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## A Feel for Politics

When the History of Emotions Meets Political Iconography

### Likeness and affection: some introductory remarks

Let us begin with a bit of social history regarding one of the most well-known contemporary cases of political imagery: the internet phenomenon that was Barack Obama. While an admittedly somewhat hackneyed example, its popularity, aesthetics, and its direct appeal to the electorate's emotions through a not very subtle iconography makes it well-suited for outlining some of the intersections, tensions, and potential lines of enquiry into political iconography and emotions.

Before Donald Trump steered the medium in another direction, Obama had been the uncontested king of social media.<sup>1</sup> His successful presidential campaign of 2008 showcased an unprecedented mining of typical online behaviour, hoping with good cause that it would translate into offline voting decisions: the Obama team organized virtual town hall meetings; internet users, whether they were eligible to vote or not, were invited to share images, memes, and likes in the millions, forging close links between clicking and casting a ballot. When on 29 August 2012, with the next presidential election ten weeks away, Obama hosted an «Ask Me Anything» (AMA) thread on *Reddit*, the self-proclaimed «frontpage of the internet» briefly broke down.<sup>2</sup> The *Guardian* quickly reported that «Barack Obama surprises internet», further bolstering the idea that the incumbent was so online-savvy that he was surfing ahead of the digital curve.<sup>3</sup> As of April 2022, Obama has the world's most-followed Twitter account (more than 131 million followers), beating popstars Justin Bieber (114 million), Katy Perry (109 mil.), Rihanna (106 mil.) and footballer Cristiano Ronaldo (99 mil.). The only other politician of comparable popularity is Indian prime minister Narendra Modi with 78 million followers.<sup>4</sup>

The most shared image of the 2008 presidential campaign, even though not conceived by it, was the poster bearing the tagline «HOPE» (fig. 1). Its author, street artist Shepard Fairey, had given his permission for it to be downloaded and shared freely to do his bit for Obama's election. He had originally chosen the tagline «progress» but, when asked by the official campaigners, changed it to «hope», moving from a rather technical-sounding term to an emotion concept.<sup>5</sup> In the psychological sciences, hope is called an «anticipatory emotion», an emotion tied to expectations for things to come (in contrast to an «expected emotion», that is, an emotion we expect to happen), encapsulating the strong turn towards a different, better future.<sup>6</sup> As Fairey explained during the lawsuit that was to follow because he had used an Associate Press image for the poster without permission, part of this hope was for a «post-racial society»:

«When I decided to make a poster in support of Barack Obama, I knew my biggest challenge was to portray Obama as both an exciting progressive and a mainstream patriot with vision. I decided to make a portrait of Obama largely because I felt his power and

sincerity as a speaker would create a positive association with his likeness. I wanted my image of Obama to fulfill the classic political archetype of a leader with vision, and I hoped such an image would make him feel immediately established, familiar, American, and presidential. I felt that Obama might face challenges based on his race and that it would be a good strategy to de-racialize the image by using red, white, and blue.»<sup>7</sup>

Combining the colours of the U. S. flag with an image reminiscent of John F. Kennedy, president during a period of economic growth and the civil rights movements, and the aesthetics of 1960s art and agitprop, Fairey had the picture's subject look into the future while also evoking a shared past. The cultural references were left deliberately vague to relate in the broadest possible way to a common, but not too specific space of resonance.<sup>8</sup> Fairey's aim to have Obama «feel immediately established, familiar» was emotionally equally vague, referring not to specific emotions, but a cluster or maybe a sequence of feelings, triggered by the image at a pre-reflective level – viewers should «immediately» feel its message. Well-versed in both the contemporary and the historical language of images, Fairey's portrait followed a long iconographical tradition by showing the presidential hopeful as a «leader with vision», a cool-headed but not cold-hearted captain of the state. Conveying the elegant habitus and rhetorical eloquence for which Obama was known, the poster made him appear disinterested, but focused; decided, but not authoritarian; grounded in the now, but still far sighted. In brief, he personified a particular <emotional style>, the highly gendered as well as highly racialized <statesman-like style>.<sup>9</sup>

Obama fans and supporters were part of not only a political movement, but also of what historian Barbara Rosenwein has called an «emotional community», a group «tied together by fundamental assumptions, values, goals, feeling rules, and accepted modes of expression».<sup>10</sup> In the online world, the like button, a general code for approval, became a symbol of affection, solidarity, and political feelings that were in unison. The matter was helped by the fact that Obama, smart, suave, yet self-ironic, was deemed eminently meme-able. His ever more cordial relationship with vice-president Joe Biden, the public «bromance» that was the theme of countless memes, seemed to infuse the cold and callous technocratic pragmatism of political networks with the warmth of real affection. Guided by carefully curated image management, the audience could feel *with* the incumbent and his deputy, their administratively micro-managed relationship turning into a relationship of trust, reliability, fun, and much more.<sup>11</sup> A feel for politics was spurred by a feeling for politicians.

During the lawsuit, the *HOPE* poster's emotional impact became a pivot of the argument made by the defendant's team. Art historian Marita Sturken posited that Fairey's picture, while using an AP image as its foundation, was sufficiently original to not breach copyright laws because of the collective feelings it had inspired:

«The Hope Poster happened to resonate for viewers because its timing was right politically, culturally, and technologically. Such a response and resonance is difficult to predict beforehand because the factors that go into it are manifold and complex. Iconic images are not easily created, and almost never by design. They emerge from complex sets of social, cultural, and political factors that can change over time. I cannot define all of the social and historical reasons why the Hope Poster became an icon at this particular historical moment, but I am confident in stating that its iconic status in the history of American political iconography is assured. While the original photograph was conventional and generic, the Hope Poster transformed it into something significantly unique,

original, and culturally significant. This poster did create hope. [...] it has formed a vital component in American public culture at this moment in history.»<sup>12</sup>

Tellingly, Sturken made a case not so much for art, but for sociology, citing the poster's impact rather than pointing to its aesthetic characteristics. While talking about how the poster «resonated with viewers», Sturken neither went into detail about the configuration of the «particular historical moment» nor elaborated on what made the picture, apart from its timing, catalyze a momentum that had long been in-the-making. The risk is, of course, a circular argument: the picture's success proves that the time was ripe for it.

As catalyst, the poster has indeed become an icon to such a point of cliché that it is almost impossible to write about it without becoming bored oneself. One can speculate on how the legal context impacted the expert's emphasis on function. But as the question of impact vs. object – society's conditions vs. the image's conditions – is one of the points of contention between history and art history, it also points to wider problems of scholarly enquiry into pictures and emotions that, time and again, lead visual studies and history into an impasse: how to go beyond face and function?

### **Beyond illustration: some methodological considerations**

Not only history, but also the political sciences, political psychology, sociology, communication studies, cultural studies, and many more are highly invested in emotions and politics. While all sorts of feelings can be politicized, certain emotions appear to be more political than others: for philosopher Martha Nussbaum, these are love, compassion, disgust, fear, envy, and shame; for cultural critic Sara Ahmed, these are hate, fear, disgust, and love.<sup>13</sup> In this context, pictures serve overwhelmingly as illustrations of emotions. When judging books by their covers, historians of emotions just love faces. Most publications greet their readers with pictures of emotionally expressive human features, be these photos of real persons, or of paintings, drawings, or sculptures. Some feeling states are especially popular, including grief, wrath, joy, and melancholy, by reason of their easily recognizable facial codes, but, possibly, also because they immediately convey what the book, as a whole, is about.<sup>14</sup> Organizing covers (or paratexts more broadly) may or may not fall within the analytical remit of the academics writing these books, but the by now established convention of introducing Western histories of passions, feelings, or sentiments via ostentatious images of emotional faces or postures should give us pause. In illustrating emotions through pictures of bodily codes, these covers draw attention to the fact that folded into historical research on emotions are iconographic, and thus historically situated, traditions of their representation.

As expression is lodged at the heart of an emotion scholarship that is adamant about avoiding dichotomies between interiority (the <real> feeling) and exteriority (the mediated feeling), the question of how to use visual representations as sources of emotional experience, and not just for discourses about emotions, is an ongoing debate in the field.<sup>15</sup> More straightforward approaches include reading iconographic displays as illustrating broader discourses in society: as testimonies of anthropological, scientific, artistic, or philosophical interest in feelings (Le Brun's mid-seventeenth-century *Expressions des passions*); as visual markers of group affiliation and constructions of communities (the calm boldness of the ruler in their portraits); as normative templates for emotional expression in both pictures and in life; or as objects with the specific purpose of stirring emotions.<sup>16</sup>

Judging by anecdotal evidence, it seems that historians and scholars of the visual are most in agreement when it comes to theme and function, and that their approaches chafe most notably where mode and the treatment of images and their use as sources for reconstructing historical change are concerned – and this is no different in historical research into emotions. The problems are well-known: are images about their content or their form? If pictures are records, what do they actually document? How does one bring together questions of what they show with their individual way of showing as well as with, to name but a few of their variables, their usages, their circulation, and the image-maker's point of view? And what about their materiality? It is easy to understand placards carried by protesters *qua* their material, slogans, and usages as objects laden with political emotions; it is similarly convincing to explore the sharing and liking of images online, as pioneered by the Obama campaign, as expressions of political and emotional affiliations.<sup>17</sup> But such readings still fall within the realm of classic social history, which does require some knowledge of pictorial conventions, but can do without deep dives into representational regimes or aesthetic theories. Indeed, theories of practice and materiality, exploring how emotions are expressed via historical actors' engagement with objects, remain stimulating intersections between the fields.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, despite many calls for increased collaboration, and, actually, the emergence of the entire field of visual history, integrating sociological approaches to emotions with methods from the visual studies still proves challenging, not least because art history's concern with an image's inherent laws, or even its ontology, veers towards philosophical considerations that seem (even though they are not) far removed from the pragmatic social semiotic approaches to sources that historians and sociologists often adopt.<sup>19</sup> The gap widens further if one considers that scholars of the visual have no qualms about talking about the affective quality of images, while many historians, despite some criticism, draw clear distinctions between affect, feeling, and emotion.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, all of this would require a triangulation with recent findings from psychology and neuroscience, and their discussions on the supposed innateness of cognitive skill, the social function of the expression, representation, and recognition of emotions, and art appreciation.<sup>21</sup>

Complementing the epistemological tensions are institutional limits. As scholars, understandably, have first to fulfil the requirements in their respective discipline before credibly venturing into another, feasibility becomes an equally potent, if more mundane problem: how does the notoriously overworked scholar, already lagging behind with reading new publications in their own field, reconcile the meticulous close-reading that many images, especially complex works of art, require with a perspective that ultimately aims at *longue durée* questions that go beyond the realm of the visual? In other words, how does one meaningfully, and inter-disciplinarily, draw on images as sources for historical change without neglecting their image-ness? And how is this brought together with images as potential drivers of such change? As visual analysis can, like the history of emotions, become the microhistory of historical scholarship, acquiring ever more knowledge about ever smaller units, the question is therefore best reframed by precisely locating the object under investigation: image or event?

The way forward certainly cannot be that each discipline continues to sophisticate their theories while looking down their nose at the other's watered-down use of borrowed methods. Nor does division of labour appear to be an attractive option in the long run, with scholars of each discipline being charged with the

task of covering their share, hoping that, in the end, one plus one equals two (even though more jointly written humanities papers could definitely be an option worth trying out). For a long time, the go-to solution has been cultural history, and in particular, literary and cultural criticism. Its broad ideas about narratives, scripts, texts, visualization as practice, and cultural politics have been helpful for integrating visual culture with history, especially counter-hegemonic historical approaches.<sup>22</sup> Understanding visuals as part of the wider discourse at a given time, and thus, with Foucault, as part of power relations, navigations, and resistance, has worked well during the last decades. But as with all approaches running their course, it is encountering impasses, such as the problem of measuring impact. While it is often offhandedly assumed that pictures do something, or that «Images stir up audience emotions», research in the political sciences and communication studies has shown that it is almost impossible – and maybe even undesirable – to prove the degree of influence of pictures, for instance, on voting behaviour.<sup>23</sup>

Unsurprisingly, classic iconography has proven a long-lasting node when it comes to interdisciplinary approaches. Even without deep engagement with its theory, iconography's reliance on theme and motif as well as its consideration of use and function appears to be immediately accessible beyond the realm of art historians.<sup>24</sup> It also connects nicely to the idea that emotion is an amalgamation of experience and communication, the «broadcast» of a personal feeling to the world.<sup>25</sup> In the recent interest in emotions shown by the field of international relations, for instance, facial expressions as captured by photographs («official emotion») are key in the analysis of emotions as driving forces in international politics, including questions on what it means that politicians from all over the world are required to adhere to Western codes of emotional conduct.<sup>26</sup> One could even argue that it is hardly possible to do the history of emotions *without* bringing history and visual studies together, given the reliance, even of psychology, on pictures as sources for emotions and their expression or as devices used in psychological research.

At the same time – and this seems to be the historical and visual studies' next major task – there is a need for developing categories of emotionality that transcend anthropocentrism to give valence to evocations of emotions (or emotiveness) beyond the human body. Recurring areas of interest seem to be atmosphere, *Stimmung*, and affectivity, as well as non-human bearers of feeling states, feeling-inducing properties, or emotional ecologies.<sup>27</sup> Scholars in the field of empirical aesthetics are very active in further distinguishing between «art-represented emotions, art-elicited emotions, and aesthetic emotions proper», that is, between emotion as shown and as called forth on the one hand, and emotions as passing aesthetic judgments on objects in question on the other.<sup>28</sup>

Is there a way to extend the notion of <political feelings> beyond discrete emotion states as embodied by individuals, be they politicians or voters in images? How could political iconography help to understand what makes people participate in politics or refrain from doing so? Forging connections between the realm of politics and onlookers certainly happens through practices, such as the usage of images, their motifs, but how to integrate an image's specific configuration into a sociology of emotions remains open to debate. Drawing on aesthetic emotions, i. e., emotions as appreciation, political imagery such as the *HOPE* poster is a preeminent case where aesthetic appreciation of a visual work may lead to aesthetic appreciation of the person *in* the work, with all its political consequences.

Another common ground between visual studies, especially art history, and the history of emotions, rather old but now rediscovered, is the re-emerging intellectual history as well as its cousin conceptual history and its offspring, the history of knowledge. The history of emotions is often understood to be allied to social history because of its strong interest in practices – if not a downright understanding of emotions as practice<sup>29</sup> – as well as to psychology, anthropology, and the life sciences, but it has many links to histories of thought. While «visual concepts» may be taken, quite basically, as illustrations or symbols of already existing verbal terms (the leader as captain steering a ship, peace as an olive branch, boldness as expressed by physiognomy and body posture), historical scholarship has recently enquired more deeply into representation beyond one-to-one translation.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the history of knowledge, and more specifically the history of science and medicine, has been part of historical emotion research from its outset because researchers rely mostly on verbal sources, which have to be weighed against the conceptual frameworks prevalent at the time, which explicitly include beliefs about the place of feeling and sensation in relation to bodies.<sup>31</sup> «In the history of emotions,» Thomas Dixon has written, «the history of ideas meets the history of the body.»<sup>32</sup> Much of historical emotion research is grounded in conceptual considerations, including William Reddy's notion of making naming and speaking about emotions a part of emotions as a whole.<sup>33</sup> Political iconography has, of course, always entertained strong links with intellectual history (and not only because of the *Leviathan* frontis piece). Pictures are here understood not as straightforward illustrations of meaning, but also its generators, belonging to the «diversity of semiotic realms within which thinkers might be contextualized». <sup>34</sup> Visuals put forward implicit ideas of thinking, of «people making sense of the world», that need decoding on their own terms.<sup>35</sup> Approaches that take into account the circulation, materiality, and embeddedness of ideas and knowledge through concrete objects and material context promise to redress some imbalances of a historical discipline that is drawn either towards the social sciences or towards philosophy and literature.

Even though a language for the affective qualities of pictures (not the persons in them) would be helpful, portraits such as the *HOPE* poster will, for now, likely continue to hold a special place in interdisciplinary historical research into political iconography and emotions, just as emotion will continue to be tied to the human body. As portraits offer points of contact for social historical, aesthetic, conceptual, and philosophical approaches (with each take becoming richer if connected with others), they can easily sit at the intersections of the disciplines.<sup>36</sup> At the same time, just as it is helpful for art historians to not neglect the practices of which pictures are the object, it is fruitful for historians to keep in mind that the political and emotional communities cohering around pictures do not solely find their values and ideas expressed in the person portrayed, but in many other elements of pictures, including a hard-to-define aesthetic effect.

## Notes

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- 2 I am Barack Obama, President of the United States – AMA, *reddit*, 29 August 2012, [https://www.reddit.com/r/IAmA/comments/z1c9z/i\\_am\\_barack\\_obama\\_president\\_of\\_the\\_united\\_states/](https://www.reddit.com/r/IAmA/comments/z1c9z/i_am_barack_obama_president_of_the_united_states/), last accessed on 14 June 2022.
- 3 Katie Rogers, Barack Obama surprises internet with Ask Me Anything session on Reddit, in: *The Guardian*, 29 August 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/us-news-blog/2012/aug/29/barack-obama-ask-me-anything-reddit>, last accessed on 14 June 2022.
- 4 Twitter Accounts with the Most Followers Worldwide as of April 2022, in: *statista*, April 2022, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/273172/twitter-accounts-with-the-most-followers-worldwide/>, last accessed on 15 June 2022.
- 5 *Art for Obama: Designing Manifest Hope and the Campaign for Change*, ed. by Shepard Fairey a. Jennifer Gross, New York 2009.
- 6 Maria Miceli a. Cristiano Castelfranchi, *Expectancy and Emotion*, Oxford 2015, p. 159-170.
- 7 William W. Fisher III et al., Reflections on the Hope Poster Case, in: *Harvard Journal of Law and Technology*, 2012, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 243-338, here p. 269.
- 8 Lisa Cartwright a. Stephen Mandiberg, Obama and Shepard Fairey: The Copy and Political Iconography in the Age of the Demake, in: *Journal of Visual Culture*, 2009, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 172-176.
- 9 This paragraph is based on Kerstin Maria Pahl, Feeling Political through Pictures: Portrayals of US Presidents, 1796 to Today, in: *Feeling Political. Emotions and Institutions*, ed. by Ute Frevert, Kerstin Maria Pahl et al., London 2022, pp. 121-158. Studies on Obama and his images would, by now, require a meta-study due to their abundance. See most recently, Cara A. Finnegan, *Photographic Presidents. Making History from Daguerrotype to Digital*, Champaign, Illinois, 2021, pp. 166-204. See also Megan D. McFarlane, Visualizing the Rhetorical Presidency: Barack Obama in the Situation Room, in: *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 2016, Vol. 23, pp. 3-13; Petra Bernhardt, Image-making - image management: White House photos and the political iconography of the Obama presidency, in: *Poster*, 2017, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, pp.145-172.
- 10 Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca/London 2006, p. 24.
- 11 Tom McCarthy, White House Photos Show a Controlled President - But He Is Great With Kids, in: *The Guardian*, 4 Jan 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/us-news-blog/2013/jan/04/obama-white-house-photos>, last accessed on 15 June 2022); Timothy R. Gleason and Sara S. Hansen, Image Control: The Visual Rhetoric of President Obama, in: *Howard Journal of Communications*, 2017, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 55-71.
- 12 Fisher III et al. 2012 (as note 7), p. 287.
- 13 Martha Nussbaum, *Political Emotions. Why Love Matters for Justice*, Cambridge, Mass. 2015; Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Edinburgh 2004.
- 14 Randomly selected examples include the covers of Jan Plamper's *The History of Emotions. An Introduction*, Oxford 2017, featuring Rogier van der Weyden's *The Descent from the Cross* (c. 1435, Prado); William V. Harris's *Restraining Rage. The Ideology of Anger and Control in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge, Mass. 2004, featuring Gian Lorenzo's *Anima Dannata* (1705-07, Galleria Borghese, Rome); or Barbara H. Rosenwein a. Riccardo Cristiani's *What is the History of Emotions?*, London 2018, featuring (probably) Henri Vidal's statue *Cain venant de tuer son frère Abel* (1896, Tuileries Gardens). A notable exception is William Reddy's *The Navigation of Feeling. A Framework for the History of Emotions*, Cambridge 2009, which shows Claude-Joseph Vernet's *Imaginary Italian Landscape, Italian Harbour Scene* of 1746.
- 15 For the tension between representation and experience of emotions (and drawings of faces on the cover), see *Representing Emotions. New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music and Medicine*, ed. by Penelope Gouk a. Helen Hills, London 2017; Rüdiger Schnell, *Histories of Emotions. Modern – Premodern*, Berlin 2021.
- 16 Peter N. Stearns a. Carol Z. Stearns, Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards, in: *The American Historical Review*, 1985, Vol. 90, No. 4, pp. 813-836.
- 17 Michael Cheney a. Crystal Olsen, Media Politics 2.0: An Obama Effect, in: *The Obama Effect Multidisciplinary Renderings of the 2008 Campaign*, ed. by Heather E. Harris, Kimberly R. Moffitt a. Catherine R. Squires, New York 2010, pp. 49-64,
- 18 *Feeling Things. Objects and Emotions Through History*, ed. by Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway a. Sarah Randles, Oxford 2018.
- 19 Dezheng Feng a. Kay L. O'Halloran, Representing Emotive Meaning in Visual Images: A Social Semiotic Approach, in: *Journal of Pragmatics*, 2012, Vol. 44, pp. 2067-2084.
- 20 «Feelings are *personal* and *biographical*, emotions are *social*, and affects are *prepersonal* ... A feeling is a sensation that has been checked against previous experiences and labelled ... An emotion is the projection/dis-

play of a feeling ... An affect is a non-conscious experience of intensity.» Eric Shouse, Feeling, Emotion, Affect, in: *M/C Journal*, 2005, Vol. 8, No. 6. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5204/mcj.2443>, last accessed on 2 June 2022. It must be noted, however, that «affect» or «affective» are often pragmatic choices of word, understood in the sense of immediately touching, rather than thought-out psychological categories. See for instance, Carolyn Pedwlel, Mediated Habits: Images, Networked Affect and Social Change, in: *Subjectivity*, 2017, Vol. 10, pp. 147-169.

**21** Lisa Feldman Barrett, *How Emotions are Made. The Secret Life of the Brain*, New York 2017; Ruth Leys, *The Ascent of Affect. Genealogy and Critique*, Chicago 2017; Mei-Chun Cheung, Derry Law, Joanne Yip a. Christina W. Y. Wong, Emotional Responses to Visual Art and Commercial Stimuli: Implications for Creativity and Aesthetics, in: *Frontiers in Psychology*, 2019, Vol. 10, pp. 1-10.

**22** *Pictorial Cultures and Political Iconographies. Approaches, Perspectives, Case Studies from Europe and America*, ed. by Christoph Wagner a. Udo J. Hebei, Berlin 2011; Ahmed 2004; Ben Highmore, *Cultural Feelings. Mood, Mediation and Cultural Politics*, London 2017; Xine Yao, *Disaffected. The Cultural Politics of Unfeeling in Nineteenth-Century America*, Durham, North Carolina, 2021.

**23** For the quote, see Finis Dunaway, Images, Emotions, Politics, in: *Modern American History*, 2018, Vol. 1, pp. 369-376, here p. 369. On the challenges of measuring the impact of election campaigns, see the special section on «Personality, Party Leaders, and Election Campaigns» in: *Electoral Studies*, 2018, Vol. 54, esp. Amanda Bittner and David A. M. Peterson, Introduction: Personality, Party Leaders, and Election Campaigns, pp. 237-239; Susan Banducci et al., Intermedia Agenda Setting in Personalized Campaigns: How News Media Influence the Importance of Leaders, pp. 281-288; Tessa Ditonto, A Face Fit For Office? Appearance-Based Competence Inferences in High-Information Environments, pp. 248-253.

**24** As outlined, for instance, in Martin Wamke, Politische Ikonografie, in: *Kunsthistorische Arbeitsblätter. Zeitschrift für Studium und Hochschulkontakt*, Köln 2003, Vol. 2, pp. 5-16. On the impact of political iconography on elections, see Manuel Alejandro Egea Medrano, Antonio Garrido Rubia, Jose Miguel Rojo Martinez, Political Iconography and Emotions in Electoral Campaigns: A Communicative Approach, in: *Communication & Society*, 2021, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 215-230.

**25** Shouse 2005 (as note 20).

**26** Todd H. Hall, *Emotional Diplomacy. Official Emotion on the International Stage*, Ithaca/London 2015; Simon Koschut, *The Power of Emotions in World Politics*, London/New York 2020; *Emotions in International Politics. Beyond Mainstream International Relations*, ed. by Yohan Ariffin, Jean-Marc Coicaud a. Vesselin Popovski, New York 2015; Stuart J. Kaufman, War as Symbolic Politics, in: *International Studies Quarterly*, 2019, Vol. 63, pp. 614-625

**27** Gottfried Boehm, Der Haushalt der Gefühle: Form und Emotion, in: *Ikonische Formprozesse: Zur Philosophie des Unbestimmten in Bildern*, ed. by Marion Lauschke, Johanna Schiffler a. Franz Engel, Berlin 2018, pp. 63-84, here p. 63. *Ecologies, Aesthetics, and Histories of Art*, ed. by Hannah Baader, Gerhard Wolf a. Sugata Ray, Berlin 2022. See also Marien González-Hidalgo a. Christos Zografos, Emotions, Power, and Environmental Conflict: Expanding the «Emotional Turn» in Political Ecology, in: *Progress in Human Geography*, 2020, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp. 235-255.

**28** Winfried Menninghaus, Valentin Wagner, Eugen Wassiliwizky et al., «What are Aesthetic Emotions?», in: *Psychological Review*, Vol. 126, no. 2, pp. 171-195, here 174-175.

**29** Monique Scheer, Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is This What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion, in: *History and Theory*, 2012, Vol. 51, pp. 193-220.

**30** Imke Rajamani, Pictures, Emotions, Conceptual Change. Anger in Popular Hindi Cinema, in: *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, 2012, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 52-77; *Reinhart Koselleck und das Bild*, ed. by Bettina Brandt a. Britta Hochkirchen, Bielefeld 2021.

**31** *Emotions, Medicine, and Disease, 1700-1950*, ed. by Fay Bound Alberti, London 2006; Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions. The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category*, Cambridge 2009; *History of Science and the Emotions*, ed. by Otniel E. Dror et al., Chicago 2019 (Osiris, Vol. 31).

**32** Thomas Dixon, What Is The History of Anger a History Of?, in: *Emotions: History, Culture, Society*, 2020, Vol. 4, pp. 1-34, here p. 18.

**33** Reddy 2011 (as note 14), pp. 96-107.

**34** Susanna Berger, Meaning and Understanding in Intellectual History, in: *Global Intellectual History*, 2020, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 329-354, here p. 330. See also *ibid.*, note 10.

**35** Katharina Lorenz, Art History and Intellectual History, in: *A Companion to Intellectual History*, ed. by Richard Whatmore a. Brian Young, Chichester 2016, pp. 184-200, here p. 185.

**36** Cf. Lorenz 2016 (as note 35), p. 185: «Portraiture takes centre stage here [in discussions on the links between art and intellectual history] because this artistic genre, more than others at least in Western European perception, reflects the essence of the art-historical challenge that to study visual art is to study people making sense of the world: for humans, the body is the means of engaging with the world. Representations of the human body therefore map this engagement, and they do so in a twofold way: as a storage device for the maps of those producing these representations, and as navigation aid for those looking at them.»