to give one's Self ("dar de sí") [self-giving], which entailed a responsibility: the duty to be oneself (Laín Entralgo, 1961b, p. 380; Martínez, 2004, p. 152).

***Responsibility: the duty to be (a) good.*** Since the Enlightenment, political economy seemed deadlocked in the idea that the principle question of ethics was to restrain the chaotic forces in human nature by limiting their destructive power, through the submission of the individual will to a higher authority; be it God or reason (Kane & Patapan, 2011, pp. 262-265; see the original conception in: Locke, 2013, Book II, chap. IV, §22, p. 91 and chap. VII, §90, p. 110). This idea was still present in post-modern democracies (Melvin L. Rogers in Dewey, 2012, p. 11). Another, perhaps even more important aspect of liberty in Classical liberalism was that man craved for freedom of his own arbitrary will and psychophysical condition. For John Locke (2013) reason was what reminded man that “self-ownership” did not include free disposal of life, not even the one of one’s own life (Book II, chap. IV, § 63:2, p. 137). Therefore acts such as self-enslavement were considered impossible to be committed by reasonable men (Book II, chap. IV, §23, p. 117). This changed with John Dewey (2012) who believed that in reality, individual will was not merely destructive but harboured also a constitutive force bound by its intrinsic orientation towards meaning (p. 2, 41 ff.). This sounded much alike Locke, but would become essentially different under the considerations made in the above Ontological assumptions of this research (pp. 33-44). Following the Mengerian-Misean description of economics as an emergent phenomenon, libertarian ethics adapted the economic theory into a emergent social theory based on self-interest (Hoppe, 2006, p. 248). According to this, the concrete, accidental, historical allocation of economic goods led to a phenomenon that singled out one specific good out which found had found the most universal acceptance in economic exchange. Money was that economic good which best fulfilled the conditions of (1) satisfying general wants, (2) being available without important restrictions and costs, (3) divisible and (4) durable (Menger, 2009, pp. 29-33). Extending these conditions to the social field in general, it could be analysed that the

first two of them were rather related to the conditions and the context of the agent, while the last two concerned the characteristics of the good to be exchanged as money. In condition (1) wants were understood in general as human needs. The most universal need of any person, as conferred in here, was its intrinsic impulse to answer the challenge posed by the “noetic tension”; i.e. to create a kind of embodied message, its own personal identity. The condition (2) of “availability”, as opportunity to access or enabling this impulse was given as soon as a person encountered another; *de facto* in any exchange. Certainly, messages were not divided like a material good, as condition (3) demanded; unless its semantics would not be considered as its sub-division. Still, personal identity fulfilled the conditions of being scarce and material. How to understand “divisibility” then? It asked actually for the ability of a delimited good to transcend space. For economic goods, the question was, if they could be split into smaller units, stored and moved easily in order to be adaptable to the concrete use in different situations. How could the message that personal identity carried transcend space? What did it require to become equally utile in different situations of use by different person? The message it carried was that the noetic gap could be closed, that liberty was truly equally abstract and concrete. It was the message of liberty as first principle that was transported from one to the other. This was possible because it was universally recognizable by enabling the other person to nurture its own personal identity. The characteristic which fulfilled this condition (3) would probably better be named *translatability*. The last condition (4) asked for time-transcendence. The message of liberty was not only enduring throughout time but even beyond time. Thus, society could be described as a kind of market phenomenon in which the currency was any (1) meaningful, (2) interpersonal, (3) translatable and (4) time-transcendent message. The “economic”, i.e. “scarce good” that was exchanged in the “encounter” described above was the person itself, or more exactly what the



person was willing to give out of itself (“dar de sí”) and through which liberty became manifest (Láin Entralgo, 1961b, see especially footnote 9, p. 42). Society as such, was a phenomenon that received its material existence through mutual “dative” interpersonal relations that were unified into a single “meaning-context” within the individual’s mind, as Alfred Schutz (1967) described. This “meaning” could be understood and communicated thanks to the universal experience of “encounter”. But what society was, at the end, was always a provisional image that changed from mind to mind and throughout time. The only agreement that could be found, in the words of Láin Entralgo (1961b) was the instantaneous agreement within one mind, that the liberty that was in the “I” was also believed to be the same in the “Other”, and that the commitment to the universality of liberty in either person created the “we” that confirmed one’s own personality (p. 396). The “wealth” that actually was gained in community with others was the “self” as a “good” which transported the message that liberty, in fact, was real facilitating the individual to constitute “meaning” in life. This was a pessimistic conclusion for the Enlightenment project of the “Commonwealth”, since it seemed to fade away as an ephemeral phenomenon. But, on the other hand, it nurtured liberal hope for personal development, as becoming truly a “self” and truly “free”. What kept society together was the universal message of a promise that liberty could manifest in one’s Self. Lately, the prominent Modern Orthodox Rabbi Irving Greenberg (2014) had given an illustration for this phenomenon when he described the Jewish community as a narrative, “ritual [... and] ethical [...] re-enactment of past events” which expressed the hope that “in a world of suffering [... there was] an event of redemption”. According him, this was God’s central “message” to the world of which the people of Israel were the “carriers”. The historical event, in the Jewish outset was a historical God. Translating this idea into a secular liberal mindset, the historical event could be conceived as the past “encounter” of one’s own material

existence with the universal of liberty in which one found life meaningful and knew that it was (a) “good” to be a person, as meaningful for this world.

**Methodological assumptions.** The ontological assumptions of this research were based on the Aristotelian tradition, apriorism and praxeology. Rothbard (1976), and later Hoppe (2006), as most of the Austrian scholars, took the framework as developed by Mises (1976) for their foundation, in which personhood, as subjective being, was essentially fathomed as acting being (see also Mises & Mayes, 1990). The epistemological implications from praxeology were that knowing was a form of action and, in first place, informed the personal being about its self-hood as distinct from others, and through this from non-persons; objects. Thus, praxeology from the epistemological point of view was the performance of self-knowing through discourse. The axiological assumptions derived from this were that knowing could only inform about one’s own attitude. Therefore, universalization could only be applied on procedural principles and never substantial values. But, the research assumptions also introduced a new theory into Austrian libertarianism, the idea that action was not only a unique trait or ability of the persons, but also ontological constitutive for personal identity; as a category of becoming. Thus, doing was constitutive for being. One scholar who dedicated himself to this problem was Fritz Machlup (1981) who belonged to the “modern Austrian methodology” and was a personal friend of Alfred Schutz (Langlois, 1985, p. 229). Machlup (1981) dealt with the problem of “strong a priori” under the conditions of the world’s uncertainty caused by “free will”, the principle of liberty (Langlois, 1985, p. 230). Based on his framework it was assumed that praxeology could be extended to all social phenomena and not only to economics. Machlup (1981) resumed Misesan praxeology along eight basic principles which were illustrated in the following.

Further, Champion (2014), an independent scholar in Austrian economics, published on his blog an article which introduced the idea that there were common grounds in Ludwig von Mises' (1949) "praxeology", Talcott Parsons' (1961, 2013) "action frame of reference" and Karl Popper's (2013) "situational analysis". Champion (2014) followed that a convergence of the social sciences as "sciences of 'action' " as proposed by Parsons (2010) was in fact possible. Champion (2014) resumed the main characteristics of the three approaches in methodology, along eight characteristics. They were resumed here, for convenience in different order. The four characteristics Mises, Parsons and Popper shared, as Champion (2014) stated, were: (1) methodological individualism; (2) the normative orientation of action, i.e. the "fact-value dichotomy"; (3) methodological subjectivism; and (4) the rejection of historicism. Further, he mentioned two characteristics which included rather minor divergences and which offered, therefore, a possibility of convergence. Those two characteristics were (5) the universality of law and the unification of the social sciences and, directly related to it, (6) the Popperian (2013) "arrow of time". Parsons (2010) and Popper (2013) understood it as a framework for reality, whereas Mises (1949) was concerned rather with actuality and the time-transcendent character of law. If their differences had not been rather in focus than in the substantial ontological assumptions, a unification would not be impossible. Finally, Champion (2014) marked the points of divergence: (7) methodological monism and (8) the Popperian (2013) "rational principle". Mises (1949) rejected monism straight forward and, according Champion (2014), Popper's monism was non-positivist as opposed to Parsons' positivism. However, Surampudi (2011) challenged this point in an article considering Popper not less a positivist. The key difference was perhaps Mises (1949) idea that a rational law moved all human action while for Parsons and Popper, human action was not always defined by rationality.

The research design, in here, contrast with this framework in characteristics (2) and (8) as related to the research goals. This research was not oriented towards normative goals in the strict sense, rejecting such a “fact-value dichotomy”, but aimed towards constructive transformation. In accordance with Mises (1949), a first principle was assumed as the origin of all actions, but in contrastation, it was not considered to be a rational principle in itself. In here, it relied on the principle of liberty based on Plotinian ontology. Further, among the different options for characteristic (7), the point of most divergence even within the Austrian approaches, none of them was chosen. Instead, an anti-positivist monism was pursued. This was a relevant difference affecting the understanding of what adequate means in scientific research were. As a last point, the whole philosophy of time was revised under a Schutizian paradigm. Therefore, the assumption of liberty as a first principle, instead of taking “law” or an “arrow of time” as framework, relating to characteristics, (6) had far reaching consequences on the results of this research. It would not primarily add new data for further research, but make an ethical claim which asked for a reply. Accordingly, praxeology had to be performative, i.e. non-representational and based on a form of narrative, or dramaturgical, inquiry grounded on empirical, embodied, data and explore concepts with “infinite intentions”. Along Machlups (1981) definitions, this should be further specified in the next paragraphs.

(1) Methodological individualism. “In the explanation of economic phenomena we have to go back to the actions (or inaction) of individuals; groups or "collectives" cannot act except through the actions of individual members” (Machlup, 1981).

From this was deduced that what should be explored in order to understand social phenomena was not so much the action as concluded event, the act, but the implication of personal identity, the agent and how this person, was making meaning out of the world. Society

as a scientific object did not actually exist, but what could be observed were the individual conceptions of the society comprised within a world-view (Schutz, 1967, pp. 97-101).

(2) *Methodological subjectivism*. “In the explanation of economic phenomena we have to go back to judgments and choices made by individuals on the basis of whatever knowledge they have or believe to have and whatever expectations they entertain regarding external developments and especially the consequences of their own intended actions (Machlup, 1981)”.

What was of major concern, in this research were not so much the option choices, but the so-called “meta-decision”, as personal answers to the challenges of life by adhering meaning to it (Bouillon, 2011, pp. 44–45). This phenomenon became only material within personal “encounter”. As Schutz (1967) remarked, only past events could be scientifically objectified. But this stated a problem, since nothing valid could be said about “encounter” in which one had not taken place. This was a key challenge for the overall validity of the research findings.

Methodological individualism meant to analyse individuals. But it did by far not make justice to the second principle of methodological subjectivism. The “judgment” was actually not made in bases of an artefact, as reply to a person as communicated meaning. The “encounter” could not be simulated, as for example, in an experiment within the academic discipline of physics. The research itself, in some way, had to create, or re-create a situation of “petitive encounter” between the reader and the researcher in which the research object played the role of a mediating tool. In short, the method should be some form of re-enactment (Lain Entralgo, 1961a, pp. 73, 164).

(3) Tastes and Preferences. “Subjective valuations of goods and services determine the demand for them so that their prices are influenced by (actual and potential) consumers” (Machlup, 1981).

Translated this purely economic language into the field of sociology, Machlup (1981) resumed here the Schutzian model of meaning-construction in society (Schutz, 1967, 1976). What could be learnt by Menger was that even though values were subjective variables, the underlying principles were universal and could not only be observed but even recreated with total certainty (Menger, 2005, Chapter 3.D especially p. 162, 2009a, p. 118). For instance, it could be expected that the limitation of liberty was motivating a reaction in the individual. Under certain circumstances individuals would become unable to solve the noetic conflict by creating meaning out of a momentous situation and fail in a kind of “performative contradiction”, which Frankl (2010) described roughly as “neurosis” (p. 19).

*(4) Opportunity Costs.* “The costs with which producers and other economic actors calculate reflect the alternative opportunities that must be foregone; as productive services are employed for one purpose, all alternative uses have to be sacrificed” (Machlup, 1981).

In the terms of sociology, personal responsibility could be resumed as an evaluatory process of opportunity costs between Self and Otherness as a co-constitutive process in which conflict was solved through the creation of meaning (Schutz, 1967, Chapter 3 especially pp. 36-37). This was another key principle. In moments in which the respect for one’s own life and the one of another run counter, or in situation where an individual’s action could not respect equally the life of two others a non-rational decision had to be taken. This kind of decision was in a special way constitutive, because it somehow determined the uniqueness of a person’s being and made it “encounter” immediately its own limitation to realize liberty full in life. This phenomenon, described above under the concept of “guilt” was revealing for the way how individuals created meaning.

In relation with his concepts of marginalism and the “profit-seeking entrepreneur”, Hoppe (2014) discussed the question if “[...] justice, i.e., whether or not a specific action and the profit or loss resulting from it is ethically right or wrong, arises only in connection with conflicts”. This research went conform to this statement, but it became somehow irrelevant, since according to the theory of Plotinus (1857), all personal existence was always in a situation of conflict.

**(5) Marginalism.** “In all economic designs, the values, costs, revenues, productivity, etc., are determined by the significance of the last unit added to or subtracted from the total” (Machlup, 1981).

Or in other words, persons chose the action which was more valuable, i.e. meaningful, to them. This was one of the assumptions to be explored and if possible validated.

**(6) Time preference.** “Decisions to save reflect "time preferences" regarding consumption in the immediate, distant, or indefinite future, and investments are made in view of larger outputs expected to be obtained if more time-taking production processes are undertaken” (Machlup, 1981).

This point was the most controversial, and it was not clear if it could be confirmed in general social phenomena. The relation between the “time structure” and meaning was largely described by Schutz (1967), especially under the phenomenon of simultaneity. Based on the Plotinian principle of liberty, the above assumption would state that persons were rather willing to “invest” in interpersonal “encounter”, if they expect through this an increase in their personal liberty, which meant that their life became more meaningful. This would mean that they somehow achieved that their internal conflict was more “reconciled”. To speak in the language of Burke, they seeked “redemption” (Brock et al., 1985; K. D. Burke, 1989, 2005). But from this

angle, it would not mean that they were necessarily more rational, but perhaps just more aware of their “guilt”, or that they were more neurotic and therefore more needy to reencounter meaning. This question could be equally stated for the economic sphere. Should it really be believed that the wiser people were investing more, or were they just needier, perhaps more frightened about the future? From the broader field of sociological this question tended to drift into the absurd. To decrease “time preference” to the extreme would signify to think about one’s life until the end. At the end of life no material goods would remain, and all provisions could never avoid a possible unexpected tragedy that would end life in an instant. So what could be the worth in saving? The stumbling stone was that from the chronological experience of life-time, infinity was extrapolated as an event that would come afterwards. Considerations of spiritual aspects could be mistaken as a very low “time preference” in favour to invest in afterlife. Rational mysticism would rather state the contrary. Considerations of the ideal dimension should be done, with the purpose and result, to be fully present and distinct personhood. Entralgo Laín (1983) adverted that there was not only a danger in stumbling over another unnoticed person and become guilty. It was equally a problem for some persons to see “others” everywhere where in reality there was nobody. This deviation was described by Uexküll (2010) as fetishism (Hornborg, 2006).

(7) (Consumer) sovereignty (agency). “The influence consumers have on the effective demand for goods and services and, through the prices which result in free competitive markets, on the production plans of producers and investors, is not merely a hard fact but also an important objective, attainable only by complete avoidance of governmental interference with the markets and of restrictions on the freedom of sellers and buyers to follow their own judgment regarding quantities, qualities, and prices of products and services” (Machlup, 1981).



Already earlier in this text, through the discussion of Christie (1977), it was reminded that agency could not be delegated, it was fully agreed with Machlup's (1981) principles. For this reason, it was assumed that a society that was ruled by a more spontaneous order would also find it easier to make their life meaningful, due to the reason that such a society would offer more possibilities in which "conflicts" could be converted as a Christien (1977) "property" in the sense of experiences that favour a positive attitude towards life in the sense of a "humanist ethics" (Frankl, 2004, 2011; A. Schweitzer, 1960, 1979).

**(8) Political individualism.** "Only when individuals are given full economic freedom will it be possible to secure political and moral freedom. Restrictions on economic freedom lead, sooner or later, to an extension of the coercive activities of the state into the political domain, undermining and eventually destroying the essential individual liberties which the capitalistic societies were able to attain in the nineteenth century" (Machlup, 1981).

This principle was critical for its methodological aspect. Theoretically, it was completely agreed with this statement, but it was formally not complete. What Machlup (1981) did not mention - and probably for economic questions it was neither relevant - was the fact that a person could never achieve full liberty within the reality of live, at least, if Plotinus (1857) was right. This was one of the major problems of Eschatology. For example, in the Christian Eschatology in the *City of God* (De Civitate Dei), Austustinus' (2003) struggle with the Plotinian apriosims became evident (Gilje & Skirbekk, 2013, p. 114). Schweitzer (2001) solved this in his own Christology bringing it into harmony with his Reverence for Life. What life expected from the person was what Frankl (2014) called a "tragic optimism" (p. 159), which was also reflected in the teaching of Schweitzer's (1979) *Reverence for Life*, a belief that it was worth to strive for something that would not be achieved until one's end (Goodin, 2013, p. 88).

**Rhetorical assumptions.** Langlois (1985) assumed that Machlup's (1981) praxeology believed scientific activity to have "substantive implications". Scientific methods in Machlup (1981) were a kind of persuasive discourse "about the meaning and logical status of theoretical propositions". Once a theory was proven true, i.e. consistent, coherent, and with better explanatory power than competing theories, the relevant question in science for Machlup (1981) was if the theory could be tested against reality and if it satisfied the researcher's "curiosity" (Langlois, 1985, pp. 231-232; Machlup, 2014, pp. 206-210). Somehow, the rhetorical assumptions were about *You*, the reader of this research and expressed a desire for understanding of the author. These assumptions relied on the universal structure of mind as a tool for semantic inquiry. But, as learnt before, the mind was just the one side of the person. The other was the body. One artefact that remained when the person disappeared, i.e. died, were it stories. Stories could be described as time-transcendent re-enactment of the Self which included a world view addressed as a promise and petition to another. A general theory about this understanding of stories was developed by Melanie Ann Phillips and Chris Huntley (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, 2007).

***Story structure of mind.*** Personal identity posed a relevant methodological problem due to its dual quality as abstract and concrete, simultaneously being, or having, mind and body. Its intrinsically performative characteristics made it even more an ephemeral object of investigation. Philosopher and social anthropologist Luis Álvarez Munárriz (2011) pursued this question in his essay *La Compleja Identidad Personal [The Complex Personal Identity]*. Anticipating his full argument, it should be remarked that, as already described, and in contrast to Álvarez Munárriz (2011) intuition, the problem of personal identity was not considered one of complexity but one of liberty. Nevertheless, Álvarez Munárriz' large body of research and his eloquent inquiry into

questions of consciousness and identity were already quite challenging for theoretical philosophy (most relevant were: Álvarez Munárriz, 1977, 1993, 2001, 2011b, 2012, 2014). Much the more, they were a real quandary for those who dared to approach it empirically. Álvarez Munárriz's (1993) mention of Plotinus (p. 11), and especially his recommendation to approach the phenomenon under a narrative aspect were a turning point in the overall research process. Thus, Álvarez Munárriz (2011a) proposed Erving Goffman's (1956) dramaturgical analysis as a "non-eccentric" approach within the framework of Discourse Analysis (DA) as a viable and valid access to the dilemma of personal identity respecting the specific ontological assumptions (p. 416). Goffman's (1956) approach was symbolic interactionism (Reynolds & Herman-Kinney, 2003; Serpe & Stryker, 2011). In this he drew an analogy of the performance of the Self in real life and the enactment of a role in theatre (Brissett & Edgley, 2005b). Symbolic interactionism went back to George Herbert Mead (2009) and his intent to disclose the complexity of personal identity as socially constructed (see also Griffin, 2006; Press, 2014). Unlike Dewey (2012), Mead (2009) built his theory not on action only, but specifically on social inter-action, which stated a new approach of methodological individualism from out of behaviourism and marked the beginning of social psychology in the tradition of American pragmatism. This was further developed by Blumer (1962) who draw special attention to the fact that the object of social science were "individuals who have selves" (p. 185; see also Blumer, 1986; Rose, 2013). Goffman (1956) tried to build a theoretical framework that could capture the experience of interview by describing the phenomenon of "encounter" as "performance" of "identity" (Rose, 2013, pp. 202-203). Goffman's (1956) approach also allowed analysing personal identity under a paradigm of interpersonality rather than complexity in the mechanical sense. The challenge that remained was the possibility of abstraction or objectification of "encounter", or social

phenomenon in general. However, it seemed that there was no background to the “performance” of Self which should be analyzed (see Goffman, 1986, p. 298 on "context").

*Story telling as performance.* Much of the problem of objectification was already canalized through the Schutz-Parson debate; or the “Cartesian dilemma” of “intersubjective understanding” as discussed by Alfred Schutz and Talcott Parson (Etzrodt, 2013, p. 31). One of the great merits of Alfred Schutz (1967) was that he insisted that methods in social science required a test against reality (p. 36). As one of the difficulties in this process, he described that only past events could be objectified, never the present action; i.e. the acting. This included also future events which, in fact, were nothing else than perfected, i.e. past, imaginations. What could be analysed was never the ongoing but only the closed event. As such no predictions could be made by empirical data. All speculation about the future, within the social field, would remain a probabilistic deduction of principles, rather than pattern, in past occurrences. Object of scientific investigation were artefacts - in the case of this research, texts - but not the performance, the narrating, in itself (Schutz, 1967, pp. 226-227, 248). What conclusions could be drawn from such insight? One of the problems in discourse analysis was that throughout an ever more sophisticated inquiry into texts, at the end, in “Foucauldian” postmodernity, the “author” had literally disappeared (Barthes, 2013; Bertens, 1995; Graham, 2011). Seán Burke (1998) observed that precisely post-structural practices in writing throughout the “hypertext” and in decentralized collaborative works needed subjectivity. Therefore, he made the claim for the author to “return” (S. Burke, 1998, pp. 193-201). His comment about the relation between textuality, the organization of information in the mind and the structure of consciousness merited further attention (S. Burke, 1998, p. 193). The transmission and organization of information apparently, did not only depend on means, like scripture, but also on form; as for instance in hypertext as

opposed to the traditional linear narrative. The way information was transmitted was as important as the device used for it. This involved two aspects, the literary structure of information and the performance of transmission. In a similar way, also Israel Kirzner blamed that neo-classical economics neglected “agency” all together (Yu, 2011). In developing his definition of entrepreneurship, Kirzner (1978) identified the important mechanism of “awareness of competing opportunities” (p. 12), and simultaneously, opposed Schumpeter’s (1934) approach, which he considered a potentially destructive view of creativity (Kirzner, 2011, p. 14). Kirzner (2011) did not explain the phenomenon through the myth of extraordinary leadership but rather found entrepreneurial innovation as intrinsic to the decision-making process of market participants (Kirzner, 1978, 1999, 2011). Probably, the most creative, competitive example for entrepreneurship was an individual’s life project. A way in which an individual expressed this project was its life story; autobiographical writing. A dramaturgical analysis should fill the gap between the making of the individual in its life story and the making of the society. This involved problems of interpretation and representation of language; namely the possibility of translation, time gap, contextuality of the social.

*Story form as didactics.* In resume, the historical context of an individual’s life was not the background of the individual life story. It was rather entangled with it. History was simultaneously told *and* shaped by individuals. There was no abstract, objective history. From this sprang, that a simple dramaturgical analysis was insufficient, first the ontological background of the story had to be established. Important methodological questions to solve in the writing of history were who told the story, for whom, and why. It seemed quite straight forward to draw a parallel to the idea that life writing was a tool for individual self-construction, or reconstruction, in which history writing as a form of creating, or rather co-creating, one’s

context; the society (Bruner, 2001; Fivush, Habermas, Waters, & Zaman, 2011). As could be learnt from Schutz (1967), history did not actually construct society, in the sense of a planned action, but it generated an individual's world view that competed with other individual's world view (p. 170). The question that remained was why certain histories would survive throughout time and how they entered into a certain canon of "meaning-context" (pp. 246-247). The key was that life stories as much as history were tools in the sense that they solved a problem. Meaning was not just created for entertainment, it answered an existential need. This need was largely described by Viktor E. Frankl (2010) as the "noetic tension" that motivated all personal being to act (M. Marshall, 2012, *Existential Dynamics and Existential Analysis*, Section 3). Within the dramaturgical methodology this tension was expressed by "Burke's guilt cycle" (Belk, 2014). Guilt was not understood as a religious concept or an emotional or psychological conflict. Guilt was intrinsically a rational conflict of the ontological condition of personal identity and the individual mind's need to image the world as an abstract whole while being confronted in everyday life with contradictions to this image. What for natural science was entropy, was redemption to social science. The individual constantly needed to fill the gap, or as Frankl (2010) described it, to answer the appeal of life by doing the rationally impossible: make sense out of chaos. As a result, society emerged as a kind of collaborative story. Concluding, it could be said with Kresge that not only the "fortunes of liberalism rest[ed] on the objectivity of historians [.] The question of the place of history in social evolution and the role historians play in our national identities" was foremost the question of become free people (in: Hayek, 2014b, p. x). Concluding, the mission of the historian was therefore not to tell the truth about past events but to reveal the dynamics of the storytelling process itself and to facilitate individual emancipation.

### **Theoretical Orientation for the Dissertation**

This research was based on the cardinal idea found in Plotinus (1857) that liberty, rather than a function in a formal order of actions, should be understood as the a priori of mind (nous) (de Garay, 1989, p. 51). Liberty realized in material plurality was by definition logically antagonistic (p. 54). Hence, the performance of personal identity enclosed an internal conflict. The “encounter” with the concrete Other was understood by entities with personal identity as a call for reconciliation (Laín Entralgo, 1983, 1999; Martínez, 2004). Therefore, in reply, this kind of entities, persons, tried to unify the concepts of Self, its idealization as abstract Otherness and the concrete Other of the “encounter” through the adherence of meaning. Consequently, Aristotelian a priori in Rothbard’s (1976) praxeology was actualized within “argumentation ethics” (B. Smith, 2011). That is, Hoppe’s (2004) concept of “original appropriation” (p. 2-4) was read as the bridging of a recognized “noetic tension” through a “performative contradiction”; the personalization. Accordingly, social conflict was taken as a ritual (re)-enactment of personal constituency. Thus “self-preservation” required a continued and immediate engagement in constitutive “encounters” which could only be fully granted in a liberal anarchist society; modeled as an “ethical” “covenant community” (Hoppe, 2001, pp. 215-218; Kinsella, 2010; Schweitzer, 2009).

The a priori of social constituency. The theoretical framework for the investigation of this problem was based on three a priori statements; (1) liberty was a first principle, generative for concrete reality; (2) reality was noetically tensioned; (3) an act of atonement in concrete reality generated social phenomena, and primordially personal identity.

According to Sellar’s (1953) a priori statements had to fulfil four criteria. They needed to be “knowledge”: (1) “of necessary truth”; (2) with certainty; (3) “independent of experience”;

and (4) “of truth ex vi terminorum”. Carl B. Sachs (2014), in his intent to reconcile pragmatism and phenomenology, described Sellars’ (1953) definition of a priori truth as “cognitive semantics of pragmatics”. Sachs (1953) introduced an important observation to transcendental pragmatism, concluding that neither “the epistemic”, nor “the semantic” and not even most of “the categorical” were “givens”. Only conceptions which belonged to all categories at once could be considered truly a priori and therefore “transcendental”. Apriorism served often as mean to defend a position against relativism which was then contested by accusing it for fundamentalism (for further discussion see Marty, de la Torre, & Cachanosky, 2014). Philosophy had the possibility to make ultimate premises which could not be rejected in an argumentative process. This was the foundation of Hoppe’s (2004) argumentation theory. As Sachs (2014) explained, in modern transcendental pragmatism, a priori was no longer understood as a kind of revelation. They remained open to revision, indirectly, by contradicting evidences from empirical data. For this reason in this research it was stated that “argumentation ethics” was logically correct and consistent, but the a priori of Hoppean “communicative action”, was, following Sachs (2014) not “trans-categorical”. There was a pre-communicative, or meta-communicative, category. The transcendental category of personal and social existence was the a priori of mind, liberty.

***Liberty as first principle.*** The a priori of existence, including social existence was liberty. From the reading of Plotinus (1857) by de Garay (1989) it was learnt that all reality was necessarily plural and antagonistic. This included the possibility that in potential all reality was discursiveness. But liberty was not a mere epistemological issue, as in Sach’s (2014) apriorism it was also a generative a priori, ontological for personhood.

***Noetic tension.*** Liberty was not only constitutive but also problematic for personhood. It not only implied a Self, it also implied plurality as “Otherness” as Pedro Laín Entralgo (1999)



laid down in his anthropology. The “Other” was a logical inconsistency and a priori threat to the Self. Logically it was an inconsistent thought to conceive the Self simultaneously as timeless and temporal, abstract and concrete, total and unique being. The experienced phenomenon of this internal contradiction was largely described by Viktor E. Frankl’s (2010) concept of “noetic tension” (Längle, Orgler, & Kundi, 2003). But the concept of a problem implied conceptually an ideal, problem-free case. The mere existence of concreteness restricted liberty. The word contradiction expressed even more the personal dimension within the phenomenon of “noetic tension”. The person was an entity in opposition to liberty. It contracted a formal “guilt” in its constituency (Biller, 1995a).

*Atonement.* Once aware of this “guilt”, there were two possibilities. One option was, to remain indifferent; this might be the case of objects. The other option was to respond. Persons were respons-[a]ble, they stood up for themselves to answer [“Sich-Verantworten”], as Biller (1995a) called it, by adhering “meaning” to the contradictory identification of the individual with its concrete material existence in reality and its abstract liberty as ontological origin and end. “Meaning” reconciled the internal conflict of the person between abstract Self and the concrete “I”; Laín Entralgo’s (1983) “I” and “You” in a kind of monologue rather than a soliloquy. This reconciliation, or atonement, implied simultaneously the recognition of Self, the concrete Other, and the universal of abstract Otherness. Therefore, Biller (1995a) stated that it required necessarily a “universal” (Biller, 1995a, p. 147). Constituency of individual personal identity was the one side of a coin on which the other side was the constituency of community. Thus, according Schweitzer (1965), the “the social world” was constituted through the ethical commitment of persons to the Reverence for Life. To sum up, it was believed, in here, that the “argumentation ethics” of Hans-Hermann Hoppe (2004), was consistent with Schweitzer’s

(1965) formulation, if two of its premises were revised; giving a re-definition of “original appropriation” in “self-ownership”, and extending the function of “conflict” beyond the epistemic also to the ontological.

**Austrian school apriorism.** The theoretical framework of this research started from Hans-Hermann Hoppe’s (2006) “argumentation ethics. Hoppe (2006) made four basic assumptions: (1) praxeology was the foundation for universal ethics (p. 266 ff.), (2) the a priori of praxeology was Misesian “communicative action” in the sense of “argumentation” (pp. 343-345, 280) and essentially an epistemological a priori for the knowledge of “truth” in which “truth” was understood as objective (pp. 315-317), (3) “argumentation” was not only axiomatic for action (p. 405-407, 384), it was explicitly ethical (p. 344), and (4) “argumentation” involved an intrinsic ontological knowledge of truth (p. 279), as well as the participants’ ethical commitment to “truth-seeking” (p. 345), which could be also intentionally broken through an act of “performative contradiction”. Based on the divergences in the implicit a priori of personhood and the concept of “original appropriation” (p. 36) within praxeology, the author of this study modified and extended Hoppe’s (2006) framework with one key point: (5) conflict solution was no longer understood as a process of abolishing undesirable noise within a progressive process towards greater achievement of “truth” by “just” allocation of “scarce resources”, as Hoppe (2006) believed (p.349, 411). But rather conflicts were “scarce resources” in themselves which were converted into property, whenever conflicting parties engaged in an ethical responsible act to solve the problem (Christie, 1977).

**Axiom of action.** Hoppe’s (2006) first assumption stated that in “praxeology [,] causality [was] a category of action” (p. 289). Deductions were made “[...] by means of formal logic from this incontestably true material knowledge regarding the meaning of action and its categories”.

Hoppe (2006) said this in order to contrast praxeology with other economic theories, which lacked any explicit a priori axiom and rejected the idea that all theoretical insight had to be deduced from empirical data; considering it a form of naturalistic fallacy. Hoppe (2006) admitted that in principle a formal deductive fallacy in his theory would be possible (p. 278). But it was no “flaw logic” than rather hasty generalization identifying “communicative action” with human language which caused the ontological gap in Hoppe’s (2006) theory. Through the identification of liberty with action proper, as first principle “praxeology [...] regarded as providing the foundations of epistemology” became itself also ontologically constitutive (Hoppe, 2006, p. 286, see also p. 278).

*Axiom of argumentation.* As for the second assumption Hoppe (2006) wrote that “[...] it is also necessary that the conflicting actors be capable, in principle, of argumentation” (p. 334). Hoppe (2006) made this a condition because he interpreted Misesian “communicative action” as “argumentation” (pp. 334, 280). He followed from this that “any ethical proposal [...] must be assumed to claim that it is capable of being validated by propositional or argumentative means” (p. 341). Hoppe (2006) had probably the Habermasian (1990) “ideal speech situation” in mind when he concluded that “argumentation” relied on the condition that participants were “truth-seeking”; because “truth”, especially truth in the sense of scientific objective truth, was the goal of “argumentation” (see Hoppe, 2006, pp. 315-317, 345). Hoppe (2006), true to the Austrian positioning against scepticism and historicism, took the concept of “understanding” from Mises (1949) which was thought as a diligent search for “logical patterns”, as Selgin (1990) explained (p. 24; also Selgin, 1988). This view was also favoured by the idea of progress (p. 56). The conception of “understanding” as a progressive “achievement” of truth was challenged from within the Austrian school by Schutz’s (1967) concept of “understanding” oriented towards

“meaning”. Selgin (1990) noted that Mises (1949) based his “understanding” on “anonymous ideal type” of personhood while Schutz (1967) “refer[ed] to preference-laden, idealized individuals. Building on the study of “Otherness” by Lain Entralgo (1983), in this research, it was suggested that the aim of “argumentation” was to reconcile both conceptions of “truth”.

*Principle of original appropriation.* When Hoppe (2006) said that “original appropriation [... was] establishing an objective (intersubjectively ascertainable) link between himself and a particular good and/or space prior to anyone else (p. 387)” he was probably speaking in a quite common sense way of taking un-owned goods into one’s possession. In consequence, this led to many controversies (Eabrasu, 2009; Murphy & Callahan, 2006). Through the reading of Plotinus (1857), a more formal definition of “original appropriation” could be found (de Garay, 1989). It was described as an act of recognition. In the process of materialization, liberty was equally made visible and distinguishable. The self-conscious being, recognized its liberty in principle, as an abstract existence, where it *originally* was generated from, and its concrete reality as personal identity. It was the recognition of this “noetic tension” that *made* the person. In empirical research, probably the most striking evidence expressing this “noetic tension” was the act of one naming oneself. Naming was an abstraction of Self in which pointing to oneself was addressing a concrete being as an Other (Kripke, 1972; Uchechukwu, 2012; see also Kord, 1996). Possibly for this reason in animistic cultures speaking out one’s name was a basic a priori test of personhood, which empowered the individual as communicative partner with ethical claims (Haraway, 1995; Harvey, 2006). Simultaneously it weakened the individual, since it revealed its concrete personal Otherness. Therefore, personality, in principle, always constituted a threat and could cause adversary reactions. This observation was owed to a conversation with Murray Small Legs (2011) on First Nation’s autobiographies (see also Sellers,

2007, chp. 1)(see also Sellers, 2007, chap. 1). Thus, as Hoppe (2006) concluded, “argumentation” was not only axiomatic for action, it was explicitly ethical (pp. 344, 384, 405-407).

***Principle of non-aggression.*** Much that Hoppe (2006) claimed in order to support his “principle of non-aggression” was based on his conception of “meaning”, discussed above, and the way he used the term “truth” (p. 412). Therefore he largely relied on rhetorical conventions in formal logical argumentation when he stated that performative contradiction was not allowed (pp. 405-406). One of the challenges to Hoppe’s (2006) theory was to explain the role of “performative contradiction”. It was not clear why individuals would ever, even if only theoretically, intentionally break the very “normative foundation” which was “founded” by the “truth-seeking” character of “argumentation” (pp. 279, 345). Either action was not a priori argumentative, i.e. oriented towards “truth”, or “performative contradiction” was not possible. Based on the theoretical assumptions here, this apparent dilemma was solved through further precision of the concept. “Performative contradiction” was defined as a creative constitutional expression, in which personal identity was a statement which had to be actualized through the reply by an Other (see especially Huang, 2012, p. 219; Jenkins, 2013, p. 251; Medina, 2005) (see especially Huang, 2012, p. 219; Jenkins, 2013, p. 251; Medina, 2005). Self-ownership was understood as an ethical decision to personalize one’s Self which created unity of meaning by bridging the “noetic gap” in the concrete and pragmatic communicative interaction of two persons (Biller, 1995b; see also: Álvarez Munárriz, 2009; Frankl, 2014; Laín Entralgo, 1983; Schweitzer, 1960). The radical freedom of such a decision implied also the possibility to reject one’s self-ownership, i.e. to reject life (A. Schweitzer, 2009). The non-aggression principle

should therefore be understood as formally constitutive for self-ownership, pragmatically consequential for personal existence and axiologically as absolute orientation.

*Beyond Hoppe: ethics of respons-(a)bility.* Based on the divergences in the implicit a priori of personhood and the concept of “original appropriation” (p. 36) within praxeology, the author of this study modified and extended Hoppe’s (2006) framework in relation to Rothbard’s (1951) categories of action within praxeology, by modifying (C) “The Theory of War” and defining (E) “[the] unknown” (pp. 943-946). A first observation made in here was that the goal of ethics itself could be understood in a different way. Unlike Hoppe (2006) believed, a prosperous society did not rely on the relative absence of conflict, in the sense of a Weberian (2003) “war in suspense” (p. 324), but emerged from conflict whenever an individual was able and willing to “answer” the petitive “encounter”. The ethical attitude of the individual towards its a priori conflicting condition was, therefore, the foundation of civilization, as analyzed by Schweitzer ( compare the transformative characteristic of action in A. Schweitzer, 1960, pp. 63-64 with Laín Entralgo, 1961a, e.g. p. 164; Schutz, 1967, p. 65;).

From this was concluded that conflict solution was not a process of abolishing undesirable noise within a progressive process towards greater achievement of “truth” by “just” allocation of “scarce resources” as Hoppe (2006) believed (p.349, 411) but rather an intrinsic and therefore unavoidable problem of personal identity, described as “noetic tension”, which was revealed in the “encounter” with Otherness. The (di-)solution of conflict was not even desirable, since it let to the simultaneous disappearance of the Self (Laín Entralgo, 1999). Rather than a “solution” an “answer” was required, the ethical attitude of the individual towards its a priori conflicting condition; Reverence for Life.

**A mental model for liberal anarchism.** A promising advancement was given by Kinsella's (2010) term, the "covenant community", as a model for libertarian societal constituency. It had not been assigned to any concrete meaning in political economy before, at least not in the Western tradition. But neither "covenant" nor "community" were self-evident terms, thus, they required some further delimitation. For this purpose (1) the conditions of a universal model for mind and society were analysed, (2) controversies were discussed, and (3) a description of the basic characteristics of such a model were given.

*Structure of mind and society.* Nancy J. Nersessian, professor of cognitive science at the Georgia Institute of Technology, emphasized the importance of mental models for intentional manipulation of one's reasoning (Nersessian, 1992, 2008, p. 51; Vosniadou, 2010). The universal given within mental models were a priori statements (Byrne & Johnson-Laird, 2009; Johnson-Laird, 2010). Mental models found not only use in scientific problem solving but also in the "moral imagination" required to make ethical judgements (Werhane, 2002; Werhane et al., 2011). Melanie A. Phillips and Chris Huntley (2001b) recognized the close relations made in recent research between philosophy, cognitive science and aesthetics and claimed that the universal structure of mind was not simply any arbitrary model but had a concrete narrative structure. If it was possible to modify the mind by purpose, and if it was true what Schweitzer (1965) believed, that there were constructive ways of reasoning and such that were self-destructive, it would be valuable to model society in a way that could support the individual orientation towards truth (Cicovacki, 2012). Much was owed here to professor Hoppe's emphasize on the necessary relation between truth and argumentation (Hoppe, 1989, pp. 130, 234, 2012). Personal identity was not simply a performance but an argumentative performance which made moral claims universalizable. A mental model or a narrative of the ideal libertarian

society could be found when Hans-Hermann Hoppe (2001) coined the “proprietary community” describing it as a “covenant” (pp. 215-216). Stephan Kinsella (2010) made the concept popular under the term “covenant community”.

***Controversies in terminology.*** The term “covenant community” offered the Austrian libertarian tradition an opportunity to define the ideal society in a constructive way and overcome the originally negative definition as applied by the early “Avant-guard” art movements often associated with materialist, deconstructive and subversive political orientation and their strive for emancipation (Kinsella, 2010; Leighton, 2013). According Halberstam (2013), since the last century, an understanding of Anarchism as “chaos” was dominant; in a more moderate form described as “dissent” or transgression (Adlington, 2013; Donaghey, 2013). The earlier anarchist project out of idealized “early Christianity” was almost forgotten (Christoyannopoulos, 2010). Austrian libertarianism offered a way to correct this view. Intents in defining the libertarian society lead to two different strains. Either, it built on the Western legal concept of “association”, “club” or “condominium” (Block, Endowed, & Callahan, n.d.). Alternatively, Rothbard (1991, 1994) tested out the concept of “neighbourhood-contracts”. This latter concept, however, implied shared goals, the management of a shared property or project and the existing external legal framework which it should actually oppose ideologically. Examples were the “open source society” or the “private-collective” (Hippel & Krogh, 2003; S Weber, 2004; Steven Weber, 2000). The second, individualist, approach came from libertarian literature, especially through Hoppe’s (2001) book *Democracy - the God that Failed*, founding the “community” on the common goal of protecting “private property”. Two problems arose from this conception. First, it induced to think that Hoppe’s (2001) use of the term was the description of a community only after “property rights” were established and not the description of the phenomenon of



societal constituency. The second philosophical problem was that Hoppe (2001) defined the “protection of family and kin” as a synonym of “libertarian order”, and took it as a goal, incompatible with certain lifestyles (p. 218), which was justifiably criticized by Martin D. Snyder (2005) and Walter Block (2010c). Further, it brought old fears of religious and ideological fundamentalism or dogmatism back (for discussion see: Kimball (2008, pp. 49, 81, 110, 137, 166, 230; Coleman & Bartoli, n.d.; Marsden, 1982; McCormack, 1997, pp. 222-227; A. Schmid, 2014). Albert Camus (2005), concerned with “extremist” political ideologies more than with religion saw the key to the problem not so much in a certain religious position, than rather in the underlying philosophy, the way people answered to the question of “meaning” in life. Camus (2005) started from the phenomenon of suicide as the negative answer to the question if “life is or is not worth living”. Extremism, according Camus (2005) was an attitude which based the “worth” of life on values, understood as “fundamental”. Camus (2005) had no convincing solution for this problem. But a solution layed at hand. Schweitzer (1965) offered an alternative by the position that life was absolutely and unconditionally valuable. Unlike Hoppe (2001), Albert Schweitzer (1965) trusted in having found the ethical universal, not in “truth” but through rational reasoning; as action and not its result. The universal was the value of life as a common characteristic to all personal, and therefore ethical, existence which was, as a first principle, simultaneously the a priori abstract truth. Central to this idea was that civilization was not the “product” of an “élite” but of each and every member in society (p. 335). When Schweitzer (1965) concluded the above with the statement that “[w]ealth they regard as the property of society left in the sovereign control of the individual” (p. 320), he gave a clear definition of an ideal liberal anarchist society and its ethical foundations. Conflicts in society, according him, “arise out of the fact that the latter, [the individual], has to bear not only a personal but also a

supra-personal responsibility” (p. 323). As Bowden reminded, since Schweitzer’s (1960) ethic there were no simple solutions to ethical questions, no way out from “guilt” than the continuous will of persons to take their ethical responsibility in everyday life (Bowden, 2011a, 2011b).

***The covenant community.*** Broadly, three types of “covenant communities” could be discerned and were defined in the following as (1) economic, (2) religious-ideological, and (3) ethical covenant communities (see Appendix B and C for detailed data and references).

*Politico-economical covenants.* Historically “covenants” arose as reply to the political-historical problem of asserting the legitimation of a group in the confrontation with other groups, which led to the practice of suzerainty. Meredith G. Kline (1972) made a groundwork on suzerain societies highlighting pre-Mosaic Near Eastern cultures, like the Hittite and compared them with the Abrahamic tradition. Usually they emerged from an original “theory of conquest” by the dominant ruler, and the later concession of independence. As such it was understood, that the defeated people somehow lost all their rights. If the dominant party conceded them their life or even relative autonomy they became indebted with the rulers generosity from which an obligation of economic restitution arose. This included usually tax payment or services, like agricultural produce or military services. A criteria of free alliance was not given, since it was not possible to resign from the community. It was fully to the rulers grace to give back complete freedom (Ferguson, 1996; MacMillan, 2010). This indicated how narrowly the justification of sovereignty, the “theory of conquest” and the condition of “slavery” were linked since ancient times (K. Davis, 2012; Hopkins, 1978; W. D. Phillips, 1985).

*Religious-ideological covenants.* From the “theory of conquest” it was often deduced that the dominating ruler had achieved the conquest due to some superiority, often associated with supernatural power or legitimation. As such the Suzerain was identified with a divine source.

The religious-ideological covenant added to the former a transcendent, spiritual component in its orientation and consequently also a didactic function of the legal-political system with the purpose to achieve greater cohesion within the society (see especially Perry, 2000; Traer, 1991).

*Ethical or liberal covenants.* In both models of “covenant communities” Hoppe’s (2001) condition of “free-alliance” and the bottom-up approach, un-coerced motivation from the individual itself, were missing. Possible examples, fulfilling the criterion of “free-alliance”, were found in current Christian groups deriving from the Anabaptist movements, Islamic Pacifist movements, the Jewish Diaspora and some Kibbutzim (see Tables C2 and C5). Further, some First Nations in North America, as for instance the Cherokee (Champagne, 1992, pp. 76-77; Hoig, 1999), African communities, and some of the existing, so called, “hunter-gatherer cultures”, as the Indigenous Australian societies, could be described as “covenant communities” respecting individual sovereignty (Gondarra & Trudgen, 2011).

*Towards a definition of a liberal anarchist covenant community.* Grounding on his analysis of the political tradition in Switzerland and its concept of the Bundestradiation [covenant theology and covenant tradition], Ulrich Luz concluded that no final, heterogeneous definition of the “covenant” could be given (SEK/FEPS/FCES, 1987).

However, based on the review of anthropological studies, in this research certain characteristics could be elucidated which were coherent with Schweitzer’s (2009) ethics and could serve as an orientation for the ideal libertarian “covenant community” (Goodin, 2013; Kinsella, 2010; Martin, 2012; A. Schweitzer, 1979).

As for Schweitzer’s (2009) “life-affirmation” social constituency should be existentially oriented towards becoming oneself through private property as a constitutive mean and had especially a narrative structure.

As for “devotion” to others, the goal was cohesion and respect of otherness in which the direct, informal “encounter” with the other was understood as didactic to one’s own being. From these individual interpersonal “encounters” a bottom-up structure arose.

Considering “world-affirmation”, rules were made for concrete cases based on former customs and lead in a pragmatic, procedural approach towards non-material laws which did not depend on territory legal bodies or authoritative leaders but rather on the individual commitment to society.

From the above examples, some general characteristics of covenants could be deduced. Those were narrowed down to the ones that suited also the ethical assumptions of Schweitzer’s (2009) ethics. Resuming, the “ideal” aspects of the “covenant community” were expressed in the perpetual re-enactment of law as a spiritual or transcendental universal representation of liberty.

Table 1.

*Aspects of the "covenant community"*

Ethical frame	orientation	Means	functions	structure
life affirmation (self)	existential	Property	constitutive	narrative
life devotion (other)	cohesion	encounter	didactic	informal, emergent, bottom- up

Now, that the ethical goal was defined, a further question was how to address it in real life research.

**Critical Appreciation of Previous Research**

Since White (1992) in Caldwell and Boehm’s (1992) *Tensions and New Directions* was “calling for new directions in a [,the Austrian school’s,] research program” (p. 257) and to go beyond the mere formal “analytic” descriptive approach towards a prescriptive one (p. 259), a significant research body within the Austrian school had been built, foremost in economics and

institutional studies, as described by Sandye Gloria-Palermo (2002, see especially bibliography in p. 167). Even though, Austrian value theory was primarily interested in economic values (Neck, 2014), the origins of an Austrian sociology could be drawn back until Alfred Schutz's (1967) *Phenomenology of the Social World*. Yet a systematic empirical research was still missing. The turning point from an instrumental interest in human action towards a proper Austrian sociology came probably with Kirzner (1978, 2011), who was considered even as a "practicing Austrian" applying his theories (Caldwell & Boehm, 1992, p. 257). In recent years, Austrian sociology was further developed by Rothbard as a competitive social theory (Grimm, Lee, & Smith, 2006, p. 43).

The question of social constituency was in some way relevant to almost every field in social sciences. Since the theoretical assumptions of this study here related the phenomenon closely to concepts of conflict, special interest laid on four central questions: (1) in political philosophy, governance and democratic choice-making; (2) in the overlapping field of military science, diplomacy and legal studies, issues of international security and peace; (3) criminology and legal studies in relation to personal responsibility; and (4) in educational and developmental psychology, identity building, the role of meaning and mind. Two dominant approaches in investigations could be made out. One roughly fitted within the wide concept of "cultural sociology" in which the primary focus lied on culture as symbolic interaction (Lash, 2014, pp. 91, 193, 292). The other one was part of the gigantic project of discourse studies which were narrowly linked to the art; especially literary and performance studies or language arts and linguistics. A problematic point was that empirical research was quite recent within Austrian social theory (Langlois & Hodgson, 1992). This was not so much a sign of neglect than rather a symptom of the specific problems Austrian action theory had to deal with. The unique

approach in Austrian methodology required a non-representational and interactional strategy for its scientific methods, which had been developed not earlier than in the last few decades. Before explaining the specific methodological framework for this study, an overview on the different tendencies within the Austrian school should be given in this section.

**Austrian cultural studies in the United States.** In the United States, one of the most remarkable research programmes in Austrian hermeneutics and cultural studies was undertaken at the Mercatus Center of the George Mason University by Don Lavoie and Peter Boettke motivated by countering some ideas in Buchanan's theories (e.g. Boettke & Snow, 2014). Boettke's (2012) *Living Economics* took the hermeneutic implication to "make sense of human action" serious and proposed Austrian school's theoretical framework as ideal for the analysis of spontaneous order. This led also to development of guidelines for an Austrian syllabus (Boettke, 2011). During five years, Boettke, together with others, involved in a research study on the social recovery after societal crisis (Boettke, Chamlee-Wright, & Gordon, 2007; Ikeda & Gordon, 2007). Therein, they recognized the interdependence of fields of sociology, political theories and policy making as variables for economic dynamics. Their methodology focused on comparative historical research was partially informed by statistical data (p. 372, 375). This research line was continued by the generations who followed. For instance Prychitko and Storr worked on spontaneous orders in which meaning played a crucial role, comparing the Austrian school with the Virginia and Bloomington school (Prychitko & Storr, 2007; Storr, 2004, 2010b, 2011). Steven Horwitz cooperated with Roger Koppel, from the National Security Science Institute at the Whitman School of Management of Syracuse University, in studies on system dynamics and responses to change. Together they published a book about new approaches in Austrian economics addressing these questions titled *Entangled Political Economy* (Koppel &

Horwitz, 2014). Roger Koppel compared already earlier Hayeks decentralized knowledge networks with the “adaptive systems” described by system thinker Stuart Kauffman in his book *The Origins of Order* (Kauffman, 1993; Koppel, 2006, p. 236). Another promising approach was Sanford Ikeda’s (2012) inquiry into spatio-temporal relations as variables in economic development and social well-being from a Jacobsian perspective. Research at the Mercatus Center required to be taken serious. They demonstrated that rigorous methods and a hermeneutic approach were possible within an Austrian framework. Their Hayekian praxeology, however, was only concerned with the epistemological implications of actions. Since the theory of this thesis, understood action as simultaneously epistemological and ontological, their research methods could not be simply applied in here.

Also other Northern American Universitites contributed with significant studies. For example, Peter Klein at the University of Missouri was inquiring the epistemological inferences of competition (in: Foss & Klein, 2008; Lien & Klein, 2008). At the New York University, Mario Rizzo (2012) tested behavioral studies applied to Austrian economics. Similarly, Bruce Yandle at the Clemson University investigated in enterpreneurial theories with a behavioral approach (Gartner, 2009). Richard Normand Langlois (1985) at the University of Connecticut was interested in historiography as a methodological frame to analyze institutional change from the approach of New Institutional Economics. His assumptions that economic progress was dependent on social institutionalization, including norms and legal frameworks, was insightful. However, his research focus was more concerned in showing that there was a relationship between institutions and economics and not so much on how institutional change occurred. But, the latter was of prime interest here.

**Sociology of crime as economic activity.** Renaud Fillieule (2012), lecturer at the Mises Institute, concentrated his research interest in “sociology of delinquency”. He explained the “praxeological turn” (p. 415) and interpreted the “theory of social control” from a praxeological approach (p. 417). In his analyzes he shifted the problem from bindingness of law towards the “bond’ to ‘society’ ”. According Fillieule (2012), the latter was related to “attachment”, a concept in psychology (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991; Bowlby, Rosenbluth, & Robertson, 1952; Goldberg, Muir, & Kerr, 2013). Fillieule (2012) analysed the problem along a kind of calculation of a “psychic profit” (p. 418). Two further approaches he compared were the “low self-control theory” (p. 419) and the “routine activity theory” (p. 423) based on behaviorism conceptions of attitudinal problems. He concludes that the values in the mindset of criminals were not different from others (pp. 426-426) and the question if their values were “antisocial” was merely “empirical”. Fillieule’s approach was contrasted to the one of the independent economist Loretta Napoleoni (e.g. 2005, 2011a, 2013).

She was probably one of the most experienced experts on organized crime within the context of the current neo-liberal socio-political system (Napoleoni, 2011b, 2011c). Her foremost financial and economic approach to questions of social justice were revealing for the intimate relationship of economics and politics. On the one side, the statist economies, characterized by the anonymity of the citizen, rule of law and the asymmetry in information and legal means within the modern democratic state, and on the other side, the quasi-subversive, often Romanticised character of criminal organizations. Napoleoni (2011b) definitely would not describe organized crime as subversive but rather as “parasite”. For example, according her, it would not have been possible for the counterfeiting industry to find any market, if there had not been in parallel a State protected law of so called immaterial property rights like brands and



patents. In a libertarian free market, there were no counterfeiting, just duplicates, imitations, copies of more or less similarity with the original and with their respective individual price strategies. Even though there might be cases where consumer information was not enough to protect the individual from unrecognized harmful products, but this would not justify state intervention. Further, she believed that the primary interest was not consumer protection but corporate interests of powerful market players (Avery et al., 2008; Napoleoni, 2011b; Spink & Fejes, 2012).

She revealed her method in the study of sociology, explaining the differences between the unbiased “literal method” which she affirmed to be applying, and a propagandistic one (Napoleoni, 2005, see note 1 on page 6). Napoleoni challenged directly several assumptions in Hoppe’s (2012b) social theory. In the last two decades, Hoppe increasingly redefined the term “agonism” into the Marxist anarchist concept of “agorism”, also known as “counter-economics” (Hoppe, 2001, p. 81, 2003, p. 35; Konkin, Conger, & Seely, 2006). Hoppe (2012b) assumed that organization structures were largely independent from theoretical and ethical aspects. But the fact that in practice one and the same person could be a fierce supporter of the socialist, statist system and at the same time an efficient “counter-economist”, made this assumption doubtful after the insight from Napoleoni (Hoppe, 2012b, p. 52; Napoleoni, 2005). According to her, crime was part of the system. So called criminal organizations were not only criminal because they acted against the current legal conventions but also against property rights, against Hoppe’s “natural law”. The theory of the present thesis, rejected therefore Hoppe’s (2012b) statement that crimes were just a side effect (p. 154) and rather understood them as a symptom of ethical shortcomings, a kind of “performative contradiction”. The question that remained was, if such an inconsistent system would endure or if it was just a transitory phenomenon finally “replacing

the State” (p. 53). In this study here, Phillips and Huntley’s (2014) concept of Propaganda offered a tool for further exploration of this phenomenon.

The ontological inquiry into the Self in relation to crime within cultural sociology was the master piece of giants like Hannah Arendt (2013) and her “politics of alterity” or the concept of “self-disclosure” (p. 175). Another example was Chantal Mouffe (2013), also mostly concerned with the social level, discovering conflict not only as intrinsic to social life but also as a necessity. To explain this idea, she distinguished the destructive concept of conflict with a positive one; “agonism”(Mouffe, 2013). They shared with the unforgettable Levinas (2012), cited by Moyn (2006) and Topolski (2011), the optimism that ethics could finally solve the problem of human badness. This hope was partly destroyed in Scarry’s (1985) structural analysis of torture as a tool for “social construction of agency” and the “agent’s realities” (Lang & Beattie, 2008, p. 29; Scarry, 2004). One of the pioneers explaining violent practices through the embodiment of identity which merged body and tool, was probably Judith Butler, bringing Foucaults political theories and Lacanian psychoanalysis together (J. Butler & Athanasiou, 2013; J. Butler, 2011a, 2011b). Scarry (1985) and Butler (2005), each from a different standpoint, fought for a solution to what Stark (2014) called the “problem of recognition”. In parallel, Hutchings (2013) proposed that social peace required a form of “translation”. Still, this left the question open on what the object of translation should ground.

**Emergent governance and security in global Austrian discourse.** Another line of investigation within the Austrian school was concerned with governance, security issues and law. Edward P. Stringham, a former scholar of the George Mason University, now at the Fayetteville State University, analysed the Austrian conception of “competition [...] applied to governance”

in phenomena of spontaneous order, supporting Hoppean ideas of “private governance” (Hoppe, 2012b; Powell & Stringham, 2009; Stringham, 2011, 2014, 2015).

A prominent researcher on security studies was Randy Holcombe at the Florida State University, broadly interested in the concept of “consensus” (Holcombe & Gwartney, 2010; Holcombe, 2011, 2014). Also Nigel White (2014) from the University of Nottingham, in the United Kingdom investigated conflict issues in international relations. Jeremy Walker at the University of Technology in Sidney developed a system approach merging methods from social and natural sciences in order to describe a “genealogy of resilience”, based on Hayekian praxeology (Evans & Reid, 2013; J. Walker & Cooper, 2011). Paul Nightingale and Alex Coad (2014), at the University of Sussex, were rather pessimistic with the entrepreneurship paradigm. Jeffery Sikkenga (2010), professor of political science at the Ashland University, Ohio, U.S., believed that some applications of liberal thought even merged into a *Rational Theology*. He developed this idea in his critical view on *The American Bill of Rights* and hermeneutic analysis of Thomas Jefferson’s (1776) contributions on discussion of religious freedom (Jefferson & Fink, 2002). According, Sikkenga (2010), Jefferson (1776) defined the “mind” as “independent of the will”, and discussed concepts like “religion”, “faith” and apriorism as “a kind of religious sentiment” (pp. 224-226) which led to Jefferson’s (1776) peculiar version of “natural rights” (p. 233). How Jefferson (1776) linked “rational theology” with “Unitarianism” (p. 228) in his efforts of institutional secularization during the last century (p.238), became not very clear from Sikkenga’s (2010) findings. Sikkenga (2010) quoted Sanford Levison’s (2011) idea saying that the United States were unified in a kind of secular religion based on the Constitution (p.261). Sikkengas (2010) research brought the thesis here forward for many reasons. Firstly, he used a typical method in sociology, the “thick description” (Boettke, 2002, p. 253, 2010, p. 35; Geertz,

2014) and applied it to analyse Austrian theories critically within a concrete context. Secondly, he was familiar with the work of Hoppean theories which he expressed in his belief that Hoppe (2001) joined in the chorus of Tocqueville (2011) who stated that democracy had an important influence on the individuals “time-preference”, due the difficulty in identifying itself with the abstract of the large mass society (see Sikkenga, 2010, p. 208-210; on Hoppe, 2001; and Tocqueville, 2011, 2.4.3). Both, the comparison of Hoppe with the Lockean ideas of societal constituency in Tocqueville and the comments on Jefferson’s apriorism were useful for the further analysis of apriorism in relation to “natural law”. Thirdly, Sikkenga (2010) linked the American Constitution with “rational theology” which inspired to analyse the case of the United States as a possible “covenant community” and helped to understand the relation between religion and societal constituency better. Albeit that, for a further exploration of the becoming of personal identity and societal constituency, the information was not concluding. This made it doubtful to what degree “thick description” could provide the insight required for exploring the phenomenon to be analysed in here.

Questions on governance and international law in relation to religious believes were also central for the Scholars around the Islamic anarchist U.S. based Minaret of Freedom. The Palestinian professor of history and religion Imad-ad-Dean Ahmad, president of the Minaret of Freedom Institute, contributed with his studies on the Islamic influence in modern scientific methodology and the understanding of the modern Western State, significantly to open a dialogue between cultures and bring libertarian arguments forward to the Arabic world (Ahmad, 2008, 2012).

Safei-Eldin Hamed (2005), of the Chatam University, Pittsburgh, famous for his article published in Foltz’s book *Environmentalism in the Muslim World* emphasized the role religion

played in the solution of current ecological problems. Educational expert Vice President of the SALAM Institute for Peace and Justice Amr Abdalla (2000) approached conflict studies from the interpersonal perspective and advocated adequate liberal education (see also Randeree & Faramawy, 2011). Abdalla's (2000) methodology was mainly within cultural sociology. Further should be named Omar Altalib, former adviser to the Iraqi Ministry of Education (Altalib, 1997). In his reply to Anwar Ibrahim (2008), who describe the Arab spring under the paradigm of an "Asian Renaissance", Altalib (2013) agreed with the idea that the an Islamic order should include "ethical business practices" (p. 27), a strict support for the "rule of law" (p. 64) and celebrated the intent to define a general theory of "justice" (p.57). This approach to the phenomenon was also widely shared outside the Austrian school; as for instance in a very diligent analyses looking for "stories of protest" in tweets (P. Howard, Duffy, Freelon, & Hussain, 2011). Oppression was considered a result of poverty, lack of education and foremost the adequate tools for spontaneous and emergent organizational change (Hermida, Lewis, & Zamith, 2014). Nevertheless, despite their great value, these analysis could not make justice to a large body of historical revolutionary events with similar spontaneous, wide spreading and decentralized characteristics like the French Revolution and the role of the print press (Andress, 2013, p. 2). Cultural tools alone could not clarify fully why and how spontaneous order was possible. Social networks constituted in themselves virtual spontaneous communities, pre-existent to the phenomenon of spontaneous "revolutions" and required explanation. Exemplifying, John Kennedy (2014) edited the most recent research work on eight centuries of Scandinavian tradition in "networking". Further there was evidence from contemporary security studies that "rule-governed political orders" could not assure "peaceful outcomes", and that human "badness" was not merely an institutional problem (Lang & Beattie, 2008; Sorg, 2011).

Also seemed “plurality” as a tool against “inhumanity” very doubtful (Topolski, 2011). The approach of “resilience” introduced by the practicing psychotherapist Mustakova-Possardt’s (2008) “resilience” as a kind of balance of consciousness which she described as a kind of pattern-creating self-awareness of being alive, was probably the one that came closest to the research assumptions in here. One of the most valuable points in Mustakova-Possardt & Oxenberg’s research (2014) was that they recognized that religion was not necessarily a negative factor in societal constituency, neither would it automatically lead to “extremism” (Elena Mustakova-Possardt, 2008, p. 1). The inclusion of the notion that “to expand the sense of self” could lead to “resilience”, in the given example of road building, was also promising (pp. 122-124; see also Basseches & Gruber, 1984, pp. 22-24). But Mustakova-Possardt & Oxenberg (2014) started from a different conception of Self. For them, the problem was merely an epistemological one (Mustakova-Possardt & Basseches, 2014; Mustakova-Possardt & Oxenberg, 2014).

Altalib (2011), in accordance to Islamic laws, also evaluated liberal concepts of consumption. Sulayman Nyang (1991), Muslim scholar of international affairs at the African Studies Center of Howard University was mostly concerned with the problem of identity constitution in plural emergent societies (see also Islam, 2013). Also the researcher couple Ingrid and Uwe Paus-Hasebrink (2013), in communication studies, explored the phenomenon of “identity construction” in relation to the “concept ‘practical meaning’” (p. 81) drawing on Habermasian “praxeology” (pp. 94-95; further Weiß, 2000). Abdul Hafiz Shaikh (2006), a Pakistani political economist, developed challenging theories on the role of enterprise and government. Fouad Ajami (2011) interpreted the Arab spring from a Hayekian perspective. The above selection focused on a few scholars closely related to the Austrian school who also taught in Arabic countries. Many more had not been named here and would be worth for further study if

the space here allowed it. Resuming, even though their methodological approach was basically within cultural studies and did not offer concrete methods that could have been useful for the requirements of the investigation into the phenomenon of identity, these studies allowed to view from a different angle on the problem of social cohesion and addressed issues in a very similar way as the 19<sup>th</sup> Century “conservatives” in Switzerland did (e.g. Siegwart-Müller in: Bussmann, 1998; Rüt, 1952).

The synonyms for the Arabic spring, i.e. more or less peaceful political transformation, in the countries of the Occident, were “referendum” and “plebiscites” (Guibernau, Rocher, & Casanas Adam, 2014). The referendum for Quebec’s independence inspired in Canada the question if individual choice-making was rational and self-consciousness enough in order to take the far-reaching decision of constitutional changes (Blais, Martin, & Nadeau, 1998; LeDuc, 2003; Nadeau, Martin, & Blais, 1999). LeDuc’s (2003) large survey from global perspective inquired these questions more in detail. It was especially sensitive with possible abuses of “referenda” by large interest groups. The study’s conclusion was that in general the “referendum” improved the “quality of democratic political life”. The stumbling block of this research was that it collected most of the empirical data from Europe and the United States but aimed to assess Latin American countries. Future studies would be required to prove universal validity at a global level.

Similar dynamics were also analysed within the European programme of the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (Bedock, Mair, & Wilson, 2012; Rowe, 2011). Further, they were present in the efforts of European researchers to address problems with governance under a paradigm of decentralized, democratic polity (Bäck, Debus, Müller, & Bäck, 2013; Panopoulou, 2011).

A shared concern of the above, on the one hand, was the question if a system change could be brought about without destroying the possibilities for consensus with discourse participants supporting the existing status quo. On the other hand, the idea that consensus for some reasons required personal transformation and was threatening personal identity bothered especially scholars who had to address these problems in their current socio-political context.

**Asian challenges to hermeneutics and linguistics in pragmatism.** Hiroyuki Okon of the Wakayama University, Japan did significant research in historiography on the Austrian school (Okon, 1997, 2009). Hiroshi Yoshida (2012) was President of The Institute of Public Sector Accounting and of The Free Economy Institute in Japan activist for tax reforms in Japan. Notwithstanding, it was the phenomenon of social media that was driving Austrian Economics in Asia, and motivated Austrian professors to start biannual meetings at the Shanghai Austrian Economics Summit (EFN Economic Freedom Network Asia, 2014; International Society for Individual Liberty, 2012). For instance Xingyuan Feng, Vice Director and Board member of Unirule Institute of Economics, known for co-publishing Hayek's (2011) *The Constitution of Liberty* in Chinese and added an Austrian view on the recent economic boom in China (Feng, Ljungwall, & Guo, 2012; Ha, Yang, Feng, & Chen, 2012). Haijiu Zhu at the Zhejiang Gongshang University translated works of de Soto and Kirzner. Zhu, Lu an Yuan (2004) believed that the "level of organization" was influencing for learning in networked organizations, as he exemplified with two Chinese industrial areas. Junning Liu (2000) at Institute of Chinese Culture described the growing popularity of Hayek in China. Liu (2001) defended liberalism as a universal value and not exclusive to Western thought, building on Ayn Rand and rejected the direct-democratic philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Baogang, 1998). Philosophers like Liu let arise doubts if Chinese liberalism was in fact liberalism (P. M. Christensen, 2014; Fung,



2008; Lee, 2013). But these apprehension was also made about the United States (Dahl, 2003). Mao Shoulong at the Academy of Public Policy, Rennmin University of China mainly concerned with political issues in Hayekian tradition (as cited in Lichuan, 2004; Shoulong, 2000, 2003)(as cited in Lichuan, 2004; Shoulong, 2000, 2003).

Further, at the School of International Relations and Public Affairs (SIRPA) of the Fudan Univeristy, Shanghai, China, Shiping Tang (2010) categorizes in his *General Theory of Institutional Change* the Austrian School under the “harmony approach” (p. 10) and, according Joseph (2013), “resilience” as a neo-liberal policy. Truely interesting for this study in here, however, was his methodological approach. Tang tried to analyse institutional change through an organic Agent-based modelling (p. 41). This rather recent methodology in social science was promissing in making changes visible and show what went on. It was seriously considered and tested out for the study here. Especially mathematician Leigh Tesfatsion’s (2002, 2014a, 2014b) modelling of society as an emergent phenomenon, combining evolutionary economics and cognitive science with computational mathematics, appeared attractive. But in the end, it was rejected because it offered no method that could make liberty or agency visible. All that could be seen were the effects not the phenomenon behind liberty. An indirect approach through the study of effects was thinkable, but did not provide the expected results. The lack of compelling methods in past research studies, which could have been applied to the investigation of the question of social constituency in here, led a fundamental revision of Austrian methodology. The following Chapter 3 served as detailed discussion of this methodological shift.

### Chapter 3: Methodology

The task in Chapter 3 was to solve Kant's problem of "actual infinity" in order to apply the theoretical assumptions in social constituency, as a co-constitutional phenomenon of personal identity and the foundation of society, to the concrete exploration of such a constitutional process.

For this purpose, in the Section *Research Design*, five major difficulties found in relation to the transition problem in Kant's schemata of category were discussed under the considerations of a revised ontological framework which included the "ontological turn" in a non-dialectical; Paragraph *Rationals for a non-representational performative methodology* (p. 101). Through process philosophy it was possible to make the framework in Schutzian praxeology explicit which allowed to deal with "infinite intentions" which could not be approached through logical thinking but only by re-enactment. This was described by comparing the three overlapping and all equally four dimensional frameworks of Schweitzer's (2009) ethics, Phillips and Huntley's *Dramatica* (2001) and the Schutzian (1967) "social world" in the Paragraph *Dimensions of non-representational performative methodology* (p. 106).

Taking the process of the writing of a collaborative "networked narrative" as an analogy for the game of life, a design for the re-production of the process of societal constituency was developed in this research through a non-representational "design-based" research framework, outlined in Paragraph *Multimodular engaged design-based research* (p. 119).

As a result the history of Switzerland as a "covenant community" was proposed in order to explore the concrete reply to the current political discourse of Switzerland as an empirical demarcation of the theoretical inquiry. This was described in the Section *Research Questions* (p. 132). In the Sections *Research Instrument* and *Instrument Validation* (p. 132), scientific validity

was grounded on a universal ethics which could give orientation for action within situations of conflict using Schweitzer's (2009) Reverence for Life as an analytical framework for deontology. Concluding the schematic development of the narrative game to be design was advanced in the Sections *Data Collection Procedures* and *Data Analysis* (pp. 153 and 155).

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to explore the moment of “performative contradiction”, as the expression of a person's intent to overcome a perceived “tension” in “noodynamics”, and to create an opportunity for “encounter”, as a phenomenon of a transformative learning process in social constituency using a game-based “historiographic narration” (Fulda, 2014) set up on autobiographical writings of participants during political crisis in a “design-based” research approach, concluding in a general qualitative description of the formative framework of historiography as a national myth and a model for a shared meaning context, resulting from the ethical decisions taken, by participants mitigating the “performative contradiction” in the “encounter” of competing “vision[s] of the future” (Makinde, 1990, p. 120; for indepth study see Odom, 2015 especially pp. 6-10).

Cade Share (2012a) described the Rothbardian-Hoppean “self-owner” as a sovereign and autonomous agent and the Thomist conception of purpose as mere logical calculus (see also Share, 2012b). Once the “ontological turn” was admitted in praxeology, this kind of certainty had to be given up. As a consequence, the inquiry into individual identity and consequently the following of the social world rather resembled the hunt after “action at a distance” anywhere in a boundless space. This well-known concept that bothered Rubin (2001), among other physicists in quantum mechanics and quantum field theory, had no further relevance, in here. However, the sentence above was used to express that the theoretical redefinition of personhood had

methodological consequences which converted this research object into something apparently ephemeral and inaccessible; even for fields in social sciences accustomed to elusive problems; as for example phenomenology. The analogy to physics continued insofar, that the measurement problems could not be solved without a complete change in the research strategy including a redefinition of the synthetic geometry in which action was assumed to be developed (see Appendix D). Therefore, instead of approaching the problem with a conventional representational strategy based on the knowledge of truth as given, be it empirical and factual or be it a priori truth statements, the researcher here had accessed the research question with a non-representational strategy. Such a strategy was advanced in “design-based” research approaches. Conventionally, scientific objectivity was understood as a form of neutralization of the observer’s inference. Per contra, “design-based” research, as part of action research, took the authors personal engagement as its central starting point. Furthermore, this was not contrasted by data as empirical facts, but rather negotiated with the community that shared the problem. Virtually, “design-based” research was a research approach align with the educational philosophy of community learning (É. Wenger-Trayner, Fenton-O’Creevy, Hutchinson, Kubiak, & Wenger-Trayner, 2014). Based on the assumption that the mind was universal to all persons, Phillips & Huntley (2001) had set up a framework for the analysis of the constitution of meaning. Even though, no predictions could be made about choices on concrete meaning-contents, the formative process of the intersubjective negotiation of meaning was revealed through their methodology due to its foundation on an a priori.

In search for a research design which was true to Austrian praxeology, two kinds of problems could be detected. The first problem was related to the controversies on an adequate ontological framework; especially in relation to the categories of being in apriorism (e.g.

Houlgate, 2006, p. 4; Lyotard, 1994, pp. 13, 59), the Aristotelian conception of “givenness” in Mises (1949) and later Rothbard (1976) which was revised through Schutz (in Eberle, 2009), and the debates on Kant’s synthetic apriorism (Share, 2012b; B. Smith, 2011). Smith had designed a very well developed logical scheme on the different positions in regard to apriorism within the Austrian school. In Appendix E, this scheme was amended in order to fit in the Plotinian a priori on which this thesis based. The second problem, which emerged from the first, belonged to the philosophy of time and concerned controversies about phenomenological analysis; foremost those between Husserl’s transcendental reduction, as described by Carr (2009), and the concept of “enactment” in Schutzian phenomenology (J. R. Hall, 1980; G. W. H. Smith, 2005).

### **Research Design**

Currently, approaches in process philosophy, object oriented ontology and the Kyoto school, proposed alternative views which could provide answers to some of the unsolved questions in Kant’s philosophy of time and his schemata of categories. Starting from five of these questions, as analysed by Andrew Janiak (2009), dimensions of the social space were defined. Based on this, a framework for a non-representational performative methodology could be described. The concrete method applied in this study was a game-based “historiographic narrative”, as discussed by Daniel Fulda (2005, 2014), professor in German studies, and applied as a multimodular engaged “design-based” research; described by Paul James (2014). Finally, it was suggested that this method had the potential to reconcile an anthropocentric representation of time and personhood with “animism’s historicity”. The methodological aspect of this central problem for the research question in here was describe by G. N. Anat Pick’s film analysis (Anat Pick, 2013, pp. 91, 103). In conclusion, building on the a priori of liberty from which both the “lifeworld” and the material world were generated, the suggested method was also apt to

approach concepts of “infinite intentions”; which lied according Hall (2009) at the heart of Kant’s troubles.

**Rationals for a non-representational performative methodology.** In his entry for the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on *Kant’s Views on Space and Time*, Andrew Janiak (2009) recognized that ambiguities in Kant’s philosophy of time, which had important consequences for the philosophy of science, might be solved by analysing his theory from a wider “context”. Generalising this conclusion, it could be said that the appropriateness of a methodology depended on its underlying theory of time which, in addition, implied an ontology. Or in other words, all knowledge (epistemology) implied an ontology, as assumed in the theoretical part of this research (see pp. 33 ff.).

Janiak (2009) detected five central problems in Kant’s philosophy of time in relation to his schemata of the categories that served as framework for his transcendental judgement as foundation of modern scientific inquiry (e.g. Kant, 1799, 1818, 1870, 2004, 2014). These still unsolved problems could no longer uncritically be conceived as given in current day science and required a positioning. Along these five problems, the methodology framework of this research were defined. The aim was to set into relation several highly complex problems in philosophy belonging to questions of time, truth, identity, reality and objectivity, which were relevant for the phenomenon of personal identity and societal constituency. For that purpose, no extended discussion of these topics was given but rather the concepts and problems that arose from Kantian critical philosophy were elicited and compared to their perception in the discussion of alternative approaches which integrated the “ontological turn” in a non-dialectical way; especially in process philosophy and the Kyoto school.

*First problem: Ontology of space and time.* The first two problems concerned the ontology of spacetime in relation to philosophy of science. described that one of the questions Kant (2004) dealt with was if space should be considered a substance or a property and through its definition the assumption of space to be “causally inert” could be explained.

Key to the understanding of this problem were two aspects. One was that Kant (2004) avoided to include motion into his scheme, as Janiak (2009) recognized. While in the Newtonian metaphysics space was an absolute that served as background on which motion could be explained, for Kant (2004) it was a mere empirical question. He tried to explain motion instead based on a central focal point; the sun in the solar system. This resulted in the problem that the Kantian framework could not explain motion, nor causation fully (Pollok, 2006 as paraphrased in: Janiak, 2009). Kant (2004) himself recognized the problem when addressing the need to find a “transition” which he never fully achieved (B. Hall, 2009). Following Kant’s (2004) concept of the “motion of the subject” in relation to such a central point it would have been possible to redefine the whole ontology of time in a way that could account for either of them; motion and causation. An approach in this way could be found in the Kyoto school by Kitaro Nishida’s (1990) non-positivists and non-dialectical “logic of place” (p. xxv) and its concept of the “absolutely contradictory self-identity” (p. 56). Another approach was given in process philosophy by the concept of “nexus” understood as plural “actual entities” (Gómez Alonso, 2013; Hartshorne, 1962). While the latter embraced pantheism, the Kyoto school maintained the “unity of experience” in a very similar fashion as Viktor Frankl (2010) did.

The other aspect of Kantian ontology was discussed by Hutter (2006), who observed that the Kantian tradition neglected the possibility of a third alternative, between dualism and monism. Hutter (2006), in his revision of Descartes developed a “critical monism” as a reply,

when he reckoned that spatiality and temporality could be qualia of subjectivity or mind, instead of distinct substances. This interpretation offered a very new approach to understanding Kant's (2004) premise of the a priori of mind.

***Second problem: Relation between spacetime and the substance-property distinction.***

One of the reasons why Kant (2004) would not have contended neither with process philosophy nor with the Kyoto school, was that he considered spacetime as independent and a priori to the substance-property distinction, while he considered mind prior to spacetime. This led to the problem in explaining the "unity of consciousness" as an embodied phenomenon. A logical conclusion was to consider body as a spatiotemporal, empirical phenomenon and the mind as prior. This was the scheme on which the idea of a "first appropriation" or "acquisition" of the body by the mind could be conceived. In turn, this included the difficulty to explain how the body was actually appropriated, if such an appropriation should be considered an action and what kind of action this would be. This dilemma was largely discussed in philosophy through the mind-body debate (Hutter, 2006).

Process philosophy tried to solve this question through the concept of "prehension" and the rejection of the mind-matter dualism in the manner of Hutter's (2006) "critical monism".

***Third problem: Origin of the representation of spacetime.*** The third problem most directly affected the scientific method, and the question for the "origin of [the] representation of space" as distinct from reality or material existence. Kant (2004) conceived the idea of inertia in causation, i.e. universal categories which remained constant under all possible conditions Janiak (2009).

***Fourth problem: Geometry of spacetime.*** The fourth question raised by Janiak (2009) was about the content of spacetime; in other words its geometry.



It dealt directly with the problem of transition from analytical apriorism to reality in relation to epistemology. Kant (2004) hoped to solve it through his concept of transcendental exposition, which resembled the Aristotelian idea of givenness of a priori categories. But he created a new problem by this. Either an analytical analysis was the sole approach to truth, which would raise question what truth could say about concrete, actual reality, or an empirical analysis was the appropriate method, leading to relativism in which only provisional statements could be made and epistemology somehow degraded into nothing more than an educated guess.

This was primarily a concern of representation. For Kant (2004), representation depended on the conception of being. Further, he defined space clearly as non-discursive and rejected any possibility of concepts to have infinite intensions. He deduced this from the logical necessity of a first principle. Interestingly, he justified this idea by the fact that such a concept could not be “grasped by the mind” (Janiak, 2009). What Kant (2004) left unanswered was why he made it a condition for the first principle to be accessible by mind. Explanations why Kant (2004) used this approach could be found in his identification of the first principle with mind (*nous*) and Kant’s (2004) interpretation of consciousness, self-consciousness and reflexivity.

This was a question of the part-whole structure in ontology (Artale, Franconi, Guarino, & Pazzi, 1996). Leibnitz apparently had no difficulties to conceive such a concept (see e.g. Goethe, Beeley, & Rabouin, 2015; Partker, 2013; Sider, 2014). An intent to solve the problem was made by Husserl’s “apprehension” (Morujão, 2013). A more recent solution was given in process philosophy by the concept of “prehension” which was derived from abandoning the idea of “truth” as substantive turning towards truth as process in which the categories of being derived not longer from “being” but from “becoming” as a first category (Griffin, 2013).

*Fifth problem: Relation between spacetime and mind (nous).* The fifth question was axial for the other four and determined what should be understood by scientific objectivity. Kant (2004) tried to solve the question how an independent human mind could know anything about spacetime if not through representation. This question remained still unsolved, but in the last decades a shift in focus within the question itself promised some further insight. For Kant (2004) mind was always “human mind”, even though, he never tried to give any concluding account why this should be the only possibility. Most emphasis on this idea had been put by the methodological approach of “anthrodecentrism” in object-oriented ontology (OOO) (e.g. Mylius, 2013). This approach also built on a different, non-correlational theory of truth, which could be helpful to understand the problem from a different angle (Artale et al., 1996; Engeström, Miettinen, & Punamäki, 1999). This rather recent approach had not yet developed a full theory. Even more important, it seemed to have some drawbacks which would not allow consistency with the theoretical assumptions in here. Firstly, “withdrawl” appeared to be just a form of phenomenological epoché, which in the end was also a form of representational methodology. Secondly, it also built on the “preservation of finitud” and could finally not account for the problem of “actual infinity” which layed at the core of personal identity.

In process philosophy, Hartshorne (1965) worked on St. Anselm’s “ontological argument” and developed a concept of “concrete actuality” of the absolute in order to explain divine “prehension” in the subjectification process, a process of concretion as described in process theology (Cobb & Griffin, 1976, p. 47; Lubarsky & Griffin, 2012, p. 64). Drawing on St. Anselm this school offered an alternative to the conception of structure between the whole and its parts which was neither “aggregate” nor dialectical and could account for the question of “immanence” (Janiak, 2009; Posy, 2000, pp. 167, 176; Viney, 2013).

Nishida (1990), when he reconnected “thinking and pure experience” in the a priori action of “thinking”, as distinct from the Kantian judgment, he did primarily not ask for the relation between abstract and concrete, but foremost between ideal and reality. He understood thinking as “a single activity [... that] develop[ed ...] a certain unifying reality” (pp. 7, 48, 56).

**Dimensions of non-representational performative methodology.** The three major theories that served as a foundation of the theoretical framework in this research were all based on Kantian philosophy; this concerned the anthropology of Laín Entralgo (1999), the ethics of Albert Schweitzer (1960) and the psychology of Viktor E. Frankl (2014). Still, they all went far beyond Kant (2004) and made their own modifications to the Kantian scheme. The influences were diverse, especially from German idealism. An important influence was that of Henri Bergson and his conception of time in relation to the subject (for Berson in Schweitzer see: Barsam, 2007, p. 8; in Laín Entralgo see: Martínez, 2004, pp. 104–105; in Frankl see: Mena, 2000, p. 163).

Before entering further into the application of Phillips and Huntley’s (2001) literary theory *Dramatica* within the overall research design, a brief comparison of Schweitzer’s (1960) theoretical conception of mind as a priori universal and *Dynamica*’s empirical methodological framework was drawn.

***Schweitzer’s: Attitudinal dimensions of ethics.*** Albert Schweitzer (2009) offered with his *Reverence of Life* not only a clear statement on ethics but also an analytical framework for deontology. Frankl’s scholars had further developed several methods for psychological praxis and research based on hermeneutical and therapeutical inquiry, whereas Laín Entralgo was more concerned with the explanation of particular questions than with methodology (compare Wolfram Kurz et al., 1995; with e.g. Laín Entralgo, 1957, 1983, 1986, 1989, 2005). This left the

research question orphan of an adequate tool for inquiry that could integrate a theory with its application. In recent years two highly creative minds, the writers and developer of software specialized in semantic analysis and script writing, Melanie Ann Phillips and Chris Huntley (2001) had designed a complete methodological framework based on their own psychological theory named “mental relativity” (C. Huntley & Phillips, 1991; M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 266). Their theory included two major characteristics with a perplexing parallel to Schweitzer’s (2009) philosophy and the theoretical assumptions outlined in this research here. At the core of their theory there were the so called Story Throughlines or the Story Quad. In a Kantian manner, they based their theory on the a priori of mind; still understood as human mind, in which four principles arranged in two pairs of focal oppositions, the Throughlines, were woven together into “meaning” (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, pp. 44 ff.).

Alber Schweitzer (1965) defined an analytical framework in order to determine a world view as an ethical theory. For this purpose he described four dimensions of ethics of which all four had to be present in order to define a world view as ethical. These four dimension were arranged in two pairs of apparently contradictory affirmations which had to be mediated within the world view, forming a Quad similar to the one of Dramatica’s Throughlines (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 13). This arrangement obviously run counter to classical syllogism. The four dimensions were defined as “self-affirmation”, “self-devotion”, “world-affirmation” and “world-negation”.

*Self-affirmation.* “Self-affirmation” was the unconditional acceptance of one’s self and came close to the Lockean (2013) concept of self-preservation and self-ownership (especially p. 54). Taken for itself it was not considered as self-idealization or egoism, or any intent to self-perfection. In first place it was an unconditional acceptance of one’s status quo as the

manifestation of a will-to-live based on the a priori goodness of life. This dimension concerned the “I” or the “Self” (Laín Entralgo, 1983).

*Self-devotion.* “Self-devotion” was the unconditional affirmation of the Other. This devotion to others was overlapping with the anthropology of Laín Entralgo (1983). It understood the affirmation of the Other as distinct from understanding or empathy. It was a radical acceptance of a will-to-live distinct from one’s own will, even though this Other was not comprehensible or even threat to one’s own life. This dimension dealt with the “you” and the “Thou” (Schutz, 1967, chp. 36).

*World-affirmation.* “World-affirmation” was the combination of the unconditional affirmation of Self and Otherness, as is. All these three affirmations were highly concrete. Schweitzer (1965) did not speak about an “all embracing love” or some abstract concept of empathy and understanding as in some popular interpretations of “non-offensive [...] duality” (as e.g. Zhibing & Lin, 2012). It was a concrete attitude towards life in the world as real, actual existence, which was translated into mutually transformative actions that supported this life (compare Gandhi, 1954). Schweitzer (1965) did not understand it as a simple synthesis of Self and Other. Rather did his “world-affirmation” require the person’s ability to leap in some way the gap between Self and Other in the creation of a “we”; the social “context” (Schutz, 1967, 2012). As such it implied the ability of persons to sustain the “noetic tension” as described by Frankl (2010). This dimension dealt with the “we” the relationship between persons.

*World-negation.* “World-negation” or in its positive term the affirmation of life as abstract universal or ideal was the fourth dimension of ethics. From the abstraction of the world into an ideal the ethical “ought” was logically derived by the mind and constituted a driver for developmental progress in both the individual and the society. This dimension was concerned

with the “they” and “them”, other persons as abstracted into past, contemporary and future categories of social groups, classes, ethnicities and the similar (Schutz, 1967, chp. 37).

*Phillips & Huntley's: Dimensions of the a priori of mind.* Phillips and Huntley's (2001) based their philosophical implications in “mental relativity” on a very different anthropology and started with a different perspective than Schweitzer's (2009) ethics. Therefore they were not always coherent with all the theoretical assumptions of this research. Further, their approach remained strictly within a representational research strategy and a “linear” and “knowledge-based approach” to narratives (Brooks, 1996, p. 320). Nevertheless, precision of measurement was more important than adequacy in non-representational research, given that the former could correct the latter (Giddens, 2013, pp. 155 ff.). The tool offered this precision for an organization of text that would fit the philosophical framework. Dramatica was a tool that offered the possibility to make each interpretative choice visible from both its semantic and its structural relevance, and connected them logically. This was the most important condition to provide objectivity for the overall framework proposed in here. Dramatica became the key tool in defining the objective context, the “mind”, of the research design which extended applied phenomenology far beyond its characteristic as a “special kind of story-telling” and could link deontology with empirical data in a consistent way through Alfred Schutz' (1967) “analytical framework”. Brooks (1996) criticized the limited applicability of Dramatica in the field of artificial intelligence, due to its limitations in the application in non-linear stories. It was exactly this rather inflexible setting that made Dramatica useful for its application in non-representation research dealing with personal identity, real, i.e. more than logically, programmed “intelligence” (pp. 317-319). Throughout this study, it was discovered that the limitation in application of

Dramatica was not caused by its linearity but due to the problem of Propaganda which resisted universalization (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, pp. 259-260).

Dramatica, very much alike to the ethics of Reverence for Life defined four perspectives from which a narrative could be analysed. These perspectives, the so called story Throughlines formed together structure the story of the narrative. Based on the specific arrangement of the four Throughlines a narrative could be defined as a tale, a story or a Grand Argument Story, of which only the last one was considered to be a complete story structure. The diligent omission of structural elements, further also made it possible to distinguish the fine line between stories as transmitters of a message and propaganda as a tool of manipulation. The four Throughlines were Main Character Throughline (MC), Impact Character Throughline (IC), Relational Throughline (RS) and Overall Story Throughline (OS) which were arranged also in dynamically opposing pairs, or as Dramatica defined it, a “quad” (K. E. M. Huntley, 2014; M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

Main character throughline. The Main Character Throughline dealt with the perspective of the narrator and was not necessarily identical with the Protagonist. It represented the first hand knowledge of the narration with which the audience would identify (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, pp. 70 ff, 105.).

Impact character throughlines. The Impact Character Throughline dealt with the alternative perspective to the one of the Main Character, and represented from the philosophical point of view the doubt. It was the view on the narrative that enabled the audience to understand that more than one possibilities in choice making existed, but the one chosen by the main character was the considered necessary in order to bring the message through the way it was

communicated. It could be considered as the “view from within the shoes” of the other (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 107).

*Relational story throughline.* The Relational Story Throughline dealt with the objective perspective of the dynamics between Main and Impact Character and described the emotional and behavioral dimension of the Story Dynamic (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, pp. 64 ff., 109).

*Overall story throughline.* The overall throughline provided the objective, logical argument of the narrative. Taken together, the subjective views and the relation view, the whole picture of the narrative came through.

All four Story lines together constituted the full view of the Story Mind as the “meaning” that the narrative transported, in other words, the “God’s eye” view (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, pp. 102-104; 2015a).

A parallel between the four dimension of Schweitzer’s (2009) ethics and the four perspectives constituting narrative meaning could be found. “Self-affirmation” was narratively structured through the Main Character Throughline, “Self-devotion” through the Impact Character Throughline, “world-affirmation” was consistent with the Relationship Story Throughline and “world-idealization” with the Overall Story Throughline. These four dimensions could be further compared to the four-dimensional social world as described by Alfred Schutz (1967).

***Schutz: Dimension of the social space.*** Based on Bergson (1971, 1999), Alfred Schutz (1967) described the social space as a phenomenon distinct from the common conception of spacetime. He was not concerned in defining spacetime as a whole but only the social world of “meaning-contexts” without further consideration of the relevance that his theory could have for



the natural sciences. In order to understand apriorism in praxeology and to define what the research “context” was, it was necessary to make the framework of space and time explicit. Alfred Schutz (1967) also worked with a four-dimensional framework in order to define the “social world”. In the following sub-section, this social space was described and, in a next step, its relation to space and time was discussed as a framework of the social world as integral scheme for a mindful spacetime based on the a priori of action, identified with mind as nous, was described (p. 114).

Schutz (1967) developed his four dimensions not in coherence with the Minkowski space but rather on the concept of inner time, outer time and *duré* as found in Bergson (Bergson, 1971, 1999; Minkowski, 2013). This allowed him to integrate subjectivity, especially in the sense of agency, into his framework. Further, it was necessary, since he tried to describe the social world fully based on the single a priori of action, true to Austrian praxeology. Still, consistent with Kantian philosophy, also his space emerged from the scheme of cognition. The four dimensions described by Schutz (1967) were highly abstract and rather counterintuitive. For a detailed study of the Schutzian framework it must be referred to his work *Phenomenology of the Social World* in which he developed his theory step by step from the a priori of action towards this four-dimensional space. The full theory could not be reproduced here, but the four dimensions were briefly resumed in order to make his representation of the “social” plausible. The four Schutzian (1967) dimensions were “anonymity” (pp. 195, 242), proximity or being “intimate” (pp. 8, 53, 181), “concreteness” or concretization (pp. 176, 210), and “actuality” or actualization (pp. 30, 46, 73). All four were understood as dynamically coordinated continua (pp. 48-51, 167-170).

*Anonymity.* The continuum of “anonymity” drew a line from the most personal, through the functional towards the fictional. It dealt with the Kantian category of reality and actuality. It

measured the cognitive closeness of entities in relation to the subjective agent. According to Schutz (1967), fully “personal” was only the Self and only the “actual [...] self” (p. 52). As such it was completely subjective and unscientific. Only abstracted, to a certain degree anonymous entities could be objectified for the purpose of a scientific inquiry. In conclusion, all scientific or logical knowledge was in a certain way always fictional for Schutz (1967). This answered already one important question for methodology. Science as it was understood at the current was never concerned with reality or actuality. “Anonymity” related to the dynamic between “self-affirmation” and devotion and the dynamic between “world-affirmation” and “idealization”. Schutz’ (1967) framework was not directly congruent with Schweitzer’s (2009) dimensions of ethics, but rather with the relation between those dimensions. In comparison to Dramatica, it concerned the Main Character Throughline at one extreme and the Overall story throughline at the other one (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

*Proximity.* Proximity dealt with the relationship between agents and the overlapping of their respective “lifeworlds”, starting from a shared environment, at the one point, through the foreign environment as middle term towards the unaccessible environment at the other end. Obviously, it was an overlapping dimension with world-affirmation in Schweitzer’s (2009) Reverence for Life and the Relationship Story Throughline in Dramatica (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). “Anonymity” and “proximity” together could also be understood as the immaterial dimensions of the subjective, vaguely speaking the “mind”, without forgetting that “mind” was more than just this.

*Concretization.* The dimension that described the social world in tension between the concrete and the abstract, including a vague zone in the middle field, was paralleled by the two former dimensions of anonymity and proximity. The more personal and proximate an entity was,

the more concrete. In turn, as more fictional and unaccessible, the more abstract entities became. This dimension, defined as “concreteness”, expressed the dynamics between world-affirmation and idealization or, within the Dramatica framework, between Main Character Throughline and Overall Story Throughline (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). In Schutz (1967), concretization had also much to do with materialization and shared certain characteristics with the category of space, the concept of objects and the bodily aspect of subjectivity (pp. 104, 226).

*Actualization.* The fourth dimension found in Schutz’s (1967) phenomenology was actualization; reaching from the actual, passing the presupposed to the imagined. It related to the combined the affirmation of Self, Other and “world” in dynamically with idealization, in other words to Schweitzer’s (2009) understanding of “progress. It was also closely linked to the Relationship Story Throughline which expressed the dynamic of the Impact Character on the Main Character as actualizing and transforming its identity. This dimension was perhaps the closest to the concept of time in current physics. Combined, concretization and actualization represented an analogy with the material existence of the subject.

In principle, it was possible to represent a four-dimensional space, i.e. a vector with four elements as a drawing. However, such a representation, as for example Charles Howard Hinton’s (1888) tesseract, appeared counter-intuitive for an analogy between a logical space and the real perception of space, at least for non-mathematicians, given that any representation other than a three-dimensional cube would be logically more correct but visually not give the feel of space (II, iii, p. 118). For that reason, down here, it was proposed to combine concretization and actualization into one dimension in order to reduce the dimensions visually into three.

Further, as the mathematician Felix Klein (2004) remarked, the representation of any coordinate geometry required a definition of the underlying symmetric geometry, as Euclidian

hyperbolic, spherical or any other affine geometry (p. 55), defining its metric and norm. In addition it had to be assumed that mathematical vector rules, would also apply to the logical space. For simplification, all these details were neglected.

Figure 11 (p. 116) should therefore be regarded as an illustration rather than a representation of the Schutzian “social world”. For this purpose Schutz’s (1967) the dimension of the synthetic ontology underlying the “social space” was represented as a 3-D cube in which the subjective entities were grey balls of varying size according to their “proximity”. The black ball next to the right downside corner represented the personal identity of the agent, or simply the agent, as the most “actual”, “concrete”, “proximate” and personal experience of the agent, one’s Self. As could be observed that there was no existing entity, represented as a white ball, in the absolute right downside corner. This was because no absolute “actual”, “concrete”, “proximate” and personal entity could be “known” in reality. This was the point of totality of pure action in the Schutzian phenomenology or liberty as described by Plotinus (1857). At the left sight of the agent, there were fellow agents, with lesser “concreteness” and “actuality”, but similar “proximity” and “anonymity”. Further, with decreasing proximity, cotemporaries were found somewhere in the middle field towards the background of the cube. With growing anonymity, upwards the cube, ancestors and descendents would be represented, and most distant in the lower background foreign and fictional agents, as for example Aristotle the man.

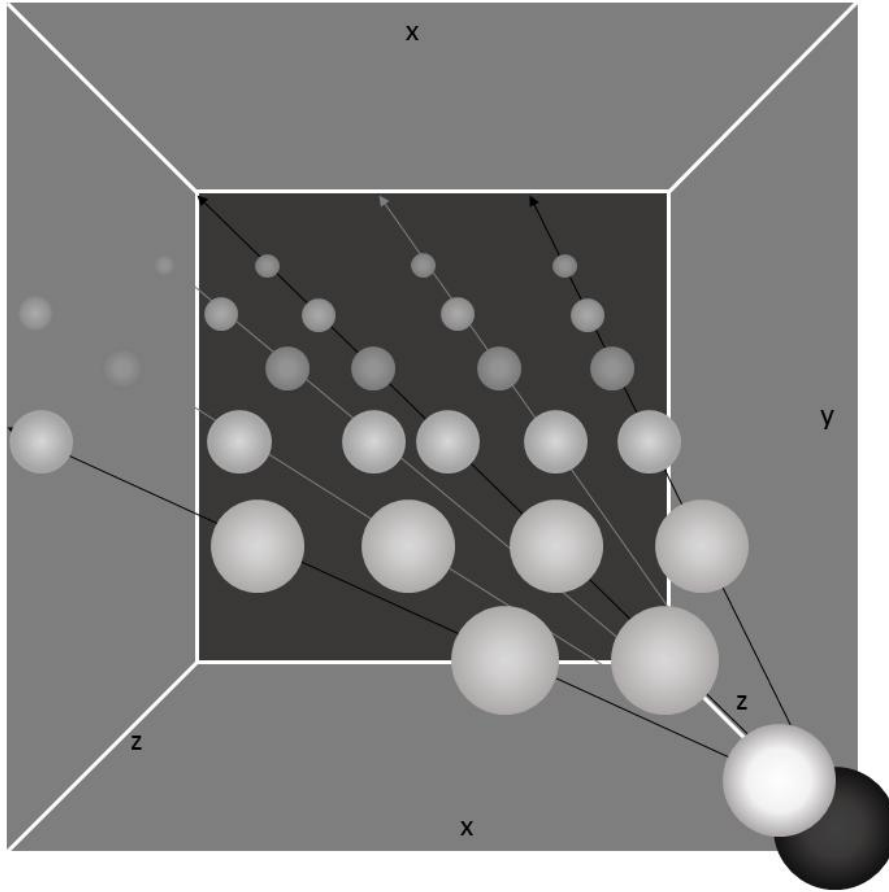


Figure 1. Perspective within the Schutzian social space

Table 2

Parameters for the dimensions in Figure 1. Perspective within the Schutzian social space

Vector	Dimension	Value		
		min.	mean	maximum
x1	Actualization	actual	presuposed	imagined
x2	Concretization	concrete	vague	abstract
y	Proximity	shared env.	foreign env.	unaccessible env.
z	Anonymity	personal	functional	fictional

**Framework of non-representational performative methodology.** In order to make the Schutzian social space methodologically accessible, Schutzian praxeology was superposed on Goffman’s (1956) ontological framework for the analysis of social interaction and consecutively

the theoretical concepts of Schweitzer's (2009) ethics and the methodological tools of Dramatica were positioned within this framework (see especially: Goffman, 1956; Mote, 2001; Schütz, 1967).

If the research question had contented with the mere description of a people's national myth, as for example the Swiss Covenant, it would have been sufficient to synthesize the three dimensions defined above with a hermeneutical analysis, as for instance a thick description. Since the research object was to understand how shared meaning was constituted, it was necessary to define the ontological background or frame for the social interaction under inquiry. A frame analysis based on Goffman (1956) laid at hand. It was not only a well known methodology tested in many decades of research and the most divergent research fields, it was also suggested to be an excellent tool for linking the individual and the communal perspective in social phenomena (Álvarez Munárriz, 2011a). However, under a non-representational strategy, Goffman's (1956) analysis of performance became simultaneously a performance of analysis. Thus, the background of the frame could not simply be defined as the society or culture or a certain area of interaction. The background, or more accurately termed the ontological frame was necessarily the totality of becoming. This frame had to be based on an alternative synthetic geometry, as defined in Chapter 2, subsection *Methodological Assumptions* (p. 51); in which space and time were mere functions that described an open and infinite network of self-otherness relations between subjects. Even though, this dimension was inaccessible for both objective science or logic and subjective perception and representation, this dimension was implicitly materialized in all subjective performance. The universal transcended in performance was action – but not in the sense of accomplished act or product. This meant that once a “meaning-context” was fixed, the universal became invisible and fell back to a background as mere contained

potentiality of change. It was in the making of meaning where one had to reconnect continuously to the infinity of potentiality. Therefore, the methodological goal required that potentiality, the impossibility to speak a last word, was made palpable. This was done by defining the vectors of the “meaning-context” in a congruent way. From this, it should be possible to derive logically a full sphere of possible “meaning-contexts”. Anything outside this sphere, therefore had to be a sign for the immanence of totality. As result, three points in the social space could be inferred; one’s own lifeworld and the lifeworld of two Others. From this the rest of lifeworlds, i.e. reality could in theory be imagined. If any point within this sphere came up later and had not been considered before but fitted logically into the sphere, this occurred because of a lack of awareness. However, if a new point came up, a lifeworld completely incongruent with the logical space, it had to be generated by the a priori of liberty, the category of totality. This further implied that subjects, i.e. persons, at least in theory had always the possibility to create new points outside of that sphere nurtured from this generative power of the Self. The source for this power could be activated by systematically searching for “noetic tensions”. Thus, the strategy of this research was not to determine or describe reality in first place, which was practically impossible. Rather, the description of reality was a mean towards the research goal, which served in order to play with the elements, the coordinates on the vector, in order to find and extend the borders of reality. Reality, in this research was represented by Phillips and Huntley’s (2014) universal rule of the Story mind; *Dramatica* (C. Huntley, 2007). Following, each Story mind described a concrete life-world, or a theory of existence.

Resuming, it could be said that Schweitzer’s (2009) ethics dealt with the personal choices a person could take as constituent for their individual contribution to meaning, *Dramatica* analyzed the communicative tool persons used for symbolic interaction, i.e. the mean of meaning

transmission and Schutzian phenomenology described the social world as a product of this symbolic interaction (Schutz, 1967).

The three four-dimensional frameworks were listed down here for a comparative overview, whereas the respective dimensions could not be considered completely analogue. They rather analyzed different aspects of social interaction, congruent with the synthetic geometry proposed in here.

Spacetime		Schutz	Schweitzer	Phillips & Huntley
subjectivity	space	anonymity (personal-fictional)	Self-affirmation	Main character throughline
		proximity (shared-unaccessible environment)	Self-devotion	Impact character throughlines
	time	concretezation (concrete-abstract)	World-affirmation	Relationship story throughline
		actualization (actual-imagined)	World-negation	Overall story throughline

Figure 2. Comparison of frameworks for social interaction

**Multimodular engaged design-based research.** In order to understand better how these different theories integrated within a unique methodology, in this section the research method was described as a multimodular engaged “design-based” research. The mathematicians Mihova and Ninova (2015) asserted that “[i]n mathematics, a constructive proof is a method of proof that demonstrates the existence of a mathematical object by creating or providing a method for creating the object”. This was also the intent of “design-based” research in sociology (Kayali et al., 2011; Lorino, Tricard, & Clot, 2011). The concrete design applied her was characterized along six elements: (1) it was a qualitative research design; (2) it was conducted as a game-based approach within a participatory action approach; (3) it applied a non-representational strategy;



(4) belonged to engaged methodologies in research; (5) used a narrative method; and (5) grounded on historiographic data.

***Qualitative Research Design: Discourse analysis (CDA).*** The analysis of the “covenant community” was purely qualitative. Given the enormous load of data that had to be analyzed computationalized tools contributed to a higher data consistency and precision in adhering values. As such, Huntley et. al. (1999) had developed the Dramatica Pro software for literary analysis and production in creative writing based on Dramatica’s theory of story (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

They had actually developed their theory based on the experiences of the production of the software tool for real life application. Originally Dramatica Pro was designed for its practical use for writers and critics to understand “meaning”, its construction and manipulation in stories. Even though a consensus on how different research designs should be categorized and how the research practice in different disciplines related had still to be found, along with Rapport (2004) this could be considered as a “redefined” qualitative approach. Lincoln and Denzin (2000) further described “design-based” research as a unique and distinct approach from conventional empirical inquiry (p. 1050). The main difference was that “design-based” research used a “participatory action approach (PAR)” (Reason & Bradbury, 2006).

***Approach: Participatory Action Research (PAR).*** According Reason and Bradbury (2006), a “design-based” research could be considered a form of “participatory action research (PAR)”, with a higher focus on design than on community (pp. 94, 171). It was distinct from grounded theory in the sense that it did not assume empirical data to be a source of knowledge or certainty but rather developed models for the simulation of interaction in which participants engaged in a reflexive way that was not limited to the past (Giddens, 2013, p. 43). Instead, it

inclosed a “vision of the future” as it was known in non-Western methodologies (Makinde, 1990, p. 120). As such “design-based” research could be understood as a game-design or the construction of a model for the inquiry into intersubjective and performative data or a kind of metagame (Stubbs, Howard, & Tait, 1999). Beyond conventional inquiry, as search for truth, “design-based” inquiry included the competition of ethical choices as part of the problem-solving process. It should therefore be rather considered “game play” than a narrative analysis (Lindley, 2005, p. 18).

Further, “design-based” research methods allowed to analyse qualitative data which suffered some form of intervention by the researcher. The most suitable applications could be found, on the one-hand, within the disciplines of performing arts, based on Madison and Conquergood (Rutger & van Gils, 2014). They set their focus prominently on the influence of the scientific inquiry on identity-building and phenomena of “embodiment” (Coetzee, 2009; Hwang & Roth, 2005). The major approaches were Critical theory the tradition of Judith Butler (2011b), and social phenomenology in the tradition of Goffman (2005) and Burke (2005). On the other hand, within the framework of Critical Theory in educational, ethnographic and gender studies and in aboriginal research which had developed since the “ontological turn” a series of methodologies (Coetzee, 2009; Fels & George, 2008; Pelias, 2008). Especially ethnic epistemologies seemed to answer the challenges that emerged equally from non-positivist approaches in science outside the conventions of Western philosophies and from the impact that the “hermeneutic turn” had on the field of historiography. Other approaches were life review perspective, confessional performance (e.g. Denzin, Lincoln, & Tuhiwai Smith, 2008; Denzin, 2009; Giddens, 1991, on life politics; or Kovach, 2010, p. 229). This approach seemed, therefore,

adequate for a game theoretical understanding of praxeology, as proposed by Lavoie (2005, 2011).

***Strategy: Non-representational (NRT) with multimodular orientation.*** Lindley (2005) distinguished games from narratives based on the competitive character within the problem-solving process (p. 18). Further, interactions with data in “design-based” research could be distinguished from other approaches by their non-representational strategy (Ingold et al., 2015). Finally, this research was not only about discourse but itself “dialogically mediated” (Lorino et al., 2011). Therefore, it was suggested that the suspected differences “between games and everyday life” could be overcome through an ethnomethodological reading of Goffman (2005), especially in his methods of “face-work” and “footing” (G. W. H. Smith, 2003, pp. 261, 272). Merle M. Patchett (2010) defined in her Phd Thesis at the Department of Geographical and Earth Sciences at the University of Glasgow the basic characteristics of non-representational research by its “vitality” and “relationality” (p. 40), “immediacy” (p. 149), “hybridity” (p. 52), sensuality (p. 68), “corporeality” and “materiality” (p. 53), “performativity and fluidity” (pp. 42, 49), ineffability (pp. 76, 241), potentiality (pp. 20, 40), “partiality” (p. 203), consequentiality and “creativity” (p. 57), multimodality (pp. 41, 63, 88-90, 237), reflexivity (p. 54), “proximity” (p. 38), “mobility” (pp. 45, 268), , sustainability (p. 200) and affirmativity (p. 326). These characteristics were also reaffirmed by the large body of works in the field of non-representational research of Phillip Vannini (2009, 2012a, 2012b, 2014). This strategy should be applied in here with a multimodular orientation in which the design was approached at different levels of abstraction.

***Methodology: Engaged theory.*** Within qualitative action and performance based approaches with a non-representational strategy, engaged theory was chosen as the methodology for this research. Engaged action research was a multimodular design based on emergent and

reflexive data collection and analysis along four different levels of epistemological abstraction (James, 2006, Chapter 4 especially pp. 73 ff. 2014, p. 81). Special was that engaged research could be undertaken by a single researcher in contrast to methods in general within the participatory action research which were always a “collective[...]” project (Reason & Bradbury, 2013, p. 135). As already mentioned, action research was similar to grounded theory in the way it used data, but it built on different epistemological assumptions (p. 688).

According James (2006), the four levels of abstraction were not arbitrary (p. 74), but rather correlated with different perspectives on the social world and defined the objects of analysis (James, 2014). Surprisingly, this was also coherent with the assumptions of four ways Dramatica looked into narratives (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

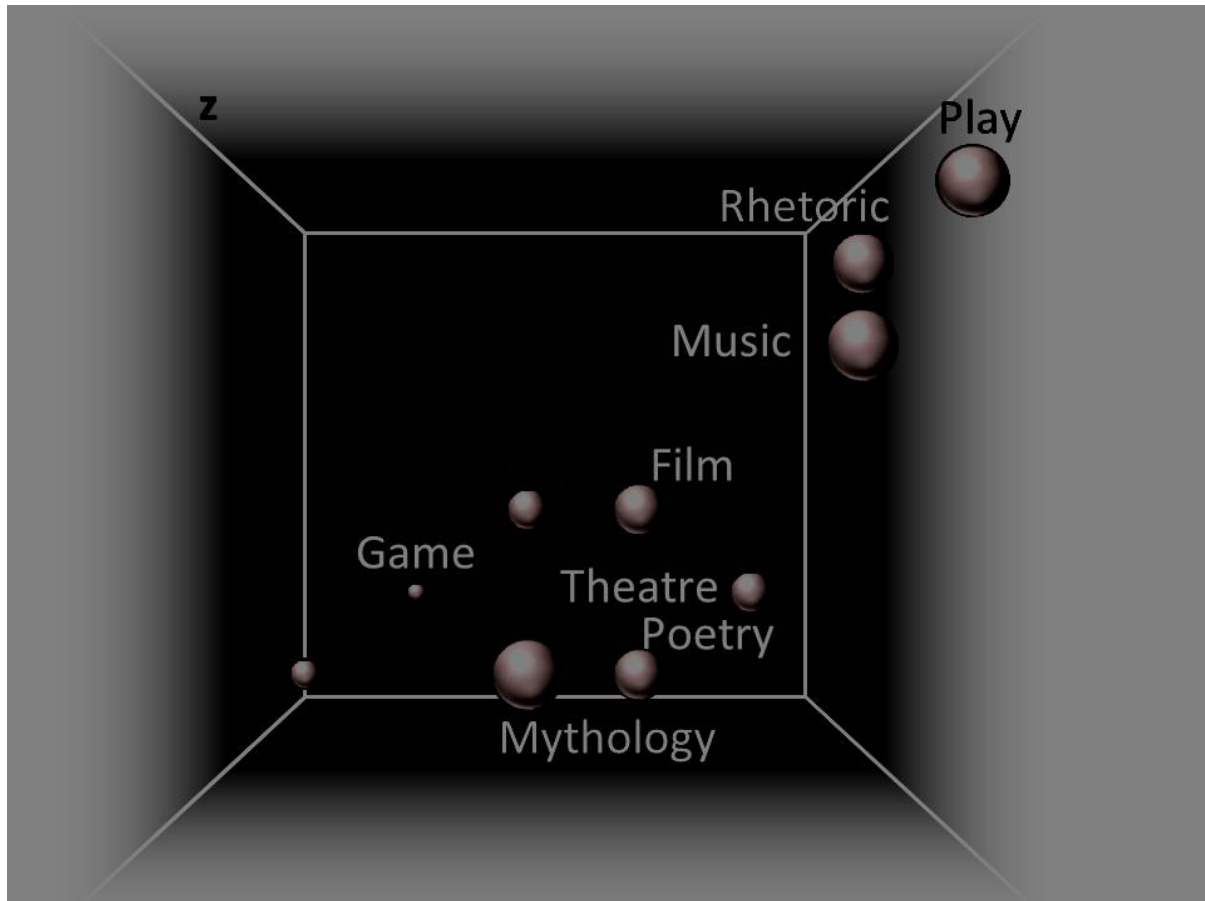
***Method: Narrative.*** For the inquiry into the constitutional phenomenon of the social and the interactive dynamic between the individual and the communal sphere a narrative method seemed to be the most appropriate. It was not uncommon to use narrative as a metaphors for society in social research. But it was not clear what kind of narrative or which medium would represent society best. Hans-Hermann Hoppe (2004) based his discourse ethics on an analogy between argumentation, as a form of rhetoric, with social constitution. Alfred Schutz (1967) made many of his conclusions on the lifeworld by the observation of the phenomennon of simultaneity and related effects which were later known as “entrainment” (Clayton, Sager, & Will, 2004). As a variation, Goffman (2005b) and Burke (2005) preferred to compare social life with theatre or drama. Phillips & Huntley (2001), with less interest in the pervormative and more in the cognitive aspect of the social, found parallels between what they considered to be a universal story structure and the the universal of mind. In recent times, especially since computer

games became an increasing role in education, some researchers started also comparing social phenomena with games or play (Caillois, 2001; Gergen & Gergen, 2012; N. Howard, 2009).

In order to select one out of the many methods it was necessary to answer the question if all these analogies of the social with some form of narrativity were equally adequate and how they stood in a relation to each other, the lifeworld and reality.

An indepth analysis of this question would constituted a research object in itself. But heuristically an organization of the different narrative forms expressions and media could be made, based on the construction of the social space in Schutz's (1967) phenomenology. Similar to arrangement of the Self in relation to others along criteria of anonymity, proximity, actuality and concreteness, also different forms of narrativity could be arranged. Choices among different media depended on the desired level of abstraction, the immediacy of the research-interaction and if the focus lied rather on individual or collective phenomena. As such, a story would be in general somewhere in the middle field between the personal and the anonymous and lied between game, as more abstract, and film, as a more concrete representation. However, this positioning could suffer major shifts depending on the intepretation of each discipline. A chess game, was certainly a highly abstract representation of war, while some virtual environments allowed so much freedom that they were rather a kind of play ground than actual games. In a similar way, there was a hughe difference between the intimate rhethoric which the music accompaniment in some theatres offered, the playfulness of a Commedia dell'Arte (N. Howard, 1994; H. Jenkins, 2004, p. 125), the highly previsible and structured interpretation of a Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannos, analyzed by Rokem (2006) or the almost free interaction of some forms of modern theatres; improvs and psychodrama (BATS Improv, 2014; Cawson, 2013; Scheiffele, 2008).

In the Brazilian cultural manifestation known as Congado which included the performance of a dramatic folk dance (Ferreira, 1986).



*Figure 3.* Positioning of the "story" within the Schutsonian framework of interaction.

The method further depended also on the choice and the availability of the related empirical data. Stories in form of written text seemed to be the most appropriate source of data. Dramatica as a tool for their analysis congruent with the research assumptions already existed. Further, the sentatics in stories built a shared denominator by which an autobiographical story, as expression of individual identity and a national story, as a manifestation of the envisioned society, could be compared. Last but not least was written text currently still the simplest form of data, easily adapted to different media and disclosed equally efficient with low-tech and high-

tech tools, as tested out through this study. The use of autobiographical data was often associated with some form of critical discourse or a narrative analysis (Rapport, 2004, p. 20; Rogers & Wetzel, 2013, p. 40). Another approach found was the analysis of symbolic interaction, as a form of a qualitative narrative or experimental design; depending on the scientific discipline and the primary focus in the use of “words as data” (Tesch, 2013, p. 58). The researcher in here came to the conclusion that the production process of a collaborative “networked narrative” could serve as an analogy for social constitution (Brambor, Clark, & Golder, 2005).

*Data: Historiography.* There was a series of good reasons why historiographic data could provide a special insight into phenomena of societal constituency; the historicity of (1) scientific knowledge in general, of (2) ethics in particular; and of (3) narrative methodologies in special; foremost concerning (4) the inquiry in to the Self as a research topic belonging to ethnic epistemology. As such, historiography satisfied theoretical, epistemological and methodological requirements. On the one hand, at the individual level, biographical writings provided a corpus of personal lives, and on the other hand, national history writing provided a corpus of records of the parts as canonized by a group of people who expressed through this a certain feeling of belonging, shared identity, or in Schutzian framing “shared meaning-context” (Schutz, 1967). Hwang and Roth (2005) described “[e]thics as ongoing historical event” that emerged from a “dialectic” between “praxis and praxeology”. What they meant was that a in social interaction, in their concrete example in research experiments, the ethical decisions of the research were based on a temporal path of success and oriented towards a desired future outcome and that the consequence of the researcher’s intervention had a relevant but undetermined effect on this outcome (see also Barab & Squire, 2004, p. 10).

Especially the theoretical works on methodological aspects in historiography of Jorn Rusen (2013) highlighted the relation between the narrative or historical structure of meaning and the negotiation of self-identity. Even though, Barab and Squire (2004) suggest that research was a tool to “confront [...] with pre-existing beliefs” in order to revise them (p. 2). But in the contrary, history writing, using certain “argumentative figures” which “generate reliability”, as stated by Assis (2010, p. 26), rather aimed towards a rhetorically grounding of “new values” than revealing the truth of a remote past (see especially the research project of Rutger & van Gils, 2014). This process was also studied in educational sciences and psychology within “selective exposure theory” (L. E. Sullivan, 2009). Nevertheless, within a “design-based” research, historiography as “ethnic epistemology [...] grounded in the self” Susan Krieger (1991) offered the possibility to create situations in which the praxeological phenomenon of purposeful action could be experienced (in: Fong, 2008, p. 149, see also Brandt, 2004).

As such, the “narrative-based” approach of historiography and the “social action research”, as categorized by Rapport (2004), overlapped with the “design-based” approach of “ethnic epistemology” (p. 6; see also Fong, 2008). This had also been described by Lincoln and Denzin (2000, p. 1050; see also Figueroa & Sánchez, 2008). Historiography allowed to link praxeology through the reading of Goffman (1956) who understood the narrative “metaphor” of social interaction as the foundation for a performative research (Shklar, 2004; G. W. H. Smith, 2003, p. 259). Eventhough, as Smith (2003) remarked, Garfinkle struggled with Goffman’s (1956) “neglect [of] the temporal dimension of social experience”, this could be explained by Goffman’s (1956) strictly “exploratory” focus on the moment of “encounter”, abstaining any intent of “justification” (Garfinkel, 1991, p. 89; G. W. H. Smith, 2003, pp. 261, 269). It was possible to design a method which contrasts Goffman’s definition of “situation” with Schutz’s



(1967) “world known of daily life” through a ethnomethodological approach (Sharrock, 1999, p. 131; G. W. H. Smith, 2003, p. 266). As Smith (2003) explained, examples for the shared use of this blend of methodological frameworks were found in the application of Goffman’s (1976) method of “face work” and “footing”, the inquiry into “role distance” and “production formats” and the “participation framework” (Bredmar & Linell, 1999).

***Design overview.*** Resuming the different levels of the research design could be described as a game in which the definition of a shared “vision of the future” was the objective and a historical body of authentic data was the given (Makinde, 1990, p. 120). The logic of the game was to develop different competing stories which were supposed to carry the desired message, the shared meaning. The task to be developed through this research was to define the story elements and to elicit the data at the highest possible level of specification. Further, Dramatica was suggested as a set of rules along which these data could be manipulated (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). As a result, this research designed a tool for a game in which alternative versions of a national history could be produced, based on contemporary autobiographical writings. This game-design was done as a further development of Dramatica by introducing real-life data to the process of creative writing (see Chapter 5: Conclusions).

### **Research Questions**

Around the central research question, asking how social constituency could occur without external enforcement, circled a series of questions related to the four dimensions of Schweitzer’s (2009) ethical tetralemma which had to find their concrete answers in relation to current problems defined by the target society – Switzerland – and had to be expressed through the message encoded in the nation story to produced for this “design-based” research.

**Questions from the assumptions.** In parallel to the theoretical and methodological assumptions of this research which implied a fourfold structure of the phenomenon of social constituency, also the research questions could be arranged along the four perspectives of ethics coordinated with a dramaturgical framework: (1) questions related to liberty and the individual perspective as expression of an agents “self-affirmation”; (2) the situation as event of “encounter” motivated through the affirmation of the other as “self-devotion”; (3) the context in which competing “vision[s] of the future” were negotiated; and (4) a shared identity expressed in the covenant as result of a canonization of the national myth as “world-idealization”. Special attention was given to the question how the universal scheme of mind, as assumed by Dramatica stood in relation with the universal principle of liberty, expressed in a form of breaking the rules, defined by Dramatica as Propaganda (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). Concrete questions in relation to the phenomenon of social constituency and in respect to empirical data were discussed in the following.

***Liberty: The moment of “performative contradiction” (self-affirmation).*** In relation to the dimension of “self-affirmation”, the central question was how the subjective characteristic of a person was recognized in contrast to a person’s objective presentations, as there were the physical appearance of the person or its products; the narrower sense of “texts” as used in Wood and Kroger (2000). The subjective dimension was expected to express a “noetic tension” by a perceived “existential frustration” and an intent of mitigation. This dimension referred to a person’s “ethos” and was related to the question which effect, limitations and coercion had on the creative abilities of the person; the abilities that allowed it to go beyond mere behavioral reaction. From a theoretical angle this involved a hermeneutic analysis of the historical characters interpreting how they assumingly reacted on these phenoma. However, such

interpretations were limited to conjectures. From a methodological point of view, the main question was how the manipulation of authentic texts was limited, why certain manipulations would not work, due to the problem that they would lose their meaning, and how personal responsibility of the research was transcended in the “encounter” with the reader through the implicit petition within the interpretation of the past, carrying a message for the future. Thus, it was asked to which degree story-telling was a person’s unique trait and reflected more than general values, interests, attitudes, behavior, a unique reply to a “noetic tension” as a proposition to a larger community. Within Phillips and Huntley’s (2001) *Dramatica*, it was in the Subjective Story Throughline (RST) of the Main Character (MC) through which the meaning, i.e. the message, was transported (p. 109), and Propaganda was the expression of an individual intent to manipulate the reader’s understanding of such a message. This could easily be related to Goffman’s “role” and “impression management” (Goffman, 2011, 2013; Solomon, Solomon, Joseph, & Norton, 2013).

***Situation: The opportunity for “encounter” (Other-affirmation).*** The “encounter”, which was searched for within the phenomenon of social constituency, and which was expected to be reproduced in a controlled way within this research, depended on the “other-affirmation. This ethical dimension came out through the need of a redefinition of the “situation” within a context of “crisis” (Leach, 2013, pp. 6-7). From Goffman (1986) it was known, that the redefinition of the situation forced also all persons involved in the same situation to redefine their position and their “personal identity” (Álvarez Munárriz, 2011a). Thus, any redefinition, implicit or explicit, was a form of coercion on others. This included the researcher’s interpretation of a past event. Through the revision of the historical event of the constitutional process in Switzerland during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The author of this study made an implicit relation between past events and

their relevance for the future, including her own “world-view”, which unlike conventional hermeneutic historiography was made explicit, as far as possible in this research (see Makinde, 1990, p. 120 on methodology). Related themes were questions of Role, “embodiment”, aggressive behavior and justification of violence, logical-causal relations in behavior, the author-reader relation, the story characters and the negotiation of meaning (see Franck, 2014 for discussion on "embodiment"). These were only touched vaguely where they came up. A special question was the one about propaganda, as discussed by Phillips & Huntley (2001). Their theory suggested, that the “encounter” between the Self and a person’s ideal “world-view”, came best at light through its contrastation with a radical different position, which in Dramatica was represented through the relation between Main Character (MC) and Impact Character (IC) (pp. 22, 69-70, 84).

***Context: The market of “visions of the future” (world-affirmation).*** A key aspect in Dramaturgial Analysis was the context or background on which agents as actors, or story Characters, staged their performance. The concrete context for social constituency was not a historical framework of events and themes as imagined factual origin of an existing society. Such a history was always constructed, depending on the very definition of the people and could rely only on interpretation (see e.g. Rösen, 2013a, 2013b, 2014). The true context was the current discourse in which, in a market-like form, different “vision[s] of the future” were negotiated (Makinde, 1990, p. 120). Questions in relation to the context were if the assumptions of the a priori story mind as a universal way of knowing could be confirmed, how knowledge was transmitted and how prediction making influenced choice making and how reliability (truth) was perceived as more or less confident and more or less relevant.

**Identity: The covenant as a national myth (world-idealization).** Especially interesting, in the relation with the concrete social structure of the “covenant community” was the question how belief in universal a priori transcended and transformed empirical data. Under this aspect, it was also a question how should be dealt with outsiders and which role they played in such framework. This was discussed by Goffman under the problem of “off-stage” and the definition of borders and otherness through ritual and “rites of passage”(Goffman, 2005a, 2011). “Footing” was an intent to conserve the individual identity under the pressure of a changing situation and justify past or future actions (Clayman, 1992; Goffman, 1981b; Vornberger, 2008). Through “footing”, also social cohesion and integrity was constructed (Hoyle, 1998; Wine, 2008). It served as a concrete tool for hermeneutic analysis in the research game.

**Questions from empirical data: Positioning within the current historiographic discourse.** The exploration of social constituency required a link between the ideal and the concrete in personal existence. Therefore, Dramatica’s process for creative writing had to be able to integrate empirical data, for the purpose in this research (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). True personal presence was only given by the research reader in the act of reading this document. This was not apt to be objectified here. However, an empirical bottomline could be found in the results of current studies on the Swiss population defining major problems the Swiss society faced. The Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei (2011) resumed in *Perspektiven 2025* six relevant trends for the strategical political decisions of Switzerland in the next 10 to 15 years (p. 17). These were the increase of (1) interconnectedness and integration in global politics; the further intensification of (2) the „networked society“ with major drivers in socio-economic system with increasing demand on infrastructure. Point (3) name the encroachment on the „natural environment“, and the aggravation of “clima change” decreasing the availability of natural

resources and increasing sensitivity for “supply security”. Further it was assumed that (4) „social change“, “global population increase” and “migration” were challenges on social structures. (5) “[E]conomic foundations” under “ongoing globalization” were assumed to increase importance of “locational competition” and (6) the “system Switzerland” expected decreasing “power to act” and a lower “efficiency of the political system”.

From this four scenarios were drawn: (A) global and regional integration; (B) global integration and regional fragmentation; (C) global and regional fragmentation; (C) global fragmentation and regional integration. Based on these scenarios oportunities and risks for the future were described. The story produced in this research as part of the design-based approach, had to position its message in respect to these questions and had to be able to adopt one of those scenarios or create its own one.

### **Population and Sampling Strategy**

The “design-based” research of this study was developed at three hierarchically related empirical levels, (1) the “covenant community, (2) the person; and (3) the text token, throughout four procedural phases, an (1) emergent, (2) a critical, (3) a manipulative, and (4) a comparative one, making use of six different processes: the (1) selection; (2) transcription; (3) coding; (4) interpretation, (5) manipulation, and (6) comparision of data. Key instrument for the validity of the findings was Dramatica’s approach to Propaganda in relation to Story Structure, which offered an objective bottomline. Besides this, the most important “finding” consisted in the research product, designed in here as a game for political re-enactment, through which the explorative process could be reproduced in further studies.

**Levels of analysis.** The sampling process was developed along three leves of analysis. These levels were not fully corresponding to James’ (2014) four “levels of abstraction”, albeit

closely related. The “levels of abstraction” described different epistemological levels which were developed along the itinerative process of the inquiry. The levels of analysis used for sampling referred to different levels of abstraction within the phenomenon to be analysed. As such, societal constituency was represented at the level (A) as a nation myth, in the sense of Hentschel (2002), a national narrative as described by Berger, Eriksonas and Mycock (2013), or simply a people’s “history” as their “construction of reality” defined by Rüsens (1997, 2006, 2007). The level (B) concerned historical characters, persons who lived in the past and who survived in the present in a mediated form as constructed abstraction based on memories, oral traditions, texts and artefacts, representing a persons material immortalization. Finally, the third level (C) was concerned with the concrete empirical data, which were limited for this research purpose to authentic, autobiographical writings. These levels emerged from different strategies in sampling, selection and analysis according to the “level of abstraction” in the research phase.

***Level I: Covenant communities.*** The highest “level of abstraction” of the social was defined as a “covenant community”, a term coined by Kinsella (2010). The main characteristic of the “covenant community” was that its narrative linked the material existence of the society with a transcendent experience. From historiographic literature, based on a cohort sampling with an emergent sampling strategy, the population of potential “covenant communities” was collected (see Appendix B). After a statistical analysis of criteria for distinguishing different types of “covenants”, those which could be defined as “comunities of practice (CoP)” formed the population from which one had to be chosen according to criteria of convenience (see Appendix C). Those criteria were the researcher’s familiarity with the cultural background of the population and a secular, liberal orientation true to the theoretical background of this research

*Level II: 19th century authors of autobiographical texts.* For the selection of the individual members, as authors of autobiographies, a mixed sampling strategy was chosen. First, in an emergent sampling based on historiographical literature, central personalities were analysed and consecutively new members, found in relevant texts, were added into a cohort design. Further, critical sampling was done. For example, it was systematically searched for female voices, which were supposed to be non-existent, marginal social groups like the Jews or the Jenische, or voices suspected to be subject to purposeful oppression by the dominant historiographers of the time like the Catholic, the Communist or the Anabaptist voices. All these persons were statistically analysed and filtered according to the availability of authentic texts. A total population of more than 500 individuals was collected and statistically analysed (see Appendix F). These samples were grouped in functional, analytical and social groups. The functional organization of the population did not follow systematic criteria but simply tried heuristically to associate persons with a certain political, ideological, religious or socio-economic background. There were three analytical groups: (a) contemporaries; living throughout the long 19<sup>th</sup> century; (b) historiographers, recognizable as authors of a biographical or historical work; and (c) samples, which formed the group of potential samples due the availability of related authentic texts. Lastly, social groups were basically distinguished along professions within the following categories: (A) offices including (1) political offices; (2) military offices; (3) jurisdictional offices; (4) clerical offices; (5) offices in the educational administration; (B) ideological groups; (C) religious orientation and (D) professional categories, which would built the latter so called “social classes”(Hofstede & Hofstede, 2012, p. 45). This statistical evaluation served primarily to limit bias in the sample selection by choosing from a heterogenous population, and to gather basic background information on the samples’ biographies.



**Level III: Grand Argument Stories.** Once authors of authentic texts produced during the 19<sup>th</sup> century were collected, the population for Level (C) could be evaluated. Not any type of life writing was considered appropriate. They had to fulfil the basic criteria of a Grand Argument Story as defined by Phillips and Huntley (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001; see also K. E. M. Huntley, 2014).

**Emergent collection procedures.** For this study an emergent procedure for the sample collection was developed including along the four research phases four different sampling methods: (1) cohort sampling; (2) critical sampling; (3) manipulative sampling; and (4) comparative sampling.

**Cohort sampling.** Inductive and convenient sampling retroalimmented by the dynamics of the game-based research approach were combined with an emergent sampling method, including new entities to the population cohort as they appeared within texts and through different sampling strategies. These sampling strategies shifted along the research phases: (1) a conventional cohort sampling for the empirical analysis; (2) a critical sampling during the conjunctural analysis; (3) a manipulative sampling for the integrational analysis; and (4) a comparative sampling in the categorical analysis. The first cohort sampling was necessarily a conventional sampling based on the typical historiographic literature at hand, especially the canonized national historiographies (Favez, 2006; Im Hof, 2007; Kreis, 2014; Maissen, 2012; Reinhardt, 2011). Based on events and thematic categories, additional persons, not individually named in such general works, were derived from regional historical literature and social history. The resulting cohort was then statistically analysed according biographical dates, geographic mobility, gender, political orientation, social status and religious orientation. Principal resources for this information were the *Historical Dictionary of Switzerland*, edited by Schelbert (2014)

and the *Biographie-Portal* of the Bavarian State Library (2014). This was an ongoing process throughout the whole research and a key step also for the further sampling strategies.

**Critical sampling.** For the conjunctural analysis, sampling was enriched with a purposeful critical strategy, especially based on conceptual hypotheses found in historiography. Major interest found apparently purposeful underrepresented groups; as for example the Catholics and religious minorities, women, members of the diverse socialist movements, and social groups which were generally not considered historically relevant.

**Manipulative sampling.** The critical review of the population, revealed the strong “path-dependence” in historiography present already at the level of sample selection (Bennet & Elman, 2006). Instead of choosing those people who, in the researcher’s opinion, best represented the character of a people as a whole, individuals were chosen consciously and in a transparent way in order to fulfill a role within the nation’s story as a Grand Argument Story. Following the logic of Dramatica, this would require ideally eight archetypical characters (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). A further requirement was that the sampled persons themselves offered an authentic text body in narrative form; an authentic autobiography which was written with a clear intention to position one’s own story within a historical context.

**Comparative sampling.** The comparative sampling happened at two levels. On the one hand, text tokens from selected authentic texts were repositioned and transformed into Character scenes following Dramatica’s theory on narrative dynamics (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). On the other hand, the selection of samples and their assignation to Characters and roles within the dramaturgical context were compared along different possibilities, choosing the one which best suited the targeted story message.

## Research Instrument

The key to understanding game-based research approaches was that the research as a kind of game was the central measuring tool. There was an overlapping between Goffman's (2006) understanding of society as theater, Fallman and Stolterman's (2010) approach to "design-based" methodology and Phillips and Huntley's (2001) description of narrativity as an expression of the universal Story Mind (p. 20). Central to all of their pragmatic and interactional approaches was the challenge to achieve scientific validity. Based on a triangulation of these three approaches, objectivity within this research was achieved through four elements: (1) a playful *interaction* based on Dramatica's framework of the universal Story Mind (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001); (2) empirical *data*, which were used as a tool to purposefully limit the game options; (3) a definition of the situation including a "*vision of the future*" which positioned the researcher; (4) and the *audience*, anticipated by the reconstruction of an idealised discourse based on current debates addressing current actual problems. The overall research process could be described as a consecutive itinerary of a total of 24 steps, including six processes developed along four phases at three different levels of abstraction, graphically represented in the *Appendix G*.

**Interaction.** Goffman's (2005a) described his analysis often in analogy with games especially as "starting point" (see also Goffman, 1961, 1968; Manning, 2013, chp. 3, especially p. 64). His frame analysis offered a tool to define two central questions related to this analogy. On the one hand, it served to describe what the game was and, on the other hand, it helped demarcating what kind of game was played or what the "mode of gaming was" (Deterding, 2013). Goffman's (2006) theory was key in understanding the multilayered character of the game of life and to deal with situations of "non-cooperation" (Lanzi, 2013).

Design-based research was a strategy originally developed to analyse game-based educational designs (Squire, 2005). Concepts in “design-based” research were often informed by dramaturgical analysis and Goffman’s (1956) frames built a stable starting point or the overall borders of a kind of virtual gaming board on which transfers and interaction of the game could be made visible (Bricker & Bell, 2012; Furtak, Morrison, & Henson, 2010; Jahnke, 2010). One of the problematics with analogies of life as game, research as game and the research on life was, that similar to the analogy with narration, at the end it was not clear what the game actually stood for. A helpful tool disentangling the concept game was given by Fallmann (2008, 2009). Along the design process, he explained social practice and research were integrated into a “triangle of design practice, design studies, and design exploration”. These were three itinerative and circular processes in social life, all comprised under the concept “design”. According to the varying philosophical and sociological traditions in different scientific disciplines divergent analogies for social life were used; “game” as performative activity, “design” emphasizing the productive-formative aspects, and “narration”, giving more importance to meaning. Nevertheless, from a process view, they could all be considered a design process in which “practice” referred to social activities going on more or less unreflected, and “exploration” was the strategical and reflective manipulation of the social activity and the study would provide a fixed description of a concrete moment of the social interaction. Applied to the historiographic narrative, it could therefore be said that the ongoing negotiation of social identity, the making of history was to be understood as “practice”, the research body on history writing, as historiography proper, was the “study” and the aim of this research study here was to provide playful “exploration” of the phenomenon. It was, therefore, “game-based” in a double-sense; on the one hand it was based on the game of social interaction and, on the other hand, it was a game in itself. Dramatica’s assumption of the

universal narrative structure of mind offered an objective frame to this research, which could be empirically tested (see e.g.: Liu, Liu, Chen, Lin, & Chen, 2011, p. 1546). In short, the game, on which this research design relied, could be described as a “networked narrative” based on Dramatica’s framework (Clarke, 2012; M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). The concrete game elements and design correspondent with the key measurements of this research.

**Data.** The empirical data in this research were the authentic texts. Due to the assumption that the constituency of society and of personal identity was an entangled phenomenon, texts could be expected to affect all levels of analysis: (A) the “covenant community” at the social level; (B) the individual member of the community at the individual level and (C) the message within individual authentic texts of community members.

**Level (A): the covenant community.** The social level (A) was the starting point from which members were selected as characters of the national story. But the national story itself was initially assumed to be the expression of a “shared meaning-context” or Grand Argument Story (Ickes, 2014; M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, pp. 14, 248 ff.; Schutz, 1976). This meant that the composition of texts into a story was a constitutional act simultaneously for the addressed society, if received as meaningful, and for the author as such (Abasi, Akbari, & Graves, 2006; P. Prior, 2001; Rak, 2012).

**Level (B): the individual person.** The individual level (B) was the central level for this research because it was supposed that action happened at this level and the phenomenon of liberty was adhered to this level. From the theoretical assumptions it was deduced that in the phenomenon of “encounter” the other person was experienced as a form of “petitive” claim (Laín Entralgo, 1961a, pp. 73, 164). This petition or intent of persuasion were expected to be visible within the Story structure, the Storyweaving and the Storytelling along the Dramatica concept of

Propaganda, which seemed also theoretically intimately linked with history writing (Duarte, 2013; M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001; Rösen, 2012).

**Level (C): authentic texts.** Level (C) should be considered the artefacts of a historical discourse in which persons had negotiated their identity and role within a controversial historical context. The dramaturgical structure of the text provided statistical background information about dates, persons and places, as much as hermeneutic insight into an author's style, preferences in story devices and intended audience manipulation or thematic tensions from which signs of "existential frustration", "performative contradiction" and an author's "face-work" in the text "footing" could be deduced. Further, the text provided an empirical bottom-line to its reproduction when reporting or re-writing a story, in which the text was contextually reallocated and transformed into new Storyweaving Scenes (Phillips & Huntley, 2001, 228, 2015, chp. 33).

**Vision.** The goal of any writing process could be defined as the production of a message. In the context of this research, this message was narrowed down to Makinde's (1990) "vision of the future". This process developed along the four research levels with four different approaches in four spiralled iterative phases which built on each other. The first phases had a heuristic focus in which through *conventional* processes data were pre-selected, prepared and interpreted in a first turn. In this process the potential elements which could be used to create a "vision", write the argument, were elicited. The second phase concerned the *critical* analyses of the data. This phase was initiated by background information and secondary literature in relation to a text, as well as by the text manipulation and comparison. At this point, the research author's "vision" was contrasted with divergent "visions" found in texts. In the second phase, once a sufficient amount of data was available, the actual manipulation of the data could proceed. Foremost, the aim in this phase was to evaluate the potential to apply Dramatica's propaganda strategies to the

text in order to manipulate elements within the stories of others; distorting its original meaning with the intention to negotiate a new meaning with the audience (Phillips & Huntley, 2001, pp. 143 ff.). As a fourth and concluding phase, general *comparisons* between the interpretations derived from manipulation with other interpretations in other studies, comparison between the new findings and the initial Grand Argument Story of the nation, and within the text were made.

**Audience.** Additionally, an important measuring instrument was the proper audience of this research. The “game-based” approach had been described as a transformative learning process (Fulda, 2014). This transformation was developed, throughout the four research phases at the three levels, along six different types of processes which were validated through the Audience appreciation of the story ( Phillips & Huntley, 2001; see also: Blouin & Rosenberg, 2011; Christensen, 2012). Not all of these processes were present within all research phases (*see Figure E*).

**Process (1): selection.** At each level data was selected. At level (A) a single “covenant community” was selected for the statistical background from which level (B) individual members were selected, and the historical background for the critical analysis of the text corpus at level (C). The selection process was purposefully done along defined criteria in the initial conventional phase (1) and during the manipulation, phases (3). Nevertheless, also in further steps along phases (2) and (4) the initial selection could be revised. From an objective point of view, selection at level (B) were completely arbitrary. However, the story’s message depended on the messages transmitted within the autobiographical writings at level (C). It was assumed that certain Story structures, Storyweaving and Storytelling encoded a nation, as for instance Switzerland, as a “covenant community”. These elements of the story production however, depended on the sample selection of individual members at level (B). Such an effect, however,

could not fully be assigned to objective story elements. In large part it dependet on the successful decoding of the Audience reception by the concrete reader.

**Process (2): transcription.** For a convenient manipulation of the data, a critical, semantic and a structural, analysis in phase (2), it was necessary to transcribe, digitalize and tokenize the texts. This was especially important when the “networked narrative” was produced through digital tools, as exemplified in existing projects within the Semantic Web (Brambor et al., 2005; Clarke, 2012; e.g. Holgersen, Preminger, & Massey, 2012). Independent from low tech or high tech means used, the consistency and trackability of the original data was an important measurement to distinguisse the historical narrative from fiction. Even more important, however, it was necessary to prevent undesired distortion of the message by the audience in their own reproduction of the story.

**Process (3): coding.** Each of the analytical levels required a different coding strategy. In total four coding processes were done. At level (A) the national story was coded in order to define it as a Grand Argument Story (GAS) and as a story of a “covenant”; coding (1A). If the coding revealed the story as a conclusive GAS of a “covenant”, the society it belonged to could be considered a possible Model of “covenant community”. At level (B) the individual persons were encoded into story Characters, and converted into Archetypes. The most intensive coding work was done at level (C) in order to analyse the text corpus. In a first quantitative coding process (1C), the individual text was coded “invivo”, searching for dates, persons and places (1A); a process that could actually have been automatized through data mining technology such as semantic crawlers (e.g. Beckett, 2002; Lin, Xie, Wasilewska, & Liau, 2008; Saldana, 2012, pp. 91 ff.). In a further qualitative coding process (2C), the text was prepared for the structural analyses through a hermeneutic coding process, which was the most subjective one. For a



minimal standardization the “footing” was encoded applying Guadagno and Cialdini’s (Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007) definitions (pp. 486-487). The interpretation of the “noetic tension” was based on Lukas’ concepts belonging to the “tragic triad” (Lukas, 1979, 1990, 1997b; see also: Wong, 2012, 2014). In a third productive coding process (3C) the text was prepared for the dramaturgical analysis. By this, authentic text were introduced or translated into Character Scenes (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 138; M. A. Phillips, 2011). This final coding process was directly addressing the Audience, even though, also the other two implied a universalization of interpretations which were always Audience dependent (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 248 ff.).

***Process (4): interpretation.*** Interpretative processes were conducted within phases (2), the critical data analysis, and (4), the data comparison. Data interpretation had either a structural, semantic, dramaturgical or hermeneutic approach according to the step within the overall research process. All these processes flowed together within the analysis with the Dramatica method and the further production of a story with the same. For this purpose the Dramatica Pro software was used in order to keep the complex calculations between the structural and thematic elements consistent (C. Huntley et al., 1999). However, it was thinkable to do this process also completely offline, following the Dramatica theory helped by their *Worksheets* (M. A. Phillips, 2015).

***Process (5): manipulation.*** The manipulation process was the most important process within the overall research. Data like selection of participants, texts and meaning within text were purposefully selected, arranged and presented in order to demonstrate the different effects they caused on the reader. This process was foremost informed by the concepts of Propaganda in Dramatica (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2012; M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001; Saldaña Mora, 2009).

The complex author-reader relationship could not further be extended here, but should become more comprehensible in the way they applied to the production process in this research as described in *Chapter 4. Details of Analysis and Results*.

**Process (6): comparison.** Comparison was not a single process but rather an attitude towards data throughout the whole research process. The main goal of the research was to compare the results of data manipulation in order to make differences between personal attitudes, personal world-view and personal strategies in story telling visible and compare them with a model story. This comparison was the most significant tool in measuring to which degree the story produced in this research altered the existing discourse.

### **Instrument Validation**

Austrian praxeology apparently challenged traditional concepts of scientific validity. Major controversies were raised by its methodological subjectivism, apparently defying science demand for objectivity, and by its methodological individualism, disputing the possibility of certainty in science. Major threats concerned the practical data persistence and a principal positioning within the philosophy of science. A unique approach in this research was, that scientific validity itself relied on ethics and certainty could only be achieved through a universal ethics. This was inferred from the assumptions on non-representational methodology in relation to the “ontological turn” which led to the understanding of praxeology as a “game” (Lavoie, 2011; Oprea & Powell, 2010).

**Validity and bias (data).** The most surprising, and perhaps most compelling definition of games was given by Bernard Suits: “Playing a game is the voluntary attempt to overcome unnecessary obstacles” (as cited in: Feezell, 2012). This seemed an irrational approach to games and incompatible with the idea that research could be based on or even be understood as a game

This idea assumed that research, in a certain way, tried to solve problems which it had created itself artificially. Such an idea appeared irritating. But by reading de Garay's (1989) interpretation of Plotinian action theory, personal existence itself could be understood as a purposeful limitation to total being with the unique goal to become a concrete entity; i.e. to manifest. Praxeology as a game limited ideal values by unique "encounters", or situations of exchange. The very liberty that restricted its own universal was only objectified, i.e. transcended within interaction. This created special issues for objectivity and certainty in scientific procedures.

***Objectivity: The "rational principle" vs. methodological subjectivism.*** According Pereboom (2009): "Philosophy is a rational discipline only if logic is objectively grounded beyond the individual's subjectivity" (p. 136). He further stated that such an objectivity "[...] rests on our minds being able to grasp objective, mind-independent reality" (p. 136). This affirmation was problematic for the subjectivist approach in Austrian praxeology.

Also Walker (1993) recognized that the Austrian methodology was in part different from other approaches due to its distinct focus in inquiry. It understood "social life [... as a] temporally-situated process and looked for the invariants within the "internal generation of societal change". Therefore, it represented its research object in form of "evolutionary [...] network-based models". This contrasted with the representation of society based on "formal patterns that [were] invariant across time and place" from which consequently an inquiry into "field-governed relationships" arose (pp. 9-15). In its focus, the Austrian school was not so far apart from the German historical school, as Wagner observed. One of its main distinctions was possibly the subjective approach within the underlying process theory that associated it rather with Whitehead's process philosophy than with any form of deterministic collectivism

(Chamilall & Krecké, 2002; Wagner, 2013, p. 4). This focused lied on an implicit and pre-logical a priori. Alfred Schutz (1967) termed it as “aprehension”, Hartshorne and Whitehead described it as “prehension” (Dombrowski, 2013; Ivakhiv, 2014, p. 276). The methodological subjectivism in praxeology was at first sight an unproblematic shared characteristics, but revealed to become tricky once the concrete application of a subjectivist methodology was made. For instance, Alfred Schutz (1967) redefined an originally Husserlian conception through a shift in the conception of time and meaning and how they related to each other and the subject (chp. 2, sections 7-11, pp. 45-96). As Laffaye (2013) observed, by this Schutz (1967) could abstain the need of a supposed given universal or “shared semantic system” building solely on the plurality of the subjective and its alterity (p. 3-4). This led Schutz (1967) to work with two frameworks of time, the inner, subjective and an outer, quasi objective or “homogenous” time which stayed in a dynamic relation unified through the “transversal intentionality” (p. 6). Schutz (1967) remained still within the tradition of Husserl’s (2012) representational phenomenology, assuming that an objective framework of time existed and constructed the borders of the natural world (Carr, 2009; Cotlar, 1986; Morujão, 2013). But implicitly it bared already the seed for a non-representational understanding of subjectivity and time (Ingold et al., 2015). This coordinated space dependent on subjectivity, as methodological subjectivism asserted, and at the end always resided on an ethic. An ethics in the Weberian tradition, which assumed a universal semantic could build on a fixed and external spacetime continuum which could be represented and would provide external measurements that confirmed the rules, objective certainty (Harrington, 2001). If ethics was based on a sole a priori, named action or liberty, certainty was of another kind. It was not provided from outside but was confirmed through the research as intersubjective

communicative process itself when the creation of shared meaning was achieved, i.e. its life-affirming and constitutional power.

*Certainty: Methodological individualism (hermeneutic validity?)*. Share (2012a) defined Hoppe's (2006) defense of argumentation ethics as synthetic apriorism and offered by this an interpretation for Hoppe's (2006) approach which seemed congruent with the "desing-based" research. It should be reminded here that Hoppe studied under the dialectical method of Habermas (pp. 273, 335-334). To overcome the scientific relativism of this method was one of Hoppe's (2006) major goals. Hoppe (2006) achieved this by confirming the a priori givens of praxeology through the very performance of argumentation. Contrary to the often misleading critics on Hoppe, the real problem in his theory was not so much to link the analytical part to empirical data, as Share (2012a) rightly observed, but rather to transfere his method from the simple situation of a certain kind of rational argumentation towards more complex fields in social sciences. This problem of universalization was closely linked with the way in which scientific certainty was achieved. According Popper, in science theories could not be verified but only falsified (K. Popper, 2013; Thornton, 1997). Current theories on decision making reflected this idea, often involving emotional influences and "probabilistic calculus" (Hastie & Dawes, 2010; Pearl, 1994, 2014). As discussed in Chapter 1 of this study, "thinking" was not an ability of calculation or computation, as in artificial intelligence (AI), but a unique qualia of the person; the ability to be and to act ethically, i.e. to leap a Franklian (2010) "noetic tension". Van Manen (2007) lied much importance into the "pathos" as an intuitive, embodied or "sensual" knowing through the body (p. 20). He describe in this way the application phenomenology had given to the "ontological turn" in the tradition of Hegel and Heidegger (Heidegger, 1962; Max van Manen, 2007, p. 17). It dealt foremost with those phenomena which were not directly

accessible through logical analysis, but belonged to a common practice and were universal to human experience. By this, “em-pathy” as a kind of interpersonal verification of the meaning expressed by others was activated (e.g. p. 17). Thus, design-research could be understood as an intend to bring back Husserl’s “preconscious knowign” into the Heideggerian actuality of being through the analysis of the “ethos”, which allowed to explore phenomena which were universal precisely in the sense that they made persons distinct from one and another; as there were liberty, agency, responsibility and personal identity. Thus, the “vocation” in phenomenology enabled knowledge about “one’s self” (M Van Manen, 2002). In turn, “design-based” research evoked awareness of the radical other which finally enable the self to perceive the universal of liberty (see Böhr, 2014 on Lord Acton). Yet, this approach endangered to slider back into relativism, relying fully on one’s own momentaneous conception of the good and the true. Only through the re-introduction of a rational ground in the universal ethics of Reverence for Life, which set the ethical tetralemma as a standard for actions, measurements in ethics could achieve objective certainty which oriented a person’s action (A. Schweitzer, 2009).

*Validation in design based research.* A conventional interpretation of the purpose of science was to exceed the arbitrariness of human opinion, and settle conflicts by impartial truth as much as to defeat philosophical “relativism” (K. Popper, 2013; Gerhard Radnitzky, 1976). As such only “falsifiable” theories could be meaningful, as was diligently outlined by Karl Popper’s “demarcation” (Thornton, 1997). The “ontological turn”, however, twisted the understanding of scientific validity and the concept of meaning around (Eberle, 2009; Schutz, 1967). The introduction of the scientist as a participant and no longer a mere observer on the object of investigation required a review of the whole synthetic geometry underlying the “given” in the phisology of science on which the idea of validity was based (Whitehead, 2010, p. 28, 2011, p.

140). The purpose of science was not primarily to falsify, but to give orientation to human action (Rüsen, 2008, pp. 64-65). The purpose of science, and especially history, was to transcend actual existence into factual reality through the shared application of a first principle.

The major distinction of “design-based” research, as a non-representational strategy of inquiry, was the way in which validity was achieved. Firstly, it re-emphasized the scientific “rigor” in the manner research was done over the “reliability” of empirical data (Hoadley, 2004, p. 203). It could be said that the smallest denominator within a truth statement should not be searched in the facts about the world but within the research as interaction. Therefore, in design-based research “rigor” was not achieved through the simplification of its method but rather “through pluralism [as] a coordination of different theoretical views” (Bell, 2004). Further, an important characteristic of design-research in comparison to other studies, as for example ethnography, was that it did not aim towards a description of a phenomenon but towards changing a social practice through an ongoing improvement of the design for social learning (A. Collins, Joseph, & Bielaczyc, 2004, p. 21). In the study here the aim was to change the way in which a people defined their nation. At this point, it was important to differentiate in “design-based” research between an interventionistic action approach, as the one described by Bell (2004), a collaborative approach as in participatory action research and a non-interventionistic approach embarked by a single researcher (McIntyre, 2008; Whyte, 1991). The difference basically derived from the limitation of the research framework and the definition of the exact point of an investigation within the overall research framework, which at highest level was a complete research field. In fact, even in “design-based” research it was feasible to be conducted only by a few researchers or even a single one (Ash, 2013, pp. 73–74; P. Cobb, Confrey, DiSessa, Lehrer, & Schauble, 2003, p. 11). Usually single researchers dealt with primary

analysis, which were later validated through a secondary analysis by other researchers. In this way, also this study here should be understood as a primary analysis.

**Threats to design validity.** Besides the methodological considerations regarding praxeology as a “design-based” research approach, there were concrete, technical issues which could threaten the validity of the research results. These issues concerned the interactional process in three aspects; (1) the research rhetoric; (2) the research dynamics; and (3) the data presentation.

*Awareness as propaganda.* The goal of this research was to produce a networked national narrative. The principle measurement of a successful outcome of this undertaking was the ability of the research rhetoric to transmit an activist message which motivated the reader to engage himself in future research following the ethical demands presented in here, i.e. to conduct research itself with a participatory, democratic and engaged approach. Thus, the research activity of this study could be understood as a form of “awareness as propaganda” within an educational genre, as described by Phillips and Huntley (2001) (pp. 143, 256). According their theory this included two concrete threats for the study here. One issue was that awareness could fail due to different encodings of meaning in different cultural contexts, in short it could simply be misunderstood. To limit this risk, wherever possible, the academic tradition of theories and methods used were clearly communicated in order to mark a frame and to situate the reader. Another issue was that the Audience Appreciation of this work could go astray from the original persuasive intention. For this reason the obvious research goals were clearly stated, which was thought to create a certain homogeneity in the readers’ expectations. Nevertheless, the true contribution of this research to new ways in looking at science as a political action could not be



directly measured. This was a known, but unavoidable shortcoming of “awareness” as a methodological approach or propaganda device (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

***Interaction.*** An Alternate Reality Game (ARG), and “game-based” research approaches in general required a plural engagement which could not be provided by the solitary character of a dissertation thesis (Connolly, Stansfield, & Hainey, 2011; Stenros, Holopainen, Waern, Montola, & Ollila, 2011; Yu-Han Chang, Maheswaran, Kim, & Zhu, 2013). The full understanding of the research question was expected to be achieved only after the reader herself had been able to reproduce the proposed game; i.e. written her own national story. This enforced the threat to the first issue discussed in *Awareness as propaganda*. Nevertheless, limiting the formal goal of this study to a mere exploration of the phenomenon of social constituency, was considered a sufficient provision to keep the academic standard of this work consistent.

***Data persistence.*** Part of the process in this study was to track empirical data from autobiographical texts, through their transformation into Character Scenes and Storyweaving Scenes in the merger of several autobiographical stories into a new national narrative which former the stock of data for a similar re-enactment of this process in the future (Hansen et al., 2013). The link between the different elements could be kept consistent within the final story script, by using referencing standards when including the original text. But its dynamic effects could not directly be represented. For this purpose, through the research process a “MySQL/PHP Open Source (OS) application” for the development of “Alternate Reality Games (ARGs) based on Networked Narrative Storytelling (NNS)” was designed; called Spindle (T. Hirzel, 2015). Through this tool relations could be made visible directly and real-time, and data could be tracked in-time from their final output backwards to their original empirical source. Hoeschen even assumed that, following Bachtinian literary theory, in the very aesthetics of a story

produced, the transformative process was somehow still “reflected” (Hoeschen, 2005, p. 234). However, an objective confirmation of this assumption could not be found. On the other side, as a side effect, the chosen research process increased data persistence through its use of linked data by applying standards in data archeology and modern historiography (Faniel, Kansa, Whitcher Kansa, Barrera-Gomez, & Yakel, 2013; Meroño-Peñuela & Hoekstra, 2014).

### **Data Collection Procedures**

The collection procedure of the data was an intermediate process between population collection and sample selection, entangling both research steps.

**Data crawling.** In order to obtain new data for their possible inclusion in the population, besides a traditional literature review of history books and the physical and digital data in public as well as private archives, the cohort sampling process was supported by semantic crawlers. The most relevant crawler used for this purpose was Google (2015). The temporal concept's searched for were entrances according to global key dates during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as for example the date 1830 or 1848. Spatial data explored were especially dates of places belonging to the Helvetic Confederation, respectively to Switzerland. Proper names of persons were examined in relation to dates and places, formerly elicited, and to persons already included in the sampling cohort, especially by analyzing authentic texts and genealogical information (Geneanet SA, 2015; Verein für Computergenealogie e.V., 2015). Further, a thematic inquiry searched directly for concepts related to the historiographic context of 19<sup>th</sup> century Switzerland.

**Data mining.** The obtained data were consecutively organized through different data mining procedures. This affected foremost the authentic texts obtained from the former process. The semantic analysis of the texts was foremost done with the help of Taporware tools

(Rockwell, Yan, Macdonald, & Patey, 2005; Taporware, 2007a). A further sentiment analysis was supported by Voyant tools (Sinclair & Rockwell, 2015).

**Data Coding.** Data mining was interdependent from the further data coding. Coding involved four overlapping strategies: In vivo coding; (2) hermeneutic coding; and (3) dramaturgical coding. This procedure was done manually on paper, in a first step, later digitalized due to the complexity of the data, which finally led to the original impulse creating a relational database, the Spindle, in which these data could be organized in a consistent way (T. Hirzel, 2015).

**In vivo coding.** This first coding analyzed was concerned with delimiting the strictly empirical part of the data (see step 8 Coding C1 in Appendix G). Semantic terms were searched through a process which could be automatized largely through a conventional data mining. For this study the set of free software tools by Taporware (2007a) was used. Text frequency was analyzed in order to find semantic preferences and visualized as a “word cloud” (see Appendix H). Further, a specific search for dates was conducted; both through the semantic crawler and manually on paper. This promised to reveal biographically relevant events. Finally, proper names of persons and places were searched. In large part in vivo codes were already evaluated during the sample collection.

**Hermeneutic coding.** The hermeneutic coding involved primary resources as much as authentic resources (see steps 10 and 11 Coding C2 in Appendix G). The text interpretation was conducted with three overlapping approaches; (1) a literary analysis along the theory of Phillips and Huntley (2001); (2) a dramaturgical exploration of Goffmanian (1981) “footing” based on the codes defined in Guadagno and Cialdini’s (2007) research (pp. 486-487); and (3) the

determination of the dominant “existential frustration” as described in Franklian (2010) psychology by Wong (2014) and Lukas (1979, 1990, 1997).

***Dramaturgical coding.*** The third coding step was also the most inductive and formed already part of the story production (see step 13 in Appendix G). Whereas step 10 and 11 were done in order to reconstruct the stories presented in the autobiographical writings according standards of hermeneutics, in this step it was aimed towards a positioning of the analyzed authors, and their stories, within the argumentative frame of the national story that should be produced through this research.

### **Data Analyses**

The phenomenon of social constituency was described as an act through which empirical, material data were connected with a genuine, ideal principle into a coherent narrative which transcended time, space and subjectivity. In two parallel processes data were integrated and shaped into a nation story by comparing and manipulating the story elements.

**Manipulation.** The aim of the data manipulation was to re-enact a process of social constituency through the creation of a nation story by manipulating systematically the collected data, formerly coded and organized. This was developed along four steps, as defined by Dramatica (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001): (1) Storyforming; (2) Storyweaving; (3) Storytelling; and (4) Story Reception (p. 149). In each step, different criteria of the national narrative were developed: (a) completeness, (b) transparency and (c) scientific validity in step 1 which discerned the nation story from tales, fiction and propaganda; (d) universalization in step 2 which positioned the story within the field of historiography; (e) canonization and (f) efficiency in step 3 which finally determined it as political historiography or a nation story.

There were elements which according to the research theory and methodology could not be changed without changing the overall meaning. Other elements could be purposefully manipulated in order to improve the Impact a story created through its Audience Perception. Important elements to be manipulated were explained by the concept of propaganda by Phillips & Huntley (K. D. Burke, 1963; Gusfield, 1991; Kenneth Burke & Simons, 1989; M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 253).

***Storyforming.*** Whenever manipulating objects it was important to define which was the background or framework that remained stable and through which manipulative effects could be observed. Huntley and Phillips described this framework as the universal of mind on which the rules within Dramatica theory were based (C. Huntley & Phillips, 1991; M. A. Phillips, 1997; Trull & Prinstein, 2012). In the complex question about the phenomenon of “personal identity”, Alvarez Munarriz emphasized the importance to define the ontological background or framework, against which an entity could take its “ontological place” (lugar ontológico) as a person (Álvarez Munárriz, 2009, 2010, chp. 2, 2011, p. 418; see also: Garcia Viyuela, 2009, p. 142). Before manipulating a narrative structure, it was important to understand the ontological structure of meaning in general. For this research it was assumed that this background was provided by the Plotinian description of the universal origin of mind, as found in de Garay (1989).

***Ontological structure of meaning.*** According to Dramatica the Story Mind was “a model of the mind's problem-solving process” which could only be represented in “conceptually complete and emotionally and logically comprehensive” stories, the so called Grand Argument Story (GAS) (K. E. M. Huntley, 2014). Based on this definition a demarcation for the selection of stories as apt for the further analysis was given. Further, it provided also a bottomline defining

to which extend a story could be manipulated without losing its characteristics as such. Three types of narratives were explicitly excluded from this research: (1) tales; (2) proper nation myths; and (3) propaganda.

*Story or tale.* Phillips and Huntley (2004) differentiated a Tale from Stories, being the former a simple “statement”, recounting events and causal-relations, whereas a Story was an “argument” which included an ethical judgement about a certain outcome carrying on a proposition for an expressed meaning (p. 74). In historiography, chronicles came structurally very close to Tales. Also biographical annotations like those of Meta Schweizer-Heusser’s *Memorabilien* had a similar structure retelling, dates, places, persons, sometime some atmosphere or opinion but without any linking argument (Schindler, 2007).

*Historiography or nation myth.* Enenkel (2013) observed that the Enlightenment’s project of rationalism was also applied to historiography, which, against its stated goal, in reality led to an even more extensive mythification (p. 1-12). From the perspective of the research question in here, this distinction was rather secondary. Historiography since the late modernity was considered a scientific discipline which aimed towards objectivity. But a nation myth did not necessarily depend on its scientific rigor, which until very recently was completely neglected. The relevant question, here, was rather when a Story, as a personal point of view would become a shared property of a people. Madlen Kazmierczak (2013) illustrated how people after a conflict chose stories which would avoid dichotomies by creating a shared identity for the nation based on a higher category, in her example the Balkans. The author-reader relation played a central role in this dynamics. One of the major challenges in the narratives of the I. International and associated Women’s Rights Movements was the local character and identity of their organizational structure which conflicted with their transnational interests (Kazmierczak, 2013).

An example for such a controversial positioning was given by one of the founders of the International, Julie May von Rued (Mesmer, 1988, pp. 94–101). Most interesting was also the Swiss experience in the more recent history of the Swiss National Exposition 1962, where the government hindered a scientifically correct representation of the people's vision on their nation for the simple reason that this vision collided with the official State's policies (K. Weber, 2014, pp. 1-3). D'Aprile (2013) revealed in his book the overlapping relations between media, historiography and politics and their importance in shaping both public opinion and the decisions made by political actors (p. 7). The aspects of a story that had the ability, according to Phillips & Huntley (2001) to "'group' [people] as an audience" relied largely on the charisma of certain authors, "subject matters" and genre (p. 252).

Finally, the most important question was, if the nation story had an activating impact which empowered people to solve current problems and re-constitute them in personal and societal identity. It was supposed that the determining element for achieving such a purpose was the inclusion of a "vision of the future" within the story (Makinde, 1990, p. 120).

*History didactics or Propaganda.* To discern personal engagement as a form of didactic intention from Propaganda was far less simple than often assumed (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012; M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). Based on the theoretical assumptions in here, a distinctive was found in the constructive and constitutional character of engagement versus the inclusion of destructive elements in Propaganda. This was discerned by applying Schweitzer's criteria for an ethical position in philosophy; its ability to affirm all elements of the logical tetralemma between Self and Other, world and ideal (Martin, 2012; A. Schweitzer, 1960).

Propaganda could be defined objectively by Phillips and Huntley (2001), independent from its moral implications (A. D. Smith, 2000). Propaganda was a special "story device"

defined by its structure. The Grand Argument Story transmitted a message in a complete form, clearly and straightforward, which allowed the reader to compare it to his or her own convictions. Propaganda, in turn, used the omission of isolated story elements within an orderly patterned story. This created a special emotional and cognitive response in the reader whose mind tried to fill in unconsciously a perceived gap in the story pattern. Thus, unlike often believed, Propaganda was not something imposed to the reader, but rather coconstructed with the reader. This made Propaganda rather imperceptible for the author. Such an effect could exist without purpose, when a writer made unwillingly a mistake in the composition. In general, propaganda was created by the author with the purpose to negotiate a message and change or enforce the reader's point of view (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 253). Thus, from a structural point of view Propaganda was a didactic technique especially within a means-end approach, instructional learning design, and some engaged learning. Instructors created learning situations in which the learning goals were predefined by the design of a controlled environment eliciting "self-regulated" learning (Dijkstra, Schott, Seel, Tennyson, & Seel, 2013, p. 23). By deducing the message or filling gaps, learners made the learning content their own which creates an engagement that had major effect on the emotional response of the learner and resulted in better retention of the learned knowledge (Reigeluth, 2013). The instructional planning for a so called "concept attainment model" described considerations surprisingly similar to Phillips and Huntley's (2001) concept of Propaganda (Reigeluth, 2013). The central difference to propaganda was that instruction was "openly manipulating" the audience, making clear the intention and the goals, while Propaganda was doing it "secretly" (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 248).

At the social level, Propaganda was often transmitted through literary adaption of historical symbols as for example the Swiss national myth of Willhelm Tell in order to teach



people which was the right solution for their nations problems (Graber, 2013, pp. 29, 178). So it comes not to a surprise that historiography as a discipline used quite more often propaganda as might be expected, as illustrated by the example of the “peasant wars” (Griesse, 2014, pp. 7-8, 51, 243).

Phillips and Huntley (2001) described the four points to take into consideration by the author of Propaganda: (1) “nature of impact”; (2) “area of impact”; (3) “type of impact”; and (4) “degree of impact” (p. 254-256). In historiography any of the “areas of primary impact” were used, but in general the perspective was on the “objective reality” and mostly in a general way. Further, Phillips and Huntley (2001) defined four techniques for Propaganda making: (1) “shock”, (2) “awareness”, and (3) “misdirection” and (4) “conditioning” as Propaganda, while during Modernity especially “conditioning” was used. “Awareness as Propaganda” was found for example in the filmic presentation of the life of Alfred Escher in *Die Schweizer* (SRF, 2013). In this representation Escher’s personal engagement driven by an evident internal conflict that led him to involve in highly ambitious and risky enterprises which would assure the position of Switzerland in the bustling economy of the industrializing empires around it. The givens were defined by the film producers. Escher’s projects were considered a key issue for progress and economic success of Switzerland, defined as the only and best solution. Escher’s motives were completely omitted, only insinuated through the education of a highly competitive mother. His father and the difficult reputation contrived by the fathers’ activities were not mentioned. That Escher caused a major bankruptcy, as already his own grand-father had done, which brought much misery to a large number of citizens, this was not told. Without this background, the rejection to invite Escher to the opening ceremony of one of his major projects would only be understood as unjust.

*Storyweaving (genre)*. In Phillips and Huntley's (2001) *Dramatica*, "genre" (pp. 226, 240), referred to an "audience's experience" of a Story (p. 15) was product of the Storyweaving (p. 263) and the Story Points related to the four Throughlines at the Type and Class level and was "most influential on Storytelling" (pp. 141 239, 328). This was categorized in *Dramatica* along "four modes of expression": (1) "information", (2) "drama", (3) "comedy", or (4) "entertainment" (p. 142; for further discussion Sayre & King, 2010, pp. 86–87). Following Phillips and Huntley (2001), each of those modes related to different focus by the audience either on: (1) "knowledge", (2) "thought", (3) "ability", or (4) "desire". The Grid of *Dramatica* Genres made these differences easily to be grasped (p. 141).

*Storytelling*. According Phillips and Huntley (2001), Storytelling was the synteizing process which united the "four distinct stages" of the creative writing process: "Storyforming, Storyencoding, Storyweaving, and Reception" p. (149). Through skillful Storytelling it was possible to "accentuate a particular throughline", to create and to encode "awareness as propaganda" (pp. 328, 330). As such, "[t]he degree of success or failure, good or bad, is determined in storytelling" (p. 118). Phillips and Huntley (2001) observed that in autobiographical writing, usually, Storytelling preceded Storyforming in the writing process (p. 17). The use of or the identification with Archetypes in the Story gave already a direction to the Atortelling (p. 28). An important distinction was also the use of characters in autobiographies which had merely a storytelling function and those which fulfilled a "dramatic function" (p. 68). The concrete arrangement of a plot was also part of the storytelling. While the plot structured the logical and causal order of events, the storytelling defined the order in which these connections were revealed to the audience (p. 125). This was the rhetorical and properly ethical part of the writing process (p. 140). The "resolution" of "scenes" and "events" concerned mainly

storytelling (p. 141). All these aspects belonged to empirical questions which had not been further analyzed in here.

In relation to the Storytelling the choice of the medium through the message should be transmitted was clue. Phillips and Huntley (2001) stated that “*adaptation ... [was] the process of translating information from one physical facility for storage and retrieval to another in such a way that it can be communicated to an audience*” and “*of reproducing an audience experience in another medium*” (p. 260). The relation between structure and message depended on the “medium”. Complete consistency along different media was not possible. In order to keep an optimal stability, the focus lied on the Essential Story Elements. For this purpose the translation process from the author’s intention to the audience’s perception needed to be understood. This was analyzed along an approach named “Four Stages of Communication” including: (1) Story forming, (2) Story encoding, (3) Story weaving, and (4) Story reception.

Table 3

*Overview on steps, measurements and variables in the data analysis which demarcate the nation story from other narratives.*

Manipulation	Criterion	Values	Demarcation
Storyforming	Completeness	Four throughlines	Tale
	Transcendence	Vision based on concrete problem and people	Fiction
	Validity	Reverence for Life	Propaganda
Storyweaving	Universality	Genre	Case study
Storytelling	Canonization	Transmedia re-enactment (ARG)	Text books
	Efficiency	Game-based learning	Dogmatic teaching

**Comparison.** Throughout the exploration phase four key elements were observed in order to compare how the manipulation influenced the overall dynamics (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). These elements were; (1) Static Story Points; (2) Dynamic Story Points; (3) forms of “encounter”. These elements were compared between stories of different authors, within an author’s text corpus and along different documents of a single author, where available, as well as between different results of different options for text manipulation by the research author.

**Static Story Points.** The Static Story Points of Plot Points involved the story’s overall Goal, related Consequences, Costs, Dividends, Requirements, Prerequisites, Preconditions and Forewarnings, as well as the thematic encoding of the four Throughlines at the level of their Type Order (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). The Overall Story Throughline as analyzed in the autobiographical text of those persons, chosen at sample level B, made up the Throughline of the Main Character and the Impact Character, and was taken into consideration for the Relationship Throughline for the other Characters. The manipulative effect of “awareness as propaganda” was assumed to play especially on these Story Points.

**Dynamic Story Points.** Dramatica defined the Main character’s Resolve, Growth, Approach and Problem-solving Style as Dynamic Story Points, besides the Overall Story’s Driver, Limit, Outcome, and Judgement (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). A quite straightforward omission of one of those elements in the Storytelling was assumed to create propagandistic effects which were manifest in observed in the text.

**Forms of “encounter”.** “Encounter” was assumed to be found in three dimensions; (1) an intrapersonal, (2) an interpersonal; and (3) an abstract, universal level.

*Intrapersonal “encounter”*. At this point the hermeneutic analysis asked from the viewpoint of the author if a Goal was achieved and how Failure was justified in the Judgement, as encoded in the Dramatica Story points. Failure associated to “guilt”, “death” or “suffering” were assumed to reveal the expression of an “existential frustration” and could be compared with the “footing”. It was assumed that each “footing” strategy linked to either of the elements within the “tragic triad” (Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007, pp. 486–487; Lukas, 1990, 1997a).

*Interpersonal “encounter”*. The interpersonal “encounter” was most obvious in reports of direct, physical “encounter” between persons (sample level B) and between persons and the opinion of others as published in contemporary media. Further, it became manifest through the story encoding of the autobiographical writings, mediated through the meaning abstracted from structural, thematic and symbolic elements within the text. In the research analysis this was made manifest by confronting different Character Scenes and by weaving them into a Storyweaving Scene (T. Hirzel, 2015). The relation between Main Character and Impact Character and their development towards a goal built the framework (see Chapter 4, *Summary of Results*, paragraph *Character choices*, p. 204).

*Universal “encounter”*. One of the key challenges in analyzing phenomena of social constitution was the assumption that a text was written by a real person. In the case of historical persons before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this assumption could be safely affirmed, given that no computer programmes existed, able to write a story based on artificial intelligence (Connolly et al., 2011; Dena, 2008; Szulborski, 2005, Chapter 8). In the worst case authorship could be disputed. However, such controversies did not exist for the selected samples. From a principle point of view, however, the question was important. What in a text signaled that it was authored by a person? In this study, it was assumed that “performative contradiction” was a unique trait of

entities with personal identity, i.e. persons, originated in the transcendental qualia of personhood. Therefore, the texts were scanned for different types of “argumentative contradictions”. Performativity in texts was not only expected to be present in the form of reported actions, but in an actual “encounter” between the author and the audience through the address included in the text. Even where text was not direct to current readers, the historical author had apparently encoded his message in a way which was still meaningful for present readers. This meant, that besides the concrete and contextual meaning, there was something in texts which could transcend the performance throughout time, as a kind of universalization of “encounter”.

### **Summary**

Resuming the methodological framework of this study, the phenomenon of social constituency was explored by re-enacting the moment of “performative contradiction”. This moment was understood as a sign of a person’s individual liberty which was acted out in order to transcend actual existence into factual reality through the shared application of a first principle which enabled it to dissolve a perceived “existential frustration” in the experience of “encounter” and to leap the gap within noetic dynamics. Thus, “performative contradiction” was understood as a co-constitutional event of the person and the society. A nation story was described as the materialization of this constitutional phenomenon which could be re-enacted through Austrian praxeology, as a form of game-based research approach with a non-representational strategy in a non-interventionistic “design-based” research. From this, a game-design for a collaborative networked narrative as a kind of Alternate Reality Game (ARG) resulted, in which competing “vision[s] of the future” were negotiated between the research author and the reader (Makinde, 1990, p. 120). As a concrete model for this research, those “visions” had been based on the current political discourse of Switzerland as the shared problem of a society, which were linked to

the historiography of the 19<sup>th</sup> century serving as empirical bottom-line for the creation of the narrative of Switzerland as a “covenant community”.

The overall research process could be described as a consecutive itinerary of a total of 24 steps, including six processes developed along four phases at three different levels of abstraction, graphically represented in the *AppendixG*.

### Chapter 4: Analysis and Presentation of Results

In Chapter 2, the process of the “design-based” research approach had been described as the development of a tool for a networked narrative, which was driven by three major phases: (1) the definition of game elements by defining concrete criteria for sample selection in the

#### *Demographic Statistics (25p)*

**Level I: The Covenant Community.** In the section about the theoretical orientation of this research, in Chapter 2, (pp. 76-79) a working definition for a liberal “covenant community” was given as a permanent association or alliance of people based on the practice of in the perpetual re-enactment of law as a spiritual or transcendental universal representation of liberty.

***Characteristics of the Covenant Community.*** The core characteristics of such a liberal “covenant community” were defined by Albert Schweitzer’s (1979) ethics, the Reverence of Life, clearly expressing an equal affirmation of Self and Other, as being simultaneously oriented towards concrete, material and ideal values. This affirmation should not be understood as Hegelian dialectic or double negation, but as a process of creating constant tension or discourse.

***Variables of the Covenant Community.*** The variables analyzed in the different communities were their regional and cultural origin, their religious origin, the concrete confessional group or community of faith, their soteriology, the type of covenant from a theological and political point of view and the main concepts related to them.

(p. 168); the definition of the game dynamics as explored in the *Details of Analysis and Results* (p. 196); and the simulation of the production of a narrative in the *Summary of Results* (p. 204).



**Demographic Statistics (25p)**

**Level I: The Covenant Community.** In the section about the theoretical orientation of this research, in Chapter 2, (pp. 76-79) a working definition for a liberal “covenant community” was given as a permanent association or alliance of people based on the practice of in the perpetual re-enactment of law as a spiritual or transcendental universal representation of liberty.

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*Forms of Covenant Communities.* This definition had been based on the analysis of 63 communities listed in the Appendix B (p. 392). Ten types of covenants or treaties could be differentiated, which were defined in the following.

*Covenant of Practice (CoP).* A Covenant of Practice was understood as a community which either based or oriented their constitution on a shared practice; either religious, utopian or rather pragmatic. A Covenant of Practice definition could be understood as a subcategory of a Community of Practice (Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002).

*Covenant of Exclusion.* A Covenant of Exclusion was understood as community which either based or oriented their constitution on a shared criteria for inclusion or a criteria for exclusion. This meant that to have the characteristic or to lack certain criteria decided on the belonging to the group. Mostly, these criteria were inclusive criteria, in the sense that for example being of Jewish genetic descendance would include one into the Jewish community or belonging formally to a certain Church or Organisation would provide some rights. All others were automatically excluded. Such communities were consequently based on positive rights. Sometimes their own vocabulary would define them as “natural rights”. This, however, did not refer to a natural law theory but was rather a synonym for innate rights.

*Covenant of Grace.* The Covenant of Grace, the Covenant of Redemption and the Covenant of Work were defined by Martin Buber, based on a Hasidic (Jewish) soteriology (Buber, 2013). The possibility of these three types of Covenants were also discussed within Christian theology, while especially the Covenant of Redemption was rather rejected (Stannard, 2013, p. 6). Nevertheless, this category was loosely applied also to communities outside the Protestant or Christian tradition where its meaning generally applied. The Covenant of Grace was understood as a unilateral offer, usually by the divine party of the Covenant. It was not

always clear, if a Covenant should be understood as one of Exclusion or one of Grace, because under circumstances, divine Grace was understood as exclusively given to a certain group of people complying with certain material criteria.

*Covenant of Redemption.* The Covenant of Redemption actually did not refer to a treaty between a people and the divine but between the Godhead and the son within the Christian concept of divine Trinity and in relation to a “plan of salvation”. Also some Christian communities like the Presbyterians believed in this third form of covenant. Their idea challenged the dogma of God as a Trinity converting it the Christian faith almost into a form of tritheism. In the political context, this was especially transcendent during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, where in parallel the status and role of Jesus the Christ as God and/or the historical Jesus of Nazareth was disputed (A. Schweitzer, 2005). Following on or the other interpretation its defenders tended either, on one side, to positive theology, taking the Bible literal and consequently also great part of political laws, or on the other side, on pantheism or positive religion, as for example in the case of the Freemasons.

*Covenant of Works.* The Covenant of Works was based on the idea that once the biblical characters Adam and Eve had been expelled from paradise, a way of reunification with God was possible through the observation of the divine laws. Max Weber’s (2002) *Protestant Ethic* assumed broadly this concept as typical for Protestant thought. The study here, however, found that Weber’s (2002) interpretations were oversimplifying (Adair-Toteff, 2011; Andreski, 2013; Swatos & Kaelber, 2014).

*Defensive-alliance with religious component.* Besides the religious covenants there was a number of treaties or covenants which looked very much alike, but did not found their constitution on any kind of soteriology. First, there were the treaties with political and

defensive character. The sample analyzed were categorized in two groups, even though, a more detailed further analysis suggested that there were quite significant differences among them. For the purpose here, this was simplified. The Defensive-alliance described an association of more or less equals with the purpose of military defense. Sometimes, they also included economic or socio-cultural interests in their common goals. Special about them, was that they also included a religious component, which distinguished them from other economic groups. The Arab League was given as an example, even though this religious aspect was rather controversial. Still they were included, given that their informal relations clearly showed religious interests (L. Anderson, 2014; Rishmawi, 2005, 2010; A. Thompson & Snidal, 2012).

*Suzerain-Vasall system.* The Suzerain-Vasall system was another form of defensive alliance. Its major difference was that it was a treaty between a Suzerain, a dominant party, usually a conqueror, who offered certain privileges as for example relative independence or military protection and a weaker or conquered party, the vasall who depended on the former. Therefore, these treaties were usually related to a theory of conquest. It was further assumed that possibly all Abrahamic covenants derived from this earlier, rather pragmatic version (Kline, 1972).

*Anti-Pacifist community.* The Anti-pacifist community was introduced here to describe a form of alliance that openly opposed pacifism considering it sheer non-sense. So far, it could only be found in the United States, especially by their *National Counterproliferation Center* (NCPC, 2015). It combined a theory of "self-defense" with a form of virtue ethics that affirmed the duty of the "stronger" to act as "world's policeman" (S. Carter, 2011; Küng, 2005, p. 254; Mori, 2006).

*Affirmation of power.* The fourth type of political-economic union was defined here as “affirmation of power” without specific denomination of a treaty. It was adhered to the Russian Federation based on Putin’s defense of the Crimean belonging to Russia. A clear covenantal theory could not be found in these words, but it was neither a simple expression of a desire of conquest. The future would show if further discourses could lead to a fully developed justification of the Russian Federation as a covenantal union, or if it was just an adaption to European and American discourse (NYTimes.com, n.d.).

*Aboriginal divine law.* As a last group, there were those covenants which, here, were resumed loosely as alliances under an “Aboriginal divine law”. This covered diverse African and Australian nations. Difference in the understanding of such a “divine law” varied significantly. For the purpose here, however, it was sufficient to distinguish them from the European tradition of “divine law theory”. A full relation of the analyzed communities and the related bibliography was given in Appendix B.

**Level II: Relevant Participants.** Starting with the most emblematic historiographic works about the long 19<sup>th</sup> century in Switzerland, besides the recent national biographies, the work of Peter Aerne (1989) on the conservative September Revolution in Zurich, also known the Zürichputsch, Barbara Weinmann’s (2002) book on the *Republican Alternative*, Thomas Maissen’s (2000) article and Roger de Weck’s (2013) recent audiovisual representation were central for the definition of a population.

*First sample collection.* In the first sample collection, the focus was limited for practical reasons locally to the region of today’s Canton of Zürich and chronologically around the event of the conservative September Revolution in Zurich, also known the Zürichputsch 1839.

It was assumed that the Zürichputsch was a kind of key element in the later successes that would lead to the Sonderbund in 1847 war and the Swiss Constitution in 1848, assuming this to be the symbolic and material moment of change from the Ancien Régime to the modern Nation State in Switzerland. Besides the recent national historiographies, the work of Antiquarian Society of Pfäffikon (1989) on the local successes around the Zürichputsch and Roger de Weck's (2013) audiovisual representation *Die Schweizer* [The Swiss] were essential for the definition of a population.

This resulted in a database of 101 persons, including only one single women, all the rest male. They were statistically analyzed according to the following criteria: professional weight, military status, international relations and political weight.

The professional weight defined in how many jobs a person had occupied in media, education, church, finances and local administration. Special weight was given also to one's role in the "faith committee" (Glaubenscommittee) known to have been one of the central organs for the revolutionary activists. Military status was only counted if it included a leadership role equal or higher to lieutenant. International relations was a measurement that counted the positions in the Swiss Diet, which by then was still confederate and not federal, in foreign services, foremost in the mercenary services of the Swiss Regiments (Schweizerregimenter). The political weight was compound by the positions one had taken in the different functions of regional and confederate respectively, cantonal and national State administration. These four parameters were, at the end, simply summed up, giving an amount between 0 and 8 points.

The following 13 men were selected by this method:

Bluntschli, Johan Caspar (Dr. jur.) (1808 – 1881), Bürkli, Johann Georg (1793 – 1851), von Escher, Johan Konrad, von (1761 – 1833), Escher vom Glas, Johann Heinrich Alfred (1819

– 1882), Escher vom Luchs, Hans Konrad (1743 – 1814), Furrer, Jonas (Dr. hon.) (1805 – 1861), Keller vom Steinbock, Friedrich Ludwig (Dr.) (1799 – 1860), Meyer (-Hofmeister), Conrad (1807 – 1881), von Mousson, Johan Heinrich Emanuel (1803 – 1869), Nüscher, David (1792 - 1871), von Reinhard, Hans (1755 -1835), Steiner, Karl Eduard (1803 – 1870), von Wyss, David (1763 – 1839).

The resulting samples belonged, as being expected, to the protagonists of the accounts on Zürich in the conventional history which had been books written in the last twenty years.

Without taking into account any further criteria as, for example, family background, economic situation or religious affiliation the resulting persons belonged all too well-established Züricher families, most of them were aristocratic, male and Protestant.

This selection reflected an approximation of what had been the elite within the analyzed historiographic texts and represented a very hierarchical understanding of leadership, assuming that social constitution was made by the strong men in a country. Already the work of Antiquarian Society of Pfäffikon (1989) had shown that the conflicts in Switzerland were not simply directed by an elite contending anonymous reactionaries and peasants. This made the inclusion of other social classes, immigrants and foreign voices necessary. Works like de Weck's (2013) *Die Schweizer* emphasized even more how interrelated successes all over the Swiss regions were and echoed the current tendency in Swiss historiography to take Zürich its protagonism in the modernization process away, in favor of other equally important places in Switzerland related to the historical changes, as there were the new Cantons of Aargau, Ticino, St. Gallen or other great players like Geneva, Graubünden, Basel and Bern, without missing the mythological protagonists; the forest cantons.

This led to a shift in focus for the sampling process. Strategically, personalities included from marginal groups; as for example the Jenische, the Gipsies, the Jews or immigrants in general, especially the German immigrants and political fugitees. Further, neglected persons not belonging to the five major parties involved in conflicts according Maissen (1999), as the early socialist and communists, were added.

*Second sample collection.* A turning impuls was given by the critique on the film series Die Schweizer in the media (Boyadjian & Klenger, 2013; Christof Moser, Cassidy, & Vuichard, 2013; Christof Moser & Cassidy, 2013). Its interpretation of the national history was accused for being gender biased. Most interesting, however, was the idea of Moser & Cassidy (2013) that it was easier to re-construct history based on male characters. Their well intended argument, however, seemed far from scientifically sound. Excluding characters based on pragmatic criteria was certainly an admissible argument for a work with mere aesthetic and entertaining goals, but not for the representation of history. If the difficulty in revealing personalities from the past would have been a criteria, Switzerland would still simply re-enact literary and mythological figures as Wilhelm Tell or Stauffacher, whose identity could not be empirically secured and who remained completely controversial from a scientific point of view (Maissen, 2013).

This led to a turn in the collection strategy for the further emergent sampling process, applying a critical approach to inquiry and searching actively for women; which to a great surprise, they were not so hidden as formerly affirmed. Especially older sources included women far more often and became the starting point for an enquiry (e.g. Henne, 1828; J. Müller, 1816).

At the end of the collection process, through this strategy a 26% of the population were female. In total 409 more persons had been included by emergent cohort sampling throughout



the research process. The full record was given in the Appendix F, and the complete data collected were made available as part of the software application Spindle (T. Hirzel, 2015).

***Third sample collection.*** The experience with the missing female voices in historiography led to the important insight that history writing was never neutral, which finally motivated the decision for a non-representation strategy. As for the sampling process, the question came up, how historiography in Switzerland had changed during the centuries and how this affected shifts in message and selection of characters in the stories told. For that purpose, historiographers were analyzed and they, as well as the characters used in their histories of Switzerland, were further included.

In this third collection phases 133 persons recognized as historiographers had been added to the population, 23 further historiographers were added through the later cohort sampling; 41% of them being female.

***Fourth sample collection.*** Problems with gender bias were currently discussed in historiography, especially concerning the definition of history writing itself. One of the tools to exclude women was the demarcation of historiography within the academic disciplines (Lucke, 2013; Tuchtenhagen, 2011, p. 41). Not always the lines were clear between a life writing, as biography, and the writing of a local, national or even world history, as historiography. For that reason, biographers were systematically analyzed. 9 male biographers could be recognize throughout the emergent sampling process. Especially since the Enlightenment, male biography writing was quite fashionable. No purposeful search for them had been done. Especially, persons participating in military campaigns used to keep record on the events. These kind of war reports were sometimes difficult to categorize in either group as biography or historiography. According to the insight from history of historiography, it was known that especially women preferred a

biographical style over the fashion of declaring their work the history of an event or a people (Kadar, 1992, pp. 31, 52). Most of them kept a house chronicle, a diary or even converted their life stories into novels and poems. For this reason, the complete lack of female biographers could not be considered representative; Marie-Anne Calame (1775-1834) was added later in the cohort sampling. Therefore, it was strategically searched for women, especially among critical historiography and within feminist writer. At the end of the research process, 19 women could be added to the male voices. The surprising high ratio of women, more than doubling men, should not lead to the wrong conclusion that there were more female than male biographers. The result was easily explained by the unique focus on women during this collection phases, and the association of most of the male writers to other categories.

*Final sample selection.* At the end of the sampling process 669 persons had been included to the population cohort. 26% of them, in concrete 138 persons, were women. Only adults could be considered through this selection process. Most of them had politically and historically relevant roles either as political activists, participants in military campaigns or revolutionary actions, as entrepreneurs, scientists and inventors, in teaching professions or as preachers. Some of them belonged to a group of women whose relevance for history and politics was not clear at first sight; as the typical partner of an “Arbeitspaar” [work partnership], novelists and artists or the salonists. Only a few of the population were women whose role was clearly that of a housewife, which nowadays would not be considered as relevant of the writing of a conventional national history.

Throughout the research process, once the methodology was decided and the method to be applied became more defined, it became clear, that there were no objective standards for the selection of the samples. This rather depended on the message one wanted to bring forward

by the history developed from their stories. In reality, a nation story was always created by all participants in the process, even those who considered themselves or were considered by others as outsiders. As such the population was completely open. Given that an analysis of the complete population was virtually impossible, any amount of population smaller than this total could be considered as a selection with a certain bias, filtered partially through the limitations of the researcher's consciousness and knowledge, and partially limited by the technological possibilities of this research. The only objective measurement concerning the population at this level, was that historiographical productions were distinguished from fiction by the fact that the former was based on persons whose existence was scientifically proved. Such evidence was either given by (a) their own human remains, the basis for forensic research, (b) their artefacts, for example household goods, clothes, or their own artistic or economic products, or (c) through the narrative tradition. Such traditions were recorded in songs and tales, but also through writings either engraved on any kind of material as stone, wood or put on papyrus, paper and in more recent times, digitalized format; further in here described as documents. Proofs (b) and (c) could only partially be considered scientific in the pure sense. The association of artefacts and documents to a person relied always on hermeneutics based on testimonies and comparative processes. In most cases, in historiography, only these documents and artefacts remained available. However, they also provided much deeper insight into a person's mind, especially if written by the person himself. What could not be provided by scientific evidence was a clear criterion on what kind of persons should be considered historically relevant. This research here assumed, that basically all persons somehow related to a society were relevant. The process of history writing was considered, here, as a specific form of social meaning construction, as distinct from other cultural practices; as for instance business interactions, or biological reproduction. Therefore, certain persons were

methodologically more relevant, namely those who had produced historically relevant resources, given that more insight from these persons could be expected than from others. The sample selection, thus, depended on the question which documents were considered relevant. In the methodological part, the relevant documents for the corpus, sample selection at level III, were already limited to autobiographical writings. The sampling process at level III would be explained in the next paragraph. At the end of the research process, 44 persons were selected at level II. For practical reasons, this number had to be further reduced. Ideally, eight persons would be selected in order to represent all of the eight Archetypes required for a Grand Argument Story as defined by Phillips & Huntley (2001). The selection criteria were in principle open. But in order to minimize bias, the following five criteria were considered, with the aim to get the most plural selection possible, reflecting different voices: gender, age, confession, social class, geographic origin, respectively, nationality. The following persons were finally selected (in order of their birth): Heinrich Weiss (1789-1848), Heinrich Escher (1789-1870), Katharina Morel (1790-1876), Meta Heusser-Schweizer (1797-1876), Constantin Siegwart-Müller (1801-1869), Bernhard Hirzel (1807-1847), Johann Caspar Bluntschli (1808-1881), Emma Herwegh (1817-1904). Later, during the manipulative process of the phase of data analysis, some were substituted for other persons.

Heinrich Escher and Johann Caspar Bluntschli were later excluded in order to substitute them with voices which would provide more diversity to the selection and a better comparability with other histories of Switzerland. It would have been interesting to include someone with a liberal Catholic view, or even a member of the Swiss Christian Catholic Church. Also some Catholics from the French speaking part were considered. Another option was to include one of the early Swiss fighters for women rights as for instance Julie May von Rued (1808-1875) or

Marie Goegg-Pouchoulin (1826-1899). Finally, this was not possible, because they either lacked a proper autobiography or there was not sufficient secondary literature available to sustain arguments for the hermeunitc analysis. Another consideration to be taken into account were the structural criteria for the analysis with Dramatica (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

Table 4.

*Final sample collection at level II, in order of birth.*

Sample	gender	age (born)	confession/political	social class	origin
Heinrich Escher	male	1789	Protestant, liberal	relative stable: (old) aristocracy, Society of the Rüden	Zürich city
Heinrich Weiss	male	1789	Protestant, liberal	relative social advance: teacher's son	Zürich land
Katharina Morel	female	1790	Catholic, traditional	relative social advance: from inn keeper	Luzern
Meta Heusser-Schweizer	female	1797	Protestant conservative, later Pietist	relative social decrease: (new) aristocratic, orig. shingle makers, Zimmerleuten guild, married to farmer's son	Zürich land
Constantin Siegwart-Müller	male	1801	Catholic, meanwhile liberal, later ultramontan	relative social advance: from glasworker family	Ticino, later Schwyz, Uri, Luzern, orig. German immigrant family
Bernhard Hirzel	male	1807	Potestant, later pantheist	relative social decrease: (old) aristocracy, impoverished	Zürich city
Johann Caspar Bluntschli	male	1808	Protestant, Freemason	relative stable: (new) artistocracy, orig. glasworker, later Meissen guild	Zürich city
Emma Herwegh	female	1817	Protestant, Jewish origin	relative social decrease: from wealthy merchant family, disinherited	Berlin, Prussia

Based on Dramatica's *Theory of Story*, eight characters and not only were six required to develop a full Grand Argument Story (K. E. M. Huntley, 2014). Therefore, two more characters were required. In order to make the story easier comparable with current historiography, Alfred Escher was newly included as one of the most emblematic representatives of economic liberalism or radicalism, currently made popular especially by industry-related popular writers (Fahrni, 1983; Jung, 2014; B. Koch & Jung, 2011; Kuoni, 1997; W. P. Schmid, 1988). As the voice of early socialism, Karl Bürkli was chosen. Since they had both not contributed with an

autobiography, it was not possible to analyse expression of an “existential frustration” duely. Given that their role was only a structural one, this was not an important issue. Instead of an analysis their representation in current historiography built the framework for their character development.

Table 5

*Final inclusion of purposeful samples at level II, in order of birth.*

Alfred Escher	male	1819	Protestant, later atheist, radical-liberal	relative variant: (old) aristocracy, Society of the Rüden	Zürich city
Karl Bürkli	male	1823	Protestant, later atheist, early socialist	relative social stable: tanner	Zürich city

**Level III: Relevant text.** There were observed three major focuses when doing historiography since it became an academic discipline. First, documents were collected which reported events, described places or people and organized those events and people geographically and chronologically. Two examples for this kind of representation of history in current historiography were the book of the Antiquarian Society of Pfäffikon (1989) and Vogelsanger’s history of the Imperial Abbey of Fraumünster (Vogelsanger, 1994). Another approach, was to chose either events, places or persons thematically, this was most typical for social history as for example Hauser’s monography about “eating and drinking in the old Zürich” (Hauser, 1973), Swiss chocolate (Franc, 2008), architecture (Diener, Herzog, Meili, Meuron, & Schmid, 2006), the transport systems (Balthasar, 1993; W. Wolf, 1992), or the mercenary services (Eyer, 2008). These approaches had in common that they rested on documents and principally answered questions of who did what, how and when. However, not always was the allocation of these documents and artefacts to persons, places and their order within a timeline evident. This required already an interpretation. Furthermore, in order to understand the meaning

of texts and artefacts, in order to answer the question why people did what they did, it required a hermeneutic inquiry (Galloway, Thacker, & Wark, 2013, p. 37; Yanchar, 2014).

This was the most important methodological challenge in the writing and analysis of a “history of Switzerland”, as discussed in Chapter 3 (p. 101). Critical hermeneutics tried to make this problem more transparent and set history intentionally in a context with the present. As a third possibility it described history along controversies. This was a typical approach in social history, for example about the definition of being an immigrant (Argast, 2007), or the becoming of the Swiss neutrality (Guggenbühl, 1957; Huch, 1892; Schweizer, 1895), or accounts on marginal groups like the Jews in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Switzerland (Süess, 2014), the Roma, Sinti and Jenische (Huonker, Ludi, Schweiz, & Weltkrieg, 2001), or also women (Gerhard, 1999; Wunder, 1992).

The most recent works on the history of Switzerland since the Comité pour une Nouvelle Histoire de la Suisse [Committee for a New History of Switzerland], under the direction Jean-Claude Favez, published its *Geschichte der Schweiz und der Schweizer* [History of Switzerland and the Swiss] as a continuation of its first publication in 1982 (Favez, 2006), almost every year a new version of this “history of Switzerland” was published; starting with Ulrich Im Hof (2007), Markus Jud (2010), Rita Schneider-Sliwa (2011), Volker Reinhardt (2011), Thomas Maissen (2012), and concluding with the most recent one by Georg Kreis (2014), meant to substitute the former one of the Comité pour une Nouvelle Histoire de la Suisse as a “standard work”. This research understood the constitution of society primarily as a result of the cooperative formation of a meaning context which occurred through a shared praxis. Historiography was not the only field in which such a formative process could be observed, but it was chosen as an especially obvious field. Therefore, the goal was not so much to revise an interpretation of history or to provide an alternative representation, but rather the question was how historical representation

related to the individual constitution of meaning and the emergence of an imagined “shared meaning”; the formation of a meaning context. In a first step, the contextuality of primary texts was analyzed; how the interpretation of documents and artefacts changed along different time periods according to the socio-political situation. This had a major influence on the criteria which defined if an author was sufficiently relevant in order to consider his or her text within a historiography. In a second step, it was analyzed what kind of documents should be considered historically relevant.

*Primary text in the context of Swiss historiography.* Tuchtenhagen (2011) suggested that in historiography an author’s representativity was measured according to his or her influence on contemporary and posterior historiography as well as the author’s reception in the general opinion building (Tuchtenhagen, 2011, p. 12).

As such, it could be said, that historiography was a “path dependent” discipline (Bennet & Elman, 2006; J. B. Davis, 2013). For this reason, in order to situate the texts of the population better, it was analyzed briefly which paths Swiss historiography had gone and where it had taken major turning points. Interests and concerns varied often significantly between the different Swiss cantons. Therefore, in order to make the enormous amount of the relative data manageable, the focus was confined to the personal interest of the samples at level II. Generalizations made should, therefore, be considered under this limitation. In the following, the chronological order, major changes and continuances were described.

Five major phases could be observed in the Swiss historiography; (1) the begin of a specific “national” historiography during the late Medieval chronicle tradition; (2) the beginning of the liberation myth and increasing confessionalization of history during the Reformation and Counter-reformation; (3) the positioning of local history in relation to other nations as so called



world history by Renaissance writers; (3) the Enlightenment search for universal dynamics in human history as history of civilizations; and (4) the expansion of the local history beyond the historical dimension into the universal of humanity as part of the Humanist movement in early Modernity.

*Medieval chronicles as models of leadership (10th – 15th Century).* In the case of Zurich, the first authentic local testimonies which were not coming from archeology, and written by locals, could be traced back to Hildegard the daughter of Louis II, also known as Louis the German. She was the grand-granddaughter of Charlemagne and the imperial abbess of the Fraumünster and the Freie Reichsstadt [Free imperial city Latin: *urbs imperialis libera*] Zürich (Vogelsanger, 1994). As in the rest of Medieval Europe, also in Zürich mostly oral kingly chronicles and mythological stories reflect the general style of history writing (Rosenthal, 2014). Important sources for the first written records relating to Zürich went back to the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Astronomus, 1995). Local governors and state writers documented important events in loose collections and in the style of classical panegoric (e.g. Beer, 2014, pp. 6, 51; Reese-Schäfer, 2012). The first intents of history writing started in form of chronicles, which became a distinct literary genre (M. Koch, 2013, p. 260).

*Reformation and Counter-reformation (15th – 16th Century).* In 1460, the first University of Switzerland was established in Basel and would soon later become a centre for humanist thought. It was also the first time an educational institution was used as part of the strategical “development and change of state policies and institutions” in Switzerland (Peyer, 1985). Along with it, a new form of history writing was developed by the reformers and counter-reformers between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. Illustrative was the development from Zwingli’s rather theological interpretations (Gäbler, 1986, pp. 1–4; Potter, 1984; Zwingli, 1999, pp. 35, 50),

towards an increasing political interest recognized, later in Heinrich Bullinger (Bullinger, Hottinger, & Vögeli, 1838; Fast, 1959; W. Schmid, 1960). Those interests were directed especially against the Anabaptist who rejected civil government (Goertz, 2013, pp. 30, 52; Meijer, 2011). Among the Catholics, also Aegidius Tschudi used history writing as political tool (1505-1575) (Tschudi & Iselin, 1734, 1736; Vogel & Tschudi, 1856). Innovative in his work was the recognition of a relation between geography and historical events, which added a spatial dimension to the chronicle genre (Tschudi & Gallati, 1767).

Gerold Edlibach (1454-1530), in turn, was probably one of the first to link biography and historiography, making the narrative more personal in style (Edlibach, 2014; Christian Moser, 2012, p. 170).

*Renaissance writings defining the State (17th Century).* Through the reformation, the idea of the Swiss Confederation as a state (Gesamtstaat) and divine union had settled questions of sovereignty in Switzerland and remained fairly unchallenged until the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Domeisen, 1978, p. 27). With the rise of the European empires, historiography became increasingly political (Tuchtenhagen, 2011, p. 15). Inspired by the debates between Bodin (1529/30-1596) and Pufendorf (1632-1694), the Swiss political system was conceived increasingly as suspicious or unefficient (Domeisen, 1978, p. 29; Krogh, 2015; on the true complexity of the issue see: Miiller, 2007, p. 42; Seidler, 2007). As a defensive reaction, the European idea of stability was countered with the liberation topos and an the idealization of the warrior tradition, firstly by Josias Simmler (1530-1576), and further developed with the integration of a downright virtue ethics by Johann Heinrich Schweizer (Stadler, 1958).

*Enlightment's "Universal history" of civilizations (18th Century).* During the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, in the European context, the historiographic ideas of the Continental writers Jacques

Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) and Voltaire (1694-1778) were complemented by the Scottish Enlightenment, namely the philosophers David Hume (\*1711, †1777), William Robertson (\*1721, †1793) and Adam Ferguson (\*1723, †1818), introducing empiricism, behaviourism and early sociology as new approaches to historiography and, according Tuchtenhagen (2011), motivated a shift towards a systemic orientation in historiography (p. 43).

In Switzerland, Albrecht von Haller (1708-1777) opposed Voltairs atheism, and developed a universal history which was able to reconcile religious faith with the belief in natural science and the idea of progress (Bloesch, 2013). By this he also solved the problem of “universal teleology” as required for a “universal history” (Tuchtenhagen, 2011, p. 9). Besides Haller and Linné, had especially Buffon’s (2014) “natural history”, published from 1746 to 1788, had an impact on Swiss historiography (Bancel, David, & Thomas, 2014, p. 23; M. Hall, 2014; Larangé, 2012; W. A. Müller, 2015). Buffon (2014) included in this work developments in nature into his universal history of mankind. His explanations on the origins of the mountains would become an important influence also on Johann Wolfgang Goethe’s description of the Alps during his voyage through Switzerland (Ruf, 2013).

In parallel, with the the abiguous perception of Roussau in relation to education and sentiment, among Swiss historians, the status of femal writers within the academic body became gradually unclear (Ellingson, 2001, pp. 35, 82; Hoffman, 2012, p. 75). Paradoxically, besides Rousseau’s obvious “antifeminism”, his theory became an interesting tool for political subversion; especially in gender politics (J. Miller, 1984, p. 1; P. A. Weiss, 1987). This challenged the academics wich led finally to intents of defining historiography as a discipline; for instance by Mallet’s differentiation of three types of historiographical methods (Tuchtenhagen, 2011, p. 41).

Methodologies during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Switzerland often developed in parallel (Tuchtenhagen, 2011, p. 19). A further significant introduction was Schlözer's (1772) idea of revolutions as motor for historical development (Tuchtenhagen, 2011, p. 20).

*Modernity: Biography, travelogues and cultural history (19th Century)*. Tuchtenhagen (2011) named Herder, Dahlmann and Rüh as significant representants in (German) historiography during early Modernity (p. 44). Most important in their writings was the idea of an “evolutionary time continuum“(p. 9). Further, it could be observed how they shaped their history purposefully towards the “national”.

In Switzerland, a proper historiography of the Eidgenossenschaft developed practically into a branch of its own with authors as Voeglin (1825), J. von Müller (1825), Melchior Schuler (1851), J.J. Christen (*Helvetia*, 1830).

Swiss history was further chronologically extended into the megalithic through Ferdinand Keller's Pfahlbauer theory by (F. Keller, 1854, 1858, 1860, 1861, 1863, 1866, 1876, 1879). This time, the motivation was less of religious nature than part of a scientific speculation which would gradually introduce also other disciplines as, for example, archeology and architecture into historiography (F. Keller, 1838, 1841, 1844, on architecture: 1874).

Since 1749, the chronical tradition found its revival in the *Schweizer Monatchronik* (1828) edited by Johann Jakob Hottinger who also published together with Heinrich Escher, the *Archiv für Schweizer Geschichte und Landeskunde* [Archive for Swiss History and Regional Studies] in 3 volumes (1827 - 1829) (1827-29). Among others, medieval chronicles like the one of Tschachtlan (1820), and the one of Fründ (1875) in Chur were recovered. During this time, also the writing of house chronicles (Hauschronik) became fashionable and builded a link between biographies and historiography (G. Wolf, 2002).

German historiographers, prominently Oswald Spengler (1880 -1936), searched for a “universal structure” in the history of “cultural philosophy” (Tuchtenhagen, 2011, p. 9). This led often to contradictions and conflicts between confessional and political motives, as in the case of Heinrich von Sybel and Julius Ficker (1829-1902) (Metzger, 2011, p. 173). Further, ideas of the universal of Germaness (Deutschtum) and Catholicism led to an ultramonitanisation. Examples for this were Onno Klopp (1822-1903), Johannes Janssen (1829-1891) or Ludwig Pastor (1854-1929). At the same time, Treitschke held a speech on *Luther und die deutsche Nation* [Luther and the German Nation] in 1883 which would rise large critics, later known as the Treitschke-Baumgarten controversy, in which also the Swiss historiographer Alfred Stern was involved opposing Treitschke’s (1928) the nationalistic view on history (Schmitz, 2008).

Swiss historiographers developed meanwhile their own theory on history and many of them formed the main or even sole sources on diverse biographical writings, until today; namely the works of Gerold Meyer von Knonau (1843-1931). According Metzger (2011), Leonhard von Muralt described in his thesis of as the „history of initialisation“ (Initialisierungshistorie) the development from history of Reformation towards the Republican tradition. Further, Georg von Wyss (1816-1893) laid the foundations for a history of historiography (p. 175).

During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, also the formerly negative perception of Voltair among the Jews changed significantly; as documented in the statement of the Polish polititian Zalkind Hourwitz (Malino, 1996; Schmitz, 2008). Yet, towards the end of the Century the influence of Voltaire would newly serve writers like Karl Eugen Dühring (1833-1921) to develop his antisemitic theory under the concept of the “Judenfrage” [the Jewis question] (Dühring, 1901, p. 116).

Towards the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century the University of Zürich would be one of the few in Europe which accepted women and was known for its distinguished spirit in comparison

to other universities; where academic quality was sometimes confused with a certain expression of masculinity (Koop, 2009, p. 45). This inspired Hildegard Wegscheider-Ziegler (1871-1953) to establish her girls schools, using gender-oriented education in order to create a private „protected space“ and teach young ladies a „European spirit“. Another female Swiss historiographer, Riccarda Huch (1864-1947), was also one of the first who critically analyzed former taboos as, for example, the history of Swiss neutrality, the Huguenote wars and wrote a critical appreciation of Jeremias Gotthelf’s work (Guggenbühl, 1957; Huch, 1892). In her literary works the tension between naturalism and transcendantalism became evident (Mumbauer, 2013, p. 270).

The liberal revolutions during the 19th Century revived also controversies about the function of revolutions in relation to history. On the one side, Heinrich Zschokke (1771-1848) interpreted the drama of the Helvetic revolution as a “[...] hell that had become paradies [...]”, as described by Hentschel (2002, p. 230). On the other side continued the idea of Johannes von Müller (1752–1809) that honourfully losing a battle was an expression of fair play and submission to God (P. Keller, 2012). Independently from their political position, both expressed a growing consensus in which they fully abandoned the development of heroic figures in favour of a general mystification of an ethics of the simple and anonymous people.

Writing formed an essential part of 19<sup>th</sup> century culture in Europe and since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, political autobiographies had developed towards “a distinct [...] polymorphous genre”, since the medieval “res gestae,” and became a unique tool for women writer’s defending the rights of oppressed and/or marginal groups; including their own gender (Egerton, 1992; Hamilton, 2014, pp. 232–233; Lyons, 2012, pp. 1–2).

*20th Century’s historiography as normative writings.* 20<sup>th</sup>. Century historiography was written under the shadow of the two Great Wars and a resulted in a new understanding of

genocide gained through the Holocaust. Its primary focus laid, on one side, on the reconstruction of the post-war societies and, on the other side, on the formation of a new world order dominated by the hegemony of the United States. Three new topics besides social justice, gender issues and the ongoing secularization, already describe before, became relevant for historiography during this period: (1) the controversy on “cultural relativity” in relation to ethics (Christians, 2011; Eriksen, 2001); (2) the nuclear threat especially in relation to the cold War propaganda (Grant, 2010; Oakes, 1994; Soutou, 2014); and (3) the idea of the environment as a resource and related to the concept of “sustainability” (McNeill, 2011). Metzger (2011) also claimed this the beginning of a growing discrimination of the race in the culturisation of the historical discourse, i.e. racism (p. 171). Further, Tuchtenhagen (2011) mentioned the development of German Geopolitics and geopolitics in the modern sense by historiographers like Ratzel (1975) and Haushofer (1934), as well as the development of the *Kulturkreislehre* by Graebner (1924) and others.

In Switzerland, national history writing was marked by a search for restoration of the Catholic identity in Swiss historiography and parallel discussions about the threats to national integrity (Metzger, 2011, pp. 173–175). Domeisen’s (1978) comparison of covenantal theology in Switzerland reaffirmed the idea of a Swiss Confederation as a state (“*Gesamtstaat*”) and simultaneously a divine union which had existed already earlier independent from factual differences (p. 27). Hermeneutic difficulties became a major issue (Feller & Bonjour, 1979). Especially the University of Basel (2010) had to be mentioned, here. There, Edgar Bonjour, shaped the concept of the Swiss “*Sonderposition*”, following the general trend to localize democratic values as existing in the Confederation long before the Enlightenment, as Kreis (1976) remarked. Werner Kaegi (1942) defined Switzerland as a “*Kleinstaat*”, Karl Meyer

(1927) developed a thesis of a 13th Century's conspiracy against foreign forces, Adolf Gasser (1947) worked on the meaning of cooperativism ("Genossenschaftlichkeit") in Swiss politics, Ernst Gagliardi (1938) resumed Swiss history in three volumes as a kind of standard work in historiography while Werner Möckli (1973) criticized the lack of a theory of democracy and the custom to recourse on legends about an ancient past as exemplified in the idea of an original Switzerland; the "Urschweiz" (Universität Basel, 2010).

Outside the University of Basel, the search for demythification of the national history went on (Peyer, 1985; Stettler, 2004; Wessendorf, 1962).

A turn during the 20<sup>th</sup> century was marked by Paul König who wrote a historiography oriented toward the general public, giving voice to a large number of historiographers of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century and including legal scholars and politicians dedicated to history writing (König, 1966; Stucki, 1976). This was the beginning of a democratization of historiography and a return to political historiography based on concrete experiences of the larger population (König, 1960).

The Swiss authors never develop a proper Swiss geopolitics as Germans did, but rather tried to set the country within the context of a world history (e.g. Fueter, 1921, 1928).

*Current Swiss historiography.* The current historiographical discourse, as expected, reflected largely the current issues discussed in the media as described in the Paragraph *Questions from empirical data* (p. 130).

In the current discourse, historiographers directly influenced political life and openly linked their assumingly scientific agenda to political programmes. Exemplary were Sarasin's (2003), Stadler's (1991) and Weber's (2014) efforts to disentangle the distorsive relation between economic interests and institutionalized historiography. An important open discourse was the one between Thomas Maissen of the German Historical Institut in Paris, expert in



Modern Swiss history, who defended the European integration of Switzerland and centralization of the state administration (Hafner, 2010; Maissen, 2011). In turn, Barbara Weinmann (2002), at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in Berlin, defended the republican and direct-democratic character of the Swiss nation. A further tendency in recent research was the complete secularization of covenantal motives and political soteriology in Swiss historiography by Volker Reinhardt's (2011) structural approach, and Jonathan Steinberg's (1996) organizational theory. This trend was further enforced by the deconstruction of "liberation myths" and theories of "consensus" by Sébastien Guex and Piere Felder (in: Guex & Schnyder Burghartz, 2001a, 2001b). The aim was not to abandon but to redefine such concepts in order to explain them better. Thus, Felder, in Guex and Schnyder Burghartz (2001b), defined the Swiss as a "system of mutually supportive weaknesses", an idea which was reproduced also outside of the country by Thomas Maissen and Marc Lerner at Columbia University (Holenstein, Maissen, & Prak, 2008; Lerner, 2011). The informal character of the system and the "alliance tradition" became important arguments for the ethical continuity in Swiss historiography (Guex & Schnyder Burghartz, 2001b, p. 154; Kord, 1996; Mörke, 2008, p. 130). At the same time, the importance of female voices returned in current historiography (Jikhareva, 2013; Christof Moser & Cassidy, 2013).

Controversies about the programmatic and propagandistic forces of historiography were also reflected by Franziska Metzger, who reviewed mechanisms of exclusion in the process of culturisation of the discourse (Metzger, 2003, p. 165, 2010, pp. 171–172, see also 2011). A new trend was also the introduction of psychoanalysis and psychological theories in recent historiography as explained by Mario Andreotti and Martin Kunz (2013). Most interesting was the impact new media had on historiography. On the one side, it seemed to bring old-fashioned

panegyric and myth creation back, possibly of a misunderstood relation between historical narrative and commercial action films (Weck, 2013). Such stories revived the teleological need of an orientation towards a climax, as described by Keller (2012); in the present interpreted as the ideal form of a democratic state. On the other side historiography entered the digital era in which the Semantic Web became equally a resource and an object of historiography (Brügger, 2012; de Boer et al., 2013).

*Primary text genre, form and style.* According Rosenthal, “[p]rimary sources [were] the foundation on which any examination of the past must rest” (Rosenthal, 2014 Introduction). The focus of this research was limited to autobiographical writings; see Chapter 3 in the Introduction (p. 97 ff.). This required, firstly, a definition of autobiographical writing. The samples at level III were selected along six criteria: (1) a mode of self-expression; (2) a narrative structure as Grand Argument Story; (3) the inclusion of some sort of propaganda; (4) self-referentiality; (5) limitation to the German language; (6) and defined as autobiography according to the current standards in library and archive sciences as defined by the Library of Congress (LC, 2015; Newman, 2014, p. xi).

*Modes of production.* In Swiss historiography there could be observed an important discrepancy could be observed between the political, emphasizing the transcendent meaning of Swiss sovereignty as a “covenant”, and the influence of Western philosophy of literature, as “[...] based on a hierarchy of the created world which extended from God to man [...]” (Gilbert & Gubar, 2007, p. 6). Thus, under discourse analytical considerations, Swiss historiography included an internal conflict between divergent cosmologies or ontologies which explained transcendence and conceptions of time, as explained by Sellers (2007, p. 8). In part, such divergences rooted in the variety in “mode[s] of production”, meaning that a narrative was not

necessarily limited to written texts in a predefined format ( Sellers, 2007, p. 19; see also Pindell & Sims, 1997; Salomon, Tillich, & Straus, 1963). Resulting discrepancies were caused by an inconsistent translation into a semantic coding along different media. To avoid such controversies this research was limited to written narratives; considered as the most extended expression of the Self in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Switzerland.

*Story structure.* Fivush, Habermas, Waters and Zaman (2011) assumed that depending on the mind's structure also autobiographies required to reveal a certain structure in order to be conceived as such. The idea that autobiographies demanded "temporal", "causal" and "thematic coherence", in the sense Habermas and Bluck (2000) understood it was challenged by Sellers (2007) as rather eurocentrically biased (pp. 8-9). Their "cultural concept of biography", further considered to be a necessary characteristic in order to define a biography's structural coherence, was especially interesting because, it elicited the idea that the relation between a cultural canon and the structure of a biography could reveal something about an author's relation to that culture, as observed by McAdams (2006; see also Baerger & McAdams, 1999). All together, this controversy on structure seemed not to provide clear criteria for the autobiography. Therefore, this research relied on the concept of the universal Story Mind as developed by Phillips and Huntley (2001). According to their theory, temporal, causal and thematic issues belonged to a story's structure and were organized in an internally coherent way, based on universal rules, from which "meaning" emerged, independent from the cultural background (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2007). What was culturally dependent, were purposeful manipulations by the author which broke that structure. Such manipulation, defined as Propaganda was objectively recognizable but could not fully be explained without understanding the cultural context. Following Phillips and Huntley (2001), a story could be defined as complete, where it

represented in its structure all perspectives; the subjective of the author, the reception by the audience, the relationship between both and an objective one (pp. 101 ff.). Such a narrative was defined as Grand Argument Story. Further, autobiographies were distinct from other narratives since they were self-referential in character. An author described own experiences which were ongoing during the writing process and objectified himself by this.

*Language.* For reasons of convenience, this research had to be limited to sources written in German language, leaving aside the characteristic multilinguality of the Swiss population. Eventhough, the specific relevance of this fact could be interesting for future research, in order to explore the general dynamics in social constituency, linguistic aspects were considered neglectable.

*Documents.* Based on the cohort sampling of population level II, in a similar way, documents related to these samples were collected in a cohort sampling at sample level III. A total of 539 documents of more then 96 individual persons were statistically analyzed according to their genre and the date of publication (see Appendix I). Three main categories were distinguished; primary, secondary and authentic sources. The sources were already limited to written text, as defined above. Primary sources were distinct from secondary sources according to the current standards in library and archive sciences as defined by the Library of Congress (LC, 2015; Newman, 2014, p. xi).

From this, primary sources where further splitted in two categories; primary documents, as such and *authentics* documents; which referred to all kind of documents that had been authored by one of the persons who form a character within the the text. This was the kind of text that could be considered life writing in the narrow sense included hand scripts, letters, speeches and proper autobiographies and distinguishe from autobiographical fiction. The main criteria for

inclusion was that the content of the document tried to represent a truth about the author (for further discussion see: Kadar, 1992). The documents were then catalogued along 19 genres. These categories were only loosely linked to standards in literary criticism (Bhatia, 2014). The main purpose was to detect biographical and especially autobiographical writings which were assumed to provide a minimal structure that would allow to define them as a Grand Argument Story (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). The distinction between primary and secondary sources was not always as clear as its definition suggested. For example, the question arose if cases should still be considered “firsthand” when contemporaries commented on events they had not directly experienced. Further, once the “time under study” was defined, the status of documents created after that time period could be ambiguous, for instance when the author had experienced the events during the time period but comment them later. For reasons of prudence, documents were included into the category of *primary* sources generously, in order to avoid any unintended omission of possible valuable voices. Thus, from the total of 539 documents, 195 were excluded as *secondary* sources. In total for 44 persons documents were found which belonged to both categories, *authentic* and *biography*; a total of 61 autobiographical writings. Three of them had been written anonymously and the author could not be identified. 9 of the authors had even written more than one autobiographical document. Given that only these 44 persons complied with the technical minimal criteria for a further structural and hermeneutical analysis, they formed the specific population from which the final samples were selected as described in the section Level II: Relevant Participants. Sample selection (p. 177).

### **Details of Analysis and Results**

In the first part of this chapter, the Demographic Statistics (p. 168), the elements of the game-design for the “design-based” approach had been defined. In this section the process of

interaction through which social constituency could be re-enacted were analysed and described. The overall goal of this game was to develop a nation's story which included a "vision of the future" (Makinde, 1990, p. 120). In a first step, the participants of the game and the story characters had to be chosen. In a second step, the possible ways of interaction had to be described. And in a third step, the measurements for constitutional dynamics had to be explained.

**Participation.** The selected characters and their texts had been analysed individually. For this the biographical background of text authors (sample level II) had been reviewed (see translation of short biographies in Appendix J). The self expression of the authors had been analyzed in their autobiographical texts and coded with three different approaches, as described in Chapter 3 (p. 97); *invivo coding*; (2) hermeneutic coding; and (3) dramaturgical coding.

***Invivo coding.*** The semantic structure of the texts revealed two important aspects of the stories. One was that the frequency of events named shifted with the personal experience. As could be expected in personal biographies, those events played a mayor role which coincided with personal development. Surprisingly, these events could not be allocated in general terms to a specific stage of life, nor could specific events be defined as exceptionally influential on all persons who experienced them. For two persons the Mediation period related to the Swiss occupation by Napeoleon was most significant; Katharina Morel and Meta Heusser-Schweizer. Four samples, namely Heinrich Weiss, Constantin Siegwart-Müller, Bernhard Hirzel and Alfred Escher, were majorly concerned with the successes around the Sonderbund war. Finally, for further two persons, Emma Herwegh and Karl Bürkli, considered the constitutional revision as most relevant.

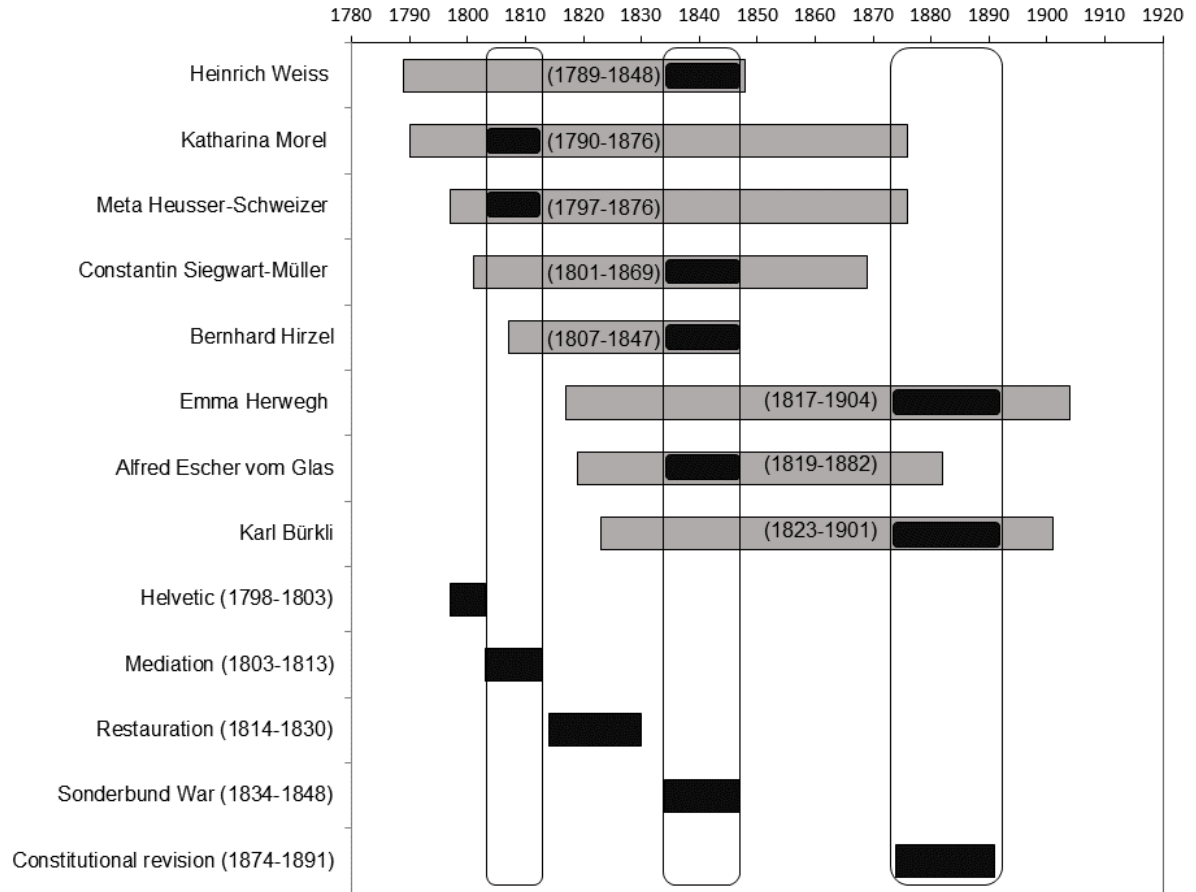


Figure 4. Comparison of individual time span and most relevant events at sample level II, in order of birth, with historical periods of sample level I.

**Hermeneutic coding.** A comparison between the different coding approaches revealed that Goffmanian (2011) “footing”, Franklian (2014) “existential frustration” and Phillip and Huntley’s (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2014) “audience appreciation” were interdependent variable. Given that “face-work” was foremost done when a discrepancy between the Self and its ideal or an Other was perceived, it clearly related to a communicative strategy to overcome the “tragic triad” (Lukacs, 2010; Pottmann-Knapp, 2007; Wine, 2008). It was assumed that Meta Heusser-Schweizer and Constantin Siegwart-Müller had successfully overcome “suffering” as personal tragedy. Both used with frequency “modesty” and “exemplification” for their

impression management (for terminology see: Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007, pp. 486-487; Lukas, 1997b). Katharina Morel and Emma Herwegh seemed to have struggled especially with “death”, but with very different approaches. The former created a master piece of “self-enhancement”, whereas the latter searched for “justification” of her acts. Heinrich Weiss and Bernhard Hirzel directly addressed an issue with “guilt” in their writings. Both used a series of justifications and tactics to persuade the reader’s understanding. But a key difference was that the overall tone of Weiss’ report was giving “accounts” whereas Hirzel tried to “self-handicap” himself. It was therefore consistent with the theoretical assumptions of this research, that Weiss’ (1839) could leap the “noetic gap”, foremost through the partial restoration of what he considered his faults during the last part of his life. Further a certain adherence of “meaning” converting his participation in the Zürichputsch into a kind of lesson learnt which apparently would avoid major failures during the Sonderbund war, could be observed in his text, even though, this was not expressively written down. Hirzel (1839) used not only a strategy to avoid responsibilities by his “self-handicapping” but also by the projection of a felt “guilt” on his role during the Zürichputsch (in: Aerne, 1994). Even though both men were leaders in this key event for the later 1847 revolution, and wrote a justification for their act, Hirzel seemed much more bothered with what he considered an excessive concern with material issues by people around him, than really with the negative consequences his actions might have had on others. Finally, his struggle failed and ended in the material destruction of himself; suicide. Further, there were Alfred Escher and Karl Bürkli whose analysis had to be limited on secondary resources and a few letters. Insufficient for hermeneutic conclusions, their existential struggles had to be induced. Escher showed an extreme drivenness in his actions which claimed for a form of “guilt” possibly caused by early traumatic experiences. This could be found in the relationship with his parents, the extreme negative image



of his father, or the early loss of his beloved wife. From the letters, this could not be made clear. His preferred “face-work” was “self-enhancement” which he led almost to a cult. A rather inappropriate strategy to overcome “guilt”, especially when causing real damages to people. This might be understood as an indicator that “guilt” was a wrong evaluation of his motivation, or that he was fairly unconscious about himself. He literally worked himself to death, which tended to confirm the latter. Bürkli’s tragic element seemed to have been “suffering” which he tried to redeem by an unconditional love for others, especially the less favored social classes. The ascription of “other-enhancement” was rather based on his acts than his texts. Even though, he seemed a self-conscious man who wrote several texts with reflective and didactic content, they could not be found for their further indepth study (see e.g. Schiedt, 2002).

***Dramaturgical coding.*** From the perspective of Dramatica’s theory of Story, Weiss and Herwegh presented a story structure with an “audience appreciation” that suggested the story “nature” to be an actual work (see Appendix K for Storyweaving analysis). This meant, that they had to remain steadfast in their being under challenging circumstances and were successful with it. Weiss’s (1839) approached his problems foremost by Do-ing, whereas Herwegh achieved her goals through her persistence in her playful and optimistic Be-ing (Freund, 2004; Herwegh, 1849; Krausnick, 1998, 2013). The other four characters analyzed dealt all with a dilemma, i.e. a change in the way they resolved problems. Siegwart-Müller (1866) and Hirzel’s stories presented both the experience with a misinterpretation of reality (in: Aerne, 1994). Their change was a failure, according to their own conclusions. However, whereas Hirzel simply gave up, Siegwart-Müller redefined it as a form of grace which led him to a kind of quixotesque illumination towards the end of his life. Morel and Heusser-Schweizer described both how a change in their “resolve” led to success. Morel (1853) was assumed to have been able to win “death” when she

learnt to transcend her material struggle for sovereignty. Heusser-Schweizer offered the opposite lesson, to embrace life by becoming visible, even knowing that the true meaning was always a “hidden one” (in: Muff, 1998).

In the story production, the interdependence of the dramatic elements with the hermeneutic was key. Unlike creative writing, in historiography, characters could not be simply modified according to the needs of the dramatic argument. There was an empirical bottomline. Eventhough, hermeneutics was not a precise science in mathematical sense, the possibilities of interpretation were limited to the texts in primary sources and, according Dramatica, resulting in a high degree of objective measurements. Therefore, story characters had to be selected conveniently from the population at level II. As a result, Morel was chosen as the Main character, supported by Herwegh as the Sidekick and opposed by Siewart-Müller as Antagonist. Bürkli was the Reason character and opposed by the Emotion Hirzel. Escher, as the Contagonist, hindered the successful outcome of the story, whereas Weiss played the role of the Guardian who watch for the right outcome. Based on the empirical data this distribution was arbitrary. But as could be learnt from Dramatica theory, structure and meaning were interdependent. Thus, according to the chosen structure the meaning changed. The character selection was part of it, since logical order of the characters in the story defined the thematic encoding of the Throughlines, the perspectives, and the dynamic Storypoints. At this point, the coding part of the research and the production directly overlapped.

**Interaction.** The full re-enactment of social constituency would have required the development of a collaborative narrative in a social group as a kind of Wengerian “community of practice (CoP)” (Wenger, 1998; É. Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014). This was beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it was possible to observe and partially enact learning

situations. This was possible, because the primary sources for this research did not only represent meaning as artefacts of past interactions. In fact, in a certain way, texts themselves could be considered as an open discourse of already deceased persons. And even though these persons were no longer able to answer, their arguments incoded in the stories had still the power to manipulate the Story Reception of current readers in a kind of one directional communication. It was assumed that Propaganda was a Storytelling technique which allowed purposefully to manipulate the reader's mind (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). Unlike other genres, autobiographical writings were written for a very divergent audience including three options and all possible combinations between them. For instance, they could be redacted for one's own delight, abstracting the Self as Other; as suggested in the case of Katharina Morel. Another possibility was to address either concrete "fellows" or the abstract community of "contemporaries". A third possibility was to direct a writing implicitly or even explicitly to the future generations, as Heinrich Weiss did. As could be learnt from Goffman, by defining their own role within the historical "context", they implicitly also defined the social "context" (Goffman, 1964, 2005a; Rettie, 2004). Thus, an autobiographical writing was simultaneously also a Grand Argument Story of the nation or the group. When twisting this statement, it was no longer surprising why in all analyzed stories Propaganda devices were discovered; it included a twofold purpose. On the one hand, a biography could serve as a subversive tool to influence contemporaries on their political decisions. On the other hand, it was constitutional for the author's identity which could either help to overcome difficult ethical issues, as a form of autodidactic, or it shaped the perception of the author's role, almost immortalizing him for the reader. Propaganda was therefore not only a political tool, but foremost a way to transcend a persons liberty. The uniqueness of an author's message and the way in which she encoded it met

with the Audience Reption, unique to each reader in her own context and creating a unique moment of “encounter”. This was also reflected in the divergences of the sequential order in Storytelling (see Appendix L).

**Encounter.** This research defined “encounter” as an irreversible and transcendent event in which two of the four points of the tetralemma met in either of three different forms of “encounter”, following Schutz’ (1967) framework: (1) *intrapersonal* “encounter” between a concrete Self with an ideal; (2) *interpersonal* “encounter” of a Self with an Other, always presenced simultaneously as concret and ideal; and (3) *universal* “encounter” between a Self with the concrete world. The *intrapersonal* “encounter” was foremost explored in the hermeneutic analysis; uncovering the indiviual’s “noetic tension”. *Interpersonal* “encounter” was the one most generally recognized in conventional historiography; not only as personal opposition between “fellows”, but also indirectly by signs of mutual manipulation through propaganda effects in writings. Universalization, however, was conventionally searched in general rules of human development or symbolic interaction; generalized as “ideal type”. From this could be concluded that it represented an “encounter” between an author, or a group of authors, and a transcending ideal such as theories of sovereignty, class struggle, liberalism and so forth. As the production process of the national story should reveal, this seemed to be misleading. Under a more dramaturgical perspective, the story was an encoded message of the author and as such could not stay in contradiction with the author, it could only be conceived by the audience as contradictory. Such contradictions could be caused either by the author’s intrapersonal conflicts, or by her failed intent, in persuading the audience to accept her argument. If the story was a tool to transmit an argument, the question remaind what kind of argument it was. The ideal of a society was represented in the account of a nation in first place to defend one’s own position and

role, one's own identity within this nation as a mean for self-transcendence. Thus, what met with a current and concrete audience was not anymore a concrete person but this part of the person which was undestructable, the person's message transcending the universal mind. Propaganda had a double effect on the audience. It was through those wholes in the story that a person was recognized as such. If those wholes were not perceived as arbitrary but addressing the audience, based on the universal of the storymind, such meaningful breaking of the rules revealed the author as a mindful being; a person, distinct from an automaton. Further, if the audience was successfully convinced of a story's message, they would perpetuate it by reproducing it in future stories. The tradition of covenant stories appeared to be special, for two reasons. Firstly, it transmitted not only the identity of a concrete person through the description of a concrete nation, it foremost communicated a universal knowledge of the intimate relation between personal existences with the a priori of liberty; the covenant.

### **Summary of Results**

The last part of the research process was the productive re-enactment. In concrete, it should be intended to write a nation story based on empirical data which encoded the message of the "tragic optimism" of a transcendental covenant.

**Character choices.** The *intrapersonal* "encounters" investigated through the hermeneutic analysis formed the objective building blocks for this last creative writing process. Even though hermeneutics was open to revision, the data was there unchangeable, thus future researcher would start from the same ground. The *interpersonal* "encounter" however formed already part of the story production; more specifically the encoding. Even though physical meetings could factually be anchored, they represented neither the full truth of human interaction, given that indirect influences, for example through media, were not visible, nor could

all such “encounters” be represented in a single story; due to the sheer amount of them. Thus, a selection of “encounters” had to be made, starting with the limitation of the characters to the structural set of eight major characters; the Archetypes. Further characters were included as secondary, and it was also thinkable to create a nation story with complex characters. However, given that the dynamics of complex characters were still not very well known within Dramatica, this possibility was ignored in here. A part from that, the chosen samples at level II, were characterized without difficulties into Archetypes. However, it was rather difficult to decide who of them would become the Main Character and who the Impact Character. The final selection was done according to the requirements for encoding the story’s message.

*Story encoding.* Due to the interdependence between “meaning” and Story Structure in Dramatica, it was expected that the Story Structure also reflected the essential message of the Story (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 228). This included the analyst’s evaluation of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in Switzerland as a development with a positive Feel, created by the combination of a Main Character Growth defined as “start” and a story Judgment defined as “good” (see Appendix P). However, this Feel was caused by the solution of the story’s Actual Dilemma, created through a Main Character’s Resolve as “change” and the story Outcome as “success”. Further, as a Be-er, the Main Character of the story was quite willing to change, given that the Overall Throughline was in the Action Domain. It was assumed that such a combination created a certain resistance in the audience to follow the argument. In here, it was used as a device to create a Tendency which could reflect the dilemma of “tragic optimism”, as something that finally turned out well, but was somehow counter-intuitive or unlogical. As such the Story’s Tendency contrasted with the overall optimism in the Feel of the story and the “positive” Essence of the main argument. This hindering element, in the Tendency, was further chosen in

order to emphasize the problematic in the ethical orientation of the character's "attitude" (see Badhwar, 2014; Frankl, 2004). A rather negative Fell would have created such effect in the emotional dimension of the conflict, and this was not desired. In other words, since the problem had to be solved internally, through an ethical decision, but materialized in the external progress of a nation, starting with Doing, the primary impulse of the reader was to desire some action been taken. The Learning in the story, which led finally to Understanding was that the approach as a Be-er was wrong, when it came to action as a transcendental problem. Therefore, the Main character had to "change". The character had to learn that transcendence required an engagement with the world despite knowing that all engagement was ephemeral. The storyweaving was then based on the analyzed Overall Story Throughline of the character's autobiographical writing. The selection of the Main character was not straight forward, because none of the autobiographical accounts fitted exactly into the framework of the targeted story. There was a certain challenge in expressing the unique message of the research author in terms of the meaning expressed by past persons without falsifying their self-reported identity. Nevertheless, it was possible through the combination of the different characters within the story.

*Character dynamics.* Character choices seemed to affect especially three aspects; (1) the Feel of the Audience appreciation; (2) the general ethical content of the message; (3) and the symbolic encoding of the story. Escher and Bürkli were no good candidates for the Main or Impact characters; due to the missing hermeneutic analysis. This was not in first place a problem of scientific validity, but of the confidence in the story's persuasive effect. When using one of them as the main transmitter of the message, given that the Main character represented the author's view in a story, the lack of empirical grounding in characterization of their personal identity and motives would be easily taken to create a counter argument, defeating any intent of

persuasion. Dealing with this problem, it could be experienced that empirical knowledge was not only a bottomline to the arbitrary process of creative writing. Facts were foremost a necessary in order to support the Propaganda effect. An example for such a failed intent was the controversy about the life of Katharina Morel. Kaiser (1910) and Sprenger-Viol (1987) had tried to describe her as a devote wife in order to explain her motivation to participate in military service during the Russian campaign. This seemed inconsistent with her biography, and the argument could be finally be rejected as an invention through a review of the original documents; firstly by Richli (1943). Based on the Dynamic Plot Points and Main Charact Points, Constantin Siegwart-Müller was the best candidate for a Main Character. He had been descarted for the reason that he symbolically represented the conservatives and his commitment with the direct-democratic movement was controversial. However, a national story from his perspective was not impossible, but tended towards a complex character development. A further problem was that the Audience Appreciation in Siegwart-Müller's (1866) biography was evaluated as an apparent dilemma and the target story should represent an actual one. This, however, converted him into the ideal Antagonist. Whatever he had opposed, it was based on an illusion, which could be solved by reason, or by an Enlightenment, as he pictured it himself (pp. xi, 332-335). Bürkli, was a good candidate for this character representing Reason in the story; for two reasons. Firstly, he opposed the conservatives and radical liberals equally and used, similar to the conservatives, direct-democratic elements as temporary tools to achieve his own ideal of the socialist state. This converted him into a permanent accuser of a too superficial understanding of terms like "the people", used by the conservatives, or "freedom" used by the liberals. Secondly, his biographical analysis, even though incomplete, suggested that he had great learning skills, adjusting his strategy successfully to the context, while he remained true and steadfast in his goals. He seemed



also the most rational, i.e. “logical”, in style besides Morel and Siegwart-Müller. The counterpart for the archetype of Emotion was easily found; Hirzel. Similarly to Siegwart-Müller, but in inverted order, he was thrown in the middle between the liberal and conservative movements, due to his internal tension between a liberal theological position and a conservative political orientation (Aerne, 1992, p.230). Both were also described and described themselves as “impulsive”(Aerne, 1994; Rűf, 1952). The decisive criterion to choose Hirzel’s role as Emotion was that he, contrary to Siegwart-Müller, failed to adhere meaning to his life. This was not only a dramaturgical decision by the research author, but also an ethical judgment. It could be considered that Hirzel simply enmasquerated with his words an acute depressive episode. If he had not been able or if he was unwilling to develop an ethical attitude could only be answered by himself. For this study, he was taken literally when he immortalized with his last words a final “performative contradiction” considering suiced as a rational act. As demonstrated by Schweitzer (1960), such a life rejection could never be based on reason. This was enforced by the Hirzel’s overall attitude to act according his emotional needs rather than based on rational arguments, which made Hirzel’s suicide even a material argument for Schweitzer’s (1960) theory of “civilization” which assumed that the lack of an ethical attitude led at the end also to material destruction, and that ethics was not based on feelings or emotions but on “reason”; even though ethical questions had no logical solutions. Hirzel’s role promised a solid positioning of Reason within Kantian transcendental philosophy. From a structural point of view Heusser-Schweizer could have been a good Main Character, because her story structure was almost identical with the one of the target story. But her Character Growth was “stop” which in combination with a “good” Story Judgement created a “negative” Essence in the Audience Appreciation. This was coherent with her conservative position which seemed to lose gradually power during her life-

time, but it was not desirable for the Main character in the story to be created here. In the role of the Skeptic she seemed ideal and it reflected the differentiated argumentation in her own work, wherein she never took fully part; nor for one nor for the other side. Weiss was also thinkable as main character. But the lack of “change” and the “negative” Essence in the Audience Appreciation made him less apt. He represented himself as somebody who had known from the beginning why the liberal project would initially fail. For this reason he was chosen as the Guardian who brought the liberal movement not only back to its own ideals, away from a vile economic radicalism, he also cared for the ethical goal of internal peace. This last aspect was deduced from his own writings, even though, it was admittedly a controversial one; considering that Weiss was in favour of the strategic use of violence. As Sidekick, Herwegh was chosen. This was based on her overall message that the liberal ideal was not achieved, yet; paired with her firm conviction that the day of a liberal utopia would come (e.g. Herwegh, 1875, p. 5). She was the liberal counterpart of Heusser-Schweizer and both together represented an ethical attitude which came probably close to “tragic optimism”. Finally, Morel was elected as Main Character. Many of the structural elements in her story fitted well. But her Approach was exactly the opposite from the demanded one. As a highly engaged woman, she learned to transcend herself towards the end of her life. The required approach of the “Be-er” was only present in the Sidekick Herwegh and the Skeptic Heusser-Schweizer. If Morel’s self-expression should be kept integer, the Overall Story message could not be simply copied from her authentic but had to be created by the Storytelling. A schematic overview of the results from the Character analysis was given in Appendix M.

***Storytelling.*** Storytelling was the sequential order of the different structural and thematica elements of a story, also defined as Storyweaving Scenes (see Appendix Q). It built a

plot of coherent action, the Character Event Scenes (Huntley, 2015, chp. 10; Phillips & Huntley, 2001, pp. 124 ff.). A typical approach to Storytelling in historiography, especially within the chronicle tradition was to follow a chronological order. Another approach, often chosen in current historiography was to follow a chronological order in combination with thematic issues which created different perspectives. This storytelling technique was especially applied by Thomas Maissen (2000, 2012; see also Character analysis for his narrative in Appendix N). As a test, events of the eight Characters were selected from their timelines and alternately arranged within a strict chronological order (see Appendix O). Such a story could in principle have been even written by a computer programme. Despite its apparent objectivity, such a story was not free of bias. In some way the different events and characters had to be linked between each other. This link was provided by the dynamic story encoding. If this was not done by the author, the audience would fill in the gaps. Such missing encoding led therefore to Propaganda effects; even though generally involuntarily. The Dynamic Storypoints, as chosen for the last research phase the story production, were detailed in Appendix P. According to Dramatica, there were general rules for the Storytelling (Phillips & Huntley, 2015, chp. 21). For example, it was assumed that a Change Main Character came with a “baggage” a background story which had to be solved, instead of a Steadfast one who was rather triggered by some incident throughout the story. In both cases the characters “had to make a ‘leap of faith’ ” but they were introduced in different ways (C. Huntley, 2011). Further, the telling of a story depended on genre and possible intentions of reader manipulation for propagandistic or didactic reasons (Bernard, n.d.; Okada, Connolly, & Scott, 2012, p. 150; Phillips & Huntley, 2001, pp. 143, 256). The concrete layout of the story was directly dependent on the cultural background and context of the addressed audience (Phillips & Huntley, 2001, pp. 248 ff.; Saldaña Mora, 2009). As such it could not be universally

applied as a test, but had to be directed to a concrete actual Audience. The empirical analysis of the most appropriate techniques to transmit a “historiographic narration” were therefore referred to future research, as discussed by Fulda (2014), Young (2011) and O’Brien, Remenyi and Keaney (2004). A recent example was given by Boston University professor Min Wang’s (Wang, 2013) study on the importance of cultural perspective in Chinese literary historiography. Precisely this cultural relativity of the storytelling part in the development of a national narration revealed an important insight into the phenomenon of the social in general. It was the awareness of the author’s role in historiography. Unlike fiction writers, the historiographer was writing in reply to an address by past authors and was directing himself a very specific Audience; leaping a time line. The historiographer’s audience was not arbitrarily attracted by the message or style of his story. They belonged usually to a preexisting community which tried to solve actual material problems. Therefore, the story had to address such concrete issues as a constitutional tool of that community. The real dimension of the significance of this discrepancy between fiction and history writing was not fully understood until the research author tried to apply the game dynamics of Dramatica into a tool for collaborative storytelling. A key issue was where to position the historian as an author in relation to the historical autobiographers and the current audience. Initially they were understood as two different logical entities; (a) historical authors; and (b) users or players. This caused a series of inconsistencies within the relational database created for this purpose, which were firstly considered as technical problems. Until they turned out to be a philosophical issue. Including past and present authors, along with the respective audience, into one single table as an identical entity was not only technically less demanding but improved the functionality of the database. However, to see one’s own name in a long list with historical figures, was an impacting experience. On the one side, it was overwhelming to consider

oneself in category together with significant personalities, as for instance Rousseau (1712-1778), the imperial abbess Elisabeth von Wetzikon (1270–1298), or Marie D'Agoult (1805-1876). But, it was also bothering to see one's name next to the almost anonymous figures Anna H. (around 1848), "an unknown servant" (around 1848), or such as Wiborada (?-926), whose existence appeared almost mythological (see T. Hirzel, 2015 table "agents"). At least in the author here, it created feelings between embarrassment because of the daring and fear to get lost oneself, converted into a mere fiction. What happened here, was an effect of one's perceived "self-objectification". This reflected a further observation. Despite the most diligent efforts taken to ground the national story objectively on a sample selection based on objective criteria, and to anchor the induced message with a solid philosophical theory, the final result of an engagement with a concrete audience could not help to appear little more than a most intimate revelation of the story author's personality. Little more, yet, assumingly it was a transformed personality and, if successful, the story expressed a "vision of the future".

This research had set off in order to contribute to Swiss politics by the author addressing the Swiss as one of them. But, through five years of research study and more than a decade being majorly based in Spain, it finally concluded in an address to the European people, considering the Swiss "covenant" as universizable ideal, and had transformed the author's identity into a less Swiss citizen and a more committed member of the liberal project.

### Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of this research, was to design a framework in which the phenomenon of social constituency could be explored through its re-enactment and in which liberty was its first constitutive principle, defining the personal experience of “encounter“ or conflict, as a scarce property from which personal identity was set up, and the ethical decision to take on an attitude which affirmed equally the Self and the Other, the concrete world and an ideal future (see section *Summary of Results*, subsection *Synchronicity of experience* p. 219). In the Section *Historiography as narrative* (pp. 237 ff.), it was described how the empirical data of this research were linked into a narrative that could serve as a discursive tool for transcending individual personality into a social constitution. As a result, the research framework, its dynamics and the sample data were presented as a game for which a low-tech and a high-tech version were tested. A prototype of an interactive online application, offering the possibility for future reproduction of the research process by others as part of a peer evaluation, was designed (see T. Hirzel, 2015).

Under the paradigm of the “ontological turn” and the narrative universal of the mind, life could be described as a relation of (personal) “encounters”. Postmodern theories, had already used this paradigm in order to deconstruct rules while their framework was assumed to ground on empirical bottom lines, as a kind of meta-rule for humanity. As such, their ethical theories were mostly dependent on physical existence, which let ethical decisions often to cultural relativism. The recognition of a two way relationship between body and mind drew this idea further within the framework of queer and feminist theories, which left postmodernism at the end without any ground, encroached in positivist methodologies (see subsection *Meaning in context*, p. 221).

Liberal anarchism could solve this problem by a grounding on a first principle, the a priori of action in praxeology. So far, approaches to integrate the “ontological turn” in liberal theories remained largely hermeneutic relativists, whereas most Kantians reject the “ontological turn” (for further discussion see: Bouillon, 2009; Hoppe, 2007, p. 15; Żelaniec, 1996, p. 20). Within liberal theories, also liberal anarchism relied on the assumption of a framework for action independent from personal will or freedom. It did this by assuming logical relations between the a priori of action and subsequent concrete actions, thus, implying procedural rules. It seemed, that the true difference between liberal anarchism and other schools, though, laid rather in the preference of mental coercion over physical coercion and the affirmation of rational truth as an absolute value (Israel, 2013). The major problem derived from this was that the liberal anarchist society could only be defined in negative terms (Hoppe, 2006, p. 345).

Based on a Plotinian (1857) theory of action, this could be solved at the theoretical level by identifying the first principle of praxeology, pure action, with the main value of liberal philosophy, which was liberty; as the generative origin of all concrete action and existence in general (see A. H. Armstrong, 2013; de Garay, 1989; Gurtler, 2009). Further, the “ontological turn” implied that personal identity was itself a discursive product. This resulted in a redefinition of liberal individualism, maintaining the atomistic view of the individual, but abandoning its static and dichotomic concept in favor of understanding the individual as a dynamic entity within a theory of critical monism. By this the concept of first appropriation was no longer understood as an act of conquest but as a discursive action, an ongoing negation; the person itself as the phenomenon of argumentation (see subsection *Overcoming material and existential limitations*, p. 226).

As a result, the phenomenon of social constitution could be observed at three different logical levels, simultaneously manifest and mutually interdependent, generally described as “encounter”: (1) intrapersonal “encounter” between the co-existence of eternal mind and concrete body as a constitutive experience of, and sign for, the person; (2) interpersonal “encounter” between different personal entities confirming their uniqueness and the plurality of subjective existence within space-time; and (3) universal “encounter” between different roles taken on by individuals within their creative production of a narrative which integrated their own concrete identity and the experienced alterity of Others in a larger context represented in a transcending “meaning concept”; the group or society.

The concrete framework developed for this research, defined society as a form of Alternate Reality Game in which the individual participants limited their options for action with the purpose to create a collaborative narrative that served the goal of individual becoming as a concrete person which intrinsically implied the constitution of an abstract of a social identity (Láin Entralgo, 1961a; Martínez, 2004). Through this framework, the process of story production and Storytelling became transparent which enabled a more conscious and controlled intervention in self-emergent processes of social constitution by the individual participants.

Due to the plurality of existence, two stories of two participants or players could never be exactly the same. The creation of a shared nation story required therefore a negotiation process in which the individual contributions were evaluated and appreciated in order to be included or excluded from the story. Finally, such a process itself was neither predictable nor calculable but resided on a creative act. The individual intents to influence the others in favor of their own story version were manifest in purposeful omissions or the systematic allocation of information within the story with the aim to manipulate the audience perception. This could be described as



didactics or Propaganda. It was this intention of manipulation which converted the storytelling in political act which relied directly on ethical decisions (see subsection *Discussion of the results*, p. 226). In addition, in Section Conclusions and Practical Recommendations (pp. 239 ff.), the technical details of the game prototype were discussed along its major design elements and critically evaluated for the possibility of a cooperative and interactive application within a broader research community. Furthermore, requirements for theoretical and pragmatic universalization were reviewed.

The ethical goal was to create a story which was equally affirming the Self and the Other, the current state of the world and a “vision of the future” as defined by Makinde (1990, p. 120). As described by Schweitzer’s (2009) theory of Reverence for Life, and opposed to the general idea in Weberian (2003) sociology, civilization was not considered a product of “creative destruction” within a permanent state of “war [ – ] in suspense” (p. 324), but could only be based on a narrative which in last consequence was a genuine creative production of a kind of agreement or covenant between a people and a transcendent principle; a covenant of liberty or a transcendent covenant (Brown, 2014; A. Schweitzer, 1949; Spencer et al., 2008). As such the phenomenon of society could not be described purely in scientific terms but remained in part a spiritual mystery understandable only through engaged re-enactment by persons (see Section *Recommendations for Further Research*, p. 260). Which led to the concrete recommendation to change governance practices towards “game-based” ritual enactment.

The subsection *Learning for democracy* (pp. 265 ff.), dealt with the conception and application of historiography as a political activity which had a special role in democratic governance. In continuance, from the complex process of data analysis and manipulation in the “design-based” approach exposed in Chapter 4, social research was gleaned as an activity of

designing a utopian image of the world in which plural visions had to be negotiated and anchored in the concrete reality of existence. As a conclusion, cooperative and narrative historiographical research was proposed as mean for political (self-)regulation which was validated by the plural and discursive character of the research activity rather than by facts and rules of law.

In the next subsection, (pp. 269 ff.) historiography, as a form of digital story telling was suggested as a learning approach for building democratic societies and learning for peace. In this context, two major variables could be evaluated in further investigations; individual ethical performance in relation to politico-economic success of communities, respectively societies. Moreover, especially virtual environments of the new Semantic web promised to improve data validity in historiographic research and quasi immediate integration of scientific knowledge into real-world applications. The further development of the prototype Spindle, presented here in, displayed a variety of future applications and related scientific inquiries, as described in subsection *Learning for the future*, pp. 269 ff. (T. Hirzel, 2015). Described in here, were the possibility to integrate the Dramatica Theory of Story fully into the game-based research design of this prototype was described (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2015b). This would allow the evaluation of relations between literature and historiography, psychology and cognitive science, as well as the testing and connection of different standards in the learners' performance.

### **Summary of the Results**

By the making of a prototype for a narrative-based multiplayer game, and trough the research process, it was explored and describe how different levels of “encounter” related and how the function of individual game elements, especially Roles and Propaganda, within synchronicity of experience, related to the construction of “meaning”, as an example of the creation of “meaning context” and an analogy to the phenomenon of societal constituency.

Throughout this research a total of three stories had been produced; one in a chronicle style, another focusing fully on structure, and a third integrating chronical data with narrative cohesion (see Appendix O, R and S).

**Synchronicity of experience and the epistemological gap.** One of the challenges that remained within Kantian philosophy was the impossibility to link ideal concepts directly to personal experience. Also known as the “ontological gap”, the problem was that truth was meaningless unless it correspondent to a subjective perception of the world (see especially in Kantian philosophy B. Hall, 2009; Kant, 2014; Proops, 2013). Already Plotinus (1857) had recognized, that existence was necessarily plural and as such intrinsically in contradiction with the ideal. Viktor Frankl (2010) developed a similar idea within existential psychology by locating the very essence of existence in the achievement of overcoming the “ontological gap”, which he described, at the empirical level as “noetic tension”; the internal discrepancy between one’s limited physical body and one’s mental or spiritual existence; that included not only the potential to act but inherited also the idea to be an eternal entity.

Life experience, as a meaningful account, was generally associated with a chronological phenomenon. Therefore, autobiographical writing was a recognized and lengthy discussed tool for ordering experiences within a framework of time (Freeman, 2003; Sellers, 2007). The problem was, that such concepts ignored the effect the “ontological turn” had the understanding of social constituency. Alfred Schutz (1967) offered an alternative understanding of the production of meaning in which time was a phenomenon emergent from the experience of “synchronicity” by subjective minds. As such the subjective was no longer considered a logical entity within space and time but itself part of the constitutive elements of a “meaning context”, “lifeworld” or, using a more abstract terminology, the synthetic geometry describing social

interaction. The ontological shift, thus, required also a new theory for the narrative experience of life. Phillips and Huntley (2001) had designed a universal model of the mind which served as a framework for creative writing answering exactly to this challenge. They defined the activity of the mind as motivated by a need for “organizing information into meaningful patterns”, which depended on the plurality of viewpoints and subjective choices on narrative sequencing rather than the assumption of a chronological time as ordering principle (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, Chapter 37). Thus, synchronicity of experience could be understood as a phenomenon of

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
OST	Doing (16)	→	Obtaining (12)	→	Gath. Information (13)	→	Understanding (1)
MI T	Dev. a Plan (3)	→	Playing a Role (4)	→	Changing One's Nature (10)	→	Conceiving an Idea (11)
MC	Memories (2)	→	Imp. Resp. (8)	→	Innermost Desire (9)	→	Contemplation (14)
IC	The Present (7)	→	How Things are Changing (6)	→	The Future (15)	→	The Past (5)

Figure 5. The Dramatica story grid as story board, including the data for the story in Appendix S.

time, in the sense of Schutz (1967), but also as narrative experience by the weaving of four perspectives into one story; an object story, a subjective experience, the central argument of the main character and a counter argument of the Other, the Impact Character (M. A. Phillips &

Huntley, 2001). Taken together, this resulted in a kind of dramatic grid as described by Dramatica or the story board for the game proposed by this research.

**Meaning in context and the ontological gap.** Another challenge came from the conventional idea that the event had a causal relation within a constitutional development (Pereboom, 2012). A theory for the event, consistent with the “ontological turn”, was given by Schutz (1967) who described them as “meaningful action”, distinct from purposeless “behavior” driven by instinct, material constraints or psychological mechanisms (pp. 69 ff.). Dramatica theory, in line with Schutz (1967) understood an event as something that changed the course of a story in a way which could not be turned back (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2004). Based on these assumptions, this research brought history back to the humanist disciplines; far off from the new historicism as promoted, among others, by Glennan (2014) or Pereboom (2012), and also apart from a scientism which rejected the idea of personal action and considered personal responsibility as mere illusion (Kondratenko, 2013; Wayne, 2014). A historical event was in this research defined as distinct from any other event for being caused by “meaningful action”, driven by personal decision, and for creating a point of no return (see especially Saldaña Mora, 2009, Chapter 20). What made an event foremost meaningful, was an experience of “encounter”. This posed two problems to historiography.

Firstly, this concept of “encounter” was well integrated into a theory of creative writing, in which characters could be created according to the requirements for dramatic consistency and the communication of the central message (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). Dramatica identified the basic “encounter” within a Grand Argument Story by the merger of four dynamic perspectives on one single story; the Throughlines (pp. 111 ff.). Whereas such dramatic development was quite straight forward in the writing of an autobiography, which usually

identified the author with the main character, this process was rather arduous for a historical account. The simplest way was to associated “encounters” with physical coincidence. But, either this limited the selection of the story characters in history writing to a specific social network where persons happened to meet on a more or less regular basis in diverse contexts, or it limited the concept of event to moments in history where a large number of very divergent persons participated, as for example on battle fields or in national assemblies, as in De Weck (2013). The former choice created serious bias in sample selection at level II, the latter at level III. A further option, and possibly the less biased one was to choose a physical place, such as a town, where persons crossed their way, even without ever meeting consciously (as in: Antiquarische Gesellschaft Pfäffikon, 1989).

Secondly, according to Huntley (2007), it was not possible to predict meaning and Storyweaving for one and the same writing process of a Story at once. The reason for this was that the one was the implied “given” of the other. Therefore, either meaning or story structure had to be induced at the beginning, or as Huntley (2007) explained: “Meaning provide[d] the basis for understanding and manipulating structure in a story”. As a result, in choice-making the order or hierarchy of needs was not preconditioned by rational and behavioral reasons, but essentially motivated by ethical choices. This was not only assumed in literature, when writing a story, but held also true in real world, as could be learnt from Frankl (2010; in: Devoe, 2012). Both problems struggled with the same lack of objective measurements for events born from the “ontological turn”, which either included an arbitrary induction or a falling back into meaningless relativism. The first problem affected the integrity and validity of the empirical data in historiography, the second the representation of such data and the derived information from it (Rüsen, 2006; Stückrath, 2005). Apparently, through the “ontological turn”, historiography was

no longer a science but an ethical discipline (Lategan, 2013; Rösen, 2012, 2014). The solution, however, emerged from the problem itself. Huntley (2007) and Devoe (2012) taught that narrative decisions were intrinsically ethical, and as they were necessarily induced, they were also political. But political and ethical decision were specifically not arbitrary as could be learnt by Schweitzer (1965) in his work *Philosophy of Civilization*. Schweitzer believed that the main criterion for civilization was a society's attitude towards life (Martin, 2012; A. Schweitzer, 1960, 1979). In concrete, this meant that a society had to affirm the Self and the Other, the concrete present world and the ideal of future equally. Even though, such a standard applied also to the effect literature had on an audience, it was even more relevant in historiographic writings which could be understood as a political tool to create a "vision of the future" as explained by Makinde (1990). According Frankl (2014), it was the attitudinal dimension of existence, one's "orientation in thinking", which remained always completely free and as such could be localized as the origin of liberty in an embodied existence transcending existential incompleteness (Kant, 2014; Leitner-Schweighofer, 2009; Pattakos, 2011). But this freedom, in line with Franklian (2010) psychology, should lead to the assumption that the decision was arbitrary. "Attitudes" that sustained the "noetic tension" were life-affirming and enabled the person to overcome "existential frustration", whereas the avoidance of it let the individual drift into the "tragic triad" and in its extreme also to physical death (Lukas, 1990; A. Schweitzer, 2009). Thus, only under the condition that life was considered irrelevant, by life referring to concrete existence as much as to eternal or ideal life, the ethical decision could be considered arbitrary. However, as learnt from Schweitzer (2009), this would also require to give up any claim for rationality in such argument. The possibility to take such an irrational decision, however, had to remain included in any rational theory of ethics. Or in everyday language, there remained stories that made no sense,

badness in its ethical dimension was an intrinsic part of reality as Eugen Sorg (2011) reminded. The irrational of liberty was intrinsic in the rational approach (A. Schweitzer, 2009). From this interrelation between meaning and structure, which followed universal narrative and ethical principles, the hidden rules of any game involving a collaborative narrative could be discerned. In fact, it represented the embodiment of an author’s mind.

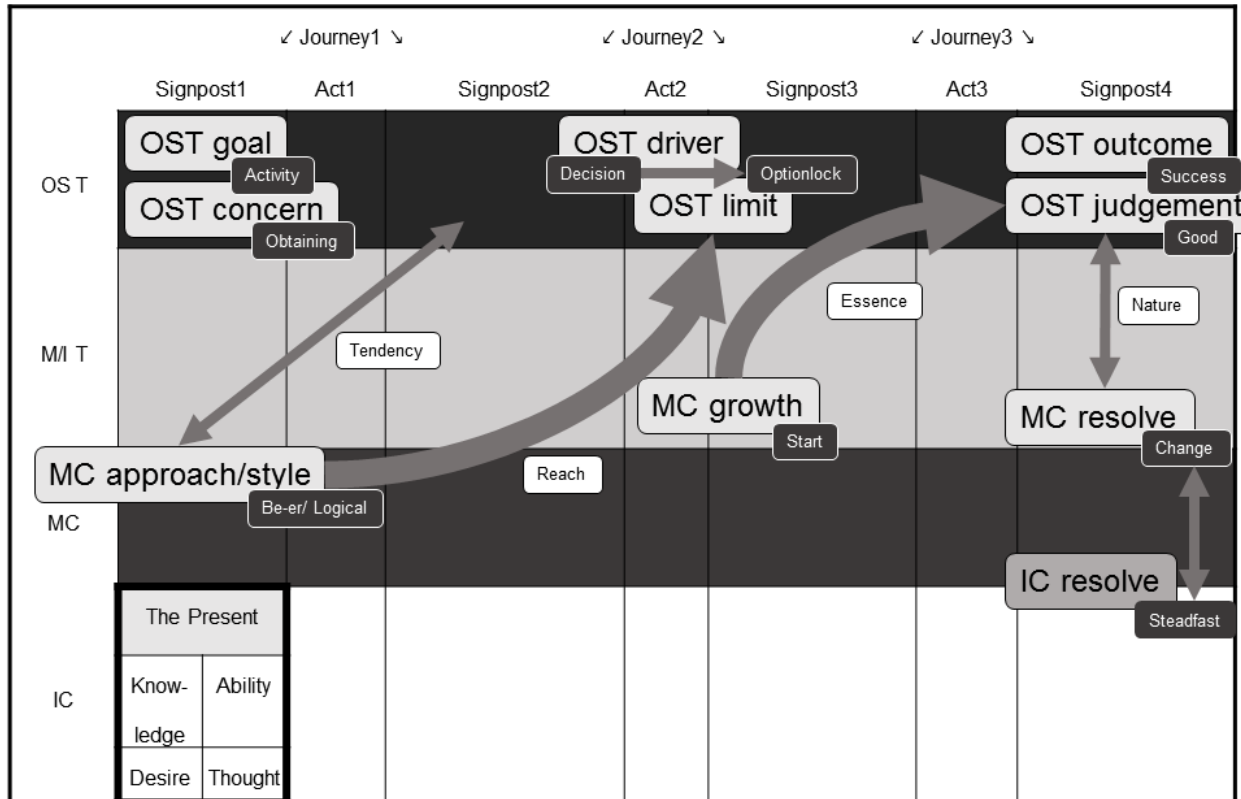


Figure 6. Dynamic story points as game moves on the low-tech game board, specifying game choices of the story in Appendix S.

**Overcoming material and existential limitations.** The structure of the story could be described as the frame, base on Goffman’s (2006) dramaturgy, on which social actions were performed, or the game board, within a non-representational approach, on which social actions were re-enacted. Events of genuine “encounter” marked the turning points that divided different



fields on this game board. Characters and Plot developed along with the Themes throughout a Story (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). The way this was done followed rules which were decided by the story author's choices on Story Points and the sequential order in which the story was told.

The ontological gap between the empirical data and the liberty of creative writing was the measuring tool to decide on a Story's validity, i.e. its meaningfulness and its status as historiography. Both restricted the creative process in a unique way. On the one hand, the empirical data gave a factual bottomline. For example, whereas even a distant historian might have influenced the identity and becoming of society in the mind of a contemporary or a descendant living long after the reported event, such a contribution could not be attributed with certainty in concrete cases. As such, Schiller's (2013) *Tell* might have influenced Siegwart-Müller's (1824) motivation to write his work *Tell der Urner*, but there was no factual prove for it. Further, the empirical existence of an audience provided direct feedback on the meaningfulness of a story within the concrete story-telling context. Whereas certain story devices and structural manipulations could have a propagandistic effects for a certain audience, in a different cultural setting it might simply be misunderstood or even make the story meaningless (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). As such, the story was limited by the alterity between author and audience. On the other hand, the universal rules of the mind's story structure limited the possibility of a story being arbitrarily manipulated without losing its meaning or even meaning in general. This affected the possibilities of concrete personal being as contrasted to absolute being. By adhering a certain role and function to a certain type of character, e.g. as main or impact character, a story's meaning was already in part defined, independent from the overall story points. This was an effect of Stories' universal.

The goal of this research game was to overcome material and existential limitations in order to encode a message as a story; in consequence to (co-)create a “life-world” (Story) in which one could take on a role, or at least had to take position as an author. Concerning a historiographic setting, to achieve this goal, the story of a nation had to be encoded in a way which would be compelling for the audience, the people of that nation, in order to be accepted (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 252 ff.). The choices that could be made concerned Characters, Plot and Themes and were encoded in a specific way throughout the different phases of the Story development; the Story Structure, the Storyweaving and the Storytelling as described by Phillips and Huntley (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

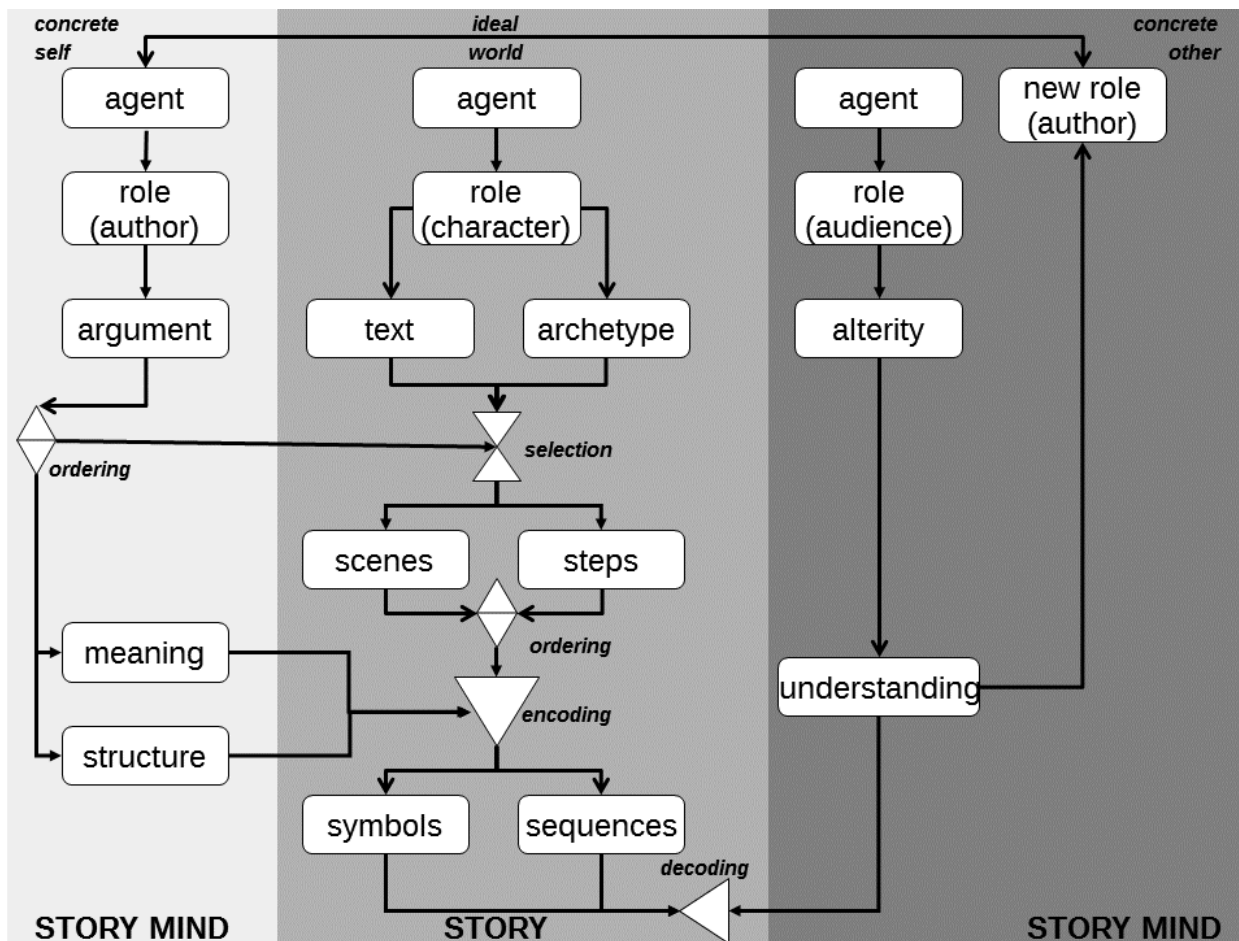


Figure 7. Schematic overview on elements and dynamics of the narrative game

### **Discussion of the Results**

The result of this study was a game which was developed as prototype in two versions, a digital solution in form of a relational database as a beta release for an Open Source game application named Spindle and a low tech board game which could easily be integrated into communities and practices which for different reasons required an analogue interaction (T. Hirzel, 2015). The procedure, game elements, moves and rules were the same for both version. The aim was to make mutual power relations visible, which was observed through the concept of Propaganda as a form of “performative contradiction”. Further, three major controversies arose: (1) questions about the role of truth; (2) related ethical considerations; and finally (3) about the significance of research as a game design.

**Research between fiction and game.** Dramatica was a theory developed originally for creative writers. For this reason it was not further concerned with the distinction between facts and fiction in narratives. Within the historiographic discipline however, it was an important controversy. Perhaps surprisingly, it was not the use of fictional elements, sometimes added to fill gaps in empirical data, which created a political, i.e. propagandistic effect, as could be learned from Phillips and Huntley (2001). In this aspect the veracity of data, especially dates, was sometimes overestimated, because their use according conventional historiographic standards could not avoid Propaganda. In turn, the factual limitation of historiographical writings as compared to literature in general provided a unique constitutive effect (see p. 191). To prove by facts that a certain event or a certain type of character development had existed in the past was one of the most compelling and subversive arguments within the negotiation of the meaning of the future. As an illustration, if there had ever been a single man or woman going to the moon, then it was difficult to argue that such an undertaking was unthinkable.

An example how the use of fiction could increase transparency and veracity in historical Storytelling should be given here. In the stories produced for this research, a series of fictional dialogues was introduced. For example, the conversation between Katharina Morel and her niece about her experiences during the Russian campaign, Bernhard Hirzel and the local teacher Kramer the day before the Züriputsch, Heinrich Weiss's discussion with the father of one of his students, the argument between Meta Heusser-Schweizer and her husband before leaving for the upheaval against the city, the debate between the parson of Hittnau and his wife about the note they had received to get up and fight for their religious liberty, Josephine Siegwart-Müller who commented with Constantin Siegwart the book he was writing, or Emma Herwegh's closing dialogue with Wedekind (T. Hirzel, 2015 Table Story no. 1, Storyline, no. 126, Scene no. 118; see also Appendix R). All those persons existed and had met in those specific moments. It was even reported that they discussed the issues, but certainly, it was not known how those conversation exactly developed. A similar approach had been chosen in the film *Die Schweizer*, where dialogues between Alfred Escher and his daughter or Guillaume-Henri Dufour and his wife were introduced (Weck, 2013). From a historiographic point of view, these conversations and their content were documented facts but the exact context, the style and the discursive structures were not reported, if such a dialogue should be preserved it was necessary to develop a reconstruction based on a larger body of historical and sociological studies which resulted always, in large part being fictional, even though hermeneutically informed. The omission of such conversations however would hide an important part of the interpersonal "encounters". Considering the impact on the Audience Reception of a Story it was not the same to report a speech or to reproduce it. Very specific story devices, as the use of a speaker, as in the present story, or the direct speech to the audience, a so called "aside", as it was introduced by Die

Schweizer was already by its nature a strictly speaking fiction, but nevertheless it could enhance transparency on the audience impact (Weck, 2013). Such devices revealed the “author’s intentions” (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). But they include their own threats. The use of a speaker set in a future scene, made clear, that the story thesis was simply an argument, a scenario or a vision, and not a fact, therefore open for discussion. However, if the story telling was skillful, the support of such an argument by the data could give the impression that the past facts would necessarily lead to the pictured future outcome, at least if the audience followed the story’s instructions. On the other side, the use of an authority, like a contemporary of the past events, or in even greater degree a current expert on the topic, as a renowned historiographer, could give the wrong impression, that what the Story expressed was a certainty, and diluted the recognition of the Story’s true character to be an interpretation of facts which were used as an argument to support a “vision of the future” (Makinde, 1990, p. 120). This was done by De Weck (2013) in the version of Swiss history for the national television. All these approaches were clearly propagandistic from a discourse analytical point of view. At the end, this was all history was about, to manipulate the Audience’s mind in order to create a broadly shared “vision”. How this should be done in an ethically correct way, this was probably the most controversial question in ethics. It was not the task of this research to answer this question. However, as a tendency, it could be said, that the solution would not be found in deciding on criteria of creating this rhetorical effects, but in the audience’s learning for enhanced awareness of a Reverence for Life (Rud, 2011; A. Schweitzer, 1965). Their impact was probably in large part also contextually depending on the cultural background of the Audience, as Phillips and Huntley (2001) suspected (p. 78).

An illustration how the mere use of data could create a propagandistic effect could be given by a comparison of the characters of Katharina Morel and Bernhard Hirzel. Had Hirzel been chosen as the Main Character the Outcome would have been a “negative” one.

Finally, the subversive potential of empirical data within this research had to be mentioned as a further propaganda device. The Signposts of the individual stories contain in the autobiographies could be symbolically encoded. Certain symbols were clearly documented in historiographic texts and were associated within the Storyweaving with Characters and Storypoints (see Appendix T); the golden spoon (scene 16), the press (scene 23), the dagger (scene 49), the liberation myth of Tell (scenes 33, 41), citations of Goethe and the Rigveda, as well as the Rigi mountain and the mountains in general (scenes 3, 11-12, 33-34, 108), the community of the holy (scenes 34, 49, 57), the children of liberty, God or of Germany (scene 132), respectively, the Bible and the Christ (scenes 45, 28, 37), and the free republican earth (scene 106). Other symbols could be associated to expressions or experiences described within the divers biographies; such as the pastry Napoléon (scenes 6, 14), the Libertas on the Swiss franc (scenes 2, 4, 6, 49), the Berezina song (scene 10-12, 18), the Alphorn (scene 35), the Swiss anthem of 1841 (scene 44), the Garibaldid hymn (scene 118), the Swiss knife (scene 29), the Alpine fire (scene 2, 19), chocolate (scene 118), the 1<sup>st</sup> August celebration (scene 1), the idea of creative destruction (scene 29), the industrialization myth (scene 83), the armed and free Republican (scenes 41, 71), the knapsack (scene 19), or Goethe’s the key and box (scene 83). Besides the story structures, the symbolic encoding linked the story characters in a more visible way together into a hole. The symbols used were a more evident form of didactic which showed how certain symbols were created, reproduced or re-interpreted during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, exemplified in the biographical context of the characters, and linked them to the present context

by reaffirming or slightly correcting their significance within the story. Even though, the propagandistic effect of symbols could have a high impact on the audience, at the same time the impact was difficult to be controlled because of strong cultural relativity. For example, if not further explained, many present readers would not recognize the symbolic meaning of a key and a box, when mentioned in a text and even less associate it with Goethe's works and Freemason's philosophy (J. W. von Goethe, 1851, bk. Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre; Hildmann, 2006).

**Ethics between didactics and propaganda.** Huntley (2015) described that "any morality involved comes from the minds of the author and his audience" (Chapter 37). This meant that, even though, a story's meaning could be encoded in a very general, perhaps even universal way, it could not be manipulated without considering its context, constituted by the concrete audience it was directed to. The manipulation of the story's meaning was ethically the most controversial aspect of narratives. However, it was also the deciding element which converted a Story, as a mere piece of art, into an argument; a message with the power to move people to action (C. Huntley, 2015). Thus, through the purposeful manipulation of meaning, a story could become didactic. Dramatica defined all forms of manipulation of a story's impact on the audience as Propaganda; from strict a discourse analytical point of view without judging it morally.

Propaganda was made by breaking the universal story pattern required by the mind through the creation of wholes or the delay of information in the storytelling. Resuming, Dramatica assumed a universal rule for the pattern creation of narratives, given by the universal of mind, and discerned different kinds of stories according to their argumentative structure (C. Huntley, 2015). According Phillips and Huntley (2001), the Grand Argument Story, was the story proper, based on a "closed" and "complete" encoding of all story elements; the structure, the weaving, the storypoints and the storytelling (pp. 253 ff.; see also K. D. Burke, 1963;

Gusfield, 1991; Kenneth Burke & Simons, 1989). A tale was defined as an account of “unbroken linear progress” from a single perspective or throughline. In sum, it missed the other three throughlines which made the story “quad” of the Grand Argument Story. This problem could not be observed in nation stories which tended also in conventional historiography to be Grand Argument Stories (e.g. S. Berger et al., 2013). Finally, Propaganda was, under its structural aspect, a Grand Argument Story that revealed a purposeful omission of Storypoints, an inconsistent organization of the Storyweaving, a misleading Storytelling, or a specific use of symbols, and was also defined as a hidden intention of unilateral influence (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2012, p. 1; M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 253). Propaganda was considered ethically controversial and literature could go perfectly without it. Surprisingly, the analysis of historiographical works in this research gave the impression that Propaganda was possibly quite common and there was a good reason for it. It was found in all stories analyzed for this study (see Chapter 4, pp. 196 ff.). In part, the propagandistic effect was unintentionally caused by the distributed and incomplete character of data in historiography. The temptation to provide an incomplete story, offering involuntary holes, motivated by the desire not to fill those holes with any fictional accounts led more than once to an involuntary manipulation of the reader’s perception. Most emblematic was here probably the omission of women in historiography due to the apparent lack of documentation (Jikhareva, 2013; Christof Moser & Cassidy, 2013). This shortcoming, originated possibly in a general lack of dramaturgical knowledge and literary training of most academic historians, could probably easily be overcome through a better interdisciplinary integration. Much more relevant, here, was the political character of historiography, which actually claimed for propaganda devices in the making of the story as a communicative mean to manipulate or shape the Other’s mind. The closeness and partial



overlapping between propaganda and didactics was discussed in Chapter 3, section *Data analysis* (p. 155), foremost within the context of “self-regulated” learning (Dijkstra et al., 2013, p. 23; Reigeluth, 2013). The aspects of a story that had the ability, according Phillips & Huntley (2001) to “‘group’ [people] as an audience” were the unique characteristics of the charisma of certain authors, “subject matters” and “genre” (p. 252). The author here would include historiography as such a “genre”. It could be observed how the Audience shifted from the Swiss historian towards the general population of Europe (see Chapter 4, section *Demographic Statistics*, pp. 179 ff.). However, Propaganda was not only a political resource in Story production, it could also have a counterproductive effect. The often delicate cultural bias of Propaganda effects, included also its delimitating power on people; by excluding those who were not affected by it. This was for example the case of the confusion in Kaiser’s (1910) interpretation of Katharina Morel’s character, who found the only explanation in Morel’s choice to leave for military service in an assumed deep feeling of love and loyalty for her husband (p. 124). Similarly, Regina Schindler (2007) described Meta Heusser-Schweizer as “aristocratic”, whereas her devotion to rang and name and her affinity with some princes could also be explained by her spiritual orientation close to Christian revival movements or a general conservative religious feeling (p. 173 ff.). In general, Philipps & Huntley (2001) discerned between propaganda and didactics by defining the former based on its hidden character whereas didactics was considered a transparent process. However, there were borderlines. In the case of “awareness as propaganda” this distinction lost validity. Makinde (1990) even described the defining criteria of historiography by its power to create a “vision of the future” which was shared by a group (p. 120). This included that historiography included necessarily Propaganda as a “story device” (A. D. Smith, 2000). At the same time, to link the propaganda effect with a shared “vision” limited the sublime power of Propaganda. In

last consequence, the “vision” a historiographic work was able to offer was forced to fit into the audience’s mind-set. The audience’s choice to accept a certain “vision” or not, was far more than a preference. Based on the assumption that the audience not only identified with the story’s Main Character, as in literature, in historiography, as part of social practice, they also integrated their own identity into the Story frame. By defining oneself as part of a society, the choice about a society’s ethical orientation reflected simultaneously also one’s personal attitude towards life. If the reader could identify with a concrete story was an empirical question. Was, for instance, a life rejecting “vision” presented to an audience, such an attitude had to be present preliminary in the audience in order to be reproduced. Otherwise the reader would discover this use of Propaganda by the felt expression of the author’s Otherness and the “author’s intent” to influence on the reader’s mind (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). Thus, also here, “morality” was not just imposed but a discursive product. Most significant were the text parts which could clearly be recognized as footing, an author’s impression management, and those who illustrated an author’s struggle with the “tragic triad”, as an expression of communicated “existential frustration” (Goffman, 1981b, Chapter Footing; Ponsaran, 2007). Heinrich Weiss’s (1839) “account” tried to explain why he considered a pushy strategy and even military force or legal force necessary for the common the good (pp. 50, 55-57). He was quite skilful in justifying also the promotion of secular teachers in order to educate the people in a “neutral” way (pp. 92-93), which should make them free to take their own decisions through critical thinking based on facts. Similar justifications were also used by biographers of liberals with a more aggressive style in economic and educational policies, as for instance Alfred Escher’s biographer (Jung, 2014; Kuoni, 1997; W. P. Schmid, 1988). Despite the dominance of liberal historiography, almost during two centuries, and the developed structure of their arguments, these examples of historiographic

propaganda could not avoid that other movements, which understood these actions rather as liberal despotism, a theoretical inconsistency or straight away hypocrisy, sprouted all over Switzerland since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**Historiography as narrative analysis or game design.** A game could be understood as the voluntary limitation of one's field of action as a problem-solving technique (Sicart, 2011). Sicart's (2011) distinction between process and product was secondary in the context of a "design-based" non-representational research. Socio-political constituency described as a narrative game had certainly an outcome; which was the collaboratively produced narrative. Such an outcome, however, was rather a measurement for the viability of the game design, whereas it was always only a temporal goal. The goal itself was the design and its ability to reproduce a new story, over and over again. The design development of the interactive game for this research made it also feasible, why a "design-based" approach in historiography was preferable over any representational approach. Through this, the Storytelling process could be made visible, which was the final presentation of a story in its concrete sequential order, as a unique fingerprint of a Story Mind, i.e. an author's or, rather, storyteller's argument; providing new data for further empirical research comparing real-life interaction. As such it was not repeatable, and, perhaps even more relevant, it was not really representing anything about the past, but a current storyteller's discursive engagement.

The representation of data was not necessary to make the Story based on them. They could just be activated and published. What had happened in the past could not be changed. By representing it in an edited form, even when in a scientific style, as in textbooks, there was

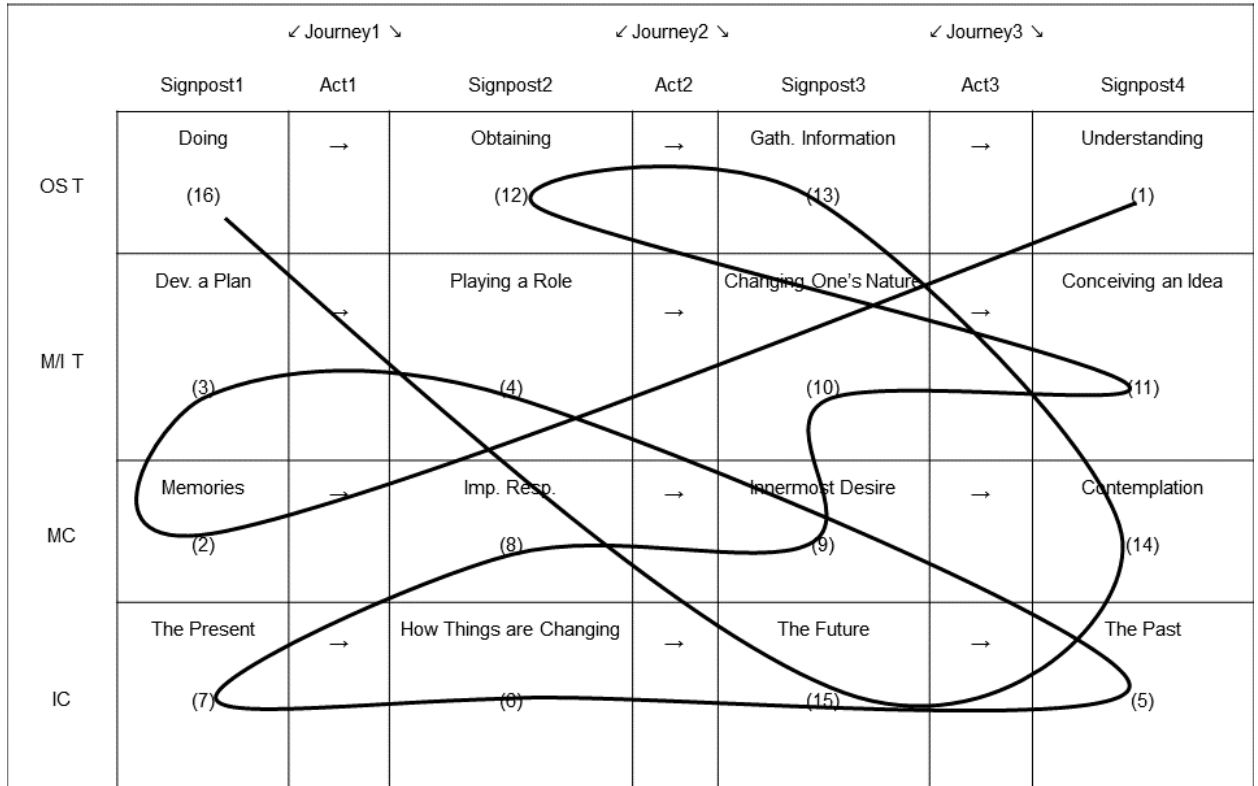


Figure 8. *Storytelling, the process as product* (C. Huntley, 2007) in the story of Appendix R.

nothing more added to the past, in the sense of an existential event before the present time. This was at least an extended theory in recent historiography didactics (Rüsen, 1997, 2008, Chapter 7; see also the current debate in Switzerland Zimmer, 2015). Nevertheless, what was often omitted, was the fact that historiography indeed said something meaningful about the past, and that this meaning of the past could, in deed, be modified anytime. But, to another understanding of the concept “past” as a structural element in argumentation. Whereas the “vision of the future”, or simply the “future” expressed an attitude towards life, a “world”, the “past” in Dramatica’s story structure represented a present life in form of an argument for the envisioned future (Lukas, 1997a, p. 39). Thus transcendental history, as a future vision could only be created, if the definition of the past, the produced “reality”, as Lukas (1997a) named it, had the potential to

transcend the present. Where this was not the fact, an “existential frustration”, in form of “death”, threatened the personal or social constitution (pp. 43, 50). Even though, past events could not be changed, the present attitude towards them could, by redefining their meaning. This was one of the important functions in Storytelling. It offered a kind of transcending healing process. This was most compelling in the account of Katharina Morel (1876), who felt a strong desire to move things, even towards the end of her life. In this research, this attitude was interpreted as motivated by a strong perception of death as an existential problem, possibly caused by the early losses in her childhood. In any case, the writing of a diary, a *Mémoire* with a strong tendency of “self-enhancement” which gradually shifted towards a heritage, especially represented in her niece, but also in the success of the liberal movement, demonstrated elegantly how Katharina Morel was able to translate material values into “worth” (Lukas, 1995, p. 43, 1997a, p. 43). Thus, the “past” was a form of property which was transcended from its material existence through the telling of the story. In a similar way this was reflected also in Meta Heusser-Schweizer’s biography, which was in large an account of her material wealth in form of her children, but was constantly transcended by the analogy between her children, and other people she cared, and the “children of God” or the “community of the Saints”. In the story present in this research, it was intended to reproduce Katharina Morel’s “nature” of the “audience appreciation” as an actual dilemma. Such elements were also present in the other biographies, but in combination with the attitudinal orientation of Heusser’s and Morel’s story towards “death”, the element of the “past” received special attention (see Appendix U). This was done, in order to support Christie’s (1977) argument that dilemmas or “conflict[s were] property”, which was the researcher’s main argument for the successful making of “civilization” (see also: Christie, 2013a, 2013b, 2014; Goldim & Fernandes, 2011). As a controversial point in

the tension between empirical facts and the story of the past, it could be observed that argument of this thesis, was best communicated by applying a “positive feel” to the story. Last but not least, the story should seduce others to follow its example. All to a surprise, in the hermeneutic analysis, only two autobiographers had chosen a positive feel”. Those were precisely those which had experienced their own political engagement in the most devastating form; Constantin Siegwart-Müller and Bernhard Hirzel. As far as this was not the simple effect of some analytical mistake, this required further explanation. The reason seemed to be rather specific, dependent on the authors’ arguments. Constantin Siegwart-Müller had expressed his role as a failure, foremost because it was the product of a lack of faith, according him. He interpreted the “persecution” he had suffered, as a sanction of God, which finally was forgiven, materialized in Siegwart-Müller’s (1866) return to Switzerland after a 10-year exile (p. 980). As a contrasting illustration, Morel rather tried to emphasize that she never really lost optimism, which required a much more “positive feel”. The case of Hirzel was different. He had rather considered his own efforts as a kind of fight against quixotesque wind mills. It was true that he recognized to have made some mistakes; not so much by participating in the upheaval against Zürich, then in his choice to abandon the art of Indic languages in order to satisfy material needs (p. 20). However, the main argument in his biographical letter was that he “could not have acted otherwise” and that it was finally just the work of destiny. Thus, he was self-handicapping and excusing himself all over his work, rejecting all responsibilities. The inclusion of his decision to end his life, completed this “self-victimization” with the “sacrificial pathos” of a misunderstood poet or even prophet (Aerne, 1993, 1994; see also the fictional adaptation: Frey, 1918). Such a dark fate called for a “negative feel”. But this was only a superficial interpretation. In reality, nothing expressed better the neurotic attitude than the combination of a destructive and “life-negating” argument with a

“positive” story structure, which was even further supported by the “willing [...] tendency” in the “audience appreciation” of Hirzel’s story. As a Romantic piece of literature, his biography was a master piece, as justification for the existential dilemma of “guilt”, it was an ethical disaster. Considering this, it became doubtful, if Hirzel ever really felt guilty for anything, or rather included the semantics and “footing” related to “guilt” in order to hide his true problem and to glorify his end. Thus, it was not clear, if his biography had any contemplative purpose, or rather intended to immortalize the author. This last example, illustrated also how complex hermeneutic analyses were. Large part of the story’s meaning came not out unless empirical data, hermeneutical findings and the dramatic structure of the work were triangulated.

Closing this section, a word on the subversive power of Propaganda in the context of historiography had to be pronounced. A central question that came up to this study was, why such a power was not used more as a political tool against hegemonic forces. Most Propaganda in Swiss historiography was included to support arguments of economic liberalism. Yet, the data elicited in this research invited at least to three potential uses of Propaganda. First, the skillful inclusion of women in the great story about Switzerland, could have been much more effective than any feminist manifestation. But, they were limited to local and cultural history, and usually even there in smaller degree. Second, the Swiss Catholics would have had an easy play to set up a counter argument against the dogma of the liberal movement being a Protestant work, or against ultramontanes being described as retrograde. It seemed that in more recent times, this potential was in fact gradually introduced (e.g. Stadler, 1996; Troxler, 2013). Third, there was no objective data which in anyway would support the argument that the Swiss political system was a success. In deed, Meta Heusser-Schweizer, Constantin Siegwart-Müller, Heinrich Weiss and Bernhard Hirzel did not think so towards the end of their lives. If for the national story, Hirzel

had been chosen as the Protagonist, a story could have been developed in which the direct-democratic movement, had been captivated by the comprising process towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which gradually converted Switzerland into a centralized, state-intervened system, where the voices of the people were silenced by a complex administrative apparatus. Or following the logic of Meta Heusser-Schweizer and Constantin Siegwart-Müller, it could be argued that liberalism had only dominated because of its military force and the abuse of legalist means, but that in last consequence all material governments were irrelevant, because what counted was the “hidden story” the “union with God” (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980, p. 65; Schindler, 2007, p. 173 ff., 180). One of the main motivations to start this research was in fact a fourth possible argument which had never found its voice through a historiographic work. This was the argument that the success of the Swiss system lied not in the current or any past form of its constitution, but in an ongoing historical process in which the constant confrontation with the nation’s plurality had created a unique ability for self-governance among the people.

### **Conclusions and Practical Recommendations**

This research had two practical goals in the context of an exploration of the phenomenon of social constituency. The first one was to use a historical analysis as a political tool. This meant, the methodological framework, closely related to language, literature and history studies, was not chosen in order to experiment with historical, narrative or linguistics aspects of politics, but in order to re-enact a politic process. Historiographic research, and especially the making of a national history was considered such a political and socially constitutive act. The second goal was to apply a “design-based” action approach in research.

The research design for this study had been developed as a multimodular “engaged design-based research”, within the framework of Participatory Action Research (PAR) (pp. 118



ff.). The key measuring instrument for this approach had been defined as a game or, more precisely, a narrative-based game design (pp. 120 ff.). The research process had been described in four phases comprising a conventional, a critical, a manipulative-participatory and a comparative approach to data (pp. 134 ff.). The confrontation with technical limitations, in the application of theoretical assumptions and in relation to compliance with methodological demands, brought some further insight into the overall process of this research. The design process had developed along three overlapping layers: (A) the process level; (B) the design as activity; and (C) data lifecycle within it. The first two built on Crawford's (1984) definition of the design process, which assumed the acquisition of knowledge to happen at Paul Jame's (2014) four levels of abstraction (A), those of (a) "doing", (b) "acting", (c) "relating", and (d) "being", as well as the three dimensions of design activity (B), according Fallman's (2008) *Interactive Design Research Triangle*; namely (1) "practice", (2) "studies", and (3) "exploration". Taking those criteria together they resulted in a framework covering dynamics, degrees and dimensions of the research activity in which "doing" belonged to the "empirical" or conventional phase, "acting" to the "conjunctural" or critical phase, "relating" to the manipulative-participatory phase, and "being" to the categorical or "comparative phase. Each of these phases had a specific output; raw data, coded data (meaning), narratives, and re-enactment. However, those phases also expounded critical issue for the coherence of the overall research process and data reliability. The handling of those problems, was an important tool in the exploration of liberty as the a priori of social constituency. In short, it could be said that throughout the four different phases of this research, different aspects of the social could be explored, which required also different forms of abstraction. Therefore, at each level, the data were used and manipulated in a different way which required specific tools and created very specific challenges. Those

challenges were (1) *interactivity*, which stood at the heart of the overall research engagement, (2) *playfulness* as a difficulty in conventional empirical inquiry, (3) *seriousness* as a difficulty in the conjunctural phase, (4) “*procedurality*” challenging especially the data manipulation, and finally, in the comparative phase (5) *singularity*. These five challenges were resumed in Appendix G (p. 415) and discussed in the following paragraphs.

Considering this research as a kind of *Virtual Massive Multiplayer Role-playing Game (MMRPG)* or *Alternate Reality Game (ARG)*, the technical framework for its development had to consider the current state-of-the-art in game design as well as in data structure (pp. 151, 165). This meant that the design had to describe an architecture, as well as a data lifecycle which defined the game equally as product and a process (Fullerton, 2014; Schell, 2014; Thurner, 2013). A general concept of the architecture was illustrated in Appendix V, and the process was modelled in Appendix G. These schemes served only as a basic orientation and formed (C), the third layer of the design process. It was not the place in here to enter further into the complex design considerations of software programming. The focus, lied rather on the overall design of the research as part of the philosophical and hermeneutic considerations in relation to the exploration and manipulation of empirical data.

**Interaction: design as process or product.** Interaction was an issue that concerned all research phases at all levels. A key challenge was posed by semantics in relation to semiotics and pragmatics (e.g. Balla, 2012; S. C. Levinson, 1983). Let aside, the linguistic question about the smallest semantic unit and the related difficulty to define text tokens, a greater problem was the cultural relativism of signs, which also affected words and symbolic encoding used in the texts. The meaning of signs in the transmission from one person to another suffered always a process of translation, which was unlike in formal sciences not a simple encoding and decoding but

rather a re-interpretation. Through the research design developed in here this process could be tracked. A good illustration for this was given by the expression of Katharina Morel when she said: “I think I have achieved a lot in my life, and yet I could not stay quiet” (in: Muff, 1998). To be honest, it was impossible to know what she wanted express exactly with these words. Yet, it seemed to be an attractive and significant expression which had been interpreted by her biographers as lemma for her life. The research here, had linked this sentence to the experience of “encounter” with the abstract character Death. As a character “encounter” scene, it expressed therefore the “noetic tension” between the desire to engage in life and the rational knowledge that such an engagement was necessarily ephemeral (T. Hirzel, 2015 Table Character scenes, e.g. no. 1, 2). Already her biographer’s had recognized that this was a contradiction (Muff, 1998, pp. 101–103). Rather than explaining its meaning, in the national story, produced here (Appendix S, Scene 24, p. 532), the meaning was interpreted through its use in different “encounter” scenes which represented the intermittence of existential “encounters” with Death. The tension was dissolved into her constant efforts for the liberal cause, which transcended her personal strive for an accommodated life into a devotion for others that, according to the story, had created a lasting success in form of the liberal heritage in the Swiss culture. In order to produce this meaning the quotation from Morel was split and distributed throughout the work. Further, it was associated with other quotations used by her biographers, and included into scenes which belonged merely to creative writing. For example in Story no. 20, the Encounter scene no. 2159 was positioned as Storyweaving scene 819MC and dissolved in the Storyline no. 2541 (T. Hirzel, 2015 Table Storylines, no. 2541).

Similar to the problem of defining the adequate unit for text tokens, was also the categorization of persons into social groups as units for the analysis of interactions. In

historiography persons were usually associated with predefined political groups, social classes or cultural circles. For example, Thomas Maissen (2000) had organized and compared different persons along their political orientation. But persons did not align with ideas in a constant and consistent way. One possibility was to demark those persons who did not align as “apostates”, as Maissen (2000) did. However, the deeper an analyses went into the development of personal ideas in relation to groups within the Swiss context, the larger number of people had to be considered as “apostate[s]”, in one way or the other. No constant definitions for identity could be found within the empirical texts. Identity was never completely imagined in the same way by one person or the other, which confirmed Goffman’s (1956) thesis, that the definitions of the context, the social group, and the role within it, the membership of this group, were interdependent. They were both emergent phenomena.

The distributive character of the “networked narrative”, that should be produced here, included a real threat to data stability and persistence, which were both requirements for an empirical grounding and subsequent universalization of the findings. This methodological conflict in historiography was addressed by Jörn Rüsen (2008, especially chp. 10). Concretely, this research dealt with two questions. One was the philosophical question how social constituency could be represented solely based on a single unifying principle without any objective framework (p. 204). The other question was how to communicate data without standards for their definition.

An answer to the first question was found in social constructivism (e.g. Werhane & Hartman, 2011). Social constructivism described the process of social constituency, knowledge and power as always remaining fully distributed, i.e. only substantial in its individual members. Such a concept of society had no material, not even a symbolically, independent identity which

could further be used as variable. This meant, that even though, society existed as a phenomenon standing for a bundle of persons, substantively such a bundle was a cultural product emerging from the persons' meaning constructing activities (Bijker, Hughes, Pinch, & Douglas, 2012; Carlsnaes, Risse, & Simmons, 2012; Onuf, 2012).

This theory was applied in the “design-based” approach of this research which solved the problem by inverting the conventional approach in history. It was common in history writing to use the data as proof for an argument, which was then developed through the rhetorical skills of the historian (John O’Brien et al., 2004). In this study, the given was not the data but the narrative process, based on the a priori of mind. This assumed that the structure of mind, more concisely, of the Story Mind was persistent. This assumptions of Melanie Ann Phillips (1997), original based on the theory of “mental relativity”, was supported by the theoretical assumptions of this study and turned out to be a fairly well working framework on which to ground the “design-based” research process. Social interaction and interdependences in the constitutional process of personal and social identity had theoretically linked the a priori of universal mind in the literary theory of Dramatica with the a priori of a universal ethics as described by Albert Schweitzer (1965) in his *Philosophy of Civilization*. Further, to the process of creative writing in Dramatica, empirical data from historiography were introduced. And finally, the author’s intention of manipulations in the audience perception, as well as the overall structure were analyzed along terms of Frankl’s (2010) existential psychology and Goffman’s (1981b) concept of “footing”. Based on this, it was assumed that only certain dynamic combinations could represent the story of a libertarian “covenant community”. The characteristics for this were the coexistence of “self[- and other] affirmation”, “world-affirmation” and the orientation towards an ideal vision within the hidden message of the story. “Self-affirmation” was produced by the

highest possible audience “reach”, i.e. identification with the Main Character, which was assumingly best achieved by the combination of a story limit being “optionlock” and a linear problem solving style for the Main Character. Other-affirmation was targeted by including a “change” in the main character’s “resolve”, especially when this change was impulse by the Impact Character. The “world-affirmation” could be detected in the “essence” of the Audience’s Story Reception. A “positive” feel created a structural analogy with the positive attitude towards the world presented in the story. The appreciation of the ideal or the “vision of the future”, besides an expressed definition of it in the story, could be created by the story’s structural design as an “actual dilemma”, where a main character decided to change resulting in a successful Story Outcome. If this positive Story Outcome was combined with a Main Character approach as “be-er”, and a negative material implication, this “positive” Feel expressed a “tragic optimism” (Bien, 2010; Frankl, 2014a; A. Schweitzer, 1960, pp. 62–64). Thus, the “change” was connected with the ideal Goal of the Overall Story which converted it into an account of a transcendental covenant (see Appendix P). However, within an approach towards a liberal “covenant

Liberal Covenant Community							
Universal mind (Dramatica)			Universal ethics (Reverence of Life)			Universal constitutional practice (design based approach)	
Universe (Situation)	Physics (Activity)		Ideal	World		Objectification (standardization)	Gaming (testing)
Psychology (Manner of thinking)	Mind (State of mind)	→	Other	Self	→	Interactive collaboration	Designing (game/story)

Figure 9. The Liberal Covenant Community, a conceptual overview

community”, which was essentially a practice (Kinsella, 2010), this narrative account was only a part of its structure, the individual “design”. By the “interactive” and “collaborative” exchange of such accounts, for example in a “networked narrative” as suggested here, meaning could be

integrated into a larger context that transcended the individual through a process of “standardization” which had finally to be tested by playing the game, i.e. reproducing the political practice. This process basically followed the recommendations of a “design-based” research approach (A. Collins et al., 2004; Reason & Bradbury, 2013, p. 688).

**Playfulness: following or breaking the rules.** In game studies, there was a certain controversy between understanding game as a process or a design product (Sicart, 2011). Much of these debates were echoed in the discussions about the procedural aspects of games, suggested as a rule-based phenomenon, and the semantic divergences between play and game as either purposeful or functional. Furthermore, these debates included very divergent conceptions of politics; on the one side as policy, governance, order, or administration, on the other side as an interaction with the intention to influence in others. This divergences also affected the design of this research, which could either be understood as MMORG and ARGs within. In the following, when speaking about process, herein the term referred to the basic design principles of the ARG (Hansen et al., 2013; Szulborski, 2005). A key question was to which degree an interaction was “playful”. This elicited the question to which extend “playfulness” was present in the way academic research activities approached data and contributed to knowledge acquisition. One of the characteristics that differentiated the ARG from other (online) games was that it neither made any use of avatars nor relied on artificial intelligence (AI). The “players” were the real-life persons which presented themselves in, more or less, the same way they did offline. (For this reason it was not a big deal to offer a similar game experience for the low-tech offline versions, see Appendix W). From a technical point or view, this distinction between “game” and “play” was understandable, but from the standpoint of social science, this distinction became rather a gradual than a categorical one. Rather than asking if there were rules to follow or if the game

was about free performance, social sciences, since Goffman (2011), asked how a social rule, the “frame” and the players choices in performance related to each other. In this research, from Goffman's (2011) “face work” and the coding process of “footing” in relation to strategies found in “impression management” of the analysed documents, it became evident that people did not interact directly with each other, but through an ideal type of the others, as much as of themselves; the so called “roles”. This was even more concrete in the concept of integration of the Story within the Dramatica framework. The author transformed him or herself into a Story Character when writing an autobiographical work; usually the Main Character, even though not necessarily the Protagonist. When a historiographer merged those autobiographical stories into a national history, most of the characters were reassigned to a different Role (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 28 ff. compare also Appendices M and X). Less obvious, but following the same logic, the historian had to expect to be converted once also into a Story Character. This caused a significant psychological barrier to the development of the game design for this research. Originally, in the relational database, the research author used two different tables a “user” table for the players and an “agent” table for the historical authors. This was largely explained by technical reasons related to computer programming. But this explanation resulted to be a false obstacles. The true reason was that, at least for the researcher here, this objectification of one’s Self, when listing one’s own name among thousands of deceased persons was an irritating experience (T. Hirzel, 2015 Table Agents, ID 1974. MemberID HiT1977). Perhaps this feeling could be compared with enlisting oneself in an online game scoring a few points and positioning in the last position whereas the best players had a few hundreds of thousands of points.



Apparently, there was no relevant need to define the “role” as long as the data were coded on paper or with the help of a spreadsheet. Goffman's (2011). “Roles” in this research had been basically understood as a synonym for Characters in the Dramatica theory (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2014). The key to the conscious introduction of the Role, assigning a specific place in the overall dynamics in social constituency came from the need to associate historical persons to characters and to limit the Character Choices within the game options. The Dramatica system defined the key Characters either as Archetypes or complex compounds of Archetypes (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2014). According to its theory, and probably most other story structuring theories, each archetype could only exist once in a Story and could not be assigned to different persons, or groups of persons, in one narrative. This was part of the universals of the “story mind” (M. A. Phillips, 1997). This research, however, had a slightly different problem to solve than a writer of fiction. Since it used the Dramatica model to re-enact social constituency through real-time interaction, it had to link the Character in a controlled way in order to avoid unnecessary input errors. This “character” had to be connected with the real-world experience of a person, which this person had assumingly expressed in the related text documents. In this process, it was first assumed that the Role or Character was something that formed part of a person. But this didn't work out for the database. It created inconsistencies and, foremost, it created the problem that a person would have to be interpreted by all researchers in the same way, i.e. as the same story character for any Story, which was not the case. The Role did neither directly belong to a text token, but was rather related with the Overall Structure of the researcher's Story. It was part of the tools to express meaning through a story and at the same time a product of the researcher's interpretative work on the historical text. Thus, the Role was a form of objectification of the past person by the researcher. Therefore, the Role had to be defined

in relation to the *story table* of the prototype. Further, an intent was made to include the Character or, to be concise, all the eight Archetypes, into the *story table*. This, however, required complex “select syntaxes”, “subqueries” and “indexing” which seemed to run counter to the basic design requirements of simplicity and stability for the code. By trying to solve this issue, the idea came up to include a separate table, the Role which connected a *story* with an *agent*. Thus, there was one agent directly linked to the *bibliography table* as a dependent sub-table with a defining 1:n relationship; the historical person. Another agent was directly linked to the *story table* as sub-table with a defining 1:n relationship; the user or researcher. Both agents, were further linked indirectly in the *role table*, as an independent table with a non-defining n:n relationship on both sides. This meant, that as much a historical person, as a present researcher could have different Roles, depending on the context, i.e. the narrative or *story*. Further, one and the same Role could be assigned to different agents, as long as this happened in different contexts, i.e. not in the same work or story. It was the *story table* where Roles were assigned. Gaming was also slightly different from literature in respect to its Roles (Durga & Squire, 2008). Whereas a Story’s meaning, according Dramatica, was constructed by the four Throughlines, making use of four dynamic pairs of Archetypes, in a game environment, (offline or online), it was necessary to consider the author and the audience as further, special, Roles. Literature theory only considered the structure of the “argument” whereas game theory understood the “argument” as part of the procedural structure of “argumentation”. However, if the story was considered the product of a researcher's production process, the encoding, then the overall production process could be described as the Goffmanian “stage” (Lawson, 2014). And in this performance one agent, the researcher or game designer, interacted with at least eight other agents, the historical persons and the audience; each through their Roles. For this purpose the Audience was

understood as in a participatory drama (e.g. in "anarchist theatre": Cawson, 2013). Interesting was, that the allocation of roles was completely free, as long as the Dramatica structure was respected. Even a researcher, herself, or a reader could be directly included as a character into the story, which was often done in the Role of the "speaker". To include the researcher as an archetypical character was most typical in autobiographical works, even though, normally she would not be recognized as a researcher, but perhaps rather as an author. An intent to include explicitly the reader into a story had also been tested out through the dialogical character of the narrator, explicit in the dynamics between the fictional characters Grand-mother and Child (T. Hirzel, 2015 Story no. 1, Storyline no. 11; see also Appendix R). Well-known examples in literature were the cases of Michael Ende's (1983) fictional character *Bastian Balthazar Bux* in the *Neverending Story*, or Edgar Allan Poe's application of his literary theory of the "doubleganger" engaging the audience in a very unique way by making it explicitly part of the narration (Caruso, 2014). This literary technique appeared to have a didactic or constitutive power which could even be increased by the adaptation of the narrative to different media formats (M. J. Lewis, 2012; Molesworth, 2006; Vered, 1997, especially p. 41). In consequence, what distinctively differentiated *agents* from each other was not the lapses of chronological time between the past historical persons, present researchers or writers and, perhaps, a future audience, but rather their Role within a single narration as author, narrator, reader, or as one of the archetypical Characters. This positioned them along dimensions of actuality, "concreteness", proximity and "anonymity", as Alfred Schutz (1967) had explained. Thus, besides the unique demands of certainty for validity of data, the scientific work was set apart from literature in its approach defining the researcher as an external observer. This approach had been abandoned by the Participatory Action Research (PAR) approaches (Formosinho & Oliveira Formosinho, 2014;

Kemmis & McTaggart, 2007; McTaggart, 1991). A key observation made in this study here was that the “engagement” did not necessarily affect data in way that would distort them or falsify them, but rather validate them through successful “encounter”. In fact, in the relational database data, once transcribed, remained completely untouched. All coding, and scenic transformation was done in separate data fields which kept the difference between empirical knowledge and hermeneutic findings at all times transparent and represented in parallel in a degree which could not be presented in conventional historiographic works. Finally, besides many other definitions, science could be understood as an intent to overcome the gap between the ideal and the concrete, by connecting and representing one's Self through the ideal world of a narrative. As such narratology dealt directly with Kant's problem of “actual infinity” (B. Hall, 2009; Li & Tall, 1992; Motzkin, 2008; Tall & Tirosh, 2001). The question if a game as the ARG was following or breaking rules could not find any decisive answer. On the one side, if there were no rules limiting the Archetypes within the narrative's structure, the story, according Phillips and Huntley (2004) would decay into a simple tale or a patchwork of information which could not transmit meaning satisfactorily. This was not an empirical question but an a priori premise of the theory. On the other side, the mere shift from the original historical person as author, towards the present researcher as audience and potential future author, converting the historical person into an Archetype, necessarily changed the dynamics of the narrative completely. This was the moment in which a story's meaning was negotiated between past and present person. Such a negotiation however, could be directly validated, given the absence of the past person. Its validation occurred through a different level of negotiation. The measuring tool was given by the present researchers who would compare their own result of such a negotiation. Possible results were that one of them would accept the other's interpretation as the best one, or that they would integrate

part of each other's interpretations into a new story. The process failed, where no agreement on such a story was found. The only rule, that guided such a process was that the validation of their stories dependent mutually in each other. If this process was successful then it resulted in a universalization or “standardization” of the Story’s message (see Reason & Bradbury, 2013, p. 688). Based on the universal of the Story Mind it was assumed that the Dramatica rules could be stretched but not fully given up if such agreement should be possible (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001, p. 20). To which extend the rules could be bend and how far this freedom in the logic of the narrative mind could go when manipulating the story structure within a negotiation process was an empirical question which could not be answered by this study.

Concluding, unlike grounded theory which assumed a theory to emerge from the data, this research used the empirical data for the re-enactment of an a priori, considering theory and data as mutually interdependent variables (A. Collins et al., 2004; Reason & Bradbury, 2013, p. 688). The constant or framework of the research were the phenomena of personal and social development, understood as two aspects of the very same phenomenon, both based on the universal structure of mind and the a priori of liberty in social constituency. Thus, the individual exploratory action, including the data manipulation, the application of the theory and the personal research experience, constituted the independent variable. The story represented the dependent variable in this research framework, which resulted from the unique choices made in empirical data selection, hermeneutic interpretation and the story choices made for the production of the national story. The “design-based” approach modelled a process of story creation, telling and reproduction which integrated four phases; (1) gaming or testing; (2) designing; (3) interactive collaboration; and (4) objectification and standardization. This mode did not only represent the process but was design as a game which enabled the research

community to re-enact the research process for its validation as described in Chapter 3 under the Section Research Instrument (p. 138).

**Seriousness: ethics and standards.** An example how the data driven side of the prototype could look in the future was given by the Cod4Lib project (Code4Lib, 2015), which was defined as “a prototype of a semantic web-based framework for collecting and sharing user-generated content (reviews, ratings, tags, etc.) across different libraries in order to enrich the presentation of bibliographic records” (Holgerson et al., 2012). The considerations which led to the decision in favour of the semantic web was the demand for “seriousness”, which seemingly conflicted with the “playful” nature of gaming. The main design principle of the semantic web, according Rohit Khare (Khare, 2006), was to “reduce, reuse and recycle” data. Currently, this was a general principle of design in such varied fields as product life cycle, nanotechnology, chemistry or even the service industry (Abraham, 2005; Duque Ciceri, Garetti, & Terzi, 2009; García-Serna, Pérez-Barrigón, & Cocero, 2007; Stahel, 1997). Historiography, in comparison, appeared as a rather conservative field of investigation despite the frenetic innovation in history didactics (Bernsen, König, & Spahn, 2012). First tendencies towards a “design-based” approach could be found in the EU Living Labs, in the area of sociology and in the extended research body of Durga and Squire (Durga & Squire, 2008; Scott, Quist, & Bakker, 2009). As for this study, especially, the experience with data in the analysis of Katharina Morel, demonstrated that it was not possible to build solely on former research in historiography. The risk to borrow mistakes made by the former analyst was very high, given that there was no self-regulating control mechanism comparable to the degree of validity in the process of application in natural science. The biographer Silvia Muff (1998) observed how fictional elements were included in Morel's biography, driven by a “clear intention” to adapt Morel's words to the researcher's expectations,

and how these alterations influenced later researchers; often taking them for authentic expressions (chp. 2.5.). In order to avoid such failures in scientific validity of the empirical data, it was not enough to double check with the original data. Often this only increased unnecessarily the work load in research (Fulda, 2005; Shtern, Paré, Ross, & Dick, 2013, p. 251). It was rather important to understand that the historiographical research process revealed itself as constitutive for the stock of knowledge which was admitted as scientifically validated in a self-referential way. This enhanced the sensitivity for possible mistakes by a biased reading. Therefore, conventional historiography created “path-dependencies” and depended directly on academic policies (Bennet & Elman, 2006). What was reduced and reused in conventional historiography was not the data as such, but the process by assuming former research to be validated. The real effect of such an approach was to limit the researcher's participation, and by this his or her constitutive power, instead of reducing significantly the effort in achieving data reliability (Lustick, 1996). Further, it focused unnecessarily on the production of one's own corpus, whereas in reality those data had already been collected by precedent researchers. To invert this development it was necessary to return to the data and, foremost, to increase understanding about the process of “meta-history” underlying historical research (Parkes & Donnelly, 2014). An alternative approach in history was defined in here as a form of distributed collaborative narrative which had the potential to be “evolving the Web into a Global Data Space” (Heath & Bizer, 2011). As a result, this framework was not only applied to the analytical process but was also presented in form of a prototype, the Spindle, to the larger research community maintaining the main criteria of “interactivity” (Fullerton, 2014, p. 114; Schell, 2014, p. 211; Thurner, 2013; see also Section Interaction above.). Following from this, this research tried to offer answers to the political and constitutional dimension of society, rather than by defining an ideal image of the

state, offering a tool for engaging in a participatory process of which historiography was one of many, but probably one of the most efficient, fields of social interaction. To which extend this tool would reproduce existing research dynamics and lead to “formalize process and policy” was yet unknown but should be taken into account as a possible threat (Viégas, Wattenberg, & McKeon, 2007). A way in which the changes on the game logic could be tracked by publishing different versions of the prototype created by the research community and comparing them. But the data at its roots, would remain persistent, as truly empirical artefacts of past human lives.

**Procedurality: collaborative exploration.** What was unique about the “design-based” approach was that it concentrated more on the process than the outcome which was largely open (Amiel & Reeves, 2008, p. 35; Barab & Squire, 2004). Unlike a traditional “explorative hermeneutics” in which the exploration was limited to a few variables, the “design-based” research approach allowed to keep everything open grounding its process solely on a single question to be solved (Kleining & Witt, 2001). The problem to be solved in here was how to design a research performance, so that it might result in a product, the finished design, which would make social constituency understandable, and could even re-enact it. In other words, the theoretical assumptions stated that personhood could only be verified through discursive interaction. But how could a person be experienced as such, and at the same this interaction made visible? For this purpose the individual version of a national story served as a representation of personal identity and the final product of the agreed national story, the community story was taken as an expression of the, more or less shared, imagined social identity. The problem was not so much to design a narrative, this was well founded in theories reaching from Aristotle to Dramatica (C. Huntley, 2007; M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2007; Strathy, n.d.). The difficulty was to design a story which was accepted by a group of people, as their own. In



order to measure such a process a tracking of the changes adaptations to the use of the empirical data and the Story Structure in the national stories was necessary.

A great advantages of the “design-based” approach in research was, that it allowed to disconnect the research practice from the theoretical assumptions about the data, which permitted to work with “noisy data” (A. Collins, 2010). Thus, it was not necessary to define right from the beginning the relevant from the less relevant information. In a first step, the enormous amount of data had been collected in worksheets, which merged into a single spreadsheet with interactive lookup functions for convenience. Result of this were the tables in the Appendices E, H, Y and Z containing row data.

Even though an important amount of empirical data was necessary to develop the game, the true research findings were hidden in the research process. The political in the negotiation were visible in the relation between different “encounters”, encoded in the final storylines and the procedural development could be made visible by tracking the changes in a story as made by the diverse players when comparing the different versions of a story. Such a comparison could for example be done through an agent based analysis (e.g. Poteete, Janssen, & Ostrom, 2010; Tesfatsion & Judd, 2006). Finally, through the analytical tools offered by Dramatica, it was possible to separate discursive effects created by structural aspects from the semantics of the text and to organize the interaction between different persons appearing in an account according to the argumentative structure of a story represented by the Throughlines and archetypes.

**Singularity: objectification of existence.** As mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, there was a problem within the framework with the representation of the translating process from the natural world towards the ideal world and vice-versa (p. 241). One of the major reasons for this difficulty was the assumption of the singularity of life and the key role this idea

played in historiography. As such, it was suggested that history was an account of events, as unique, irreversible points in personal experience within space-time. Further, it was stated that subjectivity was a unique phenomenon. Thus, there were no duplicates of persons. The writing of a history, as individual autobiography or the individual production of a national narrative, was, in conclusion the generation of an arrow of time as the expression of one's Self positioned within a greater meaning context. A paradigm in history assumed a relevant distinction between pre-modern and modern thinking to reside in the direction of the narrative orientation; as either looking backwards on existence from an eschatological future, or towards a causally linked future based on existential choices (K. Davis, 2012). Surprisingly, for the construction of meaning this distinction was much less relevant as could be thought. Both resulted in a similar cyclical understanding of time. The assumed innovation of modernity, resulting from empirical approaches in historiography, did exactly not produce the phenomenon of an arrow of time and could not account for the idea of "progress". The idea of an arrow of time implied the concept of irreversibility. It required a singular phenomenon. The concept of irreversibility was, therefore, intimately linked to existence and to narrativity. "Irreversibility is not causation", as could already be learnt from Kant (Guyer, 2006, p. 207). Irreversibility depended on the phenomenon of subjectivity, an acting being, i.e. a person who paid "attention" to the course of time. This was already diligently explained by the early Alfred Schutz (1970).

Concluding, irreversibility was the phenomenon of an "act of attention" from which "meaningful experience", or in other terms "events" emerged. Contrary to the use in common language, the effect of irreversibility was not experienced in the game designed for this research, as the inability to modify a historical success or the account of it. It was rather an ethical product. Subjectivity, i.e. being a person according Laín Entralgo (1961a), required the acceptance of the

Other's existence (p. 284). In the game context of this research this signified, that in order to become a player, one had to accept the existence of the other players. In the ideal case, this required the inclusion of all who had ever played the game, i.e. written a text, which was naturally impossible. Thus, already in this fact the noetic dilemma described by Schweitzer, the inability to comply with the basic requirements of ethics, could be experienced. This could be further developed by making it a rule to include all active players of a group as a character within the story and to test if it was possible to develop a story that satisfied the self-understanding of all those players. Irreversibility was essentially a generative function of which existence was the product. As such, history was not the exploration of possible alternative courses things might have taken, as already observed by Thomas Maissen (2000). History was not a speculative science dealing with probabilistic data and statistics. History was a productive, creative and political act that presented a "vision of the future", a Grand Argument Story (K. E. M. Huntley, 2014; Makinde, 1990, p. 120). This included the explanation why things had occurred exactly in one way and not another. As a scientific discipline, this involved an inquiry into the process that made an "event" irreversible, converting it into a true singularity. The singularity of an "event" was a product of experienced personal identity. In last consequence history had to account for the identity of its subject. Why was Switzerland, a Swiss nation state and not state of Germany, for example, involved the questions who were the Swiss and who the Germans and why these should be to distinct groups. This conception of history, always included already a Utopia. Rösen (2008) defined this irreversibility of events as the "Kairos". It emerged originally from the phenomenon of self-objectification, well described by Pedro Laín Entralgo (1961b, 1964; see also Bruzual Alcalá & Sánchez Carreño, 2014). To imagine the Self as the unity of one's present personality relating it which the Self's envisioned future potential and remembered past existence confronts

the Self with Otherness in two ways. One way was to conceive that one could be different from one's actual existences; i.e. play another role. Another way was to understand that not all aspects of one's existence depended fully on one's own actions; in part one's role was confirmed or rejected in the narratives of others. History explained, therefore, how and why one was the product of past actions, either by others, who had shaped one's culture, mentality and even influenced in behavioral patterns, and one's own actions, which had forced one's development into the present shape. When explaining it in these terms, it appeared that the idea of irreversibility was a form of allocation of responsibilities (Kokkinos & Kimourtzis, 2012). Strictly speaking, irreversibility in this sense had nothing to do with pure science. All fundamental laws of physics were time-reversible, and even in thermodynamics it was possible to reverse any process, even though under the expenditure of energy due to the phenomenon of entropy (see Albert, 2009, pp. 27, 93). Thus, physics was merely transforming not productive. Worlds could be constructed and de-constructed, but in potential anything could also be another thing. The uniqueness of existence was neither explained by science nor discovered by hermeneutics. It was a priori non-empirical. Creativity dealt not only with the "new" as distinct to some prior phenomenon, but more concrete to the idea of "singularity" as a unique phenomenon of personal identity (Shah, 2012). The author here hoped that future research on learning as a constitutive process could make use of the findings in here when analyzing the constitution of democratic societies, the restoration of peace and as advocacy for policies in self-governance. Further, empirical studies could use the framework as an alternative approach based on positive definitions when comparing outcomes in relation to the ideal society; beyond negative measurements checking the absence of war and poverty or contrasting mere monetary values.

### **Recommendations for Further Research**

An important contribution of the “ontological turn” was the insight that personal identity was not so much a product than an ongoing process of becoming. As such it was closely related to the concept of learning as an adaptive process which was intrinsically not rule based but creative.

**Learning for democracy: Self-guided governance.** The understanding of the political in this research was closely related to the field of education and cognitive science. It seemed that even though thinking was the essential criteria of personal being, all existence, even personal existence tended towards a kind of entropy in the sense of thoughtless matter. This could be understood when considering that thinking, i.e. mindful being, required an effort. According to the findings, this effort was not a form of energy, as in physics. It was an effort in terms of existential being, an ethical action based on the a priori of life or personal being. If personal being was understood as the answer given to the “call of life”, as Wong (2012) resumed it, then paradoxically, it meant that giving such an answer could threaten one's physical, material existence. Accepting another's “will-to-live” as equal to one's own “will-to-live” could compromise one's own defensive instincts of self-preservation which could result in one's death (A. Schweitzer, 1965). At the same time, it enhanced one's own responsibility for one's actions. Thus, even under the condition that killing could, under circumstances, be justified as self-defense, it would always comprise one's personal being by constituting a “tragic triad”; the ethical dilemma of “guilt” (Lukas, 1990). Remaining in a strictly narrative context this meant that creating a story collaboratively required a negotiation between what was essentially required for a story to be meaningful to one's Self and what was demanded by the Other to make the story meaningful for this other person. That this was an extremely difficult task was not self-evident. It

seemed that through a series of reasonable trade-offs such a story was built easily or could even be developed by a computer programme through artificial intelligence (AI) (Millington & Funge, 2012). But trade-offs could not lead to the desired result, in this research. What was required was a creative act. It was hoped that this research had given some insight into this dynamics.

Recent paradigms about different types or levels of intelligence had discussed the role of a “naturalistic intelligence” (Gardner, 2000; Hayes, 2009). A large research on this question had been done in the last few year at the Theranian Islamic Azad University by Bahmannia, Khosravi and Khorshidi (2014). Their studies had showed that such different form existed and were somehow related, but also challenged the current understanding of intelligence and the cognitive requirements in the current business environment. It should not come to a surprise that a different socio-political model, which was not based on war, would also require different cognitive abilities. Linear strategical thinking had shown successful in a globalized war economics since the Commonwealth. So far, however, the extension of its associated educational model had not shown much success in solving the great issues of the world; hunger, nature degradation and war. Thomas King (2003) had remarked the transforming and politico-ethical aspect of storytelling. It would be challenging to find and develop tools like the prototype in here, the EU Living Labs (EnoLL) (2015), or Code4Lib (2015), which allowed to train people for efficient self-governance and personal growth through discursive “encounter” with others, including other-than-human beings. Following recent findings in cognitive science, the introduction of music into such tools would probably be a key issue (Heimonen, 2012). The works of V. Kofi Agawu (2014) and Wortham & Reyes (2015) could give some orientation for further research in increasing human “natural intelligence” and developing tools for inter-species “conversations”, as demanded by the feminist and critical theorist Donna Haraway, already back in 1995.

**Learning for peace: Personhood as creative manifestation.** In a certain sense, historiographic narratives could be used for propaganda purpose. This was a well-known phenomenon in development theory which primarily used its narrative to exemplify values or give models. Their moderate success was in retrospectively considered “cultural occupation”, “occidentalization” or, more moderately a “top-down” approach which already included its trigger for subversive activities (Bonye, Thaddeus, & Owusu-Sekyere, 2013). The research findings here, suggested that, at least theoretically, a shift in the narrative approach towards a collaborative narrative could convert storytelling into a tool for social mitigation and peace making. Given that it was not based on the paradigm that history was about past truth, but instead was oriented towards the creation of a shared vision, it could avoid endless and useless allocation of responsibilities for past events and did not engage in the hopeless intents to measure the degree of one's participation in such events. In other words, it was not concerned in defining the good and the bad ones in society and abstained from any victim-offender dichotomies (see e.g. J. Armstrong, 2014). This didn't mean that there were not victims or offenders and that “guilt” could not be defined. What it assumed was that these allocation could not be based on past facts and could never be a goal in themselves. The true goal had to be the finding of “redemption” for the offenders and restitution of the victims resulting in healing of a society as a whole (e.g. Greenberg, 2014; Leeds & Gunsaulis, 2011; Van der Merwe, Baxter, & Chapman, 2009). The shift in orientation from the past towards the future would not negate past failure, but offer a possibility to use the status quo as a basis from which past experiences on both sides could merge into a learning process negotiating present challenges a society faced. Its basic assumption was that there was always something good even in the worst enemy. This *good* was the enemy's “will to live” (A. Schweitzer, 1965). Based on this idea it was suggested that the

collaborative narrative was an alternative approach to constitutional process which abstained from the dynamics of a “shooter game”, where those won who best positioned within an enforced framework of the “rule-of-law” in a Weberian economics of war (M. Weber, 2003, p. 324). Following, Albert Bandura's (2004) study on “selective moral disengagement” it could be analysed, for example, if such a “disengagement” could be reverted through storytelling, and if there were story structures or media which were more efficient than others to allow communities to constitute the national story, or which could make a storytelling tool attractive for enemy societies in order to invite them into a collaborative negotiation in defining the “stage”. An approach in current research about the narrative as a tool for “reconciliation” was studied by Jeff Corntassel, Chaw-win-is & T’lakwadzi (2009) in the case of Canada. In the context of “terrorism”, especially the recent narrative of Islamist “terrorism” J. Renner and A. Spencer offered a large corpus for further investigation into such alternative possibilities in international relations (Renner & Spencer, 2012a, 2012b, 2013).

**Learning for the future: Real-world data integration.** “Singularity” was closely related to the idea of the “new” in history, whereas this latter assumed a possibility of repetition in contrast to the former. The inherent lack of precedents in anything “new”, included a problem for action; the lack of models or rules on which action could take place. Thus, the “new” required an ethical decision, a decision which could not rely on social, cultural or scientifically established norms but needed to be answered by a creative reply. The reason why the person, unlike mere objects, was able to respond to this challenge, was the person's material relation to totality. Now, the “new”, as Otherness or alterity, was not only experienced as a threat to one's life world, but paradoxically, it served also as a tool by which one could test one's creativity as a proof of one's personhood and in last consequence, one's relatedness to totality (Bordas, Laín



Entralgo, Mora Teruel, & Pascual, 1995; Laín Entralgo, 1961a; Martínez, 2004). As such, creativity was a mean in approaching the phenomenon of the spiritual (nous). This intrinsic need for persons to exist as body and mind, explained the a priori strive for “encounter” in which this ambivalent experience of Otherness could be re-produced. The practice of action as a creative phenomenon was the only test and, simultaneously, the constitutive principle of being; or rather the ongoing becoming of a person as a person. This action was based on imagination and not on a logical extension of the past into a projection of the future, as a kind of scenario planning. This imagination was completely “free” in the sense that it did literally not belong to this world but to totality. This capacity emerged from the mind's ability to derive from the existing that what did not exist (yet), including the concept of totality itself; which was all that existed not (yet), all that was arrational. Potentiality, in this sense, was an arrational concept. A detailed outline of this understanding of creativity could be found in Javier L. Cristiano's (2013) “unconventional reading” of Schutz (1967). Concluding, the aim of history was not to predict the future, but to bring a desired future about; i.e. to involve in a creative, ethical and political interaction. The past, under this considerations, did not serve as a model for the future, but rather the exploration of existence in order to deduce the not, or not-yet, existing, as pure potentiality from it. This idea, shifted the concept of “learning from the past” towards learning by means of the past (McKitterick, 2006, 2014). Whereas a certain understanding of economics served to justify the concept of “creative destruction” of 20s century democracy, history was an attractive tool to develop a processes of creative production as suggested in here for a liberal understanding of democracy.

Against the widespread idea that history was an “expression of a social order” to be compared with other such orders, history was a propositional practice, and not a recompilation of

all that could be known of the past. It was the creating of a vision of, and for, a better world, answering a universal perception that existence was imperfect. The objectively, universal in the practice of history was the presence of such a “noetic tension” in all persons (Rüsen, 2008, p. 79). Daniela López, for example, struggled with the confusion between “empirical [sic] manifestations” and “experiment [...]” (López, 2014a, p. 29, 2014b). Only an Empiricist reading could assume such an immediate perception of the empirical. Following the interpretation in here, all experiments were mediated by a theory and, therefore, lastly, based on a priori knowledge.

The creative act was not validated by objective measurements, but through intersubjectivity (Cristiano, 2013). This required that the creative act was intersubjective; i.e. the constitution of meaning, was only successful if that meaning could be communicated. A priori, one person alone could logically not exist as sole entity. Thus, it was completely irrelevant, if history had universal validity for all persons, but rather, if the storyteller was able to make his own “I” heard by the Audience and if the Audience received it as a challenging “encounter”.

The historiographer could not simply study history objectively and anonymously. A historiographer would always already position his or her Self into the context of the national narrative, either as an outsider or an insider and through this define the nation's situational framework. The plurality of existence would not allow that such a negotiation was ever settled completely.

The reader should be alerted that a serious engagement with the past would have a transformative impact. Under this consideration the readership was invited to use the Spindle and spin the raw material from the past into their own gold; their “vision of the future”, their *becoming*.

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Appendices

Appendix A

The A Priori Order of Liberty

The understanding of coercion varied significantly within the action theories of different philosophical schools. Consequently, also the position and the function of liberty suffered important shifts. For this study, in Figure A, a categorical framework of the logical order between action, liberty and coercion was developed including five major approaches; the Mises-Hayek approach and a variation by Bouillon (2011), the approach of the Frankfurt school, the Hegelian understanding of freedom and the Schutz-Lavoie approach (Cousins, 2000; J. Habermas & Melo, 2013; Hoppe, 2005; Lavoie, 2011; P. A. Lewis, 2005).

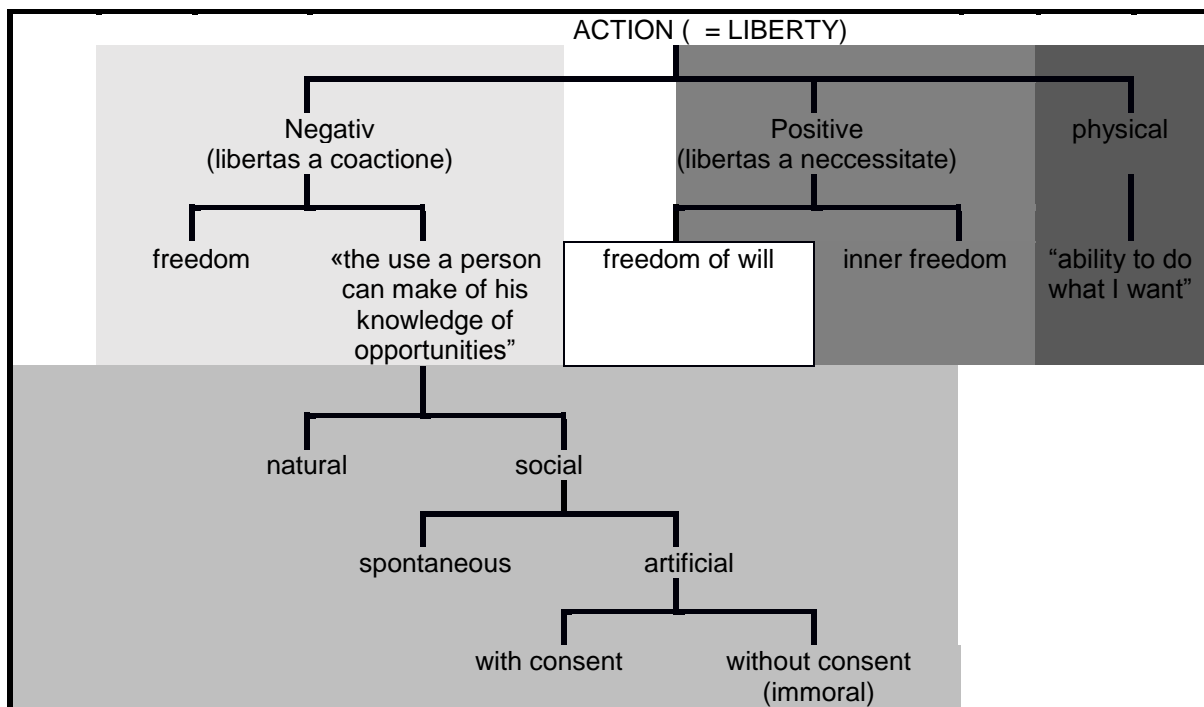


Figure A1. Logical position of liberty within the a priori order of different philosophical schools.

- Mises-Hayek approach
- Bouillon's approach
- Frankfurt school
- Hegelian freedom
- Schutz-Lavoie approach



Appendix B

Table B 1

*Population of Covenant Communities; America, Central Asia, Near East, Europe (A-Z)*

Name	Region	Type	Reference(s)
Amish community	Northern America	Religious-Utopian Christian	(A. Davis, 1993; Regev, 2004; Stevick, 2007)
Arab League	Near East	Political Religious Islamic	(L. Anderson, 2014; Rishmawi, 2005, 2010; A. Thompson & Snidal, 2012)
Assyrian	Near East	Political-Religious	(Otto, 2013; R. J. Thompson, 2011)
Blackfoot Confederacy (Niitsitapi)	Northern America	Political-military (multi-religious)	(Spoonhunter, 2014)
Cherokee Nation (Ani-Yun' wiya)	Northern America	Political-religious	(old: Champagne, 1992, pp. 76-77; Hoig, 1999; modern independence: Aaseng, 2000; Gold, 2008)
Diaspora	Europe, later Global	Religious-ethnic Jewish	(A. L. Berger, 2012; Clements, 1989; Kaufmann, 1988; S. O. Wolf, 2012)
European Union	Europe	Political-economic	(Ball, 2014; G. Miller, 2011; Rifkin, 2013)
Gülen Movement	Central Asia	Religious Islamic	(Chryssides, 2006, 2012; Hazen, 2011; Webb, 2006)
HaKibbutz HaDat (Religious Kibbutz Movement)	Near East	Political-Religious Jewish	(Blaši, 1986; Breslauer, 2006)
Hammas (Islamic Resistance Movement)	Near East	Religious Islamic	(Ali, Jamoul, & Vali, 2012)
Hatkam (United Kibbutz Movement)	Near East	Political-Utopian	(KPC, 2014; PZC, 2014)
Hittite Suzerain-Vassal System	Asia	Political	(Kline, 1972)
Holy German Empire's Suzerain-Vassals	Europe		(Gloutz-Blozheim & Hottinger, 1838; Klieger, 2012)
Huron Confederacy	Northern America	Political-economic	(Mihesuah, 2013)
Iron Confederacy (Nehiyaw-Pwat)	Northern America	Political-military (multi-ethnic)	(Fromhold, 2010; Heller, 2012; Richter & Merrell, 2010)
Iroquois Confederacy	Northern America	Political-religious	(Bonvillain, 2014; D. P. Fry, 2012)
Mennonit community	Northern America	Religious-Utopian Christian	(Kraybill, Bowman, & Bowman, 2001; Regev, 2004)
Ottoman Suzerain-Vassals	Central Asia-Europe		(Kármán & Kunčević, 2013; Panaite, 2003; F. Zhang, 2014; Y. Zhang & Buzan, 2012)
Powhatan Confederacy	Northern America	Political-religious	(Mihesuah, 2013)
Quaker community	Northern America	Religious-Utopian Christian	(Davenport, 1992; Seid, 2007)
Sioux Confederacy (Očhéthi Šakówinj)	Northern America	Political-spiritual (multireligious)	(P. F. Anderson, 1986; Carriker, 2005; Clodfelter, 2006; Cook-Lynn, 2004; Michigan, 1837; Tegeler, 1979)(Michigan Legislator, 1837; Tegeler, 1979; Anderson, 1986; Cook-Lynn, 2004; Carriker, 2005; Clodfelter, 2006)
State of Israel	Near East	Political-Ideological	(Merkley, 2001; M. Prior, 2005)
Swiss Confederation	Central Europe	Political-military Christian	(SEK/FEPS/FCES, 1987)
Ummah (Universal Islamic Community)	Arabia, later Global	Religious Islamic	(I. R. Fry, 2012; March, 2013; Waghid, 2014)
United States of America	Northern America	Religious Christian	(Obama, 2012)
United States' aboriginal titels	Northern America	Political	(Blumm, 2011; Johnson, 2012; Leeds & Gunsaulis, 2011; Singer, 2011)
Upper Xingu River basin tribes of Brazil	South America	Political-economic	(Cummings, 2013; D. P. Fry, 2012; Schwartzman et al., 2013)

Table B 2

*Population of Covenant Communities; Africa, Australia, Far East (A-Z)*

Name	Region	Type	Reference(s)
Aboriginal Wana Lupthun	Australia	Religious	(Gondarra & Trudgen, 2011)
Akan	Western Africa	Religious	(Donkoh, 2006)
Ancient Egyptian	Northern Africa	Religious	(Ellis, 2012; Kitchen & Lawrence, 2012; Trumbull, 2013)
Bawa Muhaiyaddeen Fellowship	Far East	Religious-Utopian Islamic	(Korom, 2014; Webb, 1994, 2006)
British-Suzerainty (1880–81)	Africa	Political	(Jaschob, 2014; Kapila, 2011)
Ga-Adangme	Western Africa	Religious	(Donkoh, 2006)
Igbo	Western Africa	Religious	(Mbah, 2013; Njoku, 2013; Uchechukwu, 2012)
Qing China	Far East	Political-religious	(Chong, 2013; Larsen, 2012; Sun, 2010)
Sikkim Chogyal	Far East	Political-religious	(Tran, 2012; S. O. Wolf, 2012)

## Appendix C

## Sample Collection Level I

For a definition of Kinsella's (2010) "covenant community" the selection of an adequate population an in-depth thematic literature review was used for a statistical evaluation of major elements in potential member societies as detailed in Tables C1-9.

A total of 63 communities were categorized into five groups. Group 01) comprised 37 communities belonging to *Abrahamic religions*, further divided into A) Judaism, B) Christianity, C) secularized Christianity and D) Islam. Group 02) consisted of 3 communities defined as (humanist) *ideological communities with Abrahamic tradition*. Group 03) listed 3 communities categorized as *other ideological communities*, splitted into the sub-groups B) communist and A) other communities. Group 04) concerned 13 *aboriginal communities*, discerned as A) African, B) Australian, C) Native American and D) Dharmic. And group 05) counted 7 *ancient communities* whose covenantal tradition was *extinct*, divided further into A) non-religious, B) Asian, C) European Heithen and D) (extinct) Islamic communities.

## Abbreviations used in Tabel Headings

CoP	Covenant of Practice
CoE	Covenant of Exclusion
CoG	Covenant of Grace
CoR	Covenant of Redemtion
CoW	Covenant of Works
DA	Defensive-alliance with religious component
SVS	Suzarain-Vasall system
AP	Anti-Pacifist
ADL	Aboriginal divine law
(AoP)	Affirmation of power



Table C 2

*Sample Collection Level I: Christian Communities*

Community	CoP	CoE	CoG	CoR	CoW	ADL	AoP	AP	DA	SVS	All
Holy German Empire										1	1
Old Eidgenossenschaft (Switzerland)									1		1
Ottoman empire										1	1
<b>1. Total Christianity (pre-Reformation)</b>									<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
Various Catholic communities		1	1								2
<b>2. Total Catholic Christianity</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>								<b>2</b>
"Protestant ethic" various according time period					1						1
Presbyterians				1							1
Prussian Empire			1								1
<b>3. Total Protestant Christianity</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>						<b>3</b>
Amish community (USA)	1										1
Mennonite community (Germany, USA)	1										1
Quakers, Religious Society of Friends (Germany, later USA)	1										1
<b>4. Total Anabaptist Christianity</b>	<b>3</b>										<b>3</b>
Various Catholic communities	1										1
<b>5. Total Christian communism and early socialism</b>	<b>1</b>										<b>1</b>
<b>B) Total Christianity (all confessions)</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>

Table C 3

*Sample Collection Level I: Secularized Christian Communities*

Community	CoP	CoE	CoG	CoR	CoW	ADL	AoP	AP	DA	SVS	All
Swiss Covenant Theology	1										1
The National Counterproliferation Center (NCPC)								1			1
United States of America	1	1						1			3
US aboriginal titels										1	1
<b>1. Total Liberalism</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>						<b>2</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>
Christiania (Copenhagen, Denmark)	1										1
<b>2. Total Esoterism</b>	<b>1</b>										<b>1</b>
<b>C) Secularized Christianity</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>						<b>2</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>

Table C 4

*Sample Collection Level I: Islamic Communities*

Community	CoP	CoE	CoG	CoR	CoW	ADL	AoP	AP	DA	SVS	All
The Arab League									1		1
<b>1. Total Central Asian cultures</b>									<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
"Bawa Muhaiyaddeen Fellowship" (Philadelphia, USA)	1										1
Gülen movement (Turkey)	1										1
Islamic Covenant Initiative	1										1
Palestine "Islamic Resistance Movement" HAMAS (حركة المقاومة الإسلامية)		1									1
The Ummah (Universal Islamic Community)	1										1
<b>1. Total Islam, unspecified</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>									<b>5</b>
<b>D) Total Islam (all confessions)</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>							<b>1</b>		<b>6</b>

Table C 5

*Sample Collection Level I: Ideological Communities with Abrahamic tradition*

Community	CoP	CoE	CoG	CoR	CoW	ADL	AoP	AP	DA	SVS	All
Albert Schweizer (France, Germany, Switzerland, USA)	1										1
<b>1. Total Atheism</b>	<b>1</b>										<b>1</b>
European Union	1										1
United Nations	1										1
<b>2. Total Liberalism</b>	<b>2</b>										<b>2</b>
<b>A) Total Humanist</b>	<b>3</b>										<b>3</b>
<b>02 Total Ideological (with Abrahamic tradition)</b>	<b>3</b>										<b>3</b>

Table C6

*Sample Collection Level I: Other Ideological Communities*

Community	CoP	CoE	CoG	CoR	CoW	ADL	AoP	AP	DA	SVS	All
British Empire										1	1
<b>1. Total Liberalism</b>										<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Russian Federation							1				1
<b>2. Total Other</b>							<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>
<b>A) Total Ideological</b>							<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
(former) Soviet Union		1									1
<b>1. Total Marxism-Leninism</b>		<b>1</b>									<b>1</b>
<b>B) Total Communist</b>		<b>1</b>									<b>1</b>
<b>03 Total Ideological (Non-Religious)</b>		<b>1</b>					<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>

Table C 6

*Sample Collection Level I: Aboriginal Communities*

Community	CoP	CoE	CoG	CoR	CoW	ADL	AoP	AP	DA	SVS	All
Akan (Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire)						1					1
Ga-Adangme (Ghana)						1					1
Igbo (Nigeria)						1					1
<b>1. Total Western African Aboriginal communities</b>						<b>3</b>					<b>3</b>
<b>A) Total African communities</b>						<b>3</b>					<b>3</b>
Ringgij Nation States (Australia)						1					1
<b>1. Total Australian Aboriginal communities</b>						<b>1</b>					<b>1</b>
<b>B) Total Australian Aboriginal communities</b>						<b>1</b>					<b>1</b>
Blackfoot Confederacy (Niitsitapi)									1		1
Huron Confederacy									1		1
Iron Confederacy (Nehiyaw-Pwat)									1		1
Powhatan confederacy									1		1
Sioux Confederacy (the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ)									1		1
The Cherokee nation (Ani-Yun' wiya)									1		1
the Iroquois Confederacy									1		1
<b>1. Total North American communities</b>									<b>7</b>		<b>7</b>
Upper Xingu River basin tribes of Brazil									1		1
<b>2. Total South American communities</b>									<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
<b>C) Total Native American communities</b>									<b>8</b>		<b>8</b>
Ghandi (India)	1										1
<b>1. Total Hinduism</b>	<b>1</b>										<b>1</b>
<b>D) Total Dharmic religions</b>	<b>1</b>										<b>1</b>
<b>04 Total Aboriginal communities</b>	<b>1</b>					<b>4</b>			<b>8</b>		<b>13</b>

Table C7

*Sample Collection Level I: Extinct Ancient Communities*

Community	CoP	CoE	CoG	CoR	CoW	ADL	AoP	AP	DA	SVS	All
Assyrian										1	1
<b>1. Total Central Asian cultures</b>										<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Hittite										1	1
<b>2. Total pre-Mosaic Near Eastern culture</b>										<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Ancient Egyptian										1	1
<b>3. Total African cultures</b>										<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>A) Total Non-religious communities</b>										<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>
Imperial China (Qing Dynasty)										1	1
<b>1. Total Taoism</b>										<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>B) Total Asian Religions</b>										<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
High king of Ireland										1	1
<b>1. Total Celtic polytheism and Druidism</b>										<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>C) Total European Heithen</b>										<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Pakistan										1	1
Sikkim Chogyal (20th Century India)										1	1
<b>1. Total Central Asian cultures</b>										<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>D) Total Islamic communities</b>										<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>05 Total Ancient (extinct covenants)</b>										<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>

Table C 8

## Sample Collection Level I: Totals

Community	CoP	CoE	CoG	CoR	CoW	ADL	AoP	AP	DA	SVS	All
A) Judaism (all confessions)	6	4	2								12
B) Christianity (all confessions)	4	1	2	1	1				1	2	12
C) Secularized Christianity	3	1						2		1	7
D) Islam (all confessions)	4	1							1		6
<b>01 Total Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam)</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>37</b>
A) Humanist	3										3
<b>02 Ideological (with Abrahamic tradition)</b>	<b>3</b>										<b>3</b>
A) Ideological							1			1	2
B) Communist	1										1
<b>03 Ideological (Non-Abrahamic)</b>	<b>1</b>						<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>
A) Total African Aboriginal communities						3					3
B) Total Australian Aboriginal communities						1					1
C) Total Native American communities									8		8
D) Total Dharmic religions	1										1
<b>04 Total Aboriginal communities</b>	<b>1</b>					<b>4</b>			<b>8</b>		<b>13</b>
A) Non-religious communities										3	3
B) Asian Religions										1	1
C) European Heithen										1	1
D) Islamic communities										2	2
<b>05 Ancient (extinct covenants)</b>										<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>TOTAL ALL TYPES</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>63</b>



Appendix D

The Synthetic Geometry of Goffman's Sociology

It was assumed that, since Schutz (1967), the synthetic geometry for social sciences had shifted from Einstein's four-dimensional spacetime towards an n-dimensional ontological frame based solely on action from which space, time and subjectivity emerged as simultaneous and interdependent phenomena. Figure C1 especially illustrated how the concept of the Self shifted from the traditional position of an observer to the one of a participant in the ontological frame as described by Goffman's sociology (Cresswell & Hawn, 2011).

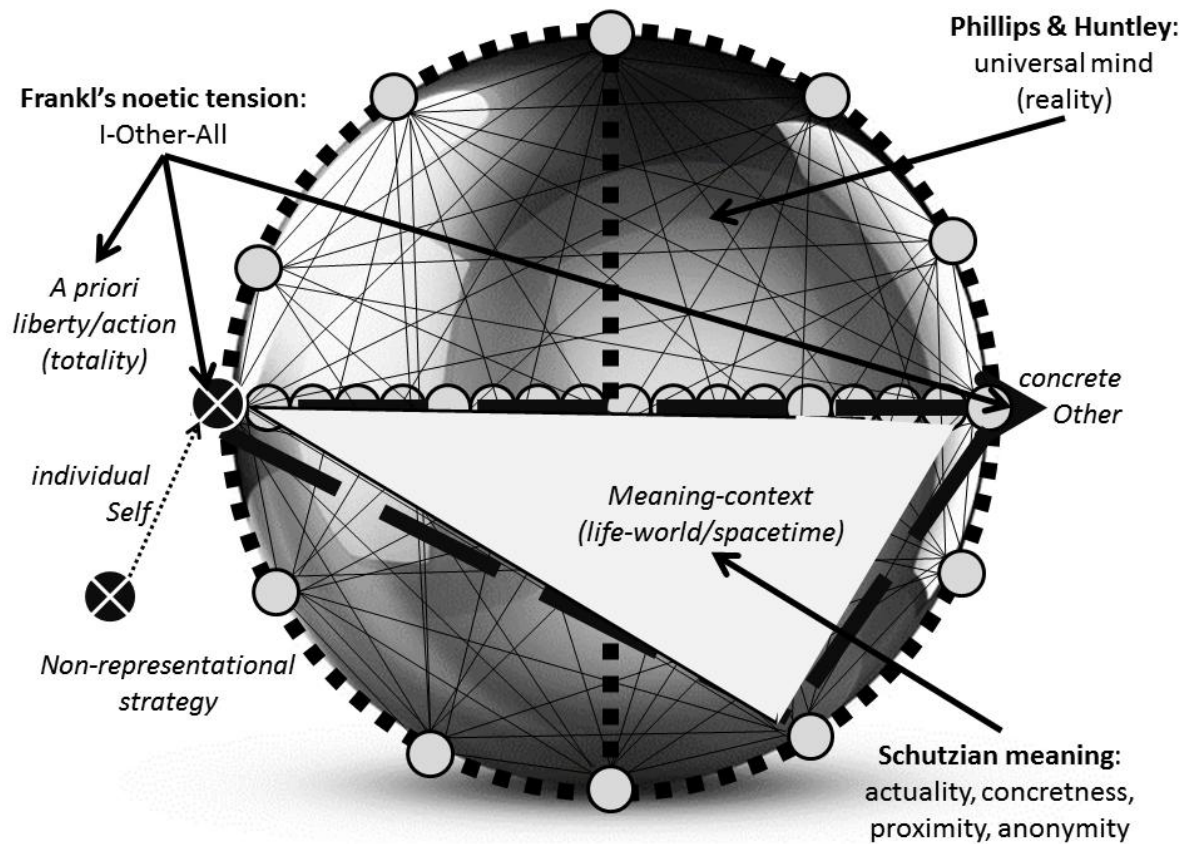


Figure D 1. The ontological frame of Goffman's (1961) sociology.

Appendix E

[Question No.]	[Stochastic question]	[Paradigmatic criterion]
[1]	Do the empirical theories with the help of which we seek to approximate a good or true picture of reality rest on any non-empirical presuppositions? yes [(rationalism)]   no (extreme empiricists)	Apriority of scientific source
[2]	Are the propositions which express these pre-empirical assumptions in every case analytic (tautological, lacking in content)? yes (logical positivism)   no	Analyticity of scientific propositions
[3]	Do we have an infallible knowledge of all the synthetic pre-empirical propositions which are presupposed by the various sciences in the different phases of their development? yes (extreme Cartesians)   no [(synthetic apriorism)]	Necessity of truth
[4]	Could these assumptions, which are presupposed by the empirical sciences, be arbitrary? yes (Feyerabend [= epistemological anarchism])   no [(rationalism)]	Arbitrary vs logical, rule-based structure of science
[5]	The propositions in question must therefore be characterized by a certain plausibility. Is this plausibility always a contextual affair? yes (Hermeneutic relativists) [Hugh Lewis?]   no [(synthetic apriorism)]	Contextual plausibility, contingency
[6]	There is therefore something like an intrinsic plausibility. Are the intrinsically plausible pre-empirical synthetic propositions which play an indispensable role in the sciences given only individually, so that we have only a few isolated examples thereof between which no systematic relations would obtain? yes   no	Syntheticity vs. analyticity of scientific knowledge
[7]	Is it really true, as the Kantians assert, that the intrinsically plausible or intelligible pre-empirical synthetic propositions here at issue are read into or imposed upon the world by us? yes (Kantians)   no [(Aristotelianism et similar)]	Epistemological vs. ontological a priori
[8]	Might the intrinsically plausible pre-empirical synthetic propositions all be false? yes [(Aquinas)]   no [(Plotinus, St. Anselm, Descartes)]	Certainty of ontological a priori
[9]	Certain pre-empirical synthetic intrinsically plausible propositions thus require ontological correlates which are their truth-makers. Hence, there are intelligible structures in the world, which we could also call 'a priori structures'.	

Figure E 1. Overview on Austrian apriorism. Based on Barry Smith (1996). In defense of extreme (fallibilistic) apriorism. Additions made in edgy brackets.

## Appendix F

## Sample Collection Level II

Table F 1

*First Collection Phase: Text Book References A-Z*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
BIJC1808	Bluntschli	Johan Caspar	m	1808	1881	D7303	14836641
BueJG1793	Bürkli Escher vom	Johann Georg	m	1793	1851	D32392	na
EsJK1761	Luchs Escher vom	Johan Konrad, von	m	1761	1833	D47822	na
EsgJH1819	Glas Escher vom	Johann Heinrich <u>Alfred</u>	m	1819	1882	D3626	40175198
EsIHK1743	Luchs	Hans Konrad	m	1743	1814	D13461	na
FuJ1805	Furrer Keller vom	Jonas	m	1805	1861	D3637	64412774
KeFL1799	Steinbock (Dr.) Meyer (-	Friedrich Ludwig	m	1799	1860	D7312	39718875
MeC1807	Hofmeister)	Conrad	m	1807	1881	D48215	30346447
MoJH1803	Mousson	Johan Heinrich Emanuel, von	m	1803	1869	unknown	81782584
NueD1792	Nüscheler	David	male	1792	1871	D46490	80593224
vReH1755	Reinhard	Hans, von	male	1755	1835	D7322	32403192
StKE1803	Steiner	Karl Eduard	male	1803	1870	D7323	unknown
WyD1763	Wyss	David, von	male	1763	1839	D7328	13104570

Table F2

*Second Collection Phase: Emergent Contemporaries A-H*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
AbYJP1767	Ab Yberg	Josef Plazid	m	1767	1824		
AvYT1795	Ab Yberg	Theodor	m	1795	1869		
AfC1772	Affry	Charles, d'	m	1772	1818	D23245	
AmJFK1800	Amrhyn	Josef Franz Karl	m	1800	1849		
Anderwerth1828	Anderwerth	Joseph Fridolin	m	1828	1880		
BaNF1740	Bachmann	Niklaus Franz, von	m	1740	1831	D23298	10671131
BaC1812	Battaglini	Carlo	m	1812	0000		
BaGJ1797	Baumgartner	Gallus Jakob	m	1797	1869		
BeH1783	Beauharnais	Hortense, de	f	1783	1837	na	na
BeL1851§	Begos	L.	m	1851§	0000	na	na
BeKAA1807	Benary	Karl Albert Agathon	m	1807	1861		
BiAE1819	Biedermann	Alois Emanuel	m	1819	1885		
BIS1829	Bleuler	Salomon	m	1829	1886	D3612	62765296
BiWaH1869	Bleuler-Waser	Hedwig	f	1869	1940	na	na
BoK1809	Bodmer	Karl	m	1809	1893		
BoNF1811	Bonaparte	Napoleon Franz	m	1811	1832		
BoF1791	Bopp	Franz	m	1791	1867		
BoE1835	Borel	Eugène	m	1835	1892		
BoT1799	Bornhauser	Thomas	m	1799	1856		
BueG1813	Büchner	Georg	m	1813	1837		
Bürgi1801	Bürgi	David	m	1801	1874		
BuCJC1818	Burkhardt	Carl Jacob Christoph	m	1818	1897		
By1788	Byron		m	1788	1824		
CaEH1892	Carr	Edward Hallett	m	1892	1982	na	24418
CaNAX1767	Castella de						
	Berlens	Nicolas Antoine Xavier	m	1767	1830	na	na
CaC1801	Cattaneo	Carlo	m	1801	1860		
	Chaponniere-						
ChP1850	Chaix	Pauline	f	1850	1934	na	na
CiP1819	Cironi	Piero	m	1819	1862	D27575	49594102
CoB1767	Constant	Benjamin	m	1767	1830		
CoKnV1861	Conzett-Knecht	Verena	f	1861	0000	na	na
DaeJ1822	Dändliker	Jakob	m	1822	1837		
Dorer1807	Dorer-Egloff	Eduard	m	1807	1864		
DrMG1812	Dreyfus	Markus Getsch	m	1812	1877		
DuOAJ1817	Dufour-Onofrio	Anna Joséphine	f	1817	0000	na	na
EnJFL1783	Engelhard	Johann Friedrich Ludwig	m	1783	1862	D3923	
ErJU1803	Ernst	Johann Ulrich	m	1803	1846		
EsHe1781	Escher	Heinrich	m	1781	1860		
EsH1776	Escher	Heinrich	m	1776	1853		
EsH1776	Escher-Zollikofer	Heinrich	m	1776	1853		
Evl1877	Everhardt	Isabelle	f	1877	1904	D42698	73871242
FiGM1790	Fieschi	Giuseppe Marco	m	1790	1836		
FoJ1840	Fontana	José	m	1840	0000		
FrS1796	Franscini	Stefano	m	1796	1857		
FuJC1704	Füsslin	Johan Conrad	m	1704	1775		
GaA1810	Galeer	Albert	m	1810	0000		
GaG1807	Garibaldi	Giuseppe	m	1807	1882	D24614	100192194
GoeM1826	Goegg-Pouchoulin	Marie	f	1826	1899	na	na
Goumoens1771	Goumoëns	Rudolf Ludwig, von	m	1771	1839	D23727	na
GrJM1807	Gräfflein	Johann Melchior	m	1807	1849	D5114	na
GrH1842	Greulich	Hermann	m	1842	0000		
HiJ1803	Hirzel	Johannes	m	1803	1865		
HiL1801	Hirzel	Ludwig	m	1801	1841		
HiS1790	Hirzel	Salomon	m	1790	1844		
HiA1801*	Hirzel-Bürkli	Anna Margaretha	f	1801*	1816	na	na
HiJC1792	Hirzel-Escher	Johann Caspar	m	1792	1851		
JoAH1779	Jomini	Antoine-Henri	m	1779	1869	D20402	95148526
KoJE1782	Kopp	Josef Eutych	m	1782	1851		
KuH1793	Kunz	Heinrich	m	1793	1859		
HaFC1754	La Harpe	Frédéric-César, de	m	1754	1838		

Table F3

*Second Collection Phase: Emergent Contemporaries L-Z*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
LRodRoMC1780*	La Rochefoucauld						
	de Roucy	Marie-Charlotte, de	f	1780*	1797	na	na
LiF1811	Liszt	Franz	m	1811	1886	D41459	64199483
LoJJ1806	Locher-Oerli	Johann Jakob	m	1806	1861		
MaP1783	Maillardoz	Philippe	m	1783	1853	D6036	
MeCF1825	Meyer	Conrad Ferdinand	m	1825	1898		
MeJ1799	Meyer	Johannes	m	1799	1833		
MoPeK1790	Morel-Peyer	Katharina	f	1790	1876	na	na
MueA1601	Mülinen	Anna, von	f	1601	1647	na	na
MuAR1783	Muralt	Abraham Rudolf, von	m	1783	1859	D24080	86082492
MueA1887	Mürset	Anna	f	1887	1975	na	na
vOrJC1787	Orelli	Johann Caspar, von	m	1787	1849		
OrRiS1845	Orelli-Rinderknecht	Susanna	f	1845	1939	na	na
OrF1819	Orsini	Felice	m	1819	1858	D24616	62350712
Pf1805	Pfenninger		m	1805	0000		
PIJ1798	Platter	Johannes	m	1798	1857		
RiH1788	Rieter	Heinrich	m	1788	1851		
RoeA1770	Rösselet	Abraham	m	1770	1850	D42519	
RuUtE1790	Ruepp-Uttinger	Elise	f	1790	0000	na	na
SchG1828	Schaller	Henri Gaspard de	m	1828	1900	D3945	15537329
ScJ1793	Schnell	Johann (Hans)	m	1793	1865	D13283	88235608
ScK1786	Schnell	Karl	m	1786	1844	D5647	77078004
ScJG1776	Schumacher	Joseph Gaspard	m	1776	1847	D23246	232755977
SeG1803	Semper	Gottfried	m	1803	1879	D19970	44372667
ShP1792	Shelley	Percy	m	1792	1822		
SpF1773	Sprünglin	Frédéric	m	1773	0000	na	na
SpJJ1827	Spyri	Johanna	m	1827	1901		
StA1843	Steck	Albert	m	1843	0000		
StJR1789	Steiger	(Johann) Rudolf, von	m	1789	1857		
SuJ1800	Sulzberger	Johannes	m	1800	1875		
SuJJ1806	Sulzer-Hirzel	Johann Jakob	m	1806	1883		
SoNeK1778	Sulzer-Neufer(t)	Katharina	f	1778	1858	na	na
Th1805	Theiler		m	1805	0000		
TrJJ1822	Treichler	Johann Jakob	m	1822	1906		
TuA1875	Tumarkin	Anna	f	1875	1951	na	na
VeL1820	Vela	Luigi	m	1820	0000		
vHaKL1768	von Haller	Karl Ludwig	m	1768	1854		
WeJ1846	Weber	Johannes	m	1846	1912	D41247	267065001
WeJH1805	Weiss	Johann Heinrich	m	1805	1877		
WeFKG1831	Werdt	Friedrich Karl Georg, von	m	1831	1893	D4772	na
WiJ1791	Wieland	Johannes	m	1791	1832	na	15147157
ZeStJ1806	Zehnder-Stadlin	Josephin	f	1806	1875	na	na
ZiJG1728	Zimmermann, Ritter von	Johann Georg	m	1728	1795		

Table F 4

*Second Collection Phase: Emergent Historical Persons A-G*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
AbJ1723	Abraham	Jakob Louis Auguste Philippe	m	1723	1800		
dAfLAFF1743	Affry	Frédéric François, d'	m	1743	1810		
BeA1753	Berthier	Louis Alexandre	m	1753	1815		
BiE1779	Biedermann	Emanuel	m	1779	1836		
BiBoR1880	Bloch-Bollarg	Rosa	f	1880	1922	na	na
BueG0000	Büchner	Georg	m	0000	0000		
ChX1757	Charles X of France		m	1757	1836	na	na
ChAL1773	Chézny	Antoine Léonard, de	m	1773	1832		
CoN1743	Condorcet	Nicolas	m	1743	1794		
DeM1495	Dentière	Marie	f	1495	1561	na	na
DrDH1799	Druey	Daniel-Henri	m	1799	1855	D4313	57361171
DuGH1787	Dufour	Guillaume-Henri	m	1787	1875	D3862	2495837
DuA1802	Dumas	Alexandre	m	1802	1870	na	51688902
DuALA1804	Dupin	Amantine-Lucile-Aurore	f	1804	1876	na	46766944
ErJH0000	Erni	Johann Heinrich	m	0000	0000	na	na
EsE1759	Escher	Elisabetha	f	1759	0000	na	na
EsHJ1770	Escher	Hans Jakob	m	1770	1827		
EsR1757	Escher	Regula	f	1757	0000	na	na
EsLthC1767	Escher von der Linth	Hans Conrad	m	1767	1823		
EskHC1755	Escher-Keller	Hans Caspar	m	1755	1831		
EsS 1764	Escher-Meyer	Susanna	f	1764	0000	na	na
EsSchH1777	Escher-Schulthess	Heinrich	m	1777	1840		
FaD1868	Farbstein	David	m	1868	1953	D6285	50145742
FaBoAL1762	Fauche (-Borel)	Abraham Louise	m	1762	1829		
FaJ1794	Fazy	James	m	1794	1878		
Fehr1779	Fehr	Johannes	m	1779	1838		
Fierz1787	Fierz	Johann Jakob	m	1787	1861		
FiJJ1796	Finsler	Johann Jakob	m	1796	1836	na	na
FiCJ1773	Fischer	Conrad Johann	m	1773	1854		
FiR0000	Fischer	Rudolf, von	m	0000	0000		
FID1431*	Flüeh-Wyss	Dorothea, von	f	1431*	xxxx	na	na
FIE1851	Flühmann	Elisabeth	f	1851	1929	D20344	308194913
FrJol1830	Franz Joseph I of Austria		m	1830	1916	na	na
FrWillI1770	Frederick William III of Prussia		m	1770	1840	na	50016770
FrJR0000	Frey	Johann Rudolf	m	0000	0000	na	na
FrWillII1770	Friedrich Wilhelm III.		m	1770	1840		
FrJ0000	Frutiger	Johannes	m	0000	0000		
GICW0000	Glück	Christian Wilhelm, von	m	0000	1866		
GoM1870	Gobat	Marguerite	f	1870	1937	D9304	na
GoJW1749	Goethe	Johann Wolfgang	m	1749	1832	D11638	24602065
GoFA1793	Good	Franz Anton	m	1793	1866	D18268	na
GoJ 1797	Gotthelf	Jeremias	m	1797	1854	D11835	49303093
GrR0000	Grob	R.	m	0000	0000	na	na
GrAM1761	Grosholtz	Anna Maria	f	1761	1850	D30997	96273854
Guard0000	Guard		m	0000	0000	na	na
GuG1845	Guillaume-Schack	Gertrud	f	1845	1903	D9323	233789078
Gysi0000	Gysi		m	0000	0000	na	na

Table F 5

*Second Collection Phase: Emergent Historical Persons H-N*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
HSdGA1808	Haller, Seigneur de						
	Goumoen	Albert	m	1808	1858		
HaHH0000	Hartmeyer	Hans Heinrich	m	0000	0000	na	na
Hauser0000	Hauser		m	0000	0000	na	na
He0000	Heer		m	0000	0000	na	na
HeGF1785	Heilmann	Georg Friedrich	m	1785	1862	D13230	45199718
HeN1818	Hermann	Nicolaus	m	1818	1888	D4528	232589443
HeHJ1764	Herzl	Henriette (Julie)	f	1764	1847	na	na
HeT1860	Herzl	Theodor	m	1860	1904	na	76317061
HeJC1793	Hess	Johann Caspar	m	1793	1858		
HiC 1833	Hilty	Carl	m	1833	1909	D3987	3265317
HiHC1798	Hirzel	Hans Caspar	m	1798	1866	D45991	81755492
HiJC1749	Hirzel	Johannes	m	1749	1813		
HiJ1776	Hirzel-Bürkli	Johannes	m	1776	1884		
HiM1778	Hirzel-Bürkli	Margaretha	f	1778	1851	na	na
HoE1839	Honegger	Elise	f	1839	1912	D9334	295678702
HoJJ1652	Hottinger	Johann Jakob	m	1652	1735	D10680	
Ho0000	Hotz		m	0000	0000	na	na
Hu0000	Huber		m	0000	0000	na	na
Hue 0000	Hüni		m	0000	0000	na	na
Hüni0000	Hüni		m	0000	0000	na	na
JaFH1743	Jacobi	Friedrich Heinrich	m	1743	1819		
JoM0000	Jorio	Marco	m	0000	0000	na	na
KeA1805	Keller	Augustin	m	1805	1883	D3771	15564360
Ko0000	Kopp		m	0000	0000	na	na
KoT1746	Kosciusko	Tadeusz	m	1746	1817		61554270
Krauer0000	Krauer		m	0000	0000	na	na
KueF0000	Kündig	Felix	m	0000	0000		
KueJ0000	Kündig	Jakob	m	0000	0000		
KuG1890	Kurz	Gertrud	f	1890	0000	na	na
KueJ1820*	Küstner	Johanna	f	1820*	1888	na	25032888
Lavater1741	Lavater	Johann Kaspar	m	1741	1801	D10444	27067242
LeBRxxxx	Lerber	Beat Rudolf, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
Le 0000	Lessing		m	0000	0000	na	na
LeJ1800	Leu	Josef	m	1800	1845	D13347	6893863
LiAB0000	Linsi	Anna Barbara	f	0000	0000	na	na
LoGA1759	Lotti	Giacomo Angelo	m	1759	1814		308749522
LoPh1773	Louis Philippe I.		m	1773	1850		55392984
LuXVI1754	Ludwig XVI.		m	1754	1793		212882453
MaJP0000	Maillard	J. P.	m	0000	0000	na	na
MaE0000	Marc	Edmond	m	0000	0000	na	na
MaK1818	Marx	Karl	m	1818	1883		49228757
MaExxxx	May	Eduard	m	xxxx	xxxx		
MaG1805	Mazzini	Giuseppe	m	1805	1872	D24168	2498020
MeMxxxx	Mémieux	Majus	m	xxxx	xxxx		
		Klemens Wenzel Lothar, von	m	1773	1859	D42732	49258230
MeKWL1773	Metternich		m	1773	1859	D42732	49258230
MeBxxxx	Meyer	Bernhard	m	xxxx	xxxx		
MeF1799	Meyer	Ferdinand M.	m	1799	1840		
MeHJxxxx	Meyer	Hans Jakob	m	xxxx	xxxx		
MeJJ1763	Meyer	Johann Jacob	m	1763	1819		
Meyer0000	Meyer		m	0000	0000	na	na
MoCxxxx	Monnard	Charles	m	xxxx	xxxx		
MuC0000	Mugler	C.	m	0000	0000	na	na
MueA1523§	Mülinen	Anna, von	f	1523§	0000	na	na
MueH1850	Mülinen	Helene, von	f	1850	1924	D9044	47532887
MueFrKxxxx	Müller-Friedberg	Karl	m	xxxx	xxxx		
MuWxxxx	Munzinger	Walther	m	xxxx	xxxx		
Muxxxx	Muralt	, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
NaLIIIxxxx	Napoleon III.	Louis	m	xxxx	xxxx		
NeALG1766	Necker	Anne-Louise Germaine	f	1766	1817	D16051	89204033
NeKaR1779	Niederer-Kasthofer	Rosette	f	1779	1857	D9035	67596849

Table F6

*Second Collection Phase: Emergent Historical Persons O-Sn*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
OZxxxx	O.	Z.	m	xxxx	xxxx		
OcU0000	Ochsenbein	Ulrik	m	0000	0000	na	na
OeWxxxx	Oechsli	Wilhelm	m	xxxx	xxxx		
OpM1913	Oppenheim	Meret	f	1913	1985	D12190	61550307
vOrD1749	Orell	David, von	m	1749	1812		
OtH0000	Ott	Heinrich	m	0000	1811	na	na
OtJ 0000	Ott	Jakob	m	0000	0000	na	na
OtJCxxxx	Ott	Johann Caspar	m	xxxx	xxxx		
Pexxxx	Perregaux		m	xxxx	xxxx		
PeA1738	Pestalozzi	Anna	f	1738	0000	na	na
Pexxxx	Pestalutz		m	xxxx	xxxx		
PeFxxxx	Petavel	François	m	xxxx	xxxx		
Pexxxx	Petitpierre		m	xxxx	xxxx		
PdRCxxxx	Pictet de Rochement	Charles	m	xxxx	xxxx		
PiReE1854	Pieczynska-Reichenau	Emma	f	1854	1927	na	67267456
PiGBxxxx	Pioda	Giovanni Battista	m	xxxx	xxxx		
PuS1632	Puffendorf	Samuel	m	1632	1694		
Ra0000	Raabe		m	0000	0000	na	na
Ragusaxxxx	Ragusa		m	xxxx	xxxx		
RaC0000	Rahn	Caroline	f	0000	0000	na	na
ReA1765	Reding	Alois Josef Fridolin	m	1765	1818		
ReT1755	Reding	Theodor	m	1755	1809		
ReJ1792	Rellstab	Johannes	m	1792	0000		
ReJAL1772	Reymond	Jean-Antoin Louis	m	1772	1821		
RiK1779	Ritter	Karl	m	1779	1859		
RoM1758	Robespierre	Maximilien Marie Isidore, de	f	1758	1794	na	na
RoLxxxx	Roll	, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
RoAIP1777	Romanow	Alexander I. Pawlowitsch	m	1777	1825		
RoP1787	Rossi	Pellegrino	m	1787	1848	D7230	64074105
RueA0000	Rüegg	Anna	f	0000	0000	na	na
RueJH0000	Rüegg	Johann Heinrich	m	0000	0000	na	na
RueVxxxx	Rüttimann	Vincenz	m	xxxx	xxxx		
RMvSAM1772	Rüttimann-Meyer von Schauensee	Anna Maria	f	1772	1856	na	na
SaJMxxxx	Sailer	Johann Michael, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
SaMeM1855	Salis-Marschlins	Barbara Margaretha, von	f	1855	1929	D9378	54193565
SaSoJU1790	Salis-Soglio	Johann Ulrich, von	m	1790	1874	D24231	17982094
SaSaE1829	Sarasin-Sauvin	Elisabeth	f	1829	1982	na	na
Sa0000	Sarrans		m	0000	0000	na	na
vSaFC1779	Savigny	Friedrich Carl, von	m	1779	1861		
Sc0000	Schäppi		m	0000	0000	na	na
ScL0000	Scheidegger	Luise	f	0000	1866	na	na
ScMT1825	Scherer	Maria Theresia	f	1825	1888	D9067	18021095
ScBeA1773	Schlatter-Bernet	Anna	f	1773	1826	D10486	4921914
ScD1764	Schlegel	Dorothea, von	f	1764	1839	na	95307649
ScF1768	Schleiermacher	Friedrich	m	1768	1834		
ScLxxxx	Schulthess	L.	m	xxxx	xxxx		
ScFxxxx	Schumacher	Felix, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
ScKLxxxx	Schuster	Karl Ludwig	m	xxxx	xxxx		
ScRxxxx	Schwarzenbach	Robert	m	xxxx	xxxx		
ScA1808	Schweizer	Alexander	m	1808	0000		
SePA1817	Segesser	Philipp Anton, von	m	1817	1888		17239703
Si0000	Siber		m	0000	0000	na	na
Si0000	Sigfrid		m	0000	0000	na	na
SnL1785	Snell	Ludwig	m	1785	1854	D13521	15546555
SnW1789	Snell	Wilhelm	m	1789	1851		



Table F7

*Second Collection Phase: Emergent Historical Persons St-Z*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
StJxxxx	Stämpfli	Jakob	m	xxxx	xxxx		
StStE1848	Stämpfli-Studer	Emma	f	1848	1930	na	305919410
StFA1766	Stapfer	Friedrich Albert	m	1766	1840		
Stxxxx	Steffan		m	xxxx	xxxx		
StC1742	Stein	Charlotte, von	f	1742	1827	na	5073680
Stxxxx	Steinhauer		m	xxxx	xxxx		
StExxxx	Stettler	Eduard	m	xxxx	xxxx		
StKLxxxx	Stettler	Karl Ludwig	m	xxxx	xxxx		
SvRkxxxx	Stettler von Rodt	Karl	m	xxxx	xxxx		
StUnHxxxx	Studer-Unholz	Heinrich	m	xxxx	xxxx		
StJxxxx	Stumpf	Johann	m	xxxx	xxxx		
Stxxxx	Stünzi		m	xxxx	xxxx		
StRxxxx	Stürler	Rudolf	m	xxxx	xxxx		
StPxxxx	Styger	Paul	m	xxxx	xxxx		
Sulzerxxxx	Sulzer	M.	m	xxxx	xxxx		
SuMF1701	Sulzer	Melchior Friedrich	m	1701	1853		
SuRxxxx	Sutermeister	Rudolf	m	xxxx	xxxx		
ToBrAB1790§	Tobler	Anna Barbara	f	1790§	1826	na	na
TriPV1780	Troxler	Ignaz P.V.	m	1780	1866		
TrD1813	Trudel	Dorothea	f	1813	1862	D10880	59877442
UnCxxxx	Ungerich	Caspar	m	xxxx	xxxx		
Usteri1769	Usteri	Leonhard	m	1769	1853	D26255	42612272
ViKeG1910	Villiger-Keller	Gertrud	f	1910	0000	na	na
ViM1860	Villinger	Marie	f	1860	1946	na	na
ViAxxxx	Vinet	Alexandre	m	xxxx	xxxx		
VoFxxxx	Vogel	Friedrich	m	xxxx	xxxx		
VoJxxxx	Vollenweider	Johann	m	xxxx	xxxx		
WaR1813	Wagner	Richard	m	1813	1882	D11644	29732107
WaJHxxxx	Waser	Johann Heinrich	m	xxxx	xxxx		
WaD1640§	Wattenwyl	Anna Desirée, von	f	1640§	0000	na	na
WaA1841	Wattenwyl	Anna, von	f	1841	1927	na	na
WaBxxxx	Wattenwyl	Bernhard, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
WaFE1750§	Wattenwyl	Françoise Elisabeth, von	f	1750§	1794	na	na
WaFxxxx	Wattenwyl	Friedrich, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
WaJxxxx	Wattenwyl	Johann, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
WaMA1750§	Wattenwyl	Maria Angelika, von	f	1750§	0000	na	na
WaNRxxxx	Wattenwyl	Niklaus Rudolf, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
WaNR1760	Wattenwyl	Nikolaus Rudolf	m	1760	1832	D13317	67235444
WaSA1793	Wattenwyl-Frisching	Sophie Alette, von	f	1793	1854	na	na
Wexxxx	Wehrli		m	xxxx	xxxx		
WeWxxxx	Weitling	Wilhelm	m	xxxx	xxxx		
Wexxxx	Werdt	, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
WeE1783	Wespi	Anna Elisabeth	f	1783	0000	na	na
WeJRxxxx	Wet(z)stein	Johann Rudolph	m	xxxx	xxxx		
Wi900§	Wiborada		f	900§	926	na	na
WiF1777	Wilken	Friedrich	m	1777	1840		
Wixxxx	Willin		m	xxxx	xxxx		
WiKMxxxx	Wirth	Kaspar Melchior	m	xxxx	xxxx		
Wirzxxxx	Wirz		m	xxxx	xxxx		
Wixxxx	Wiswald		m	xxxx	xxxx		
WoM1759	Wollenstonecraft	Mary	f	1759	1797	na	na
Wyxxxx	Wytenbach		m	xxxx	xxxx		
Ze xxxx	Zerrer		m	xxxx	xxxx		
ZeC1857	Zetkin	Clara Josephine	f	1857	1933	na	46861505
Zexxxx	Zeuner		m	xxxx	xxxx		
ZiD1792	Zimmerli	D.	m	1792	1875	D24460	na
ZiBaeP1829	Zimmerli-Bäuerlin	Pauline	f	1829	1914	na	na
ZiJCxxxx	Zimmermann	J. C.	m	xxxx	xxxx		
ZiK1478	Zimmern	Katharina, von	f	1478	1547	na	na

Table F8

*Second Collection Phase: Emergent Historical Persons A-G*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
ArFM1694	Arouet	François Marie	m	1694	1778		
Be833*	Berta		f	833*	877		81099071
BoJB1627	Bossuet	Jacques Bénigne	m	1627	1704		
Boyve1731	Boyve	Jérôme-Emmanuel	m	1731	1810		
EtP1507§	Etterlin	Petermann	m	1507§	0000		
FeA1723	Ferguson	Adam	m	1723	1818		
FrH1469§	Fründ	Hans	m	1469§	0000		
GrJJ1579	Grasser	Johann Jacob	m	1579	1627		
Hi853§	Hildegard		f	853§	0000		
HuD1711	Hume	David	m	1711	1777		
Re<958	Regelinda		f	<958	958		
Ri840	Richardis		f	840	900		
RoW1721	Robertson	William	m	1721	1793		
RoJJ1712	Rousseau	Jean Jacques	m	1712	1778		
SaJ 1517§	Salat	Johannes	m	1517§	1534§		
ScDAe1445*	Schillin	Diebold, der Ältere	m	1445*	1486*		
Scxxxx	Schodoler		m	xxxx	xxxx		
SiAe0000	Silvius	Aeneas	m	0000	0000		
Ts1470§	Tschachtlan		m	1470§	0000		
TsAe1505	Tschudi	Aegidius	m	1505	<1505		
WaJ1484	Watt	Johannes, von	m	1484	1551		
WeE1235*	Wetzikon	Elisabeth, von	f	1235*	1295		

Table F9

*Second Collection Phase: Emergent Potential Samples*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
BIR1807	Blum	Robert	m	1807	1848		
CoV1808	Considerant	Victor Proper	m	1808	1893		
EIF1794	Elgger	Franz, von	m	1794	1858		
FIM1805	Flaviny	Marie, de	f	1805	1876	na	na
HeG0000	Heidegger	Georg	m	0000	0000	na	na
HeJR0000	Heiz	Johann Rudolf	m	0000	0000		
MvRJ1808	May (von Rued)	Julie, von	f	1808	1875	na	308694648
MeWxxxx	Meyer-Ott	Wilhelm	m	xxxx	xxxx		
MoJ1780§	Morel-Peyer	Josef	m	1780§	1844	na	na
PfK1794	Pfyffer	Kasimir	m	1794	1875		
PrPJ1809	Proudhon	Pierre-Joseph	m	1809	1865		17228286
RuJM0000	Rudolf	Johann Martin	m	0000	0000		
ScJJ1825	Scherer	Johann Jacob	m	1825	1878		
ScBoT1816	Scherer-Boccard	Theodor	m	1816	0000		
ScL1781	Schnell	(Johann) Ludwig	m	1781	1859	D14785	88235855
StR1801	Steiger	Jakob Robert	m	1801	1862	D4206	na
UeB1806	Übel	Bruno	m	1806	1840		
Ulxxxx	Ulrich		m	xxxx	xxxx		
Wa 0000	Walder		m	0000	0000		
ZiJH0000	Zimmermann	Johann H.	m	0000	0000		



Table F 11

*Third Collection Phase: Historiographers A-J*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
AIU1942	Altermatt	Urs	m	1942	---		
AlJG1685	Altmann	Johann-Georg	m	1685	1758		
AnMF1817	Anneke	(Mathilde) Franziska	f	1817	1884	na	na
AsL1814	Aston	Louise	f	1814	1871	na	na
BaS1751	Bandemer	Susanne, von	f	1751	1828	na	na
BeMxxxx	Beck	Marcel	m	xxxx	xxxx		
BeDFA1755	Berlepsch	Dorothea Friderika Aemilia, von	f	1755	1830	na	na
BeEE1768	Bernhardi	Elisabeth Eleonore	f	1768	1849	na	na
BIHWxxxx	Blanke	Horst Walter	m	xxxx	---		
BIHH1656	Bluntschli	Hans Heinrich	m	1656	1722		
BoJJ1698	Bodmer	Johann Jakob	m	1698	1783		
BoE1898	Bonjour	Edgar	m	1898	1991		
BrEhM1755	Brentano-Ehrmann	Marianne	f	1755	1795	na	na
BrFSC1765	Brun	Friederike Sophie Christiane	f	1765	1835	na	na
Bu1746§	Buffon		m	1746§	0000		
Bullinger1504	Bullinger	Heinrich	m	1504	1575		
BueMCE1760	Bürger	Marie Christiane Elisabeth	f	1760	1833	na	na
CaExxxx	Cassirer	Ernst	m	xxxx	---		
CrAW0000	Cramer	Andreas Wilhelm	m	0000	0000		
DaC0000	Dahlmann	Carl	m	0000	0000		
DiJ1842	Dierauer	Johannes	m	1842	1920		
DiJFLD1807	Dittmar	Johanna Friederike Louise	f	1807	1884	na	na
DoH1896	Domann	Hans	m	1896	1944		
DoN0000	Domeisen	Norbert	m	0000	---	na	na
DuR1867	Durrer	Robert	m	1867	1934		
Evl1877	Eberhardt	Isabelle	f	1877	1904		
FeR1877	Feller	Richard	m	1877	1958		
FiJ 1826	Ficker	Julius	m	1826	1902		
FIC1750	Flachsland	Caroline	f	1750	1809	na	49387820
FrJ1805	Fröbel	Julius	m	1805	1893	D13473	2771521
FuE1876	Fueter	Eduard	m	1876	1928		
GaExxxx	Gagliardi	Ernst	m	xxxx	xxxx		
GaF1876	Gallati	Frieda	f	1876	1955		
GaAxxxx	Gasser	Adolf	m	xxxx	xxxx		
GeM1886	Gelzer	Matthias	m	1886	1974		
GIC1825	Glümer	Claire, von	f	1825	1906	na	77073936
GoO1748	Gouges	Olympe, de	f	1748	1793	na	na
GrA1749	Grün	Albertine, von	f	1749	1792	na	na
GueSxxxx	Guex	Sébastien	m	xxxx	---		
HaA1708	Haller	Albrecht, von	m	1708	1777		
HeGWF1770	Hegel	Georg Wilhelm Friedrich	m	1770	1831	D47710	89774942
HeJG1744	Herder	Johann Gottfried	m	1744	1803	na	95187266
HeD1697	Herrliberger	David	m	1697	1777	na	na
HeHJ1764	Herz	Henriette (Julie)	f	1764	1847		
HoA1758	Holst	Amalia	f	1758	1829	na	na
Ho1783	Hottinger		m	1783	1860	D27073	19835905
HuT1764	Huber	Therese	f	1764	1829	na	29584708
HuR1864	Huch	Riccarda	f	1864	1947	na	na
IHoU1917	Im Hof	Ulrich	m	1917	2001		
Isl1728	Iselin	Isaak	m	1728	1782		
IsJR1764	Iselin	Johann Rudolf	m	1764	1829	na	29584708
JaJ1829	Janssen	Johannes	m	1829	1891		

Table F12

*Third Collection Phase: Historiographers K-R*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
KaeW190							
1	Kaegi	Werner	m	1901	1979		
Kal1724	Kant	Immanuel	m	1724	1804	na	82088490
KeF 0000	Keller	Ferdinand	m	0000	0000		
KeG1819	Keller	Gottfried	m	1819	1890	D12024	102319551
KIO1822	Klopp	Onno	m	1822	1903		
KnSB000							
0	Knab	Susanna Barbara	f	0000	0000	na	na
KoePxxxx	König	Paul	m	xxxx	xxxx		
KrG1943	Kreis	Georg	m	1943	---		
KuHRxxxx	Kurz	Hans Rudolf	m	xxxx	---		
KueJ0000	Küstner	Johann	m	0000	0000		
LaRoS173							
0	La Roche	Sophie, von	f	1730	1807	na	36932939
LeGE172							
9	Lessing	Gotthold Ephraim	m	1729	1781		9849550
LeF1811	Lewald	Fanny	f	1811	1889	na	59217212
LueH1918	Lüthy	Herber	m	1918	2002		
MaA1862	Maag	Albert	m	1862	1929	D48750	7760616
MaT1962	Maissen	Thomas	m	1962	---		
MaE1805	Mallet	Edouard	m	1805	1856	D32251	35214986
MaM1928	Mattmüller	Markus	m	1928	2003		
MeL1746	Mejer	Luise	f	1746	1786	na	46909794
MeJB167							
4	Mencke	Johann Burchard	m	1674	1732		
MeFxxxx	Metzger	Franziska	f	xxxx	---		
MeK xxxx	Meyer	Karl	m	xxxx	xxxx		
	Meyer von						
MeG1843	Knouau	Gerold	m	1843	1931	D16567	9837900
MeM1816	Meysenbug	Malwida, von	f	1816	1903	na	89241023
MoeWxxx							
x	Möckli	Werner	m	xxxx	xxxx		
MoeJMxx							
xx	Moeglin	Jean-Marie	m	xxxx	xxxx		
MoeOxxxx	Mörke	Olaf	m	xxxx	---		
MueJ1752	Müller	Johannes, von	m	1752	1809		
MuLxxxx	Muralt	Leonhard, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
NaH1874	Nabholz	Hans	m	1874	1961		
NaeW189							
4	Näf	Werner	m	1894	1959		
NiCF1733	Nicolai	Christoph Friedrich	m	1733	1811		
OeW1944	Oechslin	Werner	m	1944	---	na	84636169
OtPeL181							
9	Otto-Peters	Louise	f	1819	1895	na	18014534
PaL1854	Pastor	Ludwig	m	1854	1929		
PeHCxxxx	Peyer	Hans Conrad	m	xxxx	xxxx		
PrA1697	Prévost	Antoine	m	1697	0000		
RhVxxxx	Rheinhard	Volker	m	xxxx	---		
RuA1678	Ruchat	Abraham	m	1678	1750		
Rue0000	Rüh		m	0000	0000	na	na
RueJxxxx	Rüsens	Jörn	m	xxxx	---		

Table F 13

*Third Collection Phase: Historiographers S-Z*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
SaP1956	Sarasin	Philipp	m	1956	---		
ScC1856§	Schenk	Carl	m	1856§	xxxx		
ScF1759	Schiller	Friedrich	m	1759	1805	D12255	96994450
	Schlege-						
ScScC1763	Schelling	Caroline	f	1763	1809	na	98185204
ScAL1735	Schlözer	August Ludwig	m	1735	1809		
	Schnyder						
ScBuAxxxx	Burghartz	Albert	m	xxxx	---		
ScJH1766	Schopenhauer	Johanna (Henriette)	f	1766	1839	na	na
ScH1470§	Schriber	Hans	m	1470§	0000		
ScT1887	Schwegler	Theodor	m	1887	1967		
SiG1960	Signori	Gabriela	m	1960	---		
SpO1880	Spengler	Oswald	m	1880	1936		
StPxxxx	Stadler	Peter	m	xxxx	---		
StA1926	Staehelin	Andreas	m	1926	2002		
StF 1873	Staehelin	Felix	m	1873	1952		
StA1714§	Stanyan	Abraham	m	1714§	xxxx		
StJxxxx	Steinberg	Jonathan	m	xxxx	---		
	Stolberg von						
StA1785	Witzleben	Agnes, von	f	1785	1848	na	na
StA1824	Struve	Amalia	f	1824	1862	na	na
SyHxxxx	Sybel	Heinrich, von	m	xxxx	xxxx		
TaJ1950	Tanner	Jakob	m	1950	---		
TaE 1868	Tatarinof	Eugen	m	1868	1983		
TrH1834	Treitschke	Heinrich, von	m	1834	1896	na	95211206
TrJ xxxx	Troxler	Joseph	m	xxxx	xxxx		
TuR1961	Tuchtenhagen	Ralph	m	1961	---	na	12483925
UnFH1806							
§	Unger	Friederike Helene	f	1806§	0000	na	na
ViExxxxx	Vischer	Eduard	m	xxxx	xxxx		
VoPxxxx	Vogelsanger	Peter	m	xxxx	---		
VoJ1749	Voigts	Jenny, von	f	1749	1814	na	62327551
VdRECC17	Von der						
54	Recke	Elisabeth Charlotte Constanzia	f	1754	1833	na	na
WaSH1774	Wahl	Sophie Helmine	f	1774	0000	na	na
WaJIE1740	Wallenrod	Johanna Isabella Eleonore, von	f	1740	1819	na	na
WeH1871	Wegscheider	Hildegrad	f	1871	1953	na	na
WeBxxxx	Weinmann	Barbara	f	xxxx	---		
WeExxxxx	Wessendorf	Ernst	m	xxxx	xxxx		
WoFME181							
2	Wolfhagen	Friederike Marie Ernstine	f	1812	1878	na	na
WoM1759	Wollstonecraft	Mary	f	1759	1797	na	51697482
WyG1816	Wyss	Georg, von	m	1816	1893		
ZiOxxxx	Zimmer	Oliver	m	xxxx	---		
ZiK1801	Zitz	Kathinka	f	1801	1877	na	232872775
ZsH1771	Zschokke	Heinrich	m	1771	1848		

Table F 14

*Fourth Collection Phase: Biographers A-Z*

id	name	first name	gen	birth	death	HLS	VIAF
BaFU1689	Balthasar	Franz Urs, von	m	1689	1763		
BiMLB1886	Bloch	Marc Léopold Benjamin	m	1886	1944		
BoeL1858	Bögli	Lina	f	1858	1941		
BoSJ1732	Bondeli	(Suzanne) Julie	f	1732	1778	D11582	67259373
EdG1454	Edlibach	Gerold	m	1454	1530		
EnEgR1761	Engel	Regula	f	1761	1853	D31794	42629184
EsN1855	Escher	Nanny, von	f	1855	1932	D28199	3225736
FueHH1745	Füssli	Hans Heinrich	m	1745	1832		
GeHeJ1765§	Gessner-Heidegger	Judith	f	1765§			
GoE 1879	Gourd	Emilie	f	1879	1946	D9308	na
GrE1795	Grossmann	Elisabetha	f	1795	1858		
HaA1281	Habsburg	Agnes, von	f	1281	1364	D12465	15645841
HeMoeM1845	Heim-Vögtlin	Marie	f	1845	1916	D9330	95186121
HeSiE1817	Herwegh-Siegmund	Emma	f	1817	1904	D19132	10605395
KeSpE1853	Kempin-Spyri	Emilie	f	1853	1901	na	na
OcP1752	Ochs	Peter	m	1752	1821		
ScWoB1745	Schulthess-Wolf	Barbara	f	1745	1818		
StE1300	Stagel	Elsbeth	f	1300	1360		
StJR1818	Steiger	(Johann) Rudolf, von	m	1818	1872		
StA1892	Storni	Alfonsina	f	1892	1938	F10162	90658830
StJ1500	Stupmpf	Johannes	m	1500	1577*		
TaeArS1889	Taeuber-Arp	Sophie	f	1889	1943	na	na
WaA1678	Waser	Anna	f	1678	1714	D19101	62360577
WaKF1645	Wattenwyl, von	Katharina Franziska	f	1645	1714	na	na
WeEsL1858	Welti-Escher	Lydia	f	1858	1891	na	na
ZuBF1720	Zurlauben	Beat Fidel	m	1720	1799		

Appendix G  
Research Steps

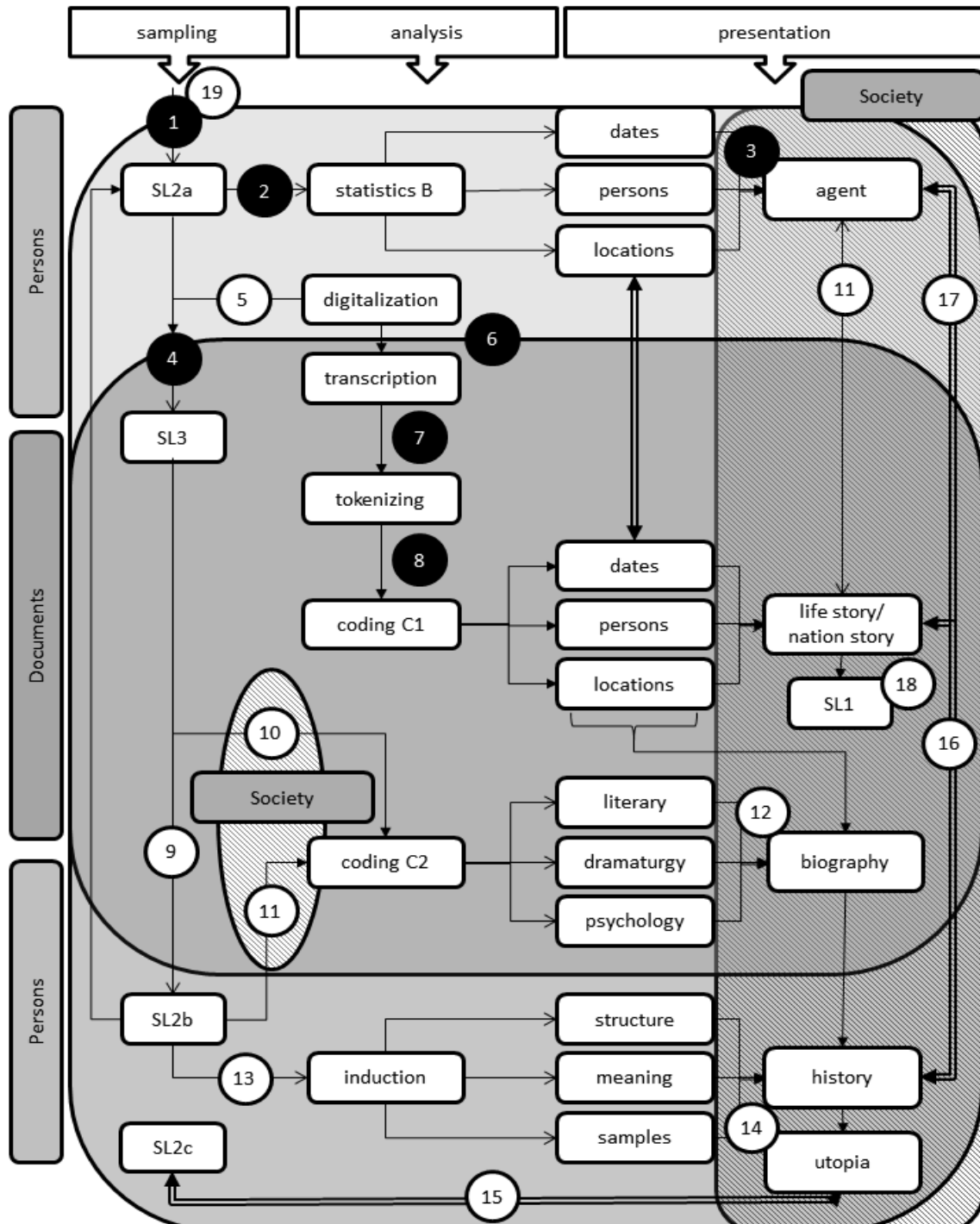


Figure G 1. Schematic overview of the research design.



## Appendix H

## Word Cloud Extract from Hermeneutic Analysis

Based on an automatized semantic search with Taporware's (2007) wordcloud tool, text frequency was evaluated for each analyzed document and presented in a word clouds. 10% of the most frequent words were reproduced; proper names in bold, speacially meaningful words underlined.

**Heinrich Weiss' Beitrag zur Geschichte vom 6. September 1839**

bewegung (10) einberufung (10) gegner (10) gelegenheit (10) gesandten (10) hauptwache (10) militärschule (10) papiere (10) rathe (10) religion (10) schien (10) schule (10) staatsanwaltschaft (10) stand (10) that (10) verlangen (10) zimmer (10) behörde (11) bürgermeister (11) gewiß (11) kirchgemeinden (11) klage (11) kundmachung (11) landes (11) pfarrer (11) sehen (11) verbreitet (11) wissen (11) absicht (12) bleiben (12) bürgern (12) geschehen (12) große (12) **landis** (12) nachricht (12) **rahn** (12) theils (12) zweck (12) auftrag (13) august (13) beschlossen (13) frage (13) glaubens (13) regierungsrathes (13) wort (13) wünsche (13) zeughaus (13) erlaß (14) herren (14) **strauß** (14) mitbürger (15) ordnung (15) rathes (15) wahrheit (15) behörden (16) bezirks (16) comités (16) kantons (16) reg[ierung] (16) **hürlimann** (17) pflicht (17) ruhig (17) sagen (17) **weiß** (17) seite (18) theil (18) glauben (19) hause (19) kloten (19) namen (19) prääsident (19) sitzung (19) thun (19) weise (19) antwort (20) pfäffikon (20) bringen (21) **escher** (21) ruhe (21) truppen (22) leute (24) verfassung (24) bürger (25) gemeinden (26) oberst (26) mitglieder (28) heiß (29) [großen] rath (29) stadt (30) **sulzer** (33) **hegetschweiler** (34) central [comité] (36) regierungsrath (36) herrn (40) zürich (41) herr (42) comité (46) **hirzel** (50) volk (79) regierung (102)

**Katharina Morel's Livre de Voyage**

schweizerregimenter (4) stunde (4) stück (4) thaler (4) truppen (4) wein (4) weise (4)  
wilna (4) wohnung (4) zogen (4) corps (5) doktor (5) feuer (5) glücklich (5) hause (5) herr (5)  
herrn (5) häuser (5) **kaiser** (5) kanonen (5) lage (5) leben (5) pferde (5) rief (5) schlafen (5)  
schlitten (5) seite (5) starben (5) toten (5) tragen (5) armeecorps (6) juden (6) kleider (6) kranken  
(6) königsberg (6) marienwerder (6) obersten (6) russland (6) schlacht (6) seiten (6) stand (6)  
strasse (6) batzen (7) boden (7) erhielt (7) essen (7) leute (7) luzern (7) militär (7) musik (7)  
musikanten (7) **napoleon** (7) nebst (7) oberst (7) offizier (7) quartier (7) schweizer (7) verkaufte  
(7) brot (8) feind (8) frau (8) hunger (8) kälte (8) oktober (8) **peyer** (8) sehen (8) bekam (9)  
bekamen (9) bett (9) dorf (9) gefangen (9) nacht (9) **heinrich** (10) laufen (10) verloren (10) elend  
(11) offiziere (12) pferd (12) regiment (12) russen (12) soldaten (12) spital (12) geld (14) polozk  
(14) krank (15) wagen (15) stunden (18) stadt (29)

**Katharina Morel's Mémoire**

wirthin (3) wohnung (3) zürich (3) abends (4) arbeiten (4) bad (4) **base** (4) bekam (4)  
**bruder** (4) doktor (4) erhielt (4) fest (4) franken (4) garten (4) geld (4) geschikt (4) gezogen (4)  
kost (4) kranck (4) laut (4) mädchen (4) rigi (4) rothen (4) schulle (4) schwitz (4) stelle (4)  
tochter (4) versprach (4) verwanten (4) wagen (4) wein (4) antwort (5) bett (5) brand (5) comis  
(5) fragte (5) frau (5) freüde (5) luzerner (5) pension (5) personen (5) rath (5) schreiben (5)  
**segesser** (5) stall (5) theather (5) **wirth** (5) zimer (5) zimmer (5) arbeit (6) mutter (6) ofizier (6)  
pfarrer (6) schweizerhof (6) schwester (6) wochen (6) bezalt (7) herrn (7) **nichte** (7) stadt (7)  
starb (7) **vatter** (7) verkauft (7) alt (8) geschäft (8) luzern (8) pferdt (8) sursee (8) **heinrich** (9)  
kinder (9) reise (9) leider (10) **schwager** (10) hause (11) willisau (12) haus (13) **peyer** (13) gäste  
(14) wirtschaft (14) **morel** (15) herr (30)

**Meta Heusser-Schweizer's Hauschronik**

gallen (10) genannt (10) hülfe (10) jüngste (10) name (10) regierung (10) reise (10) sagen  
 (10) stillen (10) **ulrich** (10) verbindung (10) verheiratete (10) verloren (10) weg (10) wege (10)  
 witwe (10) alte (11) anfang (11) gewiß (11) herz (11) herzlich (11) jüngsten (11) knabe (11)  
 liebliche (11) menge (11) **meta** (11) pfarrers (11) richtersweil (11) seele (11) treue (11) verlebte  
 (11) vielfach (11) weise (11) zog (11) alter (12) armen (12) aufenthalt (12) besuchte (12)  
 geboren (12) geschichte (12) herr (12) jugend (12) junger (12) neu (12) **schneebeli** (12) schnell  
 (12) unsern (12) verhältnis (12) wild (12) wort (12) alsbald (13) angst (13) arme (13) folgte (13)  
 geßner (13) großmutter (13) schweiz (13) schönenberg (13) tief (13) trug (13) augen (14) ehe  
 (14) erinnerung (14) hoffnung (14) wochen (14) worte (14) zukunft (14) freunde (15) namen (15)  
 regula (15) schaff (15) stand (15) starb (15) tode (15) töchter (15) all (16) frühjahr (16) kindern  
 (16) leute (16) seite (16) stelle (16) ega (17) freude (17) kindheit (17) alten (18) bruder (18)  
 mädchen (18) schien (18) schönen (18) gattin (19) kind (19) lebens (19) letzten (19) schöne (19)  
 weiß (19) schwestern (20) arzt (22) krankheit (22) welt (22) haus (23) herzen (23) lebte (23)  
freundschaft (24) **heußer** (24) pfarrhaus (24) sommer (24) **theodor** (24) freund (26) jungen (26)  
**schweizer** (26) heimat (27) junge (27) blieb (28) eltern (28) gemeinde (28) tochter (29) tante  
 (30) frau (31) liebe (32) hause (36) schwester (38) familie (42) **anna** (44) sohn (44) kinder (46)  
 hirzel (51) zürich (62) mutter (66) pfarrer (70) leben (97) vater (101)

**Constantin Siegwart-Müller's Der Kampf Zwischen Recht und Gewalt**

angelegenheit (35) **huber** (35) lande (35) stimmen (35) behörde (36) eid (36) folgen (36)  
leben (36) obersten (36) stellen (36) verpflichtet (36) **anton** (37) geist (37) **müller** (37) sicherheit  
(37) verhältnisse (37) altdorf (38) antrag (38) frage (38) **schlumpf** (38) stelle (38) stellung (38)  
freiburg (39) gefahr (39) landleute (39) staatsrath (39) vororts (39) bericht (40) einsiedeln (40)  
gemeinden (40) kirchlichen (40) theils (40) vororte (40) partei (41) stande (41) aargauischen (42)  
alten (42) gesetz (42) staat (42) april (43) gallen (43) kenntniß (43) gemeinde (44) glauben (44)  
innern (44) leisten (44) **schmid** (44) theil (44) angelegenheiten (45) bund (45) finden (45)  
gesetze (45) kraft (45) landes (45) weder (45) gegeben (46) volkes (46) zug (46) commissarien  
(47) falle (47) ansicht (48) erklärung (48) wiederherstellung (48) liebe (49) radikalen (49)  
begehren (50) beschluß (50) landsgemeinde (50) maßregeln (50) politischen (50) standes (50)  
volk (51) bundesvertrags (52) fall (53) basel (54) bezirke (54) kantonen (54) sitten (54) freiheit  
(55) gesandtschaft (55) mitglieder (55) ständen (55) weise (55) eidgenossen (56) katholische (56)  
professor (56) schreiben (56) geistlichkeit (58) solothurn (58) **joseph** (59) pflicht (59) seite (60)  
folge (61) unterm (61) bundes (62) gewalt (62) katholiken (62) rathe (62) eidgenössischer (63)  
zürich (64) religion (66) waadt (66) behörden (68) geistlichen (68) rathes (68) hilfe (69) bern  
(73) truppen (74) mehrheit (76) eidgenossenschaft (77) stand (79) herren (82) pfarrer (88) hohen  
(92) schweiz (99) kantone (100) uri (103) kirche (108) ruhe (110) verfassung (110)  
eidgenössische (112) ordnung (115) **bischof** (118) artikel (122) klöster (130) landammann (130)  
stände (137) herr (140) rath (143) schwyz (155) katholischen (162) eidgenössischen (163) herrn  
(192) kantons (196) vorort (196) aargau (206) tagsatzung (240) luzern (248) kanton (264) wallis  
(289) regierung (306)

**Constantin Siegwart-Müller's Der Sieg der Gewalt über das Recht**

flüchtlinge (100) werben (100) kriegsrathes (102) stellen (102) zukunft (102) bunde (104)  
 volkes (104) befehl (105) liebe (105) angelegenheiten (106) erklären (106) alten (107) feinde  
 (107) kampf (107) begehren (108) obersten (108) schreiben (108) übrigen (108) feind (110)  
 einzelnen (111) französischen (111) mitglieder (111) waffen (111) kraft (113) freischaaren (114)  
 heiligen (114) namen (115) partei (115) hohen (117) lage (117) prääsident (117) vaterland (117)  
 krieg (118) falle (119) thun (119) ansicht (120) finden (120) frieden (120) sofort (121) beschluß  
 (122) stimmen (122) radikalismus (123) fall (124) standes (124) bürger (125) vaterlandes (125)  
 schultheiß (127) gesandte (128) erklärt (130) fremden (131) gewalt (131) verhältnisse (131) note  
 (132) 1847 (133) gefahr (133) **louis** (133) zweck (135) regierungen (137) sehen (137)  
 verbindung (137) ordnung (138) antwort (139) folge (139) **napoleon** (141) politischen (141) ehre  
 (142) gegeben (142) maßregeln (142) eidgenossen (143) glauben (143) landammann (143) theil  
 (145) angriff (147) staaten (147) herren (148) antrag (149) behörden (149) souveränität (149)  
 oberst (150) bundes (151) beschlüsse (153) kriegsrath (157) genf (158) eidgenössische (159)  
 aargau (160) bataillon (161) müller (162) jesuiten (165) gallen (168) ruhe (168) rath (172)  
 verfassung (173) bund (175) unabhängigkeit (176) frage (179) gesandten (179) uri (179) mächte  
 (186) gesandtschaft (190) radikalen (190) hilfe (195) katholiken (196) pflicht (197) erklärung  
 (202) freiheit (203) schweizerischen (204) stellung (210) artikel (217) seite (217) volk (219)  
 general (223) ständen (224) zürich (231) thurgau (245) stand (246) weise (255) wallis (256)  
 kantonen (267) mehrheit (282) vorort (290) frankreich (295) zug (337) katholischen (363)  
 eidgenössischen (364) kantons (364) freiburg (365) truppen (410) eidgenossenschaft (429) herrn  
 (434) bern (451) kanton (456) herr (613) kantone (717) stände (743) tagsatzung (754) regierung  
 (803) schweiz (1024) luzern (1026)

**Bernhard Hirzel's Lebensrückschau in his Letter to Bluntschli**

angeborene (5) antwort (5) **arnold** (5) ausgaben (5) ausnahme (5) braut (5) bruders (5)  
 denken (5) ehe (5) furchtbar (5) fühlte (5) geist (5) geistig (5) geliebten (5) gemeinde (5)  
 gewöhnlich (5) glaubte (5) glück (5) grade (5) guten (5) heirat (5) herz (5) herzen (5) jährlich (5)  
 laut (5) leichtsinn (5) mangel (5) meinung (5) person (5) pfr [pfarrer] (5) ruhig (5) sinnlichkeit  
 (5) stand (5) stelle (5) stellung (5) tod (5) umsonst (5) unbedingt (5) unmöglich (5) unschuldig  
 (5) verhältnis (5) wahrhaft (5) weg (5) weise (5) wozu (5) öffentlichen (5) 1833 (6) alter (6)  
 begreifen (6) bette (6) **bluntschli** (6) boden (6) brief (6) briefe (6) ehre (6) erziehung (6) freude  
 (6) haus (6) haushaltung (6) immerhin (6) kehrte (6) kind (6) knaben (6) offenbar (6) rückkehr  
 (6) rücksicht (6) sage (6) schwester (6) seite (6) sohn (6) stunde (6) sünde (6) tochter (6) tränen  
 (6) vorzüglich (6) wechsel (6) weinend (6) wiederum (6) wochen (6) überzeugung (6) beziehung  
 (7) gegeben (7) gewissen (7) jugend (7) lebens (7) nötig (7) sterben (7) wahrheit (7) wissenschaft  
 (7) wusste (7) bemerkte (8) dennoch (8) freunde (8) geschichte (8) magd (8) rede (8) suchte (8)  
verhältnisse (8) wesen (8) zimmer (8) wissen (9) worte (9) zeigte (9) blieb (10) freilich (10)  
 freund (10) jedenfalls (10) letzten (10) sagen (10) schulden (10) weiss (10) welt (10) gewiss (11)  
 leider (11) vermögen (11) mädchen (12) niemals (12) vaters (12) bruder (13) eltern (13) familie  
 (13) summe (13) **anna** (14) **hirzel** (14) **marie** (15) liebe (16) hause (17) pfäffikon (17) zürich  
 (18) geld (21) mutter (31) leben (38) frau (42) vater (53)

**Bernhard Hirzel's Mein Antheil**

angelangt (3) ankunft (3) ansichten (3) begebenheiten (3) bemerkte (3) bewegung (3)  
 bürger (3) dinge (3) dorf (3) dübendorf (3) einzelnen (3) entgegen (3) erklärung (3) feinde (3)  
 feuern (3) gehandelt (3) gemeinde (3) gesindel (3) glaubte (3) gründe (3) heiligen (3) herr (3)  
 händen (3) interessen (3) kampf (3) kloten (3) meinigen (3) militär (3) pferd (3) politische (3)  
 rief (3) rückwärts (3) schreiben (3) see (3) seiten (3) stand (3) storchengasse (3) sturm (3) säbel  
 (3) theile (3) tode (3) truppen (3) **uebel** (3) ueberzeugung (3) unterhandlung (3) urtheil (3)  
 vaterlandes (3) verpflichtet (3) volkswünsche (3) vorwurf (3) wahrscheinlich (3) welt (3)  
 wenigen (3) wünsche (3) zeigen (3) zeughauses (3) zuge (3) zukunft (3) angriff (4) aufforderung  
 (4) bereit (4) brücke (4) central (4) comite (4) einmischung (4) führer (4) gemeinden (4) herz (4)  
 herzen (4) höchsten (4) indessen (4) leben (4) liebe (4) nähe (4) näher (4) pfäffikon (4)  
 regierungsrathes (4) ruhe (4) rückte (4) schützen (4) stunden (4) thun (4) unbewaffneten (4) wort  
 (4) antwort (5) bewaffneten (5) dennoch (5) **escher** (5) fremde (5) gekommen (5) herrn (5) leider  
 (5) ordnung (5) theil (5) **weiß** (5) zeughaus (5) bezirke (6) brüder (6) leute (6) **rahn** (6) schnell  
 (6) theils (6) unsern (6) volkes (6) zug (6) regierungsrath (7) dragoner (9) regierung (12) zürich  
 (12) stadt (14) radikalen (16) volk (21)



**Emma Herwegh's Geschichte der deutschen demokratischen Legion aus Paris**

antwort (7) barrikaden (7) bauer (7) brüdern (7) dennoch (7) finden (7) führer (7) gefahr  
(7) gehört (7) gewiß (7) kopf (7) leben (7) längst (7) marsch (7) minuten (7) nächsten (7) offizier  
(7) rheinfeldern (7) seite (7) setzen (7) signal (7) stand (7) that (7) unmöglich (7) unternehmen (7)  
wahren (7) württembergischen (7) zahl (7) ziel (7) alten (8) augen (8) bleibt (8) comité (8)  
demokraten (8) depeschen (8) geschichte (8) jungen (8) kämpfen (8) leser (8) letzten (8) mut (8)  
nachricht (8) schweiz (8) standen (8) vaterland (8) verrat (8) wirt (8) zell (8) übrig (8) bauern (9)  
befehl (9) commando (9) einzelnen (9) erreichten (9) feind (9) lag (9) republikaner (9) wahl (9)  
welt (9) wort (9) ziehen (9) adresse (10) chefs (10) entgegen (10) frei (10) helfen (10) herrn (10)  
militairischen (10) namen (10) sagen (10) stunde (10) thun (10) trotz (10) vive [French] (10)  
brüder (11) demokratischen (11) frau (11) freunde (11) glücklich (11) guten (11) mannschaft  
(11) posten (11) wagen (11) weiß (11) wissen (11) boden (12) gefecht (12) straßburg (12)  
verlassen (12) verschiedenen (13) bereit (15) corps (15) freiburg (15) moment (15) paris (15)  
theil (15) waffen (15) augenblick (18) kampf (18) soldaten (18) weg (18) herren (19) republik  
(22) volk (22) schnell (23) deutschland (24) herr (24) stunden (24) **hecker** (27) legion (27)  
freiheit (29) deutschen (64) herwegh (87)

**Emma Herwegh's Erinnerungen an Georg Herwegh**

1875 (3) baden (3) besaß (3) deutschland (3) elsaß (3) form (3) geblieben (3) gedicht (3)  
geehrter (3) germania (3) geschrieben (3) glaube (3) herz (3) lothringen (3) namen (3) neapel (3)  
oftmals (3) reich (3) schild (3) schönheit (3) selten (3) verlag (3) volk (3) volke (3) volkes (3)  
wahrheit (3) worten (3) [hand (4) annexion (4) frage (4) literatur (4) patriotismus (4) preußen (4)  
seite (4) stelle (4) tod (4) wissen (4) writing (4) einheit (5) herwegh's (5) leben (5) stolz (5) wort  
(5) worte (5) professor (6) freiheit (7) herr (7) dichter (12) herwegh (14) georg (17)

## Appendix I

## Sample Collection Level III

Table I-1

*Sample Collection Level III: Authors A-K*

No.	Family name	First name	Year	Title	Publisher	Place
1	Anonymous		1822	Ein Wor an meine Mitlandeute im Kanton Schwyz wegen dem Kriegsdient in Neapel		
2	Anonymous		1824	Ansichten eines Eidgenössischen Miliz-Offiziers über den Fremden Kriegsdienst der Schweizer (etc.)	Gessner	Zürich
3	Anonymous		1846	Die fünfzenjährige Fehde der Revolution gegen die Katholische Schweiz (1830-1845)	Gebrüder Räber	Luzern
4	Blum	Robert	1848*	Selbsbiographie von Robert Blum und dessen Ermordung in Wien 9. Novbr. 1848	F.W. Goedsche	Leipzig und Meissen
5	Bluntschli	Johan Caspar	1884	Denkwürdiges aus meinem Leben	Verlag der C.H. Bekschen Buchhandlung	
5	Bluntschli	Johan Caspar	1884	Denkwürdiges aus meinem Leben		Nördlingen
5	Bluntschli	Johan Caspar	1884	Denkwürdiges aus meinem leben	C. H. Beck'sche Buchhandlung	Nördlingen
6	Bosshard	Heinrich	1804	Heinrich Bosshard, Eines Schweizer Mannes, Lebensgeschichte	Steiner'sche Buchhandlung	Winterthur
7	Bowring	Johann	1837	Bericht an das englische Parlament über den Handel, Fabriken und Gewerbe der Schweiz	Orell Füssli und Compagnie	
8	d'Agoult	M. C. S. (Daniel Stern)	1848	Histoire de la Reévolution		
9	Escher	Heinrich	1867	Erinnerungen seit mehr als sechzig Jahren		
10	Hegetschweiler	Johannes	2007	Hegetschweiler Johannes, 1789-1839	Schulthess Juristische Medien AG	Zürich, Basel, Genf
11	Heidegger	Hans Heinrich	1793	Tagebuch eines unsichtbaren Reisenden		
12	Heiz	Johann Rudolf	1847	Meine Erlebnisse als Feldprediger im Sonderbundskrieg		
12	Heiz	Johann Rudolf	1867	Meine Nichtbestätigung im Pfarramt zu Rafz		
13	Herwegh	Emma	1849	Zur Geschichte der deutschen demokratischen Legion aus Paris	Levy	Grünberg
13	Herwegh	Georg	1875	Eine Erinnerung an Georg Herwegh	Genossenschaftsdruckerei	Leipzig
14	Hess	Salomon	1790	Erasmus von Rotterdam, nach seinem Leben und Schriften, Volume 1	Ziegler und Söhne	Zürich
15	Heusser-Schweizer	Meta	1876	Hauschronik	Verlag Mirio Romano	Kilchberg
15	Heusser-Schweizer	Meta	1876	Memorabilien		
16	Hirzel	Bernhard	1839	Mein Antheil an den Ereignissen des 6. September 1839	David Bürkli	Zürich
17	Hirzel	Salomon	1826	Voyage de Zurich à Zurich	Orell Füssli	Zürich
18	Kramer	Karl	1839	Lora-Jahrbuch VI. Standort Heimatmuseum am Pfäffikersee		
18	Kramer	Karl	1940	Erinnerungen an Pfäffikon und den 6.9.1839, zitiert nach der Transkription		Pfäffikon

Table I-2

*Sample Collection Level III: Authors L-Sm*

No.	Family name	First name	Year	Title	Publisher	Place
19	Leuthy	Johann Jakob	1848	Die neuesten Kriegereignisse in der Schweiz veranlasst durch die Berufung der Jesuiten..., und den Sonderbund....: geschichtlich-militärisch dargestellt	Leuthy's Verlagsbureau	Zürich
20	Lewald	Fanny	1862	Meine Lebensgeschichte	Otto Janke	Berlin
21	Meyer von Knonau	Ludwig	1883	Lebenserinnerungen 1769.1841, hrsg. V. G. Meyer von Knonau		Frauenfeld
22	Meyer-Ott	Wilhelm	1910	Zürcher Taschenbuch (ZTB)		
23	Morel	Katharina	1812	Das Tagebuch einer Luzernerin aus dem Feldzuge nach Russland	C.J. Bucher	Luzern
23	Morel	Katharina	1876	Livre de Voyage	Willman-Ronca Stiftung	
23	Morel	Katharina	1876	Mémoire	Willman-Ronca Stiftung	
23	Morel	Katharina	1998	Das Leben der Katharina Morel. "Ich glaube, dass ich viel geleistet habe in meinem Leben"	University Zürich	Zürich
24	Orelli	Conrad	1843	Spinozas Leben und Lehre	Verlag H. R. Sauerländer	Aarau
24	Orelli	Salomon, von	1797	Biographischer Versuch		Zürich
25	Pfyffer	Kasimir	1848	Meine Betheiligung an der Rathsherr Leu'schen Mordgeschichte	Orell Füssli	Zürich
26	Proudhon	Pierre-Joseph	1850	Bekenntnisse eines Revolutionärs	Verlagsbureau	Leipzig
27	Rahn-Escher	Konrad	1917	Zürcher Taschenbuch (ZTB)		
28	Rudolf	Johann Martin	1846	Der Freischarenzug und seine Folgen		
29	Schellenberg	Hans Jakob	1839	Pfäffikon und der 6.9.1839, zitiert nach der Transkription im Heimatmuseum Pfäffikon; Original im LORA-Jahrbuch II		Pfäffikon
29	Schellenberg	Hans Jakob	1881	LORA-Jahrbuch 2. Standort Heimatmuseum am Pfäffikersee		
30	Scherer	Johann Jacob	1879	Ein Lebensbild seinen Freunden gewidmet	Selbst. Verlag	Winterthur
31	Scherer-Broccard	Theodor	1848	Die Reformbewegung unserer Zeit und das Christentum		
32	Scherr	Ignaz Thomas	1840	Meine Beobachtungen, Bestrebungen und Schicksale während meines Aufenthaltes im Kanton Zürich 1825-1839		St. Gallen
32	Scherr	Ignaz Thomas	1840	Meine Beobachtungen, Bestrebungen und Schicksale während meines Aufenthaltes im Kanton Zürich vom Jahre 1825-1839, Periode 1825-1832	Scheitlin und Zollikofer	St. Gallen
33	Schnell	Johann	1850	Meine Erlebnisse unter dem Berner-Freischaaaren-Regiment, als Beitrag zu einer Schilderung desselben	C. Langlois	Burgdorf
34	Schweizer	Alexander	1889	Professor Dr. theol. Alexander Schweizer, Biographische Aufzeichnungen, von ihm selbst entworfen		Zürich
35	Siegwart-Müller	Constantin	1863	Rathsherr Josef Leu von Ebersol		Altdorf
35	Siegwart-Müller	Constantin	1864	Der Kampf zwischen Recht und Gewalt in der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft und mein Antheil daran, Altdorf		Altdorf
35	Siegwart-Müller	Constantin	1866	Der Sieg der Gewalt über das Recht in der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft		Altdorf

Table I-3

*Sample Collection Level III: Authors Sn-Z*

No.	Family name	First name	Year	Title	Publisher	Place
36	Snell	Ludwig	1839	Die Bedeutung des Kampfes der liberalen katholischen Schweiz mit der römischen Kurie	Jent und Gassman	Solothurn
37	Staub	Jacob	1844	Drei Tage aus dem Leben eines Zürcherischen Geistlichen (Roman)	Literarisches Comptoir	Zürich und Winterthur
37	Staub	Johannes	1845*	Der Freischärler und seine Familie	Verlagsbureau	Leibzig
38	Sulzer	Eduard	1826	Kurze Erdbeschreibung der Eidgenossenschaft	Orell Füssli	Zürich
39	Uebel	Bruno	1839	Zur Geschichte des 6. Septembers 1839. Mit einem Plane des Kampfplatzes	L. R. Walthart'sche Buchhandlung	Bern
40	von La Roche	Sophie	1792	Erinnerungen meiner dritten Schweizerreise		
41	Walder	unknown	1939	Zürcher Taschenbuch (ZTB)		
42	Weiss	Heinrich	1839	Beitrag zur Geschichte der Revolution vom 6ten September 1839	Literarisches Comptoir	Winterthur
43	Zehnder	Hans Ulrich	1839	Ein Wort für das Volk über Dr Strauss	Fr. Schulthess	Zürich
43	Zehnder	Ulrich	1942	Zürcher Taschenbuch (ZTB)		
44	Zimmermann	Johann H.	1839	Des Zürchervolkes Kampf und Sieg für seinen Christenglauben. Februar bis September des Jahres 1839	Friedrich Schulthess	Zürich

Table I-4

*Population Level III: Statistics According to Categories*

Genre	authentic	primary	secondary	Total in genre
archive	0	56	4	60
biography	61	12	39	112
chronicle	0	0	2	2
drama	0	1	1	2
essay	0	69	1	70
fiction	0	1	0	1
hand script	12	0	0	12
historiography	0	23	137	160
letter	20	2	1	23
news paper	0	44	0	44
novel	0	3	0	3
oral	0	1	0	1
pedigree	0	0	2	2
petition	0	4	0	4
poetry	4	0	1	5
political	0	2	0	2
report	5	7	0	12
speech	10	2	3	15
study	0	6	4	10
TOTAL	112	233	195	540

*Table H5*

History of Swiss Historiography: Comparison of Epoches			
Aspect	Medieval	Reformation	Renaissance
Political interests	Prevalence of the sovereign.	Confessional hegemony.	Europe: Centralization of power (empires); absolutism; balance of power; political subversion; Switzerland: French-Habsburg antagonism; heterogeneity of Eidgenossenschaft.
Topoi	Panegyric; military strategic issues; compassion & empathy; leadership by unleash,	Foundation date 1291; Wilhelm Tell; liberation myth; opposition to mercenary system; confessional distinction.	Taboo of confessional differences (e.g. Huguenotte wars); liberation myth; idealization of warrior tradition; Swiss virtues; "age of men"; Jews.
Historiography genre	Panegyric; chronicle.	Chronicle; narrative.	World history; Helvetic origin; multilinguistic, heterogenous historiography.
New literary devices	Pathos, panegyric.	Character creation.	Purposeful ethical argumentation.
Methodological aspects	Chronology.	Spatial (geographic) organization.	Critical method; constructivist epistemology; taboo.
Trends in style	Increasing narrativity.	Increasing personalization through individualization and popularization of history.	Increasing thematic control.

## Appendix J

## Biographical Data of Samples

**Heinrich Weiss [-Zwicky] (1789-1848).** Entrance no. D7327 of the *Historical Dictionary of Switzerland* (HDS) (Baertschi, 2014):

“Weiss, Heinrich, [was] born 28 May 1789 [in] Fehraltorf, died 20 June 1848 [in] Winterthur, Ref[ormed], [citizen] of Fehraltorf and from 1846 of Winterthur. [He was the] son of Salomon, a schoolmaster, and Anna Barbara Temperli. [Weiss] was married (1) 1813 to Anna Barbara Tobler [in a first marriage], [and] (2) 1827 [to] Margaretha Zwicky [in his second marriage]. [He visited the] Cantonal [grammar] school [in] Aarau. [He was] a teachers in Fehraltorf. 1826-31, [he became] member of the District Court Kyburg, [and was a] salt factor. [During] 1830-39 and 1842-48, [he worked] as a Liberal member of the Züricher Gr[and] Council (1835 and 1847 [as its] pres[ident].), [During] 1831-33 and 1838-39 [he was] State Counciler (1832-33 [as] pres[ident] of the Police Council, 1838-39 [as] pres[ident] of the War Council), 1838 and 1839 [he was] an envoy of the [Confederate] Diet, 1841-42 [he was appointed] ,ember of the Education Council. [Weiss was] a pioneer [in the development] of the [Züricher] rural territories. W[eiss] was, inter alia, involved in the establishment of the Savings Bank of the district Pfäffikon and envolved in the opening of the Middle School in Fehraltorf, 1835. After he was overthrown as State Council in the Züriputsch, he lived as a cloth merchant in Winterthur. [He was also] Colonel [in the] Confederate [troops]”. [Translation from German and text in brackets added by the author].

**Heinrich Weiss’ full biography.** Heinrich Weiss was born 1789 in Fehraltorf a village of the Züricher Highlands. His father Salomon Weiss was a schoolmaster in the same village. About Anna Barbara Temperli, his mother, there was nothing recorded. In any case, both family

names, the Weiss and the Temperli, were already quite extended in the area by the date of Heinrich Weiss' birth. Heinrich Weiss, as a teacher's son had received a solid education. And even though he never attended the university, he went to the renowned Cantonal High School in Aarau and worked after that as a teacher in Fehraltorf.

This was the beginning of a shimmering career. With only 37 years, he became a tribunal member of the district Kyburg in 1826. In the same year, he married Anna Barbara Tobler. Even about her, there was nothing known beyond this marriage. But it seemed something must have happened to her, because only one year later Heinrich Weiss married again to Margaretha Zwicky. Since there was nothing known about a divorce, it must be assumed that Anna Barbara Temperli had died either of an accident, a disease or in a failed childbirth, being the latter two options the most common during that time (Knapp, 1909; Loudon, 2013).

On December 9, 1830 Weiss became a member of the Grand Council. It was an exciting time for being in politics. Only seventeen days earlier, on the 22nd of November the gathering of around 10,000 men on the Zimiker Hill, near Volketswil, had taken place. This event should enter history as the Memorial of Uster and was remembered at a festivity, the called the Day of Uster (Ustertag) (Knapp, 1909; Loudon, 2013). Among the claims made by the people was the abolition of tithes which would be included in Snell's proposal for a liberal Constitution in 1831. According to Suter (B. Schmid, 2014), Heinrich Weiss was actively involved in meeting this demand (p. 28). True to his convictions he became member of the liberal-radical party, also known as the Free-thinking Party (Freisinnige Partei). As such he entered the the State Council in on March 20, 1831, a position that would bring many advantages for his political and entrepreneurial projects.



Short time later, he also started his carrier in the Police Council to which he was appointed President, a kind of Superintendent, in 1832, relieving the long served Salomon Rahn (p. 49). The Police Department of Zurich still remembered him as the “Führer der Landschaft” [leader of the land]. As surprising as it might seem, the young republic required much more police force than the former City-state of the Ancien Régime. Weiss was instrumental in modernizing and improving the public security of the young Canton. One of these measurements was the downsizing of the bulwark on January 30, 1833. By this time he would even become Coronel of the Swiss Confederate troupes (Baertschi, 2014).

But not only were the State’s security forces an issue for Heinrich Weiss. He was also involved in improving further the legal system in the interest of the people; as he had already demonstrated, in the time from 1826 to 1831, when he operated as appointed District Judge.

It was known that Weiss was an official salt merchant (Salzfaktor). Salt trade was under a State monopoly in Zurich and had been an important source of income during the 17th Century (Baertschi, 2014). It was also one of major motivation for the state in building out a well-functioning transport network in Switzerland; especially in order to connect with the wealthy foreign buyers and the Canton Schwyz in Central Switzerland (Fitzsche, 1964; Ribeaud, 1894). In this context, the Canton Schwyz achieved in the first half of the 19th Century to build their own salt mine (C. Baumgartner, 2008).

Since 1820, the German salt merchant Carl Christian Friedrich Glenck (1779–1845) was looking for salt in the Canton Zürich and finally got a licence in 1821 from State council Hans Conrad Escher. In 1836, Glenck found after many failed intents salt in MuttENZ in the Canton Basel. This should be soon the beginning of Basel’s chemical industry which depended on salt as its primary row material (C. Baumgartner, 2008). In 1837, the Nordwestschweizer Rheinsalinen

were founded. Three years later, in 1841, Johann Urban Kym founded the Saline Kaiseraugst and in 1844 another salt mine in Riburg. Short before, in the same year Theophil L'Orsa had just founded the Saline Rheinfelden. A strong competition between started immediately and a fight for a national salt trade union started which should not be ended until 1909 when all Swiss Cantons, except Vaud, joined the union (Bergier, 2012; NZZ, 2009). Vaud owned their own salt mine founded in 1684 and was not interested in entering the monopoly. Thus, until very recently, in 2013, the Rheinsalinen were not allowed to sell directly to the Canton Vaud (NZZ, 2013). Heinrich Weiss was actively involved when, in 1834, the road traffic system was taken over by the Cantonal government. Original sources could be found on Weiss's activities in the record of his efforts to improve the local transport situation making two complaints in June and July 1837 (Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich, 1837a, 1837b).

Resuming, good transport networks were not only important for the salt trade but also for the beginning industrialization of Switzerland. However, transport was not the only worry of the young entrepreneurs in the region. To find viable financing for their project was another major problem that stopped the emerging industries. For that purpose, a banking system in the modern sense was developed by ambitious men of the time, among others Alfred Escher. But the credit policies of these large banks were often devastating for the small worker men. Therefore Heinrich Weiss founded, in 1833, the Savings Bank of the District Pfäffikon (Sparkasse Pfäffikon) (OGS Seebach, 2014; Rahn, 1946). He followed the model of the first Savings Bank founded 1805 in Zürich by the "gemeinnützige Anstalt der Hülfs-gesellschaft" [The Charitable Institution for Social Aid] (Gemeindeverwaltung Fehraltorf, 2014). Heinrich Weiss became also a member of this organization on June 13, 1836 and was immediately appointed as quaestor.

In 1835, Heinrich Weiss was re-elected as Grand Council. In his home village Fehraltorf he founded a secondary school in the same year. Education remained one of his greatest concerns. He valued critical thinking and desired a more progressive school system. Therefore, he voted for David Friedrich Strauss. Prove for this gave his own words saying: „I voted for the appointment of Strauss because I hoped, in this way, to provide the institutions for higher education a service. [Ich stimmte für die Berufung von Strauß, weil ich damit der Hochschule einen Dienst zu erweisen hoffte]“ (H. Weiss, 1839). Alfred Escher, shortly after returning from Berlin to Zürich wrote, beginning June 1839, to Jakob Escher (1818-1909), a childhood friend and distant relative, concerning diverse issues. He also mentioned the Motion Bürgi and complained that Heinrich Weiss was still undecided on this issue (H. Weiss, 1839). David Bürgi had sent a petition to the State Council in which he applied for the dissolution of the University of Zürich, six years after its foundation on the grounds that it had not proved satisfactory results yet (Escher, 1839; Fischer & Jung, 2010). At the same time, the tension in the city and region started growing. The planned reforms by the liberal Government seemed not to go in the right directions.

In 1838, Heinrich Weiss became President of the War Council, was newly elected as State Council and in the same year he was also appointed as Zürich's Envoy of the Swiss Confederate Diet (Tagsatzungsgesandter) (Baertschi, 2014). Only one year later, he would participate, in this function, in the revolutionary event known as the Zuriputsch, on the side of the government party. Immediately after the putsch he had to flee to Winterthur, but could soon return to Zürich again. After the revolution, he took on again his efforts in improving the educational system and became a member of the Cantonal Council of Education, in 1841. On August 22, 1842, he was also elected as member of the District Council for Education in

Winterthur. Also in the same year, he returned to the renovated Grand Council as one of its most experienced members.

In 1844, five years after the putsch in Zürich, Heinrich Weiss got in contact with Alfred Escher by letter. He wanted to convince Escher to change his mind and accept his election to the Grand Council for the District Elgg on the 21st of July. Weiss counted on Escher as a true liberal in a time when, as he believed, the majority of the political actors did not share the ideas of the radical wing (Baertschi, 2014). One day after the appointment of Johann Heinrich August Ebrard (1818–1888) to the University of Zurich (“Hochschule”), on September 6th, Weiss wrote his next letter to Escher (H. Weiss, 1844a, 1844b). The correct management and the organization of this institution were still the main points of contention in the Canton Zürich. Whereas in Bern, it was the conservative party who tried to shut down the liberal institutes for higher education, considering them a danger for the public moral, in Zürich, many of the liberals themselves wanted to give up their project, because they were not satisfied with the results of the University education as a leverage tool for the spread of liberalism. Therefore, Heinrich Weiss searched for Escher’s support in this affair (H. Weiss, 1844b). On January 4, 1845, Heinrich Weiss traveled to St. Gallen in order to coordinate with the liberal party, over there (H. Weiss, 1844b). During the elections of the State Council, on April 2, 1845, four of the conservative members were substituted by radicals which would change the balance of power in their favour. The major threat to their political goals were, now, only expected from their own splitting off. In account of this, Honegger, in a letter to Escher, mentioned a conflict between Weiss and the more progressive Furrer relating to the railway line from Zürich to Basel and Aarau (Sulzer, 1845a, 1845b). While Furrer urged to intervene, Weiss, after all, only considered a response to this concern only a “necessary evil which still [could] wait”.

In May 1845, Heinrich Weiss wrote a letter to inform Escher about the negative decision on collecting ransom for certain (political) prisoners (Honegger, 1845). He further referred to other questions, that Escher had made, and which Weiss desired to discuss face to face. Possibly, he wished to address the sensitive issue of finding a hiding place for the liberal fugitive Jakob Robert Steiger (1801–1862) from Luzerne. Earlier in 1845, the liberal Steiger had participated in the Volunteerism movement (Freischarenzüge) in Luzern making opposition to the conservative government. For that reason, he was sentenced to death and imprisoned in the Tower of Luzern. On September 21, 1845 the liberals had made a collection to get him out of prison. Weiss signed a receipt for the collected amount over 3 932, 21⅓ francs (H. Weiss, 1845). One month later it already summed up to 6500 pounds (Wäfferli-Egli, 1845a). Steiger achieved to escape from prison and hid in the house of Heinrich Weiss, who was mentioned to be State Council by this time. This data, however could not be confirmed with certainty. It must be assumed, that Weiss had also contact with Katharina Morel, as one of the leading Pepper women decisively involved in the liberation of Steiger. But no records of such a connection could be found, possible in the pure interest of the integrity and security of the implicated ladies.

Even though, Heinrich Weiss had fulfilled his role during the revolution with the best intentions and as good as one could fulfil such job, after the revolution, he had lost much of the support in his home town. This might have been related to his opposition to the Zürcher Blätter and the protection of Jakob Robert Steiger. However, nothing concrete was mentioned about this circumstances. It was also thinkable, that simply the normal course of competing interest between the parties had shifted in his detriment. Be that as it may, sometime around this date, he must have moved to Winterthur. The exact date was not reported. However, in 1846, he resigned his citizenship of Fehraltorf and became an official citizen of Winterthur. There, he continued

his political and commercial activities. He made an income as a textile merchant and became a publisher; first, in 1846, of the "Landbote". Steiger, who had already been editor of the "Eidgenossen", in Luzern from 1834 to 1844, became his editor combining this activity with the activity in his medical consultation (Wäfferli-Egli, 1845b). Back in Luzern, Steiger had been a general practitioner by profession. One of the intentions of Steiger to accept the position as Weiss' editor was to prevent conflicts between the radical and the liberal wing of the progressive party (Steiger, 1846). In November of the same year, Weiss already resigned from his activity in the "Landbote", not without causing some discontent. But, by then, Weiss had planned to found an alternative news paper. Steiner apparently supported Weiss and, at the end of the year, Steiner's bookstore sent a recommendation for this project to Alfred Escher (Steiner'sche Buchhandlung, 1846). Soon after, in 1847, Weiss founded the "Winterthurer Zeitung". The edition of the newspapers was not only a good business but prominently a powerful political weapon for Weiss. Already in 1842, Heinrich Weiss, still in his function as State Council opposed the editorial of the "Zürcher Blätter". The "Neue Zürcher Zeitung", as the paper would be known from 1846 on, was supporting too much the interests of the conservatives, as Weiss stated in a letter to Escher (Steiner'sche Buchhandlung, 1846). The newly conceived idea of the people's Assembly (Volksversammlung) was promoted by this daily paper among the people and Weiss feared that conservatives and communists would find a common interest in this request. Seemingly, the communists appeared as an even a greater threat to Weiss' liberal politics than the conservatives. On this background, in the two years since they had started working together, the friendship between Weiss and Escher showed signs to have been growing. In his first letters, Weiss' headers and footers were in typical formal style. In the letter of March 2nd 1846 he addresses Escher as "Hochverertester" [most honoured] without any titles and names and closed

with “Mit Hochschätzung Ihr ergebenster Weiss” [With esteem your most humble Weiss], equally without titles. In his letter of April 14, 1846 he finally addressed Escher as “Hochverehrter [...] Freund” [distinguished friend]. He informed about his progresses regarding state issues concerning agriculture, an issue closely related with town of Sternenberg (“Sternenbergerangelegenheit), on which he was working, and the Grunholzer Affair (H. Weiss, 1846a, 1846b).

Total renewal elections (Gesamterneuerungswahlen) of the Grand Council took place on May 3, 1846. The liberals won with a clear majority. Huggenberg recognized the merits of Weiss for this success, although, Huggenberger attributed most of the merits to Escher (H. Weiss, 1846b). Lists for the election to the Grand Councils were made (Huggenberg, 1846). In 1847, Alfred Escher accepted the demanding position as State Chancellor (Staatsschreiber). Some of his friends believed that this position would promote his political carrier. Weiss, however, who knew Escher well, evaluated the situation differently. He worried for the health of his friend, knowing his friend’s great commitment he had demonstrated in everything he undertook and well aware on how demanding the position would be (H. Weiss, 1847a).

One month later, in August, Weiss returned from a trip to Bern. He had been there for one of the ordinary meetings of the Confederate hearing (Tagsatzung) held between July 5 and September 9. The political situation seemed not satisfying to him. He missed the rigorous and pragmatic approach he was used to from the government in Zürich and accused the members to follow Snell’s superficial idealism. Circumstances, especial in the Eastern part of the Swiss Confederation had gone very complicated. Weiss mentioned to the Sonderbund. He believed that the Confederacy drove towards a crisis which needed immediate actions, but he could not offer any concrete solutions. Nothing less than the decision for or against a military intervention had to

be taken. Soon it was time for the harvest and the farmers had to decide if they wanted to fight for their ideals or to provide for their economic welfare (H. Weiss, 1847a). One week later, Weiss wrote to Escher about more private affairs. A brother of Weiss was mentioned, who must have passed by, time earlier. From this brother Weiss had a niece who had at least two children, one deceased short earlier and another who should become baptised soon. Further, Heinrich Weiss thanked for an invitation by Escher to Emil, the son of Heinrich Weiss. This letter, gave at least a glance into the family life of Heinrich Weiss about which so little was known. Again, Weiss expressed his worries about the health of Alfred Escher (H. Weiss, 1847b). On the 7th of September, he wrote again about diverse social events of the family. But he also mentioned a petition from Fehraltorf, describing “his people” as “Pappenheimer” [rascals]. This and 17 further petitions kept Weiss busy and he believed that they called for a government intervention. All hope to reconcile the uncertain situation in the Swiss Confederation lied on the Canton Sanct Gallen (H. Weiss, 1847c).

On October 18<sup>th</sup>, Weiss mentioned a regrettable incident occurred to Sulzer. In his header, he still wrote October as the eighth month of the year. The president of the War Council had fallen ill and Weiss offered to substitute him, if necessary, as long as the responsibilities would not include any High Command. He rejected particularly any collaboration at the Base Command of Zürich. He desired to participate without higher command in the Freikorps [Free corps]; a kind of paramilitary organization of the radicals (H. Weiss, 1847d). Finally, Weiss was appointed as Colonel of the civil guard (H. Weiss, 1847f). After a meeting of the State Council one of its members wrote to Escher in applied sound. His identity could not be secured and the date of the years was partially illegible (M., 1847). It said “October 28” in the footer and was signed with M.E. There was a post scriptum about a Heinrich Studer-Unholz (1789-1853) who



apparently was going into bankruptcy. It was not clear in which year and which enterprise. Studer had owned a weaving company much earlier and a company for cotton printing works (Kattundruckerei) until 1817. These companies were closed before Escher was born in 1819, thus they could not be the reason for bankruptcy. Further, there was no other information about any business activity which could have failed. Interestingly, Studer was also the only liberal voting against the self-motivated dissolution of the Grand Council on September 9, 1839. In any case, the letter must have been written before Weiss' death in 1874. The comment of M.E. about his dependence on conservative creditors could be a justification of his sole opinion. The internal conflicts of the liberal party had already been very much present in 1845. There were two state council members with the initials M.E. who acted during the simultaneous life-time of Escher and Weiss between 1819 and 1847 (Honegger, 1845). Melchior Esslinger (1803-1855) was council during the "Septemberregiment" from 1839 to 1845 and the regenerative government of the second liberal era (1845-1848). (Johann Heinrich) Emmanuel Mousson (1803-1869) was equally council of the "Septemberregiment". Mousson belonged to the conservative wing, so did Esslinger. But Esslinger was in direct conflict with Escher. Did he write a letter to Escher in the hope to convince some of the liberals for a more moderate position? With the information at hand, nothing certain could be said about the meaning of this letter. But it was neither further relevant, here (Regierungsrat Kanton Zürich, n.d.). What was, in deed, interesting about this writing was the fact that according to the author "[s]ometimes, hatred about means and ends blinds him [Weiss]. (Ihn [Weiss] verblendet bisweil[en] der Haß über Mittel & Ziel)". This comment might have been possibly exaggerated, perhaps even wrong, but in any case it offered an alternative view on Weiss.

Beginning November, Weiss wrote again to Escher to complain about his unsuccessful efforts to build a civil guard (H. Weiss, 1847e). The following day, on the 3rd of November, Weiss wrote to Escher who was on the battle field. The Sonderbunds War was in full swing but Weiss could not support his friend and whose interests in the way he wishes. Weiss had fallen ill, aphonic and with an oppressed feeling in the chest (H. Weiss, 1847f). In this correspondence, Weiss demonstrated that even at his 58 years he wanted to be close to the great events of history. Midst December, Weiss wrote the twelfth month in Roman letters on the header of his short writing to Escher. The assembly of the Grand Council had to be organized (H. Weiss, 1847g). On the 17th of December 1847 Weiss wrote his last letter to Escher. He gave instructions about diverse petitions made by the inventor and entrepreneur Jakob Ziegler-Pellis (1775-1863) (H. Weiss, 1847h). One of the petitions was dedicated to the school Synod. But Weiss believed that no decisions would be taken until another man would stand as president of the the Grand Council (Baertschi, 2014).

Vienna had a liberal revolution. On March 19, 1848 Huggenberg wrote to Escher, worried that Weiss still had not recovered from his illness (Huggenberg, 1848c). Weiss, apparently, suffered from a gastric diseases. In this concern, Escher visited him on April 6 (Escher, 1848). Soon after, on June 20, 1848 at the age of 59, Heinrich Weiss died in Winterthur. Furrer commented his condolences about Weiss' death to Escher. He also elucidated the attractiveness of the position, Weiss as the long-time salt merchant had left behind remarking the interest of some of his own relatives(Furrer, 1848b). Heinrich Weiss bequeathed those left behind with some spectacular achievements, but also, many open businesses. As such, his widow Margaretha Zwicky would struggle still a while with some major debts which Weiss had not been able to cancel during his life-time. Apart from that, Heinrich Weiss had a son, Emil Weiss,

who had not finished, yet, his education by the time when Weiss had died. On the 13th of July 1848, the liberal Johannes Honegger (1811-1855) wrote, therefore, to Escher concerning a scholarship for Emil Weiss. Honegger was a private teacher by this time and took care for the education of Emil Weiss (Furrer, 1848a, 1848b). Also Johann Jakob Huggenberg (1805-1882) wrote on July 28, 1848 to Escher in relation to this scholarship and, further, in order to discuss the costs of a possible reallocation of Margaretha Weiss-Zwicky (1797 – n.a.) to Zurich (Honegger, 1848). Huggenberger was a jurist, an influential liberal politician and the official adviser (Beistand) to Margaretha Weiss-Zwicky. In a further letter of August 12 of the same year, he proposed to Escher the best way to proceed in the process of liquidating Weiss' debts (Huggenberg, 1848a). Huggenberg had discovered that some of the creditors were willing to fight for their interests until the bitter end. The situation was in danger to escalate. Therefore, he wrote on August 15 to Escher with the following proposal (Huggenberg, 1848d). He suggested to arrange a meeting of possible supporters of Weiss' widow who would be willing to pay for the credits, but not for the scholarship. He further listed the potential supporters by this giving an interesting insight in the friendship network of Heinrich Weiss. Named were “[Johann Jakob] Wieland, Oberst [Hans Jakob] Fierz, Dr [Heinrich Rüegg] in Zürich, former State council [Hartmann] Krauer, Dr [Felix] Weidmann, [Heinrich] Gujer in Fehraltorf, Wolfensperger in Russikon, former Governor [Hans Heinrich] Zangger in Uster, Cantonal Council [Johann Ulrich] Arbenz in Andelfing[en], [Brauer?] [Aeberli/Oberlj?] in Winterthur, former Educational council [Johannes] Rüegg, Advocate. [Heinrich Surber?], Dr [Hans Jakob] Pestaluz, [also known as Pestalozzi], [Heinrich] Geilinger zur Arche, Governor [Johann Jakob] Müller, District Judge [Johann Ulrich] Furrer and Cantonal Council [Johann Jakob] Stahel in the Rämismühle”.

On August 26, 1848, Eduard Billeter (1808-1865) wrote to Escher in a more official tone. He was a liberal member of the Education Council, Grand Council and the State Council. He blamed the bad times and mentioned that applications for economic aid had become something common. He considers the situation of Margaretha Weiss-Zwicky not that dramatic and thought she should also be more cooperative (Huggenberg, 1848b).

Huggenberg wrote again on the 29th of September to his “highly respected Gentleman and friend” Escher. It seemed that the financial issues of Weiss-Zwicky would soon be settled even though the negotiations were difficult (Billeter, 1848). At this point, the traces of Weiss’ family and his heritage were lost.

**Katharina Morel [-Kaufmann] (1790-1876).** Entrance no. D45161 of the *Historical Dictionary of Switzerland* (HDS) (Betschart, 2009):

“Morel, Katharina. Born 23 May 1790 Lucerne, [Canton] Lucerne, died 03 July 1876, Cath[olic], citizen of Lucerne. Daughter of Franz Kaufmann, innkeeper. Married to 1) [in first marriage] 1806 Heinrich Peyer, saddler, son of Anton, Schultheiss, from Willisau, 2) [in second marriage] 1837 Joseph Morel, clothier in Lucerne, son of Louis, negotiant. [Attendance of the] secondary school for young ladies, the Ursulines. At the age of twelve [she had her] first job in the hospitality industry. M[orel] accompanied her first husband 1810-13 in French services 1815-21 in Dutch services [referring to Swiss mercenary services to France and Holland] and worked for the supply of the troops. 1812-13 participated both [Morel and her husband Heinrich Peyer] in Napoleon’s Russian campaign whose exertions M[orel] documented in her letters and diaries. 1822-37 she led together with her first husband different inns and 1837-44 with her second husband a textile business in Lucerne. 1846 widowed, led M[orel] various hospitality businesses of the fam[ily] von Segesser, including the [two] Grand Hotel[s] Schweizerhof and

National in Lucerne. She belonged to the group of the so-called Pepper women who supported the Volunteerism movement 1844-45". [Translation from German and text in brackets added by author].

**Meta Heusser-Schweizer (1797-1876).** Entrance no. D11948 of the *Historical Dictionary of Switzerland* (HDS) (Schindler, 2009):

“Heusser [-Schweizer], Meta, born 6 April 1797 [in] Hirzel [Zürich], died 2 January 1876 Hirzel [Zürich], Ref[ormed], [citizen] of Hirzel. [She was the] daughter of Diethelm Schweizer and Anna Gessner. [She was a] niece of Georg Gessner. [She was] married [in] 1821 to Johann Jakob H[eusser]. [...]. [Meta] H[eusser-Schweizer] had six children, including Jakob Christian [...] and Johanna Spyri. In 1826, she participated in the so-called. Poet club, consisting foremost of pastors from the region. [Her] first poems appeared in 1814 at scattered locations, 1833-53 as *Lieder einer Verborgenen* [Songs of a Concealed One], mostly in the Christian paperback editor Christoterpe. It was published by the songwriter Albert Knapp, who had already published [anonymously] her first collection of poems under the same title in 1858 [(Heusser-Schweizer, 1980)]. These were followed, then, under her name, by further editions of her poems (1863, 1877), and in 1867 a "Second Collection" was added. Not until 1898, posthumously, a complete edition was issued, containing both parts. 1875, her daughter presented with ‘*Alpine Lyrics*’ an English edition with selected poems [(Anonym, 1858)]. H[eusser-Schweizer]’s correspondence with Kleophea Zah-Schlatter was included in the collection ‘*Frauenbriefe*’ [Women Letters] (Heusser-Schweizer, 2010). Her work [was] characterized by a true Christ-piety, charismatic-romantic enthusiasm for nature; foremost for the Alpes and flowers, family topics, and personal ‘Mutterworte’ [words of a mother]. As cynosure and counselor for like-minded people came from St. Gallen (Fam[ily of] Anna Schlatter-Bernet), Southern Germany and the Catholic Central

Switzerland, practicing an early form of ecumenism. In 1837, she maintained a close contact with the theologian Philip Schaff". [Translation from German and text in brackets added by the author].

**Constantin Siegwart-Müller (1801-1869).** Entrance no. D5188 of the *Historical Dictionary of Switzerland* (HDS) (Bossard-Borner, 2012)(Bossard-Borner, 2012):

“Siegwart [-Müller], Konstantin, [was] born 10 October 1801 [in] Lodrino [Ticino], died 13 January 1869 [in] Altdorf (UR), [he was a] Cath[olic]. [In] 1826, achieved land righ [Germ.: Landrecht, a form of citizen status] in Uri, and since 1832 [in] Oberkirch. [He was the ] son of Johann Baptist, a wealthy glassworks owner, and Maria, born Pfulg.[He] married [in] 1828 to Josefine Müller, a daughter of Karl Martin Müller. [He was a] borther-in-law of of Vinzenz Müller and Franz Müller. After the death of his parents, [he received an] educatione by Father Josef Maria Regli in Seelisberg tween 1808-18, [attended] the schools in Altdorf, Luzern and Solothurn, stud[ied] philosophy, political science and law in Würzburg and Heidelberg. During 1827-32, [he was] Landesfürsprech [country attorney] in Uri. [In] 1833, the liberal-radical S[iegwart] moved to the Canton of Luzern. [During] 1833-34, he worked as a lawyer, editor and publisher of the "Volkszeitung [People's Daily]". From 1834 [to] 35, he served as the second state secretary, [in the years] 1836-40 as a state clerk, 1837-47 and 1839-41, Grand Council of the Luzerner Cantonal Parliament. As a member of the Grand City Council, 1837-40, he was editor of the "Schweiz. Bundeszeitung [Swiss Confederate Gazette]". 1838, S[iegwart] rejected his election into the Kleiner Rat [Small Council]. Late 1830s, he broke with liberalism, joined the Cath[olic] conservative revision movement and was discharged from the Liberal government as a state secretary in December 1840. After the Constitutional revision he was State Councillor 1841-47, [as well as] Schultheiss [chief magistrate] [in] 1844 and 1846. [Further, he was] an

envoy of the Confederate Diet from 1843 [to] 45 and 1844 [its president,] Tagsatzungspräsident. 1845-47, he chaired the Conservative Ruswiler club. [...] S[iegwart] ensconced himself in Uri, in 1857, where he wrote his works on the time of the Sonderbund”. [Translation from German and text in brackets added by the author].

**Bernhard Hirzel [-Tobler] (1807-1847).** Entrance no. D10671 of the *Historical Dictionary of Switzerland* (HDS) (Aerne, 2006):

“Hirzel, Bernhard, born 8 December 1807 [in] Enge (today. Zürich), died 06 June 1847 [in] Paris, Ref[ormed], of Zürich. [He was the] son of Johannes, cloth cutter and presser, and Margaretha born Bürkli. [He] married 1833 Maria Elisa Tobler. 1819-31, scholar [sic] and student of theology at the Carolinum in Zürich. [The Collegium Carolinum was the predecessor of the Theological faculty of today’s University of Zürich]. Stud[ent] of Sanskrit Studies at the Univ[ersities] of Berlin and Paris. 1833, Dr. phil. at the Univ[ersity] Göttingen. 1833 Ordination. 1833-38 and 1846 PD [private lecturer] of Sanskrit at the Univ[ersity] Zurich, but for lack of audience, execution of only two of the announced 43 courses. 1838-45, pastor in Pfäffikon [, in the Highlands of the Canton Zürich]. On 6 September 1839 leader of the so-called Züriputsch movement from the Züricher Highlands to the city of Zürich. 1836, [he had still] committed in favor of the appointment of the controversial theologian David Friedrich Strauss to the Univ[ersoty] Zürich, H[irzel] was oriented theologically quite liberal, but upheld his traditional positive Christian faith because of his experiences [made] with [local] community life. [Translation from German and text in brackets added by the author].

**Emma Herwegh [-Siegmond] (1817-1904).** Entrance no. D19132 of the the *Historical Dictionary of Switzerland* (HDS) (Ludi, 2008):

“Herwegh (-Siegmond), Emma, [was] born 5 October 1817 [in] Magdeburg [Germany], died 24 March 1904 [in] Paris, Ref[ormed], German, since 1843 [citizen] of Augst [Canton Basel, Switzerland]. [She was the] daughter of Johann Siegmund, silk merchant, and Henriette, born Kramer. [In] 1843 [married to] George H[erwegh...]. [Emma] H[erwegh] enjoyed in her wealth home in Berlin an excellent education. Soon, she was enthusiastic about the Republican movement. 1843-48, [she] led a salon in Paris and made the acquaintance of Heinrich Heine, Karl Marx, Bakunin, George Sand, Victor Hugo, inter alia. 1848, [she] participated in the failed march to Baden of the German Democratic Legion of Paris. She negotiated as a scout with leaders of the Baden uprising. 1853-66 she lived in Zürich, where she associated with Gottfried Keller and maintained close contact with Ital[ian] emigrants and German Social Democrats. H[erwegh] worked as a translator of revolutionary literature (such as Giuseppe Garibaldi), promoted the work of her husband, and remained faithful to her democratic ideals”. [Translation and text in brackets added by the author].

**Alfred Escher vom Glas [-Uebel] (1819-1882).** Extract from entrance no. D3626 of the *Historical Dictionary of Switzerland* (HDS) (Bürgi, 2005):

“Escher, Alfred (vom Glas) [was born] 20 February 1819 [in] Zürich, [died] 6 December 1882 [in] Enge (today a Quarter of Zürich), Ref[ormed], [citizen] of Zürich, 1871 honorary citizen of Lugano. Son of Heinrich. 1857 married to Auguste Uebel, daughter of Bruno Uebel. E[scher] grew up in the "Belvoir" estate in Enge, since 1831, which would remain his residency for the rest of his life. He received private lessons until 1834, inter alia, by Oswald Heer, and attended 1834-37 the upper secondary school [Obergymnasium]. In 1837 he completed a law



degree in Zurich (1838-39 visit to the Univ[ersities] of Bonn and Berlin), graduated in 1842 with a doctorate under [supervision of] Friedrich Ludwig Keller. After a stay in Paris 1842-43 he completed his habilitation in 1844 at the Univ[ersity] of Zurich. [...]”.

Further, there existed an extraordinary detailed and highly searchable database created by the Alfred Escher Stiftung (2015) which offered free online access through their Briefedition, including a short biography of Alfred Escher resuming his life with the following words:

“He was Grand City Councilor of Zürich (1859-1874), a Grand, respectively Cantonal Councilor (1844-1882, President 1848 1852 1857 1861 1864 1868), Education Councilor (1845-1855), State Councilor (1848-1855, Office Mayor or President 1849 1851/52, 1853-1855), Diet envoy (1845, 1846, 1848), federal commissioner in Ticino (1848), National Councilor (1848-1882, President 1849/50, 1856/57, 1862/63, [in] 1855, he renounced to the office), he significantly contributed to the foundation of the Federal Polytechnical School [Eidgenössischen Polytechnikum] (now ETH) in Zurich and Vice President of the Swiss School Board (1854-1882); he was Professor at the University of Zurich in civil law and [Swiss] federal constitutional law (1844-1847); Co-founder, Chairman and CEO of the Zurich-Lake Constance Railway [Zürich-Bodensee-Bahn] (1853), co-founder, president (1853-1871) and Chairman (1872-1882) of the Swiss Northeastern Railway [Schweizerische Nordostbahn, NOB], co-founder and chairman of [Schweizerische Kreditanstalt, SKA, today] Credit Suisse (1856-1877, 1880-1882), member of the Supervisory Board of Swiss pension Company [Schweizerischen Rentenanstalt] (1857-1874), president and Board of Directors of the Gotthard Railway [Gotthardbahn] (1871-1878). [...]”.

Markus Bürgi (2005) in his article gave finally information on the end of Escher’s life:

“[...] 1876, the NOB came into a serious crisis, due to increased competition with the National Railway and [because of] the Great Depression. During the construction of the Gotthard Railway in 1875 were characterized from delays, the extensive supplementary credits, from then even in form of federal subsidies, and forced E[scher], 1877, to resignate as chairman of the SKA and, 1878, as president of the board of the Gotthard Railway Company. He was not invited to [the final] puncture of the tunnel 1880; [later] he declined the offer for health reasons to participate in the opening ceremony of 1882. [...]1889, financed through private donations, a monument of Escher created by Richard Kissling was inaugurated at the station square [Bahnhofplatz] in Zurich, whose maintenance was subsequently taken over by the city. His [Escher's] daughter Lydia Welti[-Escher] established with the inherited assets the Gottfried Keller Foundation”. [Translation and text in brackets added by the author].

**Karl Bürkli (1823-1901).** Entrance no. D13413 of the *Historical Dictionary of Switzerland* (HDS) (Bürgi, 2011):

“Bürkli, Karl 29 July 1823 Zurich, died 20 October 1901 Mettmenstetten, ref[ormed], later without religious affiliation, [citizen] of Zurich. [He was the] [s]on of Johann Georg [Bürkli (1793-1851). Cousin of Arnold [Bürkli (1833-1894) and Georg von Wyss [(1816-1893)]. Single [unmarried]. After interrupting the lower secondary school (1835-39) made B[ürkli] an apprenticeship as tanner 1839-42. 1842-48 followed journeyman years: In Paris (1845-47) B[ürkli] learnt of the doctrine of Charles Fourier, which shaped him decisively. 1848-55 [stay] in Zurich, from 1851 onwards, B[ürkli] together with Johann Jakob Treichler opposed the government of Escher: In articles and translations he propagated the ideas of Fourier, called for peoples and exchange banks and consumer and producers' cooperatives in order to reform and overcome the capitalist system and establishing a just society in a socialist republic. Influenced by Moritz

Rittinghausen he saw in a direct democracy the appropriate transitional form. B[ürkli] joined 1851 the Grütliverein, 1851 [he] was co-founder and until 1854 factory manager in the Consumers' Association Zürich (Konsumverein Zürich) and 1851-55 Grand Counciler [Cantonal Counciler]. The experiment prepared by him in 1854 to build in Texas a Phalanstère after [the theory of] Fourier failed [soon] after the emigration already in 1856. After returning to Zurich in 1858 to 1861 worked again as a factory manager in the Consumers' Association when he lost his struggle against the capitalist developments against Treichler. 1861-87 he managed as restaurateur an inn that became the center of oppositional movements. 1867-69 [he was] leader in the democratic movement, as was also a member of the 35er Commission of the Constitutional Council in 1868-69. Here he obtained the support for the cooperatives by the State. Earlier, he pled also for reforms of the Cantonal bank (Kantonalbank) and the military in the sense of people's army. 1869-78 and 1882-99 he was a member of the cantonal parliament, 1866-70 and 1893-1901 of the Gr[and] City Council of Zurich.

In 1866, B[ürkli] joined the [First] International, 1867-76, was the founder and pres[ident] of the section Zürich and actively participated in the meetings during its congresses in the Switzerland. From its beginning, he joined the social democratic workers' movement, which emerged in the last quarter of the 19th century. In addition to old claims he now pursued the introduction of proportional representation and made suggestions for the use of water power by the Stat. He also wrote works on the history of the old Confederation, among others, against the Winkelried myth that he criticized from his democratic position [...]"'. [Translation and text in brackets added by author].

Appendix K

Dramatica Analysis of Storyweaving

**Heinrich Weiss [-Zwicky] (1789-1848)**

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
OS T	Memories	→	Impulsive Responses	→	Innermost Desires	→	Contemplation
	1831 Revolution creative 1839 destructive.		Denial of the will of the people.		Do away with clergy men and aristocrats.		Weiss concludes that failure was strategic; hesitation.
M/I T	The Past	→	How things are Changing	→	The Future	→	The Present
	Popular sovereignty above right?		People get organized and make petitions.		Attack by the people.		Things are bad, hopefully better times will come.
MC	Doing	→	Obtaining	→	Understanding	→	Gathering Information
	Debating and decreeing.		Popular resistance and final victory.		Liberals too strict in principles, too inconsequent in their origins.		The Liberals planned to strike back (Volunteerism).
IC	Developing a Plan	→	Playing a role	→	Changing One's Nature	→	Conceiving an Idea
	Explain measurements or oppose resistance.		Liberals as liberators of the people.		(Liberal) gov. should treat the people as equals.		The power truly lied in the people.

Figure K 1. Dramatica plot progression of Heinrich Weiss' (1839) report (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

**Katharina Morel [-Kaufmann] (1790-1876)**

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
OST	Impulsive Response	→	Innermost Desire	→	Contemplation	→	Memories
	Peyer's decision to follow Napoleon's war enterprise and Katharina Morel's decision to stand at Heinrich's side.	The overcome hardship in her youth made Katharina Morel aware of her abilities and the possibility to play a role.	Morel's innermost desire was personal sovereignty and to play a role.	The murder of Louis Morel led her to reconsider her true desire.	The murder of Louis Morel made her reflect on her relationship to men and life.	At the height of her professional career at the Schweizerhof, sovereignty, recognition, the Saint Helena Medal.	Her success was paired with sad and hurtful memories, but in someway it had to be good.
M/T	The Past	→	How Things are Changing	→	The Future	→	The Present
	The war enterprise of Napoleon brought back the memories of past glory of the mercenary service.	Her desire for adventure was detained by the terror of war. She would take the well being of others always into account in her later decisions.	«The clamor of many wounded made me wistful, I was even sadder when I saw a dead man who had letters beside him [...].	Morel well aware of material needs invested in the industrial development and economic progress of Luzern.	Morel wished to live in a liberal, prosperous and sovereign Switzerland.	Her vision of the future, motivated Katharina Morel to keep things in the present always in order,	Material needs at the present keep Katharina Morel constantly on the move.
MC	Gathering Information	→	Understanding	→	Obtaining	→	Doing
	Morel solved her needs in large part by understanding the interests of others and offering a deal as for example when she chartered the ship in Antwerpen.	Morel's desire to keep her household goods let her embark in the field of military logistics.	Morel had to learn to understand how to run a business in her own name when this was (still) a men's privilege.	She learnt that her role in a managing position would provide her the sovereignty and the security which she had searched for.	Morel was concerned with obtaining sovereignty, which she finally got.	Her success in her social and professional life affirmed her in the idea that whatever she needed she would only obtain it if she worked for it.	Morel believed that problems were best solved through actions.
IC	Developing a Plan	→	Changing One's Nature	→	Playing a Role	→	Conceiving an Idea
	Death crossed her way after each successful step.	Morel never gave up.	Physical death gradually transformed into economic disasters (fire).	Ideological death deterred Morel's business efforts.	Morel was accepted as role model despite being a women.	Everithing was possible.	Death would not keep the last word.

Figure K 2. Dramatica plot progression of Katharina Morel's (1876) diaries (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

**Meta Heusser-Schweizer (1797-1876)**

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
OS T	Memories	→	Innermost Desires	→	Impulsive Responses	→	Contemplation
	Her father the patient servant of God and the hidden mother, her models.	The Bocken inn war.	Homesick for Heaven.	The encounter with Zarembo.	Her missionary impulse	Her limited success merging her spirit with her husband.	Life was a seed for the heavenly, holy plan.
M/I T	The Present	→	The Past	→	How Things are Changing	→	The Future
	The modern State.	Freedom was not achieved for all as expected, poverty even increased.	The Ancien Regime.	Unity in spirit was lost by the atheist ideas introduced.	The Zürich and the Sonderbund war.	Fight for the right cause, but with pacifist means.	The Reign of God
MC	Developing a Plan	→	Playing a Role	→	Changing One's Nature	→	Conceiving an Idea
	To be open towards enemies.	Meeting with Bernette and the Anabaptist.	She formed a kind of ecumenical movement around her and met people of all kind as the doctor's wife.	Her friendship with the Catholic Abybergs in the forest cantons.	She learned to materialize her idealistic conception of love by the unconditional encounter with others.	Her encounter with the mentally ill, suicide and divorce in her family.	She could only account for her attitude, God's plans were inscrutable.
IC	Understanding	→	Doing	→	Obtaining	→	Gathering Information
	She understood that she could be wrong and therefore tested other ideas before rejecting them.	Material help became a tool to spread ideology.	She work for the well-being of the less favoured and tried to disseminate her own idea of liberty through faith in God.	All work would never able to solve the suffering in life.	She would never experience this fusion in the love with her husband as imagined of divine love. Her son would live far away without letting her participate much in his life.	She learned to adhere meaning by interpreting all events as a sign from God.	The dying of her beloved ones served her as a test for a good life. According her, the "good" ones died quietly.

Figure K 3. Dramatica plot progression of Meta Heusser-Schweizer's (1980) book (M. A.

Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

**Constantin Siegwart-Müller (1801-1869)**

	✓ Journey1 \		✓ Journey2 \		✓ Journey3 \		Signpost4
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	
OS T	Changing One's Nature	→	Conceiving an Idea	→	Developing a Plan	→	Playing a Role
	Grown up in a Catholic home, he studied among liberals.	Liberal education promises to improve.	The liberal influence inspired him to reform the church from within.	Improve public education and administration.	He supported the idea to abolish many of the obsolete monasteries and to limit the activities of the Jesuits.	Break with liberal friends.	He became the leader of the popular direct democratic movement.
M/I T	Understanding	→	Doing	→	Obtaining	→	Gathering Information
	He had a very abstract understanding of faith.	He wanted to base his faith on reason.	He abolished all irrational from his faith.	1 <sup>st</sup> return to faith.	He found meaning in the paradox of the historical Christ.	2 <sup>nd</sup> return to faith.	He learned to appreciate the role in materializing faith through the body of the church especially when he was a fugitive.
MC	The Present	→	How Things Are Changing	→	The Past	→	The Future
	The Catholics had three options: (1) give up their traditional faith, as the Swiss Christian Catholics did; (2) Form a separate state; (3) regain religious autonomy in a centralized state.	The liberals were not sincere or aware of the impossibility to separate education from ideology.	The liberal intent to centralize education conflicted with the religious autonomy of the cantons.	The liberals' drastic approach made the Cath. fear for their integrity.	The Catholics had found an arrangement with the Protestants thanks to their autonomy in religious questions.	Intended mitigation between Cath. and Prot.	He hoped that the Christian foundation of Switzerland would be re-established.
IC	Contemplation	→	Memories	→	Innermost Desires	→	Impulsive Response
	The liberals convinced Siegwart of their programme.	But they played not fair.	The Volunteers try to force things as in past confessional wars.	They planned to murder Leu.	The innermost desire was just power, control and money.	For or against liberty = for or against Liberals.	Impulsive responses led to strategic but not moral victory.

Figure K 4. Dramatic plot progression of Constantin Siegwart-Müller's (1863, 1864, 1866)

book trilogy (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

**Bernhard Hirzel [-Tobler] (1807-1847)**

	✓ Journey1 \		✓ Journey2 \		✓ Journey3 \		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	
OST	The Present	→	How Things Are Changing	→	The Future	→	The Past
	Bernhard Hirzel's childhood seemed to be cursed. The country seemed to be in decay.	The new liberal movement promises changed. Hirzel found a new way of seeing things in oriental religions and philosophies.	Hirzel was involved in a completely different life with material responsibilities and in an environment of pragmatic folk spirituality.	Sanskrit translation comes at price He works hard, his marriage gets continuously unhappy and he gets involved in rumours.	He starts a real love affair. Foisted and true illegitimate children, fruits of rumours and moral slips increase the pressure on his already instable family economy.	Hirzel was revolutionary leader during the Züriputsch. Liberals returned soon after.	The small hope for positive change Hirzel saw in the beginning was lost. Switzerland in decay.
M/IT	Memories	→	Impulsive Responses	→	Innermost Desires	→	Contemplation
	Bernhard is filled with unpleasant feelings due to his childhood memories, he escapes into an ideal world of fantasy.	The violent impulses by his father Johannes find their climax when Bernhard's beloved grandmother died due to Johannes.	The profession as a philosophy professor, cannot sustain his household, Bernhard makes a pragmatic decision, accepts a position as county parish.	Hirzel entrapped by economic responsibilities got credit from his father. He compensated sensual spirituality and adventures with women.	The discontrol with romantic relationships and economic incompetence make the situation finally escalate. Encounter with true love; Marie Welti.	At Marie Welti's home, when Bernhard reached the bottom, he finds some rest.	Marie Welti is not able to give Bernhard's life another direction. At the end, she accompanies him in suicide.
MC	Doing	→	Obtaining	→	Gathering Information	→	Understanding
	In early years Hirzel involved in studying hard and writing his doctoral thesis in oriental studies.	Hirzel is called to the university of Zürich and hoped to be able to make a living out of his passion for oriental languages, but efforts remain unsuccessful.	Material and symbolic recognition were denied to Hirzel. He accepts the position as a parish to sustain himself economically.	His position as parish brought him in contact with a new world view that captivates him.	Hirzel felt responsible for the rural people of his parish and decides to support their movement against the city.	Hirzel was a leader of the Züriputsch, involved in a contradictory situations, He understood something was wrong.	Hirzel surrendered to his and his country's cursed destiny and left the stage.
IC	Developing a Plan	→	Playing a Role	→	Changing One's Nature	→	Conceiving an Idea
	Johannes Hirzel trusted only in material values, especially money.	Johannes accumulated great wealth and represses all motions of sentimentalism or spirituality in his family.	Johannes showed superiority by offering credit to his son.	Johannes stopped offering his support to his oldest son Johannes.	No true relationship between father and sons.	Johannes reject help to bring his son back on the right track.	Johannes died 1848 soon after Bernhard's suicide.

Figure K 5. Dramatic plot progression of Bernhard Hirzel's letter (Hirzel in: Aerne, 1994; Phillips & Huntley, 2001).



**Emma Herwegh [-Siegmond] (1817-1904)**

	↙ Journey1 ↘			↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘	
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
OS T	Developing a Plan	→	Playing a Role	→	Changing One's Nature	→	Conceiving an Idea
	Germany should become a free republic through popular uprisings.	Practical experiences during the French Revolution.	The Herwegh's lead the German emigrants in France to join the uprising (human know how).		After the republican movements had failed all over Europe, except in Switzerland, the violent approach had to be changed for a more sublime one.	Increasing activities in publishing revolutionary writings.	Reason will win at the end, but it needs time for people to understand.
M/I T	Doing	→	Obtaining	→	Gathering Information	→	Understanding
	Herwegh supported her husband the revolutionary leader.	She became recognized by the republicans.	She achieved to build a supportive network among liberals all over Europe.	This role would force her to exile from one country to the other.	Herwegh was well informed about the different liberal movements in Europe.	She detested the lack of motivation by the rural people in Germany and France to support the cause.	She understood that strive for liberty somehow depended on mentality.
MC	Impulsive Responses	→	Innermost Desires	→	Memories	→	Contemplation
	Herwegh was bored in live and felt attracted by adventure.	She read revolutionary literature and learned about Georg H.'s poems.	She wanted to fight actively for the good.	She met Georg Herwegh and fell in love with him.	The memory of Georg H.'s deeds would provide her life with meaning.	She dedicated herself in publishing his poems and writings.	She was proud to have lived for a good cause and believed that her husband was the only truthful voice of Germany.
IC	How Things are Changing	→	The Future	→	The Present	→	The Past
	After 1848 only Switzerland was republican.	The Swiss were highly involved in supporting European liberal movements.	Herwegh hoped that in the future also her country, Germany could become liberal.	In Germany Bismarck's rule of "blood and iron" was established.	Herwegh expected a tragic end for Germany.	Since 1860 return of liberals in Switzerland.	Herwegh trusted that her past actions would leave a mark in history and remember that not all Germans were equal.

Figure K 6. Dramatic plot progression of Emma Herwegh's (1849) book (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

## Appendix L

## Dramatica Analysis of Storytelling

**Heinrich Weiss [-Zwicky] (1789-1848)**

Sequential overview for Heinrich Weiss' (1839) Beitrag zur Geschichte des 6. September 1839.

*Sequence 1.* Introduction, address and justification.

*Sequence 2.* August 8, 1839. Secret meeting of the liberals in reply to the formerly renewed activity of the conservative Central Committee. David Bürgi, Zehnder, Fierz, Krauer, Hotz, Schappi, Keller, Heinrich Weiss and Dr. Keller assisted. Their opinion was unanimous. The Central Committee was considered a danger for the country and the people ignorant in not realizing it. But the active support to further activities by all assisting was not given. Swaying were Hess, Hegetschweiler and M. Sulzer, who joined later.

*Sequence 3.* August 22, 1839. Conversation between Hess and Weiss during the Diet. Hess had been convinced and called for an extraordinary assembly, the following day. Hess, Hegetschweiler, Meier v. Knonau, Zehnder, Weiss, Keller, Huber, Escher, Bürgi, Krauer, Fierz, Schäppi and Hotz assisted, the Office Mayor Hirzel, Eduard Sulzer, C. Hirzel, Hauser and M. Sulzer abstained but were informed. Heinrich Weiss held a speech, believing that soon action and unity were the solution. Only Hegetschweiler opposed, blamed the radicals for provoking and meant that action needed to be either more strict, imprisoning the Central Committee or wait until an attack from the conservatives started first. The assembly closed with the acceptance of the Motion by Hess and a decree.

*Sequence 4.* August 31, 1839. The decree was immediately published and the press started attacking the government. Therefore, the public prosecutor started censoring and

requisiting the pamphlets. The liberals were still divided about the concrete proceeding. Eduard Sulzer had just returned from Baden and considered the whole affaire dangerous and unreasonable. A spontaneous meeting of 60 prominent liberal politicians was held in the Rothe Turm [Red Tower]. Erlenbach, Pfäffikon, Illnau and Kyburg offered most resistance to the government. “Alles war überzeugt, dass Sturm und Entscheid mit schnellen Schritten herannahen [Everybody was convinced that storm and decision were approaching at a rapid pace]“ (p. 24).

*Sequence 5.* Weiss was consulted on the issue and said that it was their duty to defend the government “with all means” and under the given situation, expecting a mass rally from the people, the calling of the Confederate troops would be justified. However, he also emphasized, that at this point it was important to explain to the people what the decree actually wanted to achieve. He had not called the troops, just mentioned the possibility. Hegetschweiler was most critical, Sulzer and Escher had reservations. The fourth Auszügerkommando was ordered under coronel Hirzel. This was a military force belonging to the Züricher militia of conscript the first age class (Deacademic.com, 2015; Swiss Army, 1834).

*Sequence 6.* September 2, 1839. It was the day of the assembly of Kloten where around 8 to 10 thousand people gathered, led by lieutenant colonel Bürkli and captain Frei. The militia had the order to prepare and keep order, first incidences of insubordinations from the military occurred. Also in the government, some, e.g. Sulzer, said that they would support the winning side. The government hesitated between abdicating and intervening, but Weiss believed that things were clearer. He would write: “Mir kommt es jetzt vor, wie wenn ein General vor der Schlacht über seine Armee Heerschau hält und je nach dem Ergebnis seinen Plan macht. Die Regierung hatte ihr — Bataillon, die Stadt ihre — Bürgerwache [It seems to me, now, as if a

General holds his army review before the battle and depending on the outcome? makes his plan. The government had its - Battalion, the city their - Civil Guard]” (p. 35).

*Sequence 7.* September 3, 1839, “everything waited for the 9<sup>th</sup> [of September]” (p. 45), the day the Grand Council had to take a decision. September 4<sup>th</sup>, the liberals gathered on the Platte, this was a plateau-like open field, today a Quarters Hottingen and Fluntern in Zürich (Dürst, 2015). Weiss defended the liberals, and foremost himself, rejecting that the government had had any intentions to take the arsenal under control or to call the so called “foreign” troops, which were in reality Confederate troops. He blamed a spy for bad rumours. Further, he lamented the indecisive position of the government. During this time also the Confederate Diet was held in Zürich. Weiss became contradictory now, asserting that nothing had been discussed on the internal conflict of Zürich, but at the same time assured that the other cantons felt pity for the situation of Zürich. It would be difficult to imagine how they were informed and exchanged opinions without speaking about the issue first. Perhaps he was rather assuring that comments remained fully informal.

*Sequence 8.* September 5, 1839 was the day of the Assembly of the State council. In the evening the liberals met again on the Platte, still undecided on how to react, when the first messages arrived that the conservatives of Pfäffikon had called for a storm against Zürich, led by Bernhard Hirzel. Weiss, in his function as President of the War Council, ordered the Gendarmerie (“Landjäger”) and gave a far-reaching mandate to coronel Hirzel with the instruction not to follow any interests of any party but only to keep “peace and order” in protection of “the security of persons and property” (p. 58). At this time, Hegetschweiler was still opposing Weiss, brush the whole incident aside and believing that it was all rumours.

*Sequence 9.* September 5<sup>th</sup> by night, the members of the liberal State council had all gathered in a room of the Police council, in the main guard. Weiss highlighted his role with the student's whom he was able to convince to stay quiet and unarmed. The city was already full of militia. Weiss proposed a meeting at 4 o'clock in the house of the Mayor Hess. The Confederates had asked for a report on the events in Zürich which led to some tension in the Züricher government. The Landsturm was already at Oberstrass, today a quarter in Zürich. (The Landsturm were the attacking people from the countryside, not to be confused with the militia or infantry in other German speaking countries). The main issue during the meeting was what to do with the people waiting in Oberstrass and potentially willing to attack. Coronel Hirzel had abandoned the plan to occupy the bridges and suggest that the government withdraw to the old Arsenal. A new meeting for 8 o'clock in the morning at the Postal office was agreed. The military was positioned at the Paradeplatz, in the Center of Zürich, weapons were given to the city militia. But the order was to let the rebels pass. At this time, Weiss would return at home.

*Sequence 10.* While Weiss waits at home, Eduard Sulzer and Hegetschweiler returned in the morning from their negotiations with the leaders of the around 2000 rebellious men at Oberstrass; foremost Bernhard Hirzel. An information of the rebel's attack of Neumünster and their march towards the "bridge" [Münsterbrücke]. Sulzer wanted to "bring out the guns" immediately (p. 71). Weiss asked for a written order, but that would never arrive. A shot had gone off at the Münster Bridge which would cause a chaos in the following. Weiss went to the Postal office. At Paradeplatz near the Hotel Baur a fighting started. Soon later, Weiss would presence from a certain distance how Hegetschweiler, who had left the office short before, was shot to death. The members of the government were all scattered throughout the city. Weiss searched for coronel Hirzel running to different places until he finally decided to wait for him in his house.

*Sequence 11.* The women were brought to a safer place. Weiss met coronel Hirzel, shattered and deceived that it had come to a violent outburst. Weiss tried to meet Mayor Hess and found him towards noon at Tannenbergl. (This place could not be clearly assigned). Hess surrendered “The Faith Committee reigns just now” (p. 78). Hess sends Weiss home. Still some dispersed rebels were seen in the city. It was said that the Central Committee together with the City council had taken the control and claimed the weapons from coronel Hirzel. Weiss was advised to leave the city.

*Sequence 12.* From the same evening until the 17<sup>th</sup> of September, Heinrich Weiss would stay in Winterthur. He was undecided if to return, in order to pass on his office formally or to remain at a safe distance. Therefore, he consulted governor (Statthalter) Sulzer to mediate with the new State Councilor M. Sulzer. Later Weiss would be blamed for having abandoned his position. Rumours went around about radical plans to attack the city, helped by Confederate troops. When he returned, the city was full of troops and Weiss remarked.

“Es war besser dafür gesorgt, daß die „Ruhe des Kantons“ nicht gestört werde, als gesorgt worden war, den Kanton nicht in diesen Zustand der Ruhe zu versetzen [It was better ensured that the ‘peace of the Canton’ would not be disturbed, as had been taken care of, not to put the Canton in this state of peace (p. 83). Was this cynical, regretful, apologetic? Hard to know.

*Sequence 13.* In his “Closing Remarks” Weiss accentuated the honourful behavior of single persons of the government, especially coronel Hirzel and tried to justify other like Junker Meier while he blamed especially Eduard and M. Sulzer, Mayor von Muralt and president Bleuler. He defined the event finally as a “revolution” and described the revolutionaries as hypocritical (p. 87). He differentiated between “creative” and “destructive” revolutions; the one

of 1831 understood as the former and the one of 1839 as the later (p. 91). But he also admitted that the main reason for the “catastroph” was that the system from 1830 to 1839, in comparison with the years 1815 to 1830, had lost its “political life” and the city had newly “taken the power” (p. 88). He regreted the lack of impartial judges, the poor transportation system, to many legal restrictions for small local enterprises and craftsmen, the insufficient popular education, unjustices in taxation and demoralisation and over structuration of the army. As a further reason, he suspected jealousy among the clergy. But he was also self-critical. As such, he considered that too much creativity had made it impossible for the people to keep pace and that it had been: “rücksichtslos — zu consequent nach seinen Grundsätzen, zu inconsequent nach seinem Ursprünge [ruthless - too consequent in its principles, too inconsequent in its origins]” (p. 92). Nevertheless, he stressed, that they had tried the best and achieved much in their eight years of government and believed faithfully that better times would come. He confessed to be a “Straussian”, but rejected any negative responsibility. Rather, he believed that the people had committed an injustice forcing the government to retire him, where it was not the people’s competence to take such a decision; at least not by that time. He further rejected the idea of the revolution as a “nemesis” given that only 5/6 had left the government and not all (p. 97). The guilty for Weiss were Hürlimann, Bluntschli, Spöndli and Rahn-Escher whome he called ambitious aristocrates. Finally, he redefined the concept of popular sovereignty by admitting that it stayed even beyond all “institutions and laws” (p. 100). The last words of his closing were dedicated to the younger generation, whome he feared would lack the rational education they so much needed in order to assume the responsibility such a sovereignty demanded.

**Katharina Morel [-Kaufmann] (1790-1876)**

Sequential overview for Katharina Morel's *Mémoire and Livre de Voyage* (Bucher-Heller, 1901; Katharina Morel, 1876; Muff, 1998):

*Sequence 1.* An innkeeper's daughter.

*Sequence 2.* Early responsibilities.

*Sequence 3.* Mother's death.

*Sequence 4.* Shop tender interlude.

*Sequence 5.* Employee in the Inn "zur Ilge".

*Sequence 6.* The brothers Peyer.

*Sequence 7.* Opposition from her futur in-laws.

*Sequence 8.* Crisis of the Helvetic Republic.

*Sequence 9.* Genossenbürger in Willisau.

*Sequence 10.* Heinrich's military career begins.

*Sequence 11.* The "Grande Armee".

*Sequence 12.* Katharina's adventure.

*Sequence 13.* Voyage to Marseille.

*Sequence 14.* Movement of the forces to Paris.

*Sequence 15.* Paris.

*Sequence 16.* March to the East (Lüttich) and Heinrich ill.

*Sequence 17.* Joining of the four Regiments in Stettin.

*Sequence 18.* Minette the Swiss Lady's horse (in Marienwerder).

*Sequence 19.* March to Polozk.

*Sequence 20.* The "Second Polish War" (Envasion of Russia).



*Sequence 21.* The War.

*Sequence 22.* Misery and deprivations.

*Sequence 23.* Disintegration of the Regiments, keeping one's own business.

*Sequence 24.* The Beresina (Flight to Switzerland).

*Sequence 25.* Survivors.

*Sequence 26.* Typhus & Dispair.

*Sequence 27.* End of War.

*Sequence 28.* Berlin.

*Sequence 29.* Frau von Abyberg.

*Sequence 30.* A passport for Heinrich.

*Sequence 31.* Home.

*Sequence 32.* Sister Anne-Marie.

*Sequence 33.* War-News or War Stories.

*Sequence 34.* Upheaval in Europe and home for Katharina.

*Sequence 35.* Military carrier in the Netherlands.

*Sequence 36.* Pension Morel.

*Sequence 37.* Katharina's ship.

*Sequence 38.* Gorum.

*Sequence 39.* Release from office.

*Sequence 40.* Inn "Zum Rössli"

*Sequence 41.* Heinrich ill.

*Sequence 42.* Mothering duties (Katharina Peyer).

*Sequence 43.* "Bad Rothen" (Tourism).

*Sequence 44.* Return to Luzern, the Inn "Engel", the "Trockenbund".

*Sequence 45.* Brand of Luzern.

*Sequence 46.* Heinrich's death.

*Sequence 47.* The Widow.

*Sequence 48.* Josef Morel.

*Sequence 49.* Inheritance disputes.

*Sequence 50.* Bankruptcy and death of Josef Morel.

*Sequence 51.* Women's business.

*Sequence 52.* Sonderbundskrieg, political engagement.

*Sequence 53.* Friendship with Robert Steiger.

*Sequence 54.* Josef's murder.

*Sequence 55.* "Kaltbad" mountain inn.

*Sequence 56.* Brand of "Kaltbad".

*Sequence 57.* Hotel "Schweizerhof".

*Sequence 58.* Guests in "Schweizerhof".

*Sequence 59.* Sovereignty.

*Sequence 60.* Public recognition: Sankt-Helena-Medaille.

*Sequence 61.* Teaching others in the Pension Morel.

*Sequence 62.* Progress in Luzern.

*Sequence 63.* Katharina's death.

*Sequence 64.* Katharina's bequest.

**Meta Heusser-Schweizer (1797-1876)**

Sequential overview for Meta Heusser-Schweizer's (1980) Hauschronik.

*Sequence 1.* Introduction (1804-1810+): The ancestry of her husband's grandfather: Jakob Heusser (1740-1818) and his wife Katharina Hofmann (1751-1790) (pp. 23-26); her own ancestry, the family Schweizer, citizen of Zürich, in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century immigrated from the Canton of Schwyz, starting with her grandfather Hans Ulrich Schweizer (1717-1790) and his wife Anna Margaretha Schulz (1716-1799) from Hamburg (pp. 26-28).

*Sequence 2. Meta Schweizer's ancestry:* Diethelm Schweizer a model of faith (pp. 23-55); her father, the parson Diethelm Schweizer (1751-1836) (p. 28 ff.); her mother Anna Gessner (1757-1836) (p. 31); her brothers and sisters (pp. 34-35). (Meta was the fifth of six children); Friendship with Elisabeth Gessener and family; aunt Sette (1755) (p. 33); Revolution (1799) and Dorothea, the youngest,- the child of peace (pp. 37-45); persecution of her father by the village people, for being an "aristocrate" (1802) (p. 41); Alois Reding (p. 42); Huber (im Feld), the leader of the riot crowd (p. 43); key moment Bocken Inn war (1804) (p. 46-51); peace with Huber (p. 51); Lavater (p. 32, 35).

*Sequence 2.* Friendship with Schwyz and Sonderbund war (pp. 56-63): Family life and guests at the parsonage (p- 56-61), Wichtelhausen, Lavater, Setli Gessner, Tant Döde, Bäbe, Ernst Gessner, parson Wirz; Misses Abyberg-Reding and her brother Alois Reding, Müller, Theodor Abyberg (pp. 61-63); the landslide of Goldau (p. 61); Sonderbund war (p. 63); Friendship with St. Gallen (p. 63-66), Hess father of the orphans, Anna Schlatter, children of Anna Babette the Angel child, Cleophea and Anna (p. 64); the hidden history (p. 65); orphanage, Judith Hess-Bernett; Friendship with Schaffhausen (pp. 66-68); Stilling's girl friends Kirchofer, family Peyer-Bosshart;

*Sequence 3.* Jakob Heusser, the young doctor (p. 68-72, 76-83) the secret of love („Geheimnis der Liebe, die Alles überwindet” (p. 83)); Bocken Inn war (p. 69); intercut of Sister Anna’s tragic episode (pp. 72-76); Anna’s children (p. 74-75); Sister Dorothea died (1822) (p. 83-85) and Elisabeth (p. 85-86) – the good and bad in life together („Diesem Tage, der recht eigentlich den Wendepunkt meines Lebens bildet” (p. 85)); birth of son Theodor Diethelm (first baptism since 1799 in the Heusser house) ( p. 88).

*Sequence 4.* the new house (p. 88): the children, Theodor, Dorothea, Jakob Christian (p. 89), Johanna Louise (p. 90), Heinrich Wilhelm, died young, one and a half year later, Regula, Meta; dieing of the older generation (p. 91); the hidden mother (p. 92); the mental ill patients in the doctor’s house (p. 93).

*Sequence 5.* Education of the children: the boys (p- 95-101); Theodor doctor, Christian Swiss consul in Brasil, later farmer in Argentina; precarious education of the girls (102-103).

*Sequence 6.* Marriages of the children (p. 104-108): the menta ill again (p. 108); Baptisms of grand-children (pp. 108 – 112) and the early dieing of some of them.

*Sequence 7.* Father Jakob Heusser died (pp. 112): his grave was maintained, all the contrary to the one of Meta’s parents, the sisters and of Wilhelm; end of a lifestyle in the doctor’s house; Egas love (Rudolf Schneebeli) early died (113-117).

*Sequence 8.* Friends: Wild (p. 118-121); Züriputsch and Heusser (120), a little “Hugenotte war or 30-year war”; the poet Knapp (121-123); the professor Lange, Tante Regula and the parson Fay, Dr. Kaiser in Pfäfers (123-124); Seewen: Freiherr von Meisenburg (124); Chur and Philipp Schaff (125-129); the voyage to the Berner Highlands (with Schaff, Ega, Meta, mother, grandson Theodor) (128); Swiss-American “evangelical Alliance”.

*Sequence 10.* Trip to Gottschalkenberg (129-133): Theodor's accident by Richtersweil (131).

*Sequence 11.* Christian: an "empty sheet in the book" (133-132).

*Sequence 12.* Fritz Ulrich: intimate friend of Theodor, who early died (134-137).

*Sequence 13.* Tante Regula (137-138): Love never ends ("Die Liebe höret nimmer auf!")

*Sequence 14.* Instructions: not to convert her book into a novel.

### **Constantin Siegwart-Müller (1801-1869)**

Sequential overview for Constantin Siegwart-Müller's autobiographical trilogy (Siegwart-Müller, 1863, 1864, 1866).

*Sequence 1.* 1818/\*\* - 1839/2/3: The stay in Lucerne. Friendship with Ludwig Keller, Edward Kathry, Joseph Kölscher a.o. Professor Brandstätter.

*Sequence 2.* 1818/\*\* - 1839/2/12: Holiday in Bürglen. Friendship oath sealed with Melchior Tschümperlin.

*Sequence 3.* 1818/\*\* - 1839/2/8: Studies in Solothurn. Professor Weissenbach. Foundation of the Rütli Association.

*Sequence 4.* 1819/\*\* - 1839/8/22: The University of Würzburg. Religious conversion. Curti and Großbach. Professor Wagner's system. Legal studies in Heidelberg. Thibaut and Mittermeier.

*Sequence 5.* 1826/\*\* - 1843/\*\*: Acquisition of citizenship (Landrecht) in Uri. Stay in Geneva and Lausanne.

*Sequence 6.* 1832/\*\* - 1847/9/27: Acquisition of citizenship in Lucerne.

*Sequence 7.* 1831/\*\* - 1847/1/6: The making passable of the Gotthard and steamship navigation on Lake Lucerne.

*Sequence 8.* 1831/\*\* - 1847/2/2: Landammann Reding, Ab-Yberg, Holdener and Schmid.

*Sequence 9.* 1831/\*\* - 1847/2/10: Troop contingent of the suburb. Disarmament.

*Sequence 10.* 1838/5/21 - 1838/5/21: Einsiedeln's (i.e. Konrad Kälin's) donation of citizenship to Constantin Siegwart.

*Sequence 11.* 1835/\*\* - 1850/10/27: The Law of the State church in St. Gallen.

*Sequence 12.* 1835/\*\* - 1850/\*\*: Appeal of the Bishop of Basel against the articles of the Baden Conference, against the Aargau Education Act and warnings against a renewals of the state church. Proclamation of the Great council against the bishop. Dismissal of deans by the Aargau government. Protestation of the bishop about it. Opinion of the church council of the Great Rath, pp. 179-199.

*Sequence 13.* 1835/\*\* - 1851/1/1: Constantin Siegwart-Müller's appeal against the Radicals, his trial against fifteen lawyers.

*Sequence 14.* 1837/\*\* - 1854/\*\*: Proclamation of the government. Petition of its Members. Retirement of Strauss.

*Sequence 15.* 1837/\*\* - 1855/4/3: People's Assembly in Kloten. Petition of the same. Rahn Escher's appeal to be ready for the storm. Parson Hirzel marched with armed men into the city. Attack on the people, 283-293.

*Sequence 16.* 1839/\*\* - 1864/7/21: Overthrow the government of Ticino by Luvini and his violent actions. Constitutional revision in the Canton of Solothurn. Acts of violence against the leaders of the people.

*Sequence 17.* 1839/\*\* - 1864/8/31: Revision in Aargau. Catholics meeting in Melligen. Petition of the clergy. Letter from the bishop.

*Sequence 18.* 1841/\*\* - 1880/\*\*: Abolition of all monasteries in Aargau. Austria's objection. Protestation of the nuncio. The Great Council of Lucerne, pp. 458-470.

*Sequence 19.* 1843/8/31 - 1843/8/31: Diet negotiations. Recovery of three convents.

*Sequence 20.* 1843/\*\* - 1843/\*\*: The Catholic states. Petition of Valais. Communication of the Protestants in Zurich. Hürlimann Landis. Instruction of Zurich and Lucerne, pp. 520-536.

*Sequence 21.* 1843/\*\* - 1843/\*\*: Pope Gregory XVI. Petition of the monasteries and bishops of Switzerland, the Aargau Catholics. St. Gallen Instruction. Diet. Vote Lucerne, pp. 536-585.

*Sequence 22.* 1839/7/11 - 1860/8/5: The Constitutions before and after 1830. The Constitution since 1815. Survey of the Lower Valais. Constitution of 19 January 1839. Mediation of the suburb. Commissioners. Application for re-constitution. Diet order of 11 July 1839. Objection of Upper Valais and clergy, pp. 629-646.

*Sequence 23.* 1839/8/3 - 1860/8/16: The Constitution of the August 3rd. Repeated mitigation of the Diet. Dismissal of C. de la Harpe. Rebellion against the new government, the commissioners and the bishop. Investigation on the adoption of the Constitution of August 3rd. Warning to the troops. Request to call the Diet. New proposal for a mediation. Submission of the Upper Valais through violence. Cluelessness of the presidential State Zürich.

*Sequence 24.* 1800/\*\* - 1804/\*\*: The votation for a new liberal constitution. Leu's ideas of liberty. Agricultural association.

*Sequence 25.* 1831/\*\* - 1847/3/11: Leu became Grand Councilor. He wanted genuine freedom for people and economy. He cared for the poorhouse in Ibenmoos and exercised charity.

*Sequence 26.* 1832/\*\* - 1847/11/3: Formation of the liberal Association of Prevention (Schutzverein) and the conservative Concordat of the Seven. Exclusion the Concordate, Leu and Scherer from the Grand Council.

*Sequence 27.* 1841/\*\* - 1891/\*\*: Siegwart-Müller was editor of the laws. Veto Act. Law on arbitration. Organization Act. Act on administrative disputes. Police powers. Commissions or divisions of the government council with their powers. Official governor. Prosecutor. Organization of the courts. Organisation of the communities. Responsibility Law. Finance Act. Steam boat cruise. Rules of procedure. Civil Litigation.

*Sequence 28.* 1841/\*\* - 1891/\*\*: Education. Education Council. Education Act. Community schools. District school. Cantonal school. Opening thereof. Moving of the Teachers' College to St. Urban, performance and organization thereof. Institution for deaf-and-dumb [today: deaf community]. Restoration of the Ursulines monastery in Lucerne. Contract and Opening Ceremony. Introduction of official teaching sisters in Baldegg, introduction of teaching sisters at the orphanage Lucerne. Law on these.

*Sequence 29.* 1845/\*\* - 1845/\*\*: Leu's character and trust in God. Threatening letters. Steiger's letter to the pepper women. Leu's assassination. Funeral. Ruswylerverein. Memories. Condolences. Investigation and first advertising. Official report of the murder. Wicked letters to Mrs Leu. Arrest of Jakob Müller. Appointment of Dr. Ammann examining magistrate. Interrogations.

*Sequence 30.* 1845/\*\* - 1845/\*\*: Criminal sentence. Interrogation with Rudolph Corraggioni. Death sentence by the superior court. Renouncement of pardon. Farewell to his wife. Homily of the city minister. Support of the widow. Arrest of Casimir Pfyffer. Judgment



against the co-accused- Extradition request. Acquittal of the co-accused. Examining magistrate Ammann.

*Sequence 31.* 1847/4/21 - 1847/4/21: Electoral victory of the radicals. James Fazy. Geneva consent to violence against the Catholic cantons. Dissolution of the Economic society by Fazy. Crotti di Costigliole.

*Sequence 32.* 1847/11/\* - 1847/11/\*: Volunteer movement (Freischarenzug) to Freiburg. Challenge to a duel in the Diet. Federal side in Thun.

*Sequence 33.* 1847/10/16 - 1847/10/16: Negotiations with Polish generals. Prince of Schwarzenberg. General William of Kalbermatten. General von Salis-Soglio.

*Sequence 34.* 1847/11/\* - 1847/11/\*: Ochsenbein's opening speech. Envoys to the Diet. Protocol Statement of Lucerne. Lectures by State Schreiber Bernhard Meyer. Dissolution of the federal government. Protest against it. Prohibition of armaments by the Diet. Dismissal of the federal officers of the liberal Association of Prevention (Schutzvereinigung).

*Sequence 35.* 1847/11/23 - 1847/11/23: Recommendation of caring for Meyerskappel to the general. General von Salis undertakings. Encounter at Honau. Meeting at Gislikon. Encounter with Michaelskappel. Encounter at Buonas. Encounter with Meyer Kappel.

*Sequence 36.* 1815/11/20 - 1835/9/20: Peace Treaty of Paris [Second Treaty of Paris]. Settlement of Vienna. Declaration of neutrality of the powers. The Holy Alliance. Accession of Switzerland

*Sequence 37.* 1848/\*/\* - 1848/\*/\*: Assembly of the German craftsmen in Steinhölzlein to Bern. Bavaria, Austria, Prussia, Baden and Württemberg complaints and measures. Bern turned in vain to the presidential State of Zurich. Kasthofer's suit in the Great council. Berns memorandum to the charge d'affaires in Vienna and Paris. Austria, Bavaria, Baden,

Württemberg, Sardinia and Russia demand from the presidential State (Vorort) of Bern soothing assurances. The presidential State gives them. France approves Austria's procedure. Answer of the presidential State (Vorort) of Baden. Response of Baden. Congratulatory of the presidential State to the Emperor of Austria. Repeated step of the presidential State to the powers in favor of the Canton of Bern.

*Sequence 38.* 1848/\*\* - 1848/\*\*: Demeanor of radicalism. National Association. Assembly in Flawyl, in Reiden, in Wiedikon, in Münsingen.

*Sequence 39.* 1838/8/1 - 1856/12/8: Montebello's note for expulsion of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. Negotiations of the Confederate Diet. Kern's speech. Monnard's lecture. Diet Commission. Letter of Napoleon to the Great Council of Thurgau. Note of Molé. Report of the Commission. Triple Commission report. Speech of the envoy of Thurgau. Speech of Rigaud, Monnard and Calame.

*Sequence 40.* 1841/\*\* - 1896/\*\*: Metternich's note of 1841. English note on the Volunteers (Freischaaren). French note. The philippic [fierce speech] of Neuhaus against these notes. Mousson's note. Answer by Guizot. Notes of Austria, Sardinia, Prussia and Russia.

*Sequence 41.* 1844/\*\* - 1844/\*\*: Palmerston's order to Dufour to get ready [defeat] with the Separate Alliance (Sonderbund). Conferences in London and in Neuchâtel. French note. Answer by Diet. Austrian note. European Politics.

### **Bernhard Hirzel [-Tobler] (1807-1847)**

Hirzel followed a strict chronological order in his autobiography, resuming very briefly the events of the Züriputsch, which he had described, also in chronological order in the earlier publication *Mein Antheil* (Hirzel in: Aerne, 1994; Hirzel, 1839).

**Emma Herwegh [-Siegmond] (1817-1904)**

Emma Herwegh followed a strict chronological order accounting for her participation in the Hecker uprising, starting with the February Revolution in France 1848 and ended with with Emma and Georg Herwegh's escape to Switzerland after the uprising had failed in April 1848 (Herwegh, 1849).

Appendix M

Dramatica Analysis of Character Development

Characters were assigned to archetypes and defined as Main Character or Impact Character according to the hermeneutic coding conducted in this research.

**Heinrich Weiss [-Zwicky] (1789-1848)**

Table M 1

*Dramatica's character relationship scheme of Heinrich Weiss' (1839) history (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001)*

PROTAGONIST (MC)	Heinrich Weiss (1789-1848)	ANTAGONIST (IC)	Eduard Sulzer (1789-1857)
Role	<i>The guardian of the government</i>	Role	<i>The hotheaded</i>
Function	<i>Maintain the sovereignty of the State.</i>	Function	<i>To shout the war roar.</i>
REASON	Johann Jakob Hess (1831-1839)	EMOTION	Hans Conrad Rahn-Escher (1802-1881)
Role	<i>The sovereign negotiator</i>	Role	<i>The leader of the folk</i>
Function	<i>To mediate between the sides.</i>	Function	<i>To agitate and spread rumors, to bring the story forward.</i>
SIDEKICK	Salomon Hirzel (1790-1844)	SKEPTIC	Johannes Hegetschweiler (1789-1839)
Role	<i>The commander in double function</i>	Role	<i>The hesitating</i>
Function	<i>To push Weiss in ambiguous way.</i>	Function	<i>To raise doubts and hinder a decision.</i>
GUARDIAN	Heinrich Gysi-Schinz (1803-1878)	CONTAGONIST	Johann Jakob Hürlimann-Landis (1796-1853)
Role	<i>Not analyzed</i>	Role	<i>The friend of ambitious aristocrates</i>
Function	<i>To remember the goal; protection of people and property.</i>	Function	<i>To confuse the people.</i>

**Katharina Morel [-Kaufmann] (1790-1876)**

Table M 2

*Dramatica's character relationship scheme of Katharina Morel's (1876) diaries (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001)*

PROTAGONIST (MC)	Katharina Morel (1790-1876)	ANTAGONIST (IC)	Death
Role	<i>The creative entrepreneur</i>	Role	<i>The invisible other</i>
Function	<i>To to create, manage, keep things going</i>	Function	<i>To deconstruct, stop things from going</i>
REASON	Katharina Peyer (n.a.)	EMOTION	Heinrich Peyer (n.a.-1837)
Role	<i>The bookkeeper</i>	Role	<i>The companion in arms</i>
Function	<i>To take account, organize, keep things together</i>	Function	<i>To inspire, provide a reason for action</i>
SIDEKICK	The Segessers	SKEPTIC	Josef Morel (ca. 1800-1844)
Role	<i>The fortune bringer</i>	Role	<i>The failed business man</i>
Function	<i>To open new possibilities</i>	Function	<i>To make an end</i>
GUARDIAN	Jakob Rober Steiger (1801-1862)	CONTAGONIS	Napoleon I (1769-1821)
Role	<i>The doctor and liberal</i>	Role	<i>Detainment of enthusiasm</i>
Function	<i>To help accepting limitations and ending</i>	Function	<i>To frustrate expectations</i>

**Meta Heusser-Schweizer (1797-1876)**

Table M 3

*Dramatica's character relationship scheme of Meta Heusser-Schweizer's (1980) Hauschronik*

*(M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001)*

PROTAGONIST	The children	ANTAGONIST	Anna Gessner (1757–1836)
Role	The community of the saints	Role	The hidden women
Function	To materialize the truth	Function	To represent the true story
REASON (MC)	Meta Heusser-Schweizer (1791-1876)	EMOTION	Anna Schlatter-Bernette
Role	The emissary of God	Role	The Anabaptist
Function	To unify opposing poles through love	Function	To seek for the ideal
SIDEKICK	Johann Wichelhausen (1773-1838)	SKEPTIC	Johann Jakob Heusser (1783-1859)
Role	The calming influence	Role	The converted rationalist
Function	To balance reason and emotion	Function	To remind the demands of reality
GUARDIAN	Diethelm Schweizer (1751–1824)	CONTAGONIS (IC)	Huber im Feld (n. a.)
Role	The man of faith	Role	The fanatic farmer
Function	To support faith	Function	To challenge faith

**Constantin Siegwart-Müller (1801-1869)**

Table M 4

*Dramatica's character relationship scheme of Constantin Siegwart-Müller's (1863, 1864, 1866) book trilogy (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001)*

PROTAGONIST	Joseph Leu (1800-1845)	ANTAGONIST (IC)	Ulrich Ochsenbein (1811-1890)
Role	<i>The ideal leader.</i>	Role	<i>Leader of Volunteerism</i>
Function	<i>To bring the people back on the right track.</i>	Function	<i>Not analyzed</i>
REASON (MC)	Constantin Siegwart-Müller (1801-1869)	EMOTION	Josef Maria Regli (1788-1870)
Role	<i>The advocate of the Church</i>	Role	<i>The Church father</i>
Function	<i>Not analyzed</i>	Function	<i>Not analyzed</i>
SIDEKICK	Theodor Ab-Yberg (1795-1869)	SKEPTIC	Philipp Anton Segesser (1817-1888)
Role	<i>The noble aristocrat.</i>	Role	<i>Integration of law and history</i>
Function		Function	
GUARDIAN	Johann Ulrich von Salis-Soglio (1790-1874)	CONTAGONIST	Guillaume-Henri Dufour (1787-1875)
Role	<i>Not analzed</i>	Role	<i>The right man at the right place</i>
Function	<i>Not analyzed</i>	Function	<i>Not analyzed</i>

**Bernhard Hirzel [-Tobler] (1807-1847)**

Table M 5

*Dramatica's character relationship scheme of Bernhard Hirzel's letter (Aerne, 1994; M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001)*

PROTAGONIST (MC)	Bernhard Hirzel (1807-1847)	ANTAGONIST	Maria Elisa Tobler
Role	<i>The revolutionary idealist</i>	Role	<i>The bad wife</i>
Function	<i>To sacrifice himself for the people.</i>	Function	<i>To look to the other side.</i>
REASON	Johann Caspar Bluntschli (1808-1881)	EMOTION	Marie Welti
Role	<i>The loyal friend.</i>	Role	<i>The Virgin Mary.</i>
Function	<i>To warn and to guide</i>	Function	<i>To love unconditionally.</i>
SIDEKICK	Hans Conrad Rahn-Escher (1802-1881)	SKEPTIC	Margaretha Hirzel-Bürkli
Role	<i>The agitator.</i>	Role	<i>The knowledgeable</i>
Function	<i>To give meaning to ideals and dreams</i>	Function	<i>To make an end.</i>
GUARDIAN	Anna H., (n. a.)	CONTAGONIST (IC)	Johannes Hirzel II
Role	<i>The seduction.</i>	Role	<i>The radical materialist</i>
Function	<i>To show material possibilities</i>	Function	<i>To ignore and reject beauty.</i>



**Emma Herwegh [-Siegmond] (1817-1904)**

Table M 6

*Dramatica's character relationship scheme of Emma Herwegh's (1849) book (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001)*

PROTAGONIST	Georg Herwegh (1817-1875)	ANTAGONIST	Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898)
Role	<i>The iron lark</i>	Role	<i>The man of blood and iron.</i>
Function	<i>To lead the people to the promised land.</i>	Function	<i>To rejoice with destruction.</i>
REASON (MC)	Emma Herwegh (1817-1904)	EMOTION	Frank Wedekind (1864-1918)
Role	<i>The liberty fighter.</i>	Role	<i>The children of Germany</i>
Function	<i>To do what is necessary.</i>	Function	<i>To inspire hope.</i>
SIDEKICK	Johann Philipp Becker (1809-1886)	SKEPTIC	Gustav Stuve (1805-1870)
Role	<i>The skilled military.</i>	Role	<i>The hinderer.</i>
Function	<i>To support the cause.</i>	Function	
GUARDIAN	Auguste Delaporte (1821-1899 ?)	CONTAGONIST (IC)	Friedrich F. K. Hecker (1811-1881)
Role	<i>The last resort.</i>	Role	<i>The hesitator.</i>
Function	<i>Not analyzed</i>	Function	<i>Not analyzed</i>

## Appendix N

## Dramatica Analysis of Maissen's (2000) National Story

Based on the historical accounts of Thomas Maissen (2000) and his contribution to de Weck's (2013) film *Die Schweizer* a literary analysis following the Dramatica Theory of Story was made for one of the existing national stories of Switzerland (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001). This analysis comprised four major phases: (1) the character development in Figures Q1 and Q2; (2) the story structure analysis in Figure Q3; (3) the thematic analysis of the storyweaving in Figure Q4; (4) and a sequential analysis as part of the storytelling, not further specified in the Appendices.

Table N 1

*Dramatica's relationship scheme as analyzed for Maissen's article*

PROTAGONIST (MC)	Jonas Furrer	ANTAGONIST (IC)	Constantin Siegwart-Müller (1801-1869)
Role	<i>Zürch, radical</i>	Role	<i>Luzern, ultramontane, "apostate"</i>
Function	<i>Leader of the radicals and the "bourgeoisie du talent"</i>	Function	<i>oppose "centralisation" as "the murder of people's freedom" (p. 16).</i>
REASON	Henri Guillaume Dufour	EMOTION	Gallus Jakob Baumgartner
Role	<i>Geneva, conservative protestant</i>	Role	<i>Luzern, conservative, "apostate"</i>
Function	<i>To lead the Confederate troops</i>	Function	<i>To fight the threat of abuse of power (p. 17) with temperance.</i>
SIDEKICK	Ulrich Ochsenbein	SKEPTIC	Joseph Baltasar Ulrich
Role	<i>Bern, radical lawyer</i>	Role	
Function	<i>Leader of the volunteers.</i>	Function	<i>«[To] participate faut de mieux in the new state (p. 17).</i>
GUARDIAN	Jakob Robert Steiger	CONTAGONIST	Ulrich von Salis-Soglio
Role	<i>Luzern, radical</i>	Role	<i>Graubünden, conservative Protestant</i>
Function	<i>Hero of the volunteers and radicals.</i>	Function	<i>To lead the Sonderbund</i>

Table N 2

*Dramatica's relationship scheme as analyzed for the film Die Schweizer*

PROTAGONIST (MC)	Alfred Escher	ANTAGONIST (IC)	Constantin Siegwart-Müller
Role	<i>The leader of modern Switzerland</i>	Role	<i>Luzer, ultramontane, "apostate"</i>
Function	<i>To initiate new projects.</i>	Function	<i>To oppose "centralisation" as "the murder of people's freedom" (p. 16).</i>
REASON	Henri Guillaume Dufour	EMOTION	Gallus Jakob Baumgartner
Role	<i>Geneva, conservative protestant</i>	Role	<i>Luzern, conservative, "apostate"</i>
Function	<i>To lead the Confederate troops</i>	Function	<i>To fight the threat of abuse of power (p. 17) with temperance.</i>
SIDEKICK	Ulrich Ochsenbein	SKEPTIC	Joseph Baltasar Ulrich
Role	<i>Bern, radical lawyer</i>	Role	<i>To criticize.</i>
Function	<i>Leader of the volunteers.</i>	Function	<i>«[To] participate faut de mieux in the new state (p. 17).</i>
GUARDIAN	Jakob Robert Steiger	CONTAGONIST	James Fazy
Role	<i>Luzern, radical</i>	Role	<i>Geneva, radical</i>
Function	<i>Hero of the volunteers and radicals.</i>	Function	<i>To hinder with impulsive actions.</i>

The story points, as part of the story structure were reproduced from the text analysis of Thomas Maissen’s article (2000).

12 Essential Questions (independent)		Additional Story Points	
1. MC resolve	Steadfast	1. Story goal	Playing a role
4. MC problem-solving style	Intuitive	2. Story consequence	Doing
7. Plot outcome	Success	3. Story cost	How things are changing
8. Plot judgement	Good	4. Story dividend	Impulsive responses
9. Overall thematic throughline	Manipulation	MC Story Points	
12. Overall problem	Process	1. MC problem	Cause
12 Essential Questions (variable)		2. MC solution	Effect
2. MC growth	Stop	3. MC symptom	Unproven
3. MC approach	Be-er	4. MC response	Proven
5. Plot driver	Action	5. MC throughline	Fixed attitude
6. Plot limit	Timelock	6. MC issue	Value
10. Overall thematic concern	Playing a role	7. MC unique ability	Worth
11. Overall thematic issue	Knowledge	8. MC critical flaw	Desire

Figure N 3. Story structure as analyzed in Maissen’s article.

The Storyweaving was a thematic reproduction based on the text analysis of Thomas Maissen’s article 1848.

	✓ Journey1 \		✓ Journey2 \		✓ Journey3 \		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
OS T	The Future	→	How Things are Changing	→	The Present	→	The Past
	Enlightenment, Wisdom, Skill, and Experience		Strategy, Analysis, Preconditions, and Prerequisites		Approach, Self Interest, Morality, and Attitude		Instinct, Senses, Interpretation, and Conditioning
M/I T	Innermost Desires	→	Contemplation	→	Memories	→	Impulsive Responses
	Fact, Fantasy, Security, and Threat		Work, Attraction, Repulsion, and Attempt		Openness, Delay, Choice, and Preconception		Fate, Prediction, Interdiction, and Destiny
MC	Doing	→	Gathering Information	→	Obtaining	→	Understanding
	Truth, Evidence, Suspicion, and Falsehood		Value, Confidence, Worry, and Worth		Closure, Hope, Dream, and Denial		Investigation, Appraisal, Reappraisal, and Doubt
IC	Developing a Plan	→	Playing a Role	→	Changing One’s Nature	→	Conceiving an Idea

Figure N 4. Dramatica plot progression for Maissen’s article.

## Appendix O

## Storytelling of the National Story of Switzerland as a “Covenant Community”

The storytelling was developed in two different versions. The first version was a merger of events from the biographies in strict chronological order.

*Sequence 1.* 1789 France suffered a deep financial crisis. King Louis XVI of France called the Estates-General. They discuss possible solutions. It came to disputes on the voting system. The National Assembly was formed. Soon later the French Revolution took place. The conventions opened on May 5th 1789 with great festivities. HeScM1797

*Sequence 2.* The same day, Heinrich Weiss was born in Fehraltorf, Canton Zürich, Switzerland, into a decent teacher's family. WeH1789

*Sequence 3.* 1795 one year earlier the Treaty of Basel signed peace between France and Prussia. 1796 France had occupied the Prussian Rhine land and the Revolt in the Vendée had just ended. The Battle of Lodi had significantly contributed to the myth of Napoleon who would set up the Cisalpine Republic in the same year seizing the Valtellina from Graubünden (the "Grey Leagues") and causing tensions in the Italian speaking Switzerland after an unsuccessful trial to invade Lugano in today's Canton Ticino. HeScM1797

*Sequence 4.* 1790 Katharina Kaufmann was born in Horw, on May 23. MoKaK1790

1797 Meta (actually Anna Margaretha Barbara) Schweizer was born in Hirzel, in the Canton Zürich on the border with the Canton Zug. HeScM1797

*Sequence 5.* 1798, March 5th, the French finally invaded Switzerland helped by Swiss nationals (de La Harpe) who hoped to end with the feudal HeScM1797

system of the Old Swiss Confederation, then converted into the Helvetic Republic subject to France. The French had taken the independence of the Swiss Cantons away and formed a centralized state, whose "progressive" ideas included such controversial measurements like the limitation of the freedom of worship.

*Sequence 6.* The forest cantons led by Alois von Reding made an intent of resistance. Therefore, the French occupied Zürich in order to defeat the rising upheavals in Switzerland. The enforced treaty with France obliged the Swiss to break their neutrality, which converted them into a battle zone between France, Austria and the armies of Imperial Russia. HeScM1797

*Sequence 7.* 1800 Katharina Kaufmann's mother died and she went to live with her aunt in Kriens. MoKaK1790

The next year in Lodrino, Canton Ticino, on October 10th, 1801, Constantin Siegwart was born into a glassworker's family, originally inmigrated from Germany. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 8.* The locals allied mostly with Austria or Russia against France. A series of violent encounters started and culminated in the Stecklikrieg ("wooden club war") during which Zürich was bombarded 1802, as Meta Schweizer remembered. HeScM1797

*Sequence 9.* On 19 February 1803 the Act of Mediation was signed by Napoleon, ending the Helvetic Republic and restoring the cantons and the Swiss Confederation. Formally, this was the beginning of the Mediation period in Swiss history. HeScM1797

*Sequence 10.* While Heinrich Weiss, Katharina Kaufmann and Meta Schweizer grew up, learned in school and in their offices, Heinrich Weiss would become a teacher, Katharina Kaufmann served in several restaurants and Meta Schweizer was educated as a house wife, learned under house teachers and took great interest in international affairs of her days.

WeH1789;

MoKaK1790;

HeScM1797

*Sequence 11.* 1804, from March 24 to April 3, the Bocke inn war took place on the mount Bocken near Horgen, a town close to Hirzel where Meta Schweizer lived. The rural population rioted against the Confederate troops, led by Zürich in order to abolish the tithes.

HeScM1797

*Sequence 12.* This event marked Meta Schweizer, because it taught her how neighbours could become enemies.

HeScM1797

*Sequence 13.* September 2, 1806 a landslide buried the towns Goldau and Röthen completely, as well as part of Buosingen and Lauerz. 457 persons died. It was so far the second largest natural catastrophe in Switzerland after the Basel earthquake 1356.

ScM1797

*Sequence 14.* This event entered into the memories of Katharina Morel, who lived close, and Meta Schweizer, who visited the region often during her life.

MoKaK1790;

HeScM1797

*Sequence 15.* 1806 the anniversary of Zurich-Schwyz friendship was celebrated, as Meta Schweizer recorded.

HeScM1797

*Sequence 16.* The same year, Katharina Kaufmann married Heinrich Peyer converting her into Katharina Peyer, Heinrich Weiss went to the high school in Aarau and Prussia declared war to France. Napoleon imposed the

WeH1789;

MoKaK1790;

HeScM1797

Continental system.

*Sequence 17.* The following year, Bernhard Hirzel was born 12 August 1807 into well established, aristocratic family of Zürich. HiB1807

*Sequence 18.* The same year Napoleon signed peace with Prussia and Russia in Tilsit. HeScM1797

*Sequence 19.* 1808 Constantin Siegwart lost both of his parents and became the foster son of Joseph Maria Regli, a Catholic priest who would educate him as his own son, providing him with the best education, religious teaching a foremost fatherly love. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 20.* During these years Meta Schweizer made many travels to the forest cantons, especially to the Schwyz and the Rigi. HeScM1797

*Sequence 21.* In November 1809, Heinrich Peyer listed voluntarily the mercenary service for France in Marseille, and a few month later Katharina followed her husband, end of July 1810. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 22.* In September of the same year Jakob Heusser, who should later become the husband of Meta Schweizer, moved to Hirzel as the general practitioner of the town. HeScM1797

*Sequence 23.* End of 1811, Maria Elise Tobler, the future wife of Bernhard Hirzel was born. On the Hirzel mountain, Caspar (?) Gessner (1780-1812), a distant but dear relative of Meta Schweizer, would visit her for the last time, while Katharina and Heinrich Peyer see the French Majesties from very close during a parade in Paris. MoKaK1790; HeScM1797

*Sequence 24.* On the 13 January 1812, Katharina Peyer and her husband MoKaK1790



received the order to march to Lüttich without clear destiny.

*Sequence 25.* In April they arrive at Stettin where the four Swiss regiments join. Still waiting for Napoleon they run out of food. Katharina Peyer wrote a significant letter to her sister Anna-Marie, telling her that now she had learnt what war meant. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 26.* At the same time Meta Schweizer buried her relative and friend Caspar Gessner. Travels to the Aegeri mountain and the Rigi followed, where she heard of spiritual visions some of her acquaintance had experienced. HeScM1797

*Sequence 27.* In June, Meta Schweizer knew Jakob Heusser better during extended walks. HeScM1797

*Sequence 28.* In the meanwhile, finally, Napoleon had joined the Swiss regiments and they arrive at the Niemen. He informed them about their mission, to invade Russia. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 29.* On the 18 October 1812 Katharina Peyer presented the battle of Polotz at close distance and helped to care for the wounded. In Switzerland, the news about the war provided only insignificant details about the culture of the country and the surprisingly warm weather. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 30.* One month later on the 28th of November the Swiss mercenaries prepared for the battle on the street between Barisow and Zumbin. Franz Josef Blattman motivated Thomas Legler to sing the "Beresinalied", which would end mythology about Swiss heroism, and is shot soon after. The day after the Peysers leave Königsberg to return to Polotz. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 31.* Finally, the Swiss at home hear about the negative balance HeScM1797

of Napoleon's Russian campaign and the end of the Empire.

*Sequence 32.* Threatened by the Russian troops the Peyers fled and arrived on Januar 31, 1813 in Berlin. Marburg, Düsseldorf and Hanover were occupied by the Allies. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 33.* The Peyers decide to flee to Switzerland given the unstable situation in Germany. In Magdeburg they loose their last goods. In March, the Peyers arrive at Lautenburg close to Switzerland while the Russian had advanced until Berlin. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 34.* The 6 of April 1813 the French and the Prussians meet at the Elbe. Three days later was the confirmation day of Meta Schweizer in Hirzel. In the following month she would travell to St. Gallen where she started her friendship with Schlatters. HeScM1797

*Sequence 35.* In May of the same year, the Peyers left Lauterburg and arrived at Basel. Back home in Luzern, Katharina Peyer visited her friends. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 36.* In July an alliance between England and Sweden was made, and the Peace Congress in Prag came closer. All the four armies of the four monarchies were advancing on German grounds and terrible war armament took place at all sides. HeScM1797

*Sequence 37.* August 26, Meta Schweizer returned from one of her trips to the Rigi. HeScM1797

*Sequence 38.* In September, Katharina Peyer reported there was war from the Adratic Sea to the Baltic Sea and Moscow in flames. MoKaK1790; HeScM1797

*Sequence 39.* 15 November 1813 extraordinary Diet of the Swiss SiMueC1800

Confederation in Zürich was held and armed neutrality was declared unilaterally, soon after the Ticino was cleaned up of Italian troops and the French withdraw from the German Rhine region.

*Sequence 40.* Meta Schweizer remembered the 18th of October as the day of the salvation battle in Leibzig. HeScM1797

*Sequence 41.* Heinrich Peyer had tried to retake his job as saddler again in Willisau, but due to the bad payment policies, he was not very successful. Therefore, he decided to enter military service again and left after a short job in Graubünden to Maastrich in French service, on the 7th of December 1813 together with his wife Katharina. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 42.* On the 17th Colon was occupied, and the allies advanced to Holland. The Peyers arrived nine days later. Katharina Peyer would run a kind of Pension for high military officers in Maastrich. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 43.* The same year, Bernhard Hirzel's grandfather died. HiB1807

*Sequence 44.* In 1814 most of the Swiss cantons were ruled by the former aristocratic powers. This threatened the territorial integrity of the new cantons formed under the Act of Mediation. The Russian Zar Alexander I. visited Zürich and influenced by de La Harpe, spoke in favor of the new cantons. HeScM1797

*Sequence 45.* The year 1815 was memorized by Meta Schweizer as the "victory by Waterloo". This marked the end of the Mediation and the beginning of the Restauration period from which she hoped more religious liberty. For Meta Schweizer it was also the beginning of a lifelong aristocratic friendship HeScM1797

with the Family Ab Yberg from the canton Schwyz.

*Sequence 46.* Constantin Siegwart remembered the year for the Federal Treaty. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 47.* In the meantime, Katharina Peyer, hired a ship for the Swiss troops, in order to solve their logistic problems in their transfer to Gorum, but foremost, in her own interest, getting free freight for her household. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 48.* In 1817, in midst of the Swiss Restauration and two years after the Congress of Vienna, while Heinrich Weiss was a committed teacher, Katharina Peyer had shown succesfully arriving at Gorum, Meta Schweizer networked her oecomenic friendship networks, Constantin Siegwart studied with his home teacher and Bernhard Hirzel at the primary school, a new dream of liberty was born. In Berlin on May 10 was Emma Siegmund born and in Stuttgart on the 31st her future husband Georg Herwegh. WeH1789; MoKaK1790; HeScM1797; HeSiE1817

*Sequence 49.* 7 March 1818 was marked as an important day in Meta Schweizer-Heusser memoires. Her husband Jakob Heusser, so far distant from religious matters, had committed to the Christian faith. Soon after in June they engaged. HeScM1797

*Sequence 50.* 1818 Constantin Siegwart assisted the schools in Altorf, Luzern and Solothurn, where he started friendship with radical-liberals as Ludwig Keller, Eduard Kathry, Joseph Kölscher. They studied with Professor Weissenbach and founded the Rütliverein. He also entered the Freundschaftsbund with Melchior Tschümperlin. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 51.* 1819 Constantin Siegwart studied philosophy, political SiMueC1800

sciences and jurisprudence in Würzburg and Heidelberg.

*Sequence 52.* Bernhard Hirzel started his studies at the grammar school at the Schola Carolina at the Grossmünster in Zürich HiB1807

*Sequence 53.* Meta Schweizer made several voyages among others to the Rigi and her life was marked by the birth and death of relatives and other beloved people. HeScM1797

*Sequence 54.* 1820 Heinrich Weiss became teacher in Fehraltorf. At the same time, Constantin Siegwart returned to his former Catholic faith. WeH1789; SiMueC1800

*Sequence 56.* The following year in January 1821, Heinrich Peyer dismissed from military service and the Peyers return in a 21-days-travel to Switzerland in horse carrier through Aachen, Lüttich, Köln, Koblenz, Speyer, Salzbach, Freiburg, Basel, Zofingen, to Willisau. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 57.* Three month later, on the 9th of April 1821, Meta Schweizer finally, after a three-years fiancée could marry to Jakob Heusser. She continues to travel to the Rigi. HeScM1797

*Sequence 58.* On 15 February 1822 Katharina and Heinrich Peyer move to Sursee and run the Inn "Zum Rössli". MoKaK1790

*Sequence 59.* On 13 August 1822 Theodor Diethelm Heusser, Meta Heusser-Schweizer's first son was born. HeScM1797

*Sequence 60.* 1823 Meta Heusser-Schweizer visited Luzern. HeScM1797

*Sequence 61.* In the same year, Heinrich Peyer's sister died and left her young daughter to the care of Katharina Peyer. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 62.* In December, Hirzel graduated from the 3rd class of the HiB1807

grammar school and enters the Collegium humanitatis at the Fraumünster (upper school).

*Sequence 63.* 28 January 1825, Meta Schweizer-Heusser's first daughter Anna Elisabetha Dorothea was born. HeScM1797

*Sequence 64.* Katharina and Heinrich leave the "Rössli" and start the "Bad Rothen" in Littau during two years. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 65.* 14 December 1825 Bernhard Hirzel graduated from upper school and enters the Collegium Carolinum at the Grossmünster, focus on Classis philologica (ancient languages, history), Classis philosophica. HiB1807

*Sequence 66.* In the year to follow, Meta Heusser-Schweizer would often stay in Baden. HeScM1797

*Sequence 67.* March 28th of the following year Jakob Christian Heusser, Meta Heusser-Schweizer's second son. She would soon fear for his life, but he would recover happily. HeScM1797

*Sequence 68.* Bernhard Hirzel engaged with Maria Elisa (Elise) Tobler and soon after graduated from Classis philologica and philosophica and starts Classis theologica (theological studies). HiB1807

*Sequence 69.* 1826 Constantin Siegwart wrote his "Tell der Urner" and achieved citizenship in Uri. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 70.* Heinrich Weiss became member of the tribunal of the district Kyburg and married Anna Barbara Tobler who would die soon after. WeH1789

*Sequence 71.* 12 June 1827 Meta Heusser-Schweizer's gave birth to her second daughter Johanna Louise. HeScM1797

*Sequence 72.* In the same year Constantin Siegwart became public prosecutor (Landesfürsprech) in Uri. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 73.* Also Heinrich Weiss married for the second time to Margaretha Zwicky. WeH1789

*Sequence 74.* Katharina Peyer leased the Inn "Engel" in Luzern. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 75.* 1828 Meta Heusser-Schweizer met with Gerold Meyer, later an important biographer and historiographer and Wichelhausens. HeScM1797

*Sequence 76.* The same year, Bernhard Hirzel graduated from theology after a very short time of study and with excellent records. HiB1807

*Sequence 77.* Constantin Siegwart married Josefina Müller, daughter of Karl Martin Müller and sister of Vinzenz and Franz and would call himself from then on Constantin Siegwart-Müller. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 78.* 26 May 1829 Meta Heusser-Schweizer gave life to her third son Heinrich Willhelm. He would die only 16 days later. HeScM1797

*Sequence 79.* 1830 was the beginning of a new, liberal era initiated with the July Revolution in Paris. Already in 1819 the Association Zofingia (Zofingerverein) was founded by the liberals in Zürich, the patriotic Sempacher Association (Sempacherverein), in 1821, the Schweizerische Schützenverein, a Swiss shooting association, in 1824 as well as several Gymnastic and choral societies in which liberal thinking men were organized. Another important role played the press in this change. WeH1789

*Sequence 80.* 1830-1833 The cantonal Constitutions were changed with a Liberal orientation, beginning in new Cantons Vaud and Ticino, who were SiMueC1800

former subject to Bern and Zürich during the Ancien Régim.

*Sequence 81.* Simultaneously, the press and the immigration control (Fremdenpolizei) were restricted in several cantons. Also in the forest cantons liberal movements achieved a constitutional change. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 82.* During this turbulent times, Heinrich Weiss became member of the Grand Council on the 9 December 1830. WeH1789

*Sequence 83.* One of his most important contributions would be the abolition of tithes claims. His presenting of the Day of Uster (Ustertag) and bringing forward Snells proposal of a liberal Constitution in the following year 1831. WeH1789

*Sequence 84.* On January 1st of 1831 Bernhard Hirzel passed his final exam at the Carolinum. In February he recieved an award for his translation of Book of 4 Maccabees and in March he passed an church exam in dogmatic, exegesis and pastoral science by the Church Council which would enable him to be a pastor of the Reformed Church of Zürich. In the same month he preached a sermon as part of the selection process as future pastor and was finally ordained as VDM (Verbi divini minister); the statues of an official minister of the Protestant Church on March 18th. HiB1807

*Sequence 85.* Two days later Heinrich Weiss became Member of the State Council (Regierungsrates) as a radical-liberal. Usteri and Wyss became first and second Office Mayors and Ludwig Keller magistrate. WeH1789

*Sequence 86.* On April the 25th the summer semester started in Berlin and Hirzel went there to study, among other things, theology with HiB1807



Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Sanskrit with Franz Bopp (1791-1867). In September he moved to Paris to study with the Sanskritist Antoine Léonard de Chézy (1773-1832). At the end of the same year the Educational councillor Johann Caspar Orelli suggested Hirzel in a letter the possibility for a position as lecture in Hebrew and Biblical Greek was at the Theological Institut in Zürich.

*Sequence 87.* Pfäffikon had become district capital instead of Kyburg and in the forest Cantons debates on constitutional reforms went on. WeH1789

*Sequence 88.* In Luzern, the conservative and later friend of Constantin Siegwart, Joseph Leu had become Grand Councillor. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 89.* 28 May 1832 he national democratic Hambach Festival advanced the beginning of a new liberal era, the so called Vormärz, in Germany. Emma Siegmund observed the news as a young lady from her parent's villa in Berlin. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 90.* 31 August 1832 Antoine Léonard de Chézy, Bernhard Hirzel's Sanskrit professor died. Hirzel was deeply affected as he confessed his friend Bluntschli. HiB1807

*Sequence 91.* In the following month he published a preprint of his translation of the 3rd Act of the Sakuntala in the "Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände". HiB1807

*Sequence 92.* October 1832 were agitated days for Bernhard Hirzel. HiB1807

*Sequence 93.* On the 20th the Educational council publishes the vacancies for the new University that should be established in Zürich. After Basel, founded in 1460, the second in Switzerland. It should become a new tool HiB1807

for the liberal development in Zürich. But no chair of Orientalistic was offered, which highly deceived Bernhard Hirzel, who understood, influenced by Hegelian ideas, that Sanskrit was a key to a liberal religious education.

*Sequence 94.* On the 28th a new educational law was established. HiB1807

*Sequence 95.* On November 16th, in a letter, Hottinger expressed his regret for the lack of a chair in Orientalistic at the university to Hirzel. He added even a reference for Hirzel in the attachement. HiB1807

*Sequence 96.* In a letter to Bluntschli, Bernhard Hirzel revealed on the 4th of December that he took the possibility of a chair never very serious. HiB1807

*Sequence 97.* In the same year, Heinrich Weiss became president of the Police Council, something like a Superintendent and would be remember by the cantonal police as the as the "leader" of the county up to current days. WeH1789

*Sequence 98.* Constantin Siegwart-Müller sent a short publication demonstrating his radical-liberal ideals to Casimir Pfyffer in order to apply for citizenship in Luzern. Which he would achieve soon after in Oberklich, Luzern. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 99.* 30 January 1833 the bulwark of the city of Zürich was downsized. WeH1789

*Sequence 100.* In February Bernhard Hirzel presented his dissertation on "ars metrica des Calidasa", presented at the University Göttingen for which he would receive his doctoral degree from the University of Göttingen. HiB1807

*Sequence 101.* In March, The Educational council appointed Hirzel as outside lecturer (Privatdozent) for the University Zürich and on April 29, 1833 the University started finally its activity. HiB1807

*Sequence 102.* Two month later, in June, a great fire burned the centre of Luzern down. Katharina Peyer was one of the first in perceiving it and alerting the firemen. She actively helped in saving people and goods during this great brand. The salvation of the city was celebrate in a church mass on 23 June 1833. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 103.* In that year, Meta Heusser-Schweizer visited frequently friends in Wollishofen. In Wollishofen a second election for pastor hold place on the 17th of November. HeScM1797

*Sequence 104.* 29 November 1833 applied Bernhard Hirzel for membership of the Synod of Zurich, with delay after his voyage to Göttingen. HiB1807

*Sequence 105.* In 1833 he also married to Maria Elise Tobler. HiB1807

*Sequence 106.* Constantin Siegwart-Müller, in the same year, moved to Luzern, where recently a liberal constitutional proposal was rejected, and started to work as attorney, editor and publisher of the "Volkszeitung" and took active interest in the political and economic development of his canton. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 107.* Heinrich Weiss became founded the Savings Bank (Sparkasse) of the District Pfäffikon. WeH1789

*Sequence 108.* The Gotthard pass became passable, through the efforts of the Cantonal government (1830-1840) and steamship cruised on the Lake Lucerne for the first time. HeScM1797; SiMueC1800

*Sequence 109.* Constantin Siegwart-Müller received the citizenship of Einsiedeln (August 30, 1838). SiMueC1800

*Sequence 110.* 15 March 1834 was the date of death of Schleiermacher's, Bernhard Hirzel's teacher in theology, diligently annotated by Meta Heusser- HeScM1797

Schweizer in her diary. She passed the summer month July in Schwyz with her friend Josef Anton Alois II. Franz ab Yberg (1783-1864), short Alois, and in by the Ab Ybergs in Seewen. Later on in October she would assist the reunions of her Anabaptist friends and the teachings of Zarembo, one of the missionaris of the Basler Mission who received allowance by Zar Alexander I. to preach in Russia.

*Sequence 111.* 7 October 1834 Elisabeth Tobler gave birth to Paul Arnold Hirzel; her first and unique son with Bernhard Hirzel. HiB1807

*Sequence 112.* 1834 was an active year for Heinrich Weiss. He became an Official salt merchant (Salzfaktor) and District Judge. In this latter function he tried to improvement of the legal system in the interest of the people. WeH1789

*Sequence 113.* He was appointed Coronel of the Swiss Confederate troops. Further, he affiliated as a member of the radical-liberal Free-thinking Party and he actively worked also for the takeover of the road traffic system by the Cantonal government. WeH1789

*Sequence 114.* In 1835 the hotel Schwanden was built in Luzern, next to the Schweizerhof, and until 1855 the only hotel with view on the lake besides the former. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 115.* Heinrich Weiss was elected Grand Councillor and founded the secondary school of in Fehraltoft. WeH1789

*Sequence 116.* 1835 Siewart-Müller became Second State Secretatry (Staatsschreiber) and was appointed State Secretary. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 117.* On 2 January 1836 Meta Heusser-Schweizer's mother HeScM1797

died peacefully.

*Sequence 118.* 10 June of the same year, the Catholic Collegium of Grand Councillors (Großrathscollegium) summons an administration for the monastery in Pfäfers, St. Gallen in which Constantin Siegwart-Müller was involved. Also Meta Heusser-Schweizer was concerned since she stood often during her life in the monastery and its sanatory. HeScM1797

*Sequence 119.* Three days later, on the 13th, Heinrich Weiss became member and Quaestor of the Swiss welfare organisation, the Schweizerische Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft. WeH1789

*Sequence 120.* 17 October 1836 Meta Heusser-Schweizer gave life to her fourth daughter Meta Louise (1836-1904). HeScM1797

*Sequence 121.* In the meantime, the liberal party in Zürich planned to reform the church by appointing a revolutionary theologian David Friedrich Strauss to the university of Zürich. Bernhard Hirzel voted in his favor. HeScM1797

*Sequence 122.* 1836 in Luzern, the planned dock works would not be realized. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 123.* 13 February 1837 was a dark day in the life of Katharina Peyer. It was Carnival in Luzern, but her husband Heinrich Peyer lied already a while ill in bed and died that day from lung haemorrhage, in presence of the helpless Katharina. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 124.* A month earlier in the Canton Zürich, January 18, Pastor Hans Jakob Vogel, pastor of Schwerzenbach, died. HeScM1797; HiB1807

*Sequence 125.* 18 March, Bernhard Hirzel applied for the vicariate, after HiB1807

the death of H.J. Vogel until the ordination of H. Schweizer. According his own words in his "Rückschau" he considered this a favor ["Gefälligkeit"] and was accepted as vicar in on 4 April 1837.

*Sequence 126.* Heinrich Weiss was still occupied with the cantonal transport system and made a complaint on the tracing of the road from Fehraltorf to Rueti through the Ried, on 3 June 1837. Later, on 27 July, he made further petitions concerning this road. WeH1789

*Sequence 127.* July 29, Bernhard Hirzel left Schwerzenbach where soon after, on the 6th of August Heinrich Schweizer would become pastor as Meta Heusser-Schweizer remarked. HeScM1797; HiB1807

*Sequence 128.* In July, Meta Heusser-Schweizer travelled to the monastery Pfäffers where she would be soon joined by her children. HeScM1797

*Sequence 129.* In the same moth Emma Herwegh made a tour through Switzerland. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 130.* In September, Pfarrer Hans Jakob Meyer, former pastor of Pfäffikon, was appointed as pastor of the cantonal prison in Oetenbach. On the 12th, Hirzel sended his application for the vacancy in Pfäffikon to Antistes Gessner. HeScM1797

*Sequence 131.* Three days later, the church committee (Kirchenstillstand) and the municipal council sended their own nominations to the church council; Kaspar Melchior Wirth a pastor they had already known. HeScM1797; HiB1807

*Sequence 132.* Wirth was not ordained yet. Therefore was his election not possible due to the electory conventions of the church and is therefore HeScM1797; HiB1807

rejected.

*Sequence 133.* 8 October 1837, Hirzel won the election as pastor of Pfäffikon. On the 14th, the elections was approved by the State council and on the 24th, the ordination of Pastor Bernhard Hirzel in Pfäffikon took place. HiB1807

*Sequence 134.* Beginning that month, on the 10th, Katharina left the "Engel" and received a "Silver Spoon" from the "Trockenbund". MoKaK1790

*Sequence 135.* In 1837, Constantin Siegwart-Müller elected indirectly as Grand Counciler of Luzern and became founder and editor of the "Schweizer Bundeszeitung". SiMueC1800

*Sequence 136.* During this time, he worked together with his friend Christoph Fuchs, in favor of the radical-liberal chur policy reforms. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 137.* 1 Januar 1838, Katharina married the ten years younger Josef Morel in Luzern. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 138.* The same day, Bernhard Hirzel moved his furnitures to Pfäffikon. BiH1807

*Sequence 139.* On February 2nd, Pastor Meyer held a farewell sermon and in the very night Pfäffikon was set on fire. HeScM1797;  
HiB1807

*Sequence 140.* Bernhard Hirzel became president of the Fire Controll Commission. Until July he convoked 10 meetings and helps actively in the cleaning up and re-building of the town. HiB1807

*Sequence 141.* On February 14th, he officially moved to Pfäffikon and started his work as a pastor on the 25th. HiB1807

*Sequence 142.* 5 July 1838, the monastery of Pfäffers was officially SiMueC1800

dissoluted. This was a remarkable event for Constantin Siegwart-Müller who later blamed the “tired” Abbot Baumgartner.

*Sequence 143.* The same month, Bernhard Hirzel reported to the Church council the truly Christian compassion [ächt christliche Theilname] of the people of Pfäffikon. HiB1807

*Sequence 144.* 1838 Heinrich Weiss became President of the War Council and Envoy of the Confederate Diet (Tagsatzungsgesandter). He was also newly elected as member of the State Council. WeH1789; SiMueC1800

*Sequence 145.* The Napoleon Affair kept Constantin Siegwart-Müller and the whole of Switzerland breathless. He rejected his election to the Small Council. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 146.* Somewhen, during those late 30s he finally broke with the radical-liberals and joined the Catholic-conservative reform movement. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 147.* 26 January 1839 David Friedrich Strauss was elected for the chair of theology at the University of Zürich. During the parish Chapter, Hirzel relativates the risk of a possible appointment of Strauss. SiMueC1800; BiH1807

*Sequence 148.* Two days later, returned Jakob Heusser from Zürich and informed his wife Meta Heusser-Schweizer about these news. HeScM1797

*Sequence 149.* Meta Heusser-Schweizer was suddenly affected by an erysipelas (Gesichtsrose). HeScM1797

*Sequence 150.* 13 February 1839 Bernhard Hirzel participated in a meeting of deputies from 29 municipalities. They fix 11 points in a missive which goes out to all parishes of the Canton. HiB1807



*Sequence 151.* On the 17th, the church committee (Kirchenstillstand), of which Hirzel was member, hold a meeting. Actions in relation to the negative reactions from the people against the appointment of Strauss were discussed. HiB1807

*Sequence 152.* On the 18th, Hirzel motivated the church committee to wait, only an "open revolution" could remove a legally elected person. HiB1807

*Sequence 153.* Meta Heusser-Schweizer took timely note on these events in her diary. HeScM1797

*Sequence 154.* On the 22nd, the missive arrived in Pfäffikon and a Parish Assembly is convoked where they establish a Municipal Committee. HiB1807

*Sequence 155.* 6 March 1839, the church committee convokes a Parish Assembly in reaction to the... HiB1807

*Sequence 156.* 7 March, The "Wilhelm Tell" started a long line of defamation by different newspapers against Hirzel and the parish assembly. HiB1807

*Sequence 157.* 8 March, The conservative "Zürcher Freitags-Zeitung" and the radical "Republican" published their opinion on the Assembly of March 6. The "Republican" used the word "terrorism". HiB1807

*Sequence 158.* 15 March, The "Beobachter" defended Hirzel's implication as correct, and reject the defamation of the "Republikaner", relativating his role as "leader". HiB1807

*Sequence 159.* 20 April, Bernhard Hirzel criticized the religious teaching by Karl Kramers, teacher at the newly founded secondary school [Sekundarschule]. He tries to motivate the Commission of the Secondary School [Sekundarschulkommission] to remove Kramer. He is not succesful until HiB1807

Kramer takes a pro-government position in respect to the Züriputsch.

*Sequence 160.* In July 1839 Georg Herwegh deserted and fled to Switzerland. Emma Herwegh passed a recreatory stay in Karlsbad. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 161.* 27 August, during a meeting of the Parish Chapter (Pastoralgesellschaft Pfäffikon), Hirzel gave a speech "Jetzt ist eine Revolution [...] von der Regierung ausgeganten." HiB1807

*Sequence 162.* In the same month, Heinrich Weiss lost the full support by the citizens of Fehraltorf and moved to Winterthur where he worked as a drapery merchant. WeH1789

*Sequence 163.* 2 September, 1839 was the Day of Kloten. Meta Heusser-Schweizer annotated this day in her diary and named the 6th the day of the decision. She stood in Baden in the meanwhile. HeScM1797

*Sequence 164.* 7 September, in the evening, the town of Pfäffikon was illuminated in honour of Bernhard Hirzel. Antistes Füssli and Bernhard Hirzel became members of the Educational council. HiB1807

*Sequence 165.* 9 September 1939 Züriputsch. HiB1807

*Sequence 166.* 23 October 1939, Decan Schweizer described the Faith Committee as a tool of God, during the parish Chapter. HiB1807

*Sequence 167.* In the same year Bernhard Hirzel's brother Johannes divorced from his wife Anna Hirzel-Holzhalb. HiB1807

*Sequence 168.* Constantin Siegwart-Müller was member of the Grand City Council Luzern and influenced the calling of the Jesuits to the institutions of higher education by Josef Leu who led to a conflict between the conservative SiMueC1800

cantons.

*Sequence 169.* Siegwart-Müller fought the conservatives in his news paper, but already wrote in favor of the "true sovereign of the people (Volksouveränität)" against representational democracy, which would have consequences for Zürich. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 170.* The Catholic cantons hold their own conferences on the issues between the State and the Church. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 171.* In the meanwhile, Katharina Morel entered the business world and became shareholder of the Stadttheater Luzern, which was still under construction. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 172.* 1840 Siegwart-Müller became State Secretary (Staatsschreiber) in Luzern. During the years 1833-1838, the freedom of movement was highly disputed in several cantons and led to the so called Beisassen-Handel in the Canton Schwyz which involved Constantin Siegwart-Müller directly as well as the chief magistrates (Landammänner) Nazar von Reding, Ab Yberg and Fridolin Holdener. This affairs was paralleled by the Horn- und Klauenstreit (horns and claws dispute), in which arguments about rights of cooperative use and the commons (Allmende), extended to general questions in social politics and ended in a mass brawl during the Cantonal Assembly on the 6 May 1838 in Schwyz. Constantin Siegwart-Müller spoke in favor of the Klauen-Party. The Swiss Diet called the troopes and declared the Assembly as invalid. A new Assembly was calle on 22 July 1838 under the observation of the Swiss Diet. As a result the conservative forces, the horn men, SiMueC1800

would return to power in the forest cantons.

*Sequence 173.* From 1838-1840 Constantin Siegwart-Müller remained involved in questions of freedom of movement and further opposes the liberal intents to separate the Church from the State. He took high interest in the appointment of David Friedrich Strauss to the university of Zürich and the later disputes about the universities possible dissolution as proposed by the liberals and supported the conservative side through his news papers. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 174.* 27 March 1840, Jules Piaget, whome Emma called her "beloved brother" died. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 175.* In July, Meta Heusser-Schweizer made a trip to the Rigi. HeScM1797

*Sequence 176.* In 1840, Jakob Robert Steiger, a liberal and friend, drew a portrait of Constantin Siegwart-Müller. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 177.* A constitutional revision hold place in the same year. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 178.* 5 November 1840, Siegwart-Müller called the Central Committee of the Ruswiler Club for a meeting. He was secretary and Josef Leu president of the club. On the 25th, he was suspended by the liberal government as state secretary as a threat for the public order. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 179.* 30 December 1840, Siegwart-Müller was ceased from his position as state secretary by the Grand Council. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 180.* 16 February 1841 Bernhard Hirzel was ceased from the Educational council in the same year, Heinrich Weiss became member. WeH1789; HiB1807

*Sequence 181.* Josef Leu founded his people's party (Volkspartei). Siegwart-Müller kept distanciated. SiMueC1800

- Sequence 182.* In March, Constantin Siegwart-Müller sended his "Bemerkungen und Wünsche [Comments and Desires]" from Altorf to Luzern. SiMueC1800
- Sequence 183.* The monastery affair (Klosterfrage) in Canton Aargau brought the confessional concerns up again in all the Swiss cantons. SiMueC1800
- Sequence 184.* 23 May 1841, Regular electios of the Grand Council brought Siegwart-Müller to his position as counciler. He corresponds with Metternich and other foreign governments in hope for support of the conservative cause. SiMueC1800
- Sequence 185.* In July, Herwegh's "Gedichte eines Lebendigen" were published. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 186.* Meta Heusser-Schweizer passed the month of September on the Rigi. HeScM1797
- Sequence 187.* Emma Siegmund passed her summer holiday on the island Helgoland. On her return, in September on the 28rd, she read Georg Herwegh's "Gedichte eines Lebendigen". HeSiE1817
- Sequence 188.* 22 August 1842, Heinrich Weiss became member of the District Council for Education in Winterthur. WeH1789
- Sequence 189.* In September, Georg Herwegh's organized a triumph tour through the German countries. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 190.* 6 November 1842, first encounter between Emma Siegmund and Georg Herwegh. Only 7 days later, on the 13th, Emma Siegmund and Georg Herwegh got engaged at the Siegmund estate. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 191.* 19 November, Herwegh had an audience by Friedrich HeSiE1817

Wilhelm IV.

*Sequence 192.* 28 December 1842, the "Deutsche Bote", among other newspapers, was prohibited, letter to the King. Expulsion of Herwegh from the Kingdoms Prussia and Saxon. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 193.* Meta Heusser-Schweizer and her family fought in the meantime against a winter flue. In December was the confirmation of her son Christian. HeScM1797

*Sequence 194.* The same month, Herwegh traveled onward to Königsberg. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 195.* The year 1842, Heinrich Weiss was reelected as member of the Grand Council. He became also State council and opposed in this function to the editorial of the Zürcher Blätter. WeH1789

*Sequence 196.* In Luzern, Siegwart-Müller proposed a middle way, joining secular priests (clerici saeculari) under the command of a rector. Further, he feigned lack of knowledge about the current situation of the Society of Jesus. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 197.* 8 March 1843 Emma Siegmund and Georg Herwegh married in Baden, Switzerland and enjoyed and extended honeymoon from April to September. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 198.* During their voyage they encounter with the "Handwerkerkommunisten" Weitling and Becker in Geneva. The travel to Southern France and Italy and enjoy a bathing holiday in Ostende. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 199.* 12 July 1843, Meta Heusser-Schweizer's son Theodor wrote; her comment: "to Berlin". HeScM1797

- Sequence 200.* 30 August was Missionsfest. HeScM1797
- Sequence 201.* 13 September 1843, Constantin Siegwart-Müller had become Envoy of the Confederate Diet, and proposed to "refer the conduct of the affair to a permanent conference, along with some instructions on actions military defense becoming the foundation of the first consultation from which the further developments and finally resulted in the joining of an actual separate alliance arose ". SiMueC1800
- Sequence 202.* Until November 1843 three of the dissolved monasteries were partially restored, among other the monastery Fahr, Einsiedeln, Rheinau (?). SiMueC1800
- Sequence 203.* By end of September, in Paris, the couple Herwegh accommodated in an apartment next to Marx and Ruge. Later in November, Georg began his friendship with the Countess Mari d'Agoult (Daniel Stern). HeSiE1817
- Sequence 204.* 28 December 1843, Horace Herwegh was born and the second part of the "Gedichte eines Lebendigen" were published. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 205.* 2 February 1844, Bernhard Hirzel was accused in the "Boten von Uster" for the lack of a final balance for the expenses of the Fire Control Committee. Further defamations follow during the following months. HiB1807
- Sequence 206.* 31 March 1844, the first Volunteerism movement (Freischaarenzug) took actions. SiMueC1800
- Sequence 207.* During the same month in Paris, Emma discovered Georg Herwegh's affair with Marie d'Agoult, writes in her diary. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 208.* In Silesia, the Weberaufstand [weaver uprising] took place from the 4th to the 6th of June, and even though, it was not the largest or

most intensive one of a series of weaver uprisings in Germany, it achieve unknown coverage by the media.

*Sequence 209.* For Emma Herwegh this was rather an opportunity to take up the fight with her rival, competing in the aesthetic literary salons and beginning her political activity, starting from July. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 210.* 19 June 1844, Josef Morel, after much worries due to family issues, and herriage disputes, died unexpectedly. Katharina had to restructure her financial budget. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 211.* The day after, Meta Heusser-Schweizer recorded in her diary Zar Alexander I.'s visit of the Bible Society in London. HeScM1797

*Sequence 212.* 4 December 1844, Johann Jakob Blumer an Alfred Escher, Glarus, Mittwoch, 4. *Sequence 213.* Dezember 1844: wrote against any liberal intents of a Putsch and believed that waiting a while more, the people would get tired of Siegwart and change their direction. WeH1789; SiMueC1800

*Sequence 214.* But liberal governments thought otherwise and the volunteers engaged in agitations which were defeated in Luzern only four days later on the 8th of December. Equally, Constantin Siegwart-Müller, who was chief magistrate (Schultheiss) by this time and led the coup, as well as Katharina Morel, who belonged to the Pepper women (Pfefferfrauen), a female radical-liberal guerilla who supported the volunteerism movement during 1844-1845, annotated this date. MoKaK1790; SiMueC1800

*Sequence 215.* Besides all the turmoils, in 1844 finally the docks were built in Luzern, and the hotel "Schweizerhof" was built in 1844/45 by the MoKaK1790



brothers Xaver and Josef Plazidus Segesser as a building with 15 axes.

*Sequence 216.* Constantin Siegwart-Müller was appointed President of the Confederate Diet and supported secretly Leu in his plan to install the Jesuit Order. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 217.* 16 January 1845, Heinrich Weiss reported on an assembly in the Canton Zürich: WeH1789

*Sequence 218.* "Es war winterlich kalt an diesem 26. Januar 1845, und trotzdem pilgerte eine beispiellose Zahl von Menschen zu Fuss und auf Wagen zur grossen Wiese in Unterstrass, um der Volksversammlung beizuwohnen. Gemäss dem «Schweizerischen Republikaner» war «eine Masse zusammengeströmt, wie in der Schweiz noch keine wegen politischer Motive auf einem Platze vereinigt gesehen wurde».26 Mit Fahnen und zum Teil von Musik begleitet, fanden sich immer neue Menschentrauben aus allen Teilen Zürichs und sogar aus anderen Kantonen ein. Gegen Mittag, als die Veranstaltung begann, dürften etwa 20 000 Menschen den Weg nach Unterstrass gefunden haben, um die antijesuitische Bewegung zu unterstützen.27 Das Publikum wurde von einem Spruchband in Empfang genommen, auf dem zu lesen war: «Jesuiten zum Land hinaus, sonst kehrt kein Frieden in unser Haus!»28 Auf der Tribüne präsentierten sich die führenden Zürcher Radikal-Liberalen wie Jonas Furrer und Oberst Heinrich Weiss; daneben war auch der Luzerner Politiker und Publizist Jakob Robert Steiger anwesend, einer der Anführer des Freischarenzuges vom Dezember 1844. Und neben diesen WeH1789

altgedienten Politikern sass Alfred Escher, noch nicht einmal 26jährig und kurz zuvor in den Grossen Rat gewählt. Furrer und seine Freunde präsentierten mit Escher einen neuen Stern am Zürcher Polithimmel. Dies machte ihn bei Freund und Feind schlagartig bekannt. Die Versammlung von Unterstrass war der Auftakt zu Eschers gnadenlosem propagandistischem Feldzug gegen die Jesuiten; er wurde zusehends zum «Propagandaminister» der Antijesuitenbewegung in der Ostschweiz".

*Sequence 219.* 11 March 1845, the "Schweizerische National-Zeitung" HiB1807  
blamed Hirzel to have participated in the Putsch motivated by revenge.

*Sequence 220.* In the same month, Meta Heusser-Schweizer knew HeScM1797  
through correspondence from her son Theodor who left Berlin and headed for Prag. And her English teacher Margarethe Anderson-Locher, married to the Scottish missionary Anderson in Madras, would leave for India.

*Sequence 221.* In April 1845 a second Volunteerism movement took HeScM1797;  
place. Again the conservatives gained the victory in Luzern, which was happily SiMueC1800  
recoreded by Meta Heusser-Schweizer and by Constantin Siegwart-Müller.

*Sequence 222.* 10 April 1845, Johann Jakob Rebsamen from Bauma EsA1819  
wrote a letter to Alfred Escher in which he affirmed his believe that their, the radical's, failures ("Sünden") in other issues could be remediated through a strong opposition against the calling of the Society of Jesus.

*Sequence 223.* 1 May 1845, elections of the Grand Council were held. SiMueC1800  
The rejection of Constantin Siegwart-Müller led to an absence of the representation of the conservatives in the council.

*Sequence 224.* 10 July 1845, Katharina received a thank you letter from Jakob Robert Steiger for her helping to escape from the Tower of Luzern. Katharina considered him in her testament. During the very year, also the Gran Hotel Schweizerhof would open its doors. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 225.* The same day, Alfred Escher received a letter from Jakob Zellweger applying for money to free Robert Steiger, an appeal which would be desestimated. Further Zellweger recommended Escher not to get to much stressed by Constantin Siegwart-Müller who was sitting next to him in the Confederate Diet. SiMueC1800; EsA1819

*Sequence 226.* 20 July 1845 Josef Leu was murdered. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 227.* In August, Georg Herwegh began his studies in natural sciences together with the marine biologist Karl Vogt in Paris. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 228.* 4 September 1845, Bernhard Hirzel applied to the Educational council, to the Office Mayor Zehnder, for a chair at the University. It was the first time that somebody applied for a chair who worked before as outside lecturer at the university. Due to his dual expertise in philosophy and theology both departments were involved. HiB1807

*Sequence 229.* In the meantime, Meta Heusser-Schweizer's daughter Johanna stood in Yverdon. HeScM1797

*Sequence 230.* 1 November 1845 the Society of Jesus was installed by the conservatives and the following month, on December 12th a conference held on the Federal Treaty of August 1815 in order to protect sovereignty and cantonal rights. Siegwart-Müller "led the organization of seven Roman Catholic SiMueC1800

cantons into a secret defensive league, the Sonderbund [...], over which he presided as head of the war council". He became also president of the conservative Ruswiler Club, founded by Josef Leu and was appointed Head of the War Council. In this function he had called the war council during that year, and searched for support from the Polish, Spanish Carlists and other powers.

*Sequence 231.* Bernhard Hirzel admitted in a letter to Bluntschli that he was motivated by his former professor Bopp's and other's invitations to return to Zurich. HiB1807

*Sequence 232.* 3 January 1846, Bernhard Hirzel was finally elected as outside lecturer of the University Zurich, in part thanks to Orelli support of his re-habilitation (Wiederhabilitierung). HiB1807

*Sequence 233.* From February to March, an open controversy started between the press and Hirzel about his intentions to lecture at the University Zürich. HiB1807

*Sequence 234.* 15 May 1846, Katharina started the management of the Berggasthof [mountain inn] "Kaltbad", on the Rigi, together with her foster daughter Katharina Peyer. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 235.* 26 October, Bernhard Hirzel published his lectures, including one about the grammar of the dialect of Zurich. Not one single student wants to inscribe. HiB1807

*Sequence 236.* End of November, Bernhard Hirzel and Marie Welti travelled to Paris. HiB1807

*Sequence 237.* Heinrich Weiss resigned his citizenship of Fehraltorf and WeH1789

became citizen of Winterthur, where he had moved to already earlier.

*Sequence 238.* The same year, Constantin Siegwart-Müller founded the Borromäische Akademie, a kind a scientific institution with the aim to gather Catholic scientist from all over Switzerland. Re-elected chief magistrate (Schultheiss) and still in the War Council he was busy with the assignation of the Commander in Chief. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 239.* Zürich was presiding city of the Swiss Diet. It was decided by 10 to 2 votes in favour of the dissolution of the Soderbund. A corresponding appliance was to Luzern. history

*Sequence 240.* During 1847 things turn against the conservatives. The radicals achieved majority in Geneva and favoured openly violent interventions against the conservatives. history

*Sequence 241.* 19 May 1847, Emma Herwegh gave life to her second son Camille Herwegh and travelled to Berlin in order to observe the criminal processes on 450 Polish and visits the prisoners in their cells. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 242.* 8 June 1847, Bernhard Hirzel suicided, helped by poison, together with his lover Marie Welti, in Paris. HiB1807

*Sequence 243.* 1 July and 13 August, Heinrich Weiss wrote to Escher, worried about Escher's health after the acceptance of the demanding position as State Secretary (Staatsschreiber). WeH1789; EsA1819

*Sequence 244.* During July, Meta Heusser-Schweizer travelled to Pfäfers. HeScM1797

*Sequence 245.* On September 3rd, Jacob Martin Utinger from Baar wrote SiMueC1800;

to Alfred Escher worried that the r the Grand Council could still not achieve majority against the Sonderbund. "Victoria Constanti, auf Siegwart wartet Sieg." But Utinger remained also steadfast against any possible military intervention, as expressed in a letter on the 29th.

*Sequence 246.* 2 October, Jakob Robert Steiger informed Alfred Escher about propaganda strategies in Luzern.

*Sequence 247.* 4 November 1847, in Bern, the Swiss Diet achieved finally majority in favor of the dissolution of the Sonderbung, given that it was incompatible with the Convederate Treaty.

*Sequence 248.* The offensive into the Freiamt had to be ordered explicitly by Salis-Soglio by the War Council on November 11, 1847. Siegwart-Müller wanted to get into offensive, while Johann Ulrich v. Salis-Soglio and with him the majority of the Diet only accepted defensive actions. In the meantime Siegwart-Müller as president of the Ruswiler Club and searched for religious means in order to promote the agitation further.

*Sequence 249.* 12 November, Battle of Geltswil.

*Sequence 250.* 23 November, Battle of Gisikon.

*Sequence 251.* Also Katharina Morel and Meta Heusser-Schweizer annotated the events of the Sonderbundwar in their diaries.

*Sequence 252.* 2 December, Rudolf Bollier from Luzern informed Alfred Escher about Constantin Siegwart-Müllers escape to Austria.

*Sequence 253.* Two days later he informed about about election strategies and the problem that the cantonal and communal officers in Luzern

were supporting Siegwart-Müller.

*Sequence 254.* Until on the 11th of December, Bollier found some acts which help to defeat Siegwart-Müller. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 255.* In 1848, the newly elected Grand Council sanctioned Siegwart-Müller with a contribution of 20.000 Francs. In consequence he was declared bankrupt. But, he never applied for amnesty. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 256.* Constantin Siegwart-Müller had fled to the Wallis, later to Milan, where he returned the war funds received from Austria. After a short stay in Austria he would take refuge in the Alsace and at different places in Germany. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 257.* Heinrich Weiss had become Grand Councillor in Zürich, and was editor of the "Winterthurer Zeitung". WeH1789

*Sequence 258.* 24 February 1848, a new revolution in France had taken place and Louise Phillippe was forced to resign. Emma and Georg Herwegh, together with their friend Bakunin presented the events. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 259.* The same month, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, both friends of Emma Herwegh, had published the Manifest der kommunistischen Partei [Communist Manifest]. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 260.* 9 March 1848, the Herweghs write together a proclamation ("Grussadresse") to the French people. Together with the German immigrants they found and preside the Deutsche demokratische Legion [German Democratic Legion], which shall bring success to the revolution in Germany. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 261.* 15 March, a reevolution in Vienna had taken place and Metternich was overturned. history

- Sequence 262.* 19 March, in Berlin had the barricade fights broken out. history
- Sequence 263.* 14 April 1848, Camille Herwegh died. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 264.* One day later, the Legion waited in Strasbourg for the gathering with Hecker and Struve. Emma Herwegh crossed as emissary of the Legion the enemy lines twice. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 265.* 24 April, The Legion crossed the Rhine. Emma Herwegh marched four days and four nights in men's clothes with the Legion through the Black Forest without success. Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve were already defeated. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 266.* 27 April, was the day of the battle and defeat of the Legion by Dossenbach. Georg and Emma Herwegh escape. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 267.* In June, Emma Herwegh was sought by warrant for "high treason" and wrote against the smear campaign the work *Die Geschichte der deutschen demokratischen Legion*. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 268.* On the 20th of June 1848, Heinrich Weiss died. WeH1789
- Sequence 269.* In August, a Josef Lusser from Altorf, Canton Uri, thanked Alfred Escher for the support of the radical cause in the forest cantons in the media and informed about the current situation. EsA1819
- Sequence 270.* In February 1849, Ada Herwegh, daughter of Emma Herwegh, was born. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 271.* In July, Georg Herwegh fled from Paris to Geneva. Meta Heusser-Schweizer would pass the month, as so many times, in Pfäfers. HeScM1797;  
HeSiE1817
- Sequence 272.* By end of September, a fire in the "Kaltbad" destroyed MoKaK1790



the inn completely. After saving people and goods in the fire, Katharina Morel, exhausted had to remain in bed until end of August.

*Sequence 273.* In September, Georg Herwegh had a love affair with Natalie Herzen in Geneva. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 274.* In November 1849, Katharina started the management of the Grand Hotel Schweizerhof assisted by her nieces Joséfin and Katharina Peyer. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 275.* The same year, Richard Wagner was though by warrent throughout Germany because of his involvement with the Dresden rebellion of 1849. Later in 1853, in the state of Hessen, the performances of the works of the composing "barricade fighter" would be prohibited until 1866. history

*Sequence 276.* July 1850, Meta Heusser-Schweizer visited Fehraltorf, but two years after his death, nothing seemed to remember anymore the former man of the day, Heinrich Weiss. HeScM1797

*Sequence 277.* The same month, the family Herwegh and the family Herzen rented a house in Nizza together. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 278.* In September, Meta Heusser-Schweizer visited the Rigi again with her son's bride Regina von Flugi and her cousin of the same name. HeScM1797

*Sequence 279.* In January 1851, Herzen became jealous and started a dramatic discussions. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 280.* In April, Georg Herwegh separated from his family and went to Zürich. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 281.* 27 April 1851, Christian Heusser visited his mother Meta HeScM1797

Heusser-Schweizer and family during his stay in Berlin where he studied from 1847 to 1853, among other country surveying and mineralogy.

*Sequence 282.* 14 July 1851, Meta's oldest son Theodor married Regina von Flugi. A trip to the Chur and the Engadin followed. HeScM1797

*Sequence 283.* In February 1852, Herzen forced his wife to make a "confession" and to write a farewell letter to Herwegh. A few month later, on the 2nd of May she would die of a pleurisy ("Brustfellentzündung"). HeSiE1817

*Sequence 284.* Midst of May, Emma Herwegh returned to Georg. In a literary salon she had run in Genua, she had already gathered with Italian and Polish freedom fighters like Bakunin, Hecker, Garibaldi, Cironi and Mazzini, now in Zürich she gathered people like Liszt, Wagner, Keller, Semper and other freedom fighters of all Europe. But one of their truest friends would remain Richard Wagner. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 285.* After the death of his wife Herzen had made public her love affair with Herwegh and i July, the Herweghs and Herzen signout their mutual accusations publicly. By this the marital infidelities became an international scandal known as the "Herzen-Affair". HeSiE1817

*Sequence 286.* 9 September 1852, Meta Heusser-Schweizer's daughter Johanna married Johann Bernhard Spyri (1821-1884) and became Johanna Spyri (-Heusser) who would later be the famous author of the epic children's book Heidi. HeScM1797

*Sequence 287.* It was a year of partial reconciliation since the Confederate Diet decided to leave off of the debt to the Sonderbund. history

*Sequence 288.* In 1853, the Luzerner Tagblatt published a guest list of the Schweizerhof, among othes, in July resided Queen Sophie of the Netherlands and in 1854, King Leopold I. of Belgium. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 289.* Such important guests motivated the restructuration and amplification of the Schweizerhof, newly according to the plans of Josef Placidus Segesser, during 1854 and 1855. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 290.* In September 1854, Georg Herwegh gave his passport to the fleeting Orsini who is soon after arrested. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 291.* 17 March 1856, Katharina Morel wrote in a letter how happy she was about her independence. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 292.* On the 30th, Orsini achieved to escape the dungeon in Mantua thanked Emma Herwegh for her help. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 293.* In 1875, count Leo Tolstoi was guest at the Schweizerhof and wrote his short stories about the fictitious count D. Nechljudow in Luzern. Also, King Johann I. with family was a guest. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 294.* Later on, the Segessers lost their "Auftriegsrechte" for the Schweizerhof, possibly some kind of right related to a common use in that area which might be related to the docks. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 295.* In the same year, Constantin Siegwart-Müller was allowed to return to Switzerland and moved to Uri here he wrote his autobiographical works. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 296.* In March 1858, Orsini was executed after a bombing on Napoleon III. history

- Sequence 297.* 14 May 1858, Emma Herwegh birthed Marcel her third son. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 298.* The Songs of a Hidden One (Lieder einer Verborgenen) were published. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 299.* 27 July, Meta Heusser-Schweizer celebrated the birth of her seventh grandson. HeScM1797
- Sequence 300.* 1858, Katharina Morel received the Saint Helena Medal by Napoleon III and was publicly recognized by the Luzerner Tagblatt for her efforts during the Russian Campaign (from June 24 to December 14, 1812). MoKaK1790
- Sequence 301.* 4 July 1859, Meta Heusser-Schweizer's first granddaughter was born. HeScM1797
- Sequence 302.* In the same year, Richard Wagner finished his work Tristan und Isolde. history
- Sequence 303.* 1860, Emma Herwegh translated the "Memoiren" of Garibaldi. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 304.* In September, Meta Heusser-Schweizer made a travel tour to the forest cantons; Luzern, Horw, Rigi, Weggis, Altorf, Schwyz and Zug. HeScM1797
- Sequence 305.* In same year, the family Segesser would sell the Schweizerhof and Katharina Morel bought Ziegelhütten-Liegenschaft from the Segessers. She started a small guesthouse there, which she called the "Tuilerienhaus" and was later known as "Pension Morel". MoKaK1790
- Sequence 306.* 1 May 1862, Katharina Morel announced her guesthouse in the press of Luzern. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 307.* 18 June, a processes against the opening of new guesthouses was started by the Stadtrath (City Council) during which, on the 26th, Katharina Morel was mentioned as legal owner in an official protocol. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 308.* 5 July 1863, Georg Herwegh entered Lasalles association "Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein" and became its representative for Switzerland. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 309.* 23 August, Herwegh finished his "Bundeslied" - the first anthem of the German proletariat. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 310.* In the same year, further amplifications of the Schweizerhof were done and Gottfried Semper, close friend of Richard Wagner, decorated its central ceiling with a painting. Further, he designed a villa for Coronel Segesser. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 311.* Siegwart-Müller published the first volume of his autobiographical work "Ratsherr Josef Leu von Ebersol" in Altdorf. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 312.* 21 July 1864, Katharina's guesthouse was officially registered. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 313.* Siegwart-Müller published the second volume of his autobiographical work "Der Kampf zwischen Recht und Gewalt in der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft und mein Antheil daran" in Altorf. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 314.* Lassalle died in consequence of a duell. history

*Sequence 315.* In 1865, Emperor Napoleon III. He stood with Emperatrice Eugénie in the Grand hotel Schweizerhof and aplaudet to the finished restauration of its salon. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 316.* In the same year, met King Ludwig II of Bavaria with Richard Wagner in the Schweizerhof, during a travel tour around Switzerland. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 317.* In May 1866, debts forced the Heweghs to leave Zürich. They moved to Baden-Baden. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 318.* August 22nd, Georg Herwegh became honorary correspondent of the I. International. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 319.* And Constantin Siegwart-Müller published the third volum of his autobiographical work "Der Sieg der Gewalt über das Recht in der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft" in Altorf. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 320.* 24 April 1867, Herwegh's library and his valuables were sold in a public auction in Zürich. In order to make some money, Herwegh translated several Shakespear Dramas. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 321.* In August, the German "Schillerstiftung" rejected Emma Herwegh's application for a pension for Herwegh and pays a unique reimbursement of 250 Taler. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 322.* In 1868, the Hotel National was built in Luzern. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 323.* 13 January 1869, Constantin Siegwart-Müller died in Altdorf, Canton Uri. SiMueC1800

*Sequence 324.* 25 November, Katharina Morel was asked to run the "National", but she rejected. She was ill of a lung infection. MoKaK1790

*Sequence 325.* In July 1870, began the Franco-German War. Georg Herwegh attacked Bismarck's politics of blood and iron ("Blut- und Eisen-Politik"). HeSiE1817

- Sequence 326.* The Grand Hotel National was opened. MoKaK1790
- Sequence 327.* 1 Januar 1871 Wilhelm I. became German Kaiser and HeSiE1817  
Herwegh accused the "Reich der Reichen" [the rich of the rich].
- Sequence 328.* 7 April 1875, Georg Herwegh died of a pulmonistis. HeSiE1817
- Sequence 329.* 2 January 1876, Meta Heusser-Schweizer died in Hirzel. HeScM1797
- Sequence 330.* 7 March 1876 Katharina Morel died in Luzern at the age MoKaK1790  
of 86.
- Sequence 331.* 1877, Emma Herwegh stayed in Stuttgart and hold HeSiE1817  
friendship with Carl Mayer and Ludwig Pfau.
- Sequence 332.* In the same year, Georg Herwegh's poems Neue Gedichte HeSiE1817  
were published postmortem helped by Ludwig Pfau but they were immediately  
prohibited.
- Sequence 333.* 15 June 1887, Paul Arnold Hirzel; son of Bernhard Hirzel HiB1807  
and Elisabeth Hirzel-Tobler died.
- Sequence 334.* 1880, Emma Herwegh reallocation to Paris where her HeSiE1817  
sons lived.
- Sequence 335.* April 1893, she began a frienship with Frank Wedekind in HeSiE1817  
her appartment in the Latin Quarter.
- Sequence 336.* In the same year, in Luzern, the steamboat berthed MoKaK1790  
directly at the dock in front of the hotel Schweizerhof, so that Kaiser Wilhelm II.  
and his entourage could enter on the red carpet directly into the Schweizerhof,  
where the Confederate Council received him to a "table d'hôte".
- Sequence 337.* 1896, The magazin "Simplicissimus" opens with HeSiE1817

Herwegh poems. Thanks to the mediation of Wedekind the volume "1848" is published including Emma Herwegh's "Geschichte der deutschen demokratischen Legion".

*Sequence 338.* 1901, Horace Herwegh died in Paris. HeSiE1817

*Sequence 339.* 24 March 1904, Emma Herwegh died in Paris. She was 87 years old. HeSiE1817



Appendix P

Dynamcic Story Points of the National Story of Switzerland as a “Covenant Community”

The choices for the story structure points based on the induced meaning which should be presented throught the story and on the analysis of the Main character’s autobiographical text.

<b>12 Essential Questions (independent)</b>		<b>Additional Story Points</b>	
1. MC resolve	Steadfast	1. Story goal	Playing a role
4. MC problem-solving style	Intuitive	2. Story consequence	Doing
7. Plot outcome	Success	3. Story cost	How things are changing
8. Plot judgement	Good	4. Story dividend	Impulsive responses
9. Overall thematic throughline	Manipulation	<b>MC Story Points</b>	
12. Overall problem	Process	1. MC problem	Cause
<b>12 Essential Questions (variable)</b>		2. MC solution	Effect
2. MC growth	Stop	3. MC symptom	Unproven
3. MC approach	Be-er	4. MC response	Proven
5. Plot driver	Action	5. MC throughline	Fixed attitude
6. Plot limit	Timelock	6. MC issue	Value
10. Overall thematic concern	Playing a role	7. MC unique ability	Worth
11. Overall thematic issue	Knowledge	8. MC critical flaw	Desire

Figure S10. Dramatica “story engine” setting for overall story and main character (MC) for the story production.

Appendix Q

Thematic Story Points of the National Story of Switzerland as a “Covenant Community”

The Storyweaving was based on the induced meaning which should be expressed through the overall story and the analysis of the Main character.

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		Signpost4
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	
OST	Doing (16)	→	Obtaining (12)	→	Gathering Information (13)	→	Understanding (1)
	Investigation, Appraisal, Reappraisal, and Doubt		Closure, Hope, Dream, and Denial		Worth, Confidence, Worry, and Value		Truth, Evidence, Suspicion, and Falsehood
M/I T	Developing a Plan (3)	→	Playing a Role (4)	→	Changing One's Nature (10)	→	Conceiving an Idea (11)
	Wisdom, Skill, Experience, and Enlightenment		Self Interest, Morality, Attitude, and Approach		Prerequisites, Strategy, Analysis, and Preconditions		Instinct, Senses, Interpretation, and Conditioning
MC	Memories (2)	→	Impulsive Responses (8)	→	Innermost Desires (9)	→	Contemplation (14)
	Fate, Prediction, Interdiction, and Destiny		Fact, Security, Threat, and Fantasy		Openness, Delay, Choice, and Preconception		Work, Attraction, Repulsion, and Attempt
IC	The Present (7)	→	How Things are Changing (6)	→	The Future (15)	→	The Past (5)
	Knowledge, Ability, Desire, and Thought		Rationalization, Commitment, Responsibility, and Obligation		Permission, Need, Expediency, and Deficiency		State of Being, Situation, Circumstances, and Sense of Self

Figure T11. Dramatica plot progression with dramatic encoding for the story production and sequence of signposts (numbers in brackets).

## Appendix R

## Story 1: Structure Based Narration, Extracts

The following extracts from the Story 1 in Spindle had been reproduced here align with style conventions in screenwriting, but using the past tense for the “Fade in”, in order to keep a more scientific style (Cole & Haag, 2002).

SCENE 11

EXT. RÜTLI, SEELISBERG, AUTONOMOUS CITY HELVETIA - YEAR 2093,  
AUGUST 1, 21PM

CHILD

Does this mean that the Swiss fought for Napoleon?

GRANDMOTHER

Yes, and against him. They were engaged at many fronts, by this time. The Bourbons of the two Sicilies had made treaties with four Swiss regiments; first Ferdinand I (1751-1825), and later Ferdinand II (1810-1859) (Huch, 1892; Maag, 1895, 1909). But that's not the point here. You must know, Napoleon had influenced not only the liberals, even the conservatives had been inspired by the Enlightenment. As such, many of them also hoped for changes. But they thought to be able to avoid the mistakes and the terror which had followed the Revolutionary fights in 1789, and they did not share the anti-clerical values of the French Enlightenment. Meta Heusser-Schweizer, for example, she was often here, on the Rigi.

CHILD

Oh, this wonderful mountain over there?

## GRANDMOTHER

No you are looking Southwards, not this one, this is the Pilatus. People like him very much, now. But the Rigi, that was the beginning of Swiss tourism. Look over here Eastwards. There was a little mountain inn that belonged to the Segesser family and came under the direction of Katharina Morel in 1846. She would convert it into a real bathing hotel. But we are proceeding to fast. I wanted to tell you Meta's story. She went to the Rigi, already when Katharina was still fighting against the cold Russian winter, death and despair on the devastating return from the Berezina engagement in 1813.

## SCENE 118

INT. APPARTMENT HERWEGH, LATIN QUARTER, PARIS - AFTERNOON 1901

Horace Herwegh had died in Paris. EMMA was terribly sad. But fortunately, she was not alone. FRANK WEDEKIND was with her, surprisingly quiet and look out of the window. She tried to order her memories. At the end, she would survive them all, her beloved GEORG, and even her son. The only hope that remained to here was that the great vision of liberty would transcend her life... She remembered back.

## Appendix S

## Story 20: Story Script, Draft

This is a full reproduction of the Story 20 as developed in Spindle, transcribed according to common screenwriting standards (Cole & Haag, 2002). Even though, these Characters had shared the same historical developments and experienced many parallels, even met each others in occasions, they had never coincided all together in one place at a time. Therefore, with the purpose to create a kind of meta-discourse between them in the style of Friedrich Dürrenmatt's (1964) *The Physicists*, a fictional meeting in their afterlife was imagined. In the notes under the scenes, the corresponding Sequences of Appendix O, as well as references from authentic and secondary sources had been added.

"Switzerland as a Covenant Community"

**ACT I**

FADE IN: In the Valley of Saga. A group of people is sitting around a table on a beautiful terrace, next to a small river. They drink milk coffee and eat a delicious Napoleon Pastry.

A messenger approaches them and gives them a note. It says that the president of Germany was in serious despair. She had to lead Europe in a time when it was torn apart by internal antisystem movements and threatened by the growing Islamic State. Therefore, she asked the ancestors to give her an advice.

Some of them are a little bit set up that she had woken up the death. Still they try to help her and discuss on how they had handle such issues in the past.

SCENE 1: LUZERN

KATHARINA

The first time I had seen him was when my mother died. By this time, I didn't know what it was, but I learnt soon what it meant.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 7 (Muff, 1998, p. 44).*

SCENE 2: LUZERN

KATHARINA

I lost everything, my home in Luzern, where I was born. My father sold the Inn we run, and I had to live with my aunt in Kriens.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 4 (Muff, 1998, p. 45).*

SCENE 3: LUZERN

KATHARINA

We had been obliged to host French soldiers already the years before, and the imposition of the Continental system made things not better. Businesses in Luzern were small and without perspective. But I never let anybody control me and rejected all pretendants.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 5 (Muff, 1998, pp. 41, 46).*

SCENE 4: LUZERN

KATHARINA

Until I met him. He was so funny, the Peyer. We should become true companion in arms.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 16 (Muff, 1998, p. 47).*

SCENE 5: BERESINA

KATHARINA

He was a saddler and had tried his luck. But people payed late or never. Peyer was also often ill. When he had to hire new soldiers for Napoleon, I had to do the job for him many times. But finally, he decided to list voluntarily for military service to

the great Napoleon. This filled him with hope for a change, a more stable economy. How wrong we were...

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 21 (Muff, 1998, p. 49).*

SCENE 6: BERESINA

KATHARINA

Death was not my only enemy. Yes, I was sad, destroyed when my dear parents died. But it was also the beginning of a new life for me.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 24-36 (Bucher-Heller, 1901; Muff, 1998, pp. 49-52).*

SCENE 7: TICINO

CONSTANTIN

What could a glassworker's son strive for by this time? My foster father was a great man, a Catholic priest. He educated me in the Scholastic and send me to even to the best, liberal universities.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 7 and 19 (Siegwart-Müller, 1864, pp. 1-15).*

SCENE 8: URI

CONSTANTIN

I achieved citizenship in Uri, had written the "Tell" in order to promote me. Further, I was public prosecutor.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 69 and 98 (Siegwart-Müller, 1864, pp. 15-25).*

SCENE 9: URI

CONSTANTIN

Finally, I married one of the noblest women in Uri. I had calculated well my social

ascend. And I had great luck. Josefina became not only my wife, but also my confident, my friend.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 77 (Rüf, 1952, p. 16; Siegwart-Müller, 1864, p. 30).*

SCENE 10: FEHRALTORF

HEINRICH

Constantin, you are right. A good education was key for our social ascend. It was a luck, that already my father was a teacher and he spent his last money to send me to the public high school in Aarau. A foreign university was beyond our possibilities.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 10 and 48 (H. Weiss, 1839, pp. 9, 88)*

SCENE 11: KYBURG

HEINRICH

I would become tribunal and even Police Council, Grand Councilor and member of the State Council, later in the 30s.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 82, 85, 87 (Gemeindeverwaltung Fehraltorf, 2014; H. Weiss, 1839)*

SCENE 12: FEHRALTORF

HEINRICH

But, I was not as lucky in love as you two. My first wife died soon after our marriage.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 70 (Baertschi, 2014)*

SCENE 13: FEHRALTORF

HEINRICH

One thing was clear for me, if our society should be more just we needed the possibility to study for everybody, better



public schools and credit for the small people.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 107 (H.Weiss, 1839, pp. 88-91)*

SCENE 14: ZÜRICH

BERNHARD

Do you really believe that things were only difficult for the land people? We aristocrats desired a change more than anybody else. My father was a violent alcoholic without perspectives. He could only think about making money.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 17 and 43 (Aerne, 1994, pp. 242-244, 246-247, 251).*

SCENE 15: ZÜRICH

BERNHARD

But money was not all in life. I realized this when I started my Sanskrit studies. This was a full new world; a free world.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 52, 62, 65, 76, 84, 86, 90, 91 (Aerne, 1994, p. 252).*

SCENE 16: ZÜRICH

BERNHARD

Love, yes, love was what I longed for. But I never found it really. My emotions were my true opponent in life.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 68 (Aerne, 1994, pp. 250-251).*

SCENE 17: HIRZEL

META

The Mediation and the Restauration were very agitated times. I remember them well. The Bocken inn war, the fire of the nearby villages when the French had passed

through.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 11, 31, 34, 36 (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980, pp. 39-56; Schindler, 2007 see transcription of Memorabilia).*

SCENE 18: HIRZEL

META

You know, Bernhard, you are not completely wrong. Love is important. But you confused physical love with true love. Even the love of your enemy.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 11, 12, 15 (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980, p. 138; Schindler, 2007, pp. 47 ff., 217 ff.).*

SCENE 19: HIRZEL

META

I found my love, the Heusser, but it was not always easy with him.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 49, 57 (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980, p. 68-83; Schindler, 2007, pp. 47 ff.).*

SCENE 20: HIRZEL

META

You two dreamed with the liberals, they should bring more freedom. But religious freedom was not guaranteed. Remember, how the Anabaptist were still persecuted; almost as in times of Zwingli and Bullinger.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 148-153 (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980; Schindler, 2007, pp. 173-208).*

SCENE 21: LUZERN

Constantin and Bernhard nodded.

CONSTANTIN

This is why I returned to my Catholic

faith.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 69 and 98 (Rüf, 1952; Siegwart-Müller, 1864, pp. 30-32).*

SCENE 22: LUZERN

CONSTANTIN

Leu had understood this long before me. At the beginning I was skeptic.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 136 and 142 (Siegwart-Müller, 1863).*

SCENE 23: LUZERN

KATHARINA

Comme on, you were an opportunist! Did you not achieve the citizenship in Luzern only because you were friend of the liberals, especially Casimir Pfyffer?

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 98, 106, 109 (indirectly: Muff, 1998, p. 56).*

SCENE 24: GORUM

KATHARINA

I had lost so many things. I really learnt what war meant. Several times I lost my household goods, and several times almost my life. At the end, Death took my Peyer. On Carnival, isn't that grotesk!

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 48 (Bucher-Heller, 1901; Muff, 1998, pp. 52).*

SCENE 25: LUZERN --

KATHARINA

But we liberals had improved life so much. Finally, the steam boat docked in Luzern. The public schools were increased and the educational law enforced.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 79, 114, 171 (Muff, 1998, pp. 54, 47, Trockenbund).*

SCENEN 26: HIRZEL

KATHARINA

Life had taken much from me, but it had also given. I had never had children, but the death of my dear sister-in-law gave me also a daughter, my dear Katharina.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 61 (Muff, 1998, p. 53).*

SCENE 27: LUZERN --

KATHARINA

Even my second husband died - he was ten years younger, who would ever have thought that he died earlier than me? But he taught me much about business. I became even a shareholder of the new theatre in Luzern and finally the manager of the Schweizerhof!

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 137, 210 (Muff, 1998, p. 59).*

SCENE 28: HIRZEL --

META

It is true, life had given us much to all of us, I think especially of my children.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 59, 63, 67, 71, 78, 120, 128, 193 (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980; Schindler, 2007, pp. 112 ff.).*

SCENEN 29: RIGI

META

I had seen the progress in Luzern when I returned to it on my trip to the Rigi.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 20, 26, 37, 53, 57, 175, 186, 278,*

304 (*Heusser-Schweizer, 1980; Schindler, 2007, pp. 182-186 transcript of Memorabilia.*)

SCENE 30: RIGI

META

I had travelled a lot during the late 20s and early 30s and saw how the country changed. We all wished a school reform, but you the liberals abused of it and tried to impose your philosophy on everybody. And how you used the press to influence the people, to boost things, not to speak of the Volunteer movement!

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 14, 20, 37, 45, 53, 175, 186 (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980, pp. 119-120; Schindler, 2007, transcript Memorabilia).*

## ACT II

SCENE 31: HIRZEL

META

But also you, the Conservatives pured much oil into the fire with your "Bundeszeitung".

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 156-158 (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980; Schindler, 2007, transcript Memorabilia).*

SCENE 32: HIRZEL

META

And then, you thought you had to fight for your faith with weapons! My poor Heusser, how confused he was. All this affected me so much that I suffered from a terrible erysipelas for the third time.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 161-166 (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980, pp. 119-120; Schindler, 2007, transcript Memorabilia).*

SCENE 33: HIRZEL

META

However, the true history was a hidden one.  
My dear mother had taught me that.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 117 (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980, p. 92; Schindler, 2007, pp. 59 ff.).*

SCENE 34: HIRZEL

META

The real change had to occur in our  
hearts, and I was so happy, that Zar  
Alexander supported our missionary efforts.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 44, 200 (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980; Schindler, 2007, transcript Memorabilia.).*

SCENE 35: PARIS

EMMA

What are you speaking about? Constantin:  
Meta was suggesting that the true story was  
a hidden one. Emma: You are right. I also  
had fought on the battle field; for the  
children of Liberty, for me. But the change  
came from within our minds, all these  
discussions in my saloon, this is where the  
new world was cemented.

*Note: This scene correspondence no sequence in Appendix O, given that there is no concrete chronological data besides the text and its interpretation.*

SCENE 36: BERLIN

EMMA

My salvator was Georg, his poem of a  
"living man", it gave me true life. I had  
been so bored and finally found purpose in  
his, our fight.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 203-204 (Herwegh, 1875; Krausnick,*

1998, pp. 1-12, 21-30).

SCENE 37: ZÜRICH

EMMA

This is why writing was important, it could change minds. But at the end, it could also be dangerous. We had to leave Zürich for it, and all my life I had to live in economic misery. The time was not ready yet, by then.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 209 (Herwegh, 1875; Krausnick, 1998, pp. 96-103).*

SCENE 38: ZÜRICH

BERNHARD

You are brave, Emma. This was my cardinal sin. I had not faith and believed that I had to take care for economic issues.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 180 (Aerne, 1994, pp. 257, 265).*

SCENE 39: ZÜRICH

BERNHARD

This is were my disaster began, because I had fooled my true love; Sanskrit studies.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 180, 205 (Aerne, 1994, p. 256, 265).*

SCENE 40: ZÜRICH

BERNHARD

The press accused me much after the Zürichputsch, they blamed me for being violent and a Don Juan. But I took care for everybody and had been able to pay all my debth back.  
If there had not been so much conspiracy against me, even from my own family.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 205 (Aerne, 1994, p. 269).*

SCENE 41: ZÜRICH

BERNHARD

All I had done was for love. I took the position as a parson in order to care for my young family, and I helped the village people after the fire. They loved so much for my support during the Züriputsch. Their faith was honest, and the liberals only speculated to destroy the church from within.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 164 (B. Hirzel, 1839).*

SCENE 42: ZÜRICH

Escher joined the group.

ALFRED

Sorry, I could not avoid listening to your conversation. Love, liberty ... Can you hear yourself? It almost sounds as if we, the liberals had been rouug conquerors of poor village people. Our true "guilt" had been to be too timid, hesitating all the time, going for and backwards. The conservatives were no innocent victims. Or had you seriously wished the Jesuits returned to the schools; mistaking teaching with blind recitation of the Bible?

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 168 (Jung, 2014).*

SCENE 43: WINTERTHUR

HEINRICH

Hi, Alfred! Nice to meet you again. You are so right. It had to be said that we too defended our faith. Those who opposed the Jesuits were also the "people". Hesitating could be as dammaging as a too quick and thoughtless action.



*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 180 (H.Weiss, 1839, pp. 36, 46, 56)*

SCENE 44: LUZERN

CONSTANTIN

Please, comme on! From your mouth it sounds as if the Sonderbund was a football game. People had died! I had lost all my goods and I had to live ten years in exile, with all my family. This was no children's game!

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 173 (Siegwart-Müller, 1866, pp. 972-984).*

SCENE 45: ZÜRICH

ALFRED

Alfred, I know you, we sat often together. Don't tell me now that you worried for the "faith" of the liberals. You only longed for money and power.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 172, 184 (Jung, 2014).*

SCENE 46: TEXAS

KARL

Karl, who had keep silence so far so how Alfred got more and more stressed. He layed his hand on Alfred's shoulder and said: Why are you fighting? What are you fighting for? Liberty, the people? Everybody was fighting for this in Europe. And this was nothing! I was in Texas, there they even treated some people worse than animals. Our, the Swiss merit was that we had found a way to live with our opponents, besides unsolved conflicts.

*Note: This data was not included in Appendix O (Schiedt, 2002).*

SCENE 47: TEXAS

KARL

I had wished a socialist state; the Phalange. That's why I joined in to the idea of direct democracy.

*Note: This data was not included in Appendix O (Schiedt, 2002).*

SCENE 48: GERMANY

CONSTANTIN

You are right, Karl. I had always tried to find a compromise. This is probably the reason why they let me return to Switzerland towards the end, and why I was able to forgive.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 255-256, 295 (Siegwart-Müller, 1864, pp. 984).*

SCENE 49: GERMANY

CONSTANTIN

But the past had learnet me something, that at times one was forced to take a decision. Failing to do so, would also lead to a decision, but it would stay out of your control. My wrong decisions had only brought me closer to my God. He would bring the reign of God one day.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 311, 313, 319 (Rüf, 1952, e.g. pp. 21, 26; Siegwart-Müller, 1866, pp. 402, 688).*

**ACT III**

SCENE 50: HIRZEL

META

The reign of God was not of this world.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 220 (Heusser-Schweizer, 1980, pp. 23, 138; Schindler, 2007, pp. 47 ff.).*

SCENE 51: PARIS

BERNHARD

This is exactly what I thought. It's all illusion, all Maya. At the end, why fighting any longer. I just couldn't anymore. There was nothing that expected me in life. This is why united with my grand love Marie, my Virign, we took our lives.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 242 (Aerne, 1994, p. 272).*

SCENE 52: LUZERN

KATHARINA

Don't say this. I have fought so much. But all achieving is nothing, because at the end you will not take it with you anyway. I learnt that I had to leave something behind. Hasn't you cared, Bernhard, for finishing your Sanskrit books before leaving this world? Don't be a hypocrite!

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 235 (Muff, 1998, p. 64).*

SCENE 53: GENEVA

EMMA

This is why we from the First International and the Women's Movement did not go the way of violence. And no-one could ever say, that I feared a good fight. But that would not lead to the liberty we desired.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 309, 317, 318, 325 (Herwegh, 1875; Krausnick, 1998, pp. 1-12, 21-30).*

SCENE 54: ZÜRICH

ALFRED

You sound like those crazy "Schwärmer". If you go on like this you will end as Bernhard did - believing all is an illusion. There are decision which had to be taken.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequence 339 (Jung, 2014).*

SCENE 55: ZÜRICH

KARL

And we took them. Yes, we did, but each of us according his or her own consciousness.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 308 and 318 (Schiedt, 2002).*

SCENE 56: ZÜRICH

ALFRED

But there must be one truly right decision.

*Note: See Appendix O, Sequences 248-254 (Jung, 2014).*

SCENE 57: ZÜRICH

KARL

Yes, there was one. The one that included us all.

*Note: This is based on a general interpretation of Karl Bürkli's work and corresponds not directly to any Sequence in Appendix O (Schiedt, 2002).*

Appendix T

Storyweaving of the National Story of Switzerland as a “Covenant Community”

The thematic encoding could be represented at different levels. The overall story was encoded according to the details in Figure 36. The Relationship throughlines were encoded, including possible subplots in Figures 39-44. The Main character throughline was represented in Figure 45 and the Impact character throughline in Figure 46.

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
T	Doing	→	Obtaining	→	Gathering Information	→	Understanding
O	The French Revolution 1789 demonstrated that everything was possible.	The passion for liberty turned into a violent character.	Skepticism with the liberal project raised conservative opposition.	The Sonderbund was defeated by Confederate military force.	The liberals, again in power, had learnt to act with decively and coordinatedly. They also learnt to take opposition serious.	The conservative direct democratic claims were integrated into the constitution.	The Swiss understood that sovereignty lied in the ability to integrate plurality and settle conflicts creatively.
C:	Lib.:Napoleon I., R. Niederer-Kasthofer, S. La Roche	Lib: J.J. Hess, C. Pfyffer, G.J. Baumgartner, M. Hirzel, J. Zehnder-Stadlin, R. Engel	Cons: B. Hirzel, J. Leu, C. Siegwart-Müller, A. Schlatter-Bernet, J. Stutz, D. Trudel, DFA Berlepsch	Lib: J.R. Steiger, U. Ochsenbein, J. Dubs, G. Keller, P.L. - v. Donatz, A.J. Dufour-Onofrio	Lib.: J. Fazy, H. Dufour, R. Steiger, E. Honegger,	Com.: A. Escher, K. Bürkli, J.J. Treichler, J. v. May, M. Goegg-P., M.T. Scherer, P. Zimmerlin-Bäuerlin	Dem.: J. Spyri, M. Heim-Vögtlin, H. v. Müllinen, R. Huch
E	Popular Assemblies 1830/31	Siebnerconcord at 1832, Badener article 1834, Appointment of Strauss	Züriputsch 1839, Violent turn in Valais 1839, Calling of Jesuits 1839, Anabaptist, Veilchenbund 1847	1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> Volunteerism 1841/1845, Industrialization	Sonderbund, war 1847	Escher System, Democratic movement 1860, IWM 1869, Constitutional Revision 1874-91	Semi-direct democratic Constitution, FDP, democratic parties since 1891, Temperance movement since 1870
R	Press,	Mountains, “Lueget vo Berg und Tal”	Alphorn	Schwiss Anthem 1841, Chocolate	The Swiss Knife	Alpin Fire	1. August, Beresinalied
S	Liberation myth (Tell)	The Life of Jesus	Creative vs. Destructive Revolution	Industrialization myth	Armed and free Republican	United in plurality	Confederate Oath (Rütlichschwur)

Figure T 1. Dramatic plot progression with themes (T), outline in the overall story (O),

characters (C), historical events (E), rituals (R) and symbols (S).

*Reason (Karl Bürkli)*

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
T		→		→		→	
O	Tanner Apprentishp 1839-1842 Journeyman years (Germany, Paris 1848),	Grütliverein 1838 (radical), Socialist Galeer joined Party Geneva 1849 (ethical socialism)	Zürich, Escher- Wyss (hydraulic systems, steam engines and cooling systems) (Usterbrand 1832)	Consumer Association (Konsumverein), (Hilfsverein since 1819, Professional Assoc. since ca. 1832)	Texas- Expedition 1855 (Phalanstery in Mexico), Slave	Swiss Socialism, Fights System Escher Grütliverein did not join First International, Democratic Constitution Zürich 1869, Kantonalbank 1870	Swiss Constitution 1874 (Federal compromise), Fédération jurassienne 1873-1877, Swiss Fed. of Trade Unions 1880, SP 1888, Bauern- und Arbeiterbund 1892
C	Charles Fourier	Johannes Niederer, Albert Galeer	H.C. Escher, S. Wyss, Hans Zoelly since 1860 (Escher- Wyss)	Johann Jakob Treichler	--	Pierre Coullery (Etienne Cabet, Charles Fourier, Félicité de Lamennais, Pierre Joseph Proudhon und Louis Blanc, Giuseppe Mazzini)	Albert Steck, Alexander Reichel, Jakob Vogelsanger
S	Wilhelm Meister Wanderjahre (Goethe): Box and key, the secret of life	Oath of the Rütli (RütliSchwur)	The fist (open)	The Phalanstère (centralized architecture)	Robinson Crusoe	Napoleon's Beresina, St. Georg (Baselland)	Shaking hands

Figure T 2. Dramatica plot progression with themes (T), outline in the overall story of the character's subplot (O), related characters (C) and symbols (S) for the Reason archetype.

*Emotion (Bernhard Hirzel)*

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
<b>T</b>	The Present	→	How Things Are Changing	→	The Future	→	The Past
<b>O</b>	Experience with violence and corruption in childhood, Marie in Augsburg, J. Hirzel III	House teacher awoke H.'s ambition	Return to Zürich, University Zürich, Parsonery, Brand of Pfäffikon	Love affairs	Central Committe, Zürichputsch	Indeptment, legal matters, Raciols returned to government	Work as house teacher in Paris, Joining with M. Welti, Suicide in Paris
<b>C</b>	Johannes Hirzel II, Margaretha Hirzel-Bürkli, friend Horner	Gottfried von Escher, friend of St. Gallen, Elise Tobler, Schleiermacher, Ritter, Bopp, Chézy,	Bopp, v. Orelli, Elise Tobler	M.H., Anna H.	Rahn-Escher, Hürlimann-Landis	Marie Welti, Jenische	
<b>S</b>	Karl Moor and Ferdinand, Urvashi left Pururava	Dagger (the innocent sacrifice), Berlin, Paris	Money, Kingdom	The son (Ayush), Rigveda Sukta (heart of women not like jackals)	The historical Jesus	Sakuntala, the Ring of Regocnition, Marie= Saint Mary or Mälavikā	Maya, Urvashi returned with Indra

*Figure T 3. Dramatica plot progression with themes (T), outline in the overall story of the character's subplot (O), related characters (C) and symbols (S) for the Emotion archetype.*

*Sidekick (Emma Herwegh)*

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
T	Developing a Plan	→	Playing a Role	→	Changing One's Nature	→	Conceiving an Idea
O	petty bourgeois boredom, Napoleon I, July Revolution Paris 1830, Hambacherfest 1832	encounter with the iron lark (the dreamer) 1841, triumph tour through Germany, marriage in Baden (CH) 1843,	Abdication of Louis Philippe in France, German Confederation 1815-1866, Paris, Polish connection,	Revolution 1848/49: Barricade fights Berlin, Hecker uprising, Republic Württemberg, Constanz	Italian connection, Herzen Affair 1850-52, Bismarck Prussian Minister, Separation, Emma's Salon in	Zürich, Death of G. Paris, Deutsches Kaiserreich 1871-1888, Bismarck Chancellor, Unification of Italy	German Reich, Wilhelmism 1888-1918, Publications, Herwegh, burrial in Liesthal (CH), Paris, Liesthal
C	Parents, Jules Piaget	Georg Herwegh, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. (reign 1840-1861), Marie d'Agoult	Aristocrates, Marx, Engels, Lous Philippe, Mieroslavski	G. Struve, J.P. Becker, F.F.K. Hecker	A. & N. Herzens, Bismarck, Ada Herwegh, F. Orsini, G. Manzzini, Garibaldi, Bakunin	Napoleon III., Wilhelm I. (reign 1861-1888), Bismarck, Georg Herwegh, G. Semper, G. Keller, F. Lassale	Wilhelm II. (reign 1888-1918), Bismarck, Frank Wedekind, M. and H. Herwegh
S	Libertas	Poem <i>The iron lark</i> (H.Heine)	The children of Germany	Trousers	Garibaldi-Hymne	The Press	The grave in the free Republic (Switzerland)

Figure T 4. Dramatica plot progression with themes (T), outline in the overall story of the character's subplot (O), related characters (C) and symbols (S) for the Sidekick archetype.



*Skeptic (Meta Heusser-Schweizer)*

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
T	Memories	→	Innermost Desires	→	Impulsive Responses	→	Contemplation
O	childhood as parson's daughter, Bombing of Zürich 1802, Bockenkrieg, French occupation, Goldau landslide	friendships, Gessner's funeral, voyages to the Rigi, Alexander's entrance in Paris 1814 and Zürich 1815, Victory by Waterloo	Wedding 1821, a doctor's wife life, childbirth, Theodor 1822, Luzern 1823, A.E.D. 1825, J. C. 1826, J. L. 1827, H.W. 1829, Ega 1830	Assembly of Basel 1834, birth of Meta 1836, A. Gessner (mother) died 1836, Pfäfers 1837, Zaremba 1839, Züriputsch 1839	Schaff 1841, Bible society London 1844, Sonderbund 1847, Engadin 1851, Johanna's wedding, grandchildren, Johanna Yverdonne, Theodor in Berlin 1845, Dying of old generation	Christian boarding 1856, Mission fest 1860, Anna's return with four sons 1861	Dieboltau 1862, Gedichter einer Verborgene, Hauschronik, Christian in Argentina
C	Diethelm Schweizer, Anna Gessner, the Reign of God, the French, A. & T. Abyberg	Babette Schlatter, Gessner, Alexander I., the orphans	J.J. Heusser, Huber im Feld, the mental ill, G. Meyer v. Knonau, Wichtelhauser, the homeless	J.J. Heusser, A. Schweizer, Parson Tobler, Anabaptist, Zarembas, Wild	Alexander I., Schaff, Lange	Anna, Christian	Johanna Spyri
S	The Bible	mountains	The hidden mother	The lost treasure	Accident with carrier	The Book with Seven Seals	Seed

Figure T 5. Dramatica plot progression with themes (T), outline in the overall story of the character's subplot (O), related characters (C) and symbols (S) for the Skeptic archetype.

*Guardian (Heinrich Weiss)*

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
T	Memories	→	Impulsive Responses	→	Innermost Desires	→	Contemplation
O	No childhood memories...	teacher's son, studies, high school Aarau, Zofingia (founded 1819)	teacher in Fehraltorf, member of District Tribunal Kyburg 1826, wedding 1826/27, Grand Council 1830, Ustertag 1830, State Council 1831, son born	President of Police Council 1832, Salt merchant, District Judge, Coronel of Confederate troops/ 1834, cantonal road traffic system, improved legal system, Saving Bank Pfäffikon 1833, Concordate of the Seven	Secondary school Fehraltorf 1835, Swiss welfare organization (quaestor; -> Saving bank Zürich since 1805) 1836, envoy of Swiss Diet, President War Council 1838, Züriputsch 1839	Drapery merchand in Winterthur 1839, member Edu. Council 1841, opposition to Züricher Blätter (NZZ), resigned citizenship Fehraltorf 1846, Sonderbund 1847	System Escher
C	unkown parents, liberal friends ?	A.B. Tobler, M. Zwicky, E. Weiss	J.J. Hürlimann-Landis, S. Hirzel, M. Hirzel, J.J. Hess	D.F. Strauss, J. Hegetschweiler, B. Hirzel, H.C. Rahn-Escher	E. Sulzer, H. Gysi-Schinz, J.J. Hess, J.J. Steiger, Dufour, Siegwart-Müller	A. Escher, K. Bürkli	E. Weiss, M. Zwicky, A. Escher, Guggenbühl, Hottinger
S	knapsack (Patriae, Amicitiae, Litteris)		Piggy-bank	Zeughaus (armory)	Press	Railway	money

Figure T 6. Dramatica plot progression with themes (T), outline in the overall story of the character's subplot (O), related characters (C) and symbols (S) for the Guardian archtype.

*Contagonist (Alfred Escher)*

	↙ Journey1 ↘		↙ Journey2 ↘		↙ Journey3 ↘		
	Signpost1	Act1	Signpost2	Act2	Signpost3	Act3	Signpost4
T		→		→		→	
O	childhood in "Belvoire", private lessons until 1834	law degreee 1837, university Bonn, Berlin, 1837, Motion Bürgi 1839, Escher returned to Zürich, Paris 1842	Professor for Civil Law at University of Zürich 1844-47, Grand Councilor 1844, Envoy of Federal Diet 1845, Education Council 1845	Sonderbund 1847, President of Cantonal Council 1848, Federal Commissioner Ticino 1848, National Councilor, Office Mayor 1849	Zurich-Lake Constance Railway 1853 (chariman & CEO), Swiss Northeastern Railway NOB 1853, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology 1854/55, Vice President Swiss School Board, Schweizerische Kreditanstalt, SKA 1856	marriage 1857, Supervisor y Board of Swiss pension Company 1857, daugther born,	honorary citizen Lugano 1871, Gotthard Railway 1872-75, forced to resignade SKA, Gotthard Railway, not present at punctian and opening 1882, died 1882, memorial in Zürich 1889, L.E.-W- founded the Gottfried Keller Foundation 1890
C	Oswald Herr	F.L. Keller, D. Bürgi	H. Weiss	J. Fazy, Druey, Siegwart-Müller, Franchini	H. Weiss	B. Uebel, A. Uebel, L. Escher-Welti	R. Kissling, L. Escher-Welti
S	Belvoir	glasses, monocle	closed fist	beard	money	pocket watch	Railway

Figure T 7. Dramatica plot progression with themes (T), outline in the overall story of the character's subplot (O), related characters (C) and symbols (S) for the Contagonist archetype.

*Main Character Throughline*

T	Memories	→	Impulsive Responses	→	Innermost Desires	→	Contemplation
O	"I think that I achieved much in my life, and yet I could not stay quiet".	Katharina Morel got a foster daughter.	Responsibilities forced Katharina Morel to considerate others and to plan for the future.	Accepting her responsibilities, Katharina Morel made the career of her life.	Katharina Morel's Innermost Desire was to achieve sovereignty.	The limitations of her own finitud made her aware of transcendental values.	Katharina Morel was aware that true sovereignty included the contemplation of caring for others and leaving a heritage.
C	Heinrich Peyer, Segesser. A.M. Kaufmann	Katharina Peyer, C. & E. Pfyffer, A. Keller, Troxler	Josef Morel, Xaver Segesser, Nieces and nephews	J.R. Steiger, J.B. Leu Provost St. Leodegar	Eduard Segesser, R. Wagner, G. Semper	Napoleon III., J.P. Segesser, A.M. Kaufmann	Death, J.R. Steiger, K. Peyer
E	Russian Campaign 1812	H.P.'s sister died 1823, Inn Engel 1827-1837, Fire in Luzern 1833	Orphanes, City theatre Luzern 1839, Pepper women 1844/45 (since ca. 1841)	Hotel, Kaltbad 1846-1849	Schweizerhof 1849, Saint Helena-Medal 1858	Pension Morel 1861-1876, Hotel management school, Hotel National	Gotthard railway, steamboat at the dock of Schweizerhof, heritage
S	St. Helena Medal Triangular Mille-feuille (Napoleon pastry or Crèmeschnitt e symbolized bicorn and Grand Armée, offered to Tolstoj)	Golden Spoon of Trockenbund	Share of the Theater	Mountains	Embroidery	Golden Boule clock	Libertas on a ten-cent silver coin 1876 (still exist from 1879)-> Helvetia

Figure T 8. Dramatica plot progression with themes (T), outline in the overall story of the Main character's subplot (O), related characters (C), historical events (E) and symbols (S) for the Protagonist archetype.

*Impact Character Throughline*

T	The Present	→	How Things are Changing	→	The Future	→	The Past
O	The Church was Constantin Siegwart-Müller's home.	Constantin Siegwart-Müller tried to improve the Church and the political system from the insight.	The sovereignty of the Church and the development of personal faith were threatened.	The leader of the conservative movement, Joseph Leu, was murdered.	The future was dark, it seemed that violence had won over justice.	After around 10 years of exile and constant escapes, Constantin Siegwart-Müller was allowed to return home.	Siegwart-Müller trusted that through the democratic movement the traditional values of the old Confederacy and the Church would be preserved.
C	J. M. Regli	L. Keller, E. Kathry, M. Tschümpleri, C. Pfyffer	Christoph Fuchs, C. Pfyffer, Montebello, J. Leu, Luvini, Pope Gregory XVI	J. Leu, J. Fazy, Theodor Abyberg	J.U. Salis-Soglio, Metternich, Polish, Schwarzenberg, Kalbermatten, Ochsenbein, Theodor Abyberg	T. Kravogel, K. Grob, Leodegar Kretz	A.P. Segesser
E	Orphane 1808	Marriage 1828, Citizenship Uri 1826, Beisassen-Handel 1831, Luzern 1832, Concordate of Seven, „Volkszeitung“	Appeal of the Bishop 1835, Russwilerverein, C. Siegwart's Trial against radicals, Liberal church policies, Citizenship Einsiedeln 1838, Napoleon Affair 1838, return to conservatism 1838/39, Calling of the Jesuits 1839, Overthrow of Ticino, Constitutional revision 1840	Murder of Leu 1845, Installation of Jesuits 1845, Borromaic Academy, Radicals return to Geneva, AV Semper Fidelis 1845	Sonderbund war, Battles Gelsikon and Gisikon 1847, Buonas, Meyerkappel, Escape, Sanction of 20.000 Sfr. 1848	Exile Valais, Austria, Alsace, Germany	Return to Uri, Autobiographical writings, Segesser's Necrologue
S	The Bible	The Law	Portrait by J.R. Steiger	The biography	The cross	The Church	The Community

Figure T 9. Dramatica plot progression with themes (T), outline in the overall story of the Impact character's subplot (O), related characters (C), historical events (E) and symbols (S) for the Antagonist archetype

Appendix U

Dramatica Analysis of Story Structure

**Heinrich Weiss [-Zwicky] (1789-1848)**

<b>12 Essential Questions (independent)</b>		<b>Additional Story Points</b>	
1. MC resolve	Steadfast	1. Story goal	Innermost desire
4. MC problem-solving style	Intuitive	2. Story consequence	The future
7. Plot outcome	Failure	3. Story cost	Changing one's nature
8. Plot judgement	Bad	4. Story dividend	Optaining
9. Overall thematic throughline	Fixed attitude	<b>MC Story Points</b>	
12. Overall problem	Disbelief	1. MC problem	Hinder
<b>12 Essential Questions (variable)</b>		2. MC solution	Help
2. MC growth	Start	3. MC symptom	Support
3. MC approach	Do-er	4. MC response	Oppose
5. Plot driver	Action	5. MC throughline	Activity
6. Plot limit	Optionlock	6. MC issue	Attitude
10. Overall thematic concern	Innermost desire	7. MC unique ability	Approach
11. Overall thematic issue	Dream	8. MC critical flaw	Delay

*Figure U 1.* Dramatica “story engine” setting for overall story and main character (MC) as analyzed in Heinrich Weiss’s (1839) article (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

**Katharina Morel [-Kaufmann] (1790-1876)**

<b>12 Essential Questions (independent)</b>		<b>Additional Story Points</b>	
1. MC resolve	Steadfast	1. Story goal	Innermost desire
4. MC problem-solving style	Logical	2. Story consequence	The future
7. Plot outcome	Success	3. Story cost	Changing one's nature
8. Plot judgement	Good	4. Story dividend	Optaining
9. Overall thematic throughline	Fixed attitude	<b>MC Story Points</b>	
12. Overall problem	Control	1. MC problem	Consider
<b>12 Essential Questions (variable)</b>		2. MC solution	Reconsider
2. MC growth	Start	3. MC symptom	Feeling
3. MC approach	Do-er	4. MC response	Logic
5. Plot driver	Decision	5. MC throughline	Activity
6. Plot limit	Optionlock	6. MC issue	Approach
10. Overall thematic concern	Innermost desire	7. MC unique ability	Morality
11. Overall thematic issue	Hope	8. MC critical flaw	Preconception

Figure U 2. Dramatica “story engine” setting for overall story and main character (MC) as analyzed in Katharina Morel’s (1876) diaries (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

**Meta Heusser-Schweizer (1797-1876)**

<b>12 Essential Questions (independent)</b>		<b>Additional Story Points</b>	
1. MC resolve	Change	1. Story goal	Innermost desire
4. MC problem-solving style	Intuitive	2. Story consequence	The future
7. Plot outcome	Success	3. Story cost	Optaining
8. Plot judgement	Good	4. Story dividend	Changing one's nature
9. Overall thematic throughline	Fixed attitude	<b>MC Story Points</b>	
12. Overall problem	Conscience	1. MC problem	Conscience
<b>12 Essential Questions (variable)</b>		2. MC solution	Temptation
2. MC growth	Stop	3. MC symptom	Control
3. MC approach	Be-er	4. MC response	Uncontrolled
5. Plot driver	Action	5. MC throughline	Manipulation
6. Plot limit	Optionlock	6. MC issue	Responsibility
10. Overall thematic concern	Innermost desire	7. MC unique ability	Commitment
11. Overall thematic issue	Denial	8. MC critical flaw	Morality

Figure U 3. Dramatica “story engine” setting for overall story and main character (MC) as analyzed in Meta Heusser-Schweizer’s (1980) Hauschronik (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

**Constantin Siegwart-Müller (1801-1869)**

<b>12 Essential Questions (independent)</b>		<b>Additional Story Points</b>	
1. MC resolve	Change	1. Story goal	Playing a role
4. MC problem-solving style	Logical	2. Story consequence	Doing
7. Plot outcome	Failure	3. Story cost	Impulsive responses
8. Plot judgement	Good	4. Story dividend	How things are changing
9. Overall thematic throughline	Manipulation	<b>MC Story Points</b>	
12. Overall problem	Expectation	1. MC problem	Expectation
<b>12 Essential Questions (variable)</b>		2. MC solution	Determination
2. MC growth	Start	3. MC symptom	Hunch
3. MC approach	Do-er	4. MC response	Theory
5. Plot driver	Decision	5. MC throughline	Situation
6. Plot limit	Optionlock	6. MC issue	Threat
10. Overall thematic concern	Playing a role	7. MC unique ability	Fantasy
11. Overall thematic issue	Desire	8. MC critical flaw	Value

*Figure U 3.* Dramatica “story engine” setting for overall story and main character (MC) as analyzed in Constantin Siegwart-Müller’s (1863, 1864, 1866) book trilogy (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).



**Bernhard Hirzel [-Tobler] (1807-1847)**

<b>12 Essential Questions (independent)</b>		<b>Additional Story Points</b>	
1. MC resolve	Change	1. Story goal	The past
4. MC problem-solving style	Intuitive	2. Story consequence	Memories
7. Plot outcome	Failure	3. Story cost	Developing a plan
8. Plot judgement	Bad	4. Story dividend	Understanding
9. Overall thematic throughline	Situation	<b>MC Story Points</b>	
12. Overall problem	Thought	1. MC problem	Thought
<b>12 Essential Questions (variable)</b>		2. MC solution	Knowledge
2. MC growth	Stop	3. MC symptom	Desire
3. MC approach	Do-er	4. MC response	Ability
5. Plot driver	Action	5. MC throughline	Activity
6. Plot limit	Optionlock	6. MC issue	Instinct
10. Overall thematic concern	The past	7. MC unique ability	Conditioning
11. Overall thematic issue	Fate	8. MC critical flaw	State of being

*Figure U 4.* Dramatica “story engine” setting for overall story and main character (MC) as analyzed in Constantin Bernhard Hirzel’s article and letter (Hirzel in: Aerne, 1994; Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

**Emma Herwegh [-Siegmond] (1817-1904)**

<b>12 Essential Questions (independent)</b>		<b>Additional Story Points</b>	
1. MC resolve	Steadfast	1. Story goal	Playing a role
4. MC problem-solving style	Intuitive	2. Story consequence	Doing
7. Plot outcome	Success	3. Story cost	How things are changing
8. Plot judgement	Good	4. Story dividend	Impulsive responses
9. Overall thematic throughline	Manipulation	<b>MC Story Points</b>	
12. Overall problem	Process	1. MC problem	Cause
<b>12 Essential Questions (variable)</b>		2. MC solution	Effect
2. MC growth	Stop	3. MC symptom	Unproven
3. MC approach	Be-er	4. MC response	Proven
5. Plot driver	Action	5. MC throughline	Fixed attitude
6. Plot limit	Timelock	6. MC issue	Value
10. Overall thematic concern	Playing a role	7. MC unique ability	Worth
11. Overall thematic issue	Knowledge	8. MC critical flaw	Desire

*Figure U 5.* Dramatica “story engine” setting for overall story and main character (MC) as analyzed in Emma Herwegh’s (1849) article (M. A. Phillips & Huntley, 2001).

Appendix V

Goffman's Society as Theatre along the Research Game Dynamics

The interrelation between Goffman's (2006) theory of Society as Theatre, the tetralemma in Schweitzer's (2009) theory of Reverence for Life and Dramatica's Theory of Story could be schematically represented along the the game interaction of this research. For a detailed relation of game elements and functions refer to Figure D.

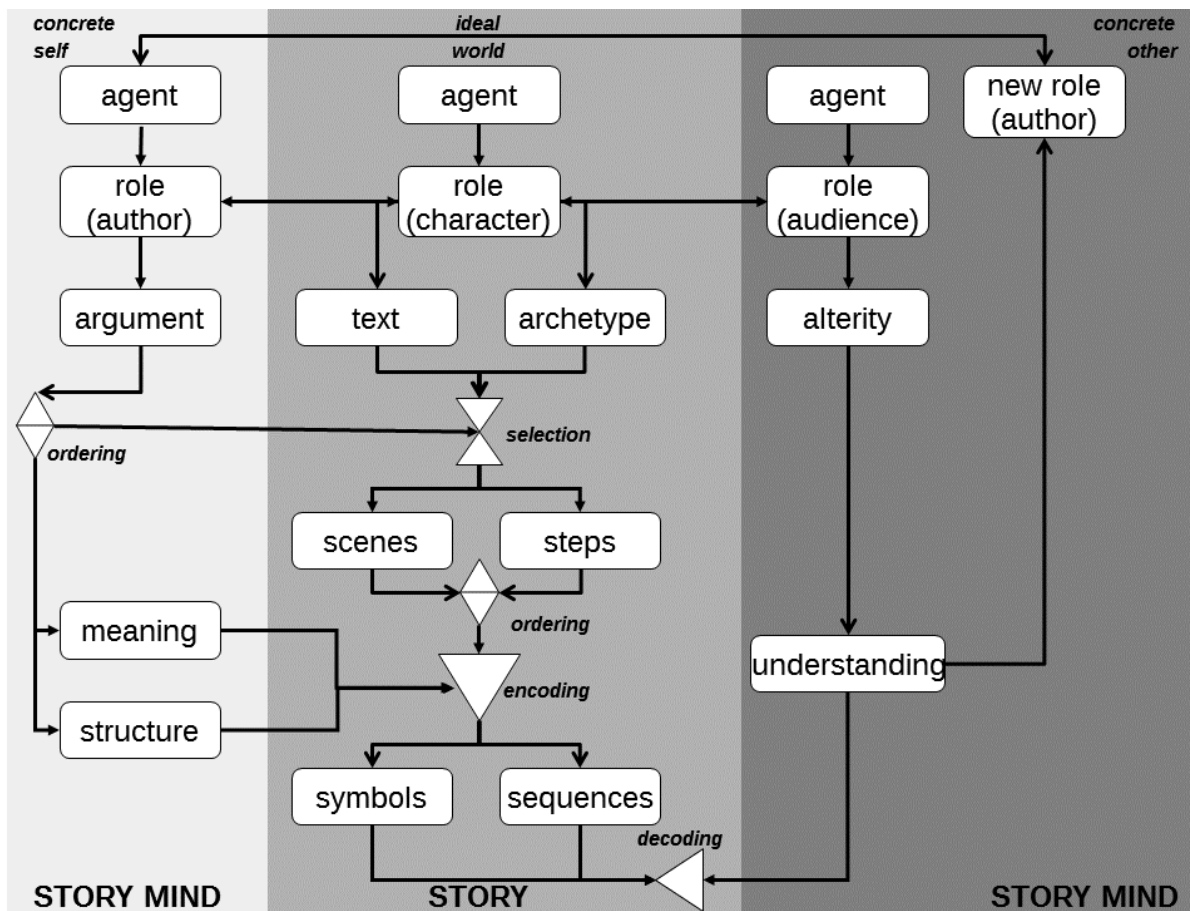


Figure V 1. Goffman's (2006) "society as theatre" outlined along the research game dynamics.

## Appendix W

## Description of the Low-tech Version of the Narrative Game Spindle

In order to test out how the universal story dynamics were present in different environments of the collaborative narrative game, they were applied also to a low-tech solution. First, a simple draft version with a paper a pen method was created in order to conceptualize the different game elements on a storyboard; Figures 33 and 34. It was not clear from the beginning which elements belonged to the board and which were more flexible parts of the games, or how the moves were made. All this, became more palpable through this first sketching and improved also the development of the online game version Spindle 1.1. alpha (T. Hirzel, 2015). Second, this draft was developed into a sensually more attractive solution, as it could be imagined for a class room lesson or a workshop; Figures 35 and 36. The game consists of X types of elements: (1) the gameboard with four colour bands for the Throughlines; (2) seven sections (brown) for Signposts and Transitions; (3) playing cards, which were printed on one side with Character name and a scene number ordering the scenes according to the individual story, and on the other side with the scene title; (4) a cordle and pins to mark the story paths within the storyline of the final story to be told.

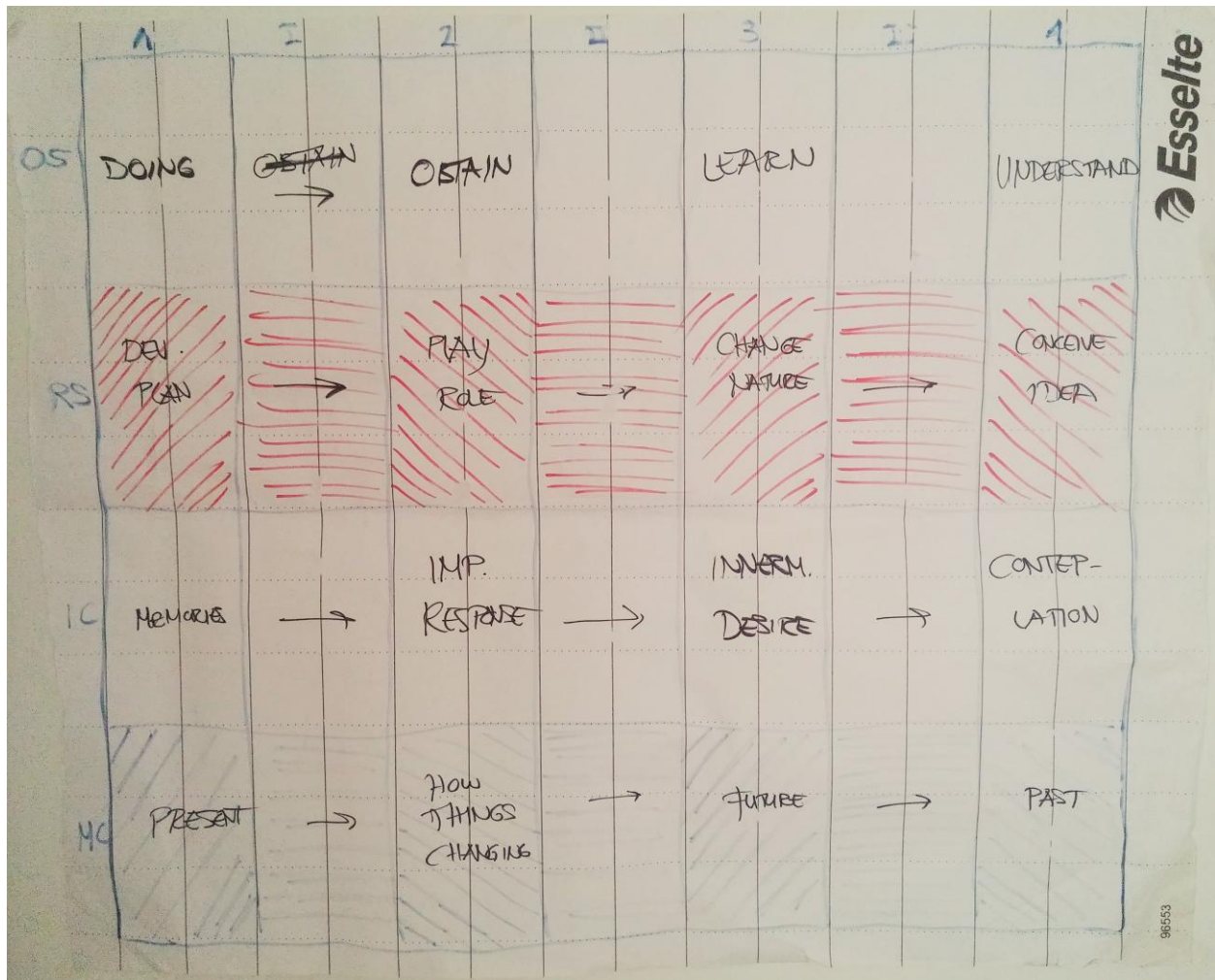


Figure W 12. Draft of the gameboard for the low-tech version of the collaborative narrative game Spindle.

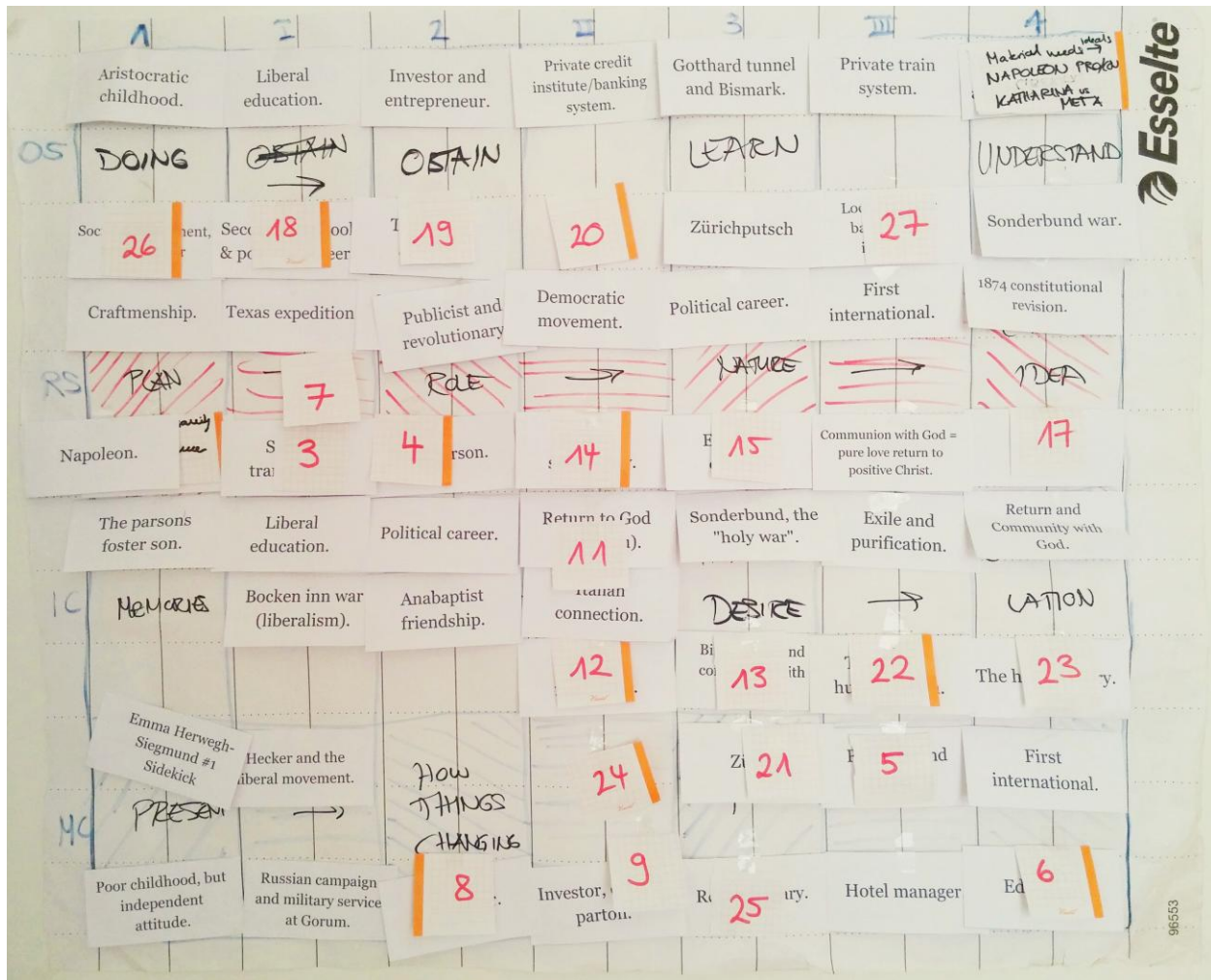


Figure W 13. Draft of the gameboard for the low-tech version of the collaborative game Spindle, with scene titles and numbers for scene order.





*Figure W14.* Final game elements for the collaborative narrative game Spindle.



Figure W 15. Final game with scenes and visualization of the storyline.



Appendix X

Character Development of the National Story of Switzerland as a “Covenant Community”

Character development produced from a merger of individual character analysis in the autobiographical works.

Table X 1

*Dramatica’s relationship scheme as developed in the story produced for this research.*

PROTAGONIST	Katharina Morel (1790-1876)	ANTAGONIST (IC)	Constantin Siegwart-Müller (1801-1869)
Role	<i>The moral entrepreneur.</i>	Role	<i>The preserver and reformer of the (old) Church and (old) Confederation.</i>
Function	<i>To constitute material realities (progress).</i>	Function	<i>To preserve historical achievements (conservance).</i>
REASON	Karl Bürkli (1823-1901)	EMOTION	Bernhard Hirzel (1807-1847)
Role	<i>The (utopian) entrepreneur for common good.</i>	Role	<i>The misunderstood prophet.</i>
Function	<i>To use economic means for spiritual goals.</i>	Function	<i>To use spiritual means for economic goals.</i>
SIDEKICK	Emma Herwegh (1817-1904)	SKEPTIC	Meta Heusser-Schweizer (1797-1876)
Role	<i>“The biggest and best heroine of love” of liberty.</i>	Role	<i>The voice of God in our midst.</i>
Function	<i>Never to say dead!</i>	Function	<i>To take the conflict its importance, to remember eternal values.</i>
GUARDIAN	Heinrich Weiss (1789-1848)	CONTAGONIST	Alfred Escher (1819-1882)
Role	<i>The defender of the (liberal) “will of the people”.</i>	Role	<i>The radical (economic) liberal.</i>
Function	<i>To remember what is at stake (sovereignty of the people over the country).</i>	Function	<i>To progress alon in one’s own interest without considerations.</i>

## Appendix Y

## Chronological Data of Samples

**Switzerland**

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1459/00/00*- 1459/00/00	Foundation of University Basel
1523/00/00*- 1523/00/00	Anabaptist Movement
1708/00/00*- 1708/00/00	European Free Church: founding of the Brethren by Alexander Mack (believer's Babtist and bible study group)
1750/00/00*- 1768/00/00	Shakers
1761/00/00*- 1769/00/00	Helvetischen Gesellschaft
1768/00/00*- 1779/00/00	Industrial Revolution: Hargreaves perfects his spinning jenny.
1769/08/15 - 1780/01/12	Napoleon Bonaparte
1780/00/00*- 1791/00/00	Orell, Gessner, Füssli & Co. publishing firm established
1780/01/12 - 1790/05/23	Foundation Neue Zürcher Zeitung
1789/06/10 - 1796/00/00	French Revolution
1791/00/00*- 1799/09/00	Declaration of Pillnitz.
1792/00/00*- 1799/00/00	French Revolutionary Wars
1794/07/10 - 1799/00/00	Memorial and Treaty of Stäfa
1797/01/01 - 1800/00/00	Helvetic Revolution
1798/00/00*- 1802/00/00	1.Ochs Draft of a Constitution (1798)
1798/00/00*- 1802/00/00	2.Basel Draft of a Constitution (1798)
1798/00/00*- 1802/00/00	3.Draft of a Constitution (1798)
1798/00/00*- 1802/00/00	4.Constitution (1798)
1798/00/00*- 1802/00/00	Proclamation of the Helvetic Republic by Napoleon Bonaparte
1798/00/00*- 1802/00/00	Suvorov's Campaign
1798/00/00*- 1802/00/00	Swiss Campaign (French Revolutionary Wars)
1798/02/05 - 1801/00/00	Amnesty for Stäfa's Revolutionaries
1798/04/12 - 1801/00/00	Proclamation of the Helvetic Republic
1798/12/22 - 1802/00/00	War of the Second Coalition
1799/00/00*- 1803/00/00	1.Draft of a Constitution (1799)
1799/00/00*- 1803/00/00	2.Usteri Draft of a Constitution (1799)
1799/00/00*- 1803/00/00	War of the Second Coalition
1799/06/00 - 1803/00/00	First Battle of Zurich
1799/09/00 - 1803/00/00	Second Battle of Zurich
1800/00/00*- 1805/00/00	2.Senat Constitutional Committee Majority Draft of a Constitution (1800)
1800/00/00*- 1805/00/00	3.Senat Draft of a Constitution (1800)
1800/00/00*- 1805/01/00	Second Coalition War
1800/00/00*- 1805/06/00	1.Draft of a Constitution (1800)
1801/00/00*- 1806/00/00	1.Draft of a Constitution (1801)
1801/00/00*- 1806/00/00	2.Glayre Draft of a Constitution (1801)

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1801/00/00*- 1806/00/00	3.First Malmaison Draft of a Constitution (1801)
1801/00/00*- 1806/00/00	4.Second Malmaison Draft of a Constitution (1801)
1801/00/00*- 1806/00/00	Constitution of Malmaison
1801/00/00*- 1807/00/00	5.Second Malmaison Draft of a Constitution (1801)
1801/00/00*- 1807/00/00	6.Constitution (1801)
1801/00/00*- 1809/11/20	7.Draft of a Constitution (1801)
1801/00/00*- 1809/11/20	8.Constitutional Articles (1801)
1801/00/00*- 1810/00/00	1.Draft of a Constitution (1801)
1801/00/00*- 1810/07/29	9.Tagsatzung Draft of a Constitution (1801)
1801/05/29 - 1806/10/00	Constitution of Malmaison
1802/00/00*- 1811/00/00	2.Constitution of Notables (1802)
1802/00/00*- 1811/10/07	Stecklikrieg. Friedrich Schiller writes "Willhelm Tell" (national myth).
1802/00/00*- 1811/12/26	1.Constitution of Federalists (1802)
1802/00/00*- 1811/12/07	Draft of a Constitution (Gegenentwurf) (1802)
1802/00/00*- 1812/01/13	4.Draft of a Constitution (1802)
1802/00/00*- 1812/01/24	5.Tagsatzungs-Commission Draft of a Constitution (1802)
1802/00/00*- 1812/01/27	2.Draft of a Constitution (1802)
1802/00/00*- 1812/01/01	3.Draft of a Constitution (1802)
1802/00/00*- 1812/03/02	Stecklikrieg [The Wooden Club-War] (Civil War)
1802/08/28 - 1810/00/00	Stecklikrieg [The Wooden Club-War]
1803/00/00*- 1831/04/10	3.Constitution (1803)
1803/00/00*- 1831/04/19	Schiller's William Tell published
1803/00/00*- 1831/04/25	Convention of Artlenburg
1803/00/00*- 1831/04/00	Zurich is constituted as a Canton.
1803/00/00*- 1831/04/00	Privatisierung des Postwesens
1803/00/00*- 1831/04/00	First industrial chocolate production in Switzerland
1803/00/00*- 1831/04/09	1.Act of Mediation (1803)
1804/00/00*- 1831/11/24	Napoleonic Wars
1804/00/00*- 1831/11/27	First chemical plant by Daniel Frey in Aarau
1804/00/00*- 1831/12/29	First industrial exposition in Bern
1805/00/00*- 1831/00/00	Spinning maschin fabric Zurich
1805/10/21 - 1838/05/06	Battle of Trafalgar
1806/00/00*- 1832/05/21	War of the Fourth Coalition
1806/00/00*- 1832/05/28	The reforms of Baron vom Stein end serfdom and laid the basis of the modern Prussian administrative state
1806/00/00*- 1832/05/30	Napoleon shuts down the Holy Roman Empire
1806/00/00*- 1832/05/31	Continental System
1806/00/00*- 1832/06/02	Spinning maschin fabric Winterthur
1806/02/00 - 1831/00/00	Neuenburg Affair
1806/09/02 - 1832/04/17	Bergsturz von Goldau
1806/11/21 - 1832/05/15	Continental System

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1806/11/21 - 1832/05/16	Naval blockade
1807/00/00*- 1832/08/05	Fichte publishes Addresses to the German Nation
1807/00/00*- 1832/08/07	Treaties of Tilsit
1809/04/10 - 1832/10/12	War of the Fifth Coalition
1810/00/00*- 1833/01/30	Foundation of Maschinenfabrik Escher, Wyss & Co. Zürich
1810/00/00*- 1833/02/20	Cotton blockade (Continental blockade)
1811/00/00*- 1833/06/23	Escher channel built
1812/00/00*- 1833/00/00	seventh Coalition includes German states
1813/00/00*- 1834/10/12	Battle of Leibzig
1813/00/00*- 1834/10/05	War of the Sixth Coalition
1813/00/00*- 1834/10/07	1.Constitutional Agreement (1813)
1814/00/00*- 1835/01/04	End of hand spinning industry
1815/00/00*- 1835/00/00	Famine relieve by Zar Alexander
1815/00/00*- 1835/00/00	First fabric law (Fabrikgesetz) in Zurich
1815/00/00*- 1835/09/29	Otto von Bismarck
1815/00/00*- 1835/10/07	Constitution (Bundesvertrag) (1815)
1815/03/20 - 1835/07/02	War of the Seventh Coalition
1816/00/00*- 1837/01/18	Famine
1817/00/00*- 1837/10/30	Wartburg festival
1817/00/00*- 1837/12/22	Mass emigrations
1819/00/00*- 1839/08/23	Chocolate fabric Luis Cailler
1819/00/00*- 1839/08/23	Schweizerischer Zofingerverein
1820/00/00*- 1839/00/00	Revolution in Italy.
1820/00/00*- 1839/00/00	Revolution in Spain.
1821/00/00*- 1841/09/21	Revolution in Greece.
1825/00/00*- 1843/07/10	First bank notes in Bern
1825/00/00*- 1843/07/12	Uprisings in Russia.
1826/00/00*- 1843/00/00	Foundation of Suchard fabric
1830/00/00*- 1845/00/00	Revolts in Hesse, Brunswick, and Saxony dethroned kings and create new liberal constitutions.
1830/00/00*- 1845/00/00	Latter Day Saint movement
1830/00/00*- 1845/00/00	Apostolic Christian Church of America
1830/00/00*- 1845/00/00	European Free Church: Evangelical Baptist movements founded by Samuel Heinrich Froehlich
1830/00/00*- 1846/01/03	Industrial Revolution: First railroad, in Britain.
1830/07/26 - 1845/00/00	July Revolution (France).
1830/11/22 - 1845/00/00	Day of Uster is held by the sons of the patriots of 1794 (Söhne der Patrioten von 1794).
1831/00/00*- 1847/02/20	The Liberal-radical Constitution of Zurich is signed. Zurich is part of the Siebnerkonkordat (agreement of seven cantons) supported by Bürgermeister Conrad Melchior Hirzel and Friedrich Ludwig Kellers: Civil rights, secularization, free trade and industry.

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1831/00/00*- 1847/02/22	1.Draft of a Constitution (1831)
1831/00/00*- 1847/02/23	2.Constitution (1831)
1831/00/00*- 1847/03/12	Revolution in Poland.
1831/00/00*- 1847/03/04	Maschinenweberei Corrodi & Pfister opens in Uster
1832/00/00*- 1847/10/16	2.Siebner Concordat (1832) 4.Draft of a Constitution (1832)
1832/00/00*- 1847/10/25	
1832/00/00*- 1847/10/29	Schweizerische Studentenverbindung Helvetia
1832/00/00*- 1847/10/31	Hambach Festival
1832/00/00*- 1847/11/01	Pope Gregor XVI's Enzyklika
1832/09/28 - 1847/08/03	Change of the law of public schools.
1832/11/22 - 1847/09/21	Brand of Uster
1832/12/15 - 1847/09/23	Revision Draft of Constitution (Rossi-Plan)
1833/00/00*- 1848/03/18	3.Draft of a Constitution (1833)
1833/00/00*- 1848/03/00	4.Commission Draft of a Constitution (1833)
1833/00/00*- 1848/03/08	Founding of the University of Zurich. "Secularization" of theology.
1833/00/00*- 1848/04/15	Zollverein formes as economic common market
1833/00/00*- 1848/04/23	Troxler's Publication
1833/01/09 - 1847/11/04	Order on public education
1833/09/00 - 1847/00/00	New order for the law concerning higher public education.
1834/00/00*- 1849/09/20	Foundation of University Bern
1834/00/00*- 1849/09/23	Aktientheater built
1836/00/00*- 1851/10/12	The first public secondary school in Pfäffikon. First teacher Karl Kramer from Saxonia (Germany).
1836/04/01 - 1851/07/20	Constitution Secondary School Zurich
1837/07/04 - 1852/07/00	Napoleonhandel
1837/12/22 - 1854/09/00	Petition for child labour abolition
1838/00/00*- 1857/09/20	Introduction of metric measurements in some cantons
1838/00/00*- 1857/09/27	Foundation Grütli Verein (Geneva)
1838/02/11 - 1856/07/14	The town centre of Pfäffikon is destructed by a large fire.
1839/00/00*- 1864/00/00	Treaty of London
1839/00/00*- 1864/00/00	First cooperative (Aktienbäckerei Schwanden (GL))
1839/00/00*- 1864/00/00	The putschists of the Oberland (the Zurich highlands) flee towards Stadelhofen and are brought back by the central committee. The state council is dissolved. The honorary mayor (Amtsbürgermeister=Regierungspräsident) J.J. Hess goes to the city government (city president Eduard Ziegler) and gives him the command of order. The state council dissolves the cantonal troops.
1839/02/11 - 1858/03/13	Brand of Pfäffikon
1839/02/12 - 1858/03/16	Meeting in Wädenswil
1839/09/06 - 1862/06/18	March to the city (Züriputsch).
1839/09/07 - 1862/07/18	Highlanders return to Pfäffikon

Date/ Time period	Event
1839/09/09 - 1862/08/03	Decision for new election
1840/00/00* - 1873/00/00	2.Amendment 1840 (1 of 3)
1840/00/00* - 1873/00/00	3.Amendment 1840 (2 of 3)
1840/00/00* - 1873/00/00	4.Amendment 1840 (3 of 3)
1840/00/00* - 1873/00/00	Pauperism
1840/00/00* - 1874/01/23	First kindergarten
1840/07/21 - 1868/08/00	Swiss Flag as standards
1841/00/00* - 1890/00/00	Freischarenzüge [Military Initiatives of Irregular Troupes)
1841/00/00* - 1892/00/00	Riots in Catholic Aargau
1841/01/01 - 1874/00/00	Composition of the Swiss Anthem (Schweizerpsalm)
1841/03/27 - 1876/03/07	Klosterfrage
1843/00/00* - 1843/00/00	AV Sempre Fidelis Luzern
1843/08/31 - 1843/08/31	Aargau Monastic Conflict
1844/00/00* - 1844/00/00	Call of the Jesuites to Lucerne
1845/00/00* - 1845/00/00	Freischarenzüge of the Liberals and Radicals
1847/11/03 - 1847/11/03	Sonderbund War (Civil War)
1848/00/00* - 1848/00/00	3.Tagsatzung Draft of a Constitution (1848)
1848/00/00* - 1848/00/00	4.Constitution (1848)
1848/00/00* - 1848/00/00	Constitution of Federal Army
1848/06/23 - 1848/06/23	European Revolutions of 1848
1848/10/12 - 1848/10/12	Bundesverfassung 1848
1849/00/00* - 1849/00/00	5.Amendment 1849 (1 of 3)
1849/00/00* - 1849/00/00	6.Amendment 1849 (2 of 3)
1849/00/00* - 1849/00/00	7.Amendment 1849 (3 of 3)
1849/00/00* - 1849/00/00	1849 - Suppression of liberals ("48 ers") ; many flee abroad, especially to the United States
1850/00/00* - 1850/00/00	Foundation of Stock market Geneva
1851/00/00* - 1851/00/00	8.Amendment 1851
1851/00/00* - 1851/00/00	Foundation of Züricher Konsumverein
1854/00/00* - 1854/00/00	First Train rout from Saint-Louis to Basel ( Compagnie de Strasbourg à Bâle)
1855/00/00* - 1855/00/00	Foundation of Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich,
1856/00/00* - 1856/00/00	1856 - Neanderthal remains found at the Neander valley
1856/00/00* - 1856/00/00	Foundation of "Schweizerische Kreditanstalt" (SKA)
1856/09/03 - 1856/09/03	Royalist uprising in Neuchâtel
1857/00/00* - 1857/00/00	National exhibition Bern
1860/00/00* - 1860/00/00	Foundation Druckerei Winterthur
1860/00/00* - 1860/00/00	Seventh-day Adventist Church
1861/00/00* - 1861/00/00	Foundation of Schweizerischen Kaufmännischen Vereins (KV) (Zurich)
1862/00/00* - 1862/00/00	Unification of Germany
1863/00/00* - 1863/00/00	New Apostolic Church <sup>[359]</sup>
1864/00/00* - 1864/00/00	Beginn of Chemical Industry as economic pilar in Basel

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1864/00/00*- 1864/00/00	First International
1865/00/00*- 1865/00/00	The Salvation Army
1870/00/00*- 1870/00/00	Foundation Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz (SP)
1870/00/00*- 1870/00/00	Jehovah's Witnesses
1871/00/00*- 1871/00/00	Bismarck's Balance of Power
1871/00/00*- 1871/00/00	Complete Mobilization (Franco-Prussian War)
1871/00/00*- 1871/00/00	Bismarck launches Kulturkampf
1872/00/00*- 1872/00/00	Foundation of "Bankverein"
1872/05/12 - 1872/05/12	Ferdinand de Montheys against death penalty.
1873/00/00*- 1873/00/00	Switzerland's triumph at the World Exhibition Vienna
1873/00/00*- 1873/00/00	Foundation of Arbeiterbund
1873/00/00*- 1873/00/00	Foundation of University Geneva
1874/04/19 - 1874/04/19	Federal Treaty (Draft) 1874
1875/00/00*- 1875/00/00	Invention of Milk chocolate
1875/00/00*- 1875/00/00	Strike at the Gotthard tunnel
1875/00/00*- 1875/00/00	Crush Military strike at Gotthard (Franco-Prussian War)
1877/00/00*- 1877/00/00	Federal fabric law
1877/00/00*- 1877/00/00	Foundation of Stock market Zurich
1878/00/00*- 1878/00/00	Swiss Federal Railways bankrupt.
1879/00/00*- 1879/00/00	First School War
1879/00/00*- 1879/00/00	Foundation of Gewerbeverband
1880/00/00*- 1880/00/00	Bank monopol failed
1881/00/00*- 1881/00/00	Landslide Elm
1883/00/00*- 1883/00/00	National exhibition Zurich
1886/00/00*- 1886/00/00	Chemical export to Asia
1888/00/00*- 1888/00/00	Second foundation of Sozialdemokratischen Partei der Schweiz (SPS)
1889/00/00*- 1889/00/00	Foundation of Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen (SBB)
1889/00/00*- 1889/00/00	Foundation of University Freiburg a.Ü.e.
1889/00/00*- 1889/00/00	Knabenschiessen begins
1890/00/00*- 1890/00/00	National Health Insurance Regulation (declined)
1890/00/00*- 1890/00/00	Switzerland becomes an Immigration country
1890/00/00*- 1890/00/00	Foundation of University Lausanne
1891/00/00*- 1891/00/00	Bank monopol accepted
1894/00/00*- 1894/00/00	Referendum in favor of better worker's conditions declined
1896/00/00*- 1896/00/00	National exhibition Geneva
1898/00/00*- 1898/00/00	Foundation University St. Gallen
1898/00/00*- 1898/00/00	Swiss National Museum opens
1915/06/06 - 1915/06/06	Unique war tax.

**Heinrich Weiss [-Zwicky] (1789-1848).**

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1789/05/28 - 1798/05/28	Heinrich Weiss born in Fehraltorf, as son of Samuel Weiss, a schoolmaster, and Anna Barbara Temperli.
1804/00/00* - 1831/00/00	Heinrich Weiss Visited the renowned Cantonal High School in Aarau.
1820/00/00* - 1839/00/00	Heinrich Weiss was teacher in Fehraltorf.
1826/00/00* - 1843/00/00	Heinrich Weiss was member of the tribunal of the district Kyburg.
1826/00/00* - 1844/01/01	Heinrich Weiss married to Anna Barbara Tobler.
1827/00/00* - 1844/10/19	Heinrich Weiss married to Margaretha Zwicky.
1830/00/00* - 1845/00/00	Abolition of tithes, claims of the Ustertag 1830, Snells proposal of a liberal Constitution 1831.
1830/00/00* - 1904/00/00	Emil Weiss, son of Heinrich Weiss and Margaretha Zwicky-Weiss was born.
1830/12/09 - 1845/00/00	Heinrich Weiss was member of the Grand Council.
1831/03/20 - 1846/03/12	Heinrich Weiss member of the State Council (Regierungsrates) as liberal-radical.
1832/00/00* - 1847/09/29	Heinrich Weiss was President of the Police Council, something like a Superintendent. He was memorized as the "leader" of the county.
1833/00/00* - 1848/04/24	Foundation of the Savings Bank of the District Pfäffikon.
1833/01/30 - 1847/11/07	Downsize of the bulwark.
1834/00/00* - 1849/09/00	Heinrich Weiss was official salt merchant (Salzfaktor).
1834/00/00* - 1849/09/00	Heinrich Weiss became District Judge.
1834/00/00* - 1849/10/11	Heinrich Weiss became coronel of the Swiss Confederate troopes.
1834/00/00* - 1849/10/13	Heinrich Weiss became member of the radical-liberal Free-thinking Party.
1834/00/00* - 1849/10/14	Takeover of the road traffic system by the Cantonal government.
1834/00/00* - 1849/10/16	Improvement of the legal system in the interest of the people.
1835/00/00* - 1851/02/18	Heinrich Weiss became President of the Grand Council.
1835/00/00* - 1851/02/21	Heinrich Weiss was one of the founders of the secondary school in Fehraltorf in 1835.
1836/06/13 - 1851/08/04	Heinrich Weiss was member and Quaestor of the Swiss welfare organisation, Schweizerische Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft.
1837/06/03 - 1852/07/15	Complaint of Heinrich Weiss of Fehraltorf on the blocking of the road from there to Rueti through the Ried.
1837/07/27 - 1853/03/23	Petitions of Heinrich Weiss in Fehraltorf concerning the road from Fehraltorf through Rüti.
1838/00/00* - 1857/08/30	Heinrich Weiss became President of the War Council.
1838/00/00* - 1857/09/01	Heinrich Weiss became envoy of the Swiss Confederate Diet (Tagsatzungsgesandter).
1838/00/00* - 1857/10/04	Heinrich Weiss became again member of the State Council.
1839/08/00 - 1861/05/01	Heinrich Weiss was a drapery merchant in Winterthur.
1839/08/00 - 1861/06/04	Heinrich Weiss moved to Winterthur.
1839/09/00 - 1862/00/00	Heinrich Weiss participated in the Zuriputsch on the side of the government.
1841/00/00* - 1890/10/26	Heinrich Weiss was member of the Cantonal council of Education.
1842/00/00* - 1842/00/00	Heinrich Weiss was member of the Grand Council.
1842/00/00* - 1842/00/00	State council Heinrich Weiss' opposition to the editorial of the Zürcher



<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
	Blätter.
1842/08/22 - 1842/08/22	Heinrich Weiss was member of the District Council for Education Winterthur.
1846/00/00* - 1846/00/00	Heinrich Weiss resigned his citizenship of Fehraltorf and became citizen of Winterthur.
1846/00/00* - 1846/00/00	Heinrich Weiss became editor of the "Landboten".
1847/00/00* - 1847/00/00	Heinrich Weiss became president of the Grand Council.
1847/00/00* - 1847/00/00	Heinrich Weiss was editor of the "Winterthurer Zeitung".
1847/07/01 - 1847/07/01	Letter of Weiss to Escher on the acceptance of the position as State Secretary (Staatsschreiber).
1847/08/13 - 1847/08/13	Letter of Weiss to Escher about Escher's health.
1848/06/20 - 1848/06/20	Heinrich Weiss died in Winterthur.
1904/00/00* - 1904/00/00	Emil Weiss, son of Heinrich Weiss died.

### **Katharina Morel [-Kaufmann] (1790-1876).**

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1789/00/00* - 1800/00/00	Morel's Father Kaufmann run an Inn, "Kreuz" in Luzern.
1790/05/23 - 1798/00/00	Katharina Kaufmann was born in Luzern as the daughter of an inn keeper.
1790/05/23 - 1798/00/00	Katharina Kaufmann was born at 15:00 hours.
1798/00/00* - 1802/00/00	Katharina Kaufmann attended the girls' school of the Ursulines.
1802/00/00* - 1812/03/26	Katharina Kaufmann had her first position in the hospitality sector, at the age of only twelf.
1802/00/00* - 1812/04/28	Katharina Kaufmann started to work in the Hotel "Wilden Mann", where she did the accounting, and the stocks.
1805/01/00 - 1831/00/00	Katharina Kaufmann left the Hotel "Wilden Mann".
1805/06/00 - 1831/00/00	Katharina Kaufmann started working in a delicatessen shop (Spezereiwaren) in Schwyz.
1806/01/00 - 1831/00/00	Katharina Kaufmann started in the Gasthof "zur Ilge".
1806/07/04 - 1831/00/00	Katharina Kaufmann married to Heinrich Peyer.
1806/07/04 - 1832/07/04	Katharina Kaufmann married to Heinrich Peyer, sadler, son of Anton, Schultheiss from Willisau.
1806/10/00 - 1832/05/14	Katharina Peyer-Kaufmann moved with her husband to Willisau.
1809/11/20 - 1832/00/00	Heinrich Peyer left for mercenary services to Napoleon (the unit of Oberst Castella).
1821/01/01 - 1839/00/00	21-days-travel to Switzerland in horse carrier through Aachen, Lüttich, Köln, Koblenz, Speyer, Salzbach, Freiburg, Basel, Zofingen, to Willisau.
1825/00/00* - 1843/07/11	Katharina and Heinrich left the "Rössli" and run the "Bad Rothen" in Littau during two years.
1827/00/00* - 1844/10/20	Katharina leased the Inn "Engel" in Luzern.
1833/00/00* - 1848/04/27	In Luzern, a modern, liberal constitutional proposal was rejected.
1833/06/12* - 1847/12/13	Fire in Luzern ("Luzerner Stadtbrand").
1835/00/00* - 1851/02/17	Construction of the hotel Schwanden, first hotel with view on lake besides the hotel Schweizerhof.
1836/00/00* - 1851/12/28	Dock project was discarded.

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1837/02/13 - 1851/00/00	Carnival. Heinrich Peyer lied already a while ill in bed and died that day from lung hemorrhage, in presence of Katharina.
1837/10/10 - 1854/08/20	Katharina Peyer left the "Engel" and received a "Silver Spoon" from the "Trockenbund".
1838/01/01 - 1856/06/17	Katharina marries the ten-year younger Josef Morel; [textile merchant in Luzern, son of Ludwig, negotiant.]
1839/00/00* - 1865/02/02	Katharina was shareholder of the Stadttheater Luzern, which was still under construction.
1844/00/00* - 1844/00/00	Construction of the Schweizerhof docks along the city, partial demolition of the wooden bridge.
1844/00/00* - 1844/00/00	Katharina Morel was one of the Pepper women (Pfefferfrauen) who supported the volunteerism movement during 1844-1845.
1844/00/00* - 1844/00/00	The hotel "Schweizerhof" was built in 1844/45 by the brothers Xaver and Josef Plazidus Segesser as a building with 15 axes.
1844/06/19 - 1844/06/19	Josef Morel died unexpectedly; possibly caused by the worries about family issues, and heritage disputes. Katharina had to restructure her financial budget.
1844/12/08 - 1844/12/08	Freischaarenzug (Volunteerism movement) defeated by the government of Luzern.
1845/00/00* - 1845/00/00	Opening of the hotel Schweizerhof.
1845/00/00* - 1845/00/00	The hotel "Schweizerhof" opened as first Grand Hotel in Luzern.
1845/00/00* - 1845/00/00	Jakob Rober Steiger, leader of the Volunteers was sentenced to death and locked in the "Kesselturm", Luzern.
1845/00/00* - 1845/00/00	Katharina participated as one of the "Pfefferfrauen" in Steiger's liberation.
1845/07/10 - 1845/07/10	Katharina received a thank you letter from Steiger. Katharina considered him in her testament.
1846/05/15 - 1846/05/15	Katharina started the management of the Berggasthof "Kaltbad" together with her foster daughter Katharina Peyer.
1847/11/04 - 1847/11/04	Sonderbund War.
1849/00/00* - 1849/00/00	Richard Wagner was sought by warrent throughout Germany because of his involvement with the Dresden rebellion of 1849. After 1853 in the state of Hessen the performances of the works of the composing "barricade fighter" were prohibited until 1866.
1849/09/30* - 1849/09/30	A fire in the "Kaltbad" destroyed it completely.
1849/09/00 - 1849/09/00	Katharina had to remain in bed during one month after saving people and goods in the fire.
1849/11/00 - 1849/11/00	Katharina Morel started the management of the Grand Hotel Schweizerhof assisted by her nieces Joséfin and Katharina Peyer.
1852/00/00* - 1852/00/00	Leave off of the debt to the Sonderbund.
1853/00/00* - 1853/00/00	The Luzerner Tagblatt published a guest list of the "Schweizerhof".
1853/07/00 - 1853/07/00	Queen Sophie of the Netherlands was guest at the Schweizerhof.
1854/00/00* - 1854/00/00	Restructuration and amplification of the "Schweizerhof" according plans of Josef Placidus Segesser.
1854/00/00* - 1854/00/00	King Leopold I. of Belgium, was guest at the Schweizerhof.
1856/03/17 - 1856/03/17	Katharina wrote in a letter how happy she was about her independence.
1857/00/00* - 1857/00/00	The Segessers lost their "Auftriegsrechte" for the Schweizerhof at the Rhyn, external Weggis, some kind of right related to a common use in that area which might be related to the docks.
1857/00/00* - 1857/00/00	Count Leo Tolstoi stood in the Schweizerhof and wrote his short stories about the fictitious count D. Nechljudow in Luzern.

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1857/00/00*- 1857/00/00	King Johann I. with family was guest at the Schweizerhof.
1857/00/00*- 1857/00/00	Count Leo Tolstoi was guest at the Schweizerhof and wrote about Luzern during his stage.
1858/00/00*- 1858/00/00	Katharina Morel recieved the "Médaille de St. Hélène" by Napoleon III.
1858/00/00*- 1858/00/00	The Luzerner Tagblatt recognized Katharina Morel's efforts during the Russian Campaign.
1859/00/00*- 1859/00/00	1859 Richard Wagner finished his work Tristan und Isolde.
1860/00/00*- 1860/00/00	Amplification of the Luzern train station. Related to this: proceedings of Bartholomew stump.
1861/00/00*- 1861/00/00	Sales of the hotel Schweizerhof to the hotelier family houser.
1861/00/00*- 1861/00/00	The family Segesser sold the "Schweizerhof".
1861/00/00*- 1861/00/00	Katharina bought the Ziegelhütten-Liegenschaft from the Segessers. She starts a small guesthouse there, which she calls the "Tuilerienhaus" and which was later known as "Pension Morel".
1861/05/01 - 1861/05/01	Katharina Morel announced her guesthouse in the Luzerner Presse.
1862/06/18 - 1862/06/18	Processes against the opening of new guesthouses by the Stadtrath (City Council).
1863/00/00*- 1863/00/00	Construction of the great salon in the hotel Schweizerhof by the Züricher architect Leonhard Zeugheer.
1863/00/00*- 1863/00/00	Gottfried Semper, friend of Richard Wagner, painted the ceiling of the grand salon in the hotel Schweizerhof.
1863/00/00*- 1863/00/00	Construction of kitchen, salon and conservatory of the hotel Schweizerhof by Leonhard Zeugherr.
1865/00/00*- 1865/00/00	Emperor Napoleon III. stood with Emperatrice Eugénie in the Grand hotel Schweizerhof and aplaudet to the finished restauration of its salon.
1865/00/00*- 1865/00/00	In the same year, met King Ludwig II of Bavaria with Richard Wagner in the Schweizerhof, during a travel tour around Switzerland.
1868/00/00*- 1868/00/00	Construction of the hotel National.
1869/11/25 - 1869/11/25	Katharina was asked to run the "National", but she rejects. She was ill of a lung infection.
1876/03/07 - 1876/03/07	Katharina Morel died in Luzern
1893/00/00*- 1893/00/00	The steamboat berthed directly at the dock in front of the hotel Schweitzerhof.

### **Meta Heusser-Schweizer (1797-1876).**

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1734/00/00*- 1750/00/00	Heinrich Heidegger published his "Tagebuch eines unsichtbar Reisenden" in 2 volumes, printed by Orell Gessner und Füssli in Zürich.
1797/04/06 - 1800/00/00	Meta Heusser-Schweizer was born in Hirzel.
1798/07/19 - 1801/00/00	Sister Dorchen [little Dorothee] born.
1801/03/30 - 1806/09/02	Day of the crowning of Alexander I.
1802/09/13 - 1810/00/00	Bombing of Zürich.
1804/03/28 - 1831/09/00	Battle of Bocken.
1804/03/02 - 1831/04/00	Gerold Meyer v. Knonau born.
1806/08/23 - 1832/03/14	Meta Heusser-Schweizer had Babette Schlatter and her mother seen

Date/ Time period	Event
	for the first time together with the "Angel's child"
1806/09/02 - 1832/03/17	Landslide of Goldau.
1806/09/08 - 1832/05/13	Anniversary of the friendship with Schwytz - with all ist weal and woe.
1808/05/17 - 1832/09/28	Departure to Schwytz.
1808/05/25 - 1832/09/29	Wandering into the Muttathal [Muotathal], with coronel Müller, Alois and Theodor Abyberg.
1808/05/30 - 1832/09/30	Farewell from Schwytz.
1808/10/15 - 1832/10/03	Separation from Alois and Theodor, in Schifli.
1808/10/06 - 1832/10/01	Vision of Alois and Theodor Abyberg. unter'm Apfelbaum [under the apple tree (?)].
1809/10/23 - 1832/12/04	Heusser in Schwyz.
1809/10/26 - 1832/12/15	Heusser in Traubenberg. It's the last time she sees Müller.
1810/03/23 - 1832/00/00	Reception of a letter from Regeli about Palmar Orytiel.
1810/05/29 - 1832/00/00	Babette Schlatter arrives at the parsonage.
1810/09/02 - 1833/01/11	Jakob Heusser arrives in Hirzel.
1810/09/03 - 1833/01/12	Jakob Heusser enters our house.
1811/07/01 - 1833/04/05	First meeting with Caspar Schlatter in Höfli's Shop.
1811/07/02 - 1833/04/20	Voyage from Zürich to Hirzel with Caspar Schlatter, Setli and Adelheid.
1811/07/09 - 1833/04/29	Schlatter's departure.
1811/08/18 - 1833/06/03	Outbreak of regeli's pneumonia.
1811/10/28 - 1833/06/06	Selmar seen for the last time.
1812/04/22 - 1833/07/29	Death of Gessner's brother Caspar.
1812/04/26 - 1833/07/30	Gessner's funeral - Heller in Hirzel.
1812/05/23 - 1833/08/12	Brunner's vision.
1812/05/25 - 1833/08/13	On the Aegeri mountain with Brunner and Heusser.
1812/06/03 - 1833/08/15	Walking tour to Spring with Brunner and Heusser.
1813/04/11 - 1834/06/19	Meta Heusser's confirmation day.
1813/04/29 - 1834/07/14	Departure from Zurich to St. Gallen, with father and mother Schlatter.
1813/04/30 - 1834/07/15	First arrival in St. Gallen.
1813/05/01 - 1834/07/16	First visit to the orphanage St. Gallen.
1813/05/02 - 1834/07/17	First visit in Aekerli.
1813/05/05 - 1834/07/19	Walking tour on the Romonte, with father, mother and children Hess.
1813/06/23 - 1834/08/02	Dinner on the Bocken Hill with Gonthard, friend Wirz, Councilor Füssli and many more.
1813/06/02 - 1834/07/26	Departure from St. Gallen.
1813/08/26 - 1834/08/13	Return from the Rigi.
1814/03/31 - 1834/12/10	Alexander I.'s entrance in Paris.
1815/02/22 - 1835/04/11	The commemoration day of the thirty years.
1815/05/15 - 1835/08/28	Johann's departure to Bremet.
1815/06/18 - 1835/08/31	Victory by Waterloo.
1815/07/12 - 1835/09/01	Arrival of Misses Abyberg and Karoline.
1815/10/10 - 1835/09/15	Alexander I. in Zürich.

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1816/02/01 - 1835/00/00	Arrival in Schwytz.
1819/08/02 - 1839/03/20	Travel to the Rigi.
1821/04/09 - 1840/09/26	Meta Heusser-Schweizer's wedding day.
1821/09/04 - 1841/04/05	On the Rigi with Babette, Henriette and Theo.
1822/08/13 - 1842/06/07	Birthday of Theodor Diethelm [Meta Heusser-Schweizer's first son], Tuesday morning 8:30 h.
1823/07/06 - 1842/09/16	In Luzern.
1824/12/08 - 1843/04/09	Arrival of the new Parson family.
1825/01/28 - 1843/04/13	Birth of Meta Heusser-Schweizer's first daughter [, Anna Elisabetha], Friday morning 11:30 h.
1826/03/27 - 1843/08/02	Birth of Meta Heusser-Schweizer's second son, Jakob Christian, early before 1:00 h.
1826/04/10 - 1843/08/09	Little Christian dying, Monday evening.
1826/08/20 - 1843/09/12	Sunday in Baden - Lindeneck.
1826/11/02 - 1843/12/27	Parson Tobler's entrance.
1827/06/12 - 1844/06/04	Birth of Meta Heusser-Schweizer's second daughter [, Johanna Louise], Tuesday morning 8:00 h.
1828/08/26 - 1845/04/02	Delivery of the poems to Pestalutz [Johannes Pestalozzi (?) (1793-1876)]
1828/12/07 - 1845/07/10	Sunday with Gerold Meyer and Wichtelhauser.
1829/05/26 - 1845/08/17	Birth of Meta Heusser-Schweizer's third son [Heinrich Wilhelm], Tuesday morning 9:30 h.
1829/06/11 - 1845/08/25	The worst day in Meta Heusser-Schweizer's live - early before 2 'o clock, Heinrich Wilhelm dying. "Very truly I tell you, unless a kernel of wheat falls to the ground and dies, it remains only a single seed. But if it dies, it produces many seeds." [Bible, John 12:24]
1829/07/22 - 1845/09/11	To Baden with Regeli, Theodor and Netteli.
1830/12/06 - 1845/00/00	Birth of Meta Heusser-Schweizer's third daughter [Regula Sophie]. Monday morning 9:00 h.
1831/02/08 - 1846/03/05	Pity scene with the homeless.
1833/01/11 - 1847/11/04	Friday night, the Greek.
1833/01/19 - 1847/11/07	Saturday - Letter from Albert Knapp.
1833/11/17 - 1848/01/00	Second election for a new parson in Wollishofen. "What he made him for" etc. [part of the songtext Befiel Du Deine Wege by Paul Gerhardt in Gesangbuch Praxis Pietatis Melica by Johan Crügers, 1653]
1834/03/15 - 1848/06/23	Death of Schleiermacher.
1834/07/16 - 1848/10/28	Schwytz - Evening scene near the mountain chapel - church court - the Redings, Louisens, Abyberg, Anton's grave. »Nun sind sie arm hinab gebettet, Nichts haben sie mit sich gerettet, Als wem vom ewigen Altar Ein Funke in der Seele war. [Now they are poorly bedded down, nothing they have saved for them, only to the one who from the eternal altar was a spark in their soul (unknown).«
1834/07/17 - 1848/11/23	Wandering on the Urmi (?) mountain.
1834/07/19 - 1848/00/00	Saturday evening with Marie in Steinen. "I möcht mer gwüß z' Herz zum Lib us briegge. [I'd truly cry my heart out of my body]"
1834/07/20 - 1848/00/00	Sunday in Schwytz - hours in the "Grund" - seeing again Alois.
1834/08/17 - 1849/07/15	Mondy with Nanny and Elise in Wollishofen - Birch in Zürich.
1834/08/17 - 1849/07/20	My last walk to the parson's house in Kilchberg.

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1834/10/17 - 1849/08/09	In the posterior rectory office by Tobler - Anabaptists - Assembly of Basel.
1835/02/01 - 1849/11/29	Fall of the dear mother of Meta Heusser-Schweizer.
1836/01/02 - 1851/04/27	Meta Heusser-Schweizer's mother died.
1836/10/17 - 1851/09/29	Birth of Meta Heusser-Schweizer's fourth daughter, [Louisa Margaretha,] Monday 10:00 h.
1836/10/18 - 1851/09/30	Visit by Usteri in the evening.
1837/04/27 - 1852/07/07	Anna's funeral day.
1837/06/16 - 1852/07/28	In Zürich - Friday morning - »Du sollst nach Pfäfers [you should go to Pfäfers].«
1837/07/20 - 1852/11/21	Attack by the childre in Pfäfers.
1837/07/27 - 1853/02/19	Wandering to the monastery of Pfäfers.
1837/07/05 - 1852/08/05	Arrival in Pfäfers.
1837/10/30 - 1854/09/30	Baptism of Meta Heusser-Schweizer daughter Louise Margaretha.
1839/01/28 - 1857/00/00	Heusser returned from Zürich with a message of the appointment of Strauss.
1839/02/22 - 1858/08/03	Church assembly - ringing of the bells.
1839/02/01 - 1858/02/12	Outbreak of the third erysipelas.
1839/03/07 - 1858/00/00	Second church assembly.
1839/04/22 - 1860/06/07	Death of Heinrich Escher.
1839/08/21 - 1860/09/06	Parish conference.
1839/08/25 - 1860/00/00	Sunday afternoon hours with Zaremba.
1839/09/08 - 1862/07/26	Third Sunday in Baden - visit by Zaremba - At home terrible scene in the church with Tobler.
1839/09/09 - 1862/08/07	Zaremba's farewell visit in the "Matte", parson Wagner from Beireuth with his bride.
1840/01/26 - 1865/00/00	Election of Tobler in Embrach.
1840/04/02 - 1866/05/00	Voyage to Goldau with Marie W.
1840/07/30 - 1868/00/00	Travel to the Rigi. The parisien women - Passavant - hours on the "Känzeli" - evening on the "Kulm" - the Nassauer.
1841/04/12 - 1879/01/19	Lange's sermon, Easter Monday, home.
1841/04/08 - 1877/00/00	Day of confirmation of the little Anna in Neumünster.
1841/09/21 - 1887/00/00	Again Schaff - travelling to the Rigi.
1842/08/15 - 1842/08/15	Assumption on Gugel - the heavily wounded.
1842/10/18 - 1842/10/18	Lange's synodal sermon.
1842/10/19 - 1842/10/19	Lange's choral society.
1842/11/15 - 1842/11/15	All ill - Hagenbuch v. Luckenhof came again - a note from Wild.
1842/12/24 - 1842/12/24	Christian's day of confirmation.
1843/04/13 - 1843/04/13	Confirmation day of Hannchen [little John] in Neumünster.
1843/07/12 - 1843/07/12	Theodor's letter - "to Berlin, to Berlin."
1844/01/01 - 1844/01/01	Hannchens pilgrimage to Zürich.
1844/06/20 - 1844/06/20	Alexander I. in the Bibel society of London.
1844/10/06 - 1844/10/06	Sunday evening to Zürich. Scene in the steam boat with the great Alex[ander Schweizer].
1845/03/26 - 1845/03/26	Theodor in <u>Prag</u> , 1845.

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1845/03/27 - 1845/03/27	Theodor's last letter from Berlin.
1845/03/30 - 1845/03/30	Gritli Locher's departure to India.
1845/04/02 - 1845/04/02	Victory by Luzern.
1845/09/11 - 1845/09/11	Johanna's return from Yverdon.
1847/02/22 - 1847/02/22	Bümpliz 1847.
1847/04/05 - 1847/04/05	Elise's dying, [death] Easter Monday at night 23:00 h. "Sie sind gekommen aus großer Trübsal [These are they who have come out of the great tribulation (Bible, Revelation 7:14)]"
1847/07/07 - 1847/07/07	Arrival in Pfäfers.
1847/09/23 - 1847/09/23	Egeri with Heidegger.
1847/11/22 - 1847/11/22	Surrender of Zug.
1847/11/23 - 1847/11/23	Battle of Luzern.
1847/11/24 - 1847/11/24	Fighting near Wollerau and Hütten - the blue room - surrender of Luzern.
1847/11/07 - 1847/11/07	Brand of the Sihl bridge.
1849/07/14 - 1849/07/14	Voyage from Richtenschweil nach Pfäfers with Ricke and Lisette Fäsi.
1849/07/29 - 1849/07/29	The Wilds in Pfäfers once again - Christian's letters.
1850/01/24 - 1850/01/24	Aunt Regeli's conversation with Amalia's father.
1850/02/24 - 1850/02/24	Sunday evening with refugee: Johann Krieger.
1850/07/11 - 1850/07/11	Fehraltorf – 1850.
1850/08/12 - 1850/08/12	Return from the Gotthard.
1850/08/08 - 1850/08/08	To Sewen 1850.
1850/09/20 - 1850/09/20	The children's voyage to the Rigi with the two Regines.
1851/07/14 - 1851/07/14	Theodor's wedding day.
1851/07/20 - 1851/07/20	Departure to the Engadin - Sunday until Sargans.
1852/09/09 - 1852/09/09	Johanna's wedding day.
1854/02/03 - 1854/02/03	Birth of Meta Heusser-Schweizer's second grandson, little Ulrich, Friedrich Salomon.
1854/07/04 - 1854/07/04	Theodoro's brain fever [or meningitis] attack.
1854/07/05 - 1854/07/05	Richtenschweil - the death-sick boy - Wednesday.
1855/04/03 - 1855/04/03	Birth of the third grandson - Franz Theodor Ulrich.
1855/08/27 - 1855/08/27	Fehraltorf 1855.
1856/06/17 - 1856/06/17	The fifth grandson born - Anna's third son - Paul Gustav.
1856/10/01 - 1856/10/01	Weiß from Berlin - died in Eger.
1856/12/24 - 1856/12/24	Christian boarding in Southampton. The same evening, reception of his letters from the widow Weiß. In the morning of the same day, Spyri's farewell into the field [battlefield (?)].
1856/12/03 - 1856/12/03	Christian [seen] for the last time before [going to] Brasil.
1857/06/22 - 1857/06/22	Birth of the sixth grandson - Johann Rudolf Maximilian – in Richtenschweil. At home arrangement of the hostel.
1858/07/27 - 1858/07/27	Birth of Meta Heusser-Schweizer's seventh grandson in Saint Moriz.
1858/09/13 - 1858/09/13	Spyri's house blessing.
1859/07/04 - 1859/07/04	Birth of Meta Heusser-Schweizer's first granddaughter in Richtenschweil.

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1859/10/15 - 1859/10/15	Heußler had a stroke. On Saturday.
1860/06/12 - 1860/06/12	Neunkirch. 1860.
1860/06/07 - 1860/06/07	Arrival in Schaffhausen.
1860/06/09 - 1860/06/09	Once again Mühenthal.
1860/09/05 - 1860/09/05	Missionfest.
1861/06/04 - 1861/06/04	Anna's entrance with four sons.
1861/07/30 - 1861/07/30	Ega's answer to Rizzio. Tuesday evening.
1861/09/13 - 1861/09/13	From Altdorf to Schwyz. Once again by Saint Agathe.
1861/09/09 - 1861/09/09	On the Rigi, above in Weggis.
1862/07/17 - 1862/07/17	Move in to Ambrosius, in the morning, doctor [Misses] Girtanner.
1876/01/02 - 1876/01/02	Meta Heusser died in Hirzel.

### **Constantin Siegwart-Müller (1801-1869).**

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1800/00/00* - 1804/00/00	The votation for a new liberal constitution. Leu's ideas of liberty. Agricultural association.
1801/10/10 - 1806/00/00	Birth of Constantin Siegwart in Lodrino.
1808/00/00* - 1832/10/11	Constantin Siegwart became foster son of parson Josef Maria Regli in Seelisberg
1808/00/00* - 1832/10/04	Death of Constantin Siegwart's parents.
1815/08/07 - 1835/09/07	Federal Treaty of August 1815.
1815/11/20 - 1835/09/20	Peace Treaty of Paris [Second Treaty of Paris]. Settlement of Vienna. Declaration of neutrality of the powers. The Holy Alliance. Accession of Switzerland
1818/00/00* - 1839/02/12	Holiday in Bürglen. Friendship oath sealed with Melchior Tschümperlin.
1818/00/00* - 1839/02/03	The stay in Lucerne. Friendship with Ludwig Keller, Edward Kathy, Joseph Kölscher a.o. Professor Brandstätter.
1818/00/00* - 1839/02/08	Studies in Solothurn. Professor Weissenbach. Foundation of the Rütli Association.
1819/00/00* - 1839/08/22	The University of Würzburg. Religious conversion. Curti and Großbach. Professor Wagner's system. Legal studies in Heidelberg. Thibaut and Mittermeier.
1826/00/00* - 1843/00/00	Acquisition of citizenship (Landrecht) in Uri. Stay in Geneva and Lausanne.
1826/00/00* - 1843/00/00	Siegwart-Müller achieved citizenship in Uri.
1827/00/00* - 1844/10/18	Public prosecutor (Landesfürsprech) in Uri
1828/00/00* - 1828/00/00	Constantin Siegwart married to marries Josefina Müller, daughter of Charles Martin Müller, sister of Vincent Müller and Franz Müller.
1828/00/00* - 1828/00/00	Constantin Siegwart married to Josefina Müller, daughter of Karl Martin Müller and sister of Vinzenz and Franz.
1831/00/00* - 1847/01/06	The making passable of the Gotthard and steamship navigation on Lake Lucerne.
1831/00/00* - 1847/02/10	Troop contingent of the suburb. Disarmament.
1831/00/00* - 1847/02/02	Landammann Reding, Ab-Yberg, Holdener and Schmid.



Date/ Time period	Event
1831/00/00*- 1847/03/11	Leu became Grand Councilor. He wanted genuine freedom for people and economy. He cared for the poorhouse in Ibenmoos and exercised charity.
1832/00/00*- 1847/09/27	Acquisition of citizenship in Lucerne.
1832/00/00*- 1847/11/01	Siegwart-Müller achieved citizenship in Oberkirch (Oberkirch).
1832/00/00*- 1847/11/03	Formation of the liberal Association of Prevention (Schutzverein) and the conservative Concordat of the Seven. Exclusion the Concordate, Leu and Scherer from the Grand Council.
1832/00/00*- 1847/11/03	Siegwart-Müller send a short publication demonstrating his radical-liberal ideals to Casimir Pfyffer in order to apply for citizenship in Luzern.
1833/00/00*- 1848/05/19	Siegwart-Müller moved to Luzern.
1834/00/00*- 1849/09/16	Siewart-Müller was Second State Secretatry (Staatsschreiber)
1834/00/00*- 1849/10/23	Appointed State Secretary.
1835/00/00*- 1850/00/00	Appeal of the Bishop of Basel against the articles of the Baden Conference, against the Aargau Education Act and warnings against a renewals of the state church. Proclamation of the Great council against the bishop. Dismissal of deans by the Aargau government. Protestation of the bishop about it. Opinion of the church council of the Great Rath, pp. 179-199.
1835/00/00*- 1850/10/27	The Law of the State church in St. Gallen.
1835/00/00*- 1851/01/01	Constantin Siegwart-Müller's appeal against the Radicals, his trial against fifteen lawyers.
1837/00/00*- 1854/00/00	Proclamation of the government. Petition of its Members. Retirement of Strauss.
1837/00/00*- 1855/04/03	People's Assembly in Kloten. Petition of the same. Rahn Escher's appeal to be ready for the storm. Parson Hirzel marched with armed men into the city. Attack on the people, 283-293.
1837/00/00*- 1855/08/17	Constantin Siegwart-Müller elected indirectly as Grand Councilor of Luzern.
1837/00/00*- 1855/08/27	Editor of the "Schweizer Bundeszeitung".
1837/00/00*- 1856/03/30	Constantin Siegwart-Müller worked together with his friend Christoph Fuchs, in favor of the radical-liberal church policy reforms.
1838/00/00*- 1857/09/02	Towards the end of the '30s brakes with the radical-liberals and joined the Catholic-conservative reform movement.
1838/05/21 - 1838/05/21	Einsiedeln's (i.e. Konrad Kälin's) donation of citizenship to Constantin Siegwart.
1838/08/01 - 1856/12/08	Montebello's note for expulsion of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. Negotiations of the Confederate Diet. Kern's speech. Monnard's lecture. Diet Commission. Letter of Napoleon to the Great Council of Thurgau. Note of Molé. Report of the Commission. Triple Commission report. Speech of the envoy of Thurgau. Speech of Rigaud, Monnard and Calame.
1839/00/00*- 1863/00/00	Constantin Siegwart-Müller was member of the Grand City Council Luzern.
1839/00/00*- 1863/00/00	Calling of the Jesuits to the institutions of higher education by Josef Leu. Led to a conflict between the conservative cantons.
1839/00/00*- 1864/07/21	Overthrow the government of Ticino by Luvini and his violent actions. Constitutional revision in the Canton of Solothurn. Acts of violence against the leaders of the people.
1839/00/00*- 1864/08/31	Revision in Aargau. Catholics meeting in Mellingen. Petition of the clergy. Letter from the bishop.

Date/ Time period	Event
1839/00/00* - 1865/09/29	Siegwart-Müller fought the conservatives in his news paper, but already wrote in favor of the "true sovereign of the people (Volssouveränität)" against representational democracy, which would have consequences for Zürich.
1839/07/11 - 1860/08/05	The Constitutions before and after 1830. The Constitution since 1815. Survey of the Lower Valais. Constitution of 19 January 1839. Mediation of the suburb. Commissioners. Application for re-constitution. Diet order of 11 July 1839. Objection of Upper Valais and clergy, pp. 629-646.
1839/08/03 - 1860/08/16	The Constitution of the August 3rd. Repeated mitigation of the Diet. Dismissal of C. de la Harpe. Rebellion against the new government, the commissioners and the bishop. Investigation on the adoption of the Constitution of August 3rd. Warning to the troops. Request to call the Diet. New proposal for a mediation. Submission of the Upper Valais through violence. Cluelessness of the presidential State Zürich.
1840/00/00* - 1874/02/14	Jakob Robert Steiger drew a potrait of Constantin Siegwart-Müller.
1840/00/00* - 1874/04/19	Constitutional revision.
1840/11/05 - 1871/00/00	Siegwart-Müller called the Central Committee of the Ruswiler Club for a meeting. He was secretary and Josef Leu president of the club.
1840/12/30 - 1872/05/12	Siegwart-Müller ceased from his position as state secretary by the Grand Council.
1841/00/00* - 1880/00/00	Abolition of all monasteries in Aargau. Austria's objection. Protestation of the nuncio. The Great Council of Lucerne, pp. 458-470.
1841/00/00* - 1890/00/00	Josef Leu founded his people's party (Volkspartei). Siegwart-Müller kept distanciated.
1841/00/00* - 1891/00/00	Siegwart-Müller was editor of the laws. Veto Act. Law on arbitration. Organization Act. Act on administrative disputes. Police powers. Commissions or divisions of the government council with their powers. Official governor. Prosecutor. Organization of the courts. Organisation of the communities. Responsibility Law. Finance Act. Steam boat cruise. Rules of procedure. Civil Litigation.
1841/00/00* - 1891/00/00	Education. Education Council. Education Act. Community schools. District school. Cantonal school. Opening thereof. Moving of the Teachers' College to St. Urban, performance and organization thereof. Institution for deaf-and-dumb [today: deaf community]. Restoration of the Ursulines monastery in Lucerne. Contract and Opening Ceremony. Introduction of official teaching sisters in Baldegg, introduction of teaching sisters at the orphanage Lucerne. Law on these.
1841/00/00* - 1896/00/00	Metternich's note of 1841. English note on the Volunteers (Freischaaren). French note. The philippic [fierce speech] of Neuhaus against these notes. Mousson's note. Answer by Guizot. Notes of Austria, Sardinia, Prussia and Russia.
1841/05/23 - 1879/00/00	Regular electios of the Grand Council brought Siegwart-Müller to his position as counciler.
1843/00/00* - 1843/00/00	The Catholic states. Petition of Valais. Communication of the Protestants in Zurich. Hürlimann Landis. Instruction of Zurich and Lucerne, pp. 520-536.
1843/00/00* - 1843/00/00	Pope Gregory XVI. Petition of the monasteries and bishops of Switzerland, the Aargau Catholics. St. Gallen Instruction. Diet. Vote Lucerne, pp. 536-585.
1843/08/31 - 1843/08/31	Diet negotiations. Recovery of three convents.
1844/00/00* - 1844/00/00	Palmerfnton's order to Düfour to get ready [defeat] with the Separate Alliance (Sonderbund). Conferences in London and in Neuchâtel. French note. Answer by Diet. Austrian note. European Politics.

Date/ Time period	Event
1844/00/00*- 1844/00/00	Successfully leads a bloodless Coup.
1844/00/00*- 1844/00/00	Appointed President of the Confederate Diet.
1844/03/31 - 1844/03/31	First Volunteerism movement.
1845/00/00*- 1845/00/00	Leu's character and trust in God. Threatening letters. Steiger's letter to the pepper women. Leu's assassination. Funeral. Ruswylverein. Memories. Condolences. Investigation and first advertising. Official report of the murder. Wicked letters to Mrs Leu. Arrest of Jakob Müller. Appointment of Dr. Ammann examining magistrate. Interrogations.
1845/00/00*- 1845/00/00	Criminal sentence. Interrogation with Rudolph Corraggioni. Death sentence by the superior court. Renouncement of pardon. Farewell to his wife. Homily of the city minister. Support of the widow. Arrest of Casimir Pfyffer. Judgment against the co-accused- Extradition request. Acquittal of the co-accused. Examining magistrate Ammann.
1845/00/00*- 1845/00/00	Appointed Head of the War Council.
1845/00/00*- 1845/00/00	President of the conservative Ruswiler Club.
1845/04/01 - 1845/04/01	Second Volunteerism movement.
1845/07/20 - 1845/07/20	Murder of Josef Leu.
1845/11/01 - 1845/11/01	Installation of the Jesuits.
1845/12/00 - 1845/12/00	Siegwart-Müller "led the organization of seven Roman Catholic cantons into a secret defensive league, the Sonderbund [...], over which he presided as head of the war council".
1846/00/00*- 1846/00/00	Foundation of the Borromäic Academy.
1846/00/00*- 1846/00/00	Zürich was presiding city of the Swiss Diet. Decided 10 to 2 votes in favor of dissolving the Soderbund and sent an appliance to Luzern.
1847/04/21 - 1847/04/21	Electoral victory of the radicals. James Fazy. Geneva consent to violence against the Catholic cantons. Dissolution of the Economic society by Fazy. Crotti di Costigliole.
1847/07/00 - 1847/07/00	In Bern, the Swiss Diet achieved finally majority in favor of the dissolution of the Sonderbung, given that it was incompatible with the Convederate Treaty.
1847/10/16 - 1847/10/16	Negotiations with Polish generals. Prince of Schwarzenberg. General William of Kalbermatten. General von Salis-Soglio.
1847/11/12 - 1847/11/12	Battle of Geltswil.
1847/11/23 - 1847/11/23	Recommendation of caring for Meyerskappel to the general. General von Salis undertakings. Encounter at Honau. Meeting at Gislikon. Encounter with Michaelskappel. Encounter at Buonas. Encounter with Meyer Kappel.
1847/11/23 - 1847/11/23	Battle of Gislikon.
1847/11/00 - 1847/11/00	Volunteer movement (Freischarenzug) to Freiburg. Challenge to a duel in the Diet. Federal side in Thun.
1847/11/00 - 1847/11/00	Ochsenbein's opening speech. Envoys to the Diet. Protocol Statement of Lucerne. Lectures by State Schreiber Bernhard Meyer. Dissolution of the federal government. Protest against it. Prohibition of armaments by the Diet. Dismissal of the federal officers of the liberal Association of Prevention (Schutzvereinigung).
1847/11/03 - 1847/11/03	The offensive into the Freiamt had to be ordered explicitly by Salis vom Kriegsrat on November 11, 1847.
1847/12/00 - 1847/12/00	Constantin Siegwart-Müller fled the Country after defeat in the Sonderbund war, first to Valais.
1848/00/00*- 1848/00/00	Assembly of the German craftsmen in Steinhölzlein to Bern. Bavaria, Austria, Prussia, Baden and Württemberg complaints and measures.

Date/ Time period	Event
	Bern turned in vain to the presidential State of Zurich. Kasthofer's suit in the Great council. Berns memorandum to the charge d'affaires in Vienna and Paris. Austria, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, Sardinia and Russia demand from the presidential State (Vorort) of Bern soothing assurances. The presidential State gives them. France approves Austria's procedure. Answer of the presidential State (Vorort) of Baden. Response of Baden. Congratulatory of the presidential State to the Emperor of Austria. Repeated step of the presidential State to the powers in favor of the Canton of Bern.
1848/00/00*- 1848/00/00	Demeanor of radicalism. National Association. Assembly in Flawyl, in Reiden, in Wiedikon, in Münsingen.
1848/00/00*- 1848/00/00	Sieewart-Müller fled to Austria (Lombardy later Innsbruck).
1848/00/00*- 1848/00/00	Sieewart-Müller fled to Alsace.
1848/00/00*- 1848/00/00	Sieewart-Müller in Germany, always fleeing from the revolutionary situation in Germany.
1848/00/00*- 1848/00/00	The newly elected Grand Council sanctioned Sieewart-Müller with a contribution of 20.000 Francs. In consequence he was declared bankrupt. He never applied for amnesty.
1857/00/00*- 1857/00/00	Sieewart-Müller moved to Uri and wrote his autobiographical works.
1863/00/00*- 1863/00/00	Sieewart-Müller published the first volume of his autobiographical work "Ratsherr Josef Leu von Ebersol" in Altdorf.
1864/00/00*- 1864/00/00	Sieewart-Müller published the second volume of his autobiographical work "Der Kampf zwischen Recht und Gewalt in der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft und mein Antheil daran" in Altorf.
1866/00/00*- 1866/00/00	Sieewart-Müller published the third volum of his autobiographical work "Der Sieg der Gewalt über das Recht in der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft" in Altorf.
1869/01/13 - 1869/01/13	Death of Constantin Sieewart-Müller in Altdorf (UR)

### Bernhard Hirzel [-Tobler] (1807-1847).

Date/ Time period	Event
1749/00/00*- 1761/00/00	Birth of Johannes Hirzel, Bernhard Hirzel's grandfather.
1772/00/00*- 1780/00/00	Birth of Regula Brunner, Bernhard Hirzel's grandmother.
1773/00/00*- 1785/00/00	Birth of Hans Heinrich Hirzel, brother of Bernhard Hirzel's father Johannes.
1776/00/00*- 1789/00/00	Birth of Johannes Hirzel, Bernhard Hirzel's father.
1778/00/00*- 1789/00/00	Birth Margaretha Bürkli, mother of Bernhard Hirzel.
1803/10/25 - 1831/03/20	Birth of Johannes Hirzel; Bernhard Hirzel's brother.
1806/00/00*- 1832/05/19	Death of Regula Brunner, Bernhard Hirzel's grandmother.
1806/00/00*- 1832/05/20	Birth of Anna Holzhalb, future wife of Johannes Hirzel and sister in law of Bernhard Hirzel.
1807/08/12 - 1832/08/02	Birth of Bernhard Hirzel, Enge (today Zürich).
1811/10/19 - 1833/06/05	Birth of Maria Elisa Tobler, Hirzel's future wife.
1813/00/00*- 1834/10/03	Death of Johannes Hirzel, Bernhard Hirzel's grandfather.
1815/00/00*- 1815/00/00	Bernhard Hirzel remembered the "Bacchanalia" of his father and tried to deterr his mother from adultery.

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1815/00/00*- 1815/00/00	Hirzel made his first erotic feelings.
1819/00/00*- 1819/00/00	Hirzel hid in a wardrobe in order to catch his mother in flagranti with one of her lovers.
1819/00/00*- 1839/08/20	Hirzel started his studies at the grammar school at the Schola Carolina at the Grossmünster in Zürich.
1823/12/08 - 1842/10/18	Hirzel graduated from the 3rd class of the grammar school and entered the Collegium humanitatis at the Fraumünster (upper school).
1824/00/00*- 1824/00/00	Hirzel made his first erotic experience with a maiden.
1824/00/00*- 1824/00/00	Gottfried von Escher was home tutor of Bernhard Hirzel and had awakened his ambition.
1825/00/00*- 1825/00/00	Hirzel and his friend Horner travelled to Augsburg to visit a lovely young lady, called Marie (both in love with the very same woman).
1825/00/00*- 1825/00/00	Hirzel forced himself to fall in love with the four years older sister of Marie, to avoid the competition with Horner.
1825/00/00*- 1843/07/07	Marriage of Johannes and Anna Hirzel-Holzhalb.
1825/10/19 - 1843/06/18	Birth of Johannes Hirzel, Bernhard Hirzel's nephew. Emigrated 1863 to Brasil. With his daughter Anna Maria Hirzel, the line had survived until current times.
1825/12/14 - 1843/07/06	Hirzel graduated from upper school and entered the Collegium Carolinum at the Grossmünster, focus on Classis philologica (ancient languages, history), Classis philosophica.
1826/00/00*- 1826/00/00	A friend of Hirzel and Bluntschli, from St. Gallen, prophesied that Hirzel would either become an angel or a devil.
1826/00/00*- 1843/00/00	Hirzel's engagement with Maria Elisa (Elise) Tobler.
1826/00/00*- 1844/01/03	Hirzel graduated from Classis philologica and philosophica and starts Classis theologica (theological studies).
1827/00/00*- 1827/00/00	Hirzel met Maria Elisa (Elise) Tobler (1811-1856) for the first time.
1827/00/00*- 1827/00/00	Hirzel fell in love first with Elise Tobler's sister (the later Mrs. Sprüngli).
1828/00/00*- 1845/07/10	Hirzel graduated from theology.
1829/00/00*- 1829/00/00	Hirzel wrote some comedy for the Sechseläuten.
1831/00/00*- 1831/00/00	Hirzel became once the client of a prostitute.
1831/00/00*- 1846/00/00	Johann Caspar Orelli (1787-1849) supported Hirzel in his search for a position as lecturer.
1831/00/00*- 1846/00/00	Pfäffikon became district capital instead of Kyburg.
1831/01/10 - 1846/02/28	Hirzel passed his final exam at the Carolinum.
1831/02/00 - 1846/03/07	Hirzel received an award for his translation of Book of 4 Maccabees.
1831/03/09 - 1846/03/08	Hirzel passed a church exam in dogmatic, exegesis and pastoral science by the Church Council.
1831/03/17 - 1846/03/11	Hirzel preached a sermon as part of the selection process as future pastor.
1831/03/18 - 1846/03/11	Hirzel was ordained as VDM (Verbi divini minister); the status of an official minister of the Protestant Church.
1831/04/00 - 1846/07/11	Lectures with theologian Schleiermacher (1768-1834).
1831/04/00 - 1846/07/14	Lectures with geographer Karl Ritter (1779-1895).
1831/04/00 - 1846/07/15	Lectures with historian Friedrich Wilken (1777-1840).
1831/04/00 - 1846/07/20	Lectures with linguist Karl Albert Agathon Benary (1807-1861).
1831/04/00 - 1846/07/21	Lectures with Sanskritist Franz Bopp (1791-1867).
1831/04/19 - 1846/07/10	Earlier than the 19th, Hirzel left for Berlin; travel time ca. 5 days.

Date/ Time period	Event
1831/04/25 - 1846/07/09	Beginn of the school semester in Berlin.
1831/09/00 - 1846/08/00	Hirzel moved to Paris.
1831/09/00 - 1846/10/26	Lectures with Sanskritist Antoine Léonard de Chézy (1773-1832).
1831/12/29 - 1846/00/00	In a letter, Educational councillor Johann Caspar Orelli presents to Hirzel the possibility for a position as lecture in Hebrew and Biblical Greek was at the Theological Institut in Zürich.
1832/08/31 - 1847/07/00	Death of Antoine Léonard de Chézy. Hirzel was affected.
1832/09/19 - 1847/08/01	Preprint of the 3rd Act of the Sakuntala translated by Hirzel in the "Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände".
1832/10/20 - 1847/09/08	The Educational council published the vacancies fro the university. No chair of Orientalistic was offered.
1832/10/28 - 1847/09/11	Establishment of a new Educational Law.
1832/11/16 - 1847/09/12	In a letter, Hottinger expressed his regret for the lack of a chair in Orientalistic at the university to Hirzel. He added a reference for Hirzel in the attachement.
1832/12/04 - 1847/09/22	In a letter to Bluntschli, Hirzel revealed that he took the possibility of a chair never very serious.
1833/00/00* - 1833/00/00	Hirzel's wife suffered a disease that cause a kind of epileptic attacks.
1833/00/00* - 1848/02/00	Hirzel worked as outside lecturer (PD) for Sansrkit at the University Zürich.
1833/00/00* - 1848/02/08	Marriage of Bernhard Hirzel and Maria Elisa Tobler.
1833/00/00* - 1848/02/17	Hirzel studied Sanskrit at the University in Berlin and Paris.
1833/00/00* - 1848/02/22	Hirzel made his Phd at the University of Göttingen.
1833/00/00* - 1848/02/25	Hirzel's ordination.
1833/00/00* - 1848/02/27	Publication of Hirzel's "Sakuntala".
1833/00/00* - 1848/02/28	Hirzel returned to Zurich.
1833/02/05 - 1847/11/07	Hirzel presented his dissertation on "ars metrica des Calidasa", presented at the University Göttingen.
1833/02/20 - 1847/11/11	Hirzel recieved his doctores degree.
1833/03/16 - 1847/11/11	The Educational council appointed Hirzel as outside lecturer (Privatdozent) for the University Zurich.
1833/04/29 - 1847/11/23	The University started its activity.
1833/10/29 - 1848/01/17	Hirzel applied for membership of the Synod of Zurich, with delay after his voyage to Göttingen.
1833/12/10 - 1833/12/10	Hirzel became member of the Schneidern guild, in function as actuary.
1834/10/07 - 1849/08/07	Birth of Paul Arnold Hirzel; son of Bernhard Hirzel and Elisabeth Tobler.
1835/00/00* - 1835/00/00	Hirzel suffered from hemorrhoids and was treated by his cousin Muralt.
1836/00/00* - 1851/10/07	Hirzel voted in favour of David Friedrich Strauss.
1837/00/00* - 1837/00/00	Elise Hirzel-Tobler struck her husband Bernhard Hirzel with a garter. In consequence he considered to get divorced, but abstained.
1837/00/00* - 1837/00/00	The widow Vogel-Briel was a former friend of Hirzel. They almost fall into a Romance. A letter would later lead to misunderstandings.
1837/00/00* - 1837/00/00	Hirzel suffered from hemorrhoids and was treated by his cousin Muralt.
1837/00/00* - 1837/11/00	Trip to Pfäffikon with the curtain seamstress M. H. and later short romantic affair.
1837/00/00* - 1837/12/00	Hirzel asked his father for a credit for furnishing (ca. 400 fl).
1837/01/18 - 1851/00/00	Pastor Hans Jakob Vogel, pastor of Schwerzenbach, died.

Date/ Time period	Event
1837/03/18 - 1851/00/00	Hirzel applied for the vicariate, after the death of H.J. Vogel until the ordination of H. Schweizer. According his own words in his "Rückschau" he considered this a favor ["Gefälligkeit"].
1837/04/04 - 1851/00/00	Hirzel was accepted as vicar in Schwerzenbach.
1837/07/29 - 1853/09/30	Hirzel left Schwerzenbach.
1837/08/06 - 1854/06/30	Heinrich Schweizer became pastor of Schwerzenbach.
1837/09/05 - 1854/07/10	Pfarrer Hans Jakob Meyer, former pastor of Pfäffikon, was appointed as pastor of the cantonal prison in Oetenbach.
1837/09/12 - 1854/07/26	Hirzel sended his application for the vacancy in Pfäffikon to Antistes Gessner.
1837/09/15 - 1854/08/14	The church committee (Kirchenstillstand) and the municipal council sent their own nominations to the church council; Kaspar Melchior Wirth a pastor they had already known.
1837/09/21 - 1854/08/16	Wirth was not ordained yet. Therefore was his election not possible due to the elctory conventions of the church and is therefore rejected.
1837/10/08 - 1854/08/18	Hirzel won the election as pastor of Pfäffikon.
1837/10/14 - 1854/09/12	The elections was approved by the State council.
1837/10/24 - 1854/09/29	Ordination of Pastor Bernhard Hirzel in Pfäffikon.
1838/00/00*- 1838/02/00	A letter from the curtain seamstress M. H. expecting a child; claiming Hirzel to be the father.
1838/00/00*- 1838/02/00	Hirzel took on a new credit from his father in order to pay M. H. out.
1838/00/00*- 1857/09/08	Hirzel was pastor in Pfäffikon
1838/01/01 - 1856/06/12	Hirzel moved his furnitures to Pfäffikon.
1838/02/11 - 1856/07/12	Farewell sermon of Pastor Meyer.
1838/02/11 - 1856/07/13	Brand of Pfäffikon in the night.
1838/02/12 - 1856/07/15	Collection of food and clothes in the parish.
1838/02/12 - 1856/07/16	Hirzel was president of the Fire Controll Commission. Until July he convoked 10 meetings and helps activly in the cleaning up and re-building of the town.
1838/02/14 - 1856/07/23	Hirzel moved officially to Pfäffikon.
1838/02/25 - 1856/07/00	Hirzel started his work as pastor in Pfäffikon.
1838/07/00 - 1856/12/03	Hirzel reported to the Church council the truly Christian compassion [ächt christiliche Theilname] of the people of Pfäffikon.
1839/00/00*- 1839/00/00	Hirzel had a legal dispute with Grand Councillor Zimmermann about the justification of the Zürichputsch and took on a credit to pay the costs.
1839/00/00*- 1863/00/00	Divorce of Johannes and Anna Hirzel-Holzhalb.
1839/01/26 - 1857/00/00	Election of David Friedrich Strauss for the chair of theology.
1839/01/26 - 1857/00/00	During the parish Chapter, Hirzel relativated the risk of a possible appointment of Strauss.
1839/02/02 - 1858/02/16	Assembly of the State council, aproval of Strauss' election.
1839/02/13 - 1858/04/18	Meeting of deputies from 29 municipalities. They fix 11 points in a missive which goes out to all parishes of the Canton.
1839/02/17 - 1858/04/19	Meeting of the church committee (Kirchenstillstand), Hirzel is member. Actions in relation to the negative reacions from the people against the appointment of Strauss were discussed.
1839/02/18 - 1858/04/20	Hirzel motivated the church committee to wait, only an "open revolution" could remove a legally elected person.
1839/02/21 - 1858/07/31	The missive arrived in Pfäffikon and a Parish Assembly is convoked where they establish a Municipal Committee.

Date/ Time period	Event
1839/03/06 - 1858/00/00	The church committee convoked a Parish Assembly.
1839/03/07 - 1858/00/00	The "Wilhelm Tell" started a long line of defamation by different newspapers against Hirzel and the parish assembly.
1839/03/08 - 1859/01/08	The conservative "Zürcher Freitags-Zeitung" and the radical "Republican" published their opinion on the Assembly of March 6. The "Republican" used the word "terrorism".
1839/03/15 - 1859/09/14	The "Beobachter" defended Hirzel's implication as correct, and rejected the defamation of the "Republikaner", relativating his role as "leader".
1839/04/20 - 1860/06/06	Hirzel criticized the religious teaching by Karl Kramers, teacher at the newly founded secondary school [Sekundarschule]. He tried to motivate the Commission of the Secondary School [Sekundarschulkommission] to remove Kramer. He was not successful until Kramer takes a pro-government position in respect to the Züriputsch.
1839/08/27 - 1860/00/00	Meeting of the Parish Chapter (Pastoralgesellschaft Pfäffikon). Hirzel gave a speech "Jetzt ist eine Revolution [...] von der Regierung ausgegangen. [This time the revolution [...] had come from the government]."
1839/09/07 - 1862/07/24	On the return of pastor Hirzel, in the evening of September 7 the town was festively illuminated.
1839/09/07 - 1862/07/25	
1839/10/23 - 1863/07/05	Decan Schweizer described the Faith Committee as a tool of God, during the parish Chapter.
1840/00/00* - 1840/00/00	Bluntschli and Arnold Escher von der Linth contributed guarantee to Hirzel's credit of 511 fl.
1841/02/16 - 1876/03/07	Dismissal of parson Dr. Bernhard Hirzel from the Educational council.
1842/00/00* - 1842/10/00	One of Hirzel's maiden became pregnant from a servant and wanted Hirzel to take the blame and the consequences on him. Hirzel's father and brother were involved in the issue.
1842/00/00* - 1842/10/00	Hirzel had to take on a new credit to pay out the maiden (buy her a husband).
1842/01/00 - 1842/12/00	Hirzel had a dispute with Grand Councillor Zimmermann about the justification of the Zürichputsch and took on a credit to pay the costs.
1843/00/00* - 1843/00/00	Hirzel suffered from hemorrhoids and was treated by Doctor Ebnetter.
1843/00/00* - 1843/00/00	Hirzel had a true love affair with a new young maiden. She became pregnant and he took on a new credit.
1843/00/00* - 1843/00/00	Hirzel decided to finish his academic work and then to die.
1843/00/00* - 1843/01/00	Elise Hirzel-Tobler's epilepsy developed negatively.
1843/00/00* - 1843/07/00	Hirzel lived separated from his wife.
1843/00/00* - 1843/08/00	Hirzel asked his wife to return. She rejected. He had a love affair with Rösli.
1843/00/00* - 1843/09/00	Hirzel started a love affair with Anna, sister of curtain seamstress M. H.
1843/00/00* - 1843/10/00	Hirzel's lover Anna suffered anemia and he sent her to a treatment in the cure bath Nidelbad
1843/00/00* - 1843/10/00	Hirzel fell in love with Marie Welti.
1843/00/00* - 1843/11/00	During some weeks, Hirzel lived together with Marie Welti and Anna.
1844/00/00* - 1844/00/00	Death of Hans Heinrich Hirzel, brother of Bernhard Hirzel's father Johannes.
1844/02/02 - 1844/02/02	Hirzel was accused in the "Boten von Uster" for the lack of a final balance for the expenses of the Fire Control Committee. Further defamations follow during the following months.



<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1844/02/17 - 1844/02/17	Hirzel accused the "Boten von Uster" defamation, but his accusation was rejected by the court of Uster.
1845/00/00*- 1845/00/00	Hirzel admitted in a letter to Bluntschli that he was motivated by his former professor Bopp's and other's invitations to return to Zurich.
1845/03/11 - 1845/03/11	The "Schweizerische National-Zeitung" blamed Hirzel to have participated in the Putsch motivated by revenge.
1845/09/04 - 1845/09/04	Hirzel applied to the Educational council, Burgomaster Zehnder, for a chair at the University. It was the first time that somebody applied for a chair who worked before as outside lecturer at the university. Due to his dual expertise in philosophy and theology both departments were involved.
1846/00/00*- 1846/00/00	Orelli supported Hirzel's re-habilitation (Wiederhabilitierung).
1846/01/03 - 1846/01/03	Hirzel was elected as outside lecturer of the University Zurich.
1846/02/19 - 1846/02/19	Open controversy between the NZZ and Hirzel in press and Hirzel's lecture.
1846/03/05 - 1846/03/05	The "Landbote" published "D.B. Hirzel will Privatdozent werden an der Zürich. Hochschule!!! [D[r]. B. Hirze wants to become outside lecturer at the Züricher university!!!]"
1846/03/07 - 1846/03/07	11:00. Hirzel gave a sample lecture at the university as part of the selection process.
1846/03/09 - 1846/03/09	A positive comment about Hirzel's election published by the "Eidgenössische Zeitung".
1846/03/11 - 1846/03/11	The "Schweizerische National-Zeitung" wrote "September-General and Ex-Parson of Pfäffikon, Dr. Bernh. Hirzel ('schoot in the name of God') gave an "extraordinarily turgid and overbearing trial lecture".
1846/03/11 - 1846/03/11	The "Freien Stimmen" reacted on Hirzel's election with a comparison of the university with a "safe haven for rioters".
1846/03/12 - 1846/03/12	The "Landbote" published an article against Hirzel.
1846/03/13 - 1846/03/13	A positive comment about Hirzel's election published by the "Züricher Freitags-Zeitung".
1846/05/00 - 1846/05/00	Hirzel cancelled his credit.
1846/07/25 - 1846/07/25	Hirzel left for a trip to meet Carr in Albisbrunn and visit Anna in Nidelbad. The credit had already met its deadline.
1846/07/25 - 1846/07/30	Hirzel had to stay in bed, due to a bad foot, in Nidelbad. In the meanwhile, his house was impound.
1846/07/30 - 1846/08/04	Marie Welti and his family took Hirzel to be and gave him a new credit.
1846/10/26 - 1846/10/26	Hirzel published his lectures, including one about the grammar of the dialect of Zurich. Not one single student wanted to inscribe.
1846/11/00 - 1846/11/00	Bernhard Hirzel and Marie Welti travelled to Paris.
1847/00/00*- 1847/04/00	Bernhard Hirzel wrote his autogiographical letter to Bluntschli.
1847/06/06 - 1847/06/06	Bernhard Hirzel and Marie Welti committed suicide by poison in their appartement in Paris.
1847/06/08 - 1847/06/08	Death of Bernhard Hirzel, in Paris
1848/00/00*- 1848/00/00	Death of Johannes Hirzel, Bernhard Hirzel's father.
1851/00/00*- 1851/00/00	Death Margaretha Bürkli, mother of Bernhard Hirzel.
1856/00/00*- 1856/00/00	Death of Anna Holzhalb, wife of Johannes Hirzel and sister in law of Bernhard Hirzel.
1856/07/00 - 1856/07/00	Death of Maria Elisa Tobler, Hirzel's wife.
1865/02/02 - 1865/02/02	Death of Johannes Hirzel; Bernhard Hirzel's brother.
1868/06/26 - 1868/06/26	Death of Johannes Hirzel, Bernhard Hirzel's nephew.

Date/ Time period	Event
1887/06/15 - 1887/06/15	Death of Paul Arnold Hirzel; son of Bernhard Hirzel and Elisabeth Tobler.

### Emma Herwegh [-Siegmond] (1817-1904).

Date/ Time period	Event
1817/05/10 - 1837/06/16	Emma Charlotte Siegmund was born in Berlin.
1817/05/31 - 1837/07/02	Georg Herwegh was born in Stuttgart.
1830/07/00 - 1845/07/20	July Revolution in Paris.
1832/05/28 - 1847/05/31	Hambacher Fest.
1837/07/00 - 1837/07/00	Voyage through Switzerland.
1839/07/00 - 1860/08/06	Herwegh deserted and fled to Switzerland.
1839/07/00 - 1860/08/13	Emma Siegmund had a recreatory stay in Karlsbad.
1840/03/27 - 1866/01/14	Death of Jules Piaget, whome Emma called her "beloved brother".
1841/00/00* - 1892/00/00	Emma Siegmund passed her summer holiday on the island Helgoland.
1841/07/00 - 1882/00/00	Herwegh's "Gedichte eines Lebendigen" were published.
1841/09/28 - 1887/00/00	Emma Siegmund read the "Gedichte eines Lebendigen".
1842/00/00* - 1842/00/00	Emma Siegmund passed her summer holiday on the island Helgoland.
1842/09/00 - 1842/09/00	Georg Herwegh's triumph tour through the German countries.
1842/11/06 - 1842/11/06	First encounter between Emma Siegmund and Georg Herwegh.
1842/11/13 - 1842/11/13	Engagement of Emma Siegmund and Georg Herwegh at the Siegmund estate.
1842/11/19 - 1842/11/19	Herwegh's audience by Friedrich Wilhelm IV.
1842/12/00 - 1842/12/00	Georg Herwegh travelled onward to Königsberg.
1842/12/29 - 1842/12/29	The "Deutsche Bote" was prohibited, letter to the King. Expulsion of Herwegh from the Kingdoms Prussia and Saxon.
1843/03/08 - 1843/03/08	Marriage of Emma Siegmund and Georg Herwegh in Baden, Switzerland.
1843/04/00 - 1843/04/00	Extended Honeymoon and travel through Switzerland.
1843/04/00 - 1843/04/00	Encounter with the "Handwerkerkommunisten" Weitling and Becker in Geneva. Voyage to Southern France and Italy. Bathing holiday in Ostende.
1843/09/00 - 1843/09/00	The couple Herwegh accomodated in an apartement in Paris, next to Marx and Ruge.
1843/11/00 - 1843/11/00	Beginning friendship between Herwegh and the Countess Mari d'Agoult (Daniel Stern).
1843/12/28 - 1843/12/28	Second part of the "Gedichte eines Lebendigen" were published.
1843/12/28 - 1843/12/28	Horace Herwegh was born.
1844/03/00 - 1844/03/00	Emma discovered Georg Herwegh's affair with Marie d'Agoult, wrote in her diary.
1844/06/04 - 1844/06/04	Weberaufstand (weaver uprising) in Schlesien.
1844/07/00 - 1844/07/00	Emma took up the fight with her rival, competed in the aesthetic literary salons and began her political activity.
1845/08/00 - 1845/08/00	Herwegh began his studies in natural sciences together with the

Date/ Time period	Event
	marine biologist Karl Vogt.
1847/05/19 - 1847/05/19	Emma and Georg's son Camille Herweg was born.
1847/08/00 - 1847/08/00	Emma Herwegh travelled to Berlin and visits in the prison the Polish insurgents around Mieroslawski who were sentenced to death.
1848/02/00 - 1848/02/00	Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels published the Communist Manifest ("Manifest der kommunistischen Partei").
1848/02/22 - 1848/02/22	Revolution in France. Louise Phillippe was forced to resign.
1848/03/00 - 1848/03/00	The "Deutsche demokratische Gesellschaft" elected Georg Herwegh for their President.
1848/03/08 - 1848/03/08	"Grussadresse" to the French people. The emigrants founded the "Deutsche demokratische Legion", which should bring success to the revolution in Germany.
1848/03/12 - 1848/03/12	Revolution in Vienna. Metternich was overturned.
1848/03/18 - 1848/03/18	Barricade fights in Berlin.
1848/04/14 - 1848/04/14	Camille Herwegh died.
1848/04/15 - 1848/04/15	The Legion waited in Strassbourg for the gathering with Hecker and Struve. Emma Herwegh crossed as diplomat of the Legion the enemy lines twice.
1848/04/24 - 1848/04/24	The Legion crossed the Rhine. Emma Herwegh marched four days and four nights in men's clothes with the Legion through the Black Forest without success. Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve were already defeated.
1848/04/27 - 1848/04/27	Battle and defeat of the Legion by Dossenbach. Georg and Emma Herwegh escape.
1848/06/00 - 1848/06/00	Emma Herwegh was sought by warrant for "high treason" and wrote against the smear campaign his work: "Die Geschichte der deutschen demokratischen Legion".
1849/02/00 - 1849/02/00	Ada Herwegh, daughter of Emma Herwegh, was born. (Later married in Brazil where she died in 1921).
1849/07/00 - 1849/07/00	Georg Herwegh fled from Paris.
1849/09/00 - 1849/09/00	Georg Herwegh had a love affair with Natalie Herzen, in Geneva.
1850/07/00 - 1850/07/00	The family Herwegh and the family Herzen rented a house in Nizza.
1851/01/01 - 1851/01/01	Herzen's jealousy and dramatic discussions.
1851/04/00 - 1851/04/00	Georg Herwegh separated from his family and went to Zürich.
1852/02/00 - 1852/02/00	Herzen forced his wife to make a "confession" and to write a farewell letter to Herwegh.
1852/05/02 - 1852/05/02	Natalie Herzen died from pleurisy.
1852/07/00 - 1852/07/00	Public accusations were made. They became known as the "Herzen-Affair", an international scandal.
1853/05/15* - 1853/05/15	Emma Herwegh returned to Georg. In her salon, there, gathered Liszt, Wagner, Keller, Semper and freedom fighters of all Europe.
1854/09/00 - 1854/09/00	Herwegh gave his passport to the fleeing Orsini who was soon after arrested.
1856/03/30 - 1856/03/30	Orsini achieved to escape the dungeon in Mantua thanks to the help of Emma Herwegh.
1858/03/00 - 1858/03/00	Orsini was executed after a bombing on Napoleon III.
1858/05/14 - 1858/05/14	Marcel Herwegh, son of Emma Herwegh was born.

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1860/00/00*- 1860/00/00	Emma Herwegh translated the "Memoiren" of Garibaldi.
1863/07/05 - 1863/07/05	Georg Herwegh entered Lasalle's association "Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein" and became the representative of Switzerland.
1863/08/23 - 1863/08/23	Georg Herwegh finished his "Bundeslied" - the first anthem of the German proletariat.
1864/08/31 - 1864/08/31	Lassalle died in consequence of a duell.
1866/05/00 - 1866/05/00	Debts forced the Herweghs to leave Zürich. They moved to Baden-Baden.
1866/08/22 - 1866/08/22	Georg Herwegh became honorary correspondent of the I. International.
1867/00/00*- 1867/00/00	Georg Herwegh translated several Shakespear Dramas.
1867/04/24 - 1867/04/24	Georg Herwegh's library and his valuables are sold in a public auction in Zürich.
1868/08/00 - 1868/08/00	The German "Schillerstiftung" rejected Emma Herwegh's application for a pension for Herwegh and paid a unique reimbursement of 250 Taler.
1870/07/00 - 1870/07/00	Begin of the Franco-German War. Herwegh attacked Bismarck's politics of blood and iron ("Blut- und Eisen-Politik").
1871/01/01 - 1871/01/01	Wilhelm I. became German Kaiser - Herwegh accused the "Reich der Reichen" [the rich of the rich].
1875/04/07 - 1875/04/07	Georg Herwegh died due to a pulmonistis.
1877/00/00*- 1877/00/00	Publication of Herwegh's poems "Neue Gedichte" postmortem together with Ludwig Pfau. Their immediate prohibition.
1877/00/00*- 1877/00/00	Emma Herwegh stayed in Stuttgart. Friendship with Carl Mayer and Pfau. Reallocation to Paris.
1880/00/00*- 1880/00/00	Emma Herwegh moved to Paris where her sons lived.
1893/04/00 - 1893/04/00	Beginning friendship with Frank Wedekind in her apartment in the Latin Quarter, Paris.
1896/00/00*- 1896/00/00	The magazin "Simplicissimus" opened with Herwegh poems. Thanks to the mediation of Wedekind the volume "1848" was published including Emma Herwegh's "Geschichte der deutschen demokratischen Legion".
1901/00/00*- 1901/00/00	Horace Herwegh died in Paris.
1904/03/24 - 1904/03/24	Emma Herwegh died in Paris. She was 87 years old.

### **Alfred Escher vom Glas [-Uebel] (1819-1882).**

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1819/02/20 - 1819/02/20	Alfred Escher, son of Heinrich Escher vom Glas, was born in Zürich.
1831/00/00*- 1834/00/00	Escher received private lessons until 1834, inter alia, by Oswald Heer
1831/00/00*- 1882/00/00	Escher grew up in the "Belvoir" estate in Enge, since 1831, which would remain his residency for the rest of his life.
1834/00/00*- 1837/00/00	Escher the upper secondary school [Obergymnasium]
1837/00/00*- 1837/00/00	Escher completed a law degree in Zurich.
1837/00/00*- 1839/00/00	Escher visit to the Universities of Bonn and Berlin.
1842/00/00*- 1842/00/00	Escher with a doctorate under [supervision of] Friedrich Ludwig Keller.

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1842/00/00*- 1843/00/00	Escher stayed in Paris.
1844/00/00*- 1844/00/00	Habilitation at the University of Zürich.
1844/00/00*- 1847/00/00	Escher was Professor in civil law and [Swiss] federal constitutional law at the University of Zurich.
1844/00/00*- 1882/00/00	Escher was Grand, respectively Cantonal Councilor
1845/00/00*- 1845/00/00	Escher was envoy of the Federal Diet.
1845/00/00*- 1855/00/00	Escher was Education Councilor.
1846/00/00*- 1846/00/00	Escher was envoy of the Federal Diet.
1848/00/00*- 1848/00/00	Escher was President of the Cantonal Council.
1848/00/00*- 1848/00/00	Escher was envoy of the Federal Diet.
1848/00/00*- 1848/00/00	Escher was federal commissioner in Ticino.
1848/00/00*- 1855/00/00	Escher was State Councilor.
1848/00/00*- 1882/00/00	Escher was National Councilor.
1849/00/00*- 1849/00/00	Escher was Office Mayor (Amtsbürgermeister) of Zürich.
1849/00/00*- 1850/00/00	Escher was President of the National Council.
1851/00/00*- 1852/00/00	Escher was Office Mayor (Amtsbürgermeister) of Zürich.
1852/00/00*- 1852/00/00	Escher was President of the Cantonal Council.
1853/00/00*- 1853/00/00	Escher became co-founder, Chairman and CEO of the Zurich-Lake Constance Railway [Zürich-Bodensee-Bahn].
1853/00/00*- 1855/00/00	Escher was Office Mayor (Amtsbürgermeister) of Zürich.
1853/00/00*- 1871/00/00	Escher became co-founder and president (1853-1871) and Chairman (1872-1882) of the Swiss Northeastern Railway [Schweizerische Nordostbahn, NOB]
1854/00/00*- 1882/00/00	Escher was Vice President of the Swiss School Board.
1855/00/00*- 1855/00/00	Escher renounced the office as President of the National Council.
1855/00/00*- 1855/00/00	The Eidgenössischen Polytechnikum was established, co-founded by Alfred Escher.
1856/00/00*- 1857/00/00	Escher was President of the National Council.
1856/00/00*- 1877/00/00	Escher was co-founder and chairman of [Schweizerische Kreditanstalt, SKA, today] Credit Suisse.
1857/00/00*- 1857/00/00	Alfred Escher married to Auguste Uebel, daughter of Bruno Uebel.
1857/00/00*- 1857/00/00	Escher was President of the Cantonal Council.
1857/00/00*- 1874/00/00	Escher became member of the Supervisory Board of Swiss pension Company [Schweizerischen Rentenanstalt].
1858/07/10 - 1858/07/10	Lydia Escher, later Welti-Escher, was born in Zürich. Daughter of Alfred Escher.
1859/00/00*- 1874/00/00	Escher was Grand City Councilor of Zürich.
1861/00/00*- 1861/00/00	Escher was President of the Cantonal Council.
1862/00/00*- 1863/00/00	Escher was President of the National Council.
1864/00/00*- 1864/00/00	Escher was President of the Cantonal Council.
1868/00/00*- 1868/00/00	Escher was President of the Cantonal Council.
1871/00/00*- 1871/00/00	Escher became honorary citizen of Lugano.
1871/00/00*- 1878/00/00	Escher was the president and Board of Directors of the Gotthard Railway [Gotthardbahn].
1872/00/00*- 1882/00/00	Escher became Chairman of the Swiss Northeastern Railway

Date/ Time period	Event
	[Schweizerische Nordostbahn, NOB]
1875/00/00*- 1875/00/00	Construction of the Gotthard Railway.
1876/00/00*- 1876/00/00	The NOB came into a serious crisis, due to increased competition with the National Railway and [because of] the Great Depression.
1877/00/00*- 1877/00/00	Escher was forced to resignate as chariman of the SKA.
1878/00/00*- 1878/00/00	Escher was forced to resignate as president of the board of the Gotthard Railway Company.
1880/00/00*- 1880/00/00	Final puncture of the Gotthard tunnel, Escher not invited.
1880/00/00*- 1880/00/00	Escher was co-founder and chairman of [Schweizerische Kreditanstalt, SKA, today] Credit Suisse.
1882/00/00*- 1882/08/00	Opening ceremony of the Gotthard tunel. Escher rejected his invitation.
1882/12/06 - 1882/12/06	Alfred Escher died in Enge (today a Quarter of Zürich).
1883/00/00*- 1883/00/00	Foundation of Commision to commemorate Escher.
1889/00/00*- 1889/00/00	Financed through private donations, a monument of Escher created by Richard Kissling was inaugurated at the station square [Bahnhofplatz] in Zurich.
1889/00/00*- 1889/00/00	Lydia Escher engaged in an arranged marriage with Friedrich Emil Welti.
1889/00/00*- 1889/00/00	Lydia Welti moved to Florence and had a love affair with Karl Stauer.
1889/00/00*- 1889/00/00	Lydia Welti, completly healthy, was consign to the urban madhouse on the order of her husband Emil Welti.
1889/00/00*- 1889/08/00	Lydia Welti moved to Champel, Geneva.
1889/06/12 - 1889/06/12	Richard Kissling designt the memorial placed in front of the Central Train Station in Zürich.
1890/00/00*- 1890/00/00	The Gottfried Keller Foundation was established with the inheritance of Escher's daughter Lydia Welti[-Escher].
1891/12/12 - 1891/12/12	Lydia Escher suicided in Champel (Geneva), opening the gas tap in her villa.

### Karl Bürkli (1823-1901).

Date/ Time period	Event
1823/07/29 - 1823/07/29	Karl Bürkli was born in Zürich; son of Georg Bürkli (1793-1851)
1835/00/00*- 1839/00/00	Karl Bürkli visited the lower secondary school (Untergymnasium); interrupted.
1839/00/00*- 1842/00/00	Karl Bürkli made an apprenticeship as tanner.
1842/00/00*- 1848/00/00	Karl Bürkli's journeyman years.
1845/00/00*- 1847/00/00	Karl Bürkli travelled to Paris during his journeyman years and learnt of the philosophy of Charles Fourier.
1848/00/00*- 1855/00/00	Karl Bürkli stayed in Zürich.
1851/00/00*- 1851/00/00	Together with Johann Jakob Treichler, Bürkli started opposing Alfred Escher and his politics, propagating Fourier's ideas.
1851/00/00*- 1851/00/00	Bürkli joined the Grütliverein.
1851/00/00*- 1851/00/00	Karl Bürkli was co-founder of the Consumers' Association Zürich (Konsumverein Zürich).
1851/00/00*- 1854/00/00	Bürkli was the manager of the Consumers' Association Zürich (Konsumverein Zürich).
1851/00/00*- 1855/00/00	Karl Bürkli was Grand Counciler [Cantonal Counciler] of Zürich.

<b>Date/ Time period</b>	<b>Event</b>
1854/00/00*- 1854/00/00	Bürkli founded a Phalanstère after the ideas of Fourier in Texas, USA. The experiment soon after.
1858/00/00*- 1861/00/00	Karl Bürkli stood in Zürich. Worked as factory manager in the Consumers' Association
1861/00/00*- 1887/00/00	Bürkli managed as restaurateur an inn that became the center of oppositional movements.
1866/00/00*- 1866/00/00	Bürkli joined the First International.
1866/00/00*- 1870/00/00	Bürkli became member of the Grand City Council of Zurich.
1867/00/00*- 1868/00/00	Bürkli pled for reforms of the Cantonal bank (Kantonalbank) and the military in the sense of people's army.
1867/00/00*- 1869/00/00	Bürkli became leader in the democratic movement.
1867/00/00*- 1876/00/00	Bürkli was president of the section Zürich of the First International.
1868/00/00*- 1869/00/00	Bürkli became a member of the 35er Commission of the Constitutional Council.
1869/00/00*- 1878/00/00	Karl Bürkli became a member of the cantonal parliament.
1870/00/00*- 1870/00/00	Bürkli became member of the social democratic workers' movement. First intents under Hermann Greulich (1841–1925) in Zürich.
1882/00/00*- 1899/00/00	Karl Bürkli was a member of the cantonal parliament.
1909/10/20 - 1909/10/20	Karl Bürkli died in Mettmenstetten.

## Appendix Z

## List of Major Characters in Sample Level III (Corpus)

Further characters found in the text were listed here.

**Heinrich Weiss [-Zwicky] (1789-1848)**

Personalities of the political institutions in Zürich:

Baumgartner, Gallus J.	Hirzel, Bernhard	Strauss, David Friedrich
Bürgi, David	Hirzel, Conrad Melchior	Sulzer, Eduard
Bürkli, Friedrich P. D.	Hirzel, Salomon (1790-	Sulzer, Melchior Friedrich
Hegetschweiler, H. C.	1844)	Zehnder, Ulrich
Escher, Heinrich (1789-	Keller, Friedrich Ludwig	
1870)	Meyer von Knonau,	
Escher-Schulthess,	Ludwig	
Heinrich	Rahn-Escher, H. C.	
Hess, Johann Jakob	Si(e)gfrid, Emil (1867-?)	

Representants of the Confederate Diat from other Cantons:

Anderwerth, Joseph F.	Gräflein, Johann Melchior	Steiger, Jakob Rober (?)
	(?)	

**Katharina Morel [-Kaufmann] (1790-1876)**

Family members:	Catharina Kaufmann-Götti	Katharina's three brothers,
Katharina Kaufamann,	(mother)	youngest Aloys
(later Peyer, and then	Anne-Marie Bühler-	Aunt
Morel)	Kaufmann (sister)	Heinrich Peyer (1st
Franz Kaufmann (father)		husband)



Thomas Peyer (brother in-law)	Emilie Dormann (M.'s potrait dedicated to her)	Personalities of Luzern:
Katharina Peyer (sister in-law)	Family Segesser	The Jesuits
	Jakob Robert Steiger	Josef Eutyck Kopp
Mister Peyer (father in-law)	Josef Placidus Segesser	Josef Leu
	Provost of St. Leodegar	Max Pfyffer von
Misses Peyer-Arnold (mother in-law)	(Josef Burkard Leu (1808-1865)?)	Altishofen
Josefine Peyer (niece)	Singer	Sisters of St. Anna-Schwestern
Katharina Peyer (niece)	Xaver Segesser	
Josef Morel (2nd husband)		Others:
Louis Morel (brother in-law)	Guests: Family Suter Felix Balthasar from Luzern	A beer brewer A stranger (called Rubitschor?)
Houshold members: A gardener An old maiden Two maiden	Gloggner-Huber Herr Göldi Lords Segesser zum Tivoli Military chaplain (Herr Pfarrer)	Militaries: 15 military officials 1st Swiss Regiment 2nd Swiss Regiment 3rd Swiss Regiment
Friends: Captain Moor Eduard Segesser	State treasurer Faller Tolstoi Trockenbund	4th Swiss Regiment A Russian General A Sergeant-Major

Artillerieleutnant Herzel	Dutsch army	Military officials
Bataillon Schnidler	General Carl Philipp Josef	Minetta (horse)
Captain Füsslin	Wrede (Bavarian)	Napoleon I
Commander Blauman (1st Swiss Regiment)	General Henri Dufour General Ludwig Auf der	Napoleon II (Franz Bonaparte)
Coronel C. Theodor Hellmüller	Maur (3rd Swiss Regiment)	Napoleon III Soldiers
Coronel Josef Gugenbühler	General Pierre Hugues	The Cossacks
Coronel Josef Xaver Segesser	Victoire Merle (2nd Swiss Regiment)	The English army The Russian army
Coronel Rodolph (?)	Grand Armee	Wife of coronel Josef
Castella (1705-1793) (2nd Swiss Regiment)	Lieutenant Segler Marechal Laurent de	Plazid Abyberg
Division General Armand de Coulaincourt (French Army)	Gouvion Saint-Cyr Marie Louise of Austria Marschall von Oudinot	

**Meta Heusser-Schweizer (1797-1876)**

ab Yberg, Alois	Amman-Schweizer,	Barbou de Courières,
ab Yberg , Joseph Theodor	Andermatt,	Gabriel-Marie
Xaver, Graf	Anderson,	Baumann, Felix
Abyberg-Reding, Dominik	Arnold, Gottfried	Baumann, Barbara
Aepli-Heusser,	Bär,	Baumann-Heusser, Anna
Amman, Johann Caspar	Bär,	Maria

Baumgartner, Hans	Dieffenbach, Johann	Fries-Freudweiler, J.
Beyel, Johann Conrad	Friedrich	Fröhlich,
Beyel-Kirchhofer, Susanna	Dollfuss, Lisette	Füssli, Johann Jakob
Elisabetha	Dubs, Jakob	Gattiker, Heinrich
Biermer, Anton	Fäsi, David	Gessener-Hess, Barbara
Birch, Salomon, von	Fäsi, Marie	Gessern, Dorothea
Birch-Lavater, Anna	Fay,	Gessner, Caspar
Birch-Morf, Anna, von	Fellenberg, Philipp	Gessner, Conrad
Blumhardt,	Emanuel, von	Gessner, Elisabeth
Bodmer, Johann Jakob	Finsler, Anna	Gessner, Ernst
Bonaparte, Napoleon I	Finsler, Luise	Gessner, Georg
Bourbon, de	Fisch, Anna	Gessner, Georg
Bremi,	Flugi, Alfons	Gessner, Jakob
Brunner-Schweizer,	Flugi, Conradin, von	Gessner, Jakob
Burkhard, Diethelm	Flugi, Elise, von	Gessner, Kaspar
Burkhard, Diethelm	Flugi, Regina, von	Gessner, Kaspar
Burkhard, Johannes	Flugi, Regina, von	Gessner, Regula
Burkhard-Peyer, Amalie	Frick-Heusser,	Gessner-Keller, Elisabeth
Claudius, Matthias	Elisabetha Verean	Gessner-Lavater, Anna
Clavaz,	Fries, Anna Susanna	Gessner-Schweizer, Anna
Deck, Anna	Fries, Elise	Goethe, Johann Wolfgang
	Fries,	Grob, Georg

Grob, Johann	Hess,	Heusser, Moritz
Gröben, Selma, Gräfin von	Hess, Meta Regina	Maximilian
Grumbach-Schweizer,	Hess-Heidegger, Anna	Heusser, Theodor Constans
Cleophea	Hess-Nüscheler,	Heusser, Theodor
Häberling,	Elisabeth	Diethelm
Häfeli,	Hess-Steinmann,	Heusser , Christian
Hafner,	Cleophea	(Jakob)
Händel, Georg Friedrich	Heusser, Regula Sophie	Hitz-Hanhart,
Hanhart-Sulzer, Elisabetha	Heusser,	Hofacker, Wilhelm Gustav
Susanna	Heusser, Hans	Ludwig
Hauser,	Heusser, Hans H.	Hofmann, Katharina
Hebel, Johann Peter	Heusser, Hans Jakob	Höhn,
Heidegger, Anna	Heusser, Heinrich	Huber (im Feld),
Hengstenberg, Ernst	Alfons	Hürlimann,
Wilhelm	Heusser, Heinrich	Hürlimann,
Henning-Pfenninger,	Weilhelm	Imthurn, Babette
Martha	Heusser, Johann	Jacobi, Johann Georg
Hess, Felix	Rudolph Maximilian	Jung-Stilling, Heinrich
Hess, Heinrich	Heusser, Johan Jakob	Kaiser, Johann Friedrich
Hess, Johann Jakob	Heusser, Meta Louise	Karl,
Hess, Judith	Heusser, Meta Regina	Keerl, Minna
Hess,		Keller,

Kirchberger, Ludwig	Lusser, Karl Franz	Morf, Elise
Friedrich	Lusser,	Morf-Schweizer, Anna
Kirchhofer, Christian	Mägis, Pauline	Mörikofer, Johann Kaspar
Kirchhofer, Melchior	Magnus, Heinrich	Müller, Julius
Kleiner(t),	Gustav	Müller, von.
Klein-Schlatter, Christine	Malkolm,	Müller, Kaspar
Klein-Schlatter, Christine	Mandach-von	Nabholz,
Klopstock, Friedrich	Meyenburg, von	Näf,
Gottlieb	Medelsohn-Bartholdy,	Nägeli,
Knapp, Albert	Felix	Neander, August
Knapp-Lerche, Minette	Meisenbug, Freiherr	Neander, Joachim
Köllner, Karl	von	Osiander, Emilie
Köllner, Wilhelm	Menzel, Konrad	Overbeck, Christian Adolf
Kröcher, Baronin von	Menzel,	Petersen, Johann Willhelm
Krummacher, Friedrich	Meyer,	Peyer-Bosshard, Katharina
Adolf	Meyer,	Elisabeth
Krummacher, Friedrich	Meyer von Knonau,	Pfeffel, Gottlieb Konrad
Wilhelm	Gerold Ludwig, von	Pfenninger, Luise
Lange, Amalie	Meyer-Hofmeister,	Pfenninger, Maria
Lange, Johann Peter	Michel-Schweizer,	Pfenninger,
Lavater, Johann Caspar	Morf, Heinrich	Pfenninger, Salomon
Letter-Roggenmoser,	Morf, Heinrich	Pfenninger,

Pfister,	Schlater, Margarethe	Schweizer, Hans Ulrich
Pylades,	Schlatter, Henriette	Schweizer,
Rahn, Johann Heinrich	Schlatter, Kaspar	Schweizer, Regula
Reding, Alois	Schlatter, Stefan	Seiler, Georg Friedrich
Reding, Louise	Schlatter, Daniel	Smith, Anna
Reding, Rudlof von	Schlatter-Bernet, Anna	Sonderegger, Jakob
Bibereck	Schlatter-Bernet,	Laurenz
Reichardt, Johann	Helena	Spener, Philipp Jakob
Friedrich	Schneebeli, Jakob	Spyri, Johann Bernhard
Richter, Jean Paul	Schneebeli, Johannes	Spyri, Berhard Diethelm
Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich	Schneebeli, Rudolf	Spyri, Jaques
Riggenbach,	Schöne, Christian	Spyri, Magdalena
Röhrig, Friedrich Wilhelm	Hermann	Spyri-Heusser, Johanna
Röhrig-Schlatter, Babette	Schubert, Gotthilf	Spyri-Heusser, Johann
Rückert, Friedrich	Heinrich	Staudt,
Salis, Johann Gaudenz,	Schulthess-Wolf,	Steffen, Heinrich
von	Barbara	Stol(l)berg, Friedrich
Samuel,	Schulz-Schweizer,	Leopold
Schaff, David	Anna Amargaretha	Stolz,
Schärer,	Schweizer, Caspar	Strauss, David Friedrich
Schenk,	Schweizer, Diethelm	Strauss und Torney,
Schiller, Friedrich	Schweizer, Dorothea	Viktor, von

Strickler, Hans Heinrich	Ulrich, Max Christian	Wild, Heinrich
Strickler, Jakob	Ulrich, Paul Gustav	Willi, Hans Jakob
Sulzer, Johann Konrad	Ulrich, Anna Luise	Willigis,
Suter, Johannes	Ulrich-Heusser , Anna	Wirz, Johann Heinrich
Suter-Schweizer, Elisabeth	Elisabeth Dorothea	Wolf-Schweizer,
Tersteegen, Gerhard	Urquhart, Jeannie	Zahn-Schlatter, Anna
Tholuk, Friedrich August	Usteri, Barbara	Zahn, Adolf
Gotttreu	Vergueiro,	Zahn-Schlatter, Cleophea
Tobler, Salomon	Waser von Altstätten,	Zeller, Ernst Albert, von
Tobler,	Wattenwyl,	Zeller-Wirz,
Treichler-Hoffman,	Weiss,	Ziegler, Jakob Christoph
Tribolet,	Wichelhausen, Johann	Zimmermann, Luise
Ulrich, Franz Theodor	Wichelhausen,	Zimmern-Knapp, Sophie
Ulrich, Friedrich Salomon	Wichelhausen-Birch,	Zinzendorf, Nikolaus
Ulrich, Friedrich Salomon	Elisabeth, von	Ludwig, Graf von
Ulrich, Karl Ferdinand	Wild,	

**Constantin Siegwart-Müller (1801-1869)**

Ab-Yberg,	Baumann,	Brandstätter,
Ammann	Baumgartner, Jakob	Brandstätter, Renward
Amrhyn, Joseph Karl	Berne,	Brosi,
Barmann, Hyazinth	Bischof of Strassbourg	Bruder Klaus
Bauer	Bluntschli, Johann Caspar	Buchanan

Bühler, Joseph	Hirzel, Conrad Melchior	Metternich,
Burkhard, Karl	Holdener,	Meyer
Calame,	Huber, Anton	Mohr, Joseph
Chambrier	Isaak,	Molé,
Cocatrir,	Jesuits	Monnard, Karl
Curti,	Kalbermatten, Wilhelm	Montebello,
di Costigliole, Crotti	von	Morell, P. Gall
Düfour, Henri (Dufour)	Kathry, Eduard	Mousson,
Dümoulin	Keller von Brugg	Müller, Jakob
Eschenmauer,	Keller, Augustin	Müller, Karl Emanuel
Fazy, James	Keller, Friedrich	Munzinger,
Fein, Georg	Keller, Ludwig	Muralt, von Leonhard
Fischer,	Keller, Xaver	Nagel,
Fuchs, Christoph	Kern,	Napoleon, Ludwig
Furrer, Jonas	Kölscher, Joseph	(Napoleon III)
Gisler, J. J.	Kopp, Eutyck	Nuntius
Grossbach,	Kost, Wendelin	Palmerston,
Groth,	La Harpe, C., de	Papst Gregor XVI.
Grunholzer,	Leu, Joseph	Pfyffer, Eduard
Haas, Kaspar	Lötscher,	Pfyffer, Ludwig
Häfeli,	Luvini	Pillier, Ignaz
Hess,	Maillardoz, von	Polish Generals



Rahn-Escher,	Schlumpf, Melchior	Thibeaut,
Reding,	Schmid, Anton	Troxler, Ingatz Vital
Regli, Joseph Maria	Schrankenmüller	Tscharner
Rigaud,	Schüler,	Tschudy
Rohr,	Schwarz,	Tschümperlin, Melchior
Roll, von	Schwarzenberg, Fürst von	Wagner,
Rouiller,	Siegwart-Müller,	Weissenbach,
Rüttimann, Niklaus	Josephine	Widmer, Joseph
Salis-Soglio, von	Sonnenberg	Wieland,
Scherr,	Steiger, Jakob Robert	Wolf, Niklaus
Schleuniger, Johann	Stockmann,	Zeller,
Nepomuk	Strauss, David Friedrich	Ziegler, Eduard

**Bernhard Hirzel [-Tobler] (1807-1847)**

1st illegitimate son	Bopp,	Escher von der Linth,
2nd illegitimate son of M.	Brave man	Arnold
H.	Breitinger,	Escher, Gottfried, von
3rd illegitimate son with	Bunsen,	Farmhand
Hügli	Carr,	Frei,
A boy	Community Council	Friedrich (?)
A friend from St. Gallen	Doctor	Friend from Pfäffikon
Äschmann	Eberhard,	Friends
Bluntschli, Johann Caspar	Ebnetter,	Friends of Hügli

Friends of Margaretha	Inn keeper	Sprüngli-Tobler
Hirzel-Bürkli	Jenische	Stocker,
Gubler, Jakob	Keller-Escher, Carl	Swiss Regiments
H., Anna	Kramer,	Tobler, Elise (1811)
H., M.	Läubli	Trichtinger, H.
Hausheer,	Maiden	Uncle of H. Trichtinger
Hegel,	Moor, Karl (literary figure)	Usteri (pedophile teacher)
Hirzel, Arnold	Morf,	Usteri (preceptor)
Hirzel, Johannes	Näf, Rudolf	Vogel,
Hirzel-Bürkli, Anna	Parents of Marie Welti	Vogel-Briel,
Margaretha	Peel,	Wegmann
Horner, Johann Jakob	Pestalozzi	Welti, Marie
Inn keeper of the "Hecht"	Prostitutes	Welti, (father of Marie
Hottinger,	Ritter,	Welti)
Hügli	Rösli,	
Humboldt,	Schenkel,	

**Emma Herwegh [-Siegmond] (1817-1904)**

1st and 2nd	B.,	Bornstedt, von
Schützenbataillon [shooter	Bavarians	C.,
bataillon]	Becker,	Corvin,
Adelbert, von	Bismarck	Crémieux,
An American	Black Forest farmers	de Horter, Alfred

de Sanctis,	L., von	Regiment of Württemberg
Delaporte,	Lamartine,	Republicans
Dingelstedt, Franz, von	Lassalle, Ferdinand	Rheinhardt
Döllinger party	Löwenfels, von	Sch.,
Dornstedt, von	M.,	Schiller
Farmer family	Mattiucci	Schimmelpennig,
Farmers	Mercenariies of	Sensemänner [reapers]
Feuerbach, Ludwig	Württemberg	Siegel
Freiburg Turner	Military officials of	Stolze, Friedrich
French	Württemberg	Struve,
Friend (lady)	Muschake,	Swabian commander
Gagern, von	Napoleon III.	Swabians
Hecker, B.	National-liberals (kind of	The Reds (Communists)
Heine, Heinrich	moderates)	Uhlanen [lancers]
Herwegh, Georg	Nationals	Ulrici,
Hessian Dragoons	Pope	Ultramontane
Hessians	Prussians	Venedey
Inn keeper	Pungolo,	W.,
Kanderer,	R.,	Wirt,
Keil,	Redwitz	Zittel,

