



Annual Conference of the International Society
for Cultural History
Umeå, Sweden 26-29 June 2017



Senses, Emotions & the Affective Turn

*Recent Perspectives and New
Challenges in Cultural History*

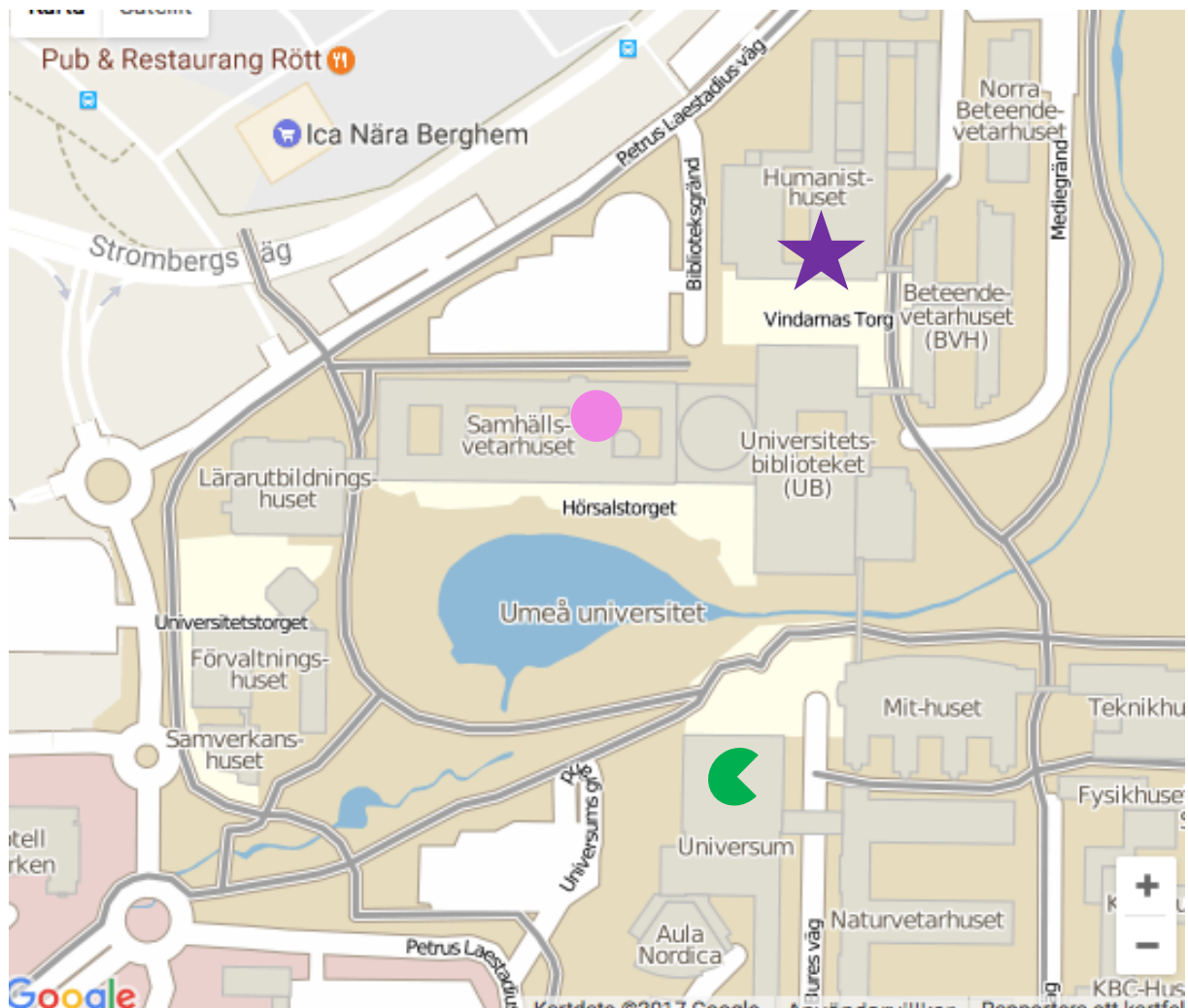
Illustration is showing details from two works of Gian Lorenzo Bernini: Rape of Proserpina (1622), Villa Borghese in Rome, and Ecstasy of Saint Theresa (1652), church of Santa Maria della Vittoria in Rome

The history of senses and emotions is an established and vibrant research field within cultural history which has brought new theoretical and methodological issues to the fore of historical and cultural analysis. The ISCH 2017 conference will promote a broad range of perspectives and themes in the history of senses and emotions, including both traditional analyses of representations and discourses and newer emphases on practices, materiality and historical phenomenology. We also want to discuss the even more radical return to bodies and materiality represented by the recent “affective turn”. Is this sharp difference between affect and emotion a false dichotomy as claimed by its critics or a pathway towards a deeper understanding of the embodied and physical nature of the agency and lived experience of senses and emotions, and therefore integral to a historical phenomenology? We take up this question and other reflections on the “affective turn” as key themes for the theoretical and methodological sessions at the ISCH 2017 conference.

Sponsors: RJ Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, Umeå University, Faculty of Arts,
Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, UGPS

Venue: Humanities building, Umeå University

Humanisthuset, Biblioteksgränd 3, 901 87 Umeå



Humanisthuset: Registration, Main venue



Samhällsvetarhuset: Keynotes



Universum: Lunches

Ica Nära Berghem: Supermarket, basic pharmacy and hygiene

Keynotes



Erin Sullivan

Senior Lecturer and Fellow at the University of Birmingham's Shakespeare Institute
<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/staff/profiles/shakespeare/sullivan-erin.aspx>

Art and the Emotional Historian

Monday June 26, 13.00-14.15



Barbara H. Rosenwein

Professor Emerita, Loyola University Chicago
<http://www.luc.edu/history/people/facultydirectory/emeritusfaculty/rosenweinbarbarah.shtml>

Affect Theory's Convergences and Conundrums

Tuesday June 27, 10.30-11.45

ISCH Conference program, 26-29 June 2017

Monday 26/6

08.30-09.30	Reception and registration Humanities building (Humanisthuset)				
09.30-10.00	Opening of the conference: P.O Erixon, Dean Faculty of Arts; Alessandro Arcangeli, ISCH, and Jonas Liliequist, Conference Organisation Committee				
10.00-11.40	Panel 11 Affect, Cognition and Emotion in the Anchorhold and the Cloister	Panel 18:1 Musical & Vocal Expressions of Emotions Session 1 Music & emotions	Panel 34 Emotions in Research: Objectivity, Subjectivity & Identifications	Panel 9 Emotions and the Supernatural 1300-190	Panel 13 Material Encounters, Negotiations and Practices in Urban Space
11.40-13.00	Lunch (Universum)				
13.00-14.15	Keynote Erin Sullivan 'Art and the Emotional Historian' (Samhällsvetarhuset)				
14.15-14.30	Fruit, beverages				
14.30-16.10	Networking	Panel 18:2 Musical & Vocal Expressions of Emotions Session 2: Voices and emotions	Open session Senses & Emotions in Modern Culture	Panel 7 Vestigia: Cultural Memory, Materiality, and Ritual in Ancient Roman society	Panel 8 Materialising Love and Loss: Objects and Identity in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Britain
16.10-16.30	Coffee				
16.30-18.35	Panel 14 Feeling the Modern City Urban Places and the Construction of Emotions	Panel 17:1 Emotions and the Arts Session 1: Aesthetics, embodiment & the mind	Panel 16 Feeling for the Spectacle of Punishment (c.1650-1850)	Panel 1:1 Emotional practices and historical change Session 1	Panel 5:1 Emotions & Politics Session 1: Nostalgia and the Political Community

Tuesday 27/6

08.30-10.10	Panel 35 Textual Sources in Cultural-Historical Research	Panel 10:2 Emotions, Prayer and the miraculous. Session 2: Religious and emotional performances	Panel 22 Communities of Pain: Shared suffering and its effects	Panel 15 The Contingencies of Affects: Comparative Approaches to Themed	Panel 21:1 Senses & Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Popular Culture
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				Commercial Spaces	Session 1: Emotions in Religious and Ritualistic Contexts
10.10-10.30	Coffee				
10.30-11.45	Keynote Barbara H Rosenwein Affect Theory's Convergences and Conundrums (Samhällsvetarhuset)				
11.45-13.15	Lunch				
13.15-14.30	Panel 2 Expressing and Hiding Emotions in the Byzantine World	Panel 26 Desperation & Despair Across Confessional Borders in Early Modern Europe	Panel 23 The Uses of Pain and the Possibilities of Suffering, 1700 to the Present	Panel 10:1 Emotions, Prayer and the miraculous. Fearing and Curing	Networking
14.30-14.45	Fruit, beverages				
14.45-16.00	Panel 6 Temper, Fear & Sympathies	Panel 21:2 Senses & Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Popular Culture Session 2: Emotion Norms	Panel 28 Frustration & Finger-Pointing	Panel 33 The affective turn in the history of the East-West encounter	Panel 37 The Dark Side: Philosophical Reflections on Negative Emotions
16.00-16.30	Coffee				
16.30-18.35	Panel 20 Motherhood, medicine and the emotions	Panel 17:2 Emotions and the Arts Session 2: The visual arts	Panel 4 Emotions, Senses and Bodies in Pre-Modern Arabic Literature	Panel 1:2 Emotional practices and historical change Session 2 Embodiment and Performativity	Panel 24 Ancient Greek and Roman Multi-Sensory Spectacles of Grief

Wednesday 28/6

08.30-10.35	Panel 5:2 Emotions & Politics Session 2: Belonging and	Panel 17:3 Emotions and the Arts Session 3:	Panel 27 Accessing Emotions through	Panel 19 Premodern Love and Friendship across Borders	Panel 30 Subverting the norm. Emotional transgressions in
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	the Political Community	the musical arts	Violence and Conflict		Visual Communication
10.35-	Coffee				
10.40-11.40	Annual General Meeting ISCH				
11.40-12.30	Lunch				
12.30-13.45	Panel 3 Effects of the Visual: Bodies, Embodiments and Performance in pre 1945 Austria	Open session Senses and Emotions in Early Modern Culture	Panel 29 Emotions and Experiences of Transition in Latin American History	Panel 12 Sensing Dissents: Pain and Pleasure in Early Modern Religious Dissenting Cultures	Panel 36 Viral Emotions in Early Nineteenth-Century Finland
14.20-22.00	Norrbyckär island (see separate information): 'Charged Utopia' Exhibition, Guided Tours, and Conference Dinner				

Thursday 29/6

08.30-10.10	Networking	Panel 17:4 Emotions and the Arts Session 4: Participation & representation	Panel 32 History as Emotion: From Epistemology to Performance	Panel 31 Figures of Victory and Defeat	Panel 25 Emotions, Senses, Consciousness in Late Antiquity
10.10-10.30	Coffee				
10.30-12.25	Plenary session Theoretical and Methodological Issues Roundtable	10.30-11.05 Juliana Dresvina Attachment Theory, Emotions, and Why Should Culural Historians Care?	11.10-11.45 Nicole Eustace Electric Signals: Emotional Communication and Power Generation in an Eighteenth-Century Cross-Cultural Encounter	11.50-12.25 Kathryn de Luna Sensing Feelings in Undocumented Pasts: Embodied Emotion, Belonging & Sparkly Minerals in Central Africa, 3000 BC to AD 1300	
12.30-13.30	Lunch				
13.30-14.00	Prize ceremony				
14.00-15.00	Conclusions, closing the conference				

Panels and sessions

I. Emotional Practices

Panel 1. Emotional practices and the history of emotions

Panel abstract: 'Are emotions a kind of practice (and is that what makes them have a history)?' asked Monique Scheer in the provocative title of her 2012 article. Whereas earlier work in the history of emotions tended to focus on emotional vocabularies in an effort to chart historical change in the expression and experience of emotions from the Middle Ages to modernity, Scheer proposes that the cultural history of emotions can be written by studying emotions as practices. Historical changes and shifts in the history of emotions can be explained by the plurality of practices which collide and conflict in certain periods. This panel aims to bring together scholars in the history of emotions to address the question how a practice-based approach to the emotions helps to chart and explain historical changes in the emotions. By discussing specific case studies in the history of emotions from the perspective of practice theory, this panel seeks to calibrate Scheer's model of historical changes in emotions.

Convenor: Kristine Steenbergh, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, k.steenbergh@vu.nl

Session 1.1: Emotional practices and historical change

Presenters:

1. Marja Jalava, University of Turku *The Emotional Styles of Historical Scholarship: The Case of European Historiography After 1945*
2. Maria Pirogovskaya, European University at St Petersburg *Disgust as a Rhetoric Practice: Discourse on Hygiene in the Russian journal Zdorovje (The Health, 1874–1885)*
3. Ina Lindblom, Umeå University *Power, Conflict and Change in 18th-Century Sensibility – The Gjørwell Family Case, 1790-1810*
4. Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, Indiana University *Fin-de- siècle Middle-class Motherlove*
5. Kristine Steenbergh, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam *Changing Practices of Compassion in the English Reformation*

Paper abstracts:

1. Marja Jalava, University of Turku, marja.jalava@helsinki.fi

The Emotional Styles of Historical Scholarship: The Case of European Historiography After 1945

The paper builds on Monique Scheer's concept of 'emotional practice' with special emphasis on her notion of the emotional style of a group, which is proceeded via tacit socialization as well as explicit instruction. As a case study, the paper discusses the crisis in European historiography during the first two decades after 1945. The interwar emotional style with its strong national sentiment and emphatic identification with historical actors was banned, and constant efforts were made to transform historical studies into a rigorous science. The paper argues that this transformation was not only intellectual and conceptual but also embodied, thus involving new kind of emotional practices. By the striving for a desired feeling (e.g., cool detachment) as well as the modifying of one that was not desirable (e.g., empathy), historians tried to obtain historiography stripped of emotion words and images. This resulted in a strong tendency to analytically separate emotions/irrationality from cognition/rationality. The paper argues that this new emotional style can be seen as a shift from the 'idealistic bourgeois masculinity' to the 'technological capitalist masculinity,' shaped to fit the needs of increasing rationalization and technicized production, and performing a male self which should exemplify the logic of instrumental reason.

2. Maria Pirogovskaya, European University at St. Petersburg, mpirogovskaya@eu.spb.ru
Disgust as a Rhetoric Practice: Discourse on Hygiene in the Russian journal Zdorovje (The Health, 1874–1885)

The paper seeks to contribute to the historical anthropology of emotions in modern societies by examining emotional shifts in late 19th-century Russia with a focus on the social functions of disgust and public discourses around it — an important but largely neglected phenomenon of Russian history. I understand disgust in the social perspective, as an emotional continuum related to various unwanted social encounters, with both persons and objects, described as disgust/aversion/revulsion. The data I am analysing is the corpus of texts on prophylactic medicine, public and private hygiene, urban sanitation, and health issues which were published in the Russian medical journal/newspaper Zdorovje (The Health) in 1874–1885. The primary analysis of these documents demonstrate that certain groups (physicians, journalists, sanitary officers) used to express the pronounced and even exaggerated astonishment and disgust when they met “inappropriate” hygienic and bodily habits. They also tended to claim the right to define the core ideas of the tolerable and the intolerable and to explain the necessary way of feeling to others through the printed media. In the 2nd half of the 19th century, social difference in body regimes and housekeeping practices between the upper and the lower strata was interpreted by well-educated circles in a complex language of emotions where the umbrella term of ‘disgust’ took one of the key positions. In the paper I will discuss the rhetoric strategies and ways in which particular (medical) knowledge about disgusting phenomena became mobilized and promoted and the practices correlated therewith

3. Ina Lindblom, Umeå University, ina.lindblom@umu.se

Power, Conflict and Change in 18th-Century Sensibility – The Gjørwell Family Case, 1790-1810

This paper discusses the concept of emotional practices in relation to a case study on 18th-century sensibility – the case of the Gjørwell family and circle of friends. Headed by publisher Carl Christoffer Gjørwell (1731–1811), this family served as the centre of a large circle of friends in late 18th-century Stockholm. Due to their effusive emotional expressiveness, this group has been viewed as one of the prime Swedish examples of the 18th-century cult of emotion. Descriptions of the Gjørwell family’s social life are found in what is arguably the vastest Swedish private collection of letters from the latter half of the 18th century. Unrivalled in detail and scope, this material provides an unusually close view of everyday practices and social interactions, thus providing a fruitful empirical base for Scheer’s theoretical approach. This paper focuses on generational conflicts and patriarchal claims to power within this group, in which Carl Christoffer Gjørwell’s celebration of happiness clashes with the more dramatic and melancholy expression of sensibility performed by his children and younger friends. By examining Gjørwell’s attempts to regulate the emotional practices of the people around him, this paper illustrates how personal power can be used in attempts to limit change in the history of emotions.

4. Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, Indiana University, zwicker@iusb.edu

Fin-de-siècle Middle-class Motherlove

Since the eighteenth century, Europeans have extolled the power and passion of motherlove. Fin-de-siècle Germans continued to sing the praises of infinitely joyful and self-sacrificing motherlove at the same time as the newly ubiquitous women’s press described the many ways that mothers did not live up to this ideal. The drama of childbirth and the associated cascade of hormones that followed would mark childbirth as a defining moment in women’s lives. Middle-class women in stable family situations were primed to experience the cultural script of idealized motherlove; they would receive socially sanctioned opportunities to perform their love for their new babies; they could indulge in the intensity of their physical responses. In this way, the example of motherlove fits Monique Scheer’s conception of the “mutual embeddedness of minds, bodies, and social relations.” For at least some

women, this process may well indeed have led to the kind of ecstatic experience described in narratives of idealized motherlove. In this way, the studying motherlove as an emotional practice through examinations of diverse sources sheds light both the fallacies of fin-de- siècle understandings of motherlove as well as the reasons why many women accepted idealized motherlove as their own reality.

5. Kristine Steenbergh, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, k.steenbergh@vu.nl

Changing Practices of Compassion in the English Reformation

In her ground-breaking article “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is That What Makes Them Have a History)?” (2012), Monique Scheer proposes that the cultural history of emotions can be written by studying emotions as practices. Historical changes and shifts in the history of emotions can be explained by the plurality of practices which collide and conflict in certain periods. She concludes that “Emotions change over time not only because norms, expectations, words, and concepts that shape experience are modified, but also because the practices in which they are embodied, and bodies themselves, undergo transformation.” In this paper, I look at changing practices of compassion in Reformation England to shed light on the relation between embodied practices and changes in the history of emotions. In late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England, Protestant theology had rejected many late medieval modes of doing compassion (affective devotion; donations to monasteries; singing dirges for the dead). In sermons exhorting their congregation to experience compassion with the poor, Protestant clergymen can be seen to look back nostalgically to an era when compassion was “rooted” in a generation through habitual exercises, even as they frown on these pre-Reformation practices from a theological perspective. These preachers explore new techniques for engraining a compassionate response to suffering into their congregations. This period of radical change – an era in which, as Steven Mullaney has written, a generation did not know how to feel – provides a case study for the exploration of the relations between religious change, changing practices, and the history of emotions.

Session 1.2: Emotional practices: Embodiment and Performativity

Presenters:

1. Umberto Grassi, University of Sydney *Inquisitorial Trials and Emotional Practices: New Methodological Perspectives*
2. Iris van der Zande, University of Amsterdam *Desperate Sailors' Wives? The Emotional Practice of Letter Writing in the Seventeenth Century*
3. Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon, University of Iceland *Work, Love, Grief, Death, and Education in the Late 19th Century. Microhistory and Ego-documents in Past Times*
4. Kate Davison, University of Melbourne *The Sexual (Geo)Politics of Loyalty: Homosexuals and Emotion in the Cold War*
5. Giulia Morosini, University of Padua *Virtues, Bodies and Scars: The Emotional Practices of the Italian Renaissance Military*

Paper abstracts:

1. Umberto Grassi, University of Sydney, umberto.grassi@sydney.edu.au

Inquisitorial Trials and Emotional Practices: New Methodological Perspectives

Referring to the Bourdieuan notion of Practical Theory, Monique Scheer analyzes how individual behaviors and feelings are shaped by social rituals. Social practices create habitus as a form of incorporation of structure. This non--conceptual cognition is not rational but not completely irrational. It follows a “practical logic” that is often oriented to a goal, even though it doesn’t necessarily imply a propositional thought. I will use Scheers' perspective to interpret early modern Inquisitorial sources. Inquisitorial trials were highly ritualized. Each actor had to follow a rigid plot. The Inquisitors exercised a complete control over the body of the defendants, a control that could

reach the point of inflicting tortures and -- indirectly -- death. Abjurations and executions were staged in theatrical public performances. This setup exercised a strong performative power that fits perfectly with Scheer's definitions of 'Social Practices'. However, the judges were also driven by precise intentions and complex intellectual speculations. Conversely, the defendants often expressed articulated counter cultural interpretations of the world. Thus, working on Inquisitorial cases allows us to connect the cultural history of emotions and the history of ideas, revealing the ongoing circular interactions between unconscious assumptions and habitus, intentional intellectual elaborations, and deliberate decisions.

2. Iris van der Zande, University of Amsterdam, 90iris@gmail.com

Desperate Sailors' Wives? The Emotional Practice of Letter Writing in the Seventeenth Century

The year of 1664, also known as the Plague Year, motivated various sailors' wives in the Dutch Republic to send letters to their husbands oversea. They expressed their grief, fear and despair about the frightening situation they had to live in and about the fact that they had heard that their husbands were at sea to serve Michiel de Ruyter's secret mission. This paper approaches the letters as artefacts in emotional practices. By using Monique Scheer's concept 'emotional practices' this paper will show that the emotions, named and described in letters of sailors' wives, can be viewed as a meaningful cultural activity. Sailor's wives ascribed and interpreted the plague of 1664 and the absence of their husbands as a trigger for their emotional expressions. Through writing, the women tried to mobilize the bodies of their men oversea. Scheer's concept helps to understand the complex ways in which cultural conventions and inner feelings assemble in the practice of letter writing. Scheer stresses that physical bodies of others are implicated in emotional practices. In the practice of letter writing the physical body of the 'receiver' is absent. Therefore, considering letter writing as an emotional practice also problematizes Scheer's concept.

3. Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon, University of Iceland, sgm@hi.is

Work, Love, Grief, Death, and Education in the Late 19th Century. Microhistory and Ego-documents in Past Times

Manuscripts, like other books, do not just contain conventional texts but also often pictorial material of various kinds – drawings, illustrations, decorations and symbols. The proposed paper will centre, among other things, on the importance of pictorial material in manuscripts from the 19th century peasant culture as a mean to demonstrate material space and the culture of emotions. The material will be treated as a form of personal expression (ego-document) rather than being considered for any aesthetic qualities it may have. The focus will be on investigating the influences that creative work of this kind in texts had on society and writers of both genders. Including will be a focus on how this activity contributed to people's increased awareness of the need to improve and consolidate literacy skills, how it served to promote abstract thinking and concepts about life, and how it consequently encouraged creative approach towards life of various kinds among the general public.

My study is a microhistorical analysis of the interaction between material culture and emotions and how it was expressed through the lenses of the general public. The interaction between work, grief, love and education is responsible, I argue, for the fact that people in 19th century Icelandic farming society were universally literate. Education almost automatically became part of the process associated with work or material culture and emotions, a part of a shared family effort to survive.

4. Kate Davison, University of Melbourne, kate.m.davison@gmail.com

The Sexual (Geo)Politics of Loyalty: Homosexuals and Emotion in the Cold War

This paper draws on Monique Scheer's use of practice theory in the history of emotions, along with the work of her former colleagues Benno Gammerl ('emotional styles') and Ute Frevert (on honour), to explore the sexual geopolitics of loyalty. During the Cold War, security agencies on both sides of the Iron Curtain in the early 1960s actively sought expert descriptions of the emotional habitus of the

homosexual. A key concern was determining how homosexuals could be detected. Influenced by what Naoko Wake has called the 'behaviourist Zeitgeist' of the mid-twentieth century, these security agencies sought advice on the identification of homosexuals via their emotional dispositions and behaviour, based on field observation (as distinct from aetiological explanations). Expert opinions on both sides rejected a medical-diagnostic view of homosexuality, instead creating a detailed and complex emotional typology of subject-citizens with homosexual orientations. In order to be of practical use in national security and/or espionage, either to predict their likelihood of betrayal or degree of utility, emotional and behavioural knowledge of homosexuals – knowing how they feel – was key. Was loyalty or disloyalty a feeling, style of behaviour, or practice, and could it be detected in the body or in sexual orientation? Further, can the concept of the 'Homintern' be interpreted as an 'emotional community' (Rosenwein) in competition with the 'imagined community' (Anderson) of the nation-state? In contrast to the Second World War, where loyalty had been primarily conceived as a question of obedience in acts, the assumed emotional disposition of homosexuals was not deduced from particular external behaviours such as gestures, weeping, laughing, facial expressions, other forms of body language indicating anger, devotion or love, but rather the homosexual himself was considered to be constitutionally – that is, internally – emotionally unsuited to national service.

5. Giulia Morosini, University of Padua, morosinigiulia@gmail.com

Virtues, Bodies and Scars: The Emotional Practices of the Italian Renaissance Military

Studying emotions as embodied and culturally informed practices allows for a better understanding of the emotional ties and symbolic power relations that held together the military companies of the Italian condottieri during the Renaissance. My paper draws on Monique Scheer's perspective on emotional practices as mobilizing and communicating, connected to the body and the suffering of pain and fear. It will be argued that acquiring prestigious scars and corporeal damages through virtuous fighting required a mobilization of both bodily and emotional strength, in order to endure pain and fear. This mobilization was made possible through physical and military training, since training the body prepared the mind as well for the difficulties of war. In view of a dialectic relationship between the internalization of emotions and the material manifestation of virtues through the body, corporeal damages and scars will be analyzed as cultural symbols as well as the outcome of emotional practices embedded in a military social setting. The communicating aspect is connected with the performative display of scars in daily activity. The sight of the damaged body aroused emotional reactions in others, ranging from imitation to admiration and deference to the captain. The condottiero's exposure of his body communicated and instilled feelings of respect and authority; therefore, the symbolic implications of scars and corporeal damages were a means to reinforce power relations and strengthen the internal cohesion of the mercenary company. Finally, the a-posteriori narration of these emotional practices renders them as signs of "courage" and "ardimento"; in this way they are inserted into the cultural prestige categories of a closed cultural environment such as the military.



II. Bodies, Embodiment and Performance

Panel 2. Expressing and Hiding Emotions in the Byzantine World Classical/Medieval

Panel abstract: For more than a decade, the study of emotions in the late antique and Byzantine world has flourished. Barbara Müller, Hannah Hunt, Simo Knuuttila, and Martin Hinterberger are the most prolific scholars who investigated diverse aspects of emotions in the late antique and Byzantine literary sources. More recently, the University of Edinburgh has started to develop the research project Emotions through Time: From Antiquity to Byzantium, aiming to survey the transformations of the “emotional paradigms and vocabulary” from the Classical period to the Byzantine era. We aim to contribute to this fertile field of research with an interdisciplinary workshop which will compare instances of expressing and hiding emotions in art and literary sources (theological and historiographical), from the fourth to the eleventh century AD. The beginning of this period is of a particular importance, since it witnessed the intersection of the Classical, pagan tradition with a new, Christian one. As a result, sources present a contradictory attitude towards the expression of emotions. The Greek-Roman tradition stressed the restraint of the corporeal expressions of sensibilities, the lack of control being characteristic to women and Barbarians. Christianity brought a new array of expressions, both in literary texts and in plastic arts. The Byzantine attitudes toward emotions (Greek *pathos* - “that which happens to someone” or „that which befalls someone”; „happening”, „passion”, especially in its negative meaning) derive mostly from the theological debates, often conducted in Classical philosophical language. Emotions are essential in order to define the relationship between the human beings, who are full of passions, and God, the One who is passionless (Greek *apatheia*).

Convenor: Ecaterina Lung, University of Bucharest, ecaterina.lung@gmail.com

Presenters:

1. Andra Jugănar, Central European University, Budapest *God between Target of Desire (Epithymia) and Enjoyment (Apolausis). Epektasis in the Writings of Gregory of Nyssa*
2. Ecaterina Lung, University of Bucharest *The Expression of Emotions in Byzantine Historiography: Domain of Women and Barbarians?*
3. Ana Maria Răducan, University of Bucharest *Byzantine Emotions: from Pathos to Apatheia*

Paper abstracts:

1. Andra Jugănar, Central European University, Budapest, andraj16@yahoo.com

God between Target of Desire (Epithymia) and Enjoyment (Apolausis). Epektasis in the Writings of Gregory of Nyssa

Focus is on the works of the fourth-century theologian Gregory of Nyssa and I will argue that Gregory of Nyssa’s doctrine of *epektasis* was rooted in both his view on asceticism and his doctrine of *apokatastasis*, which had in turn a tradition reaching the Classical times.

2. Ecaterina Lung, University of Bucharest, ecaterina.lung@gmail.com

The Expression of Emotions in Byzantine Historiography: Domain of Women and Barbarians?

I will bring to the discussion the other side of the ‘emotional coin’ in the early Byzantine historiographical sources. Authoritative male, Christian writers often attributed to the very

expression of one's emotions a negative connotation. She will show that the Byzantine society inherited the ancient Greek-Roman conception of women who were by definition inferior to men. Besides the Christian explanation for women's role in the Fall from grace, the main reasons of this hierarchy were their presumed physical weakness and uncontrollable emotions. Even if men were not exempt from such manifestations of emotion, tears and lamentations characterized the behaviour of Barbarians, inferior beings, incapable of self-restraint that is typical of civilized individuals. Ecaterina Lung will use the histories and chronicles from the sixth to the ninth centuries which present a vast array of manifestations of raw emotions (laments, tears, immoderate weeping, cries etc.) which were used by the authors to underline the huge differences between women's domestic sphere and men's civic domain.

3. Ana Maria Răducan, University of Bucharest, anamariaraducan1988@gmail.com

Byzantine Emotions: from Pathos to Apatheia

The Byzantine poetry of the tenth-eleventh century emphasizes the self-reflexivity and the meditation of the human condition. In his quest for the mystical experience Symeon the New Theologian uses a great variety of terms describing his soul's feelings – *eros*, *philia*, *agape* (the love of / for God), *pothos*, *epithymia* (longing), *chara* (joy), *thymos* (anger), *zelos* (zeal) etc. The path that leads the human soul to the mystical union with God, to the deification and to *apatheia* is full of emotions, both good and bad. She argues that all his display of positive and negative emotions may be understood as a part of the mystery of the Incarnation – God became human, in order that humans could become gods. Therefore, in order to reach its goal of deification, the soul, first of all, should entirely assume its human part.

Panel 3. Effects of the Visual – Bodies, Embodiments and Performance in pre-1945 Austria

Panel abstract: The *visual turn* has put images, pictures and photographs in the center of academic attention, be it as sources for (historical) insight, pillars of collective memories or mediators of certain contents and interpretations. The visual act negotiates between and beyond mediation and concealment: images and pictures can thus act as generative forces. In representing certain ideas, they contribute to the diffusion of ideological contents. In this respect visibility as well as the alleged evidence of pictures holds a great potential of effecting viewers in multiple ways. Drawing on examples of Austria (from the Habsburg Monarchy to the time of the First Republic and the period of National Socialism), this panel consisting of early career researchers aims at looking at the messages transmitted by pictures of (stereotyped) human bodies, the embodiment of ideas and ideals as well as at the agency, messages and intentions beyond the figurations.

Convenors: Lisbeth Matzer, University of Graz, lisbeth.matzer@andassyuni.hu

Susanne Korbelt, University of Graz, susanne.korbelt@uni-graz.at

Presenters:

1. Susanne Korbelt, Center for Jewish Studies, University of Graz *Anti-Semitism and Visual Representation. Anti-Semitic Caricatures in Vienna circa 1900*
2. Lisbeth Matzer, Artes Eumanities/University of Cologne *"These taut, tanned boys" – The Transmission of Body Ideals in Hitler Youth Photography*
3. Georg Gänser, University of Vienna & Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna *Visual Representations of Vienna in the first half of the 20th Century: Shaping images of the Viennese in the Archives?*

Paper abstracts:

1. Susanne Korbel, Center for Jewish Studies, University of Graz, susanne.korbel@uni-graz.at

Anti-Semitism and Visual Representation. Anti-Semitic Caricatures in Vienna circa 1900

The anti-Semitic “Kohn-Lexikon” was first published in Vienna in 1895. It claimed to show the “noble Kohn in all walks of life” [“edlen Kohn in allen Lebenslagen”]. To satisfy the claim, it refers to the evidence of ‘true images’ [“wahrheitsgetreue Abbildungen”] of “Der kleine Kohn”, which was an anti-Semitic stereotype of Jews (from Eastern Europe). The characteristic drawings were explicitly depicted as “images” of something which was defined in an essentialistic way and would allegedly exist in reality. Thus, images were used to construct ‘Jewishness’ and spread anti-Semitic stereotypes. Until now, research ignored the “Kohn-Lexikon”, which solely consists of images with concise legends. In the paper I analyze the use of the caricatures in the pamphlet as “veritable images/representations” in the essentialistic discourse of anthropologizing and biologizing anti-Semitism in Vienna around 1900. In how far is ‘evidence’ generated through visual representation of anti-Semitic stereotypes? In which way did the images construct ‘Jewishness’ as ‘otherness’ that contradicted the ‘own’? To answer the questions I examine the “Kohn-Lexikon” as well as advertisements for it in newspapers of that time.

2. Lisbeth Matzer, Artes EHumanities/University of Cologne, lisbeth.matzer@andrassyuni.hu

“These taut, tanned boys” – The Transmission of Body Ideals in Hitler Youth Photography

Press Photography staging Hitler Youth activities represented and diffused certain body ideals concerning the “german boy”. Especially in combination with printed texts or headlines, these photographs published in German and Austrian media during the National Socialist period served as tools in a process of top-down indoctrination. They not only aimed at influencing the opinion of the broader public concerning the Youth Organization itself but should also motivate the young to join in and pursue these ideals by causing a desire for belonging. The paper at hand takes a closer look at the body ideals transported in Hitler Youth Photography published in Austria between 1938 and 1945. The specific combination of press photography and “descriptive” text in print media is considered a propagandistic asset in this respect and is analyzed accordingly. While looking at the ideological contents transmitted via press photography, the paper uses private photographs to compare especially the representation of the body as well as the respective affective potential of the visual

3. Georg Gänser, University of Vienna & Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna,

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Visual Representations of Vienna in the first half of the 20th Century: Shaping images of the Viennese in the Archives?

The Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna preserve records of Vienna’s city administration. In addition, the archival fonds contain a great variety of visual material, like photos, maps and other pictures showing Vienna and its people. According to the archival scholars Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook, archives have a great influence – even “power” – over societal memory and on society’s values and identities. This claim, supported by Derrida’s notion of the “archival urge” to interpret the “traces” and, therefore, to force “sense” on them and to prefer certain “traces” over others, leads to the assumption that archives play(ed) an important role in constructing and shaping the visual image of Vienna and its citizens. This paper analyses the concepts and ideologies behind visual fonds of the Archives of Vienna. By taking examples from these fonds I examine aims, discontinuities and transgressions of the visual representation of Vienna’s women and men, the embodiment of “Vienna-types”, and the way representations were used to affect viewers throughout the first half of the 20th century. Furthermore, I focus on the role of photography and caricatures of the Viennese

population in depicting the Viennese “human bodies” and influencing the perception of and generating emotions about Vienna.

Panel 4. Emotions, Senses and Bodies in Pre-Modern Arabic Literature

Panel abstract: Scholars have argued that the gendering of difference extends into the sphere of emotions, the senses, and bodily performance. Studies of the role of gender in constructing communal and individual norms, values and identities in premodern Islamicate societies have highlighted a number of caveats and proposed strategies for reading male-authored texts and constructing an understanding of the historical opportunities available to women and men. This panel proposes to build upon these findings by investigating how various discourses on ‘real’ or ‘imagined’ emotions, bodies and senses in male-authored texts may complexify our understanding of the feminine and masculine condition(s) in premodern Islamicate societies as conveyed in Arabic literature. Particular areas of interest include but are not limited to: a specific emotion(s) or sense(s) within a particular genre, how an emotional community addresses a particular female or male role/ status, emotions expressed in female or male bodily performance and material culture.

Convenors: Pernilla Myrne, Gothenburg University, pernilla.myrne@sprak.gu.se
Karen Moukheiber, University of Balamand, Lebanon, Karen.moukheiber@balamand.edu.lb

Presenters:

1. Karen Moukheiber, University of Balamand, Lebanon *Gendering Ṭarab: Music and Emotions in The Book of Songs of Abu l Faraj al-Isfahani*
2. Julia Bray, University of Oxford *Codes of emotion in 9th and 10th-century Baghdad: slave courtesans in literature and life writing*
3. Danilo Marino, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), Paris *Contesting Masculinity in Pre-Modern Arabic Literature: Hashish and Homoerotic Poetry*
4. Helen Blatherwick, SOAS, University of London *Gender and Anger in Arabic Popular Epic*
5. Hans-Peter Pökel, Orient-Institut, Beirut *Anger (ghaḍab), virtuous masculinity (muruwwa) and the ‘fear of God’ (taqwā) in Classical Arabic Literature*

Paper abstracts:

1. Karen Moukheiber, University of Balamand, Lebanon Karen.moukheiber@balamand.edu.lb

Gendering Ṭarab: Music and Emotions in The Book of Songs of Abu l Faraj al-Isfahani

Musical performance was a distinctive feature of urban culture in the formative period of Islamic history. At the caliphal court and in the residences of the ruling elite, men and women singers performed to exclusively male audiences. The success of a performer was linked to his/her ability to elicit ṭarab in the audience. Resulting from the symbiotic harmony of the performer’s body, voice and eloquence, ṭarab refers to a wide spectrum of emotions affecting the bodies, minds and souls of the audience. Ṭarab was criticized by the religious elite due, in part, to the controversial performances of slave songstresses depicted as using music to induce passion in men diverting them from normative ethical social conduct. This critique, in turn, shaped the ethical boundaries of ṭarab. Abu l Faraj al-Isfahani’s 10th century Kitab al-Aghani compiles literary biographies of prominent male and female singers from the formative period of Islamic history. It offers rich descriptions of musical performances as well as ensuing manifestations of ṭarab in audiences, revealing at times the polemics with which they were associated. Investigating a selection of biographical narratives from Kitab al-Aghani, this paper seeks to answer the following questions: How did female performances differ from male performances in their ability to prompt ṭarab and why? How did the gender of the performer shape the manifestation of ṭarab in an exclusively male audience? More generally, how

does the gendering of *ṭarab* inform us about the spectrum and boundaries of ethical feminine and masculine emotional behaviour in the formative period of Islamic history?

2. Julia Bray, University of Oxford, julia.bray@orinst.ox.ac.uk

Codes of emotion in 9th and 10th-century Baghdad: slave courtesans in literature and life writing

For certain sections of the reading community of Baghdad in 9th and 10th centuries AD, the highly-educated female slave (*jāriya*) was a focus of love poetry and romantic story telling. In one literary tradition, she is idealised as a soulmate and eventual life partner, a free moral agent and an emotional and moral guide despite her slavehood. The male protagonists in such love stories are usually historical persons, but it is difficult to establish the historicity of the slave women. Other traditions give more realistic portrayals of *jāriyas*, purport to be biographies of well-known women, and quote samples of their artistic output as poets and musicians. As well as these positive portrayals, there are satirical representations, which emphasise the *jāriyas*' slavehood, and show how it influences their morals and feelings. The literary codes of emotion expressed in these various traditions have been explored in some detail in some cases, in others, hardly at all. The problem of whether such portrayals of women, fictional or historical, by male authors, can reveal anything about women's own emotional codes has been in abeyance for a while, and is the question addressed in this paper.

3. Danilo Marino, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), Paris, danilo.marino@inalco.fr

Contesting Masculinity in Pre-Modern Arabic Literature: Hashish and Homoerotic Poetry

In his epistle against hashish consumption among the Sufis, the 13th century Shāfi'ī scholar Quṭb al-Dīn al-Qaṣṣallānī (d. 686/1287) reacting to the common idea that the herb result in a deeper understanding of things, stated that hashish consumption, like all other pleasures, belongs instead to the sphere of emotions (*al-umūr al-wajdāniyya*). In other words, the effects of the consumption of intoxicants upon the mind was considered similar to other situations of more or less temporary loss of self-control and rational faculties (insanity, anger, violence, fear, etc.), or lack of moderation and the inability to abstain from the pleasure of the flesh (uncontrolled sexual appetite, homoerotic and deviant sexual practices, etc.). By the analysis of an original collection of Arabic texts, *The Delight of the souls in hashish and wine* (*Rāḥat al-arwāḥ fī l-ḥaṣhīsh wa-l-rāḥ*), written by Abū l-Tuqā al-Badrī around the last quarter of the 15th century, we will first try to understand how intoxicants were considered to act upon the body and the senses. Then we will discuss the different symbolic connotation carried out by wine and hashish consumption in pre-modern Arabic sources. In fact, while wine drinking was considered a mark of virility and masculinity, hashish was instead linked from the very beginning with effeminacy, passivity and homoerotic discourse. This study would be a contribution to the cultural history of marginality and intoxication in pre-modern Arab world

4. Helen Blatherwick, SOAS, University of London, hb20@soas.ac.uk

Gender and Anger in Arabic Popular Epic

Sirat Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan is a late-medieval Egyptian popular epic that tells the story of the foundation of Egypt, and conquest of the world by its hero. It is one of a group of narratives known as the *siyar sha'biyya*, Arabic popular epics or romances. As a genre, they are fundamentally concerned with issues of identity, the collective anxieties of the social unit, and that unit's struggle to maintain its integrity. *Sirat Sayf* explores these issues in large part through the thematic use of gender, according to which the male, patriarchal forces of order are in tension with the female forces of chaos in an unstable and perpetually shifting balance that must be kept in equilibrium. In this context, open displays of anger by its main protagonists can take on a particularly threatening aspect in the text. In this paper I will explore the extent to which anger in *Sirat Sayf* can be described as gendered: what

causes male and female characters to become angry, how this anger is manifested and to what effect, whether it seems to be regarded by the text as appropriate or inappropriate, and the significance of this for an understanding of both how male and female anger are envisaged in the text and their respective roles in its textual dynamics.

5. Hans-Peter Pökel, Orient-Institut, Beirut, Poekel@orient-institut.org

Anger (ghaḍab), virtuous masculinity (muruwwa) and the 'fear of God' (taqwā) in Classical Arabic Literature

The history of emotions and affects for the understanding of pre-modern Muslim cultures is still in its very infancy. Though it seems that anger (ghaḍab) in its gender-specific notions is a promising topic in Classical Arabic literature as a mostly male-authored genre. In comparison to love-related emotions and passions anger never deserved such an attention in that sense that it filled whole monographs. Nevertheless, anger as a specific male emotion with social implications on the community became an important part of Muslim ethical reflection that has developed successively as an 'amalgamation' and negotiation of ancient pre-Islamic, Qur'ānic and Hellenistic values often discussed within the context of moral and ethical demands of good governance, authority and piety (taqwā) of the individual. In my talk I will focus on 'Abbāsīd literature from the 3rd/9th century. The core of the analysis will be Ibn Qutayba's (d. 276/889) Kitāb al-sud'ud (Book of governance) which I intend to present and discuss within a broader context of the third/ninth century. Even if this work is connected to the person of the ruler and gives advises for good governance the ethical and moral contents addressed common readers in the 'Abbāsīd society as well. I will argue that the control of emotional affects played an important role within the negotiation of ethical ideals in the urban 'Abbāsīd society where the memory of pre-Islamic tribal values and the concept of muruwwa (virtuous masculinity) were transformed and integrated into an Islamic system of values within the context of late antiquity. Transformation of the self and its localization within the system of monotheistic belief as an important pillar of late antique epistemology will be given particular attention.



III. The Politics of Emotions

Panel 5. The Emotions and Politics: Community, Belonging and Nostalgia

Panel abstract: Recent events in Europe suggest that political choices can be increasingly characterised as emotional responses first and foremost rather than rational deductions. Debates surrounding the UK's continued membership of the EU, for example, often employed fear as a motivation for voting to leave (fear of immigration) or to remain (fear of economic decline). However, political choices have long been informed by processes and practices of social identification that have reinforced the emotional bonds that unite groups and therefore inform political choices. This was particularly evident in Europe in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries which saw the emergence of mass party and trade union membership. Underpinning these processes and practices was a sense of shared interests, but also of belonging. This panel invites participants from a range of disciplines to consider the emotional bonds around which European political communities formed in this period and the cultural practices employed in order to foster these bonds. It seeks to understand through a variety of media (for example, journalism, party-political publications, literature) the ways in which a range of political parties and communities

sought to emphasise the affective qualities of political engagement and choice-making and to what ends. The panel also seeks to examine the emotional responses of the members of these communities and the feelings and memories evoked in relation to these in contemporary culture and an era marked by the decline of mass-membership movements (for example, through personal narratives of engagement, oral history, photography).

Convenors: Martin Hurcombe, University of Bristol, m.j.hurcombe@bristol.ac.uk
James Thompson, University of Bristol, james.thompson@bristol.ac.uk

Session 5.1: Nostalgia and the Political Community

1. Heidi Hakkarainen, University of Turku *Nostalgia and the Crisis of Austrian Liberalism in the Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna*
2. Liisa Lalu, University of Turku *Remembering Youth Communism of 1970s Finland: Community, Belonging and Nostalgia*
3. Bodo Mrozek, Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam (ZZF) *The Micropolitics of Emotions, Affect and the Senses: 'Ostalgie' as a nostalgic practice towards the GDR past in 1990s Germany*
4. Martin Hurcombe, University of Bristol *Oh What a Lovely Tour: Class Struggle, 80s Nostalgia and Contemporary French Cycling Literature*
5. Victoria Musvik, L Laboratory of Visual and Cultural Studies, European Humanities University (Vilnius) *Do you really love this drunkard? Memory, Nostalgia and Passion in the Yeltsin Centre*

Paper abstracts:

1. Heidi Hakkarainen, University of Turku, heidi.hakkarainen@utu.fi

Humour, Nostalgia and the Crisis of Austrian Liberalism in the Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna

The grand narrative of Austrian studies is a story of how emotions become politics: the political radicalisation of the lower middle-classes led to the rise of the modern mass parties, aesthetic Gefühlskultur, virulent anti-Semitism and to the crisis of rational Austrian liberalism. This paper suggests that the study of popular humour gives a new perspective into this process. Being an important part of the era's political culture, Viennese humorous magazines and satirical journals created and transmitted affective experiences among their readers. The feeling of loss in the age of rapid modernisation was mixed with xenophobia and aggression against the Jews. The affective aspects of humour make it a powerful mode of social communication and interaction. Precisely humour's ability to construct social hierarchies by creating or reducing emotional bonds between people makes it a significant means for creating collective identities and a sense of community. By looking at what kind of emotions the Viennese humorous magazines addressed among their liberal middle-class readers between 1857 and 1890, this paper argues that sharing a certain sense of humour was linked with the formation of an 'emotional community', which, as Barbara H. Rosenwein has suggested, help to sustain and legitimate cultural attitudes and ideas.

2. Liisa Lalu, University of Turku, lhlu@utu.fi

Remembering Youth Communism of 1970s Finland: Community, Belonging and Nostalgia

"In my opinion the 70s was the finest decade of my life, since it was such a social and communal times: we were together all the time, did things and knew each other in a deep way"¹, describes Finnish author and poet Kaisa Korhonen. She refers to the 1970s and a political and cultural movement called Taistoism. This radical communist movement attracted a lot of youths, students and artists and it still dominates the image of the whole decade in Finland. The movement is commonly seen as dangerous, dogmatic and naïve, but the reminiscence of participants is often full of nostalgia and longing: longing for belonging and communality. This paper examines the feelings associated in the youth and political activism – e.g. Sense of shared interests, revolutionary romanticism and belonging – and processes and practices of social identification. They are examined

through oral history and publications of the Communist party. One important factor was the political song and cultural movement working around the Communist party – the political songs created the communal atmosphere, and today they work as a nostalgic journey back in time to youth.

3. Bodo Mrozek, Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam (ZZF), mrozek@zzf-potsdam.de

The Micropolitics of Emotions, Affect and the Senses: 'Ostalgie' as a nostalgic practice towards the GDR past in 1990s Germany

During the 1990s, when the enthusiasm about the end of the authoritarian system cooled down, a warm feeling towards the GDR past could be observed in everyday culture. This new feeling was called Ostalgie (Eastalgia). Originally coined by an East German comedian, the term spread as a synonym for a glorifying memory of the socialist past. In my paper, I will argue that Ostalgie was a multisensory practise that was based on materials such as objects, food and perfumes. These materials functioned as the sensory material of a political emotion. Ostalgie not only took place in the media (with Ostalgie TV shows and illustrated magazines), but was also produced by a memory industry that even created sensory products representing an ideal GDR that actually had not existed in the real GDR (such as aroma sprays preserving "the" GDR smell). On an individual scale, these practices were sensory triggers of memory in what has been described as the Proustian phenomenon. On a collective scale, Ostalgie functioned as a medium of what Brian Massumi called micropolitics. Like other forms of nostalgia, it was not only directed towards the past, but also and in the first instance interacted with the neoliberal present. Ostalgie is thereby a phenomenon in which the spheres of contemporary politics, nostalgic memory and emotional practises were closely linked with each other and therefore can be studied in their interactions.

4. Martin Hurcombe, University of Bristol, m.j.hurcombe@bristol.ac.uk

Oh What a Lovely Tour: Class Struggle, 80s Nostalgia and Contemporary French Cycling Literature

This paper examines a range of recent French publications concerning French cycling in the 1980s and in particular the Tour de France victories of Bernard Hinault and Laurent Fignon. It considers how nostalgia for France's last winners of the Tour is tightly bound to the sense of the decline of a political community: the industrial working class (Hinault's rural and Fignon's middle-class backgrounds notwithstanding). It focuses on the myths and tropes recycled by a range of writers, such as the communist cycling columnist Jean-Emmanuel Ducoin. Together these continue to portray the road cyclist as a victim of a race designed for nationalistic ends and exploited by capitalism much as communist press coverage of the Tour had done since the 1920s. Now, however, these themes are mapped on to the France's industrial decline in the Mitterrand years and the gradual disappearance of working-class communities through the motif of the journey around France. The paper traces the techniques deployed by writers to evoke nostalgia, but also a sense of loss and even grief and the contemporary political ends these emotions serve in the context of post-industrial France.

5. Victoria Musvik, L Laboratory of Visual and Cultural Studies, European Humanities University (Vilnius), victoria.musvik@ehu.lt

Do you really love this drunkard? Memory, Nostalgia and Passion in the Yeltsin Centre

In 2015 Yeltsin Center was opened in Ekaterinburg. This major museum was 'sanctioned' by Putin but paradoxically promotes a rival and currently ostracized political discourse. It follows contemporary museum trend for creating 'genuine' affective and sensual experiences and aims to 'immerse' its viewers in the 1980s-90s. For this aim, it not only presents the historical documents but also re-creates affective spaces that mix real and constructed objects, word, image and sound: a living room where one can watch *Swan's Lake* on TV during the 1991 coup, a trolleybus where Yeltsin travelled in a populist move to be 'one of the people' or a supermarket with empty shelves. The idea was to

acquit Yeltsin but the museum creates a mixture of powerful feelings that are far from glorification: nostalgia is mixed with wrath and vigorous energy that were part of the 1990s experience with disappointment. A clash of the opposing interests of emerging communities and parties is in sharp contrast with the current Russian political climate of sterilized stability. The paper will explore this contrast, a range of audience responses and controversy in the press. It will also raise a question of how a researcher can explore her own feeling of engagement and evoked memories when they come into conflict with the value of research distance.

Session 5.2: Belonging and the Political Community

1. Reetta Eiranen, University of Tampere *Emotions and Nationalism in a 19th-century Family Network*
2. James Thompson, University of Bristol *Love, Betrayal and Labour: Emotions and Identities on the British Political Left*
3. Sulevi Riukulehto, University of Helsinki, sulevi.riukulehto@helsinki.fi *Municipal merger and the sense of belonging in Finnish Järviseuutu region*
4. Aapo Jumppanen University of Helsinki *'Country is the Mother of the City' – Rural Identity Making and Anti-urbanization in a Finnish Farmer Periodical 1916–1918*

Paper abstracts:

1. Reetta Eiranen, University of Tampere, reetta.eiranen@uta.fi

Emotions and Nationalism in a 19th-century Family Network

The paper discusses the connections between emotions and political processes in the context of mid-19th century nationalism in Finland. The analysis of the Tengströms, a prominent academic family of the time, illustrates how emotions and close relationships intertwined tightly with the nationalistic project. The family's correspondences highlight that women as well as men were important members of the ideological networks. The Tengström group created a social and emotional environment where nationalistic ideas could be fruitfully nurtured. Both men and women constructed the nationalistic project with their activities, such as publishing and philanthropy, but also by shaping and embodying the gendered ideals connected with the ideology. The emotional bonds supported and motivated nationalistic endeavours and self-construction, which were, in return, ways of acquiring affection and respect in the relationships. Emotions were, of course, important for the ideological project in itself as it aimed at evoking devotion and sense of belonging towards the nation. I explore a hypothesis, inspired by the notion of emotional communities, that there was an aim to transfer and expand the emotions cherished and constructed within the family circle to apply to the whole nation's ideological and emotional climate.

2. James Thompson, University of Bristol, james.thompson@bristol.ac.uk

Love, Betrayal and Labour: Emotions and Identities on the British Political Left

This paper traces the role of declarations of love, and denunciations of betrayal, in the politics of the labour movement in twentieth century Britain. It examines the emotional economy of party membership and activism, examining the place of the discourse of emotion in labour party debate, but also aiming to capture the affective relationship between individuals and a political party. It focuses upon key episodes from MacDonald onwards in which allegations of betrayal have been accompanied by, and linked to, proclamations of love. It argues the greater prevalence of such language and feelings on the left in Britain has important lessons for our understanding of Labour's political culture.

3. Sulevi Riukulehto, Timo Suutari, Katja Rinne-Koski, sulevi.riukulehto@helsinki.fi

Municipal merger and the sense of belonging in Finnish Järviseuutu region

Municipalities are old regional formations in Finland. Most of modern municipalities were officially established in 1865 when the central government enacted the municipal statute and they were separated from the church. Mother parishes may have a history of hundreds of years. Municipalities have a strong autonomous position. They have been part of politico-administrative landscape and memory for about 150 years, i.e. some 50 years before Finland gained independence. That is why they are the regional units with which people strongly identify themselves. However, this attachment has become somewhat unbalanced due to the municipal mergers that have systematically been realized in Finland from 1990s onwards. Borders of municipalities have been removed by political decisions without a specific interest on people's home experience.

4. Aapo Jumppanen University of Helsinki, aapo.jumppanen@helsinki.fi

'Country is the Mother of the City' – Rural Identity Making and Anti-urbanization in a Finnish Farmer Periodical 1916–1918

Maaseudun tulevaisuus [lit. Future of the Countryside] was established in October 1916 as a cultural periodical to educate the most able of the independent Finnish farmers. The magazine underlined its role as the forerunner of Finnish rural culture and rural population. It was closely attached to rural political party Agrarian League (Maalaisliitto) and to the establishment of the Central Union of Finnish Agricultural Producers. During the years 1916–1918, the rural identity was built in the magazine mostly through the dichotomy between idyllic rural and evil urban. The cities lured farmers' sons and daughters in to decadence. Farmers were losing their workforce to the factories that offered better salaries. They were subject to socialist agitation. At the same time, the city-run forest industry was cheating the farmers by cutting their forests down with miniscule compensation. Rural interests were thus threatened by both urban socialists and industrialists. Against these threats, the rural population was pictured to form a happy medium between the two extremes in the face of the fast urbanization of the Finnish society in the early 20th century.

Panel 6. Temper, Fear and Sympathies – Emotions in International Relations

Panel abstract: International relations were and are made by humans with emotions – a fact often forgotten by (political) scientists focussing on the idea of rational choice or the homo oeconomicus. On the other hand, political actors use(d) emotional outburst to distance themselves from situations or to gain sympathies for their standpoint. In sources on international relations, the quick temper or heated discussions between actors is often mentioned as a factor for negative results in negotiations. However, this emotional context of international relations is seldom covered by research, although individuals are high lightened as actors of international relations since the 1990s. But this did until now not lead to focus in research on characters and personalities or the roles these play in international relations. It was even said that the "individual personalities" are the "missing [...] dimension" of history. The proposed panel will bring together scholars working on history, cultural history, and political history as well as security studies to look at the role played by emotions in international relations. Besides the question of how relations were influenced by emotions and emotional reactions, the main focus will be on possible sources for this research and analytical tools to determine the influence of these factors.

Convenor: Charlotte Backerra, University of Stuttgart, ch.backerra@gmail.com

Presenters:

1. Charlotte Backerra, University of Stuttgart *The Use of Emotions in Early Modern Diplomacy*
2. Barbara Keys, University of Melbourne *The Emotional Roots of Henry Kissinger's Romantic Fascination with China*

3. Jasmin Lukkari, University of Helsinki *Fear, anger, and hate of the enemy kings. Emotional diplomacy and the discourse of otherness in Roman historiography*

Paper abstracts:

1. Charlotte Backerra, University of Stuttgart, ch.backerra@gmail.com

The Use of Emotions in Early Modern Diplomacy

In early modern diplomatic instructions, emotions seem to be frowned upon. Many diplomats were advised not to follow their private interest, but to act rationally and for the public good. Contemporary literature about good government also stresses rational thoughts and actions in ruling a country, and especially in conducting international relations. But especially in contact with other dynastic rulers – some of them close relatives – emperors and kings were known to act human, to refuse to work with one another or to support someone's actions in a way that would have negative political consequences. Besides reports of monarchs having emotional outbursts, ministers and diplomats were described to discuss certain topics "warmly" – which then meant to have a heated disagreement –, or to act in a haughty manner or domineering, but not diplomatic in the way we think of it today. The proposed paper will address this dichotomy for the early eighteenth century. The underlying question is if these emotions and emotional reactions were simply human behaviour or if they had their uses in early modern diplomacy. Do the sources allow us to determine if, when, and how emotions were used and what consequences the use of emotions had for international relations? The case study will be based on research of the Imperial-British relations between Emperor Charles VI and King George II of Great Britain. Besides the monarchs and their emotion-based actions in these relations, the paper will focus on their diplomats at the courts of London and Vienna.

2. Barbara Keys, University of Melbourne, bkeys@unimelb.edu.au

The Emotional Roots of Henry Kissinger's Romantic Fascination with China

In this paper I show how traditional diplomatic sources, such as transcripts of meetings, can be supplemented with the study of visual images to reveal emotional dimensions of interpersonal relations among diplomats. Too often historians and political scientists mention such relations in passing to add color to the story but do not give them appropriate explanatory weight. I argue that personal rapport and emotional factors such as affection and admiration have powerful effects on how diplomatic actors interpret interstate relations. Drawing on new work in psychology, I show that it is possible to document Kissinger's profound emotional reaction to meeting Zhou Enlai in 1971, to show how his feelings shaped policymaking in office, and to demonstrate their lasting effects in Kissinger's advocacy for China since the 1970s. I show that by Kissinger's own admission, he pursued certain policies in order to show loyalty and resolve to the Chinese. I argue that it is useful to see Kissinger's behavior as the displacing of interpersonal norms of love, friendship, and romance onto the interstate sphere—in other words, that because he was, in a sense, in love with Zhou Enlai and with China, he played the part of a romantic lover.

3. Jasmin Lukkari, University of Helsinki, jasmin.lukkari@helsinki.fi

Fear, anger, and hate of the enemy kings. Emotional diplomacy and the discourse of otherness in Roman historiography

In the last two centuries BCE Romans conquered the whole Mediterranean coastline. Roman historiographical sources describe the conquests also from the viewpoints of foreign individuals – mostly hostile kings, who made diplomatic decisions based on strong negative emotions such as fear, anger, or hate. This aspect in ancient historiography has not yet been explored, even though emotions in antiquity have attracted a boom of research in the last 20 years. I will examine the literary construction of how these emotions are described to be decisive for some powerful enemies;

how Perseus unintentionally made Romans declare war against him because of his angry outburst during negotiations; how Jugurtha was terrified of the Romans and used every diplomatic means to avoid war with them; how Hannibal and Mithridates VI are told to have personally hated Romans and to have used this hatred as a tool in international diplomacy. These descriptions served to provide for Roman readers these enemies imagined personality, and inculpatory - or vindicating - reasons for their actions, successes, and failures against Romans. The descriptions also served to define them as "others", and simultaneously to define Roman cultural identity in quickly expanding and increasingly multi-cultural Roman empire



IV. Emotions, Senses and Material Objects

Panel 7. Vestigia: Cultural memory, materiality, and ritual in Ancient Roman society

Panel abstract: Ancient Roman cultural (or collective) memory was retained not just in text, but in a wealth of materials and rituals, for the Roman people formed a vibrant community of memory, leaving multiple concrete *vestigia* (traces) of their shifting, evolving identities and values (Hölkeskamp 2006; Galinsky 2014; Flower 2014; Wiseman 2014). Memories (of persons, events, values) were stored in physical objects (e.g., monuments, temples, statues, ancestor masks), articulated in inscriptions and archival documents, and performed in elaborate rituals (processions, funerals, religious festivals) and on stage: cultural memory was an “amalgam of what the Roman people heard and saw” (Wiseman 2014, 62). In this panel, we explore a selection of material and ritual forms of memorialisation in Ancient Roman society (sc. in the Roman Republic and Empire), in order to illustrate the rich textures and permutations of Roman cultural memory. In particular, we aim to show how the Roman past and present was experienced and memorialised sensorially through physical objects and ritual processes, and to trace how gendered values and identities were embedded, exemplified, and perpetuated in specific physical sites of memory (e.g., ancestor masks, religious accoutrement, statues, buildings, inscriptions) and ritual performances (e.g., funerals, religious festivals).

Convenor: Lewis Webb, Umeå University, lewis.webb@umu.se

Presenters:

1. Lewis Webb, Umeå University *Gendering the imago: Clarae imagines from filia to funus*
2. Lovisa Brännstedt, Lund University *Vestigia terrent: the inscribed memory of Munatia Plancina*
3. Irene Selsvold, Gothenburg University *Remembering and forgetting the pagan past: A regional study of memory and materiality in the religious transformation of the Roman cites of Western Asia Minor*
4. Patricia L. Grosse, Drexel University *Moving St. Monnica's Bones: The Sensual North African Roman Funerary Rites of the Fourth Century*

Paper abstracts:

1. Lewis Webb, Umeå University, lewis.webb@umu.se

Gendering the *imago*: Clarae imagines from filia to funus

This paper provides a fresh new gender perspective on the Roman *imago* (wax ancestor mask) by examining the ways in which *imagines* were a vital part of elite female lives in the Republic and

Empire. While the relationships between *imagines* and elite male lives have been well-established, little has been said about their roles in the life-cycles of elite women. I argue that they were deeply entangled in an elite woman's life. As a *filia* (daughter), they were a vivid presence in the *atrium* (entrance hall) of her natal home, for the *armaria* (cupboards) holding them were opened for public festivals and family celebrations, and the *imagines* decorated for special occasions. As a *nupta* (bride), they were transferred from her natal home to her marital home. As a *matrona* (married woman), her marital home would accrue more images when her male relatives attained the aedileship. When an elite woman died, the *pompa imaginum* (procession of ancestor masks) was a vital part of her *funus* (funeral). Finally, maternal *imagines* were a constant reminder of maternal ancestry. I propose that the images and accompanying *tituli* (inscriptions) were a kind of *dos* (dowry) for an elite woman, a deposit of symbolic capital, embodying her social position and status. *Imagines* were an important mechanism for transferring elite female social position and status between families and an elite woman's own *commendatio maiorum* (commendation of the ancestors).

2. Lovisa Brännstedt, Lund University, lovisa.brannstedt@klass.lu.se

Vestigia terrent: the inscribed memory of Munatia Plancina

Munatia Plancina was a Roman elite woman, the sister of the consul of 13 CE, and the wife of the governor of Syria, Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso. The couple was accused of poisoning Germanicus, the nephew and adopted son of the emperor Tiberius. The death of Germanicus in 19 CE is described at length in Tacitus' *Annales*, in the Lex Valeria Aurelia and in two inscribed decrees of the Roman Senate, which were distributed across the empire. The charges that were made against Plancina are indicative of an increasing trend in the principate – the charging of women with political crimes. At first, Plancina was acquitted, but when the trial was renewed in 33 CE she committed suicide. In the meantime the Senate forbade her to mourn Piso – the very public activity that reminded those who encountered the mourners of the deceased – and her reminiscence was materially inscribed into public memory. While modern scholarship has almost exclusively focused on Piso, the aim of this paper is to discuss how the life and memory of Plancina were retained in the Senatorial inscriptions, how she was denied ritual forms of memorialisation of her husband, and finally how she point up contradictions within the seemingly monolithic cast of Roman gender roles.

3. Irene Selsvold, Gothenburg University, irene.selsvold@gu.se

Remembering and forgetting the pagan past: A regional study of memory and materiality in the religious transformation of the Roman cities of Western Asia Minor

In Late Antiquity, the Christian Church was in the process of consolidating itself as the only and official religion of the Roman Empire. Part of this process was to construct a Christian cultural memory that could compete with the strong cultural memory of the pagan past, of which the physical remains of paganism in the cities were prominent reminders. Important to tracing this process in archaeology is the materiality of these pagan remnants, from imagery and architecture to the cityscape as a whole; materiality being the key to our understanding of the interaction between humans and their material surroundings. Which pagan remnants were kept and given a new religious meaning? Which elements were destroyed? How did the new and old religious elements communicate in the cityscape? I argue that a holistic approach to the religious material culture of the Roman city is crucial to our understanding of Christian perception of their pagan past in the period. For the purpose of this talk the focus will be on two case studies, of Hierapolis and Ephesus, both being important religious centres in Western Asia Minor before, during and after the religious transformation in Late Antiquity.

4. Patricia L. Grosse, Drexel University, patricia.grosse@gmail.com

Moving St. Monnica's Bones: The Sensual North African Roman Funerary Rites of the Fourth Century

Augustine of Hippo's mother Monnica is the patron saint of alcoholics. Her saintly affiliation comes through her peculiar presence in her son's autobiography *confessiones*, in which he gives an account of her life, including her proclivity for both wine and a particular North African ritualistic funerary practice. Augustine himself is baffled at the end of his tale, surprised that she suddenly no longer wished to have her bones taken back to Africa to be interred alongside her husband. This paper explores the funerary practices of Late Antique Roman society in the context of this work and the ultimate placement of Monnica's bones. It is impossible to read Augustine outside of his historical context, and reading the constraints between North African Roman and Italian Roman culture in his works is of benefit both to Augustine philosophical and theological research as well as to classical historical studies. This paper ultimately makes the claim that the *confessiones* is Augustine's monument to his mother — the monument which she declined as she was approaching death in Ostia, a port city near Rome. This monument, far from being sensually bereft, is rife with sensory, affective descriptions of what it is like to love and be loved.

Panel 8. Materialising Love and Loss: Objects and Identity in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Britain

Panel abstract: This panel will analyse love and loss through the material culture of eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain. The papers collectively explore themes of gender, memory, identity, the senses, and emotions, bringing out the contrasts between absence and presence, possession and loss in the material culture of the period. Key questions include, how was sensory interaction with objects used to stir or intensify particular emotional states? How were these emotive objects used in the construction of status and the self? How did particular symbols, motifs and images acquire emotional resonance? How did interactions with such items change with the advent of commercial culture over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Together, the papers scrutinise experiences of romantic love, fraternal love, love of country and friendship alongside manifestations of grief, loss and longing. This analysis encompasses a wide range of objects, from diminutive items such as locks of hair and gloves to gravestones and grottoes. The interplay between objects, senses, and feelings is situated among the broader ideals, and cultural values, of eighteenth and nineteenth century British society.

Convenor: Sally Holloway, Richmond, The American International University in London, and Oxford Brookes University, sally.holloway@richmond.ac.uk

Presenters:

1. Sally Holloway, Richmond, The American International University in London, and Oxford Brookes University *Objects & Intimacy: Sensing Romantic Love in Georgian England*
2. Freya Gowrley, University of Edinburgh *Lost Objects & Loss Objects: Intersections of Absence and Presence in Eighteenth-Century Material Culture*
3. Kate Smith, University of Birmingham *Lost Property: Confronting Possession and Possessions in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century London*
4. Joanne Begiato, Oxford Brookes University *Village Heroes and Hearts of Oak: Military Objects, Emotions, and English Masculine Identity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*

Paper abstracts:

1. Sally Holloway, Richmond, The American International University in London, and Oxford Brooke University, sally.holloway@richmond.ac.uk

Objects & Intimacy: Sensing Romantic Love in Georgian England

For courting couples in Georgian England, sensory interaction with objects from perfume bottles to portrait miniatures constituted an indispensable part of falling in love. Such objects acquired meaning through inscribed messages, their design and material properties, and the ways in which they were given, received and used by lovers. By examining rituals of gazing at, touching and smelling love tokens, this paper aims to reveal how sensory interaction with gifts worked to produce, focus and intensify romantic emotions during periods of separation between lovers. The paper combines extant objects such as stay busks and eye miniatures with textual representations of gifts in letters and novels, and visual depictions in paintings and prints, in order to recreate fully the emotional and material dimensions of exchange. Exploring the emotional meanings of love tokens reveals that gifts did more than simply chart progress towards the altar. Such tokens introduced new ways of behaving for courting couples, as lovers touched, smelled and kissed items from letters to locks of hair to allow the tactile distance between them to be bridged.

2. Freya Gowrley, University of Edinburgh, fgowrley@exseed.ed.ac.uk

Lost Objects & Loss Objects: Intersections of Absence and Presence in Eighteenth-Century Material Culture

This paper explores the complex relationship between absence and presence in our understanding of eighteenth-century material culture. Specifically, it attempts to unpack the correlation between lost material objects whose very absence evoked feelings of longing and grief; associational objects which recalled a lost family member, friend, or lover, through their contrasting continued presence; and finally, the development of a commercial material culture that explicitly engaged with, and was used to express, bereavement. Utilising a number of case studies, the paper will examine a variety of material objects and domestic spaces, including ceramics, mourning jewellery, grottoes, silverware, furniture, and textiles, in order to better understand how emotions became enmeshed with the material culture of this period. In so doing, the paper will attempt to write a theory of material loss, in which absence and presence, materiality and immateriality, were intricately related in contemporaries' understanding of material objects.

3. Kate Smith, University of Birmingham, k.smith@bham.ac.uk

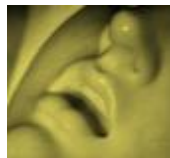
Lost Property: Confronting Possession and Possessions in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century London

How did 'lost property' emerge as a particular cultural practice in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century London? Before the nineteenth century, Londoners who found that their possessions were 'lost' wrote or sought out newspaper notices to reclaim their goods. These notices described where and when the item had been 'lost', what the item was and finally, whom it could be returned to, and for what reward. Whether lost or stolen, these notices provide ample evidence of how the possession of goods in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was ultimately tentative. This paper looks to these newspaper notices to show how it was often in moments of absence and loss, rather than possession that individuals were called upon to confront their understandings of ownership. In such confrontations, of particular importance was how individuals employed a variety of emotional registers to lay claim to certain objects and their possession of them. As an increasing number of people and things circulated around London's streets, and as objects became increasingly important to constructions of identity, status and self, the need to find ways of maintaining possession grew. This paper demonstrates how it was often moments of dispossession that encouraged such practices to become more complex.

4. Joanne Begiato, Oxford Brookes University, jbegiato@brookes.ac.uk

Village Heroes and Hearts of Oak: Military Objects, Emotions, and English Masculine Identity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

This paper examines the powerful emblems, motifs, and images of martial manliness in the material culture of eighteenth and nineteenth century England. Such images appeared on objects such as ceramics, tokens, domestic decorations and textiles, relics and gravestones. It argues that these images represented a range of manly qualities, such as courage, duty, and patriotism, which evoked an array of feelings in those who interacted with them from grief, sacrifice, love, and pride to nostalgia. The sensual nature of these items – through sight, sound, and tactility – and their relationship with the particular emotions they stirred, reinforced the emotional power of objects and the ideals they conveyed. Whenever these motifs were encountered and debated they conveyed the emotions with which they were associated, thereby strengthening the accompanying masculine ideals. Objects were thus not merely symbolic, but agents too, functioning as emotional artefacts to fix manly ideals and values in the individual and society.



V. Emotions and Senses in Religion and the Supernatural

Panel 9. Emotions and the Supernatural 1300-1900

Panel abstract: This panel extends from a research project, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, entitled 'Inner Lives: Emotions, Identity and the Supernatural, 1300–1900' (<http://innerlivesblog.com>). This is a collaboration between medieval, early modern and modern historians, and explores how far we can describe and understand interior states of being as they existed in the past, using the primary sources at our disposal. The team's approach to this question focuses on engagement with the supernatural, especially through magic and witchcraft, with special emphasis on the emotions. Extreme passions like love and hate, and more subtle feelings like yearning and loneliness, provided early modern people with a medium through which they reached out into the cosmos to tap unseen forces as a means of advancing personal interests. These interests could be private or communal, ranging from soothsaying to healing to causing mayhem and death. Although the subject matter and timespan of the papers proposed here are distinctively different, all four address common themes: the uses and abuses of occult power; the reading and harnessing of emotions; and the (short-term) altered consciousness and (long-term) changing identities of the people involved. Together the panel will assess the interpretative value of restoring an emotional dimension to the history of the supernatural, and conversely how evidence of deliberate ventures into supernatural realms might help to historicize emotions, balancing medical/biological and 'social constructivist' approaches. Witchcraft and magic are without doubt fruitful subjects for testing the validity of conventional terms and models, such as 'emotives', 'emotional communities', 'emotional arenas', 'emotional styles' and 'emotional practices'.

Convenor: Malcom Gaskill, University of East Anglia, M.Gaskill@uea.ac.uk

Presenters:

1. James Brown, University of East Anglia *Reconstructing Inner Lives: Thinking, Feeling, Believing, 1300–1900*
2. Sophie Page, University College London *Love and Hate in Medieval Magic Texts, Trials and Trinkets*

3. Malcolm Gaskill, University of East Anglia *The Emotional Witch: Melancholy, Magic and Murder in Early Modern England*
4. Göran Malmstedt, University of Gothenburg *Witchcraft and the Power of Anger. Testimonies from a Swedish Witch Trial in the Seventeenth Century*

Paper abstracts:

1. James Brown, University of East Anglia, James.R.Brown@uea.ac.uk

Reconstructing Inner Lives: Thinking, Feeling, Believing, 1300–1900

Setting the scene for the panel, this paper offers an overview of the objectives and methodology of the Inner Lives project. There are three hypotheses: (1) personal identity and subjectivity can be meaningfully historicized; (2) study of the emotions (figured as the subjective responses to the challenges and opportunities of being alive) offers privileged access to these inner lives; and (3) individuals leave valuable traces of their emotional experiences through their interactions with the supernatural. To test these insights, we're exploring how ordinary people felt about the potent yet unseen forces by which they were surrounded at three scales over six centuries: cosmos (1300–1500); community (1500–1700); and household/institution (1700–1900). In each context we're drawing on cognate disciplines (especially anthropology, archaeology, and psychology), and are interconnecting a diverse range of iconographical, textual, and material sources generated by everyday engagement with the supernatural: these range from medieval cosmological diagrams to ritually concealed objects discovered in twentieth-century homes, via seventeenth-century witchcraft testimonies and casebooks from nineteenth-century asylums. Through close, comparative analysis of these visual, documentary, and three-dimensional artefacts, we hope to reconstruct an authentic sense of inner lives.

2. Sophie Page, University College London, sophie.page@ucl.ac.uk

Love and Hate in Medieval Magic Texts, Trials and Trinkets

In the Middle Ages, provoking love and hatred in men and women was a prominent goal of magical recipes, astral magic texts and acts of necromancy. This paper will examine how the emotional state of the practitioner was supposed to contribute to the success of the operation, as well as the violent yet often temporary emotions thought to be suffered by the victims. Magic texts will be compared to literary representations of magic, medieval witchcraft trials, and the commanding rhetoric of love and desire to be found on many medieval rings. The aim is to examine the binding and unbinding of emotional relationships attempted by medieval magic texts within a broader cultural context.

3. Malcolm Gaskill, University of East Anglia, M.Gaskill@uea.ac.uk

The Emotional Witch: Melancholy, Magic and Murder in Early Modern England

This paper considers the role of emotion in English witch trials. Witchcraft was a crime that was hard to prosecute and prove, as high acquittal rates indicate. Yet considerable numbers of suspects were convicted, raising the question of how the balance of probability was ever tipped against them. The answer might lie in emotion. Accusers couldn't necessarily define what a witch was; but they knew how witches made them feel and were able to demonstrate this passionately at law. The witch's emotions mattered, too. Witches were described as furious, envious, lustful, and melancholy – the result of a humoral imbalance that made women in particular vulnerable to the devil's suggestions and to delusions. Emotions made witches make sense whereas demonology was a mysterious abstraction. It was easier to envisage a witch as a vessel boiling over with envy than it was to take her seriously as the devil's lover, and narratives about fear and anger and desire and loss fitted into the culture of early modern communities. Witchcraft was strange and perplexing, but beneath it lay mundane, familiar feelings. Studying emotions helps us to see witchcraft accusations on their own

terms, therefore, and so capture something of the authentic experience of being a witch and of being bewitched.

4. Göran Malmstedt, University of Gothenburg, goran.malmstedt@history.gu.se

Witchcraft and the Power of Anger. Testimonies from a Swedish Witch Trial in the Seventeenth Century

Examining emotions in witch trials can contribute to our understanding of both witchcraft and how people of that time perceived various emotions. Earlier research has indicated the importance of envy and anger in witchcraft. This paper will investigate how anger surfaces in testimonies during a Swedish witch trial from 1669 to 1672. By focusing on how the accusers described the situation when they believed they became bewitched, it is possible to discern the role of anger within the cases. At the same time the testimonies can give us information on how strong emotions such as anger were looked upon then, as well as giving clues to how they were subject to suppression in the contemporary culture.

Panel 10. Emotions, prayer and the miraculous. Lived Religion in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era

Panel abstract: In the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern Era, religion created a performative space for individuals. It was not only dogma and institutions but simultaneously a dynamic social process. Religion formed a room for manoeuvre where actors could construct their social position, manifest their identity and create communal cohesion. Lived religion was formed by the core of communal life where ideas and religious concepts were experienced by “living them out” in everyday life, performance and ritual. Emotional outpouring was crucial for ritual activity; emotions, on the other hand, gave meaning to rites and symbols. In recent scholarship, affective religiosity have been seen as a crucial element of late medieval lay piety. Recently, the tendency to see these affective elements only as an expression of gentler, supposedly feminine virtues has been criticized. The proper conduct in religious context included performance of emotions of wide array; emotions were linked not only with theological doctrines but also with social position of the performer. Affective devotion and emotions in lived religion could also encompass pain, rage, pride and shame. The papers in this panel seek to analyse the use, means and production of emotions in lived religion, in social dynamics of a given community. Comparative perspective – the comparison of Northern and Southern material as well as analysis on temporal change across the watershed of the Reformation – is our main aim.

Convenor: Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, University of Tampere, sari.katajala-peltomaa@uta.fi

Session 10.1: Fearing and Curing: miraculous emotions

Presenters:

1. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, University of Tampere *Wrath of a Saint – malice of a demon: punishing miracles in the canonization process of Saint Birgitta*
2. Jenni Kuuliala University of Tampere *Despair and Hope. Emotions, Medicine and the Miraculous in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy*
3. Andrea Meyer Ludowisy, University of London *Between Palliative and Propaganda: the depiction of pain in the first printed images of the Passionflower*

Paper abstracts:

1. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, University of Tampere, sari.katajala-peltomaa@uta.fi

Wrath of a Saint – malice of a demon: punishing miracles in the canonization process of Saint Birgitta

Manifestation of emotions was a central element in the interaction with a saint and in a miracle: desperate situation before the cure – expressed in tears and laments – and joy after the grace bestowed were inherent in miracle narrations, both in didactic miracle collections as well as in depositions in canonization processes. Votive offerings, the promises of a counter gift to a heavenly intercessor after the recovery, could have been personal, even intimate, emphasising the affective nature and emotional bond between the petitioner and the saint. Based on my earlier studies, I argue that affective elements and emotive language were not as pronounced in the Nordic hagiographic material as in the South. An exception to this are the punishing miracles and cases of demonic possession – the theme of my paper. I will analyse how and why Birgitta was depicted as vengeful intercessor and how her wrath was justified; how the hierarchy of supernatural powers (Birgitta vs. demons) was constructed and what kind of role the shame and fear of petitioners played in the narration.

2. Jenni Kuuliala University of Tampere, jenni.kuuliala@uta.fi

Despair and Hope. Emotions, Medicine and the Miraculous in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy

In the field of the miraculous, emotions were built-in in the interaction between the saint and the petitioner. However, in the official records of thaumaturgic events, canonization hearings, a physical illness or disability, as well as the cure, were primarily proven and defined by their physical manifestations. This got even more profound in the aftermath of the Council of Trent, and as a result of the Counter-reformation, which sought to ‘rationalize’ the investigation of miracles, putting more and more emphasis on acute illnesses and their medical treatments and definitions. In this paper I will discuss the changes and similarities between the emotional expressions of infirmity and healing as depicted in the pre- and post-Tridentine canonization inquests. Important questions are how emotional expressions relate to the medicalization of the miraculous, and the gradual de-sentimentalization of miracle depositions.

3. Andrea Meyer Ludowisy, University of London, Andrea.MeyerLudowisy@london.ac.uk

Between Palliative and Propaganda: the depiction of pain in the first printed images of the Passionflower

The Christian tradition is closely entwined with themes of pain and suffering and its representation has been an important interest of Western Art, but little attention has so far been paid to the role played by early modern botanical illustration in the transmission of ideas of pain as a punitive or redemptive force or as a Counter Reformation tool for Christian conversion in the “spiritual conquest” of the New World. My paper shows how the curated image of the passionflower became a key player in the spread of Christian values to the New World and how its near emblematic depiction as devised by Jesuit missionaries succeeded in imposing the dominating culture’s values and attitude to pain and Christ’s passions on to the culture of the New World. It shows how this disembodied and symbolic depiction of Christ’s passion fitted into the process of knowledge production in the New World in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The image became part of a visual strategy and its description a rhetorical instrument with which Jesuit missionaries entered into other cultures to describe and re-shape them in the process. Furthermore, it elucidates the reciprocal effect the newly created passionflower motif had on the wider understanding and depiction of pain and suffering in Europe.

Session 10.2: Religious emotional performances

Presenters:

1. Mari Eyice, Stockholm University *Prayer as emotional practice in Reformation period Sweden*
2. Raisa Maria Toivo, University of Tampere *Expectation and prayer as emotional performances in early modern Finland*
3. Päivi Räisänen-Schröder, University of Helsinki *The Black Madonna of Altötting Goes Global. Saints, Miracles and Emotions in Early Modern Jesuit Missions*
4. Tomaž Nabergoj, National museum of Slovenia, *Holding a medieval sword: what feelings, what emotions, what beliefs!?*

Paper abstracts:

1. Mari Eyice, Stockholm University, mari.eyice@historia.su.se

Prayer as emotional practice in reformation period Sweden

This paper investigates prayers as emotional practices in Reformation period Sweden. Inspired by Monique Scheer's view of emotion as practice and William Reddy's theory of *emotives*, I aim to explore prayers as a part of the religious practice of the period. Praying was direct communication with the divine, and as such, central to the personal religious experience. Thus, by investigating emotion words and emotional sequences in the prayer books, I try to lay bare this experience. This investigation offers an opportunity also to understand how ordinary people, despite the fact that direct sources to lay religious practice are scarce, might have perceived the Reformation.

2. Raisa Maria Toivo, University of Tampere, raisa.toivo@uta.fi

Expectation and prayer as emotional performances in early modern Finland

Early modern Finnish and Swedish Lutheran teaching is often described as one of old testament views, emphasising Divine punishment and Gods Wrath. Yet, early modern source material abounds in prayers where Divine help is sought to alleviate suffering. Indeed, in early modern religiosity, despair was understood as a sin. Therefore, a believer must expect an answer to his or her prayer, yet, since the Divine was not to be forced and begged into interaction, since the mode and timing of the answer must be considered uncertain. This produced a tension, in which social roles and cultural expectations had to be weighed in balance. My paper examines the gendered performances with which this balance was kept and the proper emotions of expectation with the right amount of certainty and humility were represented in prayer and offering rituals – or when the code was broken and rage, pain and despair emerged. The paper uses descriptions of prayer situations in religious literature and court records.

3. Päivi Räisänen-Schröder, University of Helsinki, paivi.raisanen@helsinki.fi

The Black Madonna of Altötting Goes Global. Saints, Miracles and Emotions in Early Modern Jesuit Missions

My paper explores emotions performed and discussed in connection with saints and miracles within the complex social dynamics of early modern Jesuit missions. The emotional communities where religiosity and emotions were played out were in the Jesuits' case at least twofold; the local one of the missions, and the global one of the order's networks. The local emotional community of Catholic Christians that the Jesuits sought to establish in their mission areas, was one full of tensions and a broad variety of emotional expression. On the basis of printed, German-language Jesuit mission reports and travelogues from the late 17th and early 18th century, my paper asks how and to what extent affective religiosity figured in the Jesuits' religious life and work in the missions and, further, what role saints and miracles, especially miraculous healing, played in it. It looks especially at the transformations of European practices of lived religion (including the use of religious objects such as portable figures of St. Mary of Altöttingen, Bavaria, as described by the Jesuit Anton Sepp in the late

17th century) within non-European contexts and studies the ways in which emotions were ascribed to these practices.

4. Tomaž Nabergoj, National museum of Slovenia, tomaz.nabergoj@nms.si

Holding a medieval sword: what feelings, what emotions, what beliefs!?

What feelings a medieval warrior may have had holding a brand new sword as a superb weapon for both attack and defence? What pride arose in him when in the ceremony of knighting he was given a sword as a symbol of strength and status? What faith and determination he felt when in the ritual of consecration of weapons the Church made him a *miles Christi* to fight for Christian faith against pagans, to protect widows and orphans? How do written sources like personal prayer books with conjurations of weapons reveal attitudes of a warrior towards a sword and enemy, life and death, towards God? What was the symbolism of marks and inscriptions on swords, from crosses and acronyms with Christian invocation to enigmatic signs like a fish and apotropaic words like a cabalistic formula AGLA? Historical evidence and a collection of 26 swords from 11th to 15th century from River Ljubljanica are discussed to show attitudes of warriors towards a sword. Besides, spatial distribution of weapons as waterfinds from Ljubljana is analysed to question the hypothesis of swords being thrown into a river intentionally, as a symbolic deed, as part of a cult or even mentality of medieval warriors.

Panel 11. Affect, Cognition and Emotion in the Anchorhold and the Cloister

Panel abstract: The medieval anchorhold has long been a subject of fascination for scholars of place and space, while interest in religious communities, especially early modern English recusant communities on the Continent, has grown in recent years (for example, the 'Who Were the Nuns' project at Queen Mary University of London). Drawing on recent work by scholars such as Jerome Kroll and Bernard Bachrach, Birgitta Mark and Jessica Boon, exploring the sensory and cognitive aspect of pre-modern religious experience, this session brings together analyses of mystics, recluses and cloistered religious in the medieval and early modern period, with a focus on place and space in accounts of emotional extremes and altered cognition. The papers will explore the extent to which location and situation contributes to and shapes such experiences, and the relevance of pre-modern accounts to contemporary studies of emotion and cognition. If we consider the work of researchers such as Edwin Hutchins, Daniel Hutto, Andy Clark and David Chalmers (which holds that cognition is embodied, embedded, enacted and extended), what part does environment and location play in the intellectual lives of individuals who lead cloistered or enclosed lives? How is affective and devotional practice shaped by an individual's environment, including their reading? How might these communities, their texts and literary networks, be understood through cognitive paradigms such as that of the 'extended mind'? This session will investigate how methodologies and boundaries relating to doctrine, geography and chronology may be fruitfully combined and compared in the study of medieval and post-medieval consumers and writers of mystic and devotional texts.

Convenors: Victoria Blud, University of York, victoria.blud@york.ac.uk

Juliana Dresvina, University of Oxford, Yd216@cam.ac.uk

Presenters:

1. Ritva Palmén, University of Helsinki *Free movements of the mind: admiration and imagination in the twelfth-century spiritual texts*
2. Godelinde Gertrude Perk, Umeå University *An Anchorhold of the Mind: Julian's of Norwich' Re-Imprinting of Liturgical Sacra Memoria*
3. Andrea Davidson, Linacre College, University of Oxford *Transverberation and the Nightingale: Teresian Prayer Uncloistered in Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*

4. Victoria Blud, University of York *Soul Sisters: Medieval Mystics, Recusant Readers and Women's Literary Communities*

Paper abstracts:

1. Ritva Palmén, University of Helsinki, ritva.palmen@helsinki.fi

Free movements of the mind: admiration and imagination in the twelfth-century spiritual texts

My paper explores distinctly aesthetic emotions, admiration in particular, in the context of the monastery of St. Victor, Paris. I argue that medieval authors such as Hugh and Richard of St. Victor emphasized the importance of mind's free admiration and veneration of all things, even the monstrous and odd, considering it as an important and necessary initial phase in devotional life. They included admiration as a constitutive element of contemplation, which aimed at a comprehensive understanding of both visible and invisible phenomena. For Hugh and Richard of St Victor, admiration functions a kind of stimulus and incentive to the investigation of all things. Thus, admiration is conceived as a kind of intellectual affection, which significantly promotes human understanding. In Richard of St Victor's works, admiration is often linked with the human faculty of imagination, seen as a first stage of contemplation and essential for rational thinking. However, the important requisite for the use of admiration and imagination was a right kind of social context and thorough education as well as acquisition of common religious practices. I will give extra attention to these philosophical and sociological implications of medieval ideas of admiration and the use of imagination in spiritual rehearsals, thus far largely unexplored in medieval scholarship.

2. Godelinde Gertrude Perk, Umeå University, ggperk@gmail.com

An Anchorhold of the Mind: Julian's of Norwich' Re-Imprinting of Liturgical Sacra Memoria

When Julian of Norwich (c. 1343 – c. 1416) recommends her contemporary readers in her early work *A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman* "say Pater Noster, Ave, and Crede" (19.8), these would immediately have felt cued to recite these prayers, recollecting emotions of earlier liturgical experiences. However, in the later *A Revelation of Divine Love*, likely produced in the anchorhold, this passage has been removed, although as an anchorite Julian recited these prayers more often than while still a devout laywoman. I argue in *Revelation* such familiar discourses are instead called to the *evencristen's* mind implicitly and woven into an embodied, affective liturgical memory fabric. Bringing *Vision* and *Revelation* into dialogue with on twenty-first-century neuroscience and the Ancrene Wisse's guidelines concerning ritualized movements, I compare *Vision* and *Revelation* in terms of their "knots" of affective, verbal, multisensory liturgical memory, showing that in *Revelation* these knots textualize anchoritic space and the inscription of the sacred on the anchoritic body. Finally I illustrate that *Revelation's* mnemonic, affective fabric ultimately reshapes the form and content of the *evencristen's* liturgical memory, instead imprinting a liturgy of natality and uniting the divine and human in Julian's mnemonic anchorhold.

3. Andrea Davidson, Linacre College, University of Oxford, andrea.davidson@linacre.ox.ac.uk

Transverberation and the Nightingale: Teresian Prayer Uncloistered in Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum

My paper will argue that Aemilia Lanyer's book of sacred and secular poems, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611), presents to its pious lay female readers an application of the prayer practices that Teresa of Avila described for cloistered communities of Discalced Carmelite nuns. *Salve Deus* combines Passion meditation, dedicatory poems, and a nostalgic poem with the death of Philomela the nightingale at its crux to present its readers with a form of affective devotion that is safely vicarious. Considering David Chalmers' argument that cognition is embodied, embedded, enacted, and extended, I will argue that the vicarious experience of Philomela's suffering and conclusive death in *Salve Deus* initiates Lanyer's readers in the emotive cognition of an embodied, embedded, enacted, and extended affective devotional prayer practice that itself extends the extremism of

Teresian piety. I will thereby develop a means of contrasting prayer practices safely available for non-cloistered women such as Lanyer's readers with the emotional devotional extremes that Teresa invites her cloistered female readers to experience. Lanyer abstracts the emotional intensity of Teresian prayer (especially ecstatic transverberation and the soul's salutary suffering) for the consumption of non-cloistered female readers (the English noblewomen to whom *Salve Deus* is dedicated). Only Jonathan Goldberg, in his book *Desiring Women Reading*, has argued for any Teresian influence in *Salve Deus*. He perceives an abstraction of Teresian transverberation in some instances of arrow metaphors that Lanyer sneaks into her book's early poems. I would expand Goldberg's argument to address Lanyer's recurring portrayal of Philomela as a figure of the suffering soul who herself experiences a transverberation at the very end of *Salve Deus*. Lanyer uses the nightingale or soul-bird (Teresa's own metaphor for the soul is a bird in *The Interior Castle*) to abstract and aestheticise the devotional emotional extremes for which Teresa encourages nuns to strive, abstracting Teresian piety to make it available to non-cloistered English women readers. The effect of this abstraction is that Lanyer's readers may not reach the same ecstatic emotional extreme that Teresa describes, but they can experience it vicariously in familiar forms of affective piety at various key moments in *Salve Deus*, which I will address. My argument suggests a distinction between the kinds of devotional emotional extremes available within the cloister and outside of it. Lanyer explores that difference, mediates the extremes, and aestheticises them in such a way that they can be experienced by non-cloistered pious readers simultaneously as prayer and as art. Teresa's texts were familiar to English readers by 1611, the year that *Salve Deus* was published. The possibility that Lanyer was familiar with Teresian spirituality is a new and useful approach of evaluating the affective devotional opportunities in *Salve Deus*. Most Lanyer scholarship uses *Salve Deus*' religious content as a way of arguing for Lanyer's proto-feminism in one form or another; by linking *Salve Deus* with Teresian prayer I will exceed that argument by demonstrating that Lanyer was engaged with a female writer as well as female readers. By addressing that engagement through this panel's attention to pre-modern and early modern devotional emotional extremes, I will marshal a new way of reading Lanyer: through her engagement with cloistered female religious experience.

4. Victoria Blud, University of York, victoria.blud@york.ac.uk

Soul Sisters: Medieval Mystics, Recusant Readers and Women's Literary Communities

What happened to mysticism in English after the Reformation? The English recusant communities who professed on the Continent have recently come in for scholarly attention; the Benedictines at Cambrai, under the direction of Augustine Baker, hold particular interest for medievalists, since the nuns read in the medieval contemplative tradition, most famously the writings of Julian of Norwich. As well as studying female authors like Julian, Bridget of Sweden and Teresa de Avila, several nuns became prolific writers themselves: though the papers were held in common – a fact Abbess Catherine Gascoigne exploited when Baker's teachings were questioned – the community also nurtured members such as Gertrude More and Barbara Constable who later attracted individual acclaim. The house became a close-knit community of readers, writers, patrons, commentators and translators (so that when some of its books were removed to a sister house in Paris, the contemporary cataloguer listed one particular set of volumes as being 'the one in Sr Hilda's hand, the other in every bodyes'). This paper analyses the 'medievalist' nuns together with their medieval literary exemplars as a community or network that blurred and crossed chronological and topographical boundaries, investigating the influence of medieval mysticism on these early modern women who pursued a devotional life that was in many ways anchored to another time and place. This transnational, trans-temporal literary community of medieval mystics and recusant readers suggests an intellectual environment that resonates with Andy Clark and David Chalmers' notion of the 'extended mind' – the notion that the mind is not bounded by the brain or the body but also encompasses the individual's environment. Comparing the material and textual situations of

medieval and post-medieval female consumers and writers of mystic texts, this paper examines the recusants' devotional practice, how it was shaped by their reading, and the usefulness of '4E' cognition to the exploration of a medievalist convent.

Panel 12. Sensing Dissents: Pain and Pleasure in Early Modern Religious Dissenting Cultures

Panel abstract: Exploring the wide and complex field of religious dissents and radicalism means working within a scholarly field at the heart of cultural history. Written and other sources of various kinds bring forth a wide range of intellectual and legislative disputes, censorship and abuses, and individual fates of crypto identities and social exclusion. On a collective as well as on an individual level a multitude of records tell us how these events were experienced by the persons affected, also in terms of senses and emotions. However, this panel wishes to address the performative role of various senses and emotions as agents, triggers, codes and languages in expressing and dealing with religious dissent. How did, for example, scents and tastes, anger and fear, joy and disgust interact with religious dissent? How could senses and emotions be instrumentalized in this field – and by whom, and why? Approaching these and other possible questions through senses and emotions as actors, we hope to add new dimensions to the discussion and understanding of religious dissents in Early Modernity.

Convenors: Federico Barbierato, University of Verona, federico.barbierato@univr.it
Helena Wangefelt Ström, Umeå University, helena.wangefelt.strom@umu.se

Presenters:

1. Helena Wangefelt Ström, Umeå University *Smells, bells, and forbidden kisses: senses and emotions as Catholic strangeness in the eyes of early modern Swedish Lutherans*
2. Fernanda Alfieri, Istituto Storico italo-germanico, Trento *The disputed body of a "quietist" friar. Pleasure, guilt, and responsibility in a 17th-century Inquisition trial*
3. Monika Frohnäpfel-Leis, University of Erfurt *Between fear of insecurity and desire to know. Coping with the future in early modern Venetian Inquisition trials*

Paper abstracts:

1. Helena Wangefelt Ström, Umeå University, helena.wangefelt.strom@umu.se

Smells, bells, and forbidden kisses: senses and emotions as Catholic strangeness in the eyes of early modern Swedish Lutherans

Licking, caressing, kissing, dancing, smelling, or performing magical sceneries to be seen and believed: Catholicism – the historical past on native ground or the exotic present in foreign land – appears to be a cornucopia of senses and emotions as described by the early modern Swedes. In formal accounts, such as the 1666 national inquiry for antiquities (*Rannsakingar efter antikviteter*), as well as in journals from peregrinations to Catholic territories, the sensorial and emotional aspects on Catholic things and practices are abundant; abundant, and often described with a distancing beholder's eye, as something exotic and strange to normal customs in Post-Reformation Sweden. This paper aims to explore how senses and emotions were used by 17th century Swedish narrators in relation to Catholic phenomena, and how these images were formed in different frameworks. Sensorial and emotional expressions seem to have been depicted as Catholic characteristics, and as an opposite to the more cerebral and controlled religious life in Lutheran Orthodox Sweden. A possible contraposition takes shape: modesty versus flamboyance, self-control versus lack of such, and a rational Lutheran present versus a sensual Catholic past. And yet, a final question needs to be addressed: Did sensuality really leave the North with the Pope..?

2. Fernanda Alfieri, Istituto Storico italo-germanico, Trento, alfieri@fbk.eu

The disputed body of a “quietist” friar. Pleasure, guilt, and responsibility in a 17th-century Inquisition trial

In 1688, the local inquisitorial authority in Bari (Kingdom of Naples) examined a Capuchin friar. What was under enquiry was the nature of a disturbing phenomenon that the friar ascribed to the Devil. For years he had been experiencing frequent and sudden pollutions, accompanied by hallucinations and intense pleasure. Any kind of control – even cruel mortification and exorcism – was ineffective in stopping this event. Many were the dilemmas the inquisitors needed to solve. Was the friar guilty (i.e., responsible of an inopportune outpouring of sexuality), or was his body possessed by the Devil? Was what appeared on his body a natural fact of male physiology? During examination, the accused friar was compelled to give detailed accounts of every single movement of his body and of the nuances of his emotions while the pollution was taking place. The monastic community, called to watch the body of the friar, was asked in turn to give account of what they saw happening. The inquisitors, having examined the “extraordinary phenomenon”, finally put the case under the rubric of “quietism”. This is the way in which they read the friar’s narrative: while his body was overwhelmed by sudden spasms of pleasure, his will remained passive. Because of this absence of consent, he thought that what he experienced was not guilty, and, if this was someone’s responsibility, it must have been the Devil’s. The monastic community supported this thought, which led the inquisitors to fear a “quietist infection”.

3. Monika Frohnapfel-Leis, University of Erfurt, frohnapf@uni-mainz.de

Between fear of insecurity and desire to know. Coping with the future in early modern Venetian Inquisition trials

The uncertainty of one’s own personal future is something what people probably at all times were afraid of. This fear nourished their desire to reduce this risk. Therefore, they addressed experts like fortune-tellers in order to get some advice concerning personal affairs and important decisions. In early modern times not only giving this kind of advice, but also addressing a diviner was forbidden and supervised by the authorities. Nevertheless both used to be common practice. Without people’s fear of the uncertain future religious dissidents like fortune-tellers could not have existed. By giving some examples from Venetian inquisition trials the paper wants to highlight some expressions of emotions given by clients and experts and show different categories of fear in that context: On the one hand, the clients’ fear of making important decisions; on the other hand the magical experts who made money out of people’s emotions of insecurity and their wish to gain some security; and both also had to face the permanent risk of being denounced to the Inquisition, which could mean a form of social exclusion.



VI Senses and Emotions in Space and Place

Panel 13. Material encounters, negotiations and practices in urban space

Abstract: We propose a panel that will approach the cultural history of urban space, as well as practices linked to it. Our panel focuses on material details of street space, their role in practices and their cultural and social meanings. By scrutinizing such material objects and actors as traffic lights, curbstones, bus stops, bridges, and processions, we can shed light on the technological

transformations and changing material practices of the street. Presentations will explore the cultural histories of mobility and city space, and their bodily negotiations. Karen Barad has written in *Meeting the Universe Halfway* (2007) that things and objects emerge and receive their role as actors in the intra-actions. According to her, practices are the primary semantic units that construct boundaries and meanings. Our panel will trace changing historical practices that connected to and created material entities and shaped bodies and groups in urban street space. All of the presentations consider in some way the historiographical rather neglected but historically omnipresent group of pedestrians. Michel de Certeau has defined modern urban space as a product of institutional, powerful strategies, in which pedestrians move by using small tactics of the power-less, poaching in the foreign territory. From the point of view of socio-technical co-construction and the new materialism, we can also argue that pedestrians, as well as of other user-groups of the street, have as well both shaped the street and been shaped by it.

Convenors: Tiina Männistö-Funk, Chalmers University of Technology, Gothenburg, tiinam@chalmers.se

Presenters:

1. Silja Laine, University of Turku *Ways of Crossing the Long Bridge in Helsinki*
2. Tiina Männistö-Funk, Chalmers University of Technology *Curbstone as liminal space in Turku from the late 19th century to the 1970s*
3. Arnaud Passalacqua, Paris Diderot University *Bus stops in Paris: Waiting as a competition of bodies from Mid-19th-century to Mid-20th century*
4. Tanja Vahtikari, University of Tampere *Postwar historical pageants, the street and the co-constructed experience of time and place*

Paper abstracts:

1. Silja Laine, University of Turku, silja.laine@utu.fi

Ways of Crossing the Long Bridge in Helsinki

The Long Bridge in Helsinki divides and connects people, urban environment and nature. Although there has been a bridge in the more or less same place since the 17th century, the material, the use and social and cultural meanings of the bridge have not been static, but has been in a flux. In the industrial time the bridge has divided the city centre and the bourgeois neighbourhoods from the working class areas. The bridge and its fringes have also served as locations for commerce and other activities. The presentation sets out to ask how the bridge has been used by different users in the first decades of the 20th century, comparing especially the time of the old wooden bridge and the new construction from the 1920s. The change from wood to granite meant a change in the flow of people and traffic, but it also changed in the sensual environment and soundscape on both sides.

2. Tiina Männistö-Funk, Chalmers University of Technology, tiinam@chalmers.se

Curbstone as liminal space in Turku from the late 19th century to the 1970s

This presentation studies the role of the curbstone in the city of Turku from the late 19th century to the 1970s, through the source material of photographic street views. It discusses the pedestrian practices of walking on the curb and trespassing it by will; cyclist practices of parking at it and standing on it; and finally parking meters intruding it and parked cars closing its connection to the street. The curbstone appears to have been a different material object, depending on the choice of the mode of mobility. As the streets became smoother than the sidewalks, from the 1920s onwards, pedestrians followed the practice of seeking out the smoothest route, a practice that for the previous half a century had been technologically reinforced. Their actions on and over the curb shaped them as a flexible but also unlawful group. In contrast, the curb parking of bicycles up until the 1960s demonstrated the clear division of the street and the sidewalk for the user-group of cyclists and

marked the street as their space. The growing amount of cars forced a change in these curb practices from the 1960s on, and through this also changed the practices and cultural meanings of cycling and walking in the city.

3. Arnaud Passalacqua, Paris Diderot University, arnaud.passalacqua@m4x.org

Bus stops in Paris: Waiting as a competition of bodies from Mid-19th-century to Mid-20th century

This paper addresses the history of bus stops in Paris, conceived as places with a specific tension between people waiting for the bus and with effects on the shaping of public space around, from the beginning of the horse-drawn omnibuses. Until the mid-20th century, and despite the motorisation of the 1900s, buses were often full and waiting could become a hard competition with other people at the stop, in order to ensure the possibility to hop on the vehicle. Thus public authorities tried to regulate the situation by implementing different kinds of technical devices: queue tickets, queue lanes or even metal barriers. But in the most crowded areas or during the most critical periods, such as the First World War, bus stops still remained places of tensions, cheating and fights, bearing similarities to other places in the public space, such as bars. It is only with the introduction of new kind of operators, street furniture companies, and the decline of bus traffic during the 1960s that the situation changed and bus stops found the new status of showcases of the city. The paper will provide some comparison points with other cities connected to Paris, mainly London.

4. Tanja Vahtikari, University of Tampere, tanja.vahtikari@staff.uta.fi

Postwar historical pageants, the street and the co-constructed experience of time and place

The high period of historical pageantry in Europe and in the United States was the pre-World War I period. However, as the recent research has convincingly shown, historical pageants remained popular and ambitious projects also in the very different contexts of the inter-war and post-World War II periods. In the early-1950s also the Finnish cities of Helsinki and Tampere staged their own pageants, which in both cities took shape in the form of a procession, a performance and a spectacle traversing the streets of the city. As with many other similar events, the pedagogical function was key to Helsinki's and Tampere's historical pageants: the goal was to educate good citizens and to create amongst them a sense of responsibility for the city and for future generations. Clearly, these were history-political performances of the powerful. While the representational side of the events cannot be overlooked, this paper aims to add another layer to their investigation: the historical procession as felt, remembered and lived through multiple temporal, spatial, bodily and sensorial experiences. It will be argued, in line with Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, who have studied historical battlefields (2015), that in historical processions urban space, the street, buildings and participating people, co-constructed an experience of time and place, which went beyond their individual representational core as a historical narrative.

Panel 14. Feeling the modern city urban places and the construction of emotions (19th & 20th centuries)

Panel abstract: This panel seeks to investigate how the configuration of a place informs the emotions of its users. The laboratory of choice is the city of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Though often characterized as a site of heightened emotion, there is little empirical research about the broad specter of emotions expressed and practiced in the modern city. When historians and urban sociologists state that intense processes of urbanization around 1900 conjured up highly emotional responses, they often do so on the authority of the writings of a very select group of cultured contemporaries. It is therefore important to broaden the empirical scope and investigate urban emotional life from a wider variety of angles. The main objective is to understand whether and how

the specter of emotions practiced in a particular place is affected by its spatial characteristics (material, cultural or socio-economic).

Convenor: Anneleen Arnout, Radboud University, a.arnout@let.ru.nl

Presenters:

1. Michèle Plott, Suffolk University, Boston *Emotional Berlin: Memorials, Museums, Film since 1989*
2. Silke Holmqvist, Aarhus University *Practicing Impermanence: Work Migrants, Train Stations and Feelings of Temporary Belonging in Denmark (1963-1983)*
3. Elize van Eeden, Ecohealth and Wellbeing Research Group, North-West University, Vaal Triangle Campus *Feeling Danger and Home in South African Mining Town*
4. Greg Castillo, University of California at Berkeley *Cheerfulness as Cold War Propaganda: Hans Scharoun's American Memorial Library project for West Berlin*

Paper abstracts:

1. Michèle Plott, Suffolk University, Boston, mplott@suffolk.edu

Emotional Berlin: Memorials, Museums, Film since 1989

The city of Berlin has generated, perhaps inevitably, a heightened emotional response since 1945. With the end of the Cold War this could have changed. Instead Berlin has become a city that provokes an emotional response in each person, resident and visitor, who walks its streets. While the configuration of any city will inform the emotions of its users, I argue that Berlin is unique, not only in the urban landscape created and re-created by its late-twentieth-century political history, but also in the intentionality of its most recent design. As the German government has restored the Reichstag and built beautiful new government buildings along the Spree River – this declaration that every nation makes with its capital, of its pride and right to exist – it has also decided to create memorials and history museums that remind every passerby of German guilt and shame. German films of the 1990s and 2000s, particularly those set in Berlin, have become well-known texts that further urge our engagement with the city's twentieth-century history. Germans see reckoning with their past as a duty. In present-day Berlin they have created an urban landscape that insists spatially and culturally on our emotional engagement with that history as well.

2. Silke Holmqvist, Aarhus University, sh@cas.au.dk

Practicing Impermanence: Work Migrants, Train Stations and Feelings of Temporary Belonging in Denmark (1963-1983)

Public and private spaces are shaped and appropriated by means of emotions while emotional experiences in turn are informed by the geographies in which they take place. From this dialectical vantage point the paper analyses the politically and culturally charged setting of Danish train stations, where transitory work migrants would spend a lot of their non-working hours during the years of the industrial boom in 1960s and 1970s. My research focuses on practices and materiality connected to permanent and temporary modes of belonging. This paper suggests that these notions be considered a form of emotional practices that were performed by work migrants and facilitated by material and symbolic configurations of the train station. Analysing visual material and combining it with ego-documents and source material from Danish National Archives I argue that practices of impermanence at the train station created a political paradox. It nourished highly problematic views of the work migrant at the time but simultaneously stimulated feelings of homeliness and in-group cohesion both before and after work migrants settled with their families.

3. Elize van Eeden, Ecohealth and Wellbeing Research Group, North-West University, Vaal Triangle Campus, Elize.vanEeden@nwu.ac.za

Feeling Danger and Home in South African Mining Town

Carletonville is a gold-mining town in western Gauteng, South Africa. It developed by various international mining companies from 1937 onward. Today the town is part of a larger municipality of Merafong with several urban milieus (such as Khutsong and Waverdiend) and a large but sparsely populated rural area. In 2015 the North-West University of South Africa started a research project in conjunction with the University of Helsinki (Finland), titled “Home in Merafong” in order to disclose the main factors that make Merafong a homey place for the inhabitants. Research data were collected by ethnographic methods in twelve group discussions, four back ground interviews, and one out door group walk with a total of more than one hundred informants. In the presentation, special emphasis will be on the affected spatial memories of the informants and their descriptions of dangerousness and homeyness of the place on a personal level. Important places (i.e. specific points in space) matter when people experientially form their conceptions of home. Important events (specific points in time) matter, too. Events and places are not separated in memories. The combined impact of past politically inspired spatial decisions on socio-economic, cultural and material goods of the locals and informants will be exposed.

4. Greg Castillo, University of California at Berkeley, gregcastillo@berkeley.edu

Cheerfulness as Cold War Propaganda: Hans Scharoun’s American Memorial Library project for West Berlin

Aufbaupathos (reconstruction fervor), an emotion that observers have called “odd” and “feverish,” pervaded early postwar German cultural expression, from *Aufbau-Romane* (reconstruction novels) to *Trümmerfilme* (“rubble films”). It also permeated architectural debates: a discourse concerning reconstruction in the most physical sense. *Heiterkeit* (“cheerfulness”), extolled by German writers from Goethe to Thomas Mann, provided emotive content for West German reconstruction fervor. In 1955, a theme issue of the lifestyle magazine *Magnum* proclaimed cheerfulness a global phenomenon spanning all cultures founded on political freedom. This paper explores Hans Scharoun’s unbuilt 1951 project for West Berlin’s American Memorial Library as a built expression of *Heiterkeit* and vehicle for US-sponsored emotional propaganda. Scharoun’s proposal called for a seven-story tall billboard of neon circles mounted on steel trusses suspended in front of the library’s glazed slab. The luminous sculpture extended well above the building’s cornice, ensuring clear sight lines from East Berlin. Scharoun’s design conveyed the message that life in the postwar West was qualitatively different. It was “*heiter*” – meaning both “bright,” as in sunny, but also “cheerful” – a revolutionary emotion for a new nation ravaged by war and guilt, yet poised on the brink of an economic miracle.

Panel 15. The Contingencies of Affects: Comparative Approaches to Themed Commercial Spaces

Panel abstract: Themed commercial spaces such as theme parks or themed restaurants, shops etc. are multisensorial environments that use multiple media to immerse customers into a particular theme and thus to affectively bind them to their offerings. Next to brands and fictional or exotic worlds, history constitutes one of the most frequently used themes in commercial spaces, with the 19th century, the Middle Ages, and Antiquity being particularly popular. Although more recently they have also been praised for their popularization of historical themes and their educational potential, in the past depictions of historical themes in commercial spaces have regularly been criticized for their selectivity and general “whitewashing” of history – and indeed, themed spaces are intrinsically conservative, relying on customers’ preconceived notions about and popular media receptions of

historical themes. Indeed, recognizability is a necessary precondition for immersion, and thus for the affective connection that the visitor is supposed to establish with the historical period into which s/he is “transported.” In this sense, themed commercial spaces are not uniform in their depictions of specific historical eras: a theme park about the “Wild West” built in twenty-first century China will inevitably look different from one built in California in the mid-1950s. This panel therefore seeks to explore the contingencies of affective representations of history in themed environments by gathering studies that use a comparative approach to historical themes in commercial spaces. Transcultural and diachronic comparisons are particularly welcome.

Convenors: Filippo Carlà-Uhink, University of Exeter, f.f.carla@exeter.ac.uk
 Florian Freitag, Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, freitagf@uni-mainz.de

Presenters:

1. Florian Freitag, University of Mainz *Disney's Immersive New Orleans: The Frenchifying of "Old New Orleans" in Disney Theme Parks, 1955-2015*
2. Filippo Carlà-Uhink, University of Exeter *Ancient Greece in the Theme Park: From Wisconsin to Taiwan*
3. M. Dores Cruz, University of Denver, mdores.cruz@du.edu *Imagining the Colonial Nation: A Landscape of Empire in "Portugal dos Pequenitos" (Portugal)*
4. Céline Molter, Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, molterc@uni-mainz.de *The Jerusalem Experience: Comparing theme park versions of the Holy Land*

Paper abstracts:

1. Florian Freitag, University of Mainz, freitagf@uni-mainz.de

Disney's Immersive New Orleans: The Frenchifying of "Old New Orleans" in Disney Theme Parks, 1955-2015

While theme parks constantly change due to a large variety of factors, the history of theme parks has been largely ignored in theme park criticism. Already in the mid-1990s, Alan Bryman thus called for interpretations that shift and evolve along with the parks. Using Disney's New Orleans-themed spaces as a case study, this paper takes a historical approach to theme parks in order to trace the development of Disney's depictions of the Crescent City in its theme parks and hotels from the opening of Disneyland (1955) to the present. Combining the micro-histories of Disney's various New Orleans-themed spaces and the macro-history of Disney's spatial depiction of the city, “Disney's Immersive New Orleans” thus explores continuities and shifts both within and across the company's themed spaces over a period of more than 65 years. The paper will focus on one of the most astonishing aspects of this evolution: during the very same time period that the city of New Orleans sought to concentrate tourism in the Vieux Carré in a process that Mark J. Souther has referred to as the “Disneyfication of New Orleans,” Disney theme parks and resorts increasingly concentrated their “meta-versions” of New Orleans tourism on the French Quarter.

2. Filippo Carlà-Uhink, University of Exeter, f.f.carla@exeter.ac.uk

Ancient Greece in the Theme Park: From Wisconsin to Taiwan

Theme parks frequently construct immersive environments with historical themes, that surround visitors with architecture, sounds, smells popularly connected to the chosen period. Theme parks do not aim to provide a faithful reconstruction of the past – this is e.g. incompatible with the rides they offer as staple of their genre; nonetheless, as a central component of the Erlebnisgesellschaft, they offer a non-logical, affective approach to the past. As in the reception process in general, the recognisability of the historical period is the precondition for the immersion and the affective impact; history must therefore be represented through stereotypes that make the theme understandable to the public. The representation of one historical culture can so be different in different geographical

areas and at different moments, as it draws on popular representations in other media, on general knowledge (derived e.g. from school programs), on the role played by that period in the cultural memory of the region. I will consider different theme park representations of ancient Greece, from the USA, Spain, Germany, China and Taiwan, showing the multiplicity of the affective ancient Greeces built in different corners of the world, and investigating how each of them addresses the affective responses of their respective audience.

3. M. Dores Cruz, University of Denver, mdures.cruz@du.edu

Imagining the Colonial Nation: A Landscape of Empire in “Portugal dos Pequenitos” (Portugal)

“Portugal dos Pequenitos” (i.e., Portugal of the Little Ones), a children’s park built between the 1940s and the 1960s in the aftermath of the 1940 Portuguese World Exhibition, aimed to teach children about the Portuguese nation, its history, and cultural diversity. Identity and heritage were to be experienced and embodied in the materialized (although fake) landscape of the nation, represented by miniature houses that exemplify different regions, monuments and colonial territories. The greatness of the nation was shown through the preponderance of the metropole and the “a-geographic” representation of colonial territories, materializing and performing the mythology of empire and the geopolitical imagination of the Estado Novo regime. This paper examines both individual and social meanings of experiences of the park as a form of embodied knowledge and the powerful possibilities of discourse, visibility and performativity. The aim is to move beyond a discussion of “culture of display” to examine embodied political narratives and the power of materialization to articulate past(s), events, identities and create forms of experiential and creative heritage.

4. Céline Molter, Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, molterc@uni-mainz.de

The Jerusalem Experience: Comparing theme park versions of the Holy Land

In December 1999, ‘Tierra Santa’ in Buenos Aires opened its gates as the first religious theme park in Latin America. It promises to take visitors 2000 years back into the past and make them feel like residents of Jerusalem during the lifetime of Jesus. The park’s homepage promotes an ‘authentic experience’, though the setting makes clear that the planners did not aim at creating a historically accurate reproduction of Jerusalem. ‘Tierra Santa’ rather displays religious pluralism with a focus on Christianity; it hosts e.g. Gandhi’s workplace, Al Aqsa mosque and Martin Luther’s scriptorium. Puppet shows like ‘The Last Supper’ aim to immerse visitors in the scenery and revive the biblical stories. By tracing the historical background of the park, this paper shows how political discourses, economic preconditions and personal decisions formed a unique version of the Holy Land, which is a product of these structural factors and what Lowenthal (2002) calls the essence or aura of an imagined Jerusalem during year zero. By contrasting ‘Tierra Santa’ and another religious theme park, US-American ‘Holy Land Experience’, this paper seeks to explore how and why Jerusalem as a geographical and historical place is transformed into sensual and emotional, consumer-tailored theme park experiences.



VII Sight and Sound

Panel 16. Feeling for the Spectacle of Punishment (c. 1650-1850)

Panel abstract: As we move away from affective models resembling 'hydraulic' processes of episodic release and contention of emotions, recent developments in the history of emotions are showing the importance of sites and social spheres, as well as the body and performance. The study of spectacles of punishment and humiliation may benefit from this reconfigured account of communities and communions of feeling. For instance, in his *Jacques le Fataliste* (1773), Denis Diderot inserted a short reflexion on the moral feelings surrounding execution at the gallows. Diderot suggested it was not unheeding inhumanity that motivated its attendees, but the urge to experience and re-tell events, even if they are cruel. Testimonies such as these tend to jar with some of the dominant accounts on emotional identifications that took place inside and around these public performances. This panel invites contributions that focus on the gallows or other sites of humiliation on public display – one may think of hospitals for the mentally ill and the idle or slave markets. Participants may engage real and fictional witness accounts in ego-documents, novels, plays, works of art and prints between from 1650 to about 1850. Was there an engagement with victims, and to what extent were they uniform, ritualized or communally regulated? Participants may address religious narratives of affliction, the affective perspectives opposing or connecting victims and viewers, and the emotive (dis)union across the social spheres represented in the audiences. They may also address the disavowal of these spectacles in Enlightenment calls for humane incarceration, judicial reform and abolitionism.

Convenors: Tomas Macsotay, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, tomas.macsotay@upf.edu
Cornelis van der Haven, Ghent University, Cornelis.vanderHaven@UGent.be

Presenters:

1. Javier Moscoso, Institute of History of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), *Madness as Spectacle*
2. Lina Minou, Loughborough University *'Exceedingly Injured and Barbarously Treated': Eighteenth-Century Accounts of Wrongful Confinement to the Insane Asylum.*
3. Lela Graybill, University of Utah *The Queen's Passing: Jacques-Louis David's Marie-Antoinette au Supplice and the Visual Economies of the Guillotine*
4. Gregory Shaya, College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio, U.S.A *The Unruly Emotions of the Execution Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France*
5. Tomas Macsotay, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, *Reconstituting sights and motives of execution crowds in 1728 and 1793*

Paper abstracts:

1. Javier Moscoso, Institute of History of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), javier.moscoso@cchs.csic.es

Madness as Spectacle

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, asylums for the mentally ill received numerous visitors. This presentation explores the attitudes of crowds and individual visitors towards

the pain and suffering of the inmates, very often encouraged by those in charge of these establishments. I will try to demonstrate to which extent the human condition of the mentally ill was not without resistances. "I have learned to read in the Declaration of Man", wrote to her father one of the inmates in the 1820's. You should be more respectful to my condition. God will never permit that you would ever lose your mind". From the infamous theatre of Charenton in the late eighteenth century to the massacre of Bicêtre in 1793, I will explore the connection between performativity and spectacle within the universe of the exalted passions of both inmates and visitors. This research is based on published and archival material from the mental asylums of Bicêtre and Charenton.

2. Lina Minou, Loughborough University, P.Minou2@lboro.ac.uk

'Exceedingly Injured and Barbarously Treated': Eighteenth-Century Accounts of Wrongful Confinement to the Insane Asylum.

This paper addresses Panel 16 and proposes to explore the spectacle of madness, humiliation, and the desire for vindication within the context of eighteenth-century accounts of wrongful incarceration. It will specifically look to two pamphlets published by male authors in outrage for their unlawful detention in private 'mad-houses'. These accounts, with their detailed descriptions of the asylum and of the treatment the authors received while confined there, render the mad-house and the authors' suffering as spectacle. What is more, this is regulated spectacle as the writers have command over which aspects of this experience they publicize. I will argue that the writers reveal the full scale of their humiliation and of their response to it because the pamphlets address shared emotional communities and the writers depend on communion of feeling in order to become vindicated. I will explore how the description of emotion and the appeal to common emotions help these authors reclaim their sanity, both socially and legally, and at the same time to raise feelings of condemnation for the cruelty of asylums. I will conclude by juxtaposing these cases with a fictional account of the wrongful confinement of a woman by a female author.

3. Lela Graybill, University of Utah, lela.graybill@utah.edu

The Queen's Passing: Jacques-Louis David's Marie-Antoinette au Supplice and the Visual Economies of the Guillotine

On October 16, 1793, the artist Jacques-Louis David witnessed the passing of Marie-Antoinette, former queen of France, on the way to her execution. Pausing from his preparations for the Festival of Marat - in which his recently completed Death of Marat was to be featured later that same day - the artist sketched out the form of the queen with confident and abbreviated strokes. This paper examines the resultant sketch - Marie-Antoinette au Supplice - in the context of visual economies of the guillotine. I look to contemporary accounts of the guillotine's spectacle to argue for its central importance as a technology that would not only kill, but also frame that violence for spectators in distinctly modern terms. Analysis of visual and verbal imagery suggests that the guillotine was designed to establish a reciprocal relationship between the viewing crowd and the condemned. The machine's operations worked to re-situate the violence of execution in a moment of perception, that is, in the experience of witnesses rather than victims. With this context in mind, I examine the singular formal qualities of Marie-Antoinette au Supplice as an index of an artist placed in a witnessing position, suggesting some possible effects of the Revolutionary spectacle of punishment on feeling spectators.

4. Gregory Shaya, College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio, U.S.A, gshaya@wooster.edu

The Unruly Emotions of the Execution Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France

The history of the public execution in France has been written as the evolving display of state power, a shifting ritual, and the expression of changing sensibilities. Insightful perspectives, to be sure, they help us understand the dynamics of public punishment. But there is a curious blind spot, for the

execution crowd has often played no more than a bit part in this history. And yet, in late nineteenth-century France, the execution crowd was a mystery and an obsession, the object of police surveillance, parliamentary inquiry, scientific study, journalistic examination, and more. This paper focuses on the execution crowd in nineteenth-century France, especially in the fifty years from 1848 to the end of the century. We look to archival sources and journalistic accounts, reading them against the grain. What can they tell us about the composition and the motivations of these crowds? How shall we understand the distance between the experience of the street and official perspectives? And how, in an era of new mass media, did journalists play upon these crowds, at once to valorize and criticize them? The “unruly emotions” of the nineteenth-century execution crowd are revealed as complex responses to urban disorder and changing forms of publicity.

5. Tomas Macsotay, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, tomas.macsotay@upf.edu

Reconstituting sights and motives of execution crowds in 1728 and 1793

Towards the end of the Ancien Régime, a more empathetic judicial and humanitarian outlook attacked the very judicial and psychological foundations for torture and public cruelty. This introductory paper reflects on how prints and drawings may assist the historian in reconstructing an emotional backdrop to this shift in stances towards the gallows. An example of such a charged reconstruction is that of the execution of Jan and Cornelis de Wit. Published by Bernard Picart in 1728, half a century after the fact, the engraving refers the beholder to a gap between elite and popular classes as the latter engage actively in the dismembering of the victims. Another series of images arises out of the judicial execution of Louis XVI and the extrajudicial lynching of French emissaries in Rome of January 13, 1793. These examples, episodic as they may be, carry the weight of new concerns over executions and the popular masses, some by denouncing the baleful consequences of crossing the limits of a judicial order. But the passage from 1728 and 1793 in these visual reconstructions also reveals the continued vexation over execution crowds, which in their extremism represent an erasure of emotions of guilt, compassion and horror over victims.

Panel 17. Emotions and the Arts: An Interdisciplinary History

Panel abstract: What can the arts reveal to us about emotional experience in the past? Can we use music, visual art, literature, theatre, and other aesthetic works to move beyond the more established study of historical discourses and classifications, and towards a deeper understanding of how emotion was felt, shared, and put to use in past times and places? How can we draw historical insights from not only the emotions that aesthetic texts represent and describe, but also from those that they make us, and others, feel? This panel invites papers from researchers working on history, emotion, and the arts in all their forms. It seeks to explore the extent to which the study of the history of the emotions can in fact be emotional, not only in the object of its research but also in the methodologies that it deploys. Topics for discussion might include how methods from cultural anthropology; formalist criticism; philosophies of mind, body, or aesthetics; phenomenology; archaeology; or audience research might be put into conversation with more traditional approaches in historical emotion studies. Papers might consider how the ‘affective turn’ in critical theory offers new ways of moving beyond language, or how a sharper focus on embodied experience and aesthetics might reveal new insights into emotion, sensation, and cognition over time. Whatever their approach, papers in this panel will help further a discussion about the place and power of artistic evidence in the development of the history of the emotions as a field.

Convenors: Erin Sullivan, University of Birmingham, e.sullivan@bham.ac.uk
Marie Louise Herzfeld-Schild, University of Cologne, m.herzfeld-schild@uni-koeln.de

Session 17.1: aesthetics, embodiment, and the mind

1. Erin Sullivan, University of Birmingham & Marie Louise Herzfeld-Schild, University of Cologne, *Introduction: emotion, history, and the arts*
2. Deborah Valenze, Columbia University *How the history of the senses and emotions challenges a conventional history of aesthetics*
3. Mihaela Pop, University of Bucharest *Aisthesis, body consciousness, and performance art*
4. Carin Franzén, Linköping University *A matter of style: aesthetics of embodiment in French early modern freethinking*
5. Yue Zhuang, University of Exeter *Gardens, emotions, and pleasures: the Confucians and the Epicureans*

Paper abstracts:

1. Erin Sullivan, University of Birmingham, e.sullivan@bham.ac.uk
Marie Louise Herzfeld-Schild, University of Cologne, m.herzfeld-schild@uni-koeln.de

Introduction: emotion, history, and the arts

2. Deborah Valenze, Columbia University, dvalenze@barnard.edu

How the history of the senses and emotions challenges a conventional history of aesthetics

Aesthetics, as a term and as a discipline, begs for definition. “How philosophers have conceived of the boundaries of the field has been part of its history,” Paul Guyer points out in *A History of Modern Aesthetics* (2014), adding, “The history will have to define the field for us rather than the other way around.” Guyer’s approach has inspired mine, particularly as he emphasizes the way in which boundaries became narrower over time. At its start, aesthetic theorizing was “intimately involved with the deepest and most general aspects of human psychology” (Guyer’s description), constituting one of the grandest projects of the enlightenment. My intention is to reveal additional concerns, apart from those we know about through philosophy and art, present at the birth of the discipline in the eighteenth-century. The body, the senses, and emotions are at the heart of this revision of aesthetic theory in history. The nominal founder of the term “aesthetics,” German philosopher Alexander Baumgarten, called for a “science of sensible cognition,” but cognitive aspects of aesthetics became dominant at the expense of bodily experiences. Though we think of early aesthetics as allied with art, nature played a key role in theorizing about aesthetic experience. Moreover, early writers drew from religious ideas in order to make broad claims of universalism, especially in relation to natural beauty. The exclusion of nature and theology from formal aesthetic theory had serious implications: taste and imagination became defined as cognitive activities, the exclusive powers of a chosen few, while physical sensations and emotions became pathologized or aligned with discourses of social class. By rewriting the early history of aesthetics to include a fuller emotional and sensory vocabulary, we may shed light on obscured aspects of eighteenth-century experience.

3. Mihaela Pop, University of Bucharest, pop.mihaela.a@gmail.com

Aisthesis, body consciousness, and performance art

My contribution is based on Richard Shusterman’s contemporary researches on somaesthetics as a new and enlarged perspective in aesthetics. Basically, somaesthetics proposes a new turn in aesthetics taking into consideration the embodied experience and its awareness. In fact, Shusterman’s proposal enrolls in a larger philosophical perspective of the 20th century based on a more attentive research of the human body contribution to our sensitive and connection to the world outside us. I will also refer to John Dewey’s and M. Merleau-Ponty’s philosophical contributions (belonging to different philosophical movements) in which the two philosophers indicated the role played by the human body in perceiving and feeling the outside world. Shusterman

remarks that this new turn towards body experience is not a discovery of the 20th century, it comes from ancient Greek culture where the concept of *kalokagathia* was born. He also mentions that the research of the embodied experience would determine an extension of the classical meaning of aesthetics which should not study any more only the fine arts but also many other domains of the human creativity including even various corporal practices and exercises as those coming from old Asiatic cultures as yoga, t'ai chi ch'uan, zen, etc. I will then apply these theoretical approaches to a contemporary art, known as performance art or action art. It has certain specific traits that could contribute to this new aesthetic understanding of embodied experience. It uses a special artistic material – the artist's own body – as a new way of expression, beyond language. As examples I will use some of Marina Abramowicz's performances.

4. Carin Franzén, Linköping University, carin.franzen@liu.se

A matter of style: aesthetics of embodiment in French early modern freethinking

The relationship between emotion and reason was a central philosophical topic during early modernity that also worked to shape politics (Ahmed 2004). In seventeenth century France there is an interesting similarity between Descartes' idea of the sovereignty of reason and a certain form of power over the subjects in terms of the absolute authority of the king (Foucault 1972; Sahlin 2014). In general, a will to control emotions, affects and passions, marked the period's rule based aesthetics as well as the construction of the palace of Versailles, which has been analyzed as a symptom of the Grand Siècle's obsession with disorder and bestiality (Jeanneret 2012). During this period of time there are also signs of other literary and philosophical forms that instead of controlling or master emotions tried to integrate them into a critical thinking and an aesthetic experience by transforming them into "a matter of style" (*une affaire de style*) to use Jeanneret's description of Ninon de Lenclos' attitude towards love and desire. With a focus on their aesthetics of embodiment this paper discusses how French freethinkers such as La Fontaine, Saint-Évremond and Ninon de Lenclos in the wake of Montaigne articulated of counter-discourse to the period's dominating philosophical and political thinking on emotions.

5. Yue Zhuang, University of Exeter, y.zhuang@exeter.ac.uk

Gardens, emotions, and pleasures: the Confucians and the Epicureans

China and Europe's shared history of considering the garden as an instrument cultivating humanised or moderate emotions has been neglected. This affective approach may be identified in both the Confucian and Epicurean traditions — *renzhe zhile* 仁者之乐 (the pleasure of virtuous people) and *ataraxia* (pleasure of rest; tranquillity of the mind). The Confucian concept of cultivating emotions as a means of achieving Confucian virtue (*ren* 仁) and its associated pleasures is compared with the Epicurean concept of achieving an emotional balance and thus attaining *ataraxia*. Comparative cases of garden and landscape practices in China and Europe are discussed. In China, the Kangxi emperor's (r. 1661--1722) "Preface to The Mountain Resort", for one, illustrates how the Confucian practices were considered as capable of shaping the emotions and therefore aiding the attainment of the virtuous pleasure. In Europe, Sir William Temple's essay, 'Upon the Garden of Epicurus' (1685) in Restoration England, when Epicureanism was revived, illustrates how their gardens were employed to temper the passions and achieve tranquillity of mind. These comparative case studies explore both the psychology and moral philosophy of the art of the garden affecting the emotions in both Eastern and Western traditions. By examining these interlinked case studies during the late 17th century, the paper opens new ground for considering the intellectual Chinese and European entanglement of the emotions and the arts at the beginning of the age of *chinoiserie*.

Session 17.2: The visual arts

Presenters:

1. Azzura Rinaldi, University of Coimbra *Fear of the Devil in the middle ages: written and pictorial representation of an emotion*
2. Jeroen J. H. Dekker, University of Groningen *Emotions through the filter of art: paintings and emblems in the 17c. Dutch Republic*
3. Valentina Tomassetti, University of Warwick *At the first blush: shame as gender discriminator in early modern art*
4. Carolina Sacristán Ramírez, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, *From painful compassion to compassions: the rise of new religious sensibility in two Mexican Paintings of "Christ Child holding the Crown of Thorns" around 1730*
5. Anna Schram Vejlbj, Den Hirschsprungske Samling *Portrait and emotion: a romantic perspective*

Paper abstracts:

1. Azzura Rinaldi, University of Coimbra, rinaldi30@hotmail.com

Fear of the Devil in the middle ages: written and pictorial representation of an emotion

The Devil is a preponderant and omnipresent figure in the medieval imagination that constantly frightens and tempts the faithful. Its representations in church portals, fictitious literature as well as in official historiography are innumerable. As Dinzelbacher points out, the evolution of the devil's image roots in the will of the Church to control the faithful. It is possible to trace an evolutionary path of fear based on the presence of the devil in images and literary texts. For example, there is a considerable difference between the final Judgment of the mosaic of the church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (VI Century) and the portal with the same theme of the cathedral of Conque (XIII Century). Likewise, the demonic presence in the early times of Christianity was only found in hagiographical texts, while later obtaining a greater attention that opened the doors to several literary works. The ever-stronger presence of the devil in the medieval arts goes hand in hand with the evolutionary path of emotions and fear of the devil that invaded all aspects of the daily life and that had its apex in the witch hunts.

2. Jeroen J. H. Dekker, University of Groningen, j.j.h.dekker@rug.nl

Emotions through the filter of art: paintings and emblems in the 17c. Dutch Republic

For the 17th century prosperous Dutch middle class, looking at pictures was part of their daily life. Ownership of paintings, drawings, engravings and the very popular emblem books was normal for the average middle-class household. Countless images dealt with everyday life and with the individual and intimate inner world of childhood and the family. Including messages on patterns of parental and child behaviour and on how to live virtuously, they let people look at the emotions of themselves and of their families through the filter of art. Therefore, they can give us insight in emotions in the past. Moreover, the combination of images and text in emblem books, and the use of popular proverbs like 'As the old sing, so pipe the young' by genre painters such as Jan Steen make images as sources for emotions even stronger: as pieces of art they also represent a moral and educational discourse, for example that wrong behaviour of a child should not be blamed on the child but on the parents.

3. Valentina Tomassetti, University of Warwick, v.tomassetti@warwick.ac.uk

At the first blush: shame as gender discriminator in early modern art

Shame is probably the most represented emotion in the history of art and still so surprisingly understudied. Blushing, face covering and body shrinking are just some of the features used to depict shame in visual arts. These particular bodily expressions are not just the result of specific artistic tastes and choice; they actually embody, on a deeper level, messages about gender, race and

religion. To support this thesis, I would like to propose to the audience a small case study on a series of paintings dedicated to the Genesis episode of the Fall. Pointing out the differences in shame behaviours between Adam and Eve, I will disclose the gender differences that mark shame embodiment in men and women. We already know how art, in Western culture, has always been conceived and consumed as moral instructor and regulator. Analysing the intersection of shame and the pictorial world, we now have the opportunity to get a clearer picture of emotions as discriminating agents in the Early Modern Era.

4. Carolina Sacristán Ramírez, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México,
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From painful compassion to tender compassion: the rise of new religious sensibility in two Mexican Paintings of “Christ Child holding the Crown of Thorns” around 1730

In late 17th to early 18th century, colonial Mexico went through a process of religious laicization. The heavy influence of women, who received more attention from their spiritual directors, became a significant aspect in this process. This resulted in a shift of religious sensibility reflected on private devotional images, especially those representing Christ child holding the crown of thorns in his hands. These images used to be common in domestic settings where prayers and spiritual exercises took place. Two canvases on this subject, painted around 1730 by colonial painters, are kept in Mexico. The differences among both paintings refer also to different ways of approaching the image which are based on a more painful or a more tender compassion. This paper combines readings of devotional images with prescriptions from spiritual literature and with both music and poetry from colonial villancicos (religious part-songs in the vernacular). Images and villancicos are linked through spiritual literature and are meant to stimulate the believers’ painful or tender affections. Images create an illusion of a divine presence, while the villancicos display the emotional responses to spiritual exercises expected from the devotees. Music’s emotional immediacy allows a direct access to the affective impact of religious practices and opens a privileged window into the expressive connotations for images that would otherwise remain hidden in confusion.

5. Anna Schram Vejlbj, Den Hirschsprungske Samling, annvej@hirschsprung.dk

Portrait and emotion: a romantic perspective

My paper explores the psychological and emotional circumstances, which surround models in some of the finest Danish portraits of the 1800’s and how the modern individual can get a more profound understanding of these images and the range of emotions they embody. Contemporarily there was no question of the deep and complex emotion embodied in these portraits, but today it proves more difficult as it requires a prior understanding of the given period in order to fully grasp the people depicted and the different things they may have felt. When we see a portrait we are compelled to interpret it in the same way that we interpret living people. This creates a set of challenges in our relation to and understanding of a person in a portrait through a given time and space. How do we interpret a portrait from 100 or 200 years ago, if we know more about the person depicted and about the circumstances and cultural values they experienced? Do we understand them differently, or are our own ideas and understandings of emotion so engrained that this doesn’t matter? Is it perhaps possible to know too much and thereby impose emotion in a portrait where none was intended?

Session 17.3: the musical arts

Presenters:

1. Nira Pancer, University of Haifa, *Listening to Merovingian hagiography*
2. Carol J. Williams, Monash University, *Guy of Saint Denis (fl. 1280-1320) and the emotional regulation of plainchant*

3. Sebastian Richter, Leipzig University, *Traces of masculine honour: the madrigal book L'amorosa ero (1588) as an artifact of emotional practices*
4. Safa Canalp, Humboldt University of Berlin, *'Emotional' vs 'affective' alliances in Turkey's popular music sphere*
5. Melanie Strumbl, University of Vienna, *Towards an affective hermeneutics of (musical) bodies*

Paper abstracts:

1. Nira Pancer, University of Haifa, nira@research.haifa.ac.il

Listening to Merovingian hagiography

In the last few decades, sound, soundscape, and aural cultures have been widely studied in the context of medieval literature. Yet, the Merovingian hagiographical soundscape is still waiting to be deciphered. This lack of interest is not surprising: sounds, as sonorous information, are rarely mentioned in the texts. Some *Vitae* are even almost totally devoid of them. Building on Pierre Schaeffer's listening modes the present paper is an attempt to explain the hagiographers' dismissal of certain sounds. By removing sonorous indices, and by creating a new auditory imagination (a 'sacred sonography' composed both of dramatic resonant theophanies and ordinary noisy micro-miracles), the hagiographers - this paper argues - wished to train their audience to acknowledge the presence of God in every bit of noise, in order to develop a spiritual sense of hearing.

2. Carol J. Williams, Monash University, Carol.Williams@monash.edu

Guy of Saint Denis (fl. 1280-1320) and the emotional regulation of plainchant

Guy of Saint-Denis' *Tractatus de tonis* was probably composed a little after the turn of the century and provides an astonishing insight into the fabric and structure of liturgical chant. His treatise is divided into two parts, the first mostly dealing with the relatively abstract theory of chant and the second, illustrating that theory in its practice with more than 400 examples of chant in use at the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Denis. In the first part Guy frames his discussion within the rules governing the proper and regular language of the tones of chant. To step outside the rules, to overstep the boundaries of the tones, is to operate irregularly and has emotional resonance for Guy. The following passage captures this idea:

... it does not seem at all inappropriate to our argument that some chants instituted by the ancient fathers and catholic men can ... be excused from irregularity sometimes because of the authority of the composers ... and sometimes because of the melody and consonant harmony therein. This is especially so since sometimes composers of chants of this kind rush into a kind of unrestrained ascent, either because of the sweetness of the melody they contain, or ... because of the matter on which chants of this kind are based. It is just as if they suffer a certain excess of mind or ecstasy in the manner of lovers or those rejoicing or sometimes of the sad and those who mourn. [1.3.20]

In the next paragraphs, he provides examples of rapture and ecstasy and sorrow in specific chants, explaining how manipulation of the behavior of the tones enables this expression. What I find so interesting in this is that he is applying a kind of post hoc analytic procedure. It would not be unusual for a composer of chant to be able to point to those passages within the chant that express specific emotions, as that expression is intentional, i.e. the result of compositional intent. Guy, however, is finding specific music passages linked to intense emotional expression in chant composed hundreds of years before his time. Does this suggest that there is some secret language for the expressivity of chant that the original composers used that Guy also understands and is articulate about in his *Tractatus*? This paper provides the means for examining this question by careful analysis of several key passages from the first part of Guy's *Tractatus de tonis*.

3. Sebastian Richter, Leipzig University, sebastian.richter@uni-leipzig.de

Traces of masculine honour: the madrigal book *L'amorosa ero* (1588) as an artifact of emotional practices

Around 1588 the Brescian aristocrat Marc'Antonio Martinengo initiated the creation of a madrigal book which stages a musical competition between a wide range of musical settings (Bizzarini & Privitera 2012) based on his own text „Ero, così dicea“. Its literary subject—the myth on the love between Hero and Leander—and the anthology's clear social location provides the opportunity of situating broader early modern discourses on affect and morals in a specific lifeworld context. In this talk, I will discuss and read the madrigal book from a new perspective as an artifact of emotional practices (Scheer 2012) shaping aristocratic culture, and question how actors were engaged with its medial and material constitution. In that manner, I will present by way of example a methodological discussion of the function of artworks in enpracticing emotions. The analysis emphasizes the social embedding of the book, its structure and paratextual constitution in relation to its musico-poetic fictions. I will argue that between the book's content, its modalities of production and representational values, it leaves traces of masculine practices of honour structuring the individual dealing with its subject love, for an early modern courtier.

4. Safa Canalp, Humboldt University of Berlin, safacanalp@gmail.com

'Emotional' vs 'affective' alliances in Turkey's popular music sphere

This paper's main aim is to provide temporal/spatial answers to a specific question: “What happens when the ball is in the musicians' court in a/an time/environment when/where *everybody has to have an opinion?*” With reference to anthropological discussions on *media* and *emotion* and culture-related philosophical discussions on *affect*, the paper tells about the recently formed “emotional” and “affective” alliances among Turkey's popular music artists with regard to the socio-political atmosphere. It tries to keep an account of the AKP era (2002-present) in which social and cultural segregation has gradually become more apparent in the society due to government policies and the ever-growing consciousness of the government critiques. In this period, even in the sphere of popular music, terms like “partisan artist” and “marginal/marginalized/alien artist” have claimed their places in Turkey's current political conjuncture just as it has happened in many other sectors which have been in direct interaction with the public (like the media). Apart from questioning the motivations of the artists who take position in favor of the state and the dominant culture or on the side of the opposition and the counter culture discourses, the paper discusses about the observed outcomes and further potentials of such alliances and tries to make theoretical and practical deductions from them.

5. Melanie Strumbl, University of Vienna, melaniestrumb1@hotmail.com

Towards an affective hermeneutics of (musical) bodies

The so-called *affective turn* is a form of post-structuralist thinking, but its specificity is that it tries to transcend and surpass the notion of language, as well as the pre-lingual and the lingual. Affect Studies also try to move beyond the dichotomy of body and mind, which has been permeating thought in Western culture for centuries and has made it impossible to speak of music and sound as bodily activities. Therefore, I propose that music and sound do not possess discursive meaning in a hermeneutical sense per se but should be recognized as a performative process. Consequently, music does not necessarily have *meaning*; rather, it has the potential and the power to move, hence, its essence is the moving of affects, a process of *doing*.

The realization of music as a body in movement that affects other bodies is crucial to the understanding of the symbiosis of voice, sound, and body. Reading Jean-Luc Nancy's *Listening* enables a way of thinking about rhythm and timbre, sound acoustics, resonance and noise, voice and

instrument, and ultimately song altogether that – connected with Affect Studies – might show the affectivity of resonating bodies and voices.

Through the lens of Julia Kristeva's semiotic-linguistic concept of "geno-text" and "pheno-text", as well as Roland Barthes's analysis of vocal sound ('geno'-voice and 'pheno'-voice) in his essay *The Grain of the Voice*, a critical endeavor will be made to combine notions of the *affective turn* with post-structuralist quasi-linguistic hermeneutics to arrive at a postmodern understanding of bodily hermeneutics that is essentially defined by movements of (bodily) affect.

Session 17.4: participation and representation

Presenters:

1. Rebecca Yearling, Keele University, *'The object poisons sight': audiences watching violence in the works of Shakespeare*
2. Ute Oswald, University of Warwick, *'Re-tuning' the mind: arts and emotions in the 19c. British asylum*
3. Irena Avsenik Nabergoj, University of Ljubljana and University of Nova Gorica, *Emotions and empathy in personal narratives about the Holocaust*
4. Raina Zimmering, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz *The production of senses in the murals of the Zapistas through cognitive/emotional and affective participation*
5. Erin Sullivan, University of Birmingham and Marie Louise Herzfeld-Schild, University of Cologne, *Conclusions: challenges, methods, and opportunities*

Paper abstracts:

1. Rebecca Yearling, Keele University, r.yearling@keele.ac.uk

'The object poisons sight': audiences watching violence in the works of Shakespeare

Reconstructing how early modern spectators might have felt while watching the plays of Shakespeare might seem an impossible task. Recent work done by Gail Kern Paster and others on the Renaissance humoral model, and the idea of embodied emotion, may tell us much about how the early moderns conceptualised their own emotions, but this does not always help us to gain any real insight into what emotions they actually *felt*. In this paper, I want to explore another possible avenue for gaining insight into spectators' responses, by considering the relationship between the emotional and the cognitive. Plato described emotion and reason as opposing forces within the human mind, but I want to explore the interdependency of these two things: the connection between the emotional sensations felt by spectators and their rational or interpretative response to what they see. Specifically, I want to consider the ways in which spectators' response to scenes of violence and suffering in Shakespeare might have been affected by the various frames of reference – social, cultural and religious – that they might have brought to bear on those scenes.

2. Ute Oswald, University of Warwick, u.oswald@warwick.ac.uk

'Re-tuning' the mind: arts and emotions in the 19c. British asylum

Our perception of the nineteenth-century asylum has largely been shaped by images of shackles, leeches and padded cells. Yet this obfuscates a very different side of these institutions; as well as non-restraint, proponents of the then pioneering 'moral treatment' put a particular emphasis on location, architecture and amusements. The extensive social activities programme for patients at pauper, private and criminal asylums included balls, concerts, art classes, creative writing and plays. This interdisciplinary paper interrogates the hitherto unexplored relationship between arts and emotions in Scottish and English institutions through the critical analysis of authentic patient voices and reports both in the popular and scientific nineteenth-century press. Visual representations of

patients taking part in these entertainments will be scrutinised for signs of emotional responses to stimuli such as 'a note of music, a picture, (...) a line of poetry', which 'strike[s] the sense' so that 'every sorrowful phantom gives place to agreeable images' (Conolly, 1830). In exposing the impact of the arts on the emotional health of the nineteenth-century insane, I am hoping to prompt a discussion around the rehabilitative value of creative activities, potentially staking a claim in identifying the forerunners of art, music and drama therapy.

3. Irena Avsenik Nabergoj, University of Ljubljana and University of Nova Gorica, irena.avsenik-nabergoj@zrc-sazu.si

Emotions and empathy in personal narratives about the Holocaust

This paper deals with individual life-stories of the Holocaust as presented by Anne Frank (1929–1945), Helene Berr (1921–1945), Imre Kertész (1929–2016) and others. It also considers the potential of heroic helpers' stories for reconciliation. Witnesses and divergent narratives about the Holocaust reveal the opposing attitudes of Non-Jews towards Jews and vice versa in the time of crisis – some Jewish victims were strongly affective in their descriptions of horrors, some not; on the other hand, some Non-Jews were passive bystanders or even perpetrators during the Holocaust, while some were heroic rescuers. Dealing with this traumatic memory allows people to overcome the negative impact of the past mass violence. Narratives by both victims and helpers could change stereotyped thinking about the past. Narratological approaches can structure readers' progressive judgments and the effects that these have on readers' sympathy and empathy. Individual life-stories of people remembering the genocide provide a unique opportunity for concrete representations of history, thereby providing a crucial potential for reconciliation by increasing awareness of different historical experiences. Reading works that present "sad truths" helps us to appreciate the aesthetic qualities of personal narratives and to acquire moral knowledge and spiritual growth.

4. Raina Zimmering, Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, raina.zimmering@jku.de

The production of senses in the murals of the Zapatistas through cognitive/emotional and affective participation

The murals of the Zapatista rebels in Mexico which originated through the process of participative painting, deserve attention for the manner in which they produce senses. This analysis should be made from the perspective of material/historical phenomenology and draw on the work of Gilles Deleuze; distinction should be made between *affect* (as an immediate, autonomous bodily response) and *emotion* (as a part of a cognitive, opinion-forming reflection); at the same time their mutual interaction as well as correspondence should be acknowledged. In 1994 a group of indigenous leftist intellectuals calling themselves Zapatistas formed in Chiapas, in South-East of Mexico, to fight against the neoliberal violence and exploitative policies of the Mexican government. Since that time autonomous Zapatista communities have been created, generating an alternative space for radical democracy. This aspect manifested itself above all in the fact that all members of the community took turns to assume political roles directly, subordinating themselves to the principle of "Mandar obedeciendo" --"ruling by obeying" -- meaning that the community makes its decisions in plenary sessions which the government then obeys. An emotional and affective community has been created through this practice of direct democracy, which should be examined through the examples of the Zapatista murals. A great number of community buildings have been decorated with scenes from everyday life and historical figures to which the Zapatistas feel connected. These paintings are both emotional and cognitive in the way that their deliberately chosen subjects illustrate a sense of community, as well as historical and future missions; they are affective because they have been painted by the community rather than professional artists. Since community members act as artistic producers, they experience the paintings physically, meaning affectively.

5. Erin Sullivan, University of Birmingham, e.sullivan@bham.ac.uk and Marie Louise Herzfeld-Schild, University of Cologne, m.herzfeld-schild@uni-koeln.de

Conclusions: challenges, methods, and opportunities

Panel 18. Musical and Vocal Expressions of Emotions

Panel abstract: The close relationship between music and emotions seems to be a commonplace. Although numerous attempts have been made to better understand this relationship, however, there are still many unresolved questions regarding the manifold connections between these two human phenomena. Our panel wants to approach the relationship between music and emotions by understanding both – music and emotion – as expressions, and therefore as being very similar in character. Thereby the voice acts as link between music and emotions, since it is used expressively in both the musical (singing, declaiming etc) as well as in the emotional realm (scream, shout, laugh etc) and thus is building a bridge between both the aesthetical and the affective side.

The panel wants to examine the relationship between music, voice and emotions from as manifold perspectives as possible. Thematic areas could include performance studies, aesthetical concepts, analysis or history of compositions, aspects of embodiment. Thereby, we are particularly interested to contrast examples that stem from different historical as well as different cultural areas and also invite proposals concerning the border between vocal sounds in music and vocal sounds in everyday life. The aim of the panel is to combine as manifold aspects of musical and vocal expressions of emotions and to thereby come as close as possible to the relationship of music and emotions in past and present.

Convenors: Carola Bebermeier, University of Cologne, carola.bebermeier@uni-koeln.de

Marie Louise Herzfeld-Schild, University of Cologne, m.herzfeld-schild@uni-koeln.de

Session 18.1: Music and emotions

Presenters:

1. Carola Bebermeier, University of Cologne *“Pazza per amore”: Connections between Madness and Sensibility in the Eighteenth Century and in Giovanni Paisiello’s opera Nina ossia la pazza per amore (1789)*
2. Mårten Nehrfor, Stockholm University *Forming and expressing the cultural community through songs in late Eighteenth Century German lands*
3. Wiebke Rademacher, University of Cologne *The Emotions of Concert Audiences*

Paper abstracts:

1. Carola Bebermeier, University of Cologne, carola.bebermeier@uni-koeln.de

“Pazza per amore”: Connections between Madness and Sensibility in the Eighteenth Century and in Giovanni Paisiello’s opera Nina ossia la pazza per amore (1789)

The eighteenth century was not only the century of reason, but also of a heightened subjectivity and individuality. Seemingly in opposition—but in fact closely related—to the Enlightenment, the ‘sensibility’ movement influenced the scientific and artistic innovations of the late eighteenth century. The emphasis on introspection and self-reflection led to an increasing interest in the inner life of the soul, which motivated research into mental conditions and diseases. This process ended in a wave of psychiatric reforms and in the improvement of the nurturing and medical care of the mentally ill. The paper will situate Giovanni Paisiello’s opera *Nina ossia la pazza per amore* (1789) in this cultural context, and analyse the translation of the main character’s (Nina) madness into music in her grand aria “Il mio ben quando verrà”.

2. Mårten Nehrfor, Stockholm University, marten.nehrfors@music.su.se

Forming and expressing the cultural community through songs in late Eighteenth Century German lands

Since the affective turn in cultural history a lot of studies have identified and analysed various emotional communities (e.g. Reddy 2001, Rosenwein 2007, 2015). However, when it comes to the forming and spreading of these emotional communities there is still much research needed, particularly when music's role is concerned. In this paper I show how Prussian composer, writer and Kapellmeister Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) sought to influence and form the German cultural community with songs, particularly through collections directed specifically at children such as *Lieder für Kinder* (4 vols.), *Lieder für die Jugend* (2 vols.), and *Wiegenlieder für gute deutsche Mütter*. By singing Reichardt's songs children were schooled into a German emotional community. At the same time the songs influenced and shaped also the character of this emotional community. I further show how this practice was founded on a Herderian conception of national cultural communities. Following Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744–1803) expressivist views on culture and language I focus on the active participatory character of the communities, and have chosen to talk therefore of expressive communities rather than emotional.

3. Wiebke Rademacher, University of Cologne, wiebke.rademacher@uni-koeln.de

The Emotions of Concert Audiences

The last decades have seen a steady increase of historians and historical musicologists whose research focuses on concert audiences and music performances. While previous research on music predominantly dealt with the analysis of works, their great, mostly white and dead composers, and musical styles, now musical events and the audience more and more came into consideration. The authors tried, for instance, to explain how the ascending bourgeoisie influenced various parameters of concert life in the 18th and 19th century. They asked for changing behavioural patterns of the audience (Müller 2015, Johnson 1994) and a "transformation of taste" (Weber 2000). Most of the studies, however, did not really attempt to explain which role the emotional impact of music itself played. How did audiences experience different musical styles in different contexts? By examining performances of the same musical works in highly different social contexts—from working class events to concerts in bourgeois circles—in late 19th- and early 20th-century Berlin, this presentation attempts to encourage a broader understanding of the interaction mechanisms between the emotional impact of musical works and their historical context.

Session 18.2: Voices and emotions

Presenters:

1. Josephine Hoegaerts, HCAS (Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies) *The Voice as Embodied Mirror: Vocal Articulations of Feeling in Nineteenth Century Europe*
2. Marine Beccarelli, University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, marine.beccarelli@live.fr *Expression of emotions in night-time French talk radio, 1975-2000's*
3. Chae Lin Kim, Berlin University of the Arts, c.kim@udk-berlin.de *The Beauty of "Deaf Voice" (Helmut Oehring's dance opera Das D'Amato System)*
4. Marie Louise Herzfeld-Schild, University of Cologne, m.herzfeld-schild@uni-koeln.de *Vocality and Emotions in Electroacoustic Music*

Paper abstracts:

1. Josephine Hoegaerts, HCAS (Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies),
Josephine.hoegaerts@helsinki.fi

The Voice as Embodied Mirror: Vocal Articulations of Feeling in Nineteenth Century Europe

In J. Duquesnois' 1841 manual for orators, vocal physiology was described as "le miroir où vient se réfléchir l'image [...] surtout de nos sensations", a mirror of the self and its inner workings. The mirror was not given, however. The embodied voice, like the emotions it mirrored, was a matter of continuous cultural and physical 'work'. Histories of the body have largely ignored the role of voice and speech in the performance of the self and emotional practice. The voice's inherently eerie and transitory nature makes it a challenge to the historian (it leaves no documentary trail without copy and transcription). But, as I will argue in this paper, the voice's close connection to temporality and its dependence on performance also makes it the ideal case for a historical analysis of emotional practice. In the paper, I will analyze how elocutionists, laryngologists and musicians connected vocal to emotional practice in their work. I draw on a broad corpus of sources, including scientific treatises on laryngology, self-help manuals to 'cure' speech impediments, singing courses, essays on oratory and elocution and other documents generated by (mostly self-defined) experts of the human voice in the nineteenth century. The material was drawn from collections available to middle-class readers in Leipzig, London and Paris, and thus represents the reigning normative discourse on the nature and use of the human voice in a large part of Europe in the nineteenth century.

2. Marine Beccarelli, University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, marine.beccarelli@live.fr

Expression of emotions in night-time French talk radio, 1975-2000's

In the second half of the 20th century, the French radio stations started to extend their schedules, broadcasting progressively longer in the night, until they reached 24 hours a day broadcasts. During night-time, and especially from the middle of the 1970's, a new type of broadcasts emerged, focusing on intimacy and emotions, in which the listeners were invited to call to express themselves on the air. This phenomenon was not specifically French, most of the countries developed these kind of nocturnal talk shows. The aim of this paper is to examine the arising of this emotional discourse and to analyse the way listeners expressed their feelings in the public sphere, yet in an anonymous way. This paper will be illustrated with some sound archives, taking interest in the way voices and sound atmospheres could build these emotional shows, while some letters from listeners will be used, in order to comprehend their reception of these vocal emotions.

3. Chae Lin Kim, Berlin University of the Arts, c.kim@udk-berlin.de

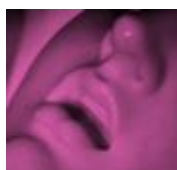
The Beauty of "Deaf Voice" (Helmut Oehring's dance opera *Das D'Amato System*)

'Have you heard deaf people talk? Their vocal chords are atrophied so that can only emit uncontrolled, deformed sounds at a very low pitch - and those were the first sounds I heard as a small child.' Helmut Oehring, a hearing child growing up with deaf parents, explained so the reason why he has a strong predilection for low pitches. Characteristic of his music-theatrical works is that the deaf artists are not only required to sign on stage, but also to use their voice. Oehring refers to that vocal sound as 'beautiful'. I want to examine 'Deaf voice' that is used as an aesthetical tool in Oehring's dance opera *Das D'Amato System* (1996). Interestingly, 'Deaf voice' present some features of Postdramatic Theatre (Hans-Thies Lehmann) in terms of vocal aesthetics, and furthermore listening to that vocal sound in this music-theatrical context already involves the transition from 'social strangeness' to 'cultural strangeness' (Bernhard Waldenfels) which makes us (hearing people) aesthetically aware of deaf people's voice. In this regard the 'deaf perspective' of voice will be also considered in my presentation.

4. Marie Louise Herzfeld-Schild, University of Cologne, m.herzfeld-schild@uni-koeln.de

Vocality and Emotions in Electroacoustic Music

In electro-acoustic music exists is a tension between seemingly “rational” technique, expression and emotionality. For, paradoxically, the aesthetic mechanisation of music did not lead to less expressivity or even less emotionality of electro-acoustic artworks. It rather seems that after 1945 composers were able only by withdrawing to the supposed safety of technical rationality to give music back the expressivity and emotionality that it was denied after the experiences of the Third Reich especially within serialist circles. It is striking how for example the early electro-acoustic works of Luciano Berio (Thema (Ommaggio a Joyce) (1958) or Visage (1961)) focus on vocal expressions of affect, emotional expressivity and the sensual physicality of the human body. Within these works Berios aimed to deconstruct language’s semantics and to emphasise its musical properties instead. His attempts inevitable led to an upgrading of musical gestures that in their vocal performance by Cathy Berberian became all the more expressively, physically, and emotionally significant; a development that – as newly awakened “principle of expression” – found it’s way from these electro-acoustic experiments again in the acoustic music of it’s time (for example in György Ligeti’s Aventures and Nouvelles Aventures (1962–65) or Berio’s Sequenza III (1966)). This paper examines electro-acoustic music from both the perspectives of technique philosophy and the history of emotions and thereby especially focuses on the tension between the seemingly non-human, disembodied technique and the genuine human, bodily-emotional expression of vocal sound. With musical examples from Berio’s and Berberian’s electro-acoustic experiments it aims to analyse this tension in the artwork’s aesthetic conception, their artistic performance as well as their sensual perception and reception.



VIII Desire, sexuality and love

Panel 19. Premodern Love and Friendship across Borders

Panel abstract: Merged from a multitude of classical and medieval traditions and interpreted within frameworks of different geographical, political, linguistic and cultural settings, love came to reflect a fundamental emotion. Rather than a pure cognitive category or an attribute of God, love was regarded as a universal force that ennobled and empowered human beings but this emotion could also be represented as a threat to order and peace. The proposed panel focuses on how medieval and early modern writers came to articulated different theories of love as well as emotional styles in their writings, each of them in their own way and under certain conditions: namely in the anonymous medieval romance Partonopeu de Blois, in Katherine Philip’s poems and in Madame de Lafayette’s novel Zayde. One aim is to demonstrate in more general terms how these writers exposed a notion of love in its entire richness, as bodily and sublimated desire, as humility and triumph, as physical attraction between the sexes and profound affections between friends. The panel also want to discuss how emotional practices and vocabularies of love relates to inter- and cross-cultural encounters and itineraries as well as gender formations.

Convenor: Carin Franzén, Linköping University, carin.franzen@liu.se

Presenters:

1. Ellen Söderblom Saarela, Linköping University *A French Knight's Education in Greek Culture through Emotional Performance*
2. Matilda Amundsen Bergström, University of Gothenburg *Friendship's mystery – The poetics of friendship in the poetry of Katherine Philips*
3. Sofia Warkander, Stockholm University *Emotional Practices and Vocabularies: The Love That Cannot Speak Its Name*
4. Johanna Vernqvist, Linköping University *Searching for Love; Fidelity and Infidelity in the Heptaméron*
5. Individual presentation. Anna-Leena Perämäki, University of Turku *Love and hope in the shadow of the Holocaust: Young Jewish diarist Hélène Berr's notes on her romantic relationship to a gentile in 1940's Paris*

Paper abstracts:

1. Ellen Söderblom Saarela, Linköping University, ellen.soderblom.saarela@liu.se

A French Knight's Education in Greek Culture through Emotional Performance

In the anonymous twelfth century Old French romance *Partonopeu de Blois* tells the story of a knight torn between places; of a boy travelling back and forth between the East and West, until he finally in the end addresses his fellow Frankish knights by speaking Greek, wins a tournament that hands him the heiress of the Empire, Melior, as spouse and makes him emperor of Byzantium. Melior embodies his education into becoming a grown man as well as a ruler of the Empire. The literary motif of erotic education could be traced back to ancient Greek erotic literature, which in turn inspired Byzantine novels of the twelfth century. In my paper I discuss Partonopeu's erotic education in comparison to other literary erotic works in the twelfth century literary context. Does this Old French romance adapt an 'emotional style' from the Greek literary tradition, articulated by the protagonist himself through his acquisition of the Greek tongue? Accordingly, this Frankish knight could be interpreted as embodying Greek tradition through emotional performance, and consequently acquiring Greek emotional vocabulary.

2. Matilda Amundsen Bergström, University of Gothenburg, matilda.amundsen.bergstrom@lir.gu.se

Friendship's mystery – The poetics of friendship in the poetry of Katherine Philips

In this paper, I will discuss Katherine Philips's (1632-1664) poetics of friendship. Celebrated in her own time as both a great poet and a great friend, Philips devotes over 40 poems to her friendships with Anne Owen and Mary Aubrey. I will argue that, throughout these poems, Philips seeks to create poetic models for rendering female-female friendships culturally and politically meaningful. In doing so, she writes against the grain of a traditional view (voiced by authors from Aristotle to Montaigne) of women as incapable of being friends. While making this argument, I will consider some of the varying practices and cultural meanings of friendship in 17th century England (including the symbolic role of the body and poem of the friend). Secondly, I will argue that part of Philips project has to do with creating a special poetics of female-female friendship, a kind of lyrical "talking back" to what literary historian William West has called the comparative (as well as masculine and heteroerotic) rhetoric of Petrarchan poetics, which dominated the lyrical tradition in 17th century England.

3. Sofia Warkander, Stockholm University, sofia.warkander@littvet.su.se

Emotional Practices and Vocabularies: The Love That Cannot Speak Its Name

In Madame de Lafayette's 1670 novel *Zayde, histoire espagnole*, the prince Consalve encounters the enchanting princess Zayde as she is washed ashore outside the cottage that he has chosen for his refuge from the world after disappointments in love and friendship. They do not speak the same language, however, and Consalve cannot identify her idiom. Once they are separated, he finds that it

is Greek, and learns it in the hopes of finding Zayde again. The lovers' mutual attempts to identify and learn the language of the other are set against a background of Muslim-Christian conflict, coupled with Zayde's own tale of her genealogy and ties to different cultures around the Mediterranean. Linguistic (and cultural) estrangement is juxtaposed with emotional attachment. How do emotions come to be, and how are they communicated? What emotional value does language, or indeed the absence of language, possess, and what symbolic value is each language assigned? The paradoxical meeting of forcibly mute lovers occasions a study of perceptions of the nature of love itself. But first and foremost, *Zayde* poses interesting questions concerning language as "cognitive meaning-making reflection" in its role as an agent and instrument of feelings of love, jealousy, mistrust, and hope.

4. Johanna Vernqvist, Linköping University, johanna.vernqvist@liu.se

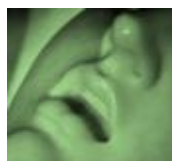
Searching for Love; Fidelity and Infidelity in the *Heptaméron*

Marriage as a controlling institution of sexuality and gender roles is one of the main fields to be battled in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*. Questions about desire and amorous liaisons are often raised in this battle that also bears witness of specific emotional practices and vocabularies that can be related to Foucault's description of sexuality as a "dense transfer point", where a number of power relations meet: men and women, priest and laity, administration and population. From this perspective sexuality is "endowed with the greatest instrumentality: useful for the greatest number of maneuvers and capable of serving as a point of support, as a linchpin, for the most varied strategies". By focusing on how the term *fidele* is put into process, it is my purpose in this paper to discuss and problematize the different ways the *Heptaméron* subverts existing codes of gender and sexuality through debates and nouvelles on marital and extramarital love.

5. Individual presentations: Anna-Leena Perämäki, University of Turku, alpera@utu.fi

Love and hope in the shadow of the Holocaust: Young Jewish diarist Héléne Berr's notes on her romantic relationship to a gentile in 1940's Paris

The focus of this paper is on a young Jewish woman Héléne Berr (1921–1945) and her diary notes written in German-occupied Paris, in the midst of the ongoing Jewish persecution and war. Berr kept a diary from April 1942 until February 1944. Only a few weeks later, she and her parents were captured and deported. Héléne Berr died in Bergen-Belsen in April 1945. Her diary was first published in France in 2008. Berr's diary draws a profound picture about a young woman's everyday life and thoughts as a persecuted Jew in occupied, war-torn Paris. However, Berr writes also about happiness and hope that she managed to maintain in spite of the growing anti-Semitism and terror around her. During the years she kept a diary, she fell in love and started a romantic relationship with a Catholic young man called Jean Moraviecki. This paper discusses Berr's and Moraviecki's deepening relationship described in the diary. Their love was shadowed from the beginning by Berr's struggle with facing her Jewish identity – Moraviecki did not know that her new girlfriend was a Jew before she had to start wearing the yellow badge – and the uncertain future. Still this relationship was one of the most important things that gave this young diarist strength to keep going and remain hopeful, against all odds.



IX Emotions and senses in medicine & health

Panel 20. Motherhood, medicine and the emotions

Panel abstract: Scholarship on pregnancy in the early modern period has argued that the experience was marred by fear. The birthing chamber was a wholly female space, and attendants have been represented in historical accounts as functioning to simply distribute the terror. This view, however, has not been without its critics. Adrian Wilson has suggested that historians have simply combined marginal references to pain, danger and fear 'into a single gestalt'. And yet, inquiries continue to focus on the birthing chamber and delivery rather than considering the whole experience of gestating a child and the emotional community of friends, neighbours and family that witnessed and shaped this life-stage. Recent work in the history of medicine has shown that the emotions were central in early modern constructions of health. They were one of the six factors individuals had to manage in order to prevent disease. In this way, fear, discontent and anger had a direct physical effect on the body. This was particularly important for pregnant women. To receive a fright or suffer from grief could lead to miscarriage. This panel will re-evaluate evidence for the so-called 'fear thesis' in light of the affective turn in medical history to examine the ways in which early modern families constructed and wrote about the lead up to delivery.

Convenors: Leah Astbury, University of Cambridge, la320@cam.ac.uk
Emily May Vine, Queen Mary University of London, e.m.vine@qmul.ac.uk

Presenters:

1. Leah Astbury, University of Cambridge *'I may show myself a loving mother and dutiful wife': Childbearing narratives in early modern women's writing*
2. Emily May Vine, Queen Mary University of London *Childbirth prayer, fear, grief and relief in early modern London*
3. Sarah Fox, University of Manchester *"I now and then feel myself rather low": emotional wellbeing during childbirth in eighteenth-century England*
4. Kristine Dyrmann, University of Aarhus *Flourishing children, dying children: Frederikke Reventlow's notebook on motherhood in late eighteenth century Denmark (1777-1782)*
5. Michael Brown, University of Roehampton *"Cause – anxiety of mind – confinement and great fatigue": Motherhood, emotions and breast cancer early nineteenth-century England*

Paper abstracts:

1. Leah Astbury, University of Cambridge, la320@cam.ac.uk

'I may show myself a loving mother and dutiful wife': Childbearing narratives in early modern women's writing

This paper will examine the burgeoning seventeenth-century genre of 'maternal legacies'. In such texts, women set out religious and practical guidance to their husbands on how to raise children in the event of their death. Scholars have interpreted the motivation of such texts – acceptance of the possibility of death – to mean that fear was the dominant emotional experience of pregnancy. Others have proposed that the publication of legacies represented a unique opportunity for early modern women to engage in a project of political reform and dissent. In this argument, the domestic content of legacies disguised the real motivation to intrude into print culture, a sphere previously male.

Through an examination of women's correspondence and life-writing (journals, diaries, commonplace books and spiritual commentaries) I will interrogate whether maternal legacies were adopting a particular emotional narrative for authorial gain, or reflect a broader concern with spiritual and personal preparation for birth. By considering the broader emotional community of family, friends and neighbours that were important in monitoring pregnant women's health and offering guidance, I will suggest that maternal legacies echo the sentiments of other kinds of women's writing – they were public spaces in which motherhood and identity were enmeshed.

2. Emily May Vine, Queen Mary University of London, e.m.vine@qmul.ac.uk

Childbirth prayer, fear, grief and relief in early modern London

This paper examines prayer and religious writings created in anticipation of or in response to childbirth in early modern London. It considers how both men and women belonging to a variety of different religious communities used prayer or spiritual introspection as a means of making sense of the fear, grief and relief associated with the events of the birthing chamber. It considers inscriptions and signs of use within religious prescriptive literature on childbirth, as well as personal prayers, diaries, and elegies created by members of Anglican, Catholic, Protestant nonconformist and Jewish communities in London. Whilst these communities adhered to different scripture and belonged to different religious support networks, the emotional responses to childbirth and the desire to turn towards spiritual comfort were near universal. This paper extends Katherine McPherson's argument that the 'Churching' of women was not solely an official liturgical ceremony, and was instead experienced as a 'ritualized thanksgiving' manifested more generally through informal domestic gatherings and personal spiritual writings. It will suggest that in post-reformation London, the creation of personal prayers and spiritual writings in response to childbirth had a significant emotional resonance, and acted as an essential supplement to the prescriptions and ceremonies of religious institutions.

3. Sarah Fox, University of Manchester, hy06sej@yahoo.co.uk

"I now and then feel myself rather low": emotional wellbeing during childbirth in eighteenth-century England

Throughout the eighteenth-century it was widely accepted that emotions could have a physical manifestation. Not only was emotional management an important part of maintaining physical health, humoral theory held that an individual's emotional tendencies were dictated by the physical make-up of their bodies. During pregnancy and childbirth, it was expected that women would experience strong sensations of fear and anxiety. Yet it was widely understood that these negative emotions could have a bodily impact upon the physical health not just of the mother, but of her infant too. As such, pregnancy and birth represented an emotional crisis point in most women's lives. This paper uses the letters of two Manchester merchant's daughters – Rebekah and Elizabeth Clegg – to examine the way in which emotions were experienced and managed during pregnancy and birth in eighteenth-century England. The sisters were separated when Elizabeth married a London silk merchant, but maintained their affectionate relationship using letters. Both sisters wrote candidly about their emotions throughout their pregnancies offering practical advice and emotional support at points where the other was perceived as being particularly 'low'. Their letters offer us an insight into the interplay between emotional, spiritual and physical health during this period of the lifecycle.

4. Kristine Dyrmann, University of Aarhus kristine.dyrmann@cas.au.dk

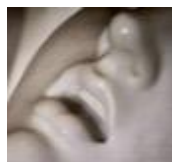
Flourishing children, dying children: Frederikke Reventlow's notebook on motherhood in late eighteenth century Denmark (1777-1782)

How did a late eighteenth century countess experience the loss of her infant children? If emotions are practised and can be historicised, as Monique Scheer has argued, how did Frederikke Reventlow (1747-1822), a Danish countess living in the late eighteenth century, feel and practise the loss of her children? This paper examines a notebook filled in by Frederikke Reventlow, recording how she brought up her children around 1777-1782. A historian found the notebook in 1990, while writing a biography about Frederikke's husband, and the notebook was published under the title *Our flourishing Children* ("Vore opblomstrende børn"), taken from its first few lines of writing. The short story has been noted for Frederikke's "natural" upbringing of her two eldest sons, mentioning both breastfeeding and inoculation against pox. This paper argues, however, that another story also emerges when re-reading the notebook: Frederikke had 11 children, and out of the five children born 1777-1782, only two survived. Frederikke also recorded their illnesses and deaths in her notebook. Drawing on William Reddy's work on emotives and emotive failure, this paper therefore discusses Frederikke's expressions of emotions of grief, thankfulness and piety regarding the loss of her children.

5. Michael Brown, University of Roehampton Michael.Brown@roehampton.ac.uk

"Cause – anxiety of mind – confinement and great fatigue": Motherhood, emotions and breast cancer early nineteenth-century England

The archives of Sir Astley Cooper, held at the Royal College of Surgeons in London, provide a rich resource for exploring the relationships between motherhood, emotions and disease in the early nineteenth century. Cooper was perhaps the leading operative surgeon of his day, and a noted authority on breast cancer, publishing his *Illustrations of the Diseases of the Breast* in 1829. As such, he was frequently approached by women seeking his advice, while his notebooks record numerous cases of both scirrhus and more benign mammary growths. What this material reveals is the intimate association in early nineteenth-century medical thought between the emotional and domestic lives of women and the generation of disease. Almost all of the cases recorded in Cooper's extensive archive record 'anxiety of mind' as a cause and in the majority of these cases, that anxiety is related to childbirth, breastfeeding and childrearing. In his paper I will argue that such diagnoses were not simply rooted in the physical impact of pregnancy and nursing but were profoundly linked to the emotional labour of motherhood, including grief, worry and detachment.



X Emotions and senses in popular culture

Panel 21. Senses and emotions in medieval and early modern popular culture

Panel abstract: As historians who study medieval and early modern popular culture, we have our own ideas of what emotions are and how we perceive things through our senses. Often the ideas we have of these two phenomena are based on some philosophical or scientific theories of what emotions and senses are and how they operate. Such theories are hardly universal, however, but vary from time and place to another. Additionally, the use of medieval and early modern learned

theories when studying medieval and early modern popular culture respectively is that, although they may crystallize and influence the conceptions held by people they mostly reflect the views of the learned elite. Moreover, following the ideas and terms introduced by Barbara Rosenwein it can be suggested that there are “local theories” of emotion/senses: common conceptualizations of emotion and senses characteristic of particular (emotional) communities. These local theories may include scientific theories, but also vernacular theories: i.e. consciously and unconsciously held conceptions of what emotions and senses are and how they operate. Such vernacular theories do not always comport to the philosophical theories that circulate in the time and place in question, but are motivated by and based on common knowledge of the world. They are not written and carefully thought-out doctrines, consistent and unambiguous, but may differ from situation to situation, from individual to individual. However, it is important to become aware of these local theories since conceptions of emotions and senses held in a community influence the evaluations of emotions and senses: which emotions are recognized and experienced, how they are experienced, and what people think of certain emotions – are they considered good or bad, valued or unwanted, or perhaps detrimental to health – or, whether there are additional senses to the traditional five senses, which of them are perhaps preferred, and so on. The panel invites case studies of emotions and/or senses in medieval and early modern popular culture and papers that discuss the methodological aspects concerning the study of vernacular conceptions.

Convenor: Kirsi Kanerva, University of Turku, ktkane@utu.fi

Session 21.1: Emotions in Religious and Ritualistic Contexts

Presenters:

1. Bădilă Nicoleta, Museum of the Municipality of Bucharest *Emotions of Our Lady in Romanian Glass Painting*
2. Eric Dursteler, Brigham Young University, USA *Fear, Anger and Conversion in the Early Modern Mediterranean*
3. Irina Glushkova, Center for Indian Studies, Institute of Oriental Studies, The Russian Academy of Sciences *Instilling Disgust (kīlas). Excretory Metaphors of Medieval Saint-Poets from Maharashtra (India)*
4. Frédéric Armao, University of Toulon *Hope, Fear, Joy: Emotions in the Irish Folklore of Spring as Tools for Interpretation*

Paper abstracts:

1. Nicoleta Bădilă, Museum of the Municipality of Bucharest nicoletabadila87@yahoo.com

Emotions of Our Lady in Romanian Glass Painting

Glass icons represented a sacred refuge for Transylvanian peasants during 18th and 19th century in the political context imposed by a catholic authority in this part of the country. In Romanian popular culture, icon glass painting was considered a craft and worked by few rules. Saints were represented in human forms and frequently their emotions were emphasized so the peasants who often could not read were given a simple way of understanding the biblical themes.

With these premises in sight, I propose a study that analyses the types of emotions that are associated with Mary, the Mother of Jesus, in glass painting from Transylvania. She is one of the most sensitive characters in this type of painting and, in an inventory of her representations, one could easily identify emotions such as grief, sadness, fear, humility, love or joy. On the other hand, in my research I would try to answer the following question: could this form of art suggest a local theory of emotion specific to a Transylvanian community or they are based on the common knowledge of the world?

2. Eric Dursteler, Brigham Young University, USA, ericd@byu.edu

Fear, Anger and Conversion in the Early Modern Mediterranean

The early modern Mediterranean was a site of religious refashioning and nomadism. A significant component of this was the so-called renegade phenomenon which saw hundreds of thousands of Christian men and women convert to Islam, with smaller, but not insignificant numbers of Jews and Muslims embracing Christianity as well. These conversions have to a great extent been interpreted as being instrumental and insincere, the antithesis, in short, of the Pauline paradigm, which treated conversion as a totalizing enterprise, a radical reorganization of identity, imagination, and consciousness, resulting from a transcendental encounter with the divine. This was often accompanied by ecstatic emotional experiences that mystically generated a new person who thereafter lived a transformed life. Through a series of case studies extracted from records of the Venetian and Maltese inquisitions, this paper will examine the place of emotion - in particular fear, anger, but also the numinous - in the conversion experiences of men and women who embraced Islam in the early modern Mediterranean. These cases reveal the central place that emotion occupied in the conversion narratives that were recounted before the inquisition, and the ways in which recurring emotional points of reference were utilized both by those who converted, but also the institutions that attempted to broker their reintegration into the Christian community.

3. Irina Glushkova, Center for Indian Studies, Institute of Oriental Studies, The Russian Academy of Sciences iri_glu@hotmail.com

Instilling Disgust (kīḷas). Excretory Metaphors of Medieval Saint-Poets from Maharashtra (India)

An archetypal disgust is expressed by a psychic reaction towards organic waste and body products; its secondary, i.e. moral expression, is linked to the first one by association with impurity. More than often moral indoctrination is mediated through instillation of disgust, which forms an intrinsic part of theological arguments of bhakti, a medieval manifestation of Hinduism. The detalisation of variety of excretions was aimed at elimination of significance of corporeality for achievement of spiritual heights. Known in the classic Indian aesthetics as *jugupsaśīl* ("repulsiveness [by means of] obscenity"), it was adopted from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century by Marathi-language high caste poets who kept on using elevated Sanskrit idioms, and by low caste poets who resorted to colloquial slang and rude bluntness. Marathi *kīḷas* is invoked by naming particular referents, such as 'faeces and urine', 'menstrual blood', and other forms of discharge and secretion, and by enumerating anatomic organs meant for various kinds of inside to outside leakage: 'nine doors' (i.e. two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth, anus, and genitals), 'guts/bowels', 'uterus/womb', 'vagina'. The anatomical and physiological imagination of the poets is recoded into a moral rejection of a pregnant and/or a menstruating woman perceived as a perpetual source of filth per se thus triggering both primary and secondary disgust.

4. Frédéric Armao, University of Toulon, frederic.armao@free.fr

Hope, Fear, Joy: Emotions in the Irish Folklore of Spring as Tools for Interpretation

The Irish traditional year used to be divided into four quarters, each one beginning with a specific festival (*Samain* in early November, *Imbolc* in early February, *Bealtaine* in early May, *Lughnasa* in early August). From times immemorial (probably the latter part of the 1st millennium BCE) up to the first half of the 20th century, those four popular festivals punctuated the Irish year, especially in the most rural parts of the island. The question of the precise origin of those four festivals remains somewhat controversial, although many scholars believe that they are Celtic by nature. The research I have been conducting for the last fifteen years aims at qualifying, or at least clarifying, this theory. Indeed, when considering the peculiar example of *Bealtaine* in Ireland, it seems that two celebrations of different origins merged through the centuries: as it turns out, the study of the

emotions connected to the celebration of those spring/summer festivals is a powerful tool in order to decipher and understand those origins. As ancient texts from the Early, High and Late Middle Ages suggest, the 'original' Irish/Celtic festival of *Bealtaine* was most likely a festival connected with fear and hope—fear of this crucial period of transition, hope that the forthcoming summer would be plentiful. On the other hand, another festival, also celebrated in early May and often confused with *Bealtaine* by both scholars and people celebrating it, laid the emphasis on the notions of joy and cheerfulness. The festival of May Day, as it was called in the anglicized part of Ireland, was quite popular in Early Modern times (especially in the urban parts of the island and other places where the Anglo-norman elite had had a stronger impact) and mainly involved games, merry processions, drinking and rejoicing. This paper will try and show that the 'dichotomy of emotions' (hope/fear on the one hand, joy/merriment on the other) mirrors a dichotomy in the origins of those two festivals which, throughout time, ie from the Middle Ages onwards, merged and led to the creation of one new festival, that is the modern (and later contemporary) celebration of *Bealtaine* in Ireland.

Session 21.2: Emotion Norms

Presenters:

1. Erin Sebo, Flinders University, Australia *Anglo-Saxon Revenge and the Tacitean Ideal*
2. Daniel Gicu, "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest *Beauty in the Eyes of the Romanian Peasants from the End of the Nineteenth Century*
3. Kirsi Kanerva, University of Turku *Suicide and Empathy in Medieval Iceland*

Paper abstracts:

1. Erin Sebo, Flinders University, Australia, erin.sebo@flinders.edu.au

Anglo-Saxon Revenge and the Tacitean Ideal

Revenge has long been understood as central to Anglo-Saxon cultural obligations, as a non-negotiable part of the 'economy of honour'. This is due in no small part to the influence of Tacitus' *Germania*, arguably still the most influential and often-quoted source for understanding Anglo-Saxon social relationships. Yet, this view is largely not reflected in Anglo-Saxon legal codes, nor in the literature. Here revenge is depicted as an emotional impulse, one which society may even attempt to curb. In this paper I will consider the examples of four grieving figures in *Beowulf*, two of whom are able to exact revenge, while two are not. I will examine the unconscious assumptions made in the narrative about the emotional responses of these characters to their extreme grief and to their (in)ability to exact revenge. I will suggest although there are similarities between the Tacitean ideal and the emotional vocabulary of *Beowulf* in broad terms, the influence of Tacitus has encouraged modern readers to overlook those aspects of the text which do not conform to it. Most significantly of all, I will suggest that the influence of Tacitus as encouraged a tendency to view all early medieval 'Germanic' groups as identical in their emotions, a tendency not borne out by the artefacts of these cultures themselves.

2. Daniel Gicu, "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest, gicusdaniel@gmail.com

Beauty in the Eyes of the Romanian Peasants from the End of the Nineteenth Century

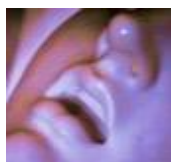
At the end of the nineteenth century, Romanian was one of the least literate regions of Europe. According to the official statistics, rural illiteracy was calculated at 85 percent in 1899. Fewer people, then, could read in 1900 than in some parts of western Europe in 1550. This means that the researchers who want to study emotions in the Romanian rural world at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century have few sources at their disposal. Traditionally, folklorists, anthropologists and historians used folk poetry and folktales as sources to study the peasants' emotions. However, this raised a methodological problem, regarding which views do these

sources reflect: those of the peasants or of the learned elite? This lends all the greater value to another sort of document, the reports sent to B. P. Hasdeu (an important Romanian philologist from the second half on the nineteenth century) in response to his questions regarding the language spoken by the peasants. The questionnaire, sent out in 1884 contains a precise question concerning the conceptions of emotions and senses held in the Romanian rural communities: How do peasants define and understand beauty and which are, according to them, the most beautiful things in the world? The answers, from 701 villages, which remained to this day in manuscript (at the Library of the Romanian Academy) were used by very few scholars. Starting from these answers, my paper will try to be an inquiry into the emotional world of the Romanian peasants from the end of the nineteenth century.

3. Kirsi Kanerva, University of Turku, Kirsi.kanerva@utu.fi

Suicide and Empathy in Medieval Iceland

I will discuss empathy (or lack of it) towards suicide in medieval Iceland. Although no exact term for empathy existed in medieval Iceland, the ability to understand and appreciate another person's experience and feelings was expressed, for instance, with words for compassion that implied that the person shared, minded and was conscious of the other one's feelings and experiences and could find their actions excusable, and was emotionally moved by the other one's pain and sorrow, or could feel pity for them. However, various views of such empathy existed. In religious contexts, empathy was construed as a positive emotion, an important part of the devotional practice of imitatio Christi. According to the local theory of emotions, which considered emotions bodily conditions, the human body was regarded as 'open' and porous in that emotions and illnesses could be brought about by supernatural agents and forces that penetrated the body boundaries through bodily orifices. The ideal body-mind, then, was 'hard' and impenetrable, and emotional restraint and control were respected. Some emotions (e.g. grief, fear, guilt) could also make the person vulnerable and more 'open' for the external influences. Consequently, emotions that made people 'soft' and 'vulnerable' were considered negative. (Kanerva 2015) I will examine empathy or lack of it towards suicides as reflected in medieval Icelandic sagas in the context of the local theory of emotions and with regard to the ideas of empathy and suicide as the sin of despair advanced by the Church.



XI Pain, Suffering and Grief

Panel 22. Communities of Pain: Shared suffering and its effects

Panel abstract: Elaine Scarry has already posited that bodily pain (and, by extension, emotional anguish) is intransmissible in words. Each sufferer is enclosed in his or her private hell, with no way to communicate the sensation to others. Nevertheless, history is familiar with communities of sufferers that existed throughout the ages in the West. Communities of ecstasies flourished any time between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries in Catholic countries. Thomas Mann and other writers have described sanatoria for tuberculosis sufferers and the networks of sharing that bound the sufferers together. In general, communities of patients (I think also of the narratives of pain of syphilitics, congregating in watering places to ease their pains). Such groups exist also among AIDS sufferers. Jean Jackson has described in "Camp Pain" the interactions of chronic pain sufferers. The aim of this panel is to examine such communities along the ages. The questions that panel members

should address are comparative: what is the constitutive element of such a community? Pain, hope, despair? How stable would such an emotional community be? What are the diachronic changes in the typology of communities of sufferers?

Convenor: Esther Cohen, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, esther.cohen1@mail.huji.ac.il

Presenters:

1. Anton Runesson, Stockholm University *The Parturient Body in Pain. Confessions during Childbirth in Early Modern Sweden.*
2. Tamar Rozett, Hebrew University of Jerusalem *"Like Reopening the Deep Deep Wound": Mail and Pain of Loss in British Empire Families.*
3. Katja Laug, University of Warwick *Cormac McCarthy's Communities of the Broken Body.*
4. Esther Cohen, Hebrew University of Jerusalem *Communities of pain in the middle ages – cultural artifacts or embodied identities?*

Paper abstracts:

1. Anton Runesson, Stockholm University, anton.runesson@historia.su.se

The Parturient Body in Pain. Confessions during Childbirth in Early Modern Sweden.

In early modernity, labour pains were conceived of to be godly sanctioned. As such, they were harder to endure than pains inflicted upon humans by humans, and put the woman in a specific relation to the divine. Sensing pain during childbirth were signs of God's presence and possible aid, whereas giving birth without pain was against Nature (and a sign of diabolic influence). In this paper, I will address the relationship between truth and pain in court cases of illegitimate births in early modern Sweden, when women refusing to name the fathers of their children were interrogated during childbirth in a torture-like scenario. In several cases, it is suggested that there was a functional relationship between labour pain and truth; when truth was spoken, the process of delivery was successful, as God acted as midwife. This painful situation will then be contextualized, so as to further our understanding of the meanings of coercive pain in Protestantism.

2. Tamar Rozett, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, tamar.rozett@mail.huji.ac.il

"Like Reopening the Deep Deep Wound": Mail and Pain of Loss in British Empire Families.

Experiences of loss can cause pain, unbound by time or distance. My research focuses on the ways pain of loss, among other emotions, was experienced by members of families dispersed throughout the 19th century British Empire, via the technology through which it was mediated: the mail system. I suggest that correspondence by letters created a community, characterized by an emotional landscape that oscillated between pain and comfort, anxiety and joy. Within which, examining the instances of grief and loss can particularly illuminate the part played by technology and medium in constituting emotional experience. Though the writers sharing their pain hoped to find comfort, the actual rhythm and time gaps of the 19th century imperial mail system created a particular experience of deferring and re-living pain. Thus, technology has an important part not only in creating the communal ties of family connections, but also in shaping the emotional experience on both ends of the correspondence. My proposed paper would focus on one case of correspondence across empire, that of the Wonnacott family (1865-1878), and will point to a change both in the constitutive element of this familial community and in the ways in which emotion was experienced.

3. Katja Laug, University of Warwick, k.laug@warwick.ac.uk

Cormac McCarthy's Communities of the Broken Body.

Pain and suffering create communities of sufferers, an affiliation between those whose shared experience forges a shared understanding of the world. As often as not, these communities transcend such common boundaries as class, race, or gender. Pain, therefore, becomes a unifying

factor among otherwise dissimilar bodies and physicalities. While his work is frequently described as bleak and misanthropic, American author Cormac McCarthy is consistently, if implicitly, concerned with the possibility for community and the search for factors that provide a basis to support a shared and honest life. Throughout his work, McCarthy describes unbeautiful bodies with broken integrities, marked by violence as much as by addiction or illness. These bodies recognise each other as much as they are recognised and stigmatised by those whose bodies are not marked and therefore not unbeautiful. Within the community of the marked body, McCarthy's characters organise themselves both against authoritative control and as support network. My paper will examine the origin and affiliation of McCarthy's communities of the broken body, the intersections between these bodies and how the author utilises the material body to expose the systemic violence of a capitalist classification system that favours beautiful bodies over the unbeautiful Other. McCarthy thus exposes a flawed class system that operates solely on the individual pursuit of happiness and disregards the strengths and possibilities of a community of like bodies.

2. Esther Cohen, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, esther.cohen1@mail.huji.ac.il

Communities of pain in the middle ages – cultural artefacts or embodied identities?

In my paper I would like to posit the existence of “communities of pain” – social and conceptual entities that encompass people suffering from the same diseases and sensations, as well as the social consequences of those conditions. Here I examine leprosy sufferers in the later Middle Ages as a discrete community of pain, suffering both from mortal chronic disease and social stigmatization. It is my argument that these communities of pain existed not only as modern concepts or even as medieval cultural artefacts, but most of all as real, embodied identities that subsumed the sufferers' previous social identities within the community they had been forced to join.

Panel 23. The Uses of Pain and the Possibilities of Suffering, 1700 to the Present

Panel abstract: In the still rather young history of pain, it has been hard to avoid the grand narrative of increasing pain management (e.g. better diagnoses) and alleviation (e.g. with anaesthetics) in the last centuries. While studies on the ‘philopassionism’ of the Middle Ages still had eye for functional pain as a divine gift and a stimulus for personal development, this positive, productive, take on suffering has hardly caught the attention of scholars of the modern era. However, the improving medical care of the period did not eclipse positive takes on pain. Challenging the teleological view on the history of pain, this panel will study the voluntary engagement with pain in the modern era. Addressing physical and emotional pain as a subjective experiences shaped and perceived by their specific cultural setting, panel members will (1) identify the different definitions and views of pain, (2) study how people-in-pain used pain in narratives of self-construction and self-annihilation, (3) look at pain practices focusing on the productive effects of pain such as the cultivation of pain or the use of pain to achieve a greater good (e.g. penance, self-enhancement, torture), (4) analyse the uses of pain in social interaction (e.g. compassion, sympathy, horror). We welcome contributions on religious, medical, legal and other settings focusing on the 18th-20th centuries.

Convenors: Elwin Hofman, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, elwin.hofman@kuleuven.be

Tine Van Osselaer, University of Antwerp, Tine.VanOsselaer@uantwerpen.be

Presenters:

1. Elwin Hofman, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven *Empowering Pain. Judicial Torture and Bodily Defiance in Eighteenth-Century Belgium*

2. Tine Van Osselaer, University of Antwerp *On Suffering and Compassion: Visiting Stigmatic Women in Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*

3. Sam De Schutter, Leiden University *Suffering from a Disability. The Uses of Suffering in International Discourses on Development and Disability, 1950-1990*

Paper abstracts:

1. Elwin Hofman, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, elwin.hofman@kuleuven.be

Empowering Pain. Judicial Torture and Bodily Defiance in Eighteenth-Century Belgium

In 1780, Jan Bailliu stood accused in Ghent for the murder of his wife. As his judges lacked the final piece of evidence – a confession – he was condemned to judicial torture. While he was attached to the rack and suffering excruciating pain, a remarkable change in the normal balance of power occurred. Instead of submitting to his torturers and confessing to the murder, he rejoiced in his anguish and mocked his judges. “O joy, that I have to suffer without guilt”, he exclaimed, and “the more pain, the merrier!” At one point, he played with the weights attached to his fingers, knocking on the rack and exclaiming “Glockenspiel!” After 24 hours of torture he was released – without a confession. Bailliu’s case was not an exception. Torture was notoriously ineffective, only leading to confessions in about one in ten cases. Indeed, the endurance of physical pain gave suspects a specific form of authority. The body in pain was a means of defiance. This paper will explore the dynamics and cultural contexts of the Bailliu trial and other cases of torture in late-eighteenth-century Belgium. Furthermore, it will analyse how changing beliefs and practices of pain may have contributed to the diminution and eventual abolition of torture.

2. Tine Van Osselaer, University of Antwerp, Tine.VanOsselaer@uantwerpen.be

On Suffering and Compassion: Visiting Stigmatic Women in Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries.

The nineteenth century can be called the ‘golden age’ of stigmatics, the women and (few) men who bore the wounds of Christ. Contrary to their predecessors who lived behind cloister walls, many of these were laypeople who could be visited at home. So a new trend developed as thousands of faithful travelled to catch a glimpse of them while they were going through Christ’s passion.

In this presentation, I will address their reasons for doing so and study their reports – often published – on these visits. This will allow me to examine the ideas on pain that circulated in these Catholic milieus. More in particular I argue that in these writings three levels of pain can be perceived: (1) that of the stigmatic (emotional and corporeal), (2) that of the viewer (emotional) and that of the reader (emotional). I will show how at all levels, the pain can be perceived as ‘productive’ and ‘necessary’, a redemptory and cleansing experience for those involved.

3. Sam De Schutter, Leiden University, s.de.schutter@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Suffering from a Disability. The Uses of Suffering in International Discourses on Development and Disability, 1950-1990

Both histories of disability and development often tend to regard suffering as something which is projected upon the disabled or the (post)colonial subject in order to dehumanize them or relegate them to a state of passivity and helplessness. However, when encountering narratives from people with disabilities in the Global South, presenting themselves as poor, suffering individuals, this perspective is not very helpful. In this paper, I will tackle this issue and approach suffering from a different angle. I will focus on how suffering could be used as a possible strategy to actively engage with and benefit from the transnational world of ‘development’. The sources I use come from the archives of UN specialized agencies (WHO, ILO and UNESCO), who have since the 1950s put disability on the global development agenda. I will analyze the uses of suffering in discourses and representations of both these agencies and people with disabilities in the Global South in the second half of the twentieth century. I argue that just as international development discourses used

suffering as a means to elicit sympathy, people with disabilities could use the same strategy to engage with these international agencies. This contribution therefore deals with the agency of 'suffering from a disability' in the Global South.

Panel 24. Ancient Greek and Roman Multi-Sensory Spectacles of Grief

Panel abstract: Grief is one of the most powerful emotions that strongly affects both body and mind. According to the ancient Greek historian Thucydides, Pericles, the famous Athenian statesman, warned his fellow citizens of the dangers of excessive mourning in his Funeral Oration (History of the Peloponnesian War, ii.vi). The ancient Greeks and Romans distrusted the disruptive potential of uncontrolled emotions and the impact that open displays of such emotions could have on the body politic. And yet their art is full of spectacles of grief, from ancient Greek funerary lekynthoi depicting scenes of loss, to the performance of scenes of mourning in classical tragedy, to Roman funerary inscriptions, to name but a few representative examples. They serve to demonstrate the impact of death and loss on these two ancient societies and how they 'coped' with grief. David Konstan has argued that the ancients' understanding of grief differs significantly from our own. In their highly performative cultures, the ancient Greeks and Romans largely dealt with loss in the public arena, as an essential part of their socially constructed identities. This panel explores a wide range of ancient evidence for the portrayal of grief in ancient literature and material culture and examines them as multi-sensory spectacles. The papers also seek to unpick how our surviving evidence has been interpreted and how post-classical views have shaped our modern understanding of ancient portrayals of grief.

Convenors: Alessandra Abbattista, University of Roehampton, alessandra.abbattista@hotmail.it
Anastasia Bakogianni, Massey University, a.bakogianni@massey.ac.nz

Presenters:

1. Alessandra Abbattista, University of Roehampton *The tragic nightingale between suffering and revenge*
2. Anastasia Bakogianni, Massey University *Performing Grief: Mourning does indeed Become Electra*
3. Jesús Carruesco, Rovira i Virgili University *Individual vs. Collective Expressions of Grief in Early Greek Epic*
4. Diana Gorostidi, Rovira i Virgili University *Too young to die. Grief and Mourning in Roman Epitaphs*
5. Evy Johanne Håland, Independent researcher (Former: Marie Curie Intra-European Fellow, Department of Archaeology and History of Art, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens *Emotion, Death and Life in a Greek Context*

Paper abstracts:

1. Alessandra Abbattista, University of Roehampton, alessandra.abbattista@hotmail.it

The tragic nightingale between suffering and revenge

The ritualised representation of mourning in Attic tragedy has been generally interpreted by classical scholars as a socially constructed and sanctioned expression of grief in response to death. However, as Cairns (2014: 656-659) argues, the tragic performance of mourning did not exclude spontaneous, instinctive and unexpected reactions. By transgressing the norms prescribed by fifth-century Athenian funeral legislation (Plut. *Sol.* 21; Dem. 43, 62), Attic dramatists displayed the affected status of mourning characters, in order to provoke an effect of suspense on their audience. This is evidenced by the metaphorical employment of the nightingale in the depiction of tragic heroines, who through ritual lamentation and eternal weeping are in search of revenge. Split between sorrow and anger, female characters were imagined to abandon their human aspect and modulate the vengeful lament of the nightingale. Through analysis of relevant tragic passages, where the nightingale metaphorically occurs,

I illustrate what I define as the “metaphorical metamorphoses” of mourning avengers. Able to blur the tragic dichotomies between nature and culture, femininity and masculinity, body and mind, the tragic heroines were captured in a synaesthetic emotional experience. The shrilling notes and the swift movements of the nightingale signalled the dramatic passage from suffering to revenge.

2. Anastasia Bakogianni, Massey University, a.bakogianni@massey.ac.nz

Performing Grief: Mourning does indeed Become Electra

Electra is Greek tragedy’s mourner *par excellence*. In modern times she has become a symbol of grief, capturing the audience’s imagination with her powerful multi-sensory spectacle of mourning. She is a transgressive character precisely because she mourns too intensely and for too long, as the chorus in Sophocles’ *Electra* repeatedly point out at the beginning of the play. Sophocles’ tragic heroine has become trapped in a liminal space and both her mind and body are adversely affected by her excessive mourning. But so enthralling is the portrayal of her grief that it has become the most prominent strand of the tragic heroine’s reception. This paper investigates two examples of Sophocles’ *Electra* in performance as a means of unpicking two very different approaches to the portrayal of ‘tragic’ grief on the modern stage by comparing them to our ancient source text. From the formalism of Dimitris Rondiris’ landmark staging of Sophocles’ play (1938) for the National Theatre of Greece, to Dimitris Maurikios’ 1998 production of the ancient tragedy featuring an Electra that some theatre critics labelled ‘hysterical’. The paper offers an analysis of how Modern Greece’s claim to a ‘special relationship’ with classical Greece has affected the portrayal of Electra’s grief.

3. Jesús Carruesco, Rovira i Virgili University, jcarruesco@icac.cat

Individual vs. Collective Expressions of Grief in Early Greek Epic

In the Homeric poems, expressions of grief and mourning abound. In the *Iliad*, this subject is central to the whole poem, culminating in the big funeral scenes of the last three books, from the Trojan women’s lament for Hector just after his death to the general funerals for the fallen in both sides after Priam’s retrieving of Hector’s body from Achilles. The importance of Homeric poetry for the emergence of the Greek polis is widely recognised, also in the definition of accepted patterns of showing grief and managing mourning in the public space. In this respect, the funeral games and the choral lament in its different forms, particularly the *thrênos*, are collective expressions of ritualised mourning acquiring a paradigmatic role that can be compared with the iconographic record (e.g. on Geometric pottery). In contrast to this, some individual responses to grief in the poems are presented as anomalous, such as those by Achilles –in relation to the specific traits of his character– or Penelope –due to the uncertainty about Ulysses’ death. These cases allow the poet to represent some personal responses to grief, often embodied in extreme physical symptoms, which in their individual specificity function as a foil to the paradigmatic representation of collective management of grief through ritualised competition and communal choral practices.

4. Diana Gorostidi, Rovira i Virgili University, diana.gorostidi@urv.cat

Too young to die. Grief and Mourning in Roman Epitaphs

Expressions of grief and mourning are characteristic of Roman funerary inscriptions. Roman epitaphs express sorrow for the deceased and reveal familiar emotional responses to memories of the dead person. In the epigraphic texts, death is usually depicted as something unknowable. As in contemporary societies, only philosophy and faith seem to offer a measure of relief when faced with the horror of death, particularly in the case of dead youth (*mors immatura*), so common in antiquity. Ancient inscriptions offer us a wealth of manifestations of grief and bereavement for children and young people who have died prematurely, through violence, illness or due to childbirth complications. Common people lamented the inexorability of fate by immortalizing their beloved ones in epitaphs carved in durable stone. Latin texts supplement our understanding of Roman

attitudes towards death in diverse ways, going beyond contemporary religious beliefs, ritual practices, or traditional values. The repertory of topics ranges from the Homeric 'good people die young and handsome' to the embittered 'remember that you will die' (memento mori). Nevertheless, the main aim was to preserve the memory of the dead person, often recalling the specific traits of his/her nature. They thus offer us a vivid picture of the deceased.

5. Evy Johanne Håland, Independent researcher (Former: Marie Curie Intra-European Fellow, Department of Archaeology and History of Art, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), evyhaa@online.no

Emotions, Death and Life in a Greek Context

The paper examines emotion and identity in connection with Greek death cult in an attempt to clarify certain contemporary political phenomena in the Mediterranean area and south-eastern Europe. The cult of the dead is a common cultural pattern in the area. Why is this cult so persistent? What is death cult and how does it manifest itself? The paper delves into its lasting importance in the Greek part of the cultural area, where the author has conducted several periods of fieldwork. To illustrate the persistence of this cultural pattern, the characteristic aspects connected with death cult in Greek tradition are discussed: The comparison is based on festivals, which are dedicated to deceased persons and domestic death rituals combined with ancient sources. Based on them an analytical survey of the relationship between the death cult dedicated to deceased mediators in ancient and modern society, as it is manifested through laments, burials and the following memorial rituals is made. The modern domestic rituals people perform for their own dead influence the official ideological rituals, and vice versa, the domestic rituals reflect public performances. A study of modern cult practices reveals many parallels with the official cult of the ancients, and suggests ways in which modern rituals can shed new light upon the ancient rituals and vice versa. The living then as now depend on the deceased's successful mediations with the powers of the subterranean world to ensure a plentiful harvest and the continuity of their earthly lives. The paper seeks to demonstrate how new ideologies must adjust to older rituals and beliefs and how public and domestic rituals are connected. The paper finally suggests how these similarities might represent a common way of expression within a larger context in which the Mediterranean cultural meaning of emotion is central.



XII Consciousness, insanity and despair

Panel 25. Emotions, Senses, Consciousness in (Late) Antiquity: A Few Suggestions for Interdisciplinary Research

Panel abstract: Consciousness is a multifaceted phenomenon that can be approached from various directions: perceptual, cognitive, affective. There are now important discoveries in neuroscience on consciousness, empathy and their cognitive and affective components or consciousness and embodied cognition (Aizawa 2010, Focquaert and Platek 2007, Van Gulick 2012, Jung 2012, Lycan 2012, Shapiro 2012). But not much was written on consciousness and its emotional and perceptual components from a historical perspective. Then, studies on consciousness seldom ventured earlier than Descartes' time. Moreover, not much was done on the consciousness of everyday experience and mental states in comparison to that of religious/spiritual events and the specific

emotions/perceptions they may trigger (an exception is the neurotheology of Newberg and D'Aquilli, but, again, this rather employed the methodology of science). What we propose is a discussion on consciousness, emotions and senses from a historical, cultural and contextual perspective. We would note that consciousness as related to emotions and perceptions has been, in fact, discussed by philosophers and theologians for about two thousand years before Descartes (cf. Sorabji, *Self*, 2006, 52). We will thus show that the (late) antiquity had much to say on emotions, senses and consciousness – discussed both as awareness of the outer world and of the self (the inner world) and of a would-be higher reality and of the emotional and perceptual changes the experience of such a reality would trigger in the human person. We will also show that all these do not necessarily contradict the recent discoveries in neuroscience.

Convenors: Diana Stanciu, University of Bucharest, diana.stanciu@gmail.com

Andrea Bizzozero, Pontifical University Antonianum, Rome, andrewbizzozero@gmail.com

Presenters:

1. Valery Laurand, University of Bordeaux-Montaigne *First Movements and Levels of Consciousness: The Examples of Shame and Anger*
2. Andrea Bizzozero, Pontifical University Antonianum, Rome *Senses, Soul and Self-awareness in Augustine's de gen. ad. litt.*
3. Adriana Braescu, University of Bucharest *The Actuality of Ancient Emotions: A Neuroscientist's Interpretation*
4. Diana Stanciu, University of Bucharest *Aristotle's Active Sense Perception and the Latest Discoveries in Neuroscience*

Paper abstracts:

1. Valery Laurand, University of Bordeaux-Montaigne, valery.laurand@free.fr

First Movements and Levels of Consciousness: The Examples of Shame and Anger

Pre-emotions in Stoicism are problematic in a philosophy where subjects are supposed to control all their impulses. What about these movements that, while occurring in bodies, seem to be uncontrolled symptoms of a psychic state – such as sudden tears when hearing bad news or blushing with shame? These psycho-physical jolts constitute for Seneca the first stage of the development of passions. He observes that, even if we are barely aware (*in scitis nobis*) of them, they emerge in consciousness and we have to treat them in order to prevent one from lapsing into passion. From a psychotherapeutic point of view, do we need to resolve an unconscious psychical conflict that we realize through physical signs? I propose a reading of anger and shame in Stoicism (and more specifically in Seneca), where I focus on the levels of consciousness we have of the impressions and their effects: that is, what should be treated in order to avoid moral (mental) disease?

2. Andrea Bizzozero, Pontifical University Antonianum, Rome, andrewbizzozero@gmail.com

Senses, Soul and Self-awareness in Augustine's de gen. ad. litt.

In *de gen. ad. litt.* Augustine tries to understand the meaning of the first three chapters of the Genesis, but as he himself would claim in *de Retract.* 2,24: «*in quo opere plura quaesita quam inventa*». Among these questions there is also that of the soul, its origin, functions and relationship with the body. The question of the soul, as well as the investigation of the characteristics of the human person, offer Augustine the opportunity to study the psychology of human sensations. The aim of this paper is to analyze the characteristics of the sensations, their conditions of possibility (both physiological and psychological) and their limits. The paper will also examine the way Augustine assimilates the ancient knowledge on the physiology and psychology of human sensations and how he uses them in his exegesis of the biblical text.

3. Adriana Braescu, University of Bucharest, redesignngo@gmail.com

The Actuality of Ancient Emotions: A Neuroscientist's Interpretation

Since Antiquity, excessive emotion has generally been considered a source of imbalance and illness – a good overview in this respect is the list of ‘humours’ devised by Hippocrates. The Stoics, in turn, considered emotion as a hindrance to reason and, therefore, virtue. On the other hand, Aristotle’s Rhetoric, with its survey of eleven emotions (passions), seems to have been an attempt to ‘rationalize’ emotion with a practical goal – that of influencing the judgments of jurymen and council members. And its cultural influence was so extended that (even if one may argue that the emotions of the ancients were somewhat different from ours) it certainly shaped the way we think and behave nowadays. For instance, we still consider emotions in terms of their specific ‘dispositions of mind’ and in as much as they ‘cause people to change their minds in respect of their judgments and are accompanied by pleasure and pain’. While taking into account such historically embedded views and also the increasingly influential research in the contemporary philosophy of mind on the relationship between cognition and emotion and the difference between innate emotions, specific to our species, and emotions generated by beliefs throughout history, I will also discuss the practical aspects of data collection, analysis and interpretation as well as the management of large data sets. I will concentrate particularly on functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), positron emission tomography (PET) and single-photon emission computed tomography (SPECT) and their contribution to what one may consider a new science of emotion, but which is still shaped, in my view, by ancient ‘frames of mind’.

4. Diana Stanciu, University of Bucharest diana.stanciu@gmail.com

Aristotle’s Active Sense Perception and the Latest Discoveries in Neuroscience

Aristotle’s *De anima* (*On the Soul*) has been largely discussed regarding the distinction between the rational and the sensitive functions of the soul. The difference between the higher and active part (*to noêtikon*), and the lower, passive or sympathetic part (*to aisthêtikon*) received special attention. I will rather concentrate on Aristotle’s idea that sense is not mere local motion generated from one body to another, or a simple resistance of one body to the motion of another, but a cogitation, recognition or active perception and awareness of these motions/ passions of the body. I will especially discuss Aristotle’s idea that the primary and immediate objects of cognition and knowledge are not things existing outside the mind, but ideas of the mind itself and that, as intelligible reasons (*rationes*) of things, they are actively exerted (*De an.* 431a, an idea found also in Plotinus, *Enneads* 5.5.1). I am arguing that such a description of active sense perception in Aristotle as a distinctly mental and not only corporeal act (*Arist. De an.* 32 b18, 424 a5, 432 a16), ancient as it may be, does not contradict the latest discoveries in neuroscience regarding sense perception – those on the visual cortex, for instance.

Panel 26. Desperation and Despair Across Confessional Borders in Early Modern Europe

Panel abstract: The aim of the panel is to explore how early modern violent and self-destructive behaviour was connected to despair, both as a theological, medical and judicial concept and in the more general sense of desperation. So far, scholarly focus has been on suicide and suicidal murder and the possible influences of confessional differences. This is an important issue that will be the main topic of one of the panel presentations. Gendered experiences and interpretations of despair have been less discussed, despite marked differences in the gender distribution of suicidal murders compared with suicides and homicides in general; the panel will give these gendered differences more attention. While the rational logic behind suicidal murders as the unintended consequence of public executions has drawn much attention, judicial and penal practices as a continuous source of

desperation and potential suicidal murderers provoked by shaming, infamy and ritual pollution have not been considered to the same extent. We would also like to broaden perspectives to include described or interpreted states of despair in other categories of violent and/or self-destructive behaviour committed in words and deeds, like self-reported confessions of capital crimes, murder and reckless violence. The presentations will form the basis for further comparisons across confessional borders.

Convenor: Jonas Liliequist, Umeå University jonas.liliequist@umu.se

Presenters:

1. Jonas Liliequist, Umeå University *Penal practices and stigmatisation as the nourishment of suicidal murder and self-denunciations of capital crimes*
2. Evelyne Luef, University of Vienna *Desperate people committing desperate deeds*
3. Riikka Miettinen, University of Tampere *Experiences and Constructions of Despair in the Suicide Trials of Seventeenth-Century Sweden and Finland*

Paper abstracts:

1. Jonas Liliequist, Umeå University, jonas.liliequist@umu.se

Penal practices and stigmatisation as the nourishment of suicidal murder and self-denunciations of capital crimes

While the rational logic behind suicidal murders as the unintended consequence of public executions has drawn much attention, judicial and penal practices as a continuous source of desperation and potential suicidal murderers provoked by shaming, infamy and ritual pollution have not been considered to the same extent. This paper will start from a series of suicidal murders closely connected in time and place, committed by marginalized women flogged and banished from town as thieves and vagrants in early eighteenth century Stockholm. The cases will be compared to self-denunciations for capital crimes in situations of corporeal punishment.

2. Evelyne Luef, University of Vienna, evelyne.luef@univie.ac.at

Desperate people committing desperate deeds

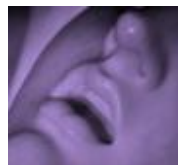
Despair can be a powerful driver for (self-)destructive practices. Without question it played an important role in connection with a phenomenon referred to as 'indirect suicide', 'suicidal murder', 'concealed suicide', or 'suicide by proxy'. All these expressions describe a practice where suicidal individuals committed a capital crime, often murder, in order to obtain their own death by the hand of the executioner. Although present in many parts of early modern Europe, a clear dominance of such killings in protestant areas has been established. Danish historian Tyge Krogh goes as far as calling these crimes a Lutheran plague, arguing that the Lutheran Church provided the most optimistic message to persons about to be executed. Denominational differences have thus become a key factor in explaining this phenomenon and its varying frequency. In my paper I will draw upon cases of suicidal murder committed in a predominantly Catholic area, namely the archduchies Austria above and below the river Enns, during the eighteenth century. I will show that Catholic perpetrators followed the same 'logic' as their Lutheran counterparts when killing in order to be killed. In my analysis I will discuss the consequences of despair in context with suicidal murder in a comparative Lutheran-Catholic perspective.

3. Riikka Miettinen, University of Tampere, riikka.miettinen@uta.fi

Experiences and Constructions of Despair in the Suicide Trials of Seventeenth-Century Sweden and Finland

The topic of this paper is two-fold. Firstly, it discusses briefly the recorded experiences of despair among the would-be suicides, and secondly, the classification of various 'gloomy' and other negative

emotions and their manifestations as despair in the suicide trials in seventeenth-century Sweden and Finland. Desperation of many sorts were certainly prevalent emotions among the suicidal. It has been argued that the more individualistic and less strongly integrated nature of Protestant societies and the theological tenets typical to most Protestant confessions, including the lack of institutional channels for the relief of guilt through rituals like penance, resulted in greater incidence of religious and suicidal despair and in higher suicide rates among Protestants than among Catholics. However, descriptions of religious despair, in the form of experiences of doubt over God's power and mercy, overbearing guilt over one's sins and giving up hope over salvation, are relatively rarely linked with the suicides' backgrounds. This would suggest that, like for example in early modern Geneva as interpreted by Jeffrey R. Watt, religiously motivated anxieties were not significant causes for suicidal urges even in such a classic Lutheran state like the Swedish Realm. This did not mean that despair, as a sinful feeling and theological concept, was not more often understood and constructed as an explanation for the act in the suicide trials. Officially, after all, suicide committed while of sound mind was the archetype of despair. However, the very same expressions and behaviours could be regarded as signs and evidence of despair, as manifestations of a mental illness, melancholia, or as 'natural' feelings of sadness and grief. Many factors played a role in this classification process



XIII Senses and Emotions in Confrontations and Conflicts

Panel 27. Accessing Emotions through Violence and Conflict

Panel abstract: In this session we explore the possibilities of studying emotions in the context of violence and conflict. At first sight, violence and conflict appear to be uncontrollable outbursts of raw and primary emotions. But a closer look reveals that these emotions are always modelled by cultural norm and value systems and social interaction and could therefore also change over time. However, the interdependency between emotions, cultures, conflicts and violence is yet to be properly investigated. In this panel we will discuss the possibilities of accessing emotions, by analysing judicial and police archives on violence and conflict. As we show in our different papers on nineteenth and twentieth-century Belgian and Swiss cases, juridical and police records offer a privileged opportunity to study senses and emotions in action. In order to do so, we use different methodological perspectives such as emotional regimes, emotional practices and emotional repertoires.

Convenors: Maurice Cottier, University of Bern, maurice.cottier@hist.unibe.ch

Silvio Raciti, University of Bern, silvio.raciti@germ.unibe.ch

Rose Spijkerman, Ghent University, Rose.Spijkerman@Ugent.be

Presenters:

1. Maurice Cottier, University of Bern *From Honour to Subjectivity: Interpersonal violence in Basel 1750-1868 and Berne 1861-1944* part I
2. Silvio Raciti, University of Bern *From Honour to Subjectivity: Interpersonal violence in Basel 1750-1868 and Berne 1861-1944* part II
3. Antoon Vrints, Ghent University *Sociable or individualistic? Violence and emotions in 20th-century Antwerp*
4. Rose Spijkerman, Ghent University *Battle within battle: conflicts, emotions and the self in the Belgian Army, 1914-1918*

5. Anna Koivusalo, University of Helsinki *Duels, Lynchings, and James Chesnut, Jr.: Honor and Emotional Expression in the Nineteenth-Century American South*

Paper abstracts:

1. Maurice Cottier, University of Bern, maurice.cottier@hist.unibe.ch

From Honour to Subjectivity: Interpersonal violence in Basel 1750-1868 & Berne 1861-1944 part I

2. Silvio Raciti, University of Bern, silvio.raciti@germ.unibe.ch

From Honour to Subjectivity: Interpersonal violence in Basel 1750-1868 & Berne 1861-1944 part II

On the basis of juridical interrogation records of cases of lethal and non-lethal violence, Maurice Cottier and Silvio Raciti explore interpersonal violence in the Swiss cities of Basel and Berne from 1750 to 1944. By combining quantitative and qualitative perspectives, they identify two major shifts. On the one hand, public male on male fighting fuelled by an emotional regime based on honour was widespread in the eighteenth and still in the nineteenth century before it gradually decreased in the early twentieth century. On the other hand, violence against intimates and family members persisted. However, it gained a new quality that differentiated it from more traditional forms of domestic violence. The concept of fatalistic violence captures this new type that was linked to a tragic self-perception of the perpetrators. Both changes in interpersonal violence were caused by the spread of subjectivity as the modern habitus of the rising middle-classes. Consequently, this entailed a new emotional regime. Subjectivity, with its strong emphasis on reason and self-control, labelled violence in the context of honour as affective, passionate and therefore plebeian, barbaric and uncivilized. However, subjectivity was double-edged towards violence. Fuelled by romanticism, it also had room for positive connotations of violence as heroic and sublime.

3. Antoon Vrints, Ghent University, Antoon.Vrints@Ugent.be

Sociable or individualistic? Violence and emotions in 20th-century Antwerp

As a social construct, the practices and meanings of violence are far from stable, but do evolve through time. The changing significance and incidence of violence have been elaborately studied by crime and criminal justice historians. However, the impressive literature on this topic shows a number of lacunas. Firstly, empirical work on modern times is relatively scarce (especially for the twentieth century – state violence excepted) and this is a pity, since the existing research often departs from a number of assumptions on the nature of violence in modern societies. Secondly, the social history of violence has not systematically considered the emotional turn, although emotions of course do play a crucial role in violence. This paper addresses these lacunas by focussing on violence in twentieth-century Antwerp. This Belgian city forms an exquisite test case to test assumptions on the relation between emotions and violence in an urbanised, industrial city in an established state. By analysing the Antwerp police archives of the first half of the twentieth century we will discuss the question whether emotions in violent confrontations are socially or individualistically oriented? Does this violence show that for a ‘modern’ setting emotions are structured around the subjectivity of the person, as the outcome of individualization processes? Or does on the contrary, the analysed violence show that the sense of personality was founded in sociability, the evaluation of others, as was presumably the case in ‘premodern’ urban societies.

4. Rose Spijkerman, Ghent University, Rose.Spijkerman@Ugent.be

Battle within battle: conflicts, emotions and the self in the Belgian Army, 1914-1918

One could imagine that four years of living amongst thousands of men under severe circumstances would be rather displeasing – to say the least. When all of these men have to conform to behavioural norms, as well as to deal with their own personality and struggles, it is imaginable that conflicts could arise. Soldiers fighting during the First World War found themselves in this situation. The analysis of judicial records displaying conflicts and the according punishments not only illustrates the

behavioural expectations of the Army Command, but also provides insights into the values, self-consciousness, and emotions of soldiers. In this paper, I focus on feelings of pride, shame and self-esteem that are visible in the reasons for conflicts among soldiers, and with their superiors, soldiers' resistance to military discipline, and in their defence and expression of injustice. I consider these as emotional repertoires, based on Charles Tilly who defines repertoires as a theatrical metaphor that 'calls attention to the clustered, learned, yet improvisational character of people's interactions as they make and receive each other's claims.'¹ In my opinion, interactions and claims within conflicts are intrinsically based on (the expression) of emotions, self-awareness, behavioural norms and values, and through this perspective I will examine them.

5. Anna Koivusalo, University of Helsinki, anna.koivusalo@helsinki.fi

Duels, Lynchings, and James Chesnut, Jr.: Honor and Emotional Expression in the Nineteenth-Century American South

My paper examines honorable emotional expression in the nineteenth-century American South. Honor helped emotional expression in three ways: recognizing acceptable emotions; navigating in society by expressing acceptable emotions; and identifying and reaching life goals. This can be seen in the life and politics of James Chesnut, Jr. (1815–1885), a prominent southern statesman. Honor was not, as previous research suggests, merely a method of control, but a source of emotion guidelines and a means of negotiating between them. The changing nature of honor, however, necessitated a constant evaluation of both honor notions and honorable emotional expression. Its unstable nature was most obvious in times of crisis. Then, the role of honor and the importance of honor-related emotional expression intensified. Recognizing honor's importance as a cultural resource enlarges our understanding of emotional values and practices and their changes. Violence was closely connected to honor in the South. James Chesnut believed that honor required channeling and suffocating violence and its expressions, but had to accept and command its use during the war. After the war, he was removed from political life because of his reluctance to accept new, more violent forms of honorable emotional expression.

Panel 28. Frustration and Finger-Pointing: Responses of Early-Modern Catholic Missions to Adversity

Panel abstract: During the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the launching and expansion of various missions throughout the globe raised expectations for the conversion of, above all, members of societies that were hitherto unknown in Europe. However, a series of setbacks from the end of the 16th century onwards, demoralized proselytizers in many places throughout the globe. The Jesuits were banished from Japan and then Ethiopia. Correspondingly, Augustinians ran into trouble in Persia. During the mid-seventeenth century, quite a few Catholic orders, as well as the Portuguese maritime empire, suffered a similar fate in the East. These emissaries of Rome were indeed convinced that their "true faith" merits glory and triumph. While raising theodicean arguments to explain their failures, the clergy were forced to contend with a resounding sense of defeat. The proposed panel will evaluate the methods and performance of the missions under review; the deceptive practices used against them by ostensible allies in the field; the assortment of internal responses to these setbacks; and each of the mission's rituals and new narratives. In the process, we will elaborate on the strong emotions that these developments aroused in the men who dedicated their lives to spreading the Catholic faith.

Convenors: Jesse Sargent, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, jesse.sargent@graduateinstitute.ch

Leonardo Cohen, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, leocohen2000@gmail.com

Presenters:

1. Leonardo Cohen, Ben Gurion University of the Negev *The Epistolary Exchange between the Catholic Patriarch of Ethiopia and the Emperor Fasilidas: images of defeat, exile and disappointment (1634).*
2. Jesse Sargent, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva *Enlightened Pagans and Jesuit Casuistry: Frustration at the court of Akbar*
3. Mariana A. Boscariol CHAM - Centro de História d'Aquém e d'Além-Mar / Portuguese Centre for Global History *To proceed with love or fear: reflections on the Jesuit approach to the mission of Brazil during the sixteenth century.*

Paper abstracts:

1. Leonardo Cohen, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, leocohen2000@gmail.com

The Epistolary Exchange between the Catholic Patriarch of Ethiopia and the Emperor Fasilidas: images of defeat, exile and disappointment (1634)

The year 1632 marks the end of an era in Ethiopian history and in the history of the Society of Jesus. Emperor Susenyos's conversion to Catholicism in 1622 and the apparent triumph of Roman Catholicism, were rendered an ephemeral episode. Fasilidas, Susenyos successor, reversed Catholicism's recent success and removed the Catholic Patriarch from his chair as supreme authority of the Church in Ethiopia. Fasilidas also banished the Jesuit missionaries to the shores of the Red Sea, sending them back to Goa. This proposed paper seeks to explore epistolary exchange between the Patriarch and the Emperor and the use of Biblical passages and symbols in order to frame and articulate the emotions arising from the defeat and exile. How did Mendes explain the change in their status from winner to that of a persecuted leader? Before going to the long road to exile Mendes tried to understand the decisions of the Emperor by the way of framing this specific chapter history in the models present at the Biblical narrative. The paper suggests that experiences of figures in the Old and New Testament functioned as a paradigm and mirror, and were essential tools for the mitigation of strong emotions such as anger, disappointment, pain and, despair.

2. Jesse Sargent, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, jesse.sargent@graduateinstitute.ch

Enlightened Pagans and Jesuit Casuistry: Frustration at the court of Akbar

The Jesuits began their adventures across Asia filled with vigour and hope for spreading their christian faith among new peoples and nations. In many ways, these new waves of evangelism set off by the first wave globalization initiated by the Portuguese discoveries echoed the efforts of the ancient and early church in spreading christianity among new peoples. However, the nations and monarchs encountered in early modern asia were of quite a different sort than the Arian kings of Iberia or the barbaric Celts or Britons: these rulers had reigned within networks of knowledge exchange and transmission which had existed for centuries. This paper will examine one such ruler, that of Akbar the great Mogul, and the successive efforts of Jesuits to convert Akbar to a faithful Christian ruler just as missionaries did for King Aethelbert nearly 1000 years previous. However, Akbar (and other non-European rulers such as the great Nobunaga) displayed great tactics in dealing with these missionary ambassadors. Letters on the subsequent missions to Akbar's court after 1580 detail the Jesuits consistent hope that Akbar would convert to their religion; noting his reverence for christian images and vows. The Jesuits argued for their faith's superiority at religious debates at his court with Muslim, Jain, and Buddhist philosophers. But although always tantalizingly close to declaring his Christian allegiance, Akbar managed always to remain outside the faith, and refusing to make declarations of his single loyalties. This paper will examine the ongoing feelings of frustration among the Jesuits in failing to wring a final, convincing conversion out of this native ruler, and their

continued attempts to rationalize this failure while highlighting responsive arguments which were imagined as the final keystone in winning this pagan emperor for Christ.

3. Mariana A. Boscaroli CHAM - Centro de História d'Aquém e d'Além-Mar / Portuguese Centre for Global History mariana.boscaroli@gmail.com

To proceed with love or fear: reflections on the Jesuit approach to the mission of Brazil during the sixteenth century

The second half of the sixteenth century was a singular period in regard of the activities of the Jesuit campaign outside Europe. From the assessments and predictions that were being made on the various territories where they maintained some kind of activity, the Society of Jesus and the Catholic Church began to reshape the strategies in which they would invest. In a particular positioning, considering that the main financier of this campaign was the Portuguese Crown and that the Jesuits were working under the Portuguese Patronage authority, the closeness to the metropolis made arise in Brazil other issues and demands. The Jesuits had considered the natives in Brazil as children, savages, a "blank paper". That way, they should act with love to get their confidence and proximity, but supported by the use of force (and, in this perspective, fear) from other spheres of European presence at the region. For instance, the use of force and imposition came to be an option for America, but not for all Asia. In this sense, this paper seeks to identify and analyze these two concepts, love and fear (force), in some Jesuit letters from Brazil during the sixteenth century.



XIV Emotions in transitions and transgressions

Panel 29. Emotions and Experiences of Transition in Latin American History

Panel abstract: The study of emotions in Latin America has typically been confined to a narrow repertoire of political experiences and cultural representations, including populism, dictatorship, melodrama and magic realism. Our panel works from the premise that this limitedness risks encouraging overly divisive historical understandings in which experiences associated with modernity, rationality and democracy are often "sanitised" from admitting of an emotional life. It contests such divisions through integrating the study of emotions into moments framed overwhelmingly in the literature in terms of rupture or renewal. Our papers study the emotions in Latin America in relation to a cadre of transitional experiences that have marked Latin American history: colonialism to independence; authoritarianism to democracy; exile; the introduction of cinema and new ideas of modernity. We thus work towards a broader integration of the emotions into the study of Latin American history and consider the extent to which that process may stimulate new imaginings of politics, epistemologies, and even periodization. At the same time, we seek to move beyond regional silos by asking two principal methodological questions: what can paradigms developed outside Latin America for situating emotions in history offer studies of the region? And what can methodologies developed primarily with Latin America in mind contribute both to comparative work and to understandings of historical experience elsewhere?

Convenor: Tanya Filer, University of Cambridge, tf239@cam.ac.uk

Presenters:

1. Camila Gatica Mizala, Warwick University *Matters of the Heart: Latin American cinema audiences and their feelings towards movie stars in the 1920s*

2. Alejandro E. Gómez, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3 *Race, Class and Fear in the Caribbean and Hispanic America*

3. Tanya Filer, University of Cambridge *Exile and The Emotional Life of Intellectual Production: Deliberations on Argentina in Controversia (1979-1981)*

Paper abstracts:

1. Camila Gatica Mizala, Warwick University, C.Gatica-Mizala@warwick.ac.uk

Matters of the Heart: Latin American cinema audiences and their feelings towards movie stars in the 1920s

During the 1920s cinema became one of the most popular forms of entertainments in the world, and Latin America was one of its biggest markets. Given its popularity, cinema became a vehicle that helped to develop new paradigms of modernity and cultural models. Going to the movies offered people a direct way to connect themselves with modernity by participating in it through this experience. Films and the activity of going to the movies were accompanied by specialised magazines, which helped to bring cinema to the audiences' homes. The specialised press played an active role in the change of sensibility within Latin American audiences: these publications presented new styles and tastes to Latin American households. Due to their role as accompaniment to the films, cinema magazines became cultural actors in their own right, since it was through them that readers could establish a personal contact with their favourite stars, following gossip or the latest Hollywood trends. This presentation suggests that Latin American audiences developed complex emotional relationships towards the stars on the screen. Once the lights went out, cinemas became private spaces where audiences felt protected by the darkness. Specialised magazines supported and gave a space for these feelings in their pages. In this sense, in the modern activity of going to the movies, emotions played a key part of the experience.

2. Alejandro E. Gómez, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3, alejandroegomez@gmail.com

Race, Class and Fear in the Caribbean and Hispanic America

Since early modern times, the constant "threat" of slave and Indian uprisings in the Americas had a great emotional impact on the lives of the white elites and other social sectors of free condition. The resulting 'sentiment of insecurity' gave shape to long-lasting fearsome atmospheres, which evolved differently from region to region according to their particular human landscapes particular and historical dynamics. There are many manifestations that put into evidence this sort of collective emotional phenomena: From the introduction of radical legislation aiming to control the subaltern masses, to panic reactions because of rumors or in moments of socio-racial turmoil. Paradoxically enough, in many places these atmospheres continued even after the establishment of egalitarian republican regimes and the abolitions of slavery. Indeed, as the subaltern masses continued to be discriminated and even exploited, they frequently expressed their discomfort either by strikes, protests, or social riots. From the late 19th century, the concerns of the elites regarding the emergence of new political ideas (anarchism, communism, socialism, etc.) supporting the rights of the lower classes, came to add new ingredients to the atmospheres in question. This paper makes part of an ongoing research project, which studies the impact of negative secondary emotions associated to fear on the attitudes of the elites and other sectors vis-à-vis the lower classes and/or subaltern sectors. On this occasion, we will focus on moments of socio-racial turmoil in Hispanic America and the Caribbean (such as the massacre of PIC members in Cuba in 1912, the Bogotazo in Colombia in 1948, the repression of labor protests in the Antilles in the mid-20th century, the Cordobazo in Argentina in 1969, etc.), during which the manifestations we are researching upon are more likely to emerge.

3. Tanya Filer, University of Cambridge, tf239@cam.ac.uk

Exile and The Emotional Life of Intellectual Production: Deliberations on Argentina in *Controversia* (1979-1981)

Intellectuals and emotions are two categories often held in mutual opposition. Intellectuals task themselves with furthering knowledge through rational and informed deductive processes. They speak, ostensibly, to and from the mind. Emotions, by contrast, are deemed matters of the heart. Scholarship frequently contributes to their conceptual separation, silencing the relationship of thinking to feeling. This paper argues that acknowledging their interconnectedness can help to illuminate historical understandings of intellectual production. It focuses on the Argentine intellectual exiles, fleeing first the Peronist death squad and then the military authoritarians, who lived in Mexico City in the 1970s and 1980s. Working as journalists, academics, and political coordinators, these intellectuals established publications in which to reflect upon Argentine reality from afar. Despite its brief existence, the magazine *Controversia* (1979-1981) rose to prominence as a space for such deliberation. It sought to promote “lucid, serene, and brotherly” conversation on Argentina, free of “nostalgia”. These emotional convictions, at least partly a product of the social and political circumstances in which they arose, contributed to shaping the political ideas articulated in *Controversia* and their expressive modes. The publication functioned, I argue, as a locus in which emotions, political ideas, epistemic identity and social experience interacted and helped to form each other.

Panel 30. Subverting the norm. Emotional transgressions in visual communication

Panel abstract: In August 2016, right before an electoral event, the German vice chancellor gave the finger to an agitated crowd. Photographs show him surrounded by shocked local politicians. A tremendous outcry of the media followed. In social media, however, professions of sympathy prevailed. Pictures of this ‘extraordinary’ incident unfurled its entire efficacy on the net. Gary S. Schaal once observed how, as soon as we make emotions a part of politics, we undermine the political code. As early as antiquity, any demeanour deviating from the norm or conceived as ‘marginal’ had the potential to evoke an enormous effect. Thus, in 167 BC, a Roman senator used the quite common practice of exposing his scars during an assembly. However, he thereby displayed an extraordinary exposure of his injured body. Up to this point, the vote tended to negative results. Due to this emotionally charged transgression, it took a rather drastic turn. Deliberate and spontaneous deviations from the norm can in turn provoke emotional reactions in the spectator and are therefore a powerful means of visual communication. This is true not only for politics, but also in society. In how far, though, can a violation of the code be conceived in the display of emotion? How can the study of these violations contribute to our understanding of visual communication? Requirement of the panel is to examine this phenomenon cross-culturally and diachronically. Thereby the call is explicitly directed to researchers of various disciplines.

Convenor: Annabel Bokern, Goethe University in Frankfurt, bokern@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Presenters:

1. Isabel Bredenbröker, Goethe University in Frankfurt *What a shock - Visual norms, 'the good death' and transgression in Ghanaian obituary posters*
2. Christina Hanzen, Goethe University in Frankfurt *Smashing the norm - Beating scenes on late Archaic pottery*
3. Anja Klöckner, Goethe University in Frankfurt *Emotional transgression in cult and ritual. A case study on Roman imagery*
4. Dirk Wicke, Goethe University in Frankfurt *Imported mourning in the Late Bronze Age Levant?*

Paper abstracts:

1. Isabel Bredenbröcker, Goethe University in Frankfurt, Bredenbroeker@em.uni-frankfurt.de

What a shock - Visual norms, 'the good death' and transgression in Ghanaian obituary posters

‘What a shock’ – a statement that implies a moment of emotional transgression from the norm, just like the moment of transgression it refers to: death. Yet, often used to head Ghanaian obituary posters, these present an image of the deceased as the person to be remembered: socially endowed with good moral and status, well-adjusted to their role in the community, missed and loved. The paper sets out to question visual norms as a format that transfers ‘socially acceptable transgression’. It aims to identify moments of disjuncture between the creation of a self-image pre-mortem, death as a physical and bodily reality and the inability to control such appearances post-mortem. Within a constant development of visual and photographic formats, obituary posters have recently appeared in Ghanaian public space, making the dead a permanent presence among the living. Affective expression of temporary transgression from the norm and intense emotion lies at the heart of their intention, yet this transgression is permanently sought to be contained in standardised form. Fieldwork in Ghana among a village community intends to trace moments of transgression within and from visual norms, as well as bodily representations of death.

2. Christina Hanzen, Goethe University in Frankfurt, Hanzen@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Smashing the norm - Beating scenes on late Archaic pottery

Any self-respecting Athenian citizen valued a groomed appearance and an exemplary behaviour in public, thereby being in accordance with the philosophers. Aristoteles coined the topos of the citizen’s self-control in public, thus dictating Athenian politicians in particular to present themselves with reduced emotions. Emotional transgressions – even if affective – were perceived as a notable breach of social conventions. Against this background, the rare pictorial evidence of these deviations from the norm are even more fascinating. Thus, a drinking bowl of the painter Onesimos, dating back to late Archaic times, features two beating scenes. Participants of a symposium attack each other with bare fists or armed with everyday items. This affective eruption of violence is quite different from a competitive trial of strength, which we can find in numerous depictions. According to Nikolaus Himmelmann, this break with public self-display was a conscious decision of the Athenian elite. He states that painter and buyer of these vessels would identify completely with the depicted scenes. Given that alcoholism was a severe accusation, sometimes also used during political conflicts, this fact seems remarkable and raises the question of how these scenes, which are clearly contradicting the self-conception of the Athenian citizen, can be rated.

3. Anja Klöckner, Goethe University in Frankfurt, kloeckner@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Emotional transgression in cult and ritual. A case study on Roman imagery

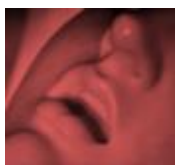
As Angelos Chaniotis has shown recently, investigating literary records and epigraphical testimonies, emotions were an inherent feature of every religious festival in antiquity. “Various media were applied to arouse the desired emotion(s) in and among the participants, ranging from the joy at the perceived presence of a god” to “hope, fear, anger, affection, pride, etc.” However, this observation, as important as it is, may serve only as a starting point for the investigation of the visual discourse on emotions in religious contexts. It may be banal to state that the ritual performance itself and the representations of ritual performances are two different phenomena. Nevertheless, this fact is still underestimated in scholarship on ancient religion. My paper will focus on images of human-divine encounters from Roman imperial times. It will analyse the specific media strategies by means of which the contacts of mortal worshippers and their divine counterparts were visually imparted. The modi to display these contacts are manifold (much more than generally assumed up to now), ranging

from affection to emotion and even sensuality. Transgressive images, breaking the conventional pictorial codes of appropriate ritual behaviour, are playing a key role in this context.

4. Dirk Wicke, Goethe University in Frankfurt, Wicke@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Imported mourning in the Late Bronze Age Levant?

Pictures of loudly wailing women, tearing apart their clothes and letting her hair down is a frequent image coining modern as well as ancient conceptions of funeral arrangements in the Near East. The professional (female) mourner is a set figure accompanying funerals and helps to prepare a proper and decent entombment according the Ancient Near Eastern belief. This is known from several cuneiform texts dating as far back as the late 3rd millennium BC, but, in contrast to this, mourners are hardly ever depicted in the rich pictorial tradition of the Ancient Near East. The sarcophagus of Ahiiram, king of Byblos (12th cent. BC), is the greatest exception, displaying four women with bare upper body tearing their hair. This iconography is unique to the Ancient Near East and was probably taken from Egyptian or Aegean models. Although the iconography meets a traditional local custom, it did not find a continuation, not even in grave monuments. The paper will discuss the issue of public mourning and its (non-)depiction in Near Eastern imagery in contrast to the literary tradition.



XV Historiographical approaches

Panel 31. Figures of victory and defeat (of winner and won): historiographical and iconographic representations (a contribution to history of emotions and affective turn)

Panel abstract: The analysis of collective representations has been constitutive of cultural history for a certain time. It also inspired a cultural reading of the "Political" strongly indebted to Weberian and Schmittian paradigms. The current multiplicity of cultural-historical approaches, however, has produced a new awareness in the historical reconstruction of subjectivity status inside communicative relations. Moreover, suggestions from the History of Art and Linguistics have introduced the issue of the "Figural" in the discussion on representation and interpretation. The "figures" of defeat and victory are proposed as particularly interesting from this point of view for their emotional density. The approach of the history of the emotions and the so-called affective turn, is applied to various sources taking account of the controversial relationship between the two perspectives. It becomes also possible to find the individual mediations (affective, emotional, at the boundary between private and public) through which the collective imagination is re-appropriated by the individuals, redesigning subjective paths within the segmentation of space and time.

Convenor: Gabriella Valera, University of Trieste, Valeragabriella@gmail.com

Presenters:

1. Gabriella Valera, University of Trieste *The People and the Kings: figures of victory and defeat in the History of French Revolution by Jules Michelet*
2. Dario Castellaneta, University of Trieste *Agents and processes of mediation between individual pathos and collective consciousness. (An enquiry on photography)*

3. Francesca Luise, Independent researcher *Not you! Iconic figures of victory and defeat in the everyday life conflict*

Paper abstracts:

1. Gabriella Valera, University of Trieste, Valeragabriella@gmail.com

The People and the King: figures of victory and defeat in the History of French Revolution by Jules Michelet

The paper briefly illustrates the theoretical perspective, in which the opposition Figure /Discourse has been proposed as a part of the opposition dialogue/context, alterity/interpretation (on the basis of 1971, François Lyotard: Discours, Figure). Then, I will propose a rereading of the work of Jules Michelet hypothesizing new possibilities of approaching great historiographical representations and historical narratives. The people and the king, both winners and losers, both "bearer" of "collective feelings" are compared in the complex reality of their lived bodies. What the "people" becomes for the collective imaginary is different from the living people of the revolution told by Jules Michelet. The individual emotional mediation in building the "figures" of victory and defeat (of the winner and won) through a sensory representation of the people and the king, finally became part of a theoretical apparatus which in turn becomes image and body of history, through its narrative.

2. Dario Castellaneta, University of Trieste dariocastellaneta@gmail.com

Agents and processes of mediation between individual pathos and collective consciousness. (An enquiry on photography)

Inside the panel "Figures of victory and defeat" my paper is willing to describe the ways, agents and processes of sharing, participate and re-elaborate emotions captured by the camera. My enquiry aims to answer the question how is possible to reach and step into collective feelings from personally situated sensory experiences, such as photographic witnessing. After a short introduction, setting the epistemological frame of my discussion (mainly iconology and semiology) i would like to focus, more precisely, on the different ways an image can be acknowledged as an "iconic" picture. Analysing the paths by which the emotion of a single individual situated in space and time, enters the collective cultural dimension, I will discuss the case of the well-known war photography took by Robert Capa in Spain in 1936, compared to other famous shots, like the dead body of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, and the picture of Aylan, a three years old migrant child, whose body was photographed stranded on a turkish beach in 2015. Those images have become not only an objective documentation of news reporting but, more significantly, a cluster of emotions that culture as a whole has to face. In the path from personal to cultural dimension, the photographic images pass through a sequence of re-elaborations and even artistic reinterpretations: i will therefore bring as examples the portrait of Aldo Moro, Italian politician murdered in 1978, whose last photography has been compared to the Holy Shroud of Turin, and the notorious pictures of the "jumpers", falling from the Twin Towers in 2001, which were initially censored by the most important newspapers in United States of America and have now become very eloquent symbols/symptoms of fear and moral dejection in a broad sense.

3. Francesca Luise, Independent researcher fraluise.ve@gmail.com

Not you! Iconic figures of victory and defeat in the everyday life conflict

The aim of the paper is to individuate the two cultural symbols of the winner and the loser into small communities and groups of people. In particular, I would like to focus on the reason why conflict representations appear. The analysis will be divided in three parts.

In the first part, starting from Gregory Bateson philosophy, I study the emotional roots of the conflict, as the role crystallization process. Through an interdisciplinary psycho-social, literary and

philosophical point of view, I'll retrace the natural complexity of the two categories (winner/loser), considering the link between them and the perspective, 'relationship' and 'command' concepts. In the second part of this contribute I will examine the theoretical value of the game in Contemporary studies, as an alternative to the conflicted dialogue, (Huisinga, Derrida, Gadamer, Richter, Bateson). Finally, the third part will propose few practices and games that can support the verbal communication, starting from a case study. It will be direct to offer a spectrum of different solutions, as useful instrument to read in a creative way the community conflict.

Panel 32. History as Emotion: from epistemology to performance

Panel abstract: When did history become so emotional? This question refers not to the history of emotions per se but to the general patterns of presenting and representing historical subjects. In the last decade mass-media has been saturated with the affecting images of the Middle Ages (both in the guise of historical reconstructions and surrogate fantasies); 'history wars' were triggered by public love of hatred of this or that historical figure (as it recently happened in Russia with Ivan the Terrible). It seems that matter-of-fact that used to be the sanctum sanctorum of historical discipline is transforming into matter-of-feeling, which has definite political implications. Yet it would be too rush to blame it on 'affective turn' or to see this as a symptom of 'postmodern' development. As early as the mid17th Century a number of French historians, including the abbé de Saint-Réal, were beginning to see history more as a 'play of passions' than a predestined plan. The analysis of emotions and hidden desires became an unlikely but often used tool of historical criticism as well as a narrative device. This panel proposes to look at how historical discourse orchestrate and instrumentalize different emotions, both in the early modern and in the contemporary context.

Convenor: Maria Neklyudova, Department of Cultural Studies and Social Communication, School of Advanced Studies in the Humanities, The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA), m.s.neklyudova@gmail.com

Presenters:

1. Ksenia Gusarova, Russian State University for the Humanities *Sentimental Education: History in a 19th-Century Magazine for Women*
2. Varvara Sklez, Russian State University for the Humanities *Affecting Documents: History in Contemporary Russian Theatre*.
3. Maria Neklyudova, Department of Cultural Studies and Social Communication, School of Advanced Studies in the Humanities, The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) *'Silent Treatment' in Historical Narrative: Non-verbalized Emotions and their Interpretation*

Paper abstracts:

1. Ksenia Gusarova, Russian State University for the Humanities, kgusarova@gmail.com

Sentimental Education: History in a 19th-Century Magazine for Women

The paper will address historical writings published in the 1860s in *Modnyi Magazin*, a popular Russian magazine for women. This periodical targeting middle-class readership combined information on the latest Parisian fashions, housekeeping advice, and recreational reading. The literary section sometimes included historical essays, meant, on the one hand, to educate the readers, and on the other hand, to entertain them. Thus, history was becoming a "fashionable" pastime and an object of consumption. What is more, many stories and serialized novels published in *Modnyi Magazine* were set in the (recent) past, further blurring the boundary between history and fiction and presenting the past as something the reader was expected to identify with. The paper will examine the emotions involved in this mode of experiencing history. It will be argued that the

magazine actively engaged in shaping the readers' response through images of female characters perusing historical books, descriptions of their purposes and feelings. The paper will attempt to show how these emotional reactions to history were related to their own historical context — the age of reforms in Russia — as well as to the readers' gender identity.

2. Varvara Sklez, Russian State University for the Humanities, varvar.sk@gmail.com

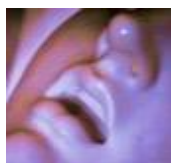
Affecting Documents: History in Contemporary Russian Theatre

The 2010s in Russian theatre have been marked by a particular interest in history on the behalf of the practitioners. This has been cogently reflected in the 2016's Golden Mask Festival's program, including a special non-competition program Mask Plus section named "War and Myth: theatre interpretations of history". The productions shown there referred to the key episodes of the Soviet history, such as Second World War, or political repressions. Another remarkable case was Archive of Body workshop (2016, curated by Ksenija Peretrukhina and Elizaveta Spivakovskaja) focused on the present-day reception of the famine and collectivization in USSR. These cases do not exhaust the list of theatre productions exploring history by means of documentary theatre and performance, but turns us to a problematic point of identification with the most notable episodes of recent history. While such topics are becoming more and more debated in public sphere, such an identification still remains complicated. On the one hand the Soviet past (especially, the Second World War) is still very personally and emotionally perceived. At the same time emotional perception of the past complicates its critical 'working-through' and makes it an instrument for politics of memory confrontations. It will be argued in the paper that the 'efficacy' of the production exploring emotionally and politically loaded historical issues should be discussed not in terms of immediate change in understanding given historical event, but by discovering minor affects of the known failed attempts to identify with the past.

3. Maria Neklyudova, Department of Cultural Studies and Social Communication, School of Advanced Studies in the Humanities, The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA), m.s.neklyudova@gmail.com

'Silent Treatment' in Historical Narrative: Non-verbalized Emotions and their Interpretation

The famous closure of Alexander Pushkin's historical play *Boris Godunov* (1825), "The People are silent", has incited more interpretations than any other stage remark in theater history. But in fact European historiography has a number of similar cases when the people or the rulers maintain silence in the face of catastrophic occurrences. I would like to look at one of them, the last sanctioned duel in France, that took place in 1547. The king Henri II who was present remained silent throughout the procedure, despite the numerous attempts to make him speak and stop the slaughter. Did the king's silence denote an emotional turmoil, the weakness of personality, or deep political machinations? All these and many other interpretations can be found in the 17th and the 19th century historiography that attempted to make sense of the king's stance. In my paper I would like to look closely at the reasoning that informs the different 'readings' of silence, and why it is treated as an emotion.



XVI Theoretical and methodological issues

Panel 33. The affective turn in the history of the East-West encounter

Panel abstract: The 'affective turn', and explorations of the historical performativity of emotion, represent further responses to what some have described as the 'crisis in historiography' (Koivunen 2016). While questioning the dominance of the traditional Western archive that had long held Western historiography captive, much postcolonial discourse nevertheless continued to focus critical attention on the political, economic and sociological dimensions of imperialism, and found little inclination to explore the often more ambiguous affective domain of the interpersonal interactions that inevitably formed part of the imperial encounter. This can be explained in part by the lacuna in traditional archival resources traditionally drawn upon in the construction of historical explanations. Although the 'cultural turn', and in particular, the turn to literature – in this case 'the colonial novel' – has offered a way forward, this also has often remained within the parameters of traditional historiography. In seeking a historiographical engagement with 'affect', the cultural historian is dependent upon accessing new archival sources, or engaging with such archives in new ways. Nevertheless, as Kuhn (1992) has emphasised, how the performativity of affect is read continues to depend on "how we position ourselves within wider, more public histories". The ability of the 'affective turn' to contribute to the transformation of the histories of the East-West encounter within the broader context of globalising history, therefore, will depend on the continuing deployment of the historian's traditional 'tools of trade' to contextualise affect and avoid anachronistic and ahistorical readings.

Convenor: Natsuko Akagawa, The University of Queensland, n.akagawa@uq.edu.au

Presenters:

1. Natsuko Akagawa, The University of Queensland *Entangled emotions: untangling affective performativity*
2. Joost Coté, Monash University *'Dearest Annie': Colonial female friendships and cultural nationalism*
3. Caterina Albano, University of the Arts London *Moving emotions: affect, the archive and the moving image*

Paper abstracts:

1. Natsuko Akagawa, The University of Queensland, n.akagawa@uq.edu.au

Entangled emotions: untangling affective performativity

The 'affective turn', and explorations of the historical performativity of emotion, represent further responses to what some have considered the 'crisis in historiography' (Koivunen 2016) that has followed the questioning of the dominance of the traditional archive that has held historiography captive. Nevertheless, how the performativity of affect is read continues to depend on "how we position ourselves within wider, more public histories" (Kuhn 1992). The usefulness of a historiographical engagement with 'affect' therefore, continues to depend on the deployment of the traditional 'tools of trade' of the historian. In this paper I propose to explore an alternative archival source for an analysis of the East–West encounter to examine the ambiguities of the affective dimension: the evidence provided by Japanese ukiyo-e art of the Edo era, and Dutch diaries, for

understanding the emotional dimension of the 17th century Dutch-Japanese relations. Both genres depicts the apparent sexually-charged nature of the encounter between Dutch officials of the VOC, the Dutch East Asia Trading Company, and Japanese women on the island of Deshima the territory designated domain as the restricted residence of Dutch traders while in Japan. In this paper I shows how only an understanding the conventions and functions of the genre and its place in contemporary Edo society can allow the historian to begin to construct a valid interpretation of such representations. At the same time, I argue, it is equally important to interrogate the social and cultural background of Dutch diarists reporting on their experience of Japan.

2. Joost Coté, Monash University, Joost.cote@monash.edu

‘Dearest Annie’: Colonial female friendships and cultural nationalism

Where postcolonial discourse focused critical attention on the cultural, political, and sociological dimensions of colonialism, there was little inclination to explore the often more ambiguous affective domain of interpersonal interactions between East and West that inevitably formed part of the imperial encounter. This can be explained in part by the lacuna in traditional archival resources on the basis of which historians traditionally constructed historical explanations. The ‘cultural turn’, and in particular, the turn to literature – in this case, ‘the colonial novel’ – offered a way forward, yet remains clearly within the parameters of traditional historiography. In this paper I draw on extant private correspondence that Dutch colonial women received from female Javanese acquaintances, to examine the evidence of the affective dimension in racial relations in early century colonial society in Java, Netherlands East Indies. The paper seeks to interpret the apparently spontaneous expressions of emotional attachment recorded in this correspondence in the context of the conventions of late 19th century women’s letter writing on the one hand, and the immediate colonial and imperial context in which they were written, on the other. While presenting an important rare source for examining inter-personal relations, the paper points to the inherent ambiguity of such sources of affective performativity and argues that interpretation can only be stabilized by adequate contextualisation within an understanding of the broader historiographical context.

3. Caterina Albano, University of the Arts London, c.albano@csm.arts.ac.uk

Moving emotions: affect, the archive and the moving image

This paper considers the relevance of the moving image as an archival trace and its implications for history. As a defining technology of recording and documenting, film is entangled with history in its making: however, what kinds of narrative ensues from the forgotten images of the archive? What can we garner from footage whose indexical connections have been lost? Through a consideration of works by artists and filmmakers Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi that document colonial encounters through found footage and home movies (*Electric Fragments 2 – Vietnam*, 2001), the paper addresses the affect of the moving image as an archival trace and questions its relevance in the articulation of histories. Critical to the analysis is an examination of the immanence of presence that film projects back to us as gesture, expression and movement, but also as the procedural features of the shot and their defining connotations. To be abstracted are the affective forms of the mundane and the inflections of a ‘colonization of the everyday’ and the ways in which they impinge upon and interfere with established images of the past to concur micro-account of global histories.

Panel 34. Emotions in Research: Objectivity, Subjectivity and Identifications

Panel abstract: The ‘emotional turn’ in current historical writing stands in uneasy relation to the earlier ‘cultural turn’. The belief that all knowledge is culturally constructed encouraged research into aspects of experience previously perceived as fixed and ahistorical, including the body and emotions. At the same time, linguistic over-determination reduces the living, breathing subjects of the past to

nothing more than texts on which ever-proliferating meanings can be inscribed; here, the emotion that animated past lives is nothing more than an unstable signifier. Historians of emotion employ the methods and insights of cultural history, but with the aim of producing histories that penetrate beyond culture to access past subjectivities. These problems have animated much theoretical and methodological discussion within the history of emotions, yet the related – indeed, inseparable – problem of the emotional relation of historians to their subjects is still under-explored and ill-understood. The ideal of objectivity on which the historical profession was founded has been much shaken in recent years, but the disciplinary conventions of historical writing still work to hide the subjectivity of the researcher and the emotions at work in the research process. This panel focuses on the emotional position of the historian, the role of emotion in the research process, and how individual researchers can negotiate the tensions between their emotional identifications and the ‘translation’ of subjectivity into established scholarly conventions. Like prodding an exposed nerve, this procedure can be painful, but any healing operation has to look at what lies beneath.

Convenor: Tracey Loughran, Cardiff University, LoughranTL@cardiff.ac.uk

Presenters:

1. Mark Williams, Cardiff University *Turning Away: Distance, Movement, and Absence in Approaching the Early Modern British World*
2. David Doddington, Cardiff University *Resistance, Survival, and Subjectivity in Studies of U.S. Slavery*
3. Matthew Grant, University of Essex *Researching an Imaginary War: Emotional Engagement with the History of Britain’s Nuclear Futures*
4. Tracey Loughran, University of Cardiff *Blind Spots and Moments of Estrangement: Subjectivity, Class and Education in British ‘Autobiographical Histories*

Paper abstracts:

1. Mark Williams, Cardiff University, williamsm64@cardiff.ac.uk

Turning Away: Distance, Movement, and Absence in Approaching the Early Modern British World

Exploring the relationships between mobility, evidence, and authorial subjectivity in the study of the early modern period allows us to problematize the recent surge in both transnational history and the history of emotions. A case study focused on the multi-generational travels of the Clerk family of Penicuik between 1640 and 1710 – inclusive of educational, mercantile, and touristic travel through Western Europe, the eastern Mediterranean, India, and southern Africa – foregrounds the essential role of spatial and temporal considerations in framing the emotional rhythms of this family across generations and between cultures and continents. Here, I argue, historians must be attuned not only to the textual record left by families like the Clerks (including spiritual diaries, family correspondence, etc.), but also the role played by distance, absence, and silence (e.g. unanswered letters, disappearances, omitted information) in both prompting and assuaging familial anxieties. The emotional registers available to the Clerks, and the challenges this movement posed, help to both outline and locate the ‘communities’ across which it operated. I employ these examples to reflect on the place of the historian as both interposer within and interpreter of these distances, and the difficulties presented by the prospect of localised and de-localised emotional regimes.

2. David Doddington, Cardiff University, doddingtond@cardiff.ac.uk

Resistance, Survival, and Subjectivity in Studies of U.S. Slavery

Since the 1960s, a significant body of historical work has emphasized the strength of collective resistance against white oppression by a united “slave community” across the U.S. South. Heroic testimony from rebels and fugitives has been used to show that enslaved people were not broken by their bondage, were able to survive, and, eventually, win their freedom. However, in emphasizing resistance and slave solidarity, how do we view those who “failed” to follow the rebel’s path or who

struggled with or rejected communal loyalties? This question raises issues of subjectivity and identification with the historical actors we study. It is hard not to admire those who faced ‘the thousand obstacles thrown in the way of the flying slave’ (Northup, 1853) or who risked life and limb to reject oppression and injustice. Yet, in emphasizing the heroism of those who openly sought and fought for freedom, do we also risk applying the language of ‘craven’ or ‘cowardice’ (O’Neal, 1896) which some rebellious slaves used to describe those who would not join them? In this paper, then, I will consider some of the historiographical, methodological, and emotional complications of studying enslaved people’s resistance to slavery in the U.S. South.

3. Matthew Grant, University of Essex, m.grant@essex.ac.uk

Researching an Imaginary War: Emotional Engagement with the History of Britain’s Nuclear Futures

Cultural histories often struggle to connect to the emotional realities of the threat of nuclear war. During the cold war, writers, film-makers and artists imagined nuclear war with the aim of eliciting emotional responses. Their productions formed an important part of the cold war contest and reframed languages of protest. However, in discussing these productions, it is all too easy for histories to replicate one of the basic structural realities of the cold war period: the difficulty, if not impossibility, of imagining nuclear war. Historians’ emotional responses are tempered by the knowledge that these imagined futures did not occur: we cannot ever fully recapture the emotional experience of the cold war nuclear threat. Here, I attempt to understand the role emotion played in representations of the nuclear future, and interrogate my own emotional reactions to this source material. In doing so, I challenge current certainties about the historical recoverability of this ‘imaginary war’, disrupt the notion that cold war representations adequately convey the emotional experience of living under nuclear threat, and reflect on how historians can emotionally engage with the history of Britain’s nuclear futures – with a past that never happened, and that in many ways remains beyond the imagination.

4. Tracey Loughran, University of Cardiff, LoughranTL@cardiff.ac.uk

Blind Spots and Moments of Estrangement: Subjectivity, Class and Education in British ‘Autobiographical Histories

The ideal of historical objectivity has proved illusory, yet historians are often uneasy about admitting subjectivity into their research. As a rule, historians still use language in manipulative ways, rejecting the acknowledged subjectivity of the first person to create the mirage of objectivity. There are exceptions to this rule. Innovative ‘autobiographical histories’, such as Carolyn Steedman’s *Landscape for a Good Woman* (1986), draw on life stories to illuminate psychic, social and cultural structures. Here, I examine the role of class, education and professional status in modern British ‘autobiographical histories’, tracing the roots of the genre to classic cultural studies by working-class authors first published in the 1950s and 1960s. I consider the value of research which individualizes rather than universalizes, the extent to which such writing remains ‘historical’ rather than ‘autobiographical’, and use my own emotional identification (as a working-class female historian, schooled in the late twentieth-century) with these texts to illuminate blind spots in authors’ constructions and readers’ interpretations of these works. Finally, I argue that when such accounts assume that articulacy is the most important indicator of emotional subjectivity, they replicate educational and professional power structures even as they challenge those of gender and class.

Panel 35. Textual Sources in Cultural-Historical Research

Panel abstract: Research in cultural history has taken on the challenge from the linguistic turn to include concerns about the language of texts into their analyses and writings. Also, cultural history

opened up historical research to several interdisciplinary approaches focused on perceptions of an assumed historical reality instead of trying to re-construct such a reality in a positivist manner. While the effects of this changed cultural perspective for historiographical writing are already the basis for fruitful discussion, the effects of this perspective on reading and understanding sources has lacked theoretical analysis. How did the reading and understanding of sources change from a cultural historical perspective in which textual sources as linguistic, medial constructs are taken seriously? The proposed roundtable wants to continue discussions from the ISCH 2016 in Trieste on the understanding and reading of textual sources in cultural-historical research, which are also planned to be published in an edited volume for the ISCH book series. This roundtable introduces some of these discussions to a broader audience with papers based on case studies on sources in cultural history, texts in cultural history and, finally, reading and understanding textual sources. An introduction and conclusion frames the presentation of short papers to connect the more general ideas to the presented case studies.

Convenors: Cathleen Sarti, University of Mainz, cathleen.sarti@gmail.com
Ane Ohrvik, University of Oslo, ane.ohrvik@ikos.uio.no

Presenters:

1. Jakob Egholm Feldt, Roskilde University *Sources - between agency and event*
2. Cathleen Sarti, University of Mainz *Source Genres*
3. Ane Ohrvik, University of Oslo *Deep, Slow or Fast? Reading strategies in Cultural History research*
4. Kristina Skåden, University of Oslo *Producing and Reading Digital Maps in Cultural History*

Paper abstracts:

1. Jakob Egholm Feldt, Roskilde University feldt@ruc.dk

Sources - between agency and event

In this paper, I will present a reading of Horace M. Kallen's 1918 book "The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy" as both historical agency and historical event. In this book, Kallen sought to read the book of Job, as the title indicates, as a Greek tragedy while being deeply entangled in contemporary controversies over the character of Jewishness, Zionism, cosmopolitanism, and not the least American social-political discussions over immigrants, race, and "the American Idea". Kallen and his work will in this paper be seen as an "actor-event" in opposition to traditional historical source criticism's favorite institution "the subject-witness". The book by Kallen discussed here is seen as expression, as an embodiment, of experiences that produce subjectivities. Experience, thus, is before divisions between subjectivities and objectivities, which accordingly should be seen as a posteriori results of historical struggles and social relations. I will discuss via Kallen's example how we as cultural historians could fruitfully see sources as both actors, which evoke meaning, and as events which "happen" and makes truth happen to paraphrase William James. Seen in this perspective, Kallen's work can show us how multiple temporalities are meaningful simultaneously and how historical struggles over identity and identification make truth happen to sources.

2. Cathleen Sarti, University of Mainz cathleen.sarti@gmail.com

Source Genres

Sources are often categorized according to formal appearances which supposedly define their significance for historical research. The separation between tradition (sources expressively written for posterity like chronicles, memoirs, myths etc.) and relics (sources which survived by accident and were thought to only be relevant for the present like receipts, marginalia, everyday objects, etc.), or between primary (contemporary) and secondary sources is commonplace in teaching history as well as used in bibliographies of historiographical works all over the world.

These categorizations are at least since the cultural turn controversially discussed, and their significance is questioned. The need for categorizations for the ever-growing stock of sources available to historical researchers has, however, not been diminished. In this paper, I am going to discuss different approaches to source genres, how and why it matters if they are categorized as tradition, relic, primary or secondary source, as historical source or text, as fictional or factual, and so on. It is going to be discussed, how the cultural historian may classify or categorize his or her sources, what it does mean for the research questions and the possible results to classify sources, and what alternatives to approaching and selecting sources could look like.

3. Ane Ohrvik, University of Oslo ane.ohrvik@ikos.uio.no

Deep, Slow or Fast? Reading strategies in Cultural History research

"In every case, it is the reader who reads the sense; it is the reader who grants or recognizes in an object, place or event a certain possible readability; it is the reader who must attribute meaning to a system of signs, and then decipher it. (...) We read to understand, or to begin to understand." Even though the all-encompassing power Alberto Manguel gives the reader of a text in this quote, which certainly can be contested, his simple and obvious observation that reading produces meaning will serve as the starting point in my paper. By posing questions to a text, our reading serves a purpose and we look to answer the questions by making sense of the text and giving it meaning. How we make our text readable, however, has been frequently discussed and subject to several methodological developments in recent decades. Possible reading strategies including fast and slow, distant, close and deep not only effect our readability of a certain text, but evidently the production of meaning of a text. This paper will explore the reading strategies introduced by different scholars, discuss what readability these different strategies entail, and finally suggest what meaning they produce.

4. Kristina Skåden, University of Oslo kristina.skaden@ikos.uio.no

Producing and Reading Digital Maps in Cultural History

The aim of this paper is to discuss how textual sources may be read with a (digital) Spatial Humanity approach. I will investigate two different cases by reading textual sources from the 1900 century. Firstly, my approach is to engage the concept "narrative space" which includes a spatial frame, the story space, the story world, and the narrative universe as used by Bodenhamer 2015, on historical texts and investigate how this may enrich digital humanity projects. Furthermore, I want to investigate how digital maps could be investigated by engaging the very same concept and thereby open new ways of reading historical texts.

Panel 36. Viral Emotions in Early Nineteenth-Century Finland

Panel abstract: The panel focuses on the history of emotions in early nineteenth-century Finland. In the aftermath of the Great Revolution of France, the borders of Europe were redrawn during the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars. In 1809, Finland was detached from the Swedish realm and annexed to the Russian empire. At the same time, there were increasing cross-border flows. From the 1820s onwards, steamship services enabled new connections and more regular timetables. Soon, high speed presses allowed the inexpensive printing of tens of thousands of newspapers in a day. Early nineteenth century was an era of political controversy and contagious ideas, from revolutionary impulses to other emotional infections. This panel explores the viral qualities of emotions: how emotions spread, how their contagiousness was conceived by the contemporaries and how cultural phenomena were amplified at the time of turmoil. The papers deal with the fear and fascination of the revolution, the student unrest at the time of change, and the fear of cholera.

Convenor: Hannu Salmi, University of Turku, hansalmi@utu.fi

Presenters:

1. Heli Rantala, University of Turku *Fear and Fascination of the Revolution in Early Nineteenth-Century Finland*
2. Jukka Sarjala, University of Turku *Viral Emotions at the Academy? Student Unrest in Early Nineteenth-Century Finland*
3. Hannu Salmi, University of Turku *Viral Culture and the Fear of Cholera in Finland, 1831–1854*

Paper abstracts:

1. Heli Rantala, University of Turku, heli.rantala@utu.fi

Fear and Fascination of the Revolution in Early Nineteenth-Century Finland

The ground-breaking event of the late eighteenth century, the French Revolution, aroused turbulence throughout the European continent. Edmund Burke, the author of an anti-revolutionist *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), called the revolution as “the French infection” that he wanted to keep away from his own country. Burke’s statement captures a relevant aspect in the logics of this extraordinary event: it was feared to be infectious and the epidemics could take over advocates in different countries. Indeed, the outbreak of the revolution aroused also enthusiasm in many of its contemporaries. My paper examines the experience of the revolution in northern Europe by elaborating some Finnish responses to it. In Sweden the fear of revolutionary actions led to a ban for the importation of French books and treating of philosophers like Immanuel Kant as suspicious advocates of Jacobin thoughts. What about the Finnish territory? Finland ceased to be a part of the Swedish realm in 1809. Were there any signs of revolutionary infection in early nineteenth-century Finland? Drawing on newspapers and unpublished material, my paper seeks to trace the importance of the revolution especially as an emotional experience.

2. Jukka Sarjala, University of Turku, juksar@utu.fi

Viral Emotions at the Academy? Student Unrest in Early Nineteenth-Century Finland

In Finnish historiography, it is a well-known fact that many generations of academic students caused various disturbances in Turku at a time when it was the only city in Finland having a university from 1640 to 1828. These disturbances – heavy drinking, fights, doing damage and making noise – grew to a considerable extent in the early decades of the nineteenth century, after Finland had become a Grand Duchy of the Russian empire in 1808. It is obvious that there were various motives for this kind of unrest in the 1810s and 1820s, especially when thinking of the intellectual activities of the students who were interested in Romantic, national or revolutionary ideas. Or should one suppose that the students were just having fun?

This paper addresses the problematics of student unrest in early nineteenth-century Turku by focusing on the virality of emotions, i.e., by seeking for those social and infectious processes of meaning making that produced emotional engagement in the students. At this stage, the approach is highly tentative. Even though the virality of emotions is hard to pin down as a causal nexus, it is still possible to look for those patterns of behaviour and verbal enunciations that were socially contagious among the students.

3. Hannu Salmi, University of Turku, hansalmi@utu.fi

Viral Culture and the Fear of Cholera in Finland, 1831–1854

In her book *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris: A Cultural History*, Catherine J. Kudlick has analyzed the role of cholera in shaping political life and class identity in nineteenth-century France and pointed out the cultural ramifications of a disease. In early nineteenth century, cholera terrified Europeans and seemed to have no boundaries. The disease came also to Finland during the second global pandemic (1827–1835), which affected both Europe and North America. Its rapid spread has often been interpreted as a result of recent changes in transportation, global trade and migration.

The newspapers, too, experienced a sudden growth in the 1820s and 1830s, which resulted in an ever-expanding media publicity. The readers of the press could follow the routes of the infectious disease almost day by day. My presentation is based on a research project where we have explored text reuse in the Finnish press of the nineteenth century by drawing on digital methodology. By identifying passages of similar texts in a corpus of two million pages, it has been possible to track down clusters of viral news chains. My argument is that cholera was not only an infectious disease, it also became a cultural meme that spread rapidly during the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s. The paper explores the emotional responses of this process, or merely – those emotions it finally produced.

Panel 37. The dark side: philosophical reflections on negative emotions

Panel abstract: Human life is fraught with an incredible variety of emotional states. Since ancient times, much attention has been placed on the so-called negative emotions. Emotions, being an elusive and multifaceted phenomenon, have always been studied by using an interdisciplinary approach. Just as nowadays a fruitful dialogue between philosophy, psychology, and neuroscience has been established, so in the past the reflection upon these negative mind states stemmed from various branches of knowledge, such as medicine, and theater. The attention devoted to these phenomena can be explained in the light of a double necessity. On the one hand, negative emotions may give rise to such personal and social problems as mental disorders, prejudices, and social persecution. In this regard, scholars and researchers have tried to shed light on these states in order to disclose and make up for their negative effects they produce. On the other hand, several attempts were made to pinpoint under which guise these emotions harbor within us, and to individuate the hidden positive role they play for both our individual and social well-being. Thus, by comparing different lines of enquiry that have arisen along different epochs, we aim to highlight certain common threads running through human emotional evolution.

Convenor: Paola Giacomoni, Trento University, paola.giacomoni@unitn.it

Presenters:

1. Paola Giacomoni, Trento University «*Anger is good for health*»
2. University Nicolò Valentini, Trento University *The subtle interplay between disgust and morality: the case study of miasma*
3. Caterina Maurer, Trento University *Fear and shame as driving forces for the achievement of self-consciousness in Hegel's philosophy*

Paper abstracts:

1. Paola Giacomoni, Trento University, paola.giacomoni@unitn.it

«Anger is good for health»

Traditionally, anger tends to have a bad reputation because of its aggressive attitude, destructive tendency and inclination for conflict. During the seventeenth century, the main philosophical trend (see, for instance, the works of Descartes, Spinoza, and Hobbes) considers the passions as natural phenomena which can be useful if treated by reason. In this context, anger does not play the pivotal role it played in ancient and in medieval philosophy. The only detailed treatise on anger (which is a part of a larger treatise on the passions) is the one written by Marin Cureau de la Chambre, Louis XIV's physician, who provides a very significant interpretation of such emotion from a medical perspective. Anger is considered from the standpoint of its the ability to arouse energy and to strengthen the weakened forces of human nature. These assumptions suggest a positive diagnosis: anger is good for health. In this light, and given the recent interest of neuroscience research in the brain and body activity elicited by the passions, this paper aims to contribute to the scientific debate by developing a significant historical analysis.

2. Nicolò Valentini, Trento University, n.valentini.2@unitn.it

The subtle interplay between disgust and morality: the case study of miasma

In Ancient Greek mythology, miasma is a contagious force which is cast upon wrongdoers, thus affecting their offspring and contaminating the whole society. This study provides a new reading of this concept based on recent research on the relation between disgust and morality. On the one hand, several experiments showed that disgust works as an unconscious moral compass. For instance, people tend to judge certain acts as immoral just because they are disgusted by them, without being able to provide any rational argument to support their judgments. On the other hand, one of the brain areas being activated when people evaluate reprehensible behaviours is the anterior insula, which also regulates revulsion and nausea. To explain these findings, many theorists argued that the interconnection between disgust and morality might depend on the fact that they both play a crucial role in limiting the exposure to parasites and contaminating substances. The present research move from the assumption that, if disgust and morality interweave, such interconnection must be present in one of the pivotal sources of moral coding, i.e. ancient mythology. Therefore, the aim is to show how the structural link between disgust and morality is inherent in the very concept of miasma.

3. Caterina Maurer, Trento University, caterina.maurer@unitn.it

Fear and shame as driving forces for the achievement of self- consciousness in Hegel's philosophy

From the analysis of Hegel's conception of the so-called "negative emotions", such as fear and shame, a new perspective on the relevance of Hegel's thought in the contemporary debate on emotions arises. Considering all kinds of emotions as contributors to cognition, he recognizes their valence in the formation of subjectivity. In the Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences and in the Lectures on Aesthetics, while interpreting the narration of the original sin, Hegel points out how the first man becomes conscious of his own spiritual nature when he is both aware and ashamed of his nudity. Thus, in the very concept of shame lies the separation between man and nature that leads him to reason. Similarly, Hegel believes in the constitutive role of fear in the emergence of self-consciousness. In fact, in the Phenomenology of Spirit, while discussing the master-servant relationship, Hegel explains how the servant, shaken by fear, becomes conscious of himself and, thanks to the formative activity of labour, achieves his independence from the master. As a result, in accordance with the most recent neuroscientific and psychological studies, Hegel suggests that we should neither fear nor fight those emotions but rather fully experience them in order to understand their formative role.



XVII. Open sessions

Senses and emotions in early modern culture

Presenters:

1. David Allan, University of St Andrews *A History of Emotion for "the Poetry of the Heart": Hugh Blair, Ossian and the Passionate Enlightenment*
2. Mattia Corso, Padua University «*And so the tinder was thrown into the fire*». *Death and emotions in early Modern Verona (1570-1600)*
3. Mari Tiihonen, University of Turku *Emotions in the Death Spectacle of Louis XVI*

Paper abstracts:

1. David Allan, University of St Andrews, da2@st-andrews.ac.uk

A History of Emotion for “the Poetry of the Heart”: Hugh Blair, Ossian and the Passionate Enlightenment

Although the Enlightenment has frequently been labelled the “Age of Reason” this seriously misrepresents the subtle and complex eighteenth-century understanding of human emotion. For Scotland—again conventionally associated with rationalist projects like David Hume’s “Science of Man”—the deficiency in such categorisation is clearly seen in its undervaluing the importance of a sophisticated analysis of the constructive role of emotion in human society that emerged powerfully in the intellectual life of the period. My paper will pivot around a key case study: the literary critic Hugh Blair’s *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian* (1763), a work that advanced a theory of the evolutionary development of the “passions” to vindicate the claim of James Macpherson to have recovered and translated previously-lost literary artefacts from remote Celtic antiquity. Blair’s conjectural history of the emotions, widely believed at the time to provide compelling proof of Ossian’s authenticity and significance, had innumerable ramifications—not only strengthening the conviction that Macpherson had indeed produced vital documentary evidence of early society but also promoting the emergence of an aggressively sentimentalist historiography in Scotland and reinforcing the burgeoning proto-Romantic tastes and sensibilities of enthralled audiences in Britain and across Europe.

2. Mattia Corso, Padua University, mattia.corso@studenti.unipd.it

«And so the tinder was thrown into the fire». Death and emotions in early Modern Verona (1570-1600)

The aim of the paper is to explore emotional responses to death in Verona, a northern Italy city, and its territory during the Counter-Reformation period. Weeping, mourning, praying, crying out were parts of a behavioural pattern, a visible, hearable, and ritualized performance taking place in private houses, streets and public spaces. Anywhere death left its sign people gather around the corpse. The body of a dying person is the centre of ritualized actions; men and women wait for the moribund person to pass away with laments and prayers for the sake of the soul, accomplishing to ease violent irrational outpouring with a ritualized behaviour. Descriptions of death scenes provided by criminal accounts, literature and prayer books will allow for more attention to people’s emotions, so that it will be possible to shed light on gendered reactions, ways of emotional contagion, the use of material objects, and other aspects of death rituality in the everyday life after the Council of Trent.

3. Mari Tiihonen, University of Turku, majotii@utu.fi

Emotions in the Death Spectacle of Louis XVI

On Monday 21st January 1793 at 10 o’clock some twenty thousand people witnessed the beheading of the former King of France, Louis XVI. The execution of the former King was different from other execution spectacles of the revolution. The idea of the execution act was that of an equal and painless death by guillotine. Everyone knew that this was not an ordinary execution. The spectacle was controlled by National Guard. The audience was standing silent on the sides of the streets. Their silence may be given several interpretations. Killing a king was a central event in written sources as well as in images. How to feel for the fallen monarch? And more importantly, how to control feelings of the people? Fear of the emotions was a strong argument against an appeal to the people that was proposed during the king’s trial. The idea of the abolition of “the horrible punishment” arose several times to the conversation. Fear, hatred, and anger but also sympathy, even compassion, were

present in the debate. It seemed obvious that the fate of the king would either way be a spectacle. The death of the man was also a symbolic death of the monarchy. Few deputies saw that any sort of spectacle for killing the king was unnecessary, it was well enough to just vote once and then execute him without any formalities and then just forget him. Some deputies, however, preferred to keep Louis alive to give a spectacular message for the world and posterity.

Senses and Emotions in Modern Culture

1. Heta Aali, University of Turku *Early nineteenth-century French historians and their emotions*
2. Mario Keller, University of Vienna *Emotionalisation strategies in Austrian commercials 1950- 2000*
3. Bolivia Erazo, University of Turku *Hearing and sight in the cinema sphere in the late 1910s to early 1930s in Quito, Ecuador*
4. Pälvi Rantala, University of Lapland, palvi.rantala@ulapland.fi *Sleepless in the Past*

Paper abstracts:

1. Heta Aali, University of Turku, htaali@utu.fi

Early nineteenth-century French historians and their emotions

I will explore in this paper the way early nineteenth-century historians expressed and described their emotions in their historiographical works. I will ask for what purpose they described their emotions and were these emotions mainly negative or positive ones. I have created for my Ph.D. thesis a large corpus of early nineteenth-century historiographical works focusing fully or partly to the Merovingian history and I will use some of these works as my sources in this paper. Obviously, not all authors described their emotions and in some works the author's voice was not heard at all. Yet, as we will see, some authors could use their emotions to legitimise the theme of the work.

I will particularly focus on a work entitled *Histoire des Francs* (I-V vols., 1835) by Pierre Denis de Peyronnet because in the introduction the author writes about the birth of the work. Peyronnet was a politician whose career ended with the July Revolution in 1830 and he did not hide his disillusionment and bitterness from his readers. He wanted to study the history of the Francs in order to learn why the revolutions kept happening again and again.

2. Mario Keller, University of Vienna, mario.keller@univie.ac.at

Emotionalisation strategies in Austrian commercials 1950-2000

Advertising can be seen as a type of communication that strongly relies on strategies of emotionalisation. The goal of every ad is to gain the attention of viewers, and persuade them to buy the advertised product or brand. This is reached by the utilization and commodification of emotions and cultural codes that reflect knowledge and ideas ad-producers assume to be shared by a targeted audience. Because commercials seek to reach as many potential consumers as possible, producers try to anticipate desires, wishes as well as fears of targeted groups.

Referring to the increasing interest in media/film studies and media history regarding the role of emotion in audiovisual communication, the specifics of this type of media shall be discussed. Based on the results of a research project dealing with the history of emotionalisation strategies in Austrian television and cinema ads between 1950 and 2000, it will be questioned in how far commercials can be used as a source for the history of emotions, and in how far they reflect the changing social, political, cultural and media situation in Austria throughout the second half of the 20th century.

3. Bolivia Erazo, University of Turku, xberaz@utu.fi

Hearing and sight in the cinema sphere in the late 1910s to early 1930s in Quito, Ecuador

With the coming of sound cinema to Quito in the early 1930s hearing came to the forefront of the public discussion. The pivotal role assigned to this sense came to share space with sight, until then the most important sense, leading to the emergence of a different hierarchy of senses in cinema. In

this way, various sounds of films were heavily debated and advertised in the press. Among these publicized sounds there was one of particular relevance: the sounds of wild animals. The reason for this emphasis is that in the early phase of the arrival of this technology some of the animals shown in the films were almost unknown in Quito. That is, sound cinema redefined the soundscape of the urban space. In this presentation I study the debate generated around hearing and also around vision in cinema in the early 1930s. To widen the spectrum of analysis I examine the public discussion on the sounds of the animals of this period in contrast to previous years where the visualization of the animals had a primary position given that silent cinema was only able to show animal movements. Drawing on contemporary newspapers as my primary sources I analyze the variation of the public debate around the visualization of animals and hearing their sounds as part of a wider range of discourses circulating in the city from the 1910s to 1930s in Quito.

4. Päivi Rantala, University of Lapland, palvi.rantala@ulapland.fi

Sleepless in the Past

A woman sits on the sofa. She cannot sleep, no matter how hard she would try. The night doesn't end, and yet, morning comes too soon. She starts to make a small movement, which soon grows into a choreography. I start to sing. The lyrics and the melody are mine, but in this very moment, I give voice to that woman on the sofa. We are one, we share the feeling.

In my paper I ask, could art help in a hermeneutic process of trying to understand the emotions and experiences of the people in the past. Sleeplessness is an emotionally loaded physical experience. But how could this physical, emotional and mental state of inability to sleep be understandable, and even more, studied with the methods of cultural history? In this research, the role of art will be two-folded: first, art would offer a way to understand the past in a more sensible way, and on the other hand, it would offer new kind of sources for the research. Theoretically, the affective approach could help to study the embodied experience over time. Methodologically, the so called applied cultural history would offer new ways of presenting history, and studying it.

XVIII Roundtable

1. Juliana Dresvina, University of Oxford Yd216@cam.ac.uk

Attachment Theory, Emotions, and Why should cultural historians care

Does evolutionary psychology enable us to probe the links between a culture's collective fixations and its material/social conditions, and what are the advantages and disadvantages of such an attempt? Attachment theory, first proposed by British psychiatrist John Bowlby in 1950s, suggested that forming attachment bonds was essential for our survival and is one of the adaptive mechanisms we evolved to employ. Psychologists name three main attachment styles (and, consequently, strategies of affect-regulation): one secure and two insecure (anxious and avoiding). In the periods of combined high stress and child separation (either physical or emotional) – which was perhaps more typical of the past than the periods of stability – the percentage of insecurely attached population would have been way higher than now and, thus, the emotions and affects experienced would have been somewhat different from modern ones. These, in turn, shaped appropriate cultural responses, which as *fin amor* or *devotio moderna* in the central and late Middle Ages. If higher percentage of Western Europeans had attachment anxiety, they would display such traits as overdependence on relationship partner (e.g. God or the unattainable beloved) as a source of protection and perception of oneself as relatively helpless. They would have intensified negative emotional response to painful events, keeping them alive in the working memory and causing chronic activation of attachment system (e.g. Passion of Christ, loss of the beloved). In my paper I intend to illustrate how the attachment theory awareness is beneficial for improving our understanding of the past, particularly the periods with high degree of religiosity of the majority of population (evolutionary psychology), Deborah Valenze (aesthetic theory), Nicole Eustace (electric signals) and Kathryn de Luna (sensory and affective experiences of the undocumented past) for a plenary roundtable

2. Nicole Eustace, New York University, nicole.eustace@nyu.edu

Electric Signals: Emotional Communication and Power Generation in an Eighteenth-Century Cross-Cultural Encounter in the Pennsylvania Borderlands

Despite its electrochemical basis in the nervous system, emotion shapes and is shaped by culture. The electrical concepts of power, current, voltage, and resistance provide an extended metaphor for conceptualizing the history of emotions in ways that usefully bridge universalistic and particularistic approaches. Just as electrical charge can exist outside of electrical circuits, so individual feelings can exist outside of social circuits. And, just as electric charge can be carried by a flow of electrons or by a flow of ions, so emotional charge can be carried by words or by bodily movements such as gestures or facial expressions. But, just as electricity cannot move without a circuit, so the potential energy of emotion becomes a meaningful force for historical change only when emotional charge flows between people and groups. Electric power in a circuit is the product of voltage and current (that is the product of the difference in electric potential between two positions and the rate of the flow of charge); correspondingly, emotional power is the product of both the relative positions of members of a social circuit and the flow of current (linguistic, gestural, or facial) that carries their feelings. And, just as electrical voltage is expressed as the product of electrical current times resistance, so emotional voltage is always the product of emotional current and cultural resistance or conductance—in the form of norms, ideas, and expectations.

I will illustrate these original ideas through the interpretation of a detailed daily diary of grief kept over a two-year period by a British-American Quaker woman who lived among Indians in the Pennsylvania borderlands in the midst of the French and Indian War—a manuscript that, in combination with contemporary print sources, allows for a detailed multi-factorial analysis of the kind called for above. The diarist wrote at a moment when women's grief was often censured, but Quakers held up Christ as a pattern of mourning; when moral philosophers regarded tears as a sign of civility, but so-called Indian savages conducted mourning wars and made exchanges of tears the foundation of diplomacy. This obscure frontier woman's diary—including her descriptions of her innermost feelings, her reportage of her daily social conflicts, and her commentary on contemporary affairs—can provide a unique and important focal point for examining the cross-cultural negotiations of power made possible through the expression, exchange, and evaluation of grief.

3. Kathryn de Luna, Georgetown University, Washington DC, kmd243@georgetown.edu

Sensing Feelings in Undocumented Pasts: Embodied Emotion, Belonging, & Sparkly Minerals in Central Africa, 3000BC to AD 1300

Like most of human history, for periods before the 19th century, central Africa lacks the traditional archives of cultural historical inquiry: well-documented and well-preserved literary, poetic, artistic, and architectural traditions. How can we study senses, emotions, and affect in such undocumented pasts? In my current research, I use methods from other disciplines—comparative historical linguistics and archaeology—to reconstruct histories of embodied emotions in the deep, undocumented past of central Africa, c. 3000 BC – AD 1700. In this paper, I use two case studies to explore how and what we can know about emotions and senses in undocumented pasts: the collective emotional subjectivity that developed around the practice of honoring oneself and others with and through objects c. 3000 BC and the entangled sensory, affective, material, and sexual experiences of sparkly minerals (particularly body glitter) c. 700-1300 AD. Central Africans sensed and felt people and objects simultaneously, moving entities across the thresholds of object-ness and personhood and complicating our understandings of the distinction between people and objects.

Finding ways to access the sensory and affective experiences of undocumented pasts should matter to cultural historians not only for their alterity—for the new ontologies of perception and meaning-making that emerge from studying radically different human experiences—but for their humanity. At stake in developing new methods to study the senses and emotions is the opportunity to make the experiences of people who lived centuries and millennia ago as recognizably human as possible, even when traditional historical archives are unusually thin.

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