Revisiting the History of Emotions

An Introduction

by Ute Frevert and Kerstin Maria Pahl

In June 2024, the Center for the History of Emotions, Berlin, will conclude, and with it a research group that has contributed to the study of emotions history since 2008. In this special issue, the editors provide a brief sketch of the field and its interdisciplinary entanglements, and invite interlocutors from both within the Center and without to illustrate, in six co-written articles and various case studies, the foundational premise of the history of emotions: that feelings are culturally and historically specific, and that they exist in relation to the social world – as complex embedded, embodied, and sensory phenomena.

In 2009, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* published an issue on the "history of emotions."[1] Its seven authors, all historians from the newly founded Center for the History of Emotions at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin, both programmatically mapped this burgeoning field and presented specific case studies from it. One article explored fear among soldiers in the First World War and how it was conceptualized by military psychiatrists in France, Germany, and Russia, another investigated religious conversions as emotional and corporeal experiences. One author asked what oral history could contribute to researching homosexual love, another analyzed the discourse on civility as a set of feeling rules that served to mark power differences and asymmetrical relations in British-Indian colonial contexts.

At the time, the issue received much attention, and, luckily, it continues to do so. Since then, the field of the history of emotions has expanded to an extent and in a variety that was unforeseeable fifteen years ago. Alongside the Berlin research center, several institutions and networks have been established around the world that are dedicated to studying emotions in all periods and geographical contexts.[2] Workshops as well as summer schools on emotions

1 Special Issue "Geschichte der Gefühle", GG 35. 2009, ed. by Ute Frevert, pp. 183–345 (the issue included contributions from Frevert, Susanne Michl and Jan Plamper, Margrit Pernau, Pascal Eitler and Monique Scheer, and Benno Gammerl).

2 While the Berlin Center started in January 2008, the Queen Mary Centre for the History of Emotions in London, UK, was launched in November 2008 and brings together approaches from social and cultural history as well as from the history of science and medicine. Between 2011 and 2017, an Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence focused on the History of Emotions in Europe from 1100 to 1800. Scholars from the Université de Québec and Aix-Marseille Université have founded the network EMMA on the history of medieval emotions (http://emma.hypotheses.org).

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frequently take place, conferences regularly include themed panels or round tables on the topic, academic presses have set up book series dedicated to the subject.[3] What started as individual articles, special issues, and forums[4] has grown into a number of specialized journals.[5] There is no lack of introductions and overviews, either.[6] At universities, the history of emotions has been met with curiosity and enthusiasm among students and younger scholars. Public interest in emotions has increased considerably, in step with what is perceived as a growing emotionalization of political communication, private experience, and social interaction.[7] Initially, it was mainly such disciplines as social psychology, political science, sociology – and, to some extent, the behavioral sciences – which were called upon to offer explanations of current trends.[8] But

3 See, e. g., Oxford University Press's Series "Emotions in History", eds. Ute Frevert and Thomas Dixon (since 2023: Frevert, Katie Barclay and Sally Holloway); the Bloomsbury series "A Cultural History of the Emotions", eds. Susan Broomhall et al., 6 vols (covering historical periods from antiquity to the post-modern age); "The Routledge History of Emotions in the Modern World", eds. Katie Barclay and Peter N. Stearns (London 2023); "Histoire des Émotions", eds. Alain Corbin et al., 3 vols (Paris 2016–17); Cambridge Elements series "Histories of Emotions and the Senses", eds. Rob Boddice et al.

4 Jan Plamper, The History of Emotions. An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns, in: History and Theory 49. 2010, pp. 237–265; American History Review Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions, in: American History Review 117. 2012, pp. 1487–1531; Forum: History of Emotions, in: German History 28. 2010, pp. 67–80; Stephanie Lämmert et al., Intellectual Journeys towards Emotions. A Conversation among Feminist Scholars, in: Past & Present [2024].

5 *Passions in Context* (since 2010) and *Emotions. History, Culture, Society* (published, since 2017, by the Society for the History of Emotions).

6 Among the very first was Jan Plamper, The History of Emotions. An Introduction, Oxford 2015. See also Rob Boddice, The History of Emotions, Manchester 2017; Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, What Is the History of Emotions?, Cambridge 2017; Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns (eds.), Doing Emotions History, Urbana 2014; Piroska Nagy and Ute Frevert, History of Emotions, in: Marek Tamm and Peter Burke (eds.), Debating New Approaches to History, London 2019, pp. 189–215; Ute Frevert, Writing the History of Emotions. Concepts and Practices, Economies and Politics, London 2024.

7 This is especially true for social psychology and self-help literature. To name only one example among a myriad: the TED talk, "The Power of Vulnerability," by clinical social worker and professor at the University of Houston Brené Brown is ranked as one of the five most popular TED talks of all time. See "The most popular TED Talks of all time," ted.com, https://www.ted.com/playlists/171/the_most_popular_ted_talks_of_all_time. Her book, "Atlas of the Heart. Mapping Meaningful Connection and the Language of Human Experience" (New York 2021), was a bestseller and was turned into a five-part series by US broadcaster HBO.

8 Marlene Sokolon, Political Emotions. Aristotle and the Symphony of Reason and Emotion, New York 2006; Rebecca Kingston and Leonard Ferry (eds.), Bringing the Passions Back In. The Emotions in Political Philosophy, Vancouver 2008; Drew Westen, The Political Brain. The Role of Emotion in Deciding the Fate of the Nation, New York 2008; Barry Richards, The Emotional Deficit in Political Communication, in: Political Communication 21. 2004, pp. 339–352; Patrick Miller, The Emotional Citizen. Emotion as a Function of Political Sophistication, in: Political Psychology 32. 2011, pp. 575–600; Steven W. Webster and Bethany Albertson, Emotion and Politics: Noncognitive

the history of emotions, because it focuses on the rise and fall of emotions in the long durée and thus provides a much needed long-term perspective,[9] has likewise grown in public visibility and demand.

In June 2024, the Berlin Center will come to a close. To celebrate more than sixteen years of innovative research and intensive collaboration, a group of scholars has set out to reflect on the work done thus far and point to the challenges lying ahead. They do so in six essays, each co-written by two authors: one is affiliated with the Center, the other comes from an outsider academic institution, but is familiar with its work. While the majority are historians – covering medieval to contemporary history and with foci ranging from Europe to the Middle East and South Asia – there are cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and literary scholars as well. Such diversity mirrors the fact that the history of emotions, despite its historical foundation, is a multidisciplinary enterprise. Inviting authors from various backgrounds to a dialogue meant asking them to map a terrain where different approaches can inspire each other through fruitful tensions and productive contradictions.

All the articles share the basic premises of the history of emotions: first, feelings, as both mentally and physiologically represented, are culturally and historically specific; and, second, they are social entities, which are not confined to an individual's mind and body, but exist in relation to the social world and usually come into being through (inter-)action with other humans, with non-human animals, environments, or even inanimate objects. While such understanding of emotions has guided the field from its outset, the authors of this issue leverage their interdisciplinary expertise to better grasp the complexity of emotions as embedded, embodied, and sensory. In applying methods from social, literary, visual, and sound history, the contributions thoroughly engage with the hermeneutic challenges that emotions, as ephemeral phenomena, pose to the analysis of historic sources. In drawing on case studies beyond the Western hemisphere, from medieval Syria to the contemporary Caribbean, the authors further explore the cultural specificity of emotions outside of the well-known parameters of Western concepts of the bounded self.

Psychological Biases in Public Opinion, in: Annual Review of Political Science 25. 2022, pp. 401–418; Neta C. Crawford, The Passion of World Politics. Propositions on Emotion and Emotional Relationships, in: International Security 24. 2000, no. 4, pp. 116–156; Roland Bleiker and Emma Hutchison, Fear No More. Emotions and World Politics, in: Review of International Studies 34. 2008, pp. 115–135; John M. Bruce and Clyde Wilcox, Pollsters, Political Scientists, and Affect. Comparing the Treatment of Emotional Response, in: Votes & Opinions 3. 2000, pp. 8–11 and pp. 28–31; Ted Brader, Campaigning for Hearts and Minds. How Emotional Appeals in Political Ads Work, Chicago 2006.

9 Ute Frevert et al., Feeling Political. Emotions and Institutions since 1798, Cham 2022, was partly concerned with making a case for an emotional component being integral to politics long before the twenty-first century.

Given that the history of emotions is essentially concerned with social interactions and cultural practices, most authors favor micro-historical or ethnographic approaches or emphasize the experiential level. At the same time, the history of emotions is well-positioned to reconnect the micro-level to larger structures, not just because emotions are themselves impacted by political, social, and cultural frameworks (and by institutions, discourses, and representations) but also because a focus on feeling can help to explain why people subscribe to concepts, ideas, and ideologies – or opt out of them. The abundant literature on the history of love, especially, has successfully shown how insolubly intertwined personal sentiment, cultural practices, and the scaffolding by social, political, and economic forces are.[10] In many instances, social formation can be conceived, with Pierre Bourdieu, as a matter of economic, social, and cultural relations. Yet it can also and in addition be understood as an aggregation of felt relationships, which functions precisely because people (come to) feel attached to social structures, or which disintegrates when the configuration's affective potential for attachment dissipates.[11]

I. Old and New Questions

Debates about the tensions between individuals and structures have been part of the field from the outset. Historians of emotions have been confronted with the widely held perception of emotions as personal, private, and individual. Such a perception is often shared by both psychologists and laypeople, who mostly see feelings residing inside human beings (as well as other living creatures) and hidden to the outside world. Feelings, in this view, can only be known, if at all, to the person who feels them.[12] How then will scholars find them in their sources? And how can they move beyond the level of individual sensibilities? Is there anything social and, for that matter, historical about what and how individuals feel?

For historians who, since the 1960s, have taken to studying social processes and structures, the apparent lack of social-historical interrelation has necessarily meant not considering emotional components among the relevant

10 Niklas Luhmann, Love as Passion. The Codification of Intimacy, Cambridge 1986; William M. Reddy, Sentimentalism and Its Erasure. The Role of Emotions in the Era of the French Revolution, in: The Journal of Modern History 72. 2000, pp. 109–152; Sally Holloway, The Game of Love in Georgian England. Courtship, Emotions, and Material Culture, Oxford 2019; Eva Illouz, The End of Love. A Sociology of Negative Relations, Oxford 2019.

11 Sara Ahmed, The Cultural Politics of Emotion, Edinburgh 2004. See also the forthcoming Special Issue, Stephen Cummins and Kerstin Maria Pahl (eds.), Changing the Feeling Rules, in: Social Science History [Autumn 2024].

12 Monique Scheer, Topographies of Emotion, in: Ute Frevert et al., Emotional Lexicons. Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000, Oxford 2014, pp. 32–61.

research topics. It was not that scholars were entirely oblivious to emotions, though. Biographers, especially, at times let emotions enter the narrative even though they usually – for the sake of presenting their male heroes as proverbially rational politicians or businessmen – relegated feelings to private matters like courtship and marriage. For obvious reasons, the scholarship on revolutions, rebellions, insurrections, and religious conflicts has incorporated explorations of emotionalized or passionate dynamics.[13] In terms of modern and contemporary history, some studies on popular or working-class culture have likewise paid attention to affective connections forged by shared practices of cultural consumption or the moralized harnessing of feelings in schools, workhouses, or prisons.[14] Moreover, scholars of authoritarian regimes or dictatorships have usually pointed to the manipulative power of propaganda or, in the case of genocide-oriented regimes, to the increasing blunting of feeling occasioned through sustained dehumanization of the enemy.[15] By and large, early modern to early nineteenth-century historians have had fewer reservations about the topic, not least because historical actors themselves were very vocal about the importance of feelings like honor, pride, anger, love, or religious fervor. Such division of labor, though, had the unfortunate implication of making both the times before 1800 and non-elite people appear emotionally exuberant and less controlled in behavior and feeling. It thereby implicitly confirmed a narrative of modernity as indissolubly intertwined with processes of civilization, rationalization, disenchantment, and emotional restraint.[16]

That narrative has since been seriously called into question. The cultural turn of the 1990s paved the way by granting space and weight to people's mentalities, beliefs, and understandings. For cultural theorists, reality and objective facts did not take precedence over how people interpreted their

13 Reddy, Sentimentalism and Its Erasure; David A. Bell, Shadows of Revolution. Reflections on France, Past and Present, Oxford 2016; Christopher Hill, God's Englishman. Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution, New York 1970; Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down. Radical Ideas during the English Revolution, New York 1972; Christopher Hill, The Experience of Defeat. Milton and Some Contemporaries, New York 1984; Robert Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History, New York 1984. See also Robert Darnton, The Revolutionary Temper. Paris, 1748–1789, New York 2023.

14 Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy, London 1957; Thomas Laqueur, Religion and Respectability. Sunday Schools and English Working Class Culture, 1780–1850, New Haven 1976.

15 Norman M. Naimark, Fires of Hatred. Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe, Cambridge, MA 2001; Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan (eds.), The Specter of Genocide. Mass Murder in Historical Perspective, Cambridge 2003; Johannes Steizinger, The Significance of Dehumanization. Nazi Ideology and Its Psychological Consequences, in: Politics, Religion & Ideology, 19. 2018, pp. 139–157.

16 For this tradition, see especially Johan Huizinga, The Autumn of the Middle Ages, Chicago 1996 [Dutch Original 1919]; Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process, Oxford 2000 [German Original 1939]; Plamper, History, pp. 48–51; Frevert, Writing, pp. 12–18.

experiences and the world around them and how they engaged in processes of meaning-making. Social constructivism as a paradigm offered a way to unearth the patterns and pathways to how men and women subjectively, as well as interactively and collectively, produce diverse visions and readings of reality. Furthermore, it invited a new understanding of emotions themselves as socially constructed.[17] Railing against the reductionism and naturalism they saw in most works of psychology, social constructivists stressed the cultural embeddedness of emotions and their dependence on local languages and specific moral orders. They emphasized the presence of feeling rules and emotional scripts that largely determined the emotional make-up of social groups, professions, and indeed of whole societies.[18] Psychologists have increasingly warmed to the approach too, taking into account the role of narrative in the construction of the self and emotions and paying attention to the historically contingent framings people themselves use when talking about their experience.[19]

Historians of emotions have eagerly embraced social constructivism, mainly for two reasons: first, it supports their claim to see emotions as historical phenomena bound to specific spatial and temporal environments. As much as emotions differ synchronically according to diverse localized and cultural customs and vocabularies, they also differ diachronically. Historical change affects the way people feel and how they express their feelings. Second, thinking about feeling rules, scripts, and systems puts emphasis on emotions as socially shaped and practiced. Emotions are far more than individual, subjective, interiorized feelings, but have a strong foundation in the social world and are shaped by social rules and encounters. They depend on prevalent values, moral norms, and standards of behavior, they are enforced by social configurations, and they are embedded in the purpose of institutions. It is precisely their manifestation in the social world which makes it possible to study them with a historian's professional tools.

This is what Peter Stearns and his collaborators set out to do in the 1980s. Using etiquette and advice books as their main source, they analyzed how purportedly "basic" emotions like anger or fear had been monitored and

17 Rom Harré (ed.), The Social Construction of Emotions, Oxford 1986.

18 On feeling rules, see Arlie Russell Hochschild, The Managed Heart. Commercialization of Human Feeling, Berkeley 2003.

19 Tilman Habermas, Emotion and Narrative. Perspectives in Autobiographical Storytelling, Cambridge 2018; Mohammad Atari and Joseph Henrich, Historical Psychology, in: Current Directions in Psychological Science 32. 2023, pp. 176–183. See also the Max Planck institute for Human Development's Lise Meitner Group for Environmental Neuroscience, led by Simone Kühn, whose researchers have collaborated with two authors of this issue, Ute Frevert and Kerstin Pahl: https://www.mpib-berlin.mpg.de/research/lise-meitner-group-for-environmental-neuroscience.

regulated by modern American educators and media specialists.[20] In a similar vein, historians of science looked into the ways individual emotions had been understood and categorized by relevant disciplines, from philosophy and theology to psychology and medicine.[21] Emotion knowledge, they argued, employs various social techniques of expressing, practicing, and managing emotions, on the part of the individual as well as of social groups and institutions. As such, it is an essential part of how societies organize themselves. But emotion knowledge and standards of feelings do not simply result from top-down processes of stating and implementing norms. They are, in turn, shaped and can become gradually transformed by what people experience in the process of adhering to norms.

While historians (and sociologists) of emotions became increasingly interested in how emotions were socially formed, many anthropologists, ethnographers, philosophers, literary scholars, and media theorists settled on a different approach. Distinguishing between emotions and affects as following other "logics," they have preferred to talk about affects as "visceral forces beneath, alongside, or generally other than conscious knowing." Insisting on affects' non-cognitive essence, they have considered them "irreducibly bodily and autonomic," unintentional and "not ownable," and thus alien to social conventions, social learning, and standardized procedures.[22] Through their independent activity, affects create a singular experience that differs from person to person. Reclaiming individuality through the power of affect can then be imagined as an act of resistance, defiance, and creativity. It assigns agency first to the affects, and, through them, to the individual.

20 Among the first publications was Carol Z. Stearns and Peter N. Stearns (eds.), Emotion and Social Change. Toward a New Psychohistory, New York 1988, to be followed by many others.

21 Thomas Dixon, From Passions to Emotions. The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category, Cambridge 2003; Daniel M. Gross, The Secret History of Emotion. From Aristotle's Rhetoric to Modern Brain Science, Chicago 2006; Frank Biess and Daniel M. Gross (eds.), Science and Emotions after 1945. A Transatlantic Perspective, Chicago 2014; Otniel E. Dror et al. (eds.), History of Science and the Emotions, in: Osiris 31. 2016, pp. 1–249; Uffa Jensen and Daniel Morat (eds.), Rationalisierungen des Gefühls. Zum Verhältnis von Wissenschaft und Emotionen 1880–1930, Munich 2008.

22 Gregory J. Seigworth and Melissa Gregg, An Inventory of Shimmers, in: Seigworth and Gregg (eds.), The Affect Theory Reader, Durham 2010, pp. 1–25, here p. 1; Brian Massumi, Notes on the Translation, in: Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (eds.), A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia, New York 1987, pp xvi–xix; Brian Massumi, The Autonomy of Affect, in: Cultural Critique 31. 1995, pp. 83–109, here p. 88; Brian Massumi, Parables for the Virtual. Movement, Affect, Sensation, Durham 2002, pp. 23–45. As to Sara Ahmed, affects neither "reside in an object or sign" nor "in a subject or figure"; rather they "*involve* subjects and objects" and circulate between them. They thus acquire an independent and autonomous status (Sara Ahmed, Affective Economies, in: Social Text 22. 2004, pp. 117–139, quotes pp. 119 f. [original emphasis]). As a fundamental critique, see Ruth Leys, From Guilt to Shame. Auschwitz and After, Princeton 2007, pp. 125–156; Ruth Leys,The Ascent of Affect. Genealogy and Critique, Chicago 2017.

A few years ago, the views of historians of emotions and affect theorists respectively seemed irreconcilable. Meanwhile, both sides have softened to the other's perspective.[23] The fact that the history of emotions has increasingly moved from investigating the trajectories of discrete emotions or feelings – the history of love or pain, the story of honor and shame – to exploring notions such as emotionality, atmosphere, and landscapes of emotions (the latter both in the literal and the figurative sense) has been especially valuable for integrating different ideas about feeling, including sensibilities, mood, or sensations.[24] Sensory history, in particular, has helped to build bridges. For a long time, histories of emotions and the senses have run in parallel, with emotions seen as mostly non-sensory and closer to cognition. Recent forays, however, have begun to explore how emotions may be triggered by sensory perception or, reversely, how one's emotional state may direct one's perception.[25] Such approaches place great emphasis on sensual experience and the historicity of the senses.[26] Concepts of the "period eye" and the "period ear" have been helpful to understand how sensing bodies – which combine biological dispositions and cultural constructions – see and hear (and smell and touch and taste) differently according to the historically specific ways in which they have been socialized.[27] Sensory history explores, therefore, how environments (or specific "affective arrangements") envelop the sensing body and how this body responds to experience.[28]

23 Benno Gammerl et al., Feeling Differently. Approaches and Their Politics, in: Emotion, Space and Society 25. 2017, pp. 87–94, here p. 88; Donovan O. Schaefer, The Evolution of Affect Theory. The Humanities, the Sciences, and the Study of Power, Cambridge 2019.

24 Marcelo J. Borges et al. (eds.), Emotional Landscapes. Love, Gender, and Migration, Urbana 2021; Maunu Häyrynen et al. (eds.), Landscapes of Affect and Emotion. Nordic Environmental Humanities and the Emotional Turn, Leiden 2022; Dylan Trigg, Atmospheres and Shared Emotions, London 2022; Michael A. Arbib, When Brains Meet Buildings. A Conversation between Neuroscience and Architecture, Oxford 2021, esp. ch. 4: "Atmosphere, affordances, and emotion," pp. 221–286.

25 Rob Boddice and Mark Smith, Emotion, Sense, Experience, Cambridge 2020, pp. 1–9; Boddice, History, ch. 6: "Experience, Senses and the Brain," pp. 132–167; Lana Kühle, The Emotional Dimension to Sensory Perception, in: Berit Brogaard and Dimitria Electra Gatzia (eds.), The Epistemology of Non-Visual Perception, Oxford 2020, pp. 236–255. For a defense of emotional experience as non-sensory, see Lorenza D'Angelo, Emotional Experience and the Senses, in: Philosophers' Imprint 22. 2022, no. 20, pp. 1–20.

26 Tamara Turner, Affective Temporalities of Presence and Absence: Musical Haunting and Embodied Political Histories in an Algerian Religious Community, in: Culture, Theory and Critique 61. 2020, pp. 169–186. See also the Bloomsbury series "A Cultural History of the Senses" (2014).

27 On the "period eye," see Michael Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy. A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style, Oxford 1972. On sound history, see Jan-Friedrich Missfelder, Period Ear. Perspektiven einer Klanggeschichte der Neuzeit, in: GG 38. 2012, pp. 21–47.

28 Jan Slaby et al., Affective Arrangements, in: Emotion Review 11. 2019, pp. 3–12.

For all these shifts, a few questions have remained stubbornly the same: are historians really investigating emotions, or do they not rather analyze words, behavior, attitudes, cultural representations?[29] When we say that emotions are socially embedded, are we not often confusing the context with the emotions happening there? Is an analysis of how emotions were historically conceptualized in philosophy, medicine, or psychology in fact a history of emotions, or does it not remain a history of thought or science that pays attention to emotions as a theme?

There is definitely a point to be made that historians of emotions should be more wary of how representation – in discourses from different domains or in the depiction of emotions in visual and literary culture – relates to emotion as felt by individuals. Art and visual culture, in particular, are by now well established as rich repositories for past events and past experiences. Scholars have drawn on images as alternative forms of documentation that potentially add information not present in textual sources or offer more vivid and tangible ideas of past lives.[30] They have also analyzed them as historical practices in themselves, their mode of representation being bound up with the specific material circumstances of their production, exchange, distribution, or purpose.[31] Other media have been consulted, too, including photography, film, and sound recordings (which are discussed in this issue). All of them serve as historical sources both for events recorded in images and sounds *and* for the recording itself as a multilayered practice. Media can be the object of historical investigation and explored for their place in historical scenarios or their contribution to ways of thinking.[32]

29 A recent example of this slippage is Rob Boddice's History of Feeling. The author correctly states that the aim should be to "attempt to understand what it felt like to be *there*, *then*, according to the terms of historical actors themselves, and through a thorough reconstruction of the affective worlds in which people moved." This is followed, however, by a conventional thematic analysis of emotion words in texts and images. Rob Boddice, A History of Feeling, London 2019, p. 9.

30 Francis Haskell, History and Its Images. Art and the Interpretation of the Past, New Haven 1993; Peter Burke, Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence, Ithaca 2001.

31 Gerhard Paul (ed.), Visual History. Ein Studienbuch, Göttingen 2006; Ludmilla Jordanova, Look of the Past. Visual and Historical Evidence in Historical Practice, Cambridge 2012.

32 On images, conceptual history, and epistemological practices, see Bettina Brandt and Britta Hochkirchen (eds.), Reinhart Koselleck und das Bild, Bielefeld 2021; Margrit Pernau and Imke Rajamani, Emotional Translations. Conceptual History beyond Language, in: History and Theory 55. 2016, pp. 46–65; Brian S. Baigrie, Picturing Knowledge. Historical and Philosophical Problems Concerning the Use of Art in Science, Toronto 1996; Charlotte Klonk, Science and the Perception of Nature. British Landscape Art in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, New Haven 1996; Michael Hunter, The Image of Restoration Science. The Frontispiece to Thomas Sprat's History of the Royal Society (1667), London 2016. On sounds and knowledge, see Mark M. Smith (ed.), Hearing History. A Reader, Athens 2004; Daniel Morat (ed.), Sounds of

At the same time, the affective potential that representations can have should be further stressed and investigated. The many nineteenth-century depictions of poverty and suffering, for instance – even if expressly done to document contemporary misery – do not just (or maybe not even primarily) tell a story of poor people's agony, distress, or shame, but also invite emotional responses on part of the recipients: their compassion, indignation, or indifference to such representations.[33] In 1844, Friedrich Engels commented on a popular painting that contrasted "cold-hearted wealth" and "despairing poverty." In his view, it "prepared a good many minds for Social ideas" and "made a more effectual Socialist agitation than a hundred pamphlets might have done."[34] Even if the left-wing activist somewhat exaggerated the life-changing effect of art, his perceptions still hold value as a personal testimony to how an emotional community, even if short-lived, might have formed through the affective power of representations.[35]

In general, more attention should be (and has already been) given to how emotion knowledge gets translated into emotional practices according to the medium in which such knowledge is stored. Processes of teaching emotions, of inculcations, education, and pressurization, of modelling and templating, are often done *through* representations, and they have indeed featured prominently in recent scholarship.[36] There is a danger, however, when reconstructing norms, of assuming that such processes worked as intended, and that people can simply be subjected to control (of practices or discourse) with limited agency.[37] Through socialization, people and their bodies certainly become

Modern History: Auditory Cultures in 19th- and 20th-Century Europe, New York 2014; Joy Damousi and Paula Hamilton (eds.), A Cultural History of Sound, Memory, and the Senses, New York 2017. On photography's affective aesthetic, see especially the classic books by Susan Sontag, On Photography, New York 1977, and Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida. Reflections on Photography, New York 1981 [1980], esp. pp. 7–9 (photographing as an emotional practice); see also Elspeth H. Brown and Thy Phu, Feeling Photography, Durham 2014.

33 Linda Nochlin, Misère. The Visual Representation of Misery in the 19th Century, London 2018. See also Thomas Dixon, The Invention of Altruism. Making Moral Meanings in Victorian Britain, Oxford 2008.

34 Friedrich Engels, Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany, in: The New Moral World, 13. December 1844, p. 200. Engels referred to Carl Wilhelm Hübner's painting "The Silesian Weavers" from 1844 (Museum Kunstpalast, Duesseldorf) that was shown in many German cities.

35 Barbara Rosenwein, Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages, Ithaca 2006.

36 Ute Frevert et al., Learning How to Feel. Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970, Oxford 2014; Frevert and Pahl, Feeling Political.

37 A case in point is the abundant literature on abolitionism, which often assumes that the sentimental rhetoric of abolitionists just "caught on" at some point. See for instance, Timothy Shortell, The Rhetoric of Black Abolitionism. An Exploratory Analysis of Antislavery Newspapers in New York State, in: Social Science History 28. 2004, pp. 75–109; Brycchan Carey, British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility. Writing, Sentiment and Slavery, 1760–1807, London 2005; Matthew Karp, The Mass Politics of

attuned to the world, but they do not simply align themselves with the rules and templates they have been inculcated with.

Rather, emotions may account for change, and not just reproduction, because emotional transformations can make people relate differently to the structures that govern their world. Therefore, scholars of emotion are well advised to search for traces that reveal how rules were received, questioned, and negotiated by those who experienced them. Looking at emotions can account for precisely that change because emotional transformations cause people to relate differently to the structures that govern their world.

Such traces do exist, despite earlier allegations that they were missing, which confined historians to studying normative rules only.[38] They can be found in a variety of sources.[39] Ego-documents, though always filtered and often produced for the purpose of self-fashioning, offer glimpses into how people discursively shared or debated their feelings. In case of eras or cultures that did not encourage self-expression, court proceedings provide information on how emotional expectations were either met, adjusted, or undermined by defendants.[40]

For those periods or regions where ego-documents are scarce or non-existent, Barbara Rosenwein's notion of "emotional communities" has found many adherents. While intuitive, it can be questioned on several grounds: are emotions instrumental for the formation of such communities or do they rather come into being through pre-existing structures and institutions, such as convents, or events, such as wars, with emotions as an added layer to the fabric? Are social groups that share certain values and interests always per se emotional communities? And what can be explained by the concept?

For Rosenwein, emotional communities are firmly grounded in pre-modern times, whereas modern societies that rely on centralized states and strong institutions can be better explained through William Reddy's notion of "emotional regimes."[41] Even more important have been Reddy's epistemological interventions. Addressing the pertinent question of how to access "real" emotions, he took issue with poststructuralist claims that an objective material reality was either non-existent or non-accessible. Drawing on semiotic theory, he dismissed "the concept of 'raw' or 'original' signified" and rather focused on emotions felt within the body and externalized through expression.[42] Other scholars have considered every emotion a process of

Antislavery, in: Catalyst 3. 2019, no. 2, pp. 131–178; James R. Oldfield, The Ties that Bind. Transatlantic Abolitionism in the Age of Reform, c. 1820–1865, Liverpool 2020.

38 Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, Emotionology. Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards, in: American History Review 90. 1985, pp. 813–836.

39 Katie Barclay et al. (eds.), Sources for the History of Emotions. A Guide, London 2020.

40 See the article by Ute Frevert and Laura Kounine in this issue.

41 Presentation by Rosenwein in the Center's public seminar on 6 July 2009; William M. Reddy, The Navigation of Feeling. A Framework for the History of Emotions, Cambridge 2001.

42 Reddy, Navigation of Feeling, p. 75 f.

signification, a semiotic act of translating a bodily feeling or core affect into an outwardly readable sign (which implies that the biological phenomenon is never accessible).[43] Such a semiotic act can itself become the object of investigation when historical actors openly problematize that they have tried to hide their feelings or attempted to retrain expressions in order to signify their emotions in a different manner.

Historians, by definition, can only work with externalizations which encompass the ways people decide to document their emotions in letters, memoirs, or interviews. A major task is thus to understand how such genres and modes of communication influence not just the construction of discourse and representation but also, and most importantly, an individual's emotions. Here, the field can clearly benefit from the expertise of literary scholars and historians of art, visual culture, and the media. Such cooperation also invites historians to go beyond the written text and include visual or audio material as valuable sources that speak, in their own ways, of emotions felt and practiced.

II. Outline

The authors of this issue have been carefully chosen to include various disciplinary expertise and approaches. Each article reflects on a particular theoretical or methodological problem and presents an empirical case study to illustrate the argument. Some of the cases are closer to each other in terms of focus or approach – two cultural anthropologists writing about "feminine emotions," workouts, and the capitalist economy in today's globalized world – while others appear to be further apart – such as a sociologist working on women in contemporary Turkey and a historian exploring pilgrimage manuals in sixteenth-century Syria. Our overall aim was not to produce convergences through shared themes, but to emphasize that studying emotions in past and present times has less to do with the availabilities of sources or the words one finds in them, but with the researchers' way of theoretically conceptualizing their approach.

The first article sets the stage by addressing the relationship between social institutions and individual subjectivities. Focusing on two structural constellations – the Prussian military of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and seventeenth-century witch trials – it examines the power of institutions as "schools of feeling." Both the army and the court set precise expectations of how and what their members were supposed to feel, and how

43 Trip Glazer, The Semiotics of Emotional Expression, in: Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society 53. 2017, pp. 189–215, here p. 193: "What makes expression special is the fact that it *makes perceptible something that is otherwise imperceptible.* […] Emotions […] are perceptible only in their outward expression" [original emphasis].

they should enact and express such feelings. Severe sanctions made sure that those expectations were met. Yet individuals did not always comply with what was expected of them. At times, they used the official emotional script to present their own subjective views and concerns. At others, they chose to hide their personal feelings of resentment and humiliation in order not to harm an institution whose overall mission and logic they full-heartedly endorsed. Both options can be traced through a careful and creative reading of biographical sources and court cases that assert the power of the social and institutional without neglecting the individual person.

The second article juxtaposes the notion of experience and the history of emotions by investigating writings by British soldiers from the Napoleonic Wars and Finnish soldiers from the Second World War. Like emotions, "experience" has been understood either as constructed or, as the term "lived experience" suggests, as belonging to the person in question and thus non-falsifiable.[44] On a basic level, experience in English can refer alternately to first-hand knowledge as gained through the sensual perception of events as well as its subsequent processing, an amalgamation that speakers of German and Scandinavian languages distinguish into living through an event and conceptualized experience. It marks, moreover, an individual's development across time: experience furnishes people with knowledge, concepts, and patterns, which allow them to process events and perceptions and orient themselves in the world.[45] Centering on different genres of war writing, the article discusses how writing about experience and emotions contributes to their construction. It disentangles how different kinds of writing can be mined for traces of emotions and experience, not by simply looking at content and statements ("I was scared."), but by analyzing how modes of expression – private letter-writing, published memoirs, or even poems – provide the author (or the "feeler") with different means to remember, conceptualize, and express their emotions. It is important to look both at and through the text, to understand discursive utterances not as either self-contained, separate, or irreducible, but as a part of practices that bring emotions into being.[46] This pertains not only to the author, but also, potentially, to the contemporaneous reading audience (or even the historian) who is invited to decipher the emotional meaning or affectively relate to the texts.

While the first two articles reassess traditional textual sources, the third contribution expands the scope by bringing to the table visuals and sounds.

44 Joan W. Scott, The Evidence of Experience, in: Critical Inquiry 17. 1999, pp. 773–797.

45 Martin Jay, Songs of Experience. Modern American and European Variations on a Universal Theme, Berkeley 2005.

46 Achim Landwehr, Historische Diskursanalyse, Frankfurt 2018, p. 111; Monique Scheer, Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion, in: History and Theory 51. 2012, pp. 193–220, here pp. 212 f.

It draws on painted murals of so-called martyrs of the 1980s Iran-Iraq war, as well as on sound recordings of prisoners of war, produced during the First World War for the purpose of scientific investigation. While both cases underline how visual and audio media have been or are purposefully employed by historical and contemporary actors, the history of emotions can be used to read them against the grain. Circling back to the challenge of representation being mistaken for emotion, the authors address the fallacy head-on through close reading and close listening, attempting to go beyond the obvious expression through a careful reconstruction of the specific context in which the studied images and sounds came about. They focus on how the actors navigate scripts for emotion expression, especially in such unfamiliar or precarious circumstances as prisoner of war camps and authoritarian regimes.

Investigating both concepts and practices of emotions is part of a broader sociology of emotions, which is addressed in the fourth article. Written by a sociologist and a social historian of medieval and early modern Islam, it brings together pilgrimage manuals from sixteenth-century Syria with an exploration of gender relations in contemporary Turkey to reconceptualize the embeddedness and relationality of emotions. Applying insights from phenomenology, the article foregrounds the way emotions are embodied, bodies cultivated, and habits come into being or dissolve at different points in time and through different practices such as reading instructions and praying or challenging the norms of modest dress. The analysis focuses on the experiential dimension and strategies of meaning-making (how does the world appear to one's interlocutors or the historical contemporaries?), and attempts to understand bodies as neither generally intentional actors nor simply passive receptor of events and arousals. Emotions figure as intentional acts that, in turn, work upon the body and operate through the body in the world, both in spontaneous activities (as body-in-the-moment with corresponding emotions) and long-term developments (as "habit body," a store of sedimented knowledge, life choices, experiences, and emotions).[47]

The fifth article, presenting contemporary case studies from cultural anthropology, continues the analyses of micro-level practices and the role of the body. It uses interviews with a German online sport influencer and a yoga teacher from the Caribbean to more thoroughly understand emotion management on a day-to-day basis. Microscopically investigating people's activities, often through interviews or continual interaction and with an emphasis on the role of bodies and embodiment, the article takes up cultural

47 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Phenomenology of Perception, London 1962; Richard Shusterman, The Silent, Limping Body of Philosophy, in: Taylor Carman and Mark B. N. Hansen (eds.), The Cambridge Companion to Merleau-Ponty, Cambridge 2004, pp. 151–180, here p. 164.

anthropology to delve more deeply into the components of emotion management, including how economic structures seep into body and feeling. Working *on* emotions strongly intersects with working *out* emotions: people actively engage with their feelings, trace their causes and evolution, and deliberately pursue activities, such as sports, to attain a particular feeling state. The embeddedness of emotions and their relationality have become major themes in the history of emotions and, thus, of this issue. The sixth and final essay in the collection further expands the scope, investigating more closely the intersections of the history of emotions with recent forays into post-humanism and environmental humanities. Inspired by methods from literary criticism, postcolonial studies, and post-humanism, the two authors – a literary scholar originally trained in neuroscience and a historian – explore descriptions of individuals' emotional encounters – perceptions, sensations, imaginations – with natural spaces, here the forest and the monsoon in South Asian writing (specifically, in Buddhist texts from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, elite Sanskrit poetry from the fourth and fifth centuries CE, and contemporary Indian English-language novels). Literature, the authors argue, provides sources for how people have imagined and engaged with their being in the world, their becoming and their evolution. Literary history, moreover, has a long tradition of engaging with emotions, humans, and the environment, especially strong in, but not limited to, research on Romanticism. In their close reading, they focus on how feeling diffuses over the body of people enveloped by their environment rather than dominating it, arguing that the texts in question make use of particular kinds of evocative language, of metaphors and rhythms, to describe human-environment ecologies, and offer rich, sensual descriptions of natural landscapes to convey the experience. This last chapter is less about emotions as historical practices than about historical ideas of emotions. In this regard, it harks back to the origins of emotion history, which often was more intellectual than social history, by tracing the history of terms and concepts, but at the same time reorients it with a view to the global and the post-human.

What the articles of this issue have in common is that they demonstrate how emotions are formed in historically and culturally specific places. Moreover, all authors recognize that sources have their own logic of mediation, not only communicating but also evoking, impeding, or soliciting emotions on the part of readers and researchers. Many sources started out as a practice of doing emotions in the first place, be it images collected for commemoration or letters written from the field of war.

For all the commonalities, however, essential differences should not be ignored. Every article discusses the disciplinary or methodological tensions of their individual approaches, some in a more lively manner, others with a view to subtle distinctions in what otherwise seems an integrative piece. While the texts build on one another, each centering on one particular methodological

issue, they are in mutual conversation, too. The approaches they discuss are neither interchangeable nor can they all be applied at once. Phenomenological perspectives are somewhat at odds, with a strong focus on mediation, and ethnographic methods chafe with investigations of broader contexts and structure. Rather than presenting individual dialogues, the issue in its entirety should thus be seen as a multi-vocal reflection on the current multiple perspectives in the history of emotions.

III. Conclusion and Outlook

While many of the discussions above may look familiar, it is worth noting that the field is no less vital for progressing in more nuanced steps. In contrast to previous decades, the introduction of new concepts has become rare, maybe because those most widely used – "emotives," "emotional communities," "emotional scripts," "emotional practices" – seem to hold up well. It also appears, however, that these more or less static concepts have been replaced by explorations that highlight the specific rather than the patterned – less catchy, maybe, but more tailored to the individual case.

Some problems will continue to haunt the history of emotions, especially oppositions like discourse vs. experience or individual vs. structure. In response, the most promising way forward is not a clear-cut decision for one or the other, but rather a shift from result to process. Or, put differently, we witness a return to the historian's core expertise: the careful examination of concrete scenarios and a close reading of the sources. This accords with a rising attention to emotionality more broadly conceived. It is one thing to focus on single emotions and investigate their historicity in terms of social embeddedness, relationality, and practical functions. Yet it is equally crucial and challenging to analyze complex emotional settings as captured by notions of emotional atmosphere, *Stimmung*, or landscapes. An emotion rarely stands alone and usually occurs in combination with others. As a consequence, emotional settings demand more comprehensive approaches that account for sensory factors as well as for built or natural environments.

Thus, and for all its interest in structures, institutional contexts, and feeling rules, emotions history remains – and perhaps becomes ever more – allied to micro-historical analysis and its adjacent approaches, such as history from below, cultural and historical anthropology, ethnography, and the history of popular culture and everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte*). Studies that explore the trajectories of emotionality not over decades or centuries but within very specific settings – sometimes within minutes or hours – are well-positioned to avoid turning histories of emotions into simple retellings of familiar stories, which just add emotion (words) to already existing, and potentially more powerful (economic, political, or military) narratives. These settings are by no

means confined to Europe. For a long time, the history of emotions was firmly centered on European history – even though the Max Planck Center had a focus on South Asia from its outset. This is rapidly changing, with case studies on emotions in non-European regions or in transnational biographies gaining importance and visibility.[48]

At the same time, some emancipation from bottom-up approaches might be welcome. Giving space to marginalized voices and actors and making room for their experiences and emotional responses, the history of emotions clearly aligns itself with the wider critical field of gender, queer, disability, subaltern, and post-colonial studies.[49] Within a Foucauldian binary framework of norm and resistance, emotions are identified as oppositional practices which disrupt normativity. While this has helped to elucidate how social groups relate to each other, it risks understanding emotions simply as a counter-elite practice from below that challenges power – which, ironically, would reaffirm the alleged rationality or emotionlessness of structures, elite figures, and so-called "hard facts" or "topics." If the history of emotions were, analogous to gender studies, to become an approach embedded in all parts of historical research, more work would need to be done on the role of emotions within relations of power and control beyond manipulation, harnessing, or performance.[50]

Such scenario-oriented investigations are geared toward understanding emotion knowledge as actively produced rather than simply conveyed.[51] This resonates with contemporary popular neuroscientific findings. In her book on how emotions are "made," neuroscientist Lisa Feldman Barrett has argued that people conceptualize their affective reactions to events in accordance with their frameworks of meaning-making. Accordingly, she has called on her readers to develop a "granular" understanding of emotions, for instance, "experiencing the American style of happiness as distinct from

48 Margrit Pernau, Emotions and Modernity in Colonial India. From Balance to Fervor, New Delhi 2019, and beyond: Barclay and Stearns, Routledge History of Emotions, pt. 2: "Geographical Perspectives."

49 Ahmed, Cultural Politics; Xine Yao, Disaffected. The Cultural Politics of Unfeeling in Nineteenth Century America, Durham 2021; Bede Scott, Affective Disorders. Emotion in Colonial and Postcolonial Literature, Liverpool 2019; Benno Gammerl, Anders fühlen. Schwules und lesbisches Leben in der Bundesrepublik. Eine Emotionsgeschichte, Munich 2021; Jennifer Evans, The Queer Art of History. Queer Kinship after Fascism, Durham 2023; Dan Goodley et al., Feeling Disability. Theories of Affect and Critical Disability Studies, in: Disability & Society 33. 2018, pp. 197–217.

50 As a case in point, the history of diplomacy is currently making a comeback, and approaches from the history of emotions could help to understand diplomatic navigation in specific settings as well as the construction of professional and diplomatic self-hood. Julia Gebke et al. (eds.), Das Diplomatische Selbst in der Frühen Neuzeit. Verhandlungsstrategien, Erzählweisen, Beziehungsdynamiken, Münster 2022; Hélène Miard-Delacroix and Andreas Wirsching (eds.), Emotionen und internationale Beziehungen im Kalten Krieg, Munich 2020.

51 Frevert, Emotional Lexicons.

satisfaction and contentment."[52] Such emotional connoisseurship requires a willingness for thorough self-interrogation, and while it may not be present in all periods, it does hark back to the cultural practices of some historically potent actors. The fashion for interiority and self-assessment became prominent in Protestant circles from the seventeenth century onward and formed a major pillar of bourgeois and commercial culture in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[53]

Similarly, while nuanced and detailed contextualization has always been the main task of historians, the scope of what "context" actually means has been thoroughly expanded in material terms, to include how people emotionally relate to their environments, to their habitat, to nature. While criticism of anthropocentrism, both in research and in current Western politics and societies, predates public debates on climate change, the latter have contributed to its current momentum.[54] Understanding humans as part of broader ecologies in which they do not occupy a central position but count as one among many components, has been crucial in reconfiguring how environments – rather than only providing the tools for human creative production – have pre-formed, and to some extent, determined, it. On the other end of the spectrum, the growing presence of AI has required researchers (and society at large) to think more thoroughly about the emotional interactions of humans with technologies, especially when the latter appear increasingly human-like.

Since the history of emotions has repeatedly questioned notions of a bounded self and clearly circumscribed, distinct emotions on the one hand and emphasized the relationality of feeling on the other, it shares many premises of the posthumanist approach. Methodological reflections on how specific environments – forests, rivers, mountains, urban spaces – shape emotions are thus a promising avenue to pursue.[55] While psychology, the life sciences, and

52 Lisa Feldman Barrett, How Emotions Are Made. The Secret Life of the Brain, Boston 2017, p. 150.

53 Ewa Lajer-Burcharth and Beate Söntgen, Interiors and Interiority, Boston 2016; Kate Retford, The Art of Domestic Life. Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England, New Haven 2006; Monique Scheer, Protestantisch fühlen lernen – Überlegungen zur emotionalen Praxis der Innerlichkeit, in: Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft 15. 2012, pp. 179–193. See also Julia Lieth, Love as a Life Project. Morality, Feeling, and the Pastor in the Awakening Movement of Nineteenth-Century Württemberg, PhD thesis Freie Universität Berlin 2022.

54 Cary Wolfe, What Is Posthumanism?, Minneapolis 2010; David Roden, Posthuman Life. Philosophy at the Edge of the Human, London 2014; Bruce Clark and Manuela Rossi, The Cambridge Companion to Literature and the Posthuman, Cambridge 2017; J. Andrew Hubbell and John C. Ryan, Introduction to the Environmental Humanities, Abingdon 2022.

55 Peter Baofu, Beyond Human Emotion to Post-Human Emotion. Towards a New Theory of Positiveness and Negativeness, Delhi 2020; Erika Quinn and Holly Yanacek (eds.), Animals, Machines, and AI. On Human and Non-Human Emotions in Modern German Cultural History, Berlin 2022.

environmental studies appear natural kin to this strand of research, philosophy and literary studies have proven helpful, too, to understand the constructive (or destructive) impact of humans and their emotions on the environment. Here, a rich field of inquiry is emerging which needs many more historical case studies, preferably from different periods and regions of the world.

Finally: what about broader narratives that might tie together various case studies and microhistories? Can and should the history of emotions be expected to move beyond what has been done and suggested so far? Does it produce its own interpretation of historical processes and events, of continuities and discontinuities, and the emotions that stir, promote, or disturb them? Has it convincingly studied emotions not only as motivating forces or responses, but also as human resources that change over time, both in scope and intensity, and differ according to spatial and social circumstances? Despite the current focus on the micro-level, on specific scenarios and set-ups, we should not give up on larger claims – even if those are harder to realize than initially and programmatically stated. If we take the historian's task to critically inform present society about itself seriously, we cannot avoid the questions that are increasingly and persistently posed: are we living in highly emotionalized times? Do emotions feed and determine current political communication in a particularly salient way? How and why does this differ from former periods, and what might be its consequences?

To address such questions, historians of emotions might find it helpful to work with the notion of emotional economies.[56] It borrows from eighteenth-century moral philosopher Francis Hutcheson, who posited that "the passions" need to be managed well – personally and on a social scale, that is, with "Ballance" and "Œconomy." Hutcheson assumed discrete "sensations," such as anger, avarice, ambition, or honor, which were dependent on each other, but existed separately within a larger, relatively stable framework of principal desires.[57]

By their modern definitions, though, emotional economies are dynamic and unstable. They allow for the interaction and combination of multiple emotions that may follow one or several directions. Under particular circumstances, some might dominate others and become hegemonic, for a certain time, before giving way to yet another emotional configuration called mood, atmosphere, or *Stimmung*.

Those configurations are to be studied in conjunction with specific actors and media that actively produce them for reasons of their own. Equal attention,

56 Frevert, Writing; Yaara Benger Alaluf, The Emotional Economy of Holidaymaking: Health, Pleasure, and Class in Britain, 1870–1918, Oxford 2021.

57 Francis Hutcheson, An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense (1728), ed. by Aaron Garrett, Indianapolis 2002, quotes p. 47.

though, has to be paid to audiences – both individuals and social groups – that either join in and get involved or keep their distance and propose alternatives. Times of crisis are, therefore, a perfect entry point to analyze emotional economies as they generate different emotional practices that engage in fierce competition for hegemony. Since there is never a lack of crisis, the history of emotions has a broad terrain to cover and compare.

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