STEPHEN CUMMINS ⓘ AND MAX STILLE ⓘ

Religious Emotions and Emotions in Religion: The Case of Sermons

This article examines the challenges posed by combining the categories of religion and emotion in historical studies. It analyses two major ways of framing this: religious emotion and emotions in religion. By taking sermons as a case study, both as a religious practice and a genre of historical source, an approach that retains the useful elements of each approach is developed. At the same time, the article explores the potentials of sermons as a source for the history of emotions, noting important consequences in the history of religious communication for the history of emotions and vice versa. In particular, reception history approaches are explored as a way to enrich accounts of the emotional aspects of sermons. Further, the article serves as an introduction for the collection of articles: "Preaching and Passions: Sermons and the History of Emotions."

The "emotional turn" in numerous disciplines has coincided with a purported return of religion into world historical prominence. Both of these movements were preceded by long-standing scholarly traditions, which they continue to grapple with and from which, in part, they seek to emancipate themselves. One guiding aim of many researchers in recent decades has been to avoid characterising either emotions or religion as irrational or as inaccessible to scholarly study.[1] Studies of the secular have highlighted the ideological constructions of both secular and religious affect, and older notions of "religious feeling" are largely seen as analytically insufficient.[2] It seems that even while both the field of religion and the academic study of emotions have gained prominence simultaneously, combining both of these approaches remains a challenge.

Given the critiques that have been lodged against an essentialist view of religious emotions it seems tempting to eschew the category and rely on

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1. J. Corrigan, "Introduction: How Do We Study Religion and Emotion?," in *Feeling Religion*, ed. J. Corrigan (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 1–21.
2. T. Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

Stephen Cummins and Max Stille, Max Planck Institute for Human Development, Berlin., Germany.

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contextual interpretations without privileging the religious as a special field. Yet it is our claim that, as long as the religiously specific aspects of emotions emerge from our subjects' concepts, this can still be a useful approach. At the same time, it is necessary that 'religious feelings' be contextualised and studied as socially and culturally embedded phenomena.

This article suggests that research on sermons can be one contribution for thinking about the dialectics of religious emotions in history, that is between being specifically religious on the one hand and bound to historical contexts on the other. Sermons as texts and preaching as practice are central to many religious traditions, yet they also vary significantly, providing useful cases for cross-cultural comparison. As acts of intentional religious communication, they offer a powerful example of the nexus or overlap between the religious and the everyday. After reviewing approaches to emotions and their relation to religion, we will introduce sermons as a prompt for thinking through the historical study of religious emotions by providing examples regarding the potential specifics of religious communication. However, we claim that such a perspective has to be historicised and suggest some theoretical and methodological points for fruitfully exploring religious emotions in historical scholarship.

This article therefore has two major objectives. The first is to provide theoretical, methodological, and historiographical contexts for subsequent articles which focus on particular empirical case studies in the history of preaching. The second is to reflect upon religious emotions as a subject for historians and to explore sermons and preaching as a case study for what such a focus can reveal.

Emotion and Religion

Our perspective on emotions draws on crucial insights from the history of emotions, which has established that emotions are not timeless components of human nature but moving targets which change over time. Not only do new varieties of emotions and emotional practices form while others are forgotten, but also the cultural frameworks of what emotions are and how they relate to morals and society changes.[3] This is because they are not only individual possessions but rather have social qualities; they are not only interior experiences but socially constructed, located, and expressed. Emotions are also, from this perspective, not only subjective, inner feelings or internalised norms, but practised behaviour.[4] They interact with other fields of human action, knowledge, and experience. We have chosen not to focus on a single emotion or a range of emotions as we hold that emotions are best understood

as overlapping and relational. Yet this breadth does not result in a loss of specificity. Fine distinctions between emotional categories, such as the Catholic conceptual distinction between contrition and attrition or the different degrees of intentionality in states of ecstasy in mystical Islam (*wajd*, *ḥāl*), are likely meaningful for these historical questions. We are particularly concerned to consider factors that alter emotional experiences such as temporality and intensity, arguing that these variables are often very salient for historical actors.

The universality of emotions has been challenged by anthropological, linguistic, and historical studies.[5] Catherine Lutz has made the most forceful criticism of emotional models that take a universal vision of emotional life which carries with it "the imposition of assorted contemporary Western ideas about the nature of the person, of rationality, and of morality onto the experience of others."[6] Assembling evidence from different regions and religious traditions allows for insights from other disciplines, such as postcolonial studies and global conceptual history, about the "provincial" nature of seemingly universal concepts. Just as for the different social fields examined by Dipesh Chakrabarty's now classic study *Provincializing Europe*, we see the need to provincialise contemporary Western models about emotions, religion, and sermons. From an emotion history perspective, for example, the Japanese concept of the mind-heart (*kokoro*), or the lexical change in Urdu during the early twentieth century towards a unified emotion term that indicates a passionate pull (*jazb*), are as relevant for provincialising contemporary assumptions about emotions as the conception of the passions in early modern Europe.[7] In this way, looking both at different places and at different times allows analyses more sensitive to historical variation.

Such cases can point to shared traditions, mutual observations as much as to genealogically unrelated parallels.[8] While Protestantism and Sunni Islam, for example, share many trajectories and conceptual translations, the Japanese case connects with traditions from Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto. Aristotelian concepts of the passions are very close to the actors' perspective, for example, in case of early modern Christian preaching, and the same concepts have repercussions in India. Other parallels, such as between the concept of self-affection in "European" antiquity and Japanese preaching in the eighteenth century, however, do not stem from a history of mutual influences.

5. M. Z. Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); M. Pernau, "Introduction: Concepts of Emotions in Indian Languages," *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 11, no. 1 (2016): 24–37; C. A. Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll & Their Challenge to Western Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
6. Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions*, 225.
7. M. Pernau, "Provincializing Concepts: The Language of Transnational History," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 36, no. 3 (2016): 483–99.
8. For the latter we could point to the similarities between the separate European notion of the passions and the Japanese *jō*.

Equally, religion has to be de-universalised in order to escape Eurocentric assumptions that duplicate colonial power structures.[9] The challenges for the global study of religion are often equally the case for historical studies.[10] There have been some major critiques of the utility of the religious.[11] Even without taking a radical view that the religious must be discarded as a category, it is clear that reflection on religion requires awareness of its potential distorting effects as an analytical tool.[12] In recent years, religious studies scholars have, for example, attempted to decentre subjective, personal belief as the sole marker of the religious, noting that this is a Western, specifically Protestant, definition of religion as personal faith.[13]

The history of emotions, too, has contributed to the study of religion. At the same time religion had a privileged place as a crucible for theoretical development in the history of emotions. It is not surprising that key concepts such as Barbara Rosenwein's emotional communities and Monique Scheer's emotional practices were developed in large part with reference to religious contexts (medieval monasticism and eighteenth-century to nineteenth-century Methodism respectively). As such, tackling the issue of religious emotions is of considerable interest for the subdiscipline. Religion as an emotional arena presents a particularly significant example of the challenges of the individual/social divide. Emotions, at least in the history of emotions approach, necessarily bridge a mind–body dualism due to their simultaneous felt reality and social meanings.

Nor is it only at the level of scholarly analysis that emotions have been informed by religion. For many periods in history, major parts of a society's understandings of affective life draw from religious contexts and the sorts of accounts of the human that such religions create. For example, the passions' characters for Christianity, especially in medieval and early modern thought, were shaped by the Fall; this event was central to understanding why humans were overwhelmed or misled by their passions, which had been corrupted from their prelapsarian nature. Emotions were at the centre of *bhakti* religiosity, which at the same time reclassified them and used them to challenge social conventions. Religion hence shaped numerous aspects of emotions' social importance including emotional standards, taxonomies of feeling and appropriate emotional display. Hitzer, Eitler, and Scheer aptly summarise that

9.   D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton Studies in Culture, Power, History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); M. Bergunder, "What Is Religion? The Unexplained Subject Matter of Religious Studies," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 26, no. 3 (2014): 246–86.
10.   A. Sterk and N. Caputo, "Introduction: The Challenge of Religion in History," in *Faithful Narratives: Historians, Religion, and the Challenge of Objectivity*, ed. A. Sterk and N. Caputo (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 1–11.
11.   T. Fitzgerald, "A Critique of 'Religion' as a Cross-Cultural Category," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 9, no. 2 (1997): 91–110.
12.   K. Schillbrack, "The Social Construction of 'Religion' and Its Limits: A Critical Reading of Timothy Fitzgerald," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 24, no. 2 (2012): 97–117. See also P. Harrison, *The Territories of Science and Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), chap. 4.
13.   C. M. Furey, "Body, Society, and Subjectivity in Religious Studies," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 80, no. 1 (2012): 7–33.

"[f]ew areas of social life present the variety and complexity of emotional cultures, coupled with an elaborate self-reflection, to the extent that the religious field does."[14]

Classic interpretations of religious emotions often referred to in modern scholarship include those of William James and Rudolph Otto. Otto traced the particular dynamics of the *mysterium tremendum* and saw religious experience as the foundation of all religions at all times. Despite their "objective" dimension, theirs were insider-approaches. Otto's was part of (mystical) theology and a personal religious quest and James' was a psychological investigation; both were premised on both emotions and beliefs being interior and individual. For James, the social existence of religions was a consequence of individual experience (or the "religious genius"). By contrast, the work of Emil Durkheim and Jane Harrison, to cite some more canonical examples of Western scholarship, highlighted the collective nature of religion and the importance of social relations in specific contexts.[15] They, however, explored these collectives in "primitive" societies and focused on ritual and symbol, reading back what they observed in the present rather than studying historical societies. Comparing both groups, we can detect different "distances" to religious emotions as an object of inquiry: while Otto and James might have lacked distance from what they studied, Durkheim and Harrison were perhaps too far away from the textures of the concepts and descriptions of the religious worldviews they studied.

Combining both, scholars have to aim to capture the full complexity and richness of historically specific accounts, as comprehensively as possible, without imposing our ideas upon them. By recognising the way both religions and emotions change in history, we can avoid on the one hand, a teleological account that tracks development from primitive religion to contemporary society and, on the other hand, a phenomenological account of a universal relation between religion and emotion.[16]

A crucial question and focus of debate is whether to characterise religious emotions as a distinct group of emotions or, rather, to see them as emotions that occur, are evoked, or practised in religious contexts. From a historical perspective, we do not need to, and cannot, solve this question. Rather, we approach the question in a historicist manner and see if particular historical sources, like Otto, emphasise a particular religious emotion, or draw on similarities to emotions in other contexts. Nevertheless, there is a particular challenge and stimulation in exploring potential specificities of religious

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14. P. Eitler, B. Hitzer, and M. Scheer, "Feeling and Faith — Religious Emotions in German History," *German History* 32, no. 3 (2014): 350.
15. E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1912); J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908).
16. For an example of an emic approach to the religious category, see M. Horii, "Critical Reflections on the Category of Religion in Contemporary Sociological Discourse," *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 28 (2015): 21–36; M. Horii, *The Category of 'Religion' in Contemporary Japan: Shūkyō and Temple Buddhism* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

emotions and to ask about the precise character and agency of emotions in religious contexts.

Change — albeit not chronological change in the historical sense — has played a productive role in contemporary thinking about religious emotions. Ole Riis and Linda Woodhead have argued for "emotional 'transcendence-transition'" in the sense that "religion often facilitates emotional transition"[17] in the everyday sphere. Similarly, Jacqueline van Gent and Spencer E. Young have demonstrated the interaction between emotional life and religious conversion.[18] However, we cannot ignore the potentially conservative role of religious emotions, which, embedded in ritual contexts, may be particularly valued because they do not change easily with their surroundings. For historians, the role of change over time must modulate any useful definition of religious emotions.

The specificity of religious emotions is convincingly explored by approaches that define religious emotions as possessing particularly religious intentionalities or references.[19] Such terms aim at describing how religious emotions belong to particular systems of communication which are characterised by including supernatural beings, aspects of transcendence of normal reality or the immanence of the normally remote, or "a scope that goes beyond the limitations of worldliness."[20] These approaches lead us to thinking about semiotics in the context of communication and religious emotions. Using an explicit and central aspect of religious communication — preaching — as an example, we explore how the communication of emotional roles and the place of emotions in communication changes in history. This change considers the influence not only of sender and addressee in developing (among others emotional) codes of communication, but of supernatural actors, or at least of the interpretation of and reference to the lives of those involved.

Sermons and Religious Emotions

Sermons, in a broad sense, are common features of religious practice in many traditions. They are orations given, most regularly, by a religious official (although lay-preaching is the norm or a possible alternative in certain traditions). They involve the transmission of a particular message or the exposition of a particular religious text. In style, persuasion and exhortation are common elements. In certain historical contexts, sermons are not just events but are transcribed (or not performed and written only for publication). In this article we are interested in both the sermon as event and

17.   O. Riis and L. Woodhead, *A Sociology of Religious Emotion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 82.
18.   J. van Gent and S. E. Young, "Introduction: Emotion and Conversion," *Journal of Religious History* 39, no. 4 (2015): 461–67.
19.   H. Knoblauch and R. Herbrik, "Emotional Knowledge, Emotional Styles, and Religion," in *Collective Emotions: Perspectives from Psychology, Philosophy, and Sociology*, ed. C. von Scheve and M. Salmela (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 357–71.
20.   Riis and Woodhead, *A Sociology of Religious Emotion*, 94.

sermons as texts (and as material objects). Each individual sermon also participates in the context of a local series of performed and published sermons. There are a range of variables that alter the nature and experience of sermons. It can vary depending on whether the preacher is a permanent or semi-permanent resident within the community he preaches to or whether they are guest preachers. The nature of this relation of preacher to social context is obviously subject to very significant differences in social dynamics. The place and space of preaching is also an important variable.

Another very significant issue is the connection of sermons to power relations. Preaching could be part of missionary activity and attendance forced or obligatory.[21] The ways emotions were supposed to be addressed varies with such political contexts: there can be a turn to emotions for purposes of religio-political mobilisation as much as sermons can be an instrument used to dissuade people from emotions seen as politically dangerous. Sermons ranged from being a tool for missionaries allied with colonial power to much more ambivalent stances that lead to bans of missionary activities.[22] In the context of nationalist resistance against colonial rulers, moreover, religious speech often became part of reasserting non- or even anti-colonial identity and sociability.[23]

Definitions and images of what constituted a sermon have to be provincialised and historicised. There are different ways in which religious and non-religious speech are related to each other, and therefore there is not always the same tension between "rhetoric" and "homiletics" on a theoretical level. The place sermons take in different traditions also cannot be taken for granted. While they took central liturgical roles in, for example, Protestantism and in Islamic practice, they were only emerging as a popular genre in Neo-Confucianism during the period under consideration, growing out of a longer scholarly tradition. The perceived innovative or outdated character of sermons as a genre has repercussions on the emotions and expectations during the performance of sermons. If sermons are an established form, listeners might have quite distinct expectations about their emotional position and might look for small innovations such as distinct emotional narratives.[24]

21. C. McLisky, D. Midena, and K. Vallgårda, eds, *Emotions and Christian Missions: Historical Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
22. N. Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
23. W. Keane, *Christian Moderns: Freedom and Fetish in the Mission Encounter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); I. G. Županov, *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001); J. E. Taneti, *Caste, Gender, and Christianity in Colonial India: Telugu Women in Mission* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
24. R. H. Ellison, ed., *A New History of the Sermon: The Nineteenth Century*, A New History of the Sermon (Leiden: Brill, 2010); J. van Eijnatten, ed., *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century*, A New History of the Sermon (Leiden: Brill, 2009); A. Dupont *et al.*, *Preaching in the Patristic Era*, A New History of the Sermon, vol. 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2018); C. Muessig, ed., *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, A New History of the Sermon, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2002); L. Tayor, ed., *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, A New History of the Sermon, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001); M. B. Cunningham and P. Allen, eds, *Preachers and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, A New History of the Sermon, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1998); O. C. Edwards, *A History of Preaching* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2004).

In regard to space, a contemporary European Christian might imagine different atmospheres and roles of preachers and audiences, but predominantly picture them in the context of church services. The historical cases we assemble widen the images, narratives, and connotations of sermons and hence their conceptualisation.[25] Sermons we analyse also took place in mosques, ranging from the Delhi's Jama Masjid in Mughal architecture next to the royal residence to the small mosques in rural North India, as much as in religious schools and Sufi convents. The ephemeral sites of the itinerant preacher in early modern Japan included elite schools and lecture theatres, temples, but also farm houses of the peasantry, and the Urdu preacher in colonial India preached in trains and waiting rooms.

Some existing sermons' scholarship has analysed aspects of emotions' roles in preaching. One of the ways in which emotions in preaching can be studied is as explicit subject matter: sermons regarding which emotions are praised, which are devalued, and which seek to impart feeling rules. In an article that predates the explosion of interest in emotional themes, Brinton established how much discussion of passions in eighteenth-century England was an attempt to work a form of therapy on the audience.[26] One recent work that focuses squarely on sermons' emotional themes is Susan Karant-Nunn's *The Reformation of Feeling*. Karant-Nunn approaches Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic sermon texts from the Reformation as a way to establish what the particular emotional standards, focuses, and topics important to each confession. For English sermons across 1590–1640, Arnold Hunt has argued that sermons were "addressed primarily to the emotions."[27] Anthropologists working on Islamic preaching have consistently highlighted the role of emotions, and Charles Hirschkind has argued for particular emotional dispositions built up by listeners of Islamic sermons.[28]

Preachers were often very concerned with the appropriate usage of emotions in sermon performance and historians have also tracked the evaluations given to emotional expression in preaching. Rhetorical traditions that underpinned preaching were often concerned with the question of how and whether to intentionally arouse emotion: in European traditions this often drew on Aristotelian accounts of persuasion via *pathos*.[29] Herman Roodenburg has tracked the emergence in eighteenth-century Europe of a paradigmatic role for the passions shared by all sorts of cultural production

25.   Pernau, "Provincializing Concepts," 495.
26.   A. Brinton, "The Passions as Subject Matter in Early Eighteenth-Century British Sermons," *Rhetorica* 10, no.1 (1992): 51–69, https://search.proquest.com/docview/1300653184?accountid=12582 (accessed 23 October 2018).
27.   A. Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 11.
28.   C. Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).
29.   R. Cockcroft, *Rhetorical Affect in Early Modern Writing: Renaissance Passions Reconsidered* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 3.

and performance.[30] Mary Morrissey has demonstrated the connection that the appeal to the emotions had with homiletics in early modern England and tracked changes.[31] Changing discourses on emotions have been tracked as important by historians of sermon, in which emotional change surfaces in alteration in preaching practices. Eighteenth-century Christian protestant revivals have also been a popular focus for work on the emotions in preaching. Ecstatic practices raised anxieties among governments and new theories about how emotional preaching engaged congregations leading to, for example, in eighteenth-century Sweden a "pathologizing of ecstasy" as contagious and destructive.[32]

Another way emotions have been approached is through the emotions of audiences. Joris van Eijnatten has explored the role of emotions in sermons as part of a cultural history approach. He frames the role of emotions in sermons as primarily about the emotional needs of audience members: "People looked for an emotional or pleasurable experience, or a release of tension by having the hardships, problems and vicissitudes of daily life put into perspective by a religious leader."[33] Approaches have been developed for seeing the different roles of audiences in early modern English preaching.[34] Historians need to address sermon-participants as engaged in agentive action "without regarding them per se as being 'controlled' and 'influenced' by the preacher." Instead, an interaction is posited in which emotions are part of bodily knowledge produced in these contexts.[35] It is clear that simple models in which the preacher has control leads away from interesting questions about audience agency and co-involvement.

Sermons and the Specificity of Religious Emotions

In our portrayal of sermons as a paradigmatic case for understanding religious emotions, three aspects are particularly important. First, we are careful to historicise our categories of analysis. While many studies on sermons have addressed emotions, they may sometimes be unconsciously guided by ideas about emotions drawn from the Western tradition in their analytical vocabulary and not be attentive enough to their actors' perspectives on emotions. We take concepts of affective life's operation from the sources. For example, emotions may be conceptualised as lying outside an individual that is in

30. H. Roodenburg, "Si Vis Me Flere … On Preachers, Passions and Pathos in Eighteenth-Century Europe," in *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity: Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer*, ed. J. Dijkstra, J. Kroesen, and Y. Kuiper (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 609–28.
31. M. Morrissey, "Scripture, Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth-Century English Theories of Preaching," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53, no. 4 (2002): 686–706.
32. D. Lindmark, "The Preaching Disease: Contagious Ecstasy in Eighteenth-Century Sweden," in *Imagining Contagion in Early Modern Europe*, ed. C. L. Carlin (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 151.
33. J. van Ejnatten, "Getting the Message: Towards a Cultural History of the Sermon," in *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. J. van Eijnatten (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 357.
34. Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, esp. chapt. 4, 187–228.
35. M. Scheer, "German 'Shouting Methodists': Religious Emotion as a Transatlantic Cultural Practice," in *Emotions and Christian Missions: Historical Perspectives*, ed. C. McLisky, D. Midena and K. Vallgårda (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 51.

constant contact with spirits in its surroundings. Feelings would take on a different role, for example, with a theology that seeks to eliminate mediators between God and the believer.[36] Emotions might, furthermore, not just be a personal possession, but can be shared across the congregation, or can be "sanctified" in a religious setting. Similarly, the preacher or the congregation can be infused with special qualities due to inspiration or blessing. We argue that important elements of experience can be accessed only by attending to the implicit or explicit emotional theories operating in each individual context.

Second, we focus on the specifics of sermons as historically situated genres. This will be elaborated in our subsequent section on reception. One important approach is to work out the differences that sermons have when compared to related fields such as moral philosophy and treatises on the passions. At the same time, the ways in which emotions are dealt with in sermons are in relation, overlap, and conversation with other fields and genres. Preachers and audiences might engage in or at least be aware of other fields, such as performance theory that comes from theatre and literature. These fertilisations have effects on the different ways in which analogies, allegories, or personalised narratives relate to divine figures, and in which they thereby conjure up their presence for listeners. Changing forms of media interrelate with storytelling and performative practices in sermons.

This leads us back to, third, our emphasis on the specifics of religious communication.[37] Sermons convey religious norms about emotions, often by examples that appeal to the audiences' emotions in ways that need not be specifically religious. At the same time, religious beliefs and values present in sermons are an important motivating factor for the aspirations of preachers and audiences, or at least frame the communication.

While the staging of sermons often brings to mind a simple model of one way preacher-to-audience communication, there is often a more complex model of communication. The audience can shape the communication through licit or illicit interventions, gestures, or other forms of feedback. In many contexts, textual traditions of religions are an important part of the communication. For example, Christian preaching is explicitly exegetical and the content of the Bible shapes the possibilities of communication. Such traditions often introduce the trans-temporal, explicit reference to other times and places which can be important in how the sermon is received and understood. Reference to figures in religious texts in one sense transcends the immediate social context and, in another, makes normally distant figures present.

Although sermons are in most contexts explicitly or implicitly part of traditions of public speech and narration, it would be rare to find a preacher or

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36. S. Coakley, "Introduction: Faith, Rationality, and the Passions," in *Faith, Rationality and the Passions*, ed. S. Coakley (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 1–11.
37. V. Krech, "Communication," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Study of Religion*, ed. M. Stausberg and S. Engler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 257–70.

devotee who saw what they experienced as "mere" rhetoric. One of the notable aspects of most preaching is that it transcends immediate contexts to make reference to pasts and futures beyond the current context. Such circles of interpretation and communication that are bound up in a sermon often entail a relation-building to emotions of past times and salvation history. Such speech often possesses special rhetorical qualities or effects that marks it out from other forms of oration.

Sermons gather people in space. Considering the architecture, setting, and physicality of sermon events dovetails with recent developments in the history of emotions. For the history of emotions, the turn to embodied emotional practices has been bolstered by a focus on how spaces and practices are co-constitutive.[38] Although we neither share the general assumptions of affect theory or phenomenology, it is interesting that both these disparate fields have stressed the influences on the individual by outside "actors" — as in a space shaped by architecture and spatial arrangements, and inhabited by people. Spaces and emotions are produced performatively at the same time.[39] Both processes stand in a dynamic relation with, and influence, each other.[40] For sermons, the preacher's emotional repertoire was related to the configuration of the space they performed in. Similarly, those who attended sermons developed emotional practices that shaped the space of preaching even beyond the occasion.[41]

One example for how space interacted with crucial rhetorical and bodily techniques of preaching is the preacher's voice altering and producing space as well as following conventions that vary with space. In her work on Medieval Andalus, Linda Jones emphasises the central role of the preacher's voice for the evocation of emotions in Islamic sermons and highlights that it had to be used specifically along types of preaching and texts voiced. In the liturgical *khutba* sermon, typically held at mosques, "a bellowing voice for exhortation was rhetorically appropriate [...] yet raising the voice to recite scripture" or the blessings on the Prophet was deemed showing off.[42] In wa'z-preaching, which was typically held in open spaces, the beauty of the preachers' voices, their modulation and intonation played major roles and were part of the preacher's bodily presence that was at least as important as the sermons' content.[43] Different spaces hence call for different types of preaching and draw different audiences. The Islamic liturgical sermon is

38.   M. Pernau, "Space and Emotion: Building to Feel," *History Compass* 12, no. 7 (2014): 541–49.
39.   A. Reckwitz, "Affective Spaces: A Praxeological Outlook," *Rethinking History* 16, no. 2 (2012): 241–58.
40.   H. Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Ed. Anthropos, 1974); M. Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012): 193–220.
41.   On the particular nature of religious space as shaping emotional response, see C. C. Finlayson, "Spaces of Faith: Incorporating Emotion and Spirituality in Geographic Studies," *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 44, no. 7 (2012): 1763–78.
42.   L. G. Jones, *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 107.
43.   Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, 107.

closely bound to the most important ritual, the Friday prayer, which in turn requires a minimum number of listeners and is preferably held in a congregational mosque. Such mosques in different Islamic empires were signs of political power. The mentioning of the ruler in the Friday sermon was one of the foremost signs of royal sovereignty. At the same time, the madrasas, educational institutions that spread since the tenth century, featured sermonising lectures for students; the Sufi convents were the place for extensive collections of sayings and ascetic sermons; and the marketplace was a major location for preachers who were particularly well known and obnoxious for their story-oriented sermons. A major Christian example is St Paul's Cross in early modern London. The square was the largest public square in the city at the time and sermons were held weekly. Taking advantage of the acoustics of the churchyard, a preacher could be heard at any point in the square.[44]

In all these cases, space demarcated who could and would join in as well as shaping the aesthetic and emotional expectations and possibilities of the sermons. At the same time, holding sermons contributed to the production of particular religious spaces. The Medieval Arab traveller Ibn Jubayr, for example, reported how for the sermon of the Hanbalite preacher Ibn al-Jawzi next to his house, not only a temporary pulpit was erected, but 20 men began to recite the Quran in alternating groups, and "in moving and devotional rhythm."[45] The preacher's elaborations took up the Quranic verses recited at the beginning and hence turned a "spatial" element into a part of the sermon. The preacher's words were in turn "spatialised" by "repeaters" who were distributed among the audience. When the same preacher preached at the Caliph's palace in the presence of the Caliph and his family, he first removed his black mantle out of respect.

One recurrent element in preaching is its occurrence in sacred space. Spatial arrangements of artefacts — as in churches, squares, office buildings, palaces or prisons — can stabilise the reproduction of affective cultures. In these cases we can detect an affective habitus, which is again and again reproduced in the same spaces and atmospheres, for instance in the case of religious practices and feelings carried out and experienced by pious actors in churches.[46] Often, churches, mosques, and other religious buildings are given special status and the sacred is enacted. Spatialities and temporalities are given such valence in part through emotional practices. Christian churches both before and after the Reformation were, in part, instantiations of sacred time. From sundials to clocks, sacred space was marked through the architectural embeddedness of sacred time. This was part of how "they stood as beacons against the chaos of the world through determining human

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44.   J. N. Wall, "Transforming the Object of Our Study: The Early Modern Sermon and the Virtual Paul's Cross Project," *Journal of Digital Humanities* 3, no. 1 (2014), http://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/3-1/transforming-the-object-of-our-study-by-john-n-wall/ (accessed 8 April 2019).
45.   Muḥammad Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-Gubair, *Riḥlat Al-Kātib Al-Adīb Al-Bāriʿ Al-Labīb Abī-ʾL-Ḥusain Muḥammad Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-Gubair* (Leiden: Brill, 1852).
46.   See Reckwitz, "Affective Spaces."

relations between the sacred and the profane." Sermons themselves were part of this spatial–temporal rhetoric, marking sacred time and reflecting upon it. The combination of space and performance, can have a variety of emotional effects. The geographer C. C. Finlayson noted from interviews that sacred space was transformative, rejuvenating yet at the same time created a feeling of being "home."

Particular architectural designs and artefacts can assist in the emotional-spatial character of sermons. Pulpits are an obvious example. Architectural historians of the Italian Renaissance have studied specific highly decorated pulpits, demonstrating the ways in which, in the words of Nirit Ben-Aryah Debby, "both pulpit and sermon are rhetorical modes working together to convey certain religious and cultural messages."[47] Debby's analysis focuses on how the sculpted pulpit was a way of communicating messages in dialogue with spoken sermons. Other examples of sculpted pulpits include Pisano's cathedral pulpit in Pisa. In Islamic mosque architecture, the pulpit (*minbar*) often had a high place not only because this is more effective for communication. The *minbar*'s verticality and loftiness symbolise the "ascension towards God" that is the function of prayer and ritual speech. Within the mosque, it should be to the right of the prayer niche in which the prayer leader performs the prayer. The pulpit and the prayer niche form an integrated whole, "a [sacred] centre in a centre," as both ritual elements orient the preacher and the audience ultimately towards God.[48]

The use of images and props can also be addressed, such as in Jesuit visual preaching.[49] In the seventeenth century, Jesuit preachers at times used *tableaux vivants* behind curtains, which contained three-dimensional aspects and vivid emotional expression.[50] This means that space opens up considerations of sermons beyond the word and once more stresses the importance of combining it with the history of the senses and the body. For example, puppet play had been important means in Islamic story-telling traditions of Bengal, and Shiite sermons could be accompanied by props or symbolic artefacts referring to religious history and the sect's memory of it. In the latter case, space and sermons match on to and reinforce each other, as they would in most cases in which architecture was designed to aid preaching. On the other hand, preaching often takes place in buildings that were built long before later shifts preaching styles and the importance of preaching might increase with new religious movements that still continue to use inherited infrastructure or change it only slightly. Space and preaching each develop its own dynamics that might not match each other smoothly and create contradictions. In this process, habitualised emotions apt to certain spaces and

47.   N. B.-A. Debby, "The Santa Croce Pulpit in Context: Sermons, Art and Space," *Artibus et historiae* 29, no. 57 (2008): 75–93.
48.   Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, 57.
49.   J. L. González García, "Jesuit Visual Preaching and the Stirring of the Emotions in Iberian Popular Missions," in *Changing Hearts: Performing Jesuit Emotions between Europe, Asia, and the Americas*, ed. Y. Haskell and R. Garrod (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 235–60.
50.   González García, "Jesuit Visual Preaching," 243.

emotions linked to preaching that moves to this space newly might even create a new kind of emotions. Participants can perceive and evaluate and develop feelings of awkwardness, or rejoice and be excited about new possibilities. Architectural space and the habits developed in relation to it and the sermons that create their own acoustic and imaginative spaces interact with consequences.

Supernatural or normally transcendent figures or forces are crucially important factors in how historical actors experience many preaching events. Such figures can be reported to be involved in the communication itself, either in interaction with individual members of the audience or spread across the entire congregation. In Monique Scheer's analysis of Methodist preachers she shows how "emotions were regarded as signs of the direct working and presence of the Holy Spirit."[51] In Islamic preaching, the nature of the presence of the Prophet is one of the most fervidly debated topics and also linked to ritual practice.

While this is one way in which the transcendent can play roles in preaching, there are also more specific ways in which actors see their emotional experience altered by the presence of and communication with divine figures. This communication might not just increase or decrease emotional involvement, but also alter it and give the religious feelings a tinge beyond everyday emotions. At the same time, the emotional relationships built with divine figures in the sermons might also be a mechanism to the opposite effect, turning religious feelings personal, tangible, and part of everyday life. The double allegiance of sermons — to a religious tradition and its imagination and presence of the divine, as much as to a particular historical audience — means that they link emotions and religion in particular ways, establishing emotional dialectics that would not be possible in non-religious speech.

There is no simple correlation such as where there is more divine presence, there are more emotions; such a claim would lead to tired notions of emotional Catholics and rational Protestants, emotional Shiites and restrained Wahhabis. Rather, it is the specific ways in which actors see their emotional experience altered by the presence of and communication with divine figures which must be analysed. This communication might not just increase or decrease emotional involvement, but also alter it and give the religious feelings a tinge beyond everyday emotions. At the same time, the emotional relationships built with divine figures in the sermons might also be a mechanism to the opposite effect, turning religious feelings personal, tangible, and everyday.[52] This may, in sum, be a way of reconstructing what were specific about the feelings evoked in religious practice.

One suggestive parallel is between the nature of religious emotions and the concerns of affect theory. While we do not pursue a detailed theoretical

51. Scheer, "German 'Shouting Methodists,'" 53.
52. By the everyday we do not imply the non-sacred or the secular, as the quotidian can be highly religious. See for example: R. A. Orsi, *History and Presence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

engagement with affect theory, it is useful to highlight that some of the sorts of qualities which affect theory wishes to access — the transmission of affect, effervescence, atmosphere, the pre-discursive, and visceral qualities of feeling — are regularly reported as important parts of religious experience.[53] As Jenna Supp-Montgomerie has noted, "affect brings to the fore the coalescence and dissolution of social lives and what matters to them, embodied performances fuelled by the excitation of matter, and the creative energy that produces subjects, identities, meanings, and ways of life that refuse representation."[54]

Sermon Reception and Emotions in Religious Contexts

The example of transcendence or immanence shows that the category of religious feelings or religious emotions may well be important for historical actors, and as such the category retains particularities with importance for analysis. If it is present in our sources, we are obliged to create interpretations which recognise the specific elements of emotions that are regarded as unique to or fundamentally changed by religious figures or spaces. In particular, relationship with divine or nonhuman figures are very significant in shaping religious feelings, as such relations were often conceived as showing themselves in emotions or were heavily personalised and affectionate, yet often provide special properties to the emotions felt. At the same time, it is true that a more traditional, context-aware historical approach is indispensable, which instead looks at emotions in religion than religious emotions. But it is not the case that historians have to make a stark choice between "religious emotions" or "emotions in religious context." Rather, a synthesis can be reached. In order for religious feeling to escape from a purely theological framing, and to be able to be dealt with historically, it must be mediated through the perspective of emotions in context and practice, yet such mediations do not imply emptying the category of the religious.

The differences between a "theological" approach to religion that emphasises the phenomenological specificities of religion, and one that squarely focuses on historical context and takes religion as a social phenomenon among others, can be bridged in a similar way as Hans-Robert Jauss has suggested for closing the gap between aesthetic and historical approaches. Jauss solves this impasse by turning to the figure of the reader, which had before been neglected in literary theory and identified with the author or the philologist. The reader, and in our case the listener, stands in a dialogue with the work, and in our case the sermon. At the same time he includes aesthetic and, in our case, religious experiences and refers back to past reception experiences. His horizon of expectation encompasses a specifically aesthetic, and

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53. J. Corrigan, ed., *Feeling Religion* (Durham,NC: Duke University Press, 2017); T. Brennan, *The Transmission of Affect* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).
54. J. Supp-Montgomery, "Affect and the Study of Religion," *Religion Compass* 9, no. 10 (2015): 343. For some orientation, see D. O. Schaefer, *Religious Affects: Animality, Evolution, and Power* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Supp-Montgomerie, "Affect."

here religious, process, but at the same time does so in a manner that is historical, as it also changes with each new reception and evaluation that took place. Focusing on reception can therefore be a way to include the specifics of religious communication sketched above while at the same time historicising it. The history of reception (*Rezeptionsgeschichte*) hence allows for the consideration of changes of form and effect of communicative genres such as sermons, while at the same time emphasising the importance of each reception to shape future instances. The emotional work sermons can do for their recipients always takes place against the background of the recipients' "horizon of expectation" towards the sermon and their involvement etc.; and the recipients' experience of the sermon in turn shapes what they expect from the next one, which they might thus approach or chose very differently.[55]

When analysing preaching, there is a danger in perceiving the role of emotions in the purely functional sense of supporting the preacher's message, enabling communication, or being the sermon's main effect. Reversing this hierarchy, one might ask about what ways recipients and preachers put preaching to "use" in their emotional life. Such an approach complicates the often taken-for-granted conceptualisation of the emotional work of sermons along lines of culturally specific models from the arts (e.g., catharsis) by providing historically grounded insights into reception processes. While above, the focus had been on refining such models by taking into account the specificity of religious communication, we now challenge them by focusing on the diverse, and potentially unexpected, reactions of recipients. This allows for the complexity of the communication and usage process to be highlighted. It also enables us to move beyond a didactic model of sermons in which the preacher implants a ready-made message into the hearer. This is, then, a turn to consider the perspective of emotions related to religious contexts and a methodological approach that can capture contextual dynamics.

Through such a focus unintended emotions and inventive usages can be located. This is useful both for interpreting preaching's effects in a wider light and for moving beyond models of the history of emotions as only the history of emotional norms or standards.[56] Arnold Hunt has argued for early modern England that "[a]udiences were encouraged to develop techniques of listening that enabled them to form an emotional rapport with the preacher, even to put themselves in the preacher's place by appropriating the sermon for their own use and preaching it back to themselves and others."[57] Other actors than the preacher must be included into the analysis not solely as passive subjects of emotional transformation done to them but trace how they are actively involved in the process of the sermon's emotional action.

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55.   H. R. Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, *Theory and History of Literature*, trans. T. Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 19.
56.   As an example of moving away from a binary between emotional standards and emotional experience, see "Forum: History of Emotions," *German History* 28, no. 1 (2010): 72.
57.   Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640*, 11.

It is necessary to remember shifting degrees of variety among the audience. Expectations are shaped to different degrees by general norms and guidelines, or vary individually. Are these expectations shared in emotional communities or part of individual or situational emotional styles?[58] One approach can be to investigate whether attendees chose different preachers to listen to, dependent on emotional motivations; or influenced their preacher to choose certain topics. Importantly, variance among audience members might not be easily graspable from sources which might have a normative or stereotypical description of "collective affective responses of an undifferentiated mass of 'people' or 'Muslims' who are said to cry, 'become humbled,' and 'repent their sins' upon listening to a sermon."[59] Important parts of the emotional side of preaching might go unmentioned due to theological objections or might, to the contrary, be highlighted by a different sect, or in times with different emotional ideals.[60] Compare, for example, the downplaying of tears in Islamic preaching in Medieval Andalus[61] with contemporary advertisements of particularly tear-evoking sermons.

This leads us to historicise socially and culturally situated conceptions of sermons as a combination of emotional expectations, emotional events, and emotional after-effects. Preaching often is part of a sequence of events, for example, cyclical ones in case of sermons bound to the liturgical calendar. Frequent and repeated attendance may have important effects upon the emotional reception of sermons. This is much closer to the perception of historical actors, who do not approach sermons as single "works," but in a series of events that are bounded in time and space, and in practical as well as conceptual sense (by delimitations of space as well as the juxtaposition of sacred and profane spheres). Of course in individual case studies this could differ, for example, if one case study focused on a form of sermons that occurred regularly and another looked at extraordinary instances of preaching. In Islamic preaching, there often is a great difference between sermons preceding ritual prayer and preaching at other times and possibly outside of mosques. The former is ritually restricted in form and centres on recurring topics of the liturgical calendar. The temporality of sermons furthermore links back to the preachers interpreting and making immanent (hi)stories about religious figures. This amounts to yet another set of temporal layers when considering the production side which is taken to include the production of the religious text itself.[62]

58.   B. H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); B. Gammerl, "Emotional Styles — Concepts and Challenges," *Rethinking History* 16, no. 2 (2012): 161–75.
59.   L. G. Jones, *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 243.
60.   Scheer, "German 'Shouting Methodists.'"
61.   Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, 244–45.
62.   A. Deeg, "Erlebnis Predigt: Zur Bedeutung von Erfahrung und Emotion in der homiletischen Praxis und Reflektion," in *Erlebnis Predigt*, ed. A. Deeg (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlags-Anstalt, 2014), 22, includes a very elaborate model of the temporal layers of a sermon text and its production.

The single sermon event must be situated in the sequence of other preaching events that surround it. This draws the attention towards a whole new class of emotions, such as surprise, wonder, or boredom, depending on the degree to which the sermons match the expectations and the listeners' expectations of them doing so. These feelings about newness and surprise might be evaluated differently, according to general attitudes towards innovation and change. To take one example: Samuel Pepys' diary of life in seventeenth-century London reveals a whole spectrum of feelings about the sermons that he was engaged with. He offers various brief "reviews" of sermons: as, for example, "good," "pretty good," "dull," "dry," "good honest and painfull," "lazy, dull," "tedious long," "melancholy but good," "most pitiful," and "tedious, unreasonable, and impertinent."[63] Various levels of engagement and interest recur in different contexts. Boredom may be a very important part of the experience of sermon-going. As well as distraction there is also displeasure: certain audience members may be particularly disposed to recognise heretical or otherwise unwelcome statements.

Reception is not only interesting in terms of how a predetermined message is received but in how real or imagined audiences (and especially the emotions of these presumed audiences) themselves shape the choices of preachers and public religious communication itself.[64] As Max Stille suggests with reference to Islamic preaching in Bengali, the self-affection of preacher and audience by joint imaginative and auditory practices reconfigures the question of the authenticity of emotions. The need of the sermon to help them reaching these emotional states even reconfigures central theological tenets.[65] Generally speaking, this highlights the sensitivity of preachers and homileticians to the emotions and experiences of the listeners of sermons.[66]

Preachers expect audiences to behave and most importantly to feel in specific, but often challenging and dialectical, ways. These visions of audience emotions, the expectations or desires that preachers have regarding what their audiences will feel have directed choices about style and content of preaching. Because in many sermon cases proper feeling is a route to proper belief or to proper worship, these expectations are often thought about very deeply by authors. Moreover, due to the seriality of preaching, reactions can be incorporated into the composition of sermons. In this way, ideas about the emotions have an active role in directing historical change of sermons and

63.   H. B. Wheatly, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys M.A. F.R.S.* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1893), vol. 1, 4, 230, 310, 347, 361; vol. 2, 178, 299, 370; vol. 5, 433.
64.   The combination of studies between media and emotions has been fruitful for other areas of study: K. Döveling, C. von Scheve, and E. A. Konijn, eds, *The Routledge Handbook of Emotions and Mass Media* (London: Routledge, 2011).
65.   M. Stille, "Conceptualizing Compassion in Communication for Communication: Emotional Experience in Islamic Sermons (Bengali Waʿz Maḥfils)," *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 11, no. 1 (2016): 81–106. M. Pernau, ed., "Special Section: Emotion Concepts in Urdu and Bengali," *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 11, no. 1 (2016): 24–106.
66.   M. Meyer-Blanck, "Erlebnis Predigt — Ereignis Predigt: Praktische und systematisch-theologische Einordnungen," in *Erlebnis Predigt*, ed. Deeg, 184–97; Deeg, "Erlebnis Predigt."

religious practice, which in turn influence other forms of conveying emotions.

Sermons as Sources

In comparison to many reading practices, sermons offer much more information on the reception process. They are mediated by particular performance contexts and the religious institutions behind them. A main difference to other important sources on learning emotions, such as children books, is that the sermons are events and the emotional reactions are part of the event, which may be interactive to a degree that the emotional reaction becomes part of the text itself. By various means, for example, the voice of the preacher, audience, and their call-and-response-patterns,[67] mutual presence is made felt and linked to the emotional experiences of the sermons' narrations. The mindful body can learn and remember the reception of sermons, often as a collective process.[68] While the emphasis put on bodily and imaginative processes might vary, the importance of both for a comprehensive analysis has to be acknowledged.[69] This relates to scale: different versions ranging from large-scale sermon festivals to exclusive sermons whose more intimate communication with the divine would not be possible in a larger group can be investigated. And while the audience was often learned, in the sense of having wide knowledge of the themes of the religious subject and in the sense of knowing how to behave and react within an audience, we do not mean to take it for granted that historical listeners are at all points absorbed or enthusiastic participants in the ritual act nor consider lack of interest as analytically uninteresting.[70]

In order to access aspects of reception it is not sufficient to rely solely on sermon texts themselves (although they can have important evidence of reception within them). Sources such as spiritual journals, annotated sermon texts or notes, diaries, reportage, or biographies of preachers and listeners, can provide access to reception processes. Other periodicals, after the rise of print, may include controversial debates about the assessment, impact, and usage of sermons. Prefatory material in printed sermon texts, introductions, and other commentaries, may provide important clues to the expectations and evaluations of readers. Educational or advisory literature for preachers, such as journals, may describe preaching events or prescribe certain styles. Other homiletical handbooks or advice literature (or, indeed, sermons themselves) for preachers themselves can reflect audience expectations.

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67. B. A. Rosenberg, *Can These Bones Live?: The Art of the American Folk Preacher*, rev. ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); G. L. Davis, *I Got the Word in Me and I Can Sing It, You Know: A Study of the Performed African-American Sermon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).
68. This is a difference to the approach taken in: P. Eitler, S. Olsen, and U. Jensen, Introduction, in *Learning How to Feel: Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970*, ed. U. Frevert *et al.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 8.
69. C. Petievich and M. Stille, "Emotions in Performance: Poetry and Preaching," *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 54, no. 1 (2017): 67–102.
70. Eitler, Olsen, and Jensen, Introduction, 5.

Correspondence between preachers and their audiences or conversations between preachers and disciples can also open up this topic.

Acts of individual reception are, in many instances, out of reach for particular case studies. Nevertheless, if existing, ego-documents such as spiritual journals or annotated printed works, diaries, reportage, or biographies of preachers and listeners can give access to feelings of audiences. Journals for preachers or of religious sects can either prescribe preaching styles or describe preaching events. With the emergence of print, general journals might also include often controversial debates about the assessment, impact, and usage of sermons. In case of printed sermons, the introductions, comments by publishers, editors, and presses provide important clues to the expectations and evaluations of readers. The preparation of advice given to preachers by preachers — not the least in the form of sermons — handbooks or advice literature, too, often reflects shifting audience expectations. For our case studies, we have additionally often analysed letters exchanged by preachers and their audiences or conversations that were recorded between preachers and their disciples.

In the periods of study, oral delivery of sermons is only one of the ways in which preachers reach audiences. In parallel, printed sermons circulated, be it in handwritten notes in shorthand, magazines, pamphlets, single books, or manuscripts. Written "records" might successfully conjure up an imagined context of sermons that were never held or, if they were held, might become more important than the "original" instance. Approaching the reception history of sermons means that the power of the original can be lost, but also that they can become even more influential due to later canonisation — which in turn relies on media strategies and recording of the original events in the first place.[71]

The well-documented sermons of Ashraf Ali Thanawi that we analyse in their context of the early twentieth century today form the basis for ritual as well as non-ritual Islamic preaching in South Asia across languages and are distributed by specialised presses bearing his name. What are strategies of historical actors to steer the reception in new and now unbound contexts? As in the original event, it is possible that sermons are not only opening up possibilities for trying out emotions, but also restricting them explicitly. But written and particularly mass-reproduced sermons are much less easy to channel and can be read in quite different contexts. The new framings and reframings of printed sermons by paratextual devices are a possible source basis for this inquiry.

Contributions

Makoto Harris Takao in "Neo-Confucian Sermons as Popular Emotional Education in Late Tokugawa Japan: The Moral and Pedagogical Philosophy

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71. M. Pernau, "Ashgari's Piety," in *Learning How to Feel*, ed. U. Frevert *et al.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 57–73.

of Hosoi Heishū" explores what both religion and emotion mean in a non-European context. Through the case study of an eighteenth-century Japanese teacher, eclectic theoretical discourses on human emotions are reconstructed. Histories of significant concepts such as *kokoro* (heart-mind) and *makoto* (sincerity) are also provided. In particular, the influence of Shinto and Shingaku traditions on the moral philosophy and performance style of Heishū's neo-Confucian lessons is traced. The tearful reactions of large audiences to his sermons further reflect audiences trained in ritual weeping informed by a syncretic repertory of moral and spiritual cultivation practices.

Margrit Pernau and Max Stille in "Obedient Passion—Passionate Obedience: Ashraf Ali Thanawi's Sermons on the Love of the Prophet" trace the discussions of the love of the Prophet in sermons by the Islamic scholar and Sufi Ashraf Ali Thanawi held just before World War I. They explore how Thanawi celebrates strong religious feelings, and especially a passionate love for the Prophet, and at the same time stresses the obedience to the law which creates the state of purity needed to be drawn into a loving relationship to God. In his point of view, the passion of loving devotion and the obedience to the law cannot and should not be separated. While this point of view, as much as the conception of preaching that Thanawi elaborates to his disciples, is built on the specificity of religious emotions as incomparably powerful, yet decisively not triggered by the presence of the Prophet (which would be the position of Thanawi's opponents), the article also critically discusses the source-base that nearly exclusively comes from within the tradition. It shows how auxiliary material and triangulation can create a more complex picture of the reception beyond the religious ideal and show how at the same time, the religious emotions were embedded in the conflicts and desires of their time.

Conclusion

What this article has presented naturally does not exhaust the richness of sermons as sources for history. Rather, it has considered them as a very revealing case for thinking through the challenges of "religion and emotion" perspectives in history. "Religious emotions" are not the only place for emotions in the study of sermons. While we have made arguments for the importance of recovering the role of specifically religious feelings, and what these may be, it is important not to see these as coterminous with the whole emotional history of sermons.

For the history of emotions, sermons themselves and sources about sermons, very often offer rich depictions of emotions regarding performance, message, and social contexts. These are very often part of religious life but are not necessarily so. Sermons, especially due to the range of auxiliary sources surrounding the event, are particularly valuable for the history of emotions. Sermons themselves are often attempts to explicitly change

emotions, which, regardless of success or failure, often reveal detail about emotional norms and expectations.

In order to capture this richness, we posit the importance of a reception-focused approach. Such an approach allows for a wider perspective on the emotions connected to preaching. Much history of emotions draws from sources which have prescriptive intentions and, because of this, a turn to reception is important to write histories of emotion which escape from restating norms.

Emotions, then, in religious contexts such as preaching offer a clear example for historians of the need to address potentially difficult yet relevant factors such as the importance of presence of gods or other nonhuman figures for our actors. For the history of emotions, this is an encouragement to create methodologies that interrogate the ontologies of the emotional worlds of particular historical contexts, being alert to the ways in which they differ from modern secular psychological understandings of emotions. This creates spaces in which analysis can be sensitive to the range of concepts that shape affective experience, such as presence, transcendence, or immanence. Of course, these terms are mainly drawn from Christian and Islamic traditions, so other concepts may well be important for other contexts. Ontological claims about emotional experience are crucial to understand if we seek to reconstruct our actors' perspectives. It is a challenge to remain alert to the ways in which people's emotional experience is constructed out of particular worldviews. This can be brought to a certain level of specifics by focusing on particular events in religious practice such as sermons.

Scholarly approaches to religious emotions have at times suffered from either a closeness to the concept which results in overly theological accounts or a distance from it that places the utility of the term out of sight. Sermons echo this kind of oscillation, being both often archetypically religious and orientated towards the daily lives of their audiences. This article has regarded both of these divides as dialectics which can produce useful syntheses.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
Data sharing not applicable to this article as no datasets were generated or analysed during the current study