



# Research Report 2009–2010

Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung  
Max Planck Institute for Human Development





# Center for the History of Emotions

## The Center for the History of Emotions

The **Center for the History of Emotions** (Director: Ute Frevert) which opened in January 2008 examines human emotions. The research rests on the assumption that emotions—feelings and their expressions—are shaped by culture and learnt in social contexts. A central objective is to trace and analyze the changing norms and rules of feeling. Geographically, the Center's scope includes both Western and Eastern societies (Europe, North America, and South Asia). Special attention is paid to institutions that bear a strong impact on human behavior, such as the family, law, religion, the military, and the state.



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The sensation is crucial ...  
Kazimir Malevich, *The World as Non-Objectivity*  
(First Edition Munich, 1927, p. 65)

Looking at these three faces lacking any sign of emotion, the observer realizes forthwith the absence of something crucial, reducing human beings merely to hollow shapes that need to be filled. When Malevich painted this picture, he had been witness to the Soviets' ambitious and equally violent education experiments. New citizens were to be created with new feelings, new thoughts and actions—but the will and the attempt to shape emotions does not apply exclusively to totalitarian regimes. Democratic societies, too, have attempted to shape people's emotions and impose feeling rules that were meant to facilitate social interaction and individual well-being.



Figure 1. K. Malevich (ca. 1930). Three female figures.

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## Introductory Overview

Established in 2008, the Center for the History of Emotions (HoE) aims to explore the various aspects of emotions within the context of time and space. Drawing on the expertise of anthropologists, political scientists, sociologists, musicologists, and scholars working on literature, art, psychology, and education, the group of researchers led by Ute Frevert explores the history and the power of emotions. The Center's specific approach lies in the notion that emotions matter to, and in, human development; they are a result of shaping, of education, on a private as well as on a social level. Who can feel what, when, and where is by no means up to the individual. How emotions are expressed is subject to cultural precepts and proscriptions influenced by family, by the environment at school and at work, by associations and clubs, by religious communities, and by the state and other institutions.

### Guiding Assumptions

Work at the Center is guided by two main assumptions. Firstly, we suppose that emotions have a history. Although what psychologists call primary or secondary emotions—fear, joy, hate, envy, trust—were not unknown to earlier generations, those generations differed greatly from us in regard to what they feared, whom they pitied, and what they were proud of. Emotional expression and resulting actions also followed different rules, for instance, a person who was afraid of witches behaved differently from someone who, centuries later, worries about climate change or nuclear disaster. Therefore, the commonly held notion of emotions as an anthropological constant had to be adjusted. The same is valid for the language of emotions: its bodily gestures and facial expressions.

Secondly, we attribute historical power to emotions. Feelings which motivate human behavior and foster the formation of social

groups or movements have always been shaped through interaction. Emotions can be manipulated, heightened, or channeled. What would modernity be without patriotism and national pride, without the addiction to honor and the fear of disgrace, and without communities acting in unison driven by shared anger or hope? Can we imagine a political world, or a world of consumption, without continuous appeals to our emotions? Therefore, the belief that emotions are a purely private matter had to be modified.

### Research Areas

A central objective of the Center is to trace and analyze the changing norms and rules of feeling. We therefore look at different societies and see how they have developed and organized their emotional regimes and codes. Research concentrates on the modern period (18th to 20th century), assuming that during this period the way people perceived

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History of emotions. (Forum with Frank Biess, Alon Confino, **Ute Frevert**, Uffa Jensen, Lyndal Roper, & Daniela Saxer). (2010). *German History*, 28, 67–80. doi: 10.1093/gerhis/ghp108

and conceptualized emotions was subject to dramatic shifts. Beginning with a reinforced interest in subjectivity and the emergence of sentimentalism in the late 18th century, another rupture can be noticed in the second half of the 19th century, when especially natural sciences, accompanied by experiences of colonialism, changed perceptions and discourses on emotions, particularly those on civility, barbarism, race, and gendering. The early 20th century saw a third shift caused and intensified by emerging and increasing mass-culture phenomena, redefining the relationship between the individual and society.

Apart from the two guiding assumptions that emotions have a history and make history, our research projects share a threefold theoretical framework. First, we all take into account the intentional and unintentional cultivation of emotions taking place in the various nurturing institutions in family, state, and society. Second, we share the opinion that emotions are felt and embodied in a physical way. This

is a crucial point of contact between us, specialists in various fields of the humanities researching the historical dimension of the body, and our colleagues from the natural and life sciences. Thirdly, researching the history of emotions, we all consider the impact of, and on, power (structures) in society, social groups, and interpersonal relationships. These shared, but differently evaluated, perspectives resulted in the structure of the Center with three research areas:

- Cultivation of Emotion
- Emotion and the Body
- Emotion and Power

Nevertheless, this categorization is not to be understood in terms of borders. Rather, we see researchers, research areas, projects, methods, theories, approaches, and internal and external cooperations within a concept of entanglement. The validity of this concept is mirrored by the projects' geographical orientation, focusing both on Western and Eastern societies (Europe, North America, and South Asia).

## Transnational Approach

Our group not only follows an interdisciplinary approach, it also brings together researchers on Europe and India working within a common framework. Transnational history—a history, which no longer takes the nation as its central category, but instead focuses on encounters and entanglements—brings forth a number of challenges. We aim at breaking the hierarchy that traditionally applies to these research areas, according to which knowledge about European history is a prerequisite for Indian researchers, but not vice versa. In our research group, an engagement in both regions is deemed crucial for every researcher. Furthermore, we try to develop a common language and methodology which takes into account the inherent cultural specificities of both regions while, at the same time, offering a ground for general theories.

## Collaborative Projects—Publications

From the very beginning, we decided to organize basic research in a collaborative way. One large-scale project was the investigation into the conceptual history of emotions based on two assumptions: Firstly, the way historical actors classified and labeled emotions provides us with insights into how they perceived emotions. Secondly, we assumed that labeling shaped the manner in which emotions were experienced.

Our approach was to collect and analyze articles on emotions and related lemmata that

have appeared in European encyclopedias from the 18th century until today, focusing especially on German, English, and French reference literature. We traced the development of those words ("feeling," "affect," "passion," "sensitivity," "emotion," etc.) in comparison with, and relation to each other in order to discover shifts and ruptures in word usage and meaning, notion, and concept. At the same time, this led us to relevant discourses which are, to a high degree, marked by the gradual eclipsing of several sciences and the substitution of leading sciences, as theo-

logical and philosophical discourses were replaced by medical, psychological, and neurological reasoning.

Our results are documented in a monograph about the "Knowledge of Emotions" (*Gefühlswissen*), which describes these changes contextualized preeminently in subject areas related to our specific research projects. In addition to the results achieved in the field of the conceptual history of emotions, the particular projects benefited from this research which, at the same time, sharpened our sensibilities to our present-day use of language. Our publication analyzes the answers (changing over a period of 300 years) on fundamental questions regarding the *conditio humana*, such as: Is the nature of feelings spiritual and mental or physical and material? Which gestures do we use to express emotions and how do others read them? Is there an emotional difference between man and animal? Are there childish and adult emotions? Are certain or too strong emotions dangerous for our health or for politics and society or is it quite the contrary—and sensibility is required especially here? Do feelings divide or connect people? Are they a sign of civility or barbarity, education or the lack thereof? The conceptual history approach enabled us to discover in which way, and how deeply, the knowledge of emotions was, and still is, embedded in the social, cultural, and political structures of modern societies.

As a result of another collective project, in 2009 Ute Frevert edited an issue on the "History of Emotions" in the renowned historical journal *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* (History and Society). Six researchers from the Center for the History of Emotions contributed four articles in response to the introductory article "What Has History Got to Do With Emotions?" in which Ute Frevert developed a basic framework for the fundamental problems and questions related to how emotions determine social structures and processes, triggering or preventing particular actions. The article shows that the expression, perception, and interpretation of emotions, such as fear or solidarity, undergo significant changes over time.

Susanne Michl and Jan Plamper (winner 2nd place Thyssen Prize for best article in the social sciences, 2009) focused on the soldierly fear in the First World War, comparing the role of fear and military "trauma" in German, French, and Russian military psychiatry. The contemporary analysis of soldierly fear as an origin of mental illness, its correlations with concepts of masculinity, and specific spaces as the trenches was highly determined by the professional identity of the military psychiatric profession and its relationship to the state. Margrit Pernau investigated civility in the 18th century as a set of feeling rules launching an entangled history of the British discourse on civility (ca. 1750–1860), when perceived differences in feelings became the basis for identifying stages of social development. The "civilizing mission" hence was conceived not only as a transmission of knowledge but even more as the formation of character and the schooling of emotions. Pascal Eitler and Monique Scheer examined "Emotions History as Body History." From a heuristic perspective, their essay argues for the application of theories proved useful for the anthropology and history of the body and of concepts, such as "habitus" and "materialization." Case studies on religious conversions in the 19th and 20th centuries illustrates the usefulness of this approach by analyzing emotions, not as autonomous reactions, but as social practices and techniques. In his article "Love Remembered," Benno Gammerl discusses the possibilities and problems within oral history research on changing emotional patterns and practices. He interprets three biographical narratives and shows how same-sex emotionalities started changing after 1970 as gay and lesbian emancipation gained ground and as the spaces within which same-sex feelings could be practiced, displayed, and performed were enlarged. The Center offered its support (staff and technical resources) for further publications on the History of Emotions. The book *Zwischen Tanzboden und Bordell* (Between Dance Floor and Brothel) presents a number of particularly interesting documents from a history of emotions perspective. Based on a collection of interviews carried out by a

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## Basic Research

The history of emotions is one of the fastest growing fields in the discipline of history. *Geschichte und Gefühl: Grundlagen der Emotionsgeschichte* (to be published by German Random House in 2011) is a book-length attempt by Jan Plamper to map what has been done so far and to sketch where we should be heading. It is, in other words, both synthesis and intervention. Most emotions research since the 19th century has been governed by a binary of social constructivism versus universalism, which ultimately goes back to an unproductive opposition of nature to nurture. As Lorraine Daston has put it, coming up with a language beyond this distinction “would require nothing less than the functional equivalent of a discipline’s collective psychotherapy.” *Geschichte und Gefühl* shares this view and offers many glimpses into a posttherapeutic future. The introduction first explicates the binary and its problems and then offers, as background, a thumbnail sketch of influential philosophical theories of emotions.



Figure 2. Facial expressions.

Source. (1) Paolo Mantegazza, *Fizionomiia i vyrazhenie chuvstv* (Kiev, 1886), detail. (2) Photograph illustrating emotions of grief from Charles Darwin’s work *The Expressions of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, published by J. Murray, London, 1872. Image courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University. (3) Ekman, P., Friesen, W. V., & Hager, J. C. (2002). *Facial action coding system* [CD-ROM]. Salt Lake City, UT: Human Face. (4) Emoticon.

**Chapter 1** tries to historicize the history of emotions. It shows that there was historical writing on emotions before Lucien Febvre’s 1941 *Annales* article, which is usually invoked as the founding document of the history of emotions. The chapter reviews the contributions of classics of sociology and art history, such as Georg Simmel and Aby Warburg, of 1970s psychohistory, and the history of the family and of Peter and Carol Stearns in the 1980s, whose work helped launch the “history of emotions” as a self-described field. It presents the newest history of emotions, such as that of Barbara Rosenwein, and strives to place this research in larger intellectual and historical contexts. Thus, the current boom of a history of emotions emerges both as a product of the 1990s bio revolution and of 9/11, which cast doubt on poststructuralism’s analytical instruments to come to terms with such terrorism-related emotions as fanatical hatred. **Chapter 2** turns to one pole of the binary, social constructivism, and focuses on emotions research from the cultural anthropology perspective. Ethnographies in the 1980s more than anything unsettled the pancultural concepts of emotions and had an enormous impact on historical emotions research. **Chapter 3** turns to the other pole and uses life science research as an emblem for universalist approaches. It reviews prominent paradigms—from Darwin, Wundt, Lange, and James to the latest affective neuroscience—and asks about the consequences of applying these findings to disciplines within the humanities, such as history. The final **Chapter 4** begins by retracing William Reddy’s work, a bold attempt to bridge the life sciences and cultural anthropology, and ends by charting prospective areas of historical emotions research. It closes by tackling one of the most vexed questions in the history of emotions, namely, how to include emotion as an explanatory factor—a cause—of past human behavior when emotion words do not surface in the sources, and sketches the outlines of a “hermeneutics of silence.”

prison pastor in 1869, when a reform of the Prussian criminal law was being widely discussed, it offers unique insights into the feelings and lives of Berlin prostitutes. The long and thorough introduction (Bettina Hitzer) places the prostitutes' accounts in different historical contexts, especially of the Protestant endeavors for marginalized groups and of an emerging urban entertainment culture. Furthermore, it investigates the reasons that led women to prostitution as well as what it meant and how it felt to be a prostitute. In particular, the introduction considers the personal experiences and narratives of the prostitutes, something which—due to missing sources—had rarely been taken into account until now.

The history of “male” emotions—emotions ascribed to males or described as manly—was often omitted in master narratives on modern Europe or their history was narrated as a negative one: as a history of repression, of disciplining or of fatal unleashes of male affects. The volume *Die Präsenz der Gefühle (The Presence of Emotions)* co-edited by Nina Verheyen revises this unbalanced perspective, offering 13 contributions by historians as well as philosophers, sociologists, and cultural studies' scholars. All of them reconstruct emotions as an essential element of masculinity, which, aside from historical shifts in its interpretation, representation and articulation, has always been present in modern societies—even if only in terms of affect control as a typical male attribute. Three introductions from different disciplinary points of view deliver systematic insights into the topic. Then, a wide range of empirical case studies, mostly focusing on 19th- and 20th-century Germany, describes and analyzes the relationship between masculinity and emotion in contexts such as marriage, family, friendship, politics, or the military. An epilogue by Ute Frevert contrasts first results with open questions for further research. Manuel Borutta, Nina Verheyen, and Ute Frevert contributed with their introduction and epilogue respectively direction-setting articles. Tracing the grand narratives and definitions of masculinity concepts in history and historiography, Borutta and Verheyen

pointed out that emotions are created and modeled by gendered social norms, varying due to several categories as well as social and situational contexts. They proposed three analytical levels as guidelines: the discourses on emotion, the performative dimension, and the emotional account of male actions. Ute Frevert sharpened the awareness of the implications of this changing research focus and pleaded for rethinking the relationship between history, emotion, and gender. Granting the diversity of male emotionality charged with tension, dynamics, and frictions, as well as varied interaction between the individual and social institutions and conventions, entails consequences for the exploitation and interpretation of history.

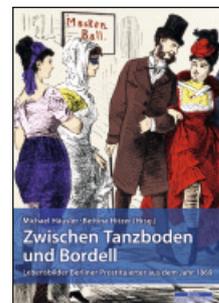
Benno Gammerl opposed the cliché of a distinctive homosexual emotionality. His evaluation of lonely hearts advertisements emphasizes the importance of comradeship instead, which clearly differed from heterosexual lifestyles of intimacy. After 1970 and due to historical changes in the public perception and appearance of homosexuality, he was able to record the increasing pluralization of male emotional styles. But these changes and enhancements in male expressions of emotions also applied to heterosexual men and can therefore be considered as quite independent from sexual orientation. Pascal Eitler analyzes the contemporaneous emerging of another ideal of new masculinity in connection with the advent of the “New Age.” Based on “oriental” religions and techniques of the body, this esoteric movement attributed feelings “originally” to femininity. By encouraging men to discover and develop their “feminine” emotions, the “New Age” movement ended up continuing a traditional comprehension of masculinity in twisted circumstances.

### Conferences and Colloquia

The multidisciplinary conference *Doing Emotions: Past, Present, Future* held on the occasion of the Scientific Advisory Board Meeting in 2009 has impressively evidenced the importance and benefit of internal as well as external collaborations among scientists of different research areas and institutions.

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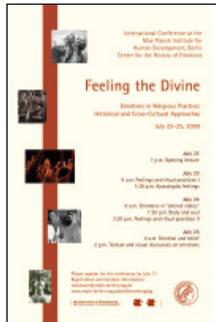


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Since a great part of our work consists in the continuous scientific exchange with our colleagues inside and outside the Institute, we often use its infrastructure and open its doors to enable this exchange. In addition to our regular fortnightly colloquium with talks by distinguished scholars from all over the world, the conferences and workshops organized by the Center for the History of Emotions have become an excellent medium for scientific communication and preparation for further cooperation projects.

The Center's first public workshop was an international 1-day conference on Compassion (July 3, 2009) which allowed for productive communication among the varying disciplines of history, sociology, musicology, neuroscience, and theology.

The eminent importance that compassion enjoys in our modern world, the historical and contemporary concepts, the differences to Christian notions or the Aristotelian idea of *eleos*, its function and different kinds of practices (social, aesthetic/musical, etc.), the question of biological or neurological particularities that have to be taken into account, and other aspects were examined in the talks by the main speakers—Thomas Laqueur (Berkeley), Craig Calhoun (New York), Ruth HaCohen (Jerusalem), Tania Singer (Zurich), and Christoph Marksches (Berlin)—from their diverse disciplinary viewpoints. Some of these insightful papers are going to be published in a journal.

On July 10, 2009 Ute Frevert and Nina Verheyen organized the workshop *Morality, Emotions, and Democracy: Rethinking European History* in cooperation with Till van Rahden (The Canadian Centre for German and European Studies/Le Centre canadien d'études allemandes et européennes, Montreal). During the sessions about *Moral Passions in the Enlightenment*, *After Virtue: Beyond Bourgeois Morality* and *Moral History: A Useful Category of Analysis*, the participants had fruitful discussions about key texts from the 18th to the 20th century (Adam Smith, David Hume, Friedrich Nietzsche, Paul Valéry, Theodor W. Adorno, Steven Lukes, and Carl Schmitt). Monique Scheer organized an international conference on *Feeling the Divine: Emotions*

*in Religious Practice—Historical and Cross-Cultural Approaches* (July 22–25, 2009) with sections on *Feelings and Ritual Practices*, *Apocalyptic Feelings, Emotions in "Altered States," Body and Soul, Emotion and Belief* and *Textual and Visual Discourses on Emotions*. The conference convened anthropologists, cultural historians, religious scholars, and historians of emotions from eight countries. Among the objectives of the meeting: to better understand how emotions are integrated and theorized in religious practice, to debate the status of the physiological correlates of emotion in relation to their semiotic vehicles, and to discuss methodological and theoretical issues around a historicization of emotion and religious experience. The papers spanned a broad spectrum geographically as well as historically and presented material from many religious traditions, allowing for a lively discussion of overarching issues.

Participants: John Corrigan (Florida State University); William A. Christian, Jr. (Barcelona); Deirdre de la Cruz (Ann Arbor); Amy Bard (Cambridge, MA); Lehel Peti (Cluj Napoca); Marya T. Green-Mercado (Chicago); Élisabeth Claverie (Paris); Janine Rivière, Amira Mittermaier (both Toronto); Jalane Schmidt (Charlottesville); Ann Taves (Santa Barbara); Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest); Xenia von Tippelskirch (Bochum); Sherry Smith (Hamilton); Knut Graw (Leuven); Anthony Shenoda (Cambridge, MA); Katrina Olds (San Francisco); Angie Heo (New York); Vlad Naumescu (Budapest); Tanya Luhmann (Stanford); Nadeem Shah, Monique Scheer (both Berlin); David Morgan (Durham).

The workshop on *Glaube und Gefühl* (Religious Belief and Emotion), organized by Pascal Eitler, Bettina Hitzer, and Monique Scheer took place at the MPI for Human Development on November 20–21, 2009. Focusing on Germany in the 19th and 20th centuries, the discussions within an interdisciplinary group of historians, sociologists, and ethnologists (among others Hubert Knoblauch, Technical University of Berlin, and Thomas Mergel, Humboldt University Berlin) aimed especially at the theoretical conceptualization of the relationship between belief and emotion and revolved around methodological questions.

The organizers are planning the publication of selected papers.

Anne Schmidt organized an international conference on *History, Emotions, and Visual Media* (April 21–23, 2010) with panels on *History and Images, History in Public Spaces and History and Popular Culture*. In their opening remarks, Ute Frevert and Anne Schmidt contextualized the main questions. The first aim was to test how a more intensive inclusion of emotions as a historical category of analysis can enrich the cultural history research. Secondly, the participants and commentators concentrated on the verification or modification of the widespread tacit understanding that the visual possesses a particular emotional power and effectiveness. Art historians, scholars working on cultural history and literature, and historians tackled these questions in talks which covered a wide span of time and themes.

Participants: Birgit Franke, Barbara Welzel (both Dortmund); Lucas Burkart (Lucerne); Jennifer Montagu (London); Cornelia Brink (Freiburg); Peter Geimer (Bielefeld); Dietrich Erben (Munich); Godehard Janzing (Paris); Jan Plamper (Berlin); Peter Jezler (Basel); Gottfried Korff (Tübingen/Berlin); Juliane Brauer (Berlin); Aleida Assmann (Constance); Billie Melman (Tel Aviv); Tim Barringer (New Haven); Vanessa Agnew (Ann Arbor); Sylvia Paletschek (Freiburg); Jens Balzer (Berlin); Ole Frahm (Kiel).

The conference made clear that historical representations were always intended to evoke emotions, but the assumptions about emotionalizing effects and ideas of emotions were subject to fundamental changes, and so were the practices of the intended emotionalizing and the emotional experiences and perceptions.

Selected papers—including those of Ute Frevert/Anne Schmidt and Aleida Assmann/Juliane Brauer—have been accepted for publication in a special issue of the journal *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*.

Within the context of Pascal Eitler's research project on "Beloved Animals" a conference was held on May 22 and 23, 2010—*Eine Geschichte der Tiere—Eine Geschichte der Gefühle* (A History of Animals—A History of

Emotions) in cooperation with the *Arbeitskreis Geschichte+Theorie* (Work Group History+Theory). Some 40 specialists in history, anthropology, and media analyzed from a historical perspective (18th to 20th century) Animal Studies und History of Emotions as quite new emerging research fields of cultural science. The aim of the conference was not only to contextualize different emotions for different animals (love, hate, etc.) but also to historicize human ideas about the emotions of animals and their capability to feel (pain, love, etc.). In many aspects, the changing emotionalizing of animals, especially in the 19th century, was linked to the changing emotionalizing of humans.

How do we describe and explain the change and the variation of emotional patterns and practices across time and within diverging social settings? The workshop on *Emotional Styles—Communities and Spaces* (July 22–24, 2010) organized by Benno Gammerl explored possible answers to this question focusing on the opportunities (and the problems) presented by the concepts of emotional communities—defined by religion, gender, or other criteria—and emotional spaces—like amusement parks, the office, or the countryside. As the contributions and the discussions demonstrated, examining interactions—conflicts, adaptations, hybridizations—between divergent emotional styles opens up fresh and fruitful vistas for future research on emotions.

In cooperation with the Cluster of Excellence *Languages of Emotion* (Free University Berlin), the Center staged the interdisciplinary conference *Die Bildung der Gefühle* (The Education of Emotions) organized by Ute Frevert and Christoph Wulf. The conference (December 2–4, 2010) started with a keynote by Eva Illouz (Jerusalem) offering *Reflections on Sentimental Education*, followed by 17 talks divided in 6 sections about *Childhood and Family, Elementary and Secondary School, Peer Groups, Work(ing Place), Media, and Religion*. The final address on nations as emotional spaces was given by Dieter Lange-wiesche (Tübingen).

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Figure 3. Eva Illouz, keynote speaker at the conference "Die Bildung der Gefühle."

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### Internal and External Cooperations

After several initial interdisciplinary conversations, the Harding Center for Risk Literacy (ABC) joined the project "Emotions and Knowledge in Medical Films" with a focus on how risk communication has evolved in educational movies from the beginning of the 20th century to the present. Part of this cooperation is to analyze how health risks are communicated in the specific medium of educational films and which emotions might be targeted by what kind of information. Using such an interdisciplinary approach offers insights from various perspectives into the ways in which films have been used for educating the public, for reforming health behavior, and for managing the public's anxieties and hopes about health and medical interventions. The project will identify



Figure 4. Educational film "Feind im Blut" (Enemy in the blood, 1931 by Walter Ruttmann).

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the historical continuities and changes that took place regarding educating the public about important health issues.

External collaborations often result in jointly organized workshops and conferences, such as: March 12–14, 2009, workshop in collaboration with the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi: Cultivating Emotion—History, Culture, Society. The workshop succeeded in building contacts between researchers at the MPIB and the CSDS, one of India's foremost institutions for the social sciences. The two institutes share assumptions on the need to bring together European and Indian scholarship on a new basis. The presentations and discussion showed a strong common interest in the impact of emotions on political structures, notably in the fields of nationalism, politicized religion, notions of honor, respect and shame, as well as civility and civil society.

October 4–6, 2010: Conference *Civility and its Other: German, British, and South Asian Perspectives* in collaboration with the German Historical Institute London.

Civility stands for a set of rules governing comportment; this comportment, however, rests on an emotional underpinning, without which it is viewed as lacking in warmth, even as hypocrisy. Real civility thus is seen as based on feeling rules and feeling practices, both of restraining certain emotions (like anger or greed) and of cultivating others (like honor,



Figure 5. Workshop in Delhi, March 2009.

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sensibility, or devotion). Civility thus can only be understood in relation to its other; the reference to non-civil feelings and behavior is always an implicit presence. At the same time, these demarcations are not stable, as feelings and behavior which are generally excluded from the concept (like anger and violence) may well be justified, implicitly or even explicitly, as being part of this concept under certain circumstances (righteous anger, violence in the colonies, war ...).

#### *Introducing History of Emotions in International Networks on Conceptual History*

We regard conceptual history as an important tool for the history of emotions. At the same time, this permits an enlargement of conceptual history's traditional scope whose major projects have until now centered on political and social concepts. Therefore, we have established close contacts with the History of Political and Social Concepts Group (HPSCG), the international association for conceptual history. Besides taking up the coeditorship of the association's journal, *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, Margrit Pernau has organized the following events:

September 17–20, 2009: Panel at the annual conference of the HPSCG in London: *Toward a Historical Semantics of Emotions*, in collaboration with Sinai Rusinek, Van Leer Institute Jerusalem.

September 16–19, 2010: Panel at the annual conference of the HPSCG in Moscow: *Conceptual History and the History of Emotions*.

August 3–19, 2010: International Summer School: *Introduction to Conceptual History* (Concepta in collaboration with the University of Helsinki).

The Summer School, which brought together for the first time 30 doctoral students from 3 continents, included sessions on emotion-concepts, which were very well received by the students.

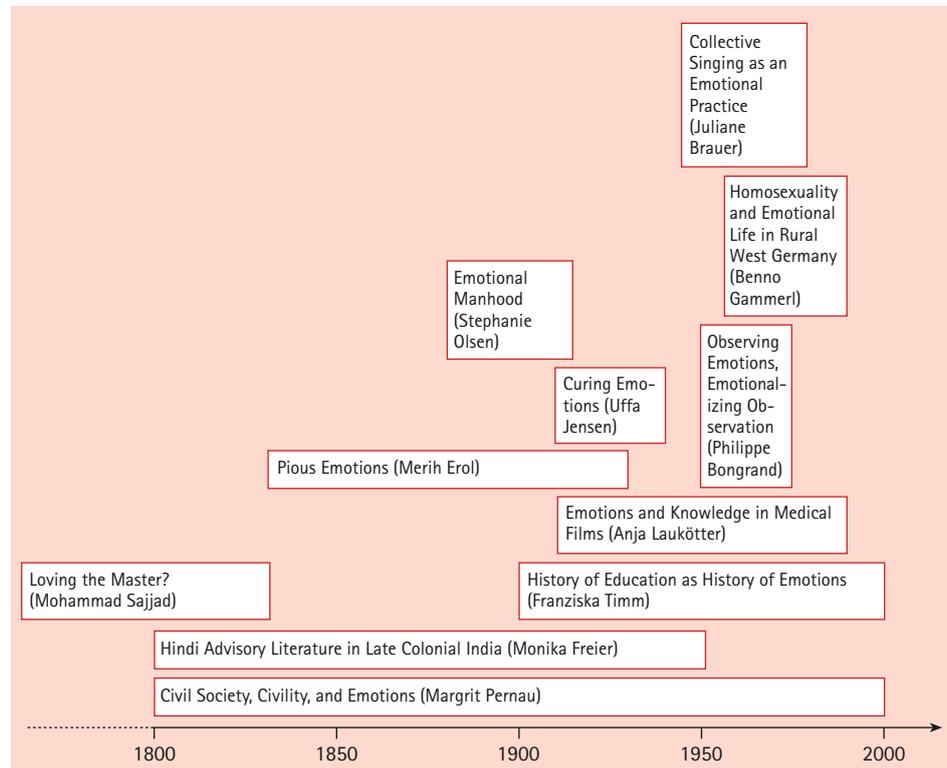
#### *Research and Teaching Network With the University of Chicago*

Since the research group was set up, close research contacts have been established with the University of Chicago, notably the Department for South Asian languages and civilizations. This led not only to mutual visits but also to common projects within the fields of conceptual history and film studies. Three colleagues from Chicago, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Rochona Majumdar, and Orit Bashkin, will be involved in the Civility Network project, which will take up its work in 2011 (see below for a detailed description p. 136f.).

2011 will also see the first steps toward a cooperation at the level of training graduate students, as three of the Center's predoctoral fellows have been invited to a research training seminar in Chicago.

Initial preparations are under way for a collaborative project on "The emotion from the private to the public sphere (19th to 21st centuries)" initiated by the Centre d'Histoire Culturelle des Sociétés Contemporaines (CHCSC) of the University of Versailles St-Quentin en Yvelines. Alongside other research institutes in Paris (among which the HAR-Centre Francastel—Université de Paris Ouest Nanterre la defense, Institut Français de presse—Université de Paris II, and Centre Identités Cultures Territoires—Université Denis Diderot), our Center will participate in the work that will lead to a colloquium in April 2012 with the aim to scrutinize and analyze the flux and reflux of emotions between the private sphere on the one hand, observed for instance in private correspondence, and the public arena on the other, as encountered for example in different forms of media.

## Research Area: Emotion and Cultivation



The ways in which people experience and express their emotions and how others perceive and respond to them are subject to cultural rules, do's and don'ts. In this research area, the focus lies on the conscious and unconscious shaping and formation of emotions within institutions, such as family, school, religious organizations, the military, and other social settings. The projects examine how people were brought up to have certain feelings, to show or to suppress them, what conventions were created in this manner, and which consequences occurred for the individual and their social environment.

**Researcher**  
Margrit Pernau

### Civil Society, Civility, and Emotions: Britain and India Since the 18th Century

During the period under review, the project has developed along three lines: First, civility and civilization are concepts linking knowledge on emotions to morality, on the one hand, and to political structures, on the other. Civility was a notion which allocated individuals a place in society—it was their civilized way of feeling, restrained but authentic, which distinguished the middle classes from the nobility as well as from the lower classes after the beginning of the 19th century. Civilization, in turn, based on the idea of stages of development, gave each specific society its place on the time scale of

historical evolution. The distinction between civilized and barbarous nations was crucial for the creation of a global hierarchical order in the colonial age. This distinction was centrally based on the study of character, first by travelers, then by the new disciplines of ethnography and anthropology, and finally by psychology, notably *Völkerpsychologie*. A character, in turn, was a shorthand for habitual emotions—nations and races were distinguished as much by the color of their hair and skin as by their basic emotional makeup. Second, in the wake of the seminal work on the civilizing process by Norbert Elias, civility has generally been held to consist mainly



Figure 6. Abdullah Qutb Shah—7th King.

Source. Raza Alikhan, *Hyderabad—A City in History*, 1986.

in the repression of emotions considered destructive by society. From the beginning, the project had aimed at enlarging the scope, considering not only the repressive but also the creative aspects involved in the process of civilization. It now turns out that it will be necessary to go even further. Indian rulers are very often portrayed holding a rose in one hand (a symbol of their refinement, their appreciation of beauty, and their ability to be impressed by softer feelings) and a sword in the other. The symbol of the sword remains ambivalent, as it can be interpreted as the enforcement of justice but also as the valuation of emotions deemed destructive in other contexts: Righteous anger, even rage, and the ability to induce fear were considered noble and royal qualities. The investigation of the concept of anger, therefore, seems a necessary part of the study of civility. Third, in cooperation with Professor Helge Jordheim (Oslo University), a proposal was submitted for a research network on "Civility, Virtue and Emotions in Europe and Asia: History of Concepts as Entangled History From the 18th Century to the First World War."

The aims of the project can be summed up in three points: (1) To bring together the history of civility with the history of emotions in a systematic way, (2) to study the semantic field of civility as a way of understanding processes of colonization and globalization in the 18th and 19th centuries, and (3) to work out the interaction between concepts emanating from Europe and concepts in the different Asian languages and to investigate their entanglement. The project focuses on Europe and Asia, regions with a long history of intense entanglement reaching back to the 18th century. The countries included with research projects of their own are Great Britain, France, Germany, and the Nordic Countries, on the one hand; and the Ottoman Empire both with its Turkish and Arab regions, Iran, India with separate projects on Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali sources, China, Japan, and Korea, on the other. The researchers have already started to work on their respective projects, so that first results can be expected at the kickoff conference in October 2011.



Figure 7. Contemporary illustration of a battle during the revolt of 1857.

Source. Gilliant, Edward (1914). *Heroes of the Indian Mutiny*. London: Selley Service & Co., p. 342.

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Researcher  
Philippe Bongrand

### Observing Emotions, Emotionalizing Observation: Children's Emotions and School Assessments in France During the 1950s and the 1960s

In the past two centuries, school issues have acquired growing importance in numerous Western societies. In order to research the dynamics and forms of this complex schooling process in the French case, the 1950s and 1960s are of strategic interest. Pupil numbers "exploded" as more and more opted for postcompulsory education, and the average duration of schooling was extended. Professional education spreads in new territories, such as management or agriculture. The French State doubles the education budget and proceeds to substantial reforms for a "rational" educational system. School acquires an enhanced role with regard to social mobility: "democratization" debates emphasize this brand new hope for education and, therefore, school policies. Seen as a whole, this multidimensional schooling process links together social stratification, sciences, and political order. Inspired by Norbert Elias, it can be hypothesized that it also has implications on the "individual" subjective life. What kind of specific subjective economy does this schooling process raise? Does it structure, foster and/or rely on particular emotional features and through which mechanisms? In other terms: Does the schooling process

take part in creating a particular emotional regime—a schooled emotional regime? Such are the starting questions in the heart of the research project.

The main hypothesis arises from the fact that the unification of educational institutions expands the role of schooling beyond educating to orientating children within the "system." Teachers are therefore urged to teach and guide children according to their personality, desires, and academic skills. Special training and pedagogic literature offered the scientific background for their brand new mission: "observing" children. The first part of the project consists in investigating these professional guidelines: How do they take children's emotions into account? The case of the short-lived but significant success of the characterological branch of child psychology will be particularly investigated. The second part of the project deals with the children's point of view: How did children experience being "observed" and having their personalities assessed? Egodocuments, such as pupils' diaries, will shed light on this question. The third part of the project is devoted to the interaction between educators and children in schools. Drawing from records of school practices, the project aims to identify the features of an emotional work shared by adults and children at school. Each part of the project focuses on emotions in comparison with pupils' "intelligence," "knowledge," and "skills." Assuming that French society is still deeply marked by a great divide between emotion and reason, an investigation on the schooling process may specify the role of schools in the (re)production of this distinction. The project thus aims to investigate the political, scientific, and social fabric of the intimate.



Figure 8. "His predispositions may turn his school concern to despair." How a rearing guide teaches educators how to cope with children's emotions.

Source. Le Gall, A., & Bijon, M. J. (1996). *L'enfant: Conception, enfant, adolescence*. Paris, Librairie Larousse, p. 148.

### Collective Singing as an Emotional Practice: Music Education and Youth Culture in the German Democratic Republic (GDR)

The project examines the interconnection of music education and the formation of feelings with particular focus on the GDR. Music education includes both music in schools and extracurricular musical activities organized by the state children and youth organization, the *Freie Deutsche Jugend* (FDJ). The research project focuses on the following questions: Which emotional repertoire did the East German educational system promote in children and youth during which period and with what justification? Which theories on the emotional effect of music was music education based on and which methods of inducing the desired emotions emerged as a result? How dominant was the emotional style defined and transmitted by music education?

There are two advantages in this approach. First, the GDR is a particularly suitable research subject, as the GDR literature for music educators explicitly states which emotions should be awakened in students, discusses the importance of singing together for this purpose, and outlines the practical consequences for the classroom. Second, the question of a politically defined emotional repertoire sheds light on aspects located at the interstices of the themes that are dominant in academic research, such as dictatorship, repression, and resistance in the GDR.

Initially, the project aims to scrutinize traditions of bourgeois and social democratic singing movements from the 19th century up to the National Socialism era concerning underlying aims of shaping emotions. Based on this outline about collective singing as an emotional practice, the project will then focus on music education in the GDR until the end of the 1960s. Until around 1970, most discussions concerned the aims of music curricula and the integration of music education into socialist education. Some first observations on the relevant repertoire of songs already highlight a number of conceptions of feelings related to central aspects of socialist moral education, including feelings of homeland solidarity and group identity. To emphasize

the specifics in the GDR, it is necessary to compare it with music education programs in West Germany concerning shaping desirable emotions.

The third part will focus on the ways in which communal singing was staged by the FDJ between the 1960s and the 1980s. The organization and choreography of school celebrations and ceremonies will be analyzed, complete with audio and video documentations of events, festivals, and (inter)national choir or youth meetings. Furthermore, it is necessary to have a closer look at the development of the youth *Singebewegung* (sing-a-song movement), which was influenced by Folk and Beat music. Around 1970, up to 80,000 young people were supposedly active in the *Singebewegung*. Despite the state control, an individual musical language was developed in the FDJ *Singeklubs* (sing-a-song clubs). The concluding part of the project will focus on the interplay of dominant and subculture musical practices and the emotional styles mirrored by them. Therefore, it will examine alternative singing practices within youth subcultures in the GDR, such as Rock or Punk. Comparing these with singing practices and songs of the youth protest movements in West Germany, such as the students' or the peace movement, will offer insights into specific singing practices in the GDR.

Researcher  
Juliane Brauer



Figure 9. "Ich liebe mein Land," Poster of the FDJ: 35 years GDR in the songs of the FDJ.

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Researcher  
Merih Erol

### Pious Emotions: The Formation of the "Ethical Self" in the Greek Orthodox Populations of the Ottoman Empire and Greece (1830–1930)

Empirical research does not necessarily prove the impact of religion on the development of a moral self; however the moral emotions often addressed by psychologists, such as shame, guilt, remorse, regret, etc., are embedded in the long social and psychological history of religion. The project explores the processes of the formation of the "ethical self" in the 19th-century Greek-speaking literate urban populations of the Ottoman Empire and the Greek state, with a special interest in the role of motives, emotions, attitudes, and dispositions linked to piety. It analyzes the changing conceptualizations of ethical behavior and moral conflicts among the Greek-speaking literate strata of three cities, Istanbul/Constantinople, Izmir/Smyrna, and Athens.

The history and aspects of the ethical self will be traced in view of (a) the contemporary

discourses (secular, religious, and those with nationalist overtones) on the ethos and the emotional setup of the ethical individual; (b) the ecclesiastical and monastic discourses on notions, such as sin, salvation and penance, and the practices of reconstruction and cultivation of emotions that are closely connected to notions of piety and religious ethics; and (c) the contemporary theological and nontheological discourses on the soul and on issues like the role of "reason" and "will" in fighting against the passions, desires, and

appetites of the soul. The project draws on the following disciplines and research fields: cultural history, social anthropology, sociology of religion, history of ethics, and history of emotions.

Regarding its comparative agenda, the project seeks to explore the different expectations that the contemporaries had from public education and private upbringing in the multiconfessional society and the *millet* system of the Empire, on the one hand, and in the relatively homogenized society and the particular legal and institutional framework of the nation state, on the other.

The project is a pioneering attempt at filling the gaps in the current research, considering both the study of historically significant changes in the moral imagination and the conceptualizations of moral behavior in the Greek orthodox populations of the region (existing studies mostly approach the issue from a social anthropological perspective) and also the study of theological and nontheological conceptualizations of the soul, the will, the mind/body dichotomy, and their relationship with the emotions.

The broad range of source material that will be examined consists of (a) the published and unpublished material of the official religious institutions (the circulars and minutes of the sessions of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece and of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, collection of ecclesiastical texts commented and published by the monks of Mount Athos, ecclesiastical periodicals); (b) the sources of the nonofficial religious institutions, that is, movements and brotherhoods (texts written by the religious movement leaders, periodicals); (c) sources that might offer insights into the popular conceptualizations of piety and the moral imagination in the urban populations that are under scrutiny (accounts of the celebrations of orthodox feasts and the feasts of local saints; the popular publications about the lives of the Christian saints, novels, memoirs, autobiographies, etc.); and (d) literature on child and adult education, focusing on moral emotions and moral behavior (speeches and texts of school directors, teachers and other experts, and ethical guides).

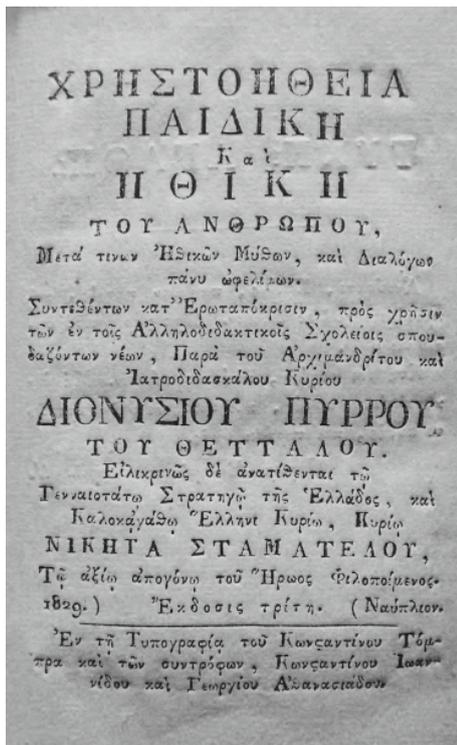


Figure 10. Book cover of Dionysios Pyrrhos' book entitled *Morality in Childhood and the Ethics of Man* (Nafplion, 1829).

### Homosexuality and Emotional Life in Rural West Germany (1960–1990)

"In DER zeit war's 'ne STRAFE (.) so zu sein. (.) und heute, heute ist es 'ne FREUDE"—"in THOSE days it was a PUNISHMENT (.) to be like that. (.) and today, today it's a PLEASURE" (Ms. Jäger, interview 2, sequence 558).

This is how one interviewee describes the fundamental shift in perceptions regarding same-sex desire that occurred between 1970 and 2010. The research project questions how emotional patterns and practices amongst men-loving men and women-loving women changed during this process.

The analysis draws chiefly on two kinds of sources: gay and lesbian magazines from 1960 to 1990 and oral history interviews with 15 women and 17 men, born between 1935 and 1970. These conversations have been recorded and transcribed over the past 2 years. About one third of them so far has also been summarized and coded. For this purpose, the data are processed in ATLAS.ti which allows for thematic indexing and facilitates the search for narrative and argumentative patterns. The first findings have already been discussed with colleagues from the field of queer studies (Antwerp, March 2010) and with fellow oral historians (Prague, July 2010). From the analysis, three distinct generational types have emerged: the homophile (born around 1940), the movement (born in the 1950s), and the lifestyle (born in the late 1960s) generation. In addition to the onset of the gay and feminist movements in the 1970s, further developments were crucial for this typology: the flourishing of new gay and lesbian media, the fundamental shift in gender relations and the collapse after 1970 of up to then stable social milieus as well as the spread of HIV and the upsurge in therapeutic and esoteric technologies of the self after 1980.

Two emotional shifts have been identified so far. Firstly, journals and life narratives show that falling-in-love stories marked by suddenness and immediacy were replaced by detailed narrations elaborately recounting how and why a relationship started. The older pattern was closely linked to the fact that only limited and unsafe spaces were available for the dis-

play of same-sex desire before 1970; the latter pattern emerged through the new niches for practicing same-sex intimacy carved by the gay and lesbian communities. Secondly, while younger interviewees put their partnerships center stage when they talk about feelings, older respondents accord equal emotional relevance to a variety of topics, ranging from family across to spirituality and feminism (see Figure 12, where the thickness of the linking lines indicates the larger or smaller number of certain topics co-occurring within the interviews). This finding corresponds with the wider notion of "love" used by women from the movement generation as well as with the distinction between "love," and sexual encounters prevalent among homophile men. In contrast, when members of the lifestyle generation speak about "love," they mostly refer to partnerships that combine emotional and sexual elements. These observations indicate how changes in the social and cultural perceptions of same-sex desire and diverging homosexual identity formations shaped historically specific emotional patterns and practices, a correlation that the project will explore further.

### Researcher

Benno Gammerl

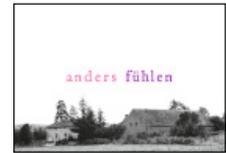


Figure 11. Logo of the project "anders fühlen."

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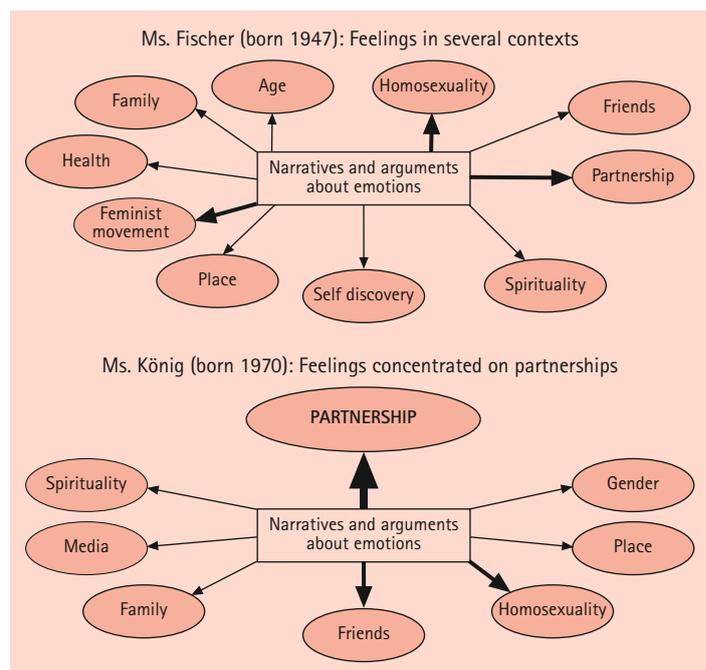


Figure 12. Thematic contexts of feeling sequences in two interviews.

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Researcher  
Uffa Jensen

### Curing Emotions: A Transnational History of Psychoanalysis in Berlin, London, and Calcutta (1910–1940)

In many different societies of the early 20th century, psychoanalytical knowledge shaped the way in which people discussed, understood, and experienced emotions. Therapeutic cultures, at first established only in various metropolitan settings, created new ways of treating emotions as part of curing mental disorders. At the same time, these therapeutic cultures spread psychoanalytical knowledge beyond the clinical sphere. Popular psychoanalysis generated new discourses on emotions in the general society. Here, the management and control of emotions was propagated and advanced for individual use in everyday-life situations. The project examines these developments in Berlin, London, and Calcutta. While the first full-fledged formation of a therapeutic culture with a substantial popular appeal emerged in Berlin (i. e., apart from Vienna), London was decisive for the transformation and translation of psychoanalytical knowledge into an English-speaking cultural and linguistic context. Calcutta was the first non-Western branch of the psychoanalytical movement and also the site of a comprehensive therapeutic culture where psychoanalysis was surprisingly popular. In all three cities, lively theoretical debates about psychoanalytical concepts and their relevance took place among local psychoanalysts, psychologists, psychiatrists, and medical

and other specialists. Moreover, these debates were closely related to therapeutic practices in hospitals, institutes, and private clinics, which were founded (more or less) specifically for psychoanalytical treatment in the three cities. Finally, a popularized form of psychoanalysis was disseminated to the reading and listening public of these metropolitan centers. Emotions increasingly became the subject of theoretical debates. They featured significantly as part of the symptoms of mental disorders and thus shaped the therapeutic activities. Lastly, they were a major topic in the popularization efforts. The

project will examine these different levels using a broad variety of German, English, and Bengali sources: Discursive sources (theoretical discussions among psychoanalysts as well as popularization material, like books, pamphlets, journal and newspaper articles, etc.), institutional records (i. e., from various associations, institutes, hospitals, etc.), as well as private papers (letters, diaries, memoirs, etc.), revealing, in particular, individual patterns of acquisition and usage of this knowledge. Psychoanalytical knowledge was adapted to the different urban settings and thus changed through these processes. In the resulting dissimilar *psychoanalyses*, emotions functioned as a marker of difference because they depended heavily on culturally different assumptions regarding selfhood and culture. At the same time, however, psychoanalysis also created a traveling culture. The internationalization of the psychoanalytical movement enabled the exchange of theoretical knowledge, therapeutic practices, and popularization efforts, as well as mobility among the practicing psychoanalysts themselves. A transnational debate emerged concerning those cultural differences which had become visible through the adaption of psychoanalytical knowledge. Thus, psychoanalysis became an important transnational mode to compare different notions of selfhood and culture. Here, the role of emotions is still open to debate: Did emotions function exclusively as markers of difference between various cultural settings? Or did psychoanalysis also create a transnational mode of experiencing and thinking about emotions?



Figure 13. Lumbini Park Mental Hospital.

Source. Anonym. Lumbini Park Silver Jubilee. Kalkutta (1966).



Figure 14. Consultation room in the psychoanalytical clinic in Berlin.

Source. Brecht, K. et al. (Eds.). (1985). *„Hier geht das Leben auf eine sehr merkwürdige Weise weiter...“: Zur Geschichte der Psychoanalyse in Deutschland*. Hamburg: Kellner, p. 47.

## Emotion and Knowledge in Medical Films (1910–1990)

Having started in April 2010, this project will show why and how emotions were used to communicate knowledge on the body in educational and medical films.

Already by the end of the 19th century, medical sciences were using the medium of film as a research instrument, which allowed new insights into the body. Additionally, the potential of this new technique was used for the transfer of knowledge to a broader audience. Especially in Europe and the United States, a large number of medical films was produced to inform the public about diseases, such as tuberculosis, cancer, and syphilis. Alongside many differences, we find strongly comparable developments and manifold transfers in the history of medical films in Germany, France, and the United States. Especially within these countries, the practice of a circulation of specific medical films was very lively; these films oscillated between global demands and national/local viewing habits. The project's starting point for a strong transnational perspective is the German developments. Within the research period from the beginning of the 20th century till the 1980s, these films changed in their form of narration, picture aesthetics, and dramaturgy to communicate knowledge on the body in an emotionally appealing way. The project will focus on films which deal with sexually transmitted diseases primarily, as films on contagious diseases turn out to be an experiment space for film developments offering stories on "sex and crime." Moreover, these films appear from the very beginning of film production: from French syphilis films for the armed forces, gonorrhea films in the Weimar period, American tripper films, to GDR Aids films in the 1980s.

Overall, the project works on three levels:

*(1) Narrating Emotions:* Firstly, it analyzes the relationship of emotions and knowledge in the discourse on the potential of these films. Since its invention, the value of cinematography for medicine has been widely discussed. Within the scientific context, it was regarded as a tool for objectification with a de-emotionalizing effect. On a similar euphoric

level, but with contrary results, its potential as a technique to mediate knowledge to the public was discussed across professional boundaries. Directors, physicians, lecturers, and others sought to improve society and public hygiene through the popularization of medicine and films. They envisioned health education films as health issues with the use of spatially invasive (reaching everybody everywhere) mobile projectors and as a powerful tool to influence the psyche which leads to a change in behavior.

*(2) Filming Emotions:* Secondly, the project will explore practices of "emotionalizing knowledge" in films by focusing on which techniques are used to mediate knowledge of the body, and which role emotions play in doing so. Thus, specific techniques of visualization (such as microscopic views, statistics, diagrams, clinical pictures) and specific techniques of exposure (such as montage, close-ups, fast/slow motion, use of fictional scenes) will be analyzed regarding their emotional impact. Special attention will be paid to films which were circulated (with or without alterations) in different countries to research the transnational impact of specific emotions.

*(3) Controlling Emotions:* Thirdly, the project will analyze how and why instruments designed to control the emotions evoked by films were developed in the 1910s and became commonplace throughout the research focus period. In that context, the institutionalizing of censorship which represents an attempt by the state to control the emotions and fantasies engendered by these films is of great interest. Further control techniques to explore are scientific audience research projects which tried to measure the emotional effects of films on audiences in experimental settings.

## Researcher

Anja Laukötter

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Figure 15. German "Hygiene Car" for Film Projection in Rural Regions (1951).

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## Researcher

Stephanie Olsen

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## Emotional Manhood: Adolescence, Informal Education, and the Male Citizen in Britain, 1880–1914

The mass voluntarism of 1914 in Britain has been understood as an acute outpouring of the prevailing jingoistic and militaristic currents of the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, combined with an unrealistic optimism about the likely duration of the war. This established interpretation has allowed other explanatory factors for why so many young men rushed to the call to arms to go overlooked or remain underexplored. A major focus of the project is to reinterpret the events of 1914 according to widely felt emotions related to moral and domestic duty (of loyalty to family) through a sense of character and temperance defined in Christian terms. These, in turn, were related to religious outpourings of emotion.

Appeals to emotion and the shaping of "correct" emotional responses on these important issues were key to the shaping of the next generation of men. This *informal* moral and emotional education was carried out through the medium of popular culture and youth organizations. The project ties the historical

study of emotions with an examination of some of the fundamentals of society and the individual's place in it: family, religion, and citizenship. The definition of citizenship here represents the historical multivalence of the term, including its emotional resonance. Crucially, it was associated with future fatherhood: Good heads of families would be good citizens. In addition, the project examines how the increasing professionalization of disciplines related to childhood—education, social work, and

especially psychology—changed the nature of informal education for boys and impacted popular conceptions of boyhood and adolescence.

The major sources for the project arise out of a variety of religious organizations that focused on the temperate and manly upbringing of boys, from the Religious Tract Society, to the Church of England Temperance Society, and the Band of Hope. My work also establishes ideological similarities between these groups and for-profit publishers, such as the Amalgamated Press, all of which promoted their ideas through the youth groups they organized and perhaps, even more pervasively, through the written word. Results so far reveal consensus amongst the publishers of juvenile literature that children (especially boys) of all areas and social backgrounds were being failed by the various institutions of formal education (be they the elite public schools or the new schools springing up since the Education Act of 1870) and that certain moral imperatives were being inadequately met by the nation's parents. Stressing the continuity of religious influence in the everyday experience of children throughout the late Victorian and Edwardian period, I have charted the agreement established between disparate groups on the importance of disseminating Christian values for the task of raising the nation's boys into manly domesticated men and good fathers. This emphasis on family life is crucial, since it broadens the current historiographical focus on the imperial connotations of elite education and the supposed middle class "flight from domesticity." By showing that masculinity was not only about patriarchal or imperial outlooks, but also about emotional attachment and loyalty to family, the work explicates the meaning of fatherhood in the period, stressing the continuing importance and validation of men as fathers and of the boy "as father to the man." This, in turn, is used to explain what appeared at face value merely to be a mass outpouring of militaristic fervor in 1914 that can alternatively be seen as an emotional outpouring based on association to family, to community, and often to Christian cultural continuity (even in a so-called secularizing society).



Figure 16. Savile Lumley, Parliamentary Recruiting Committee Poster, London, 1915.

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### Hindi Advisory Literature in Late Colonial India

Taking a peak at the bookshelf of an average middle-class household in today's India, one is more likely to find books on how to become successful in business, win friends, or develop self-confidence, than novels or even poetry. The research project traces the beginnings of advisory literature in India that developed in the second half of the 19th century up to its blossoming in the 1930s and 1940s. This was a period of heightened literary activity for Hindi, which became the medium of discussion concerning cultural, moral, and religious issues, along with a language movement that resulted in Hindi becoming the national language of independent India. Reformers, literati, and laypeople wrote advisory literature in all kinds of shapes and sizes: etiquette books, domestic advice manuals, religious tracts, and instructive schoolbooks on moral education.

By analyzing these normative works and the circumstances of their creation, the research project traces processes of community formation following the lines of norms and regulations for feeling and the expression of emotions. Reading Hindi advice manuals as a cultural phenomenon shows the creation of an emotional landscape along the lines of culture, religion, and questions of national identity. The "westernized" school system came under harsh criticism due to fear that this kind of education—and the modernization it promoted—would corrupt the values and norms of Indian society. At the same time, translations and adaptations of British self-help books became increasingly popular, and advice books in Hindi frequently cite current psychological research along with ancient texts of Hinduism in order to legitimize their authority. The authors of these books not only hoped to reform their readers through practical advice on matters of daily behavior and conduct but also aimed at offering them an education of the heart. Tracing emotions and looking at how they matter, for the individual as well as for society as a whole, casts a new angle on historical research.

The qualitative content analysis of the sources accounts for different levels:

- Normative rules and regulations for feelings and their expression; relating, for example, to the gendering of emotions in the sphere of domestic love but also on a broader societal level, such as discussions on greed, anger, and fear in business and interpersonal contacts.
- The conceptualization of emotions in the body as well as the need for emotional control and equilibrium, such as the idea of *brahmacharya*, that is, abstinence from (sexual) passions.
- Legitimizing of emotional rules by nationalist, religious, or scientific authority.

All these aspects figure prominently in the primary sources that have mainly been collected from Indian libraries. Additional archival material, such as reports by the British Government and contemporary literature has been accessed in the British Library (funded through a grant by the German Historical Institute, London).

The first results of the ongoing research project were presented as papers at the European Conference of Modern South Asian Studies (July 2010, Bonn) and the interdisciplinary Conference "Bildung der Gefühle" (December 2010, Berlin), as well as on several internal and external workshops.

Researcher  
Monika Freier



Figure 17. Detail from an old Hindi typewriter.

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Figure 18. Reading room of the Arya Bhasha Pustakalay (Library), Benares, with portraits of famous Hindi writers and social reformers.

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Researcher  
Mohammed Sajjad

### Loving the Master? The Debate on Appropriate Emotions in North India ca. 1750 to 1830

The project explores the emotions underlying the love relationship between the Sufi master and his disciples in Islamic mysticism during the transition period from the 18th to the 19th century. During this period, the reformist scholars and the Sufis debated the nature of this relationship as well as related emotions and customary Sufi practices. The project focuses on the conceptualization of emotions and formulation of emotional rules, reception of the classical Sufi texts, and contestations over key concepts of emotions.

So far, two conference papers have been presented: *Concept of the Soul: Sufi Scholars in North India, late 18th to early 19th Centuries* (London), and *Purifying the Soul: Conceptualizing Emotions by Indian Sufis* (Bonn). In Bonn, the researcher also coconvened a panel on *Sufism and the History of Emotions*.

Unlike the Western concepts of emotions, the sources indicate that emotions are conceptualized as states of the heart or the soul.

There is no umbrella term to describe emotions. They are discussed under the rubrics of passions, desires, moral qualities, attributes, mystical experiences and states in the contexts of divine love, purification of the soul, refinement of moral qualities, and musical audition. Emotions are generated through the interaction of the heart, soul, spirit, and intellect. According to the Sufi scholars of this period, the faculties of emotions are given, but they can be refined and controlled both

by individuals and by socialization or imitation in the Sufi hospices and in society. The disciples are supposed to follow certain norms for the cultivation of positive emo-

tions and suppression of the negative ones. The findings of these two papers have been crystallized in an article, ready for publication. Two additional conference papers have been presented: *The Master-Disciple Relationship in Indian Sufism* and *Allegiance to the Master: Conceptualizing Spiritual Authority* in Berlin and Oslo, respectively. The sources reveal that the disciples are required to cultivate love for the master to tread the spiritual path to God, but love is a contested concept. This contestation reflects the ideological background of the Sufi scholars and the sociopolitical situation of the time. Shah Isma'il, a reformist scholar, describes two types of love: love of the soul and love of the intellect. His description falls in line with the program of his movement which aimed at socioreligious reform and political activism. Hence, he prescribes emotional rules, which, unlike those of other Sufis, were based upon his evaluation of contemporary sociopolitical concerns. However, he was opposed by other Sufi scholars. The sources also reveal how the Sufis and scholars appropriated the concept of the oath of allegiance a disciple pledges to his master in the context of the transition period.

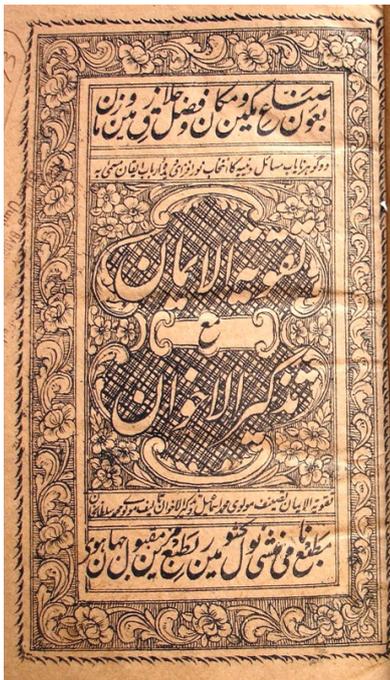


Figure 19. A reformist tract by Shah Muhammad Isma'il (d. 1831) of Delhi. It deals with issues, such as monotheism, polytheism, intercession and customs, and Sufi rituals which are deemed as un-Islamic.

Source. Title page of *Taqwiyatul Iman wa Tadhkirul Ikhwan* (Strengthening the Faith and Admonishing the Brethren) published in 1876.

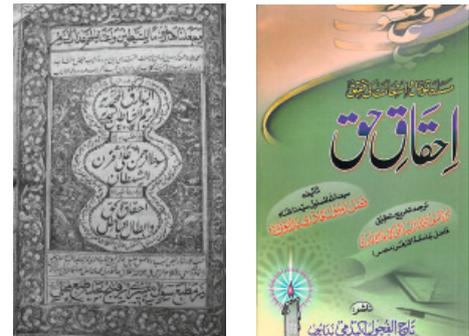


Figure 20. These two counter-reformist tracts by Shah Fazle Rasool Badayun (d. 1872), criticize many of the arguments of the reformists and deal with monotheism, polytheism, and intercessionary roles of the saints and the prophets.

Source. (left) Old Title page of *Ihqaq al Haqq wa Ibtal al Baatil* (Verifying the Right and Falsifying the Wrong) published along with *Al-Bawariq Al-Muhammadiyah Li Rajm al-Shayatin al Najdiyya/Saut al Rahman 'Ala Qarn al Shaytan* (The Mohammadan Lightening for the Stoning of the Satans of Najd/Divine Scourge on the Horn of the Satans [Persian] ca. 1848). (right) New Title Page of *Ihqaq al Haqq wa Ibtal al Baatil* (Urdu), by Shah Fazle Rasool of Badayun, published in 2007.

### History of Education as History of Emotions: The Pedagogic Eros in the 20th Century

This research project—originally planned as a dissertation—aimed to develop a more thorough understanding of pedagogic Eros focusing on four historical and systematic levels:

(1) In the course of the 20th century, scientific discourses show a tendency to displace pedagogic Eros from educational theories. Contrary to the progressive educational movement, the advocates of liberal arts' pedagogy denied its legitimacy because the subjective and emotional nature of such an educational relationship would adversely affect pedagogical principles of justice and equal opportunities, subvert pedagogical professionalism, and risk the pupils' eroticization. Eros should only stand for the teacher's professional enthusiasm and commitment. In the 1960s and 1970s, pedagogic journals reintroduced the topic following the psychoanalytical theory and refused resistance against and tabooing of physicality, eroticism, and sexuality in educational situations. Emotions should not be suppressed, but controlled in a responsible manner because otherwise the longing for love would change into aggression and perversion. How to deal consciously with the individual and emotional experience remains vague due to the uncertainty regarding the concept of pedagogic Eros and its particularity as well as the unconsidered discrepancy in the wishes of educators and pupils.

(2) Amazingly enough, guidebooks hardly cover the problem. Pedagogic Eros is dealt with under headwords, such as "teacher's personality" or "favorite pupil." In accordance with the liberal arts' pedagogy, the authors require teachers to subordinate their emotions to the overall pedagogical concern or to transfer them to all pupils. Thus, the exclusiveness of a sensual educational relationship is supposed to be revoked in favor of teaching which serves the whole class and will be experienced in a positive way. It is remarkable that rather the elitist nature of such a relationship than the danger of sexual abuse seems to require the "emotional conversion" of teachers.

(3) The analysis of the topic in fiction books and films opens an insight into the emotional

world of sensual pedagogical relationships and illuminates how protagonists deal with norms, taboos, and conflicts. Most of them were published during the heyday of pedagogic Eros (1900–1930), when the educator "inspired" by Eros stood out among his colleagues. Emotional receptiveness and competency as well as sensitive contact to the pupils render them charismatic but also outsiders and failed personalities. The (successful or failed) use of pedagogic Eros was said to pose a threat and demands on the professional role of teachers, influencing, at the same time, their personality as well as leaving indelible marks on the pupils.

(4) Due to the particular characteristics and tabooing of the topic, it is difficult to grasp its reality in the sources. We only find single examples of particular cases, for example, in some letters from Eduard Spranger. A more promising corpus of sources is the archive of the Odenwaldschule containing letters from male and female pupils to Paul Geheeb, the founder of this reform school. Geheeb, who, in contrast to Gustav Wyneken, was not an advocate of pedagogic Eros, seems to have established a deeply emotional relationship to some of his pupils. Many addressed him in an impassioned, affectionate, and loving way, with personal confessions and questions concerning the meaning of life.

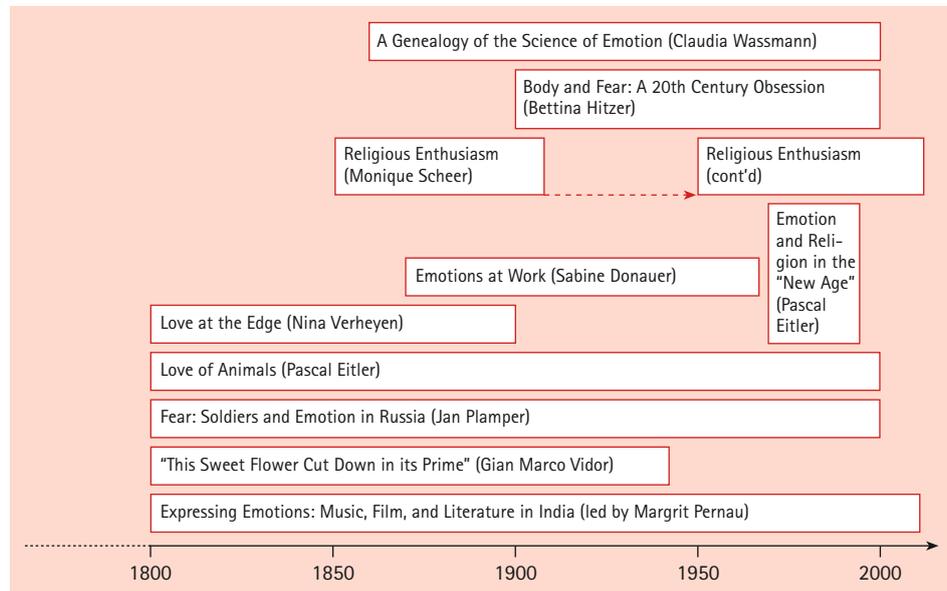
Researcher  
*Franziska Timm*



Figure 21. Herta Thiele and Dorothea Wieck in the film "Mädchen in Uniform" (1931)

Source. Deutsche Film-Gesellschaft.

## Research Area: Emotion and the Body



The language of the body—especially facial expressions and gestures—is of particular significance when it comes to identifying and deciphering emotions. This language has a biological-physiological substrate, but is very much characterized by social conventions and cultural knowledge formations. How people understand the relationship between body and soul, whether they speak of the heart and mind or of motor programs and their cortical representations, influences the manner in which emotions are felt and expressed. It bears an impact on body practices that evoke or temper emotions. The projects analyze such practices and the relevant background knowledge within various religious, aesthetic, medical, and military contexts.

### Project led by Margrit Pernau

#### Expressing Emotions: Music, Film, and Literature in India

At present, this project is being covered by visiting researchers who work in close collaboration not only with the India group but also with European researchers investigating similar topics.

Dr. Shweta Sachdeva (Delhi University) was awarded a Max Planck Junior Research Fellowship in 2009 for her project "Historicizing Pleasure in Musical Cultures in Early Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century India." In this project, she aims to study the relationship between music and emotions linked to pleasure, love, and sexuality, following up her PhD dissertation on the history of "Courtesans, Nautch Girls, and Celebrity Entertainers in India 1720–1920." Engaging with the wide-ranging arena of popular music, her current project aims to interpret how people defined and understood pleasurable emotions

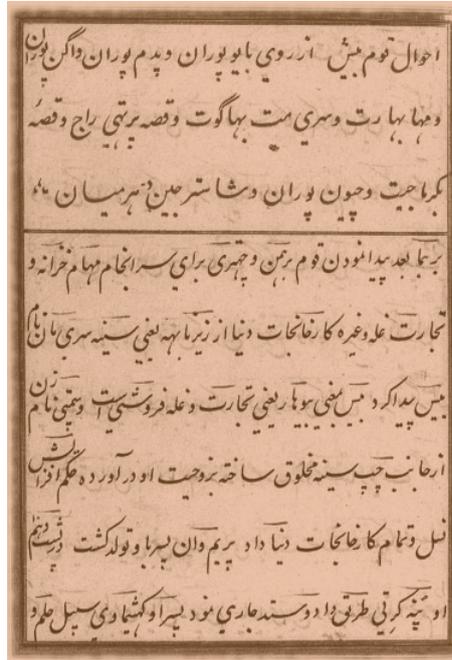
after the early 19th century. What were the emotions that accompanied the production of music for performers? Which emotions were allowed and which were prohibited? What did the audience feel when they listened to music? Dr. Sachdeva worked at the Institute as a visiting researcher from June 1 until 30, 2010.

Professor Sunil Sharma (Boston University) is a specialist on Persian literature in the Indian subcontinent. He has published a number of studies on the *shahr ashob*, a genre which laments the destruction of a city and which contains a detailed description of the city's inhabitants, classified according to their professions and class. During his stay at the Institute, from May 1 until 31, 2010, Professor Sharma worked on a Persian text from the early 19th century, the *Tashrīh ul Aqwām* written by Col. James Skinner, which forms an interesting link between the older descriptions and the



Figure 22. Persian manuscript Tashrīh ul Aqwām.

Source. Col. James Skinner (1824), Tashrīh ul Aqwām.



colonial gazettes which became common in the 19th century. Professor Rochona Majumdar (University of Chicago), who visited the Institute from June 15 until July 10, 2009, is working on the project "Art, Politics and Mass Affect in a Forgotten Era: Indian Cinema 1931–45." The project focuses on the introduction of the "talkies" in India, which turned cinema, more than ever before, into an object of mass consumption. To succeed as a mass commodity, films not only needed to develop a mass aesthetic but also to relate to the rhetoric, emotions, and passions through which the nationalist movement was bringing into existence a political and social entity called "the masses"; until the present day, in India, films are one of the most important media binding the nation into an emotional community.

Professor Choudhri Mohammed Naim (University of Chicago) is one of the most distinguished scholars of Urdu literature. He has recently started a project examining the use of the concepts of *tahzib* and *tamadun*, both roughly to be translated as civility, in Urdu literature. During his stay at the Institute, from November 1 until 20, 2011, he focused on a

new aspect: While civility is usually thought to conform to rules laid down in religious law and ethical manuals, his research focused on attempts to overcome this conformity to the extent of turning nonconformity and the fostering of individuality into an essential aspect of civilized behavior.



Figure 23. Group meeting with Professor Choudhri Mohammed Naim.

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## Researcher

Pascal Eitler

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## Love of Animals: On the Emotionalizing of Human–Animal Relationships in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Nowadays, especially in most Western European and North American societies, it is taken for granted that animals have emotions. At least "higher" animals, so we are taught, can feel love and joy or pain and fear, and, because of this reason, these animals are considered worth to be protected against cruelty. This project explores the ambivalent history of how this emotionalizing of human–animal relationships developed during the 19th and 20th centuries. Moving from the individual to the social sphere, this phenomenon has attracted high public interest with important consequences on large numbers of animals and humans. In this context, the project focuses on the dynamic developments in Germany between ca. 1850 and ca. 2000 in comparison with the (to some degree much better researched) developments in Great Britain, the United States, and France. The goal is to historicize this phenomenon and to place it within a social context, posing questions concerning the changing cultural



Figure 24. "What have I done to deserve this?" Compassion: The "most human" emotion?

Source. Bund gegen den Missbrauch der Tiere, around 1950.

conditions and political ramifications of the love of animals. In this manner, the project tries to prevent a scientifically unproductive moralizing of human–animal relationships. What is much more important is that particular people had to first attribute particular emotions to particular animals, which could be disputed by other people.

As a first step, the aim was to show why the history of human–animal relationships is important for the history of emotions. It has been shown how manifold changing differentiations between humans and animals were involved in the common knowledge about emotions, in the life sciences as much as in popular encyclopaedias or within the animal welfare movement that emerged between the mid- and the late 19th century. The idea that animals have emotions became the basis for further reflections about human emotions and their "origins" within the animal body. Against this background, the project reconstructs the manner in which emotionalizing human–animal relationships worked differently in three fields which mostly shaped this process from the 19th to the 20th century: the field of vivisections and laboratory animals, the field of family and family animals, and the field of presenting or representing animals in the zoological garden or the zoological museum. Meanwhile, the research on the love of animals, with the focus on laboratory animals, is almost complete.

Especially as far as family and family animals are concerned, we know very little about how and for which reasons people, in the first line children, have learned to differentiate between "pests" and "pets," animals to fear or to take care of, animals to kill, and animals to love. Which specific emotions did children have to feel and to display and for which animals? The first studies show clearly that pedagogical advice literature and children's books allow for a fascinating reconstruction of this part of the emotionalizing process: During the second half of the 19th century, this process also moved increasingly from the private sphere into the public arena. On this question, as well as on other ones, this project treads on groundbreaking scientific territory considering the gaps in the current

state of research. What has been available until now is a wide range of philosophical interpretations, but hardly any empirical research on the emotionalizing of human-animal relationships from a historical perspective, combining different groups of sources, such as periodicals of the animal-protection movement, advice literature, scientific compendiums, and conversation lexicons, as well as selected newspapers, novels, pictures, and films.

### Emotion and Religion in the "New Age" (West Germany 1970–1990)

Sociologists and historians of religion very often assume that the experience of strong emotions is constitutive for religions and religious experiences per se. Against this background, especially the so-called "New Age" of the 1970s and 1980s is normally perceived as a very emotional religious community or discourse. In fact, the role of emotions within the "New Age" was much bigger than it was within the more well-established Christian churches of this time.

This project tries to show that the link between religion and emotion is not a quasi natural but a historical phenomenon. Before religious emotions can be felt and taken for granted, so the hypothesis, they have to be produced, learned, and incorporated under very different cultural conditions and in many different ways. In this context, the aim is to point out the important role of the history of the body for the history of the emotions. The "New Age" is a very suitable topic to highlight this correlation because most of its devotees were quite aware of the fact that the desired emotions had to be trained and observed for a long time. They thought and they taught that this emotionalizing of religion and the "self" is hard work, hard work on the emotional "self," which very often needs the help and advice of a special teacher, over weekend seminars, or on the compulsory "trip" to Asia: emotions needed experiences. Especially men, who had been taught—as one influential master narrative suggests—for hundreds of years not to show or "live" their feelings, were expected to elaborate on their emotional states, to talk about and to share

their pain and fear. This was the context for hundreds of male "self-help groups" which emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. In this context, this emotionalizing of religion was deeply embedded within the gender struggle after "1968." The so-called "new man" of this time was first and last an emotional man. Thus, this project gives a major account of the strategies and techniques—the techniques of the body—through which people were trying to produce and to enhance emotions within themselves or within other devotees of the "New Age," for example, in the case of meditation methods, yoga, so-called "biofeedback therapies" or new concepts and practices of group experiences. Here, the "New Age" played an important role for the development of a therapeutic movement which constructed and promoted "real" and "deep" feelings as collective and shared feelings. With a focus on the dynamic developments in West Germany during the 1970s and 1980s, the project contextualizes these strategies and techniques within the "alternative milieu" after 1968. Against this background, the project can show that emotions in the "New Age" had not only a religious but also a political dimension. For the "alternative milieu," it was very typical not to differentiate between politics and religion because the goal was to form an emotional "self" beyond such traditional dichotomies. In this frame, combining different groups of sources, such as advice literature, esoteric magazines, political pamphlets, and scientific commentaries, as well as selected newspapers, novels, and films, the project tries to give a new perspective on emotionalizing processes in West German contemporary history, an area which has not yet been thoroughly investigated.

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Figure 25. Shared feelings: Group therapy within the "New Age."

Source. The New-Age Journal "Esoteria," 1970th.

**Researcher**  
*Bettina Hitzer*

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Figure 26. Poster, Anti-Cancer Campaign.

Source. Touring exhibition "Fighting Cancer," around 1931.

**Body and Fear: A 20th-Century Obsession**

Who is not afraid of diseases? Fear of diseases seems to be something quite natural, not subject to historical change. But the way in which fear of diseases has, or could be told, judged, managed or used has changed dramatically over time. Focusing on cancer and aging, the research project investigates the relationship between feelings and notions of fear, bodily practices, health politics, health insurance, and medical as well as pharmaceutical research from roughly the 1920s to the late 1980s. The focus is on Germany, taking transnational discussions and cooperations into account. The research draws on a broad range of sources, such as selected newspapers, autobiographies, novels, films, exhibitions, public health and medical periodicals, as well as archive material from health authorities and insurance and pharmaceutical companies.

The project explores three main aspects:

- (1) How and when would people talk of cancer and aging? What notions of fear, if at all, were related and could be discerned?
- (2) How could one explain these changing patterns of "fear talk"? What part has

to be assigned to altered notions of the self and the body, to the ever-increasing significance of the idea of prevention, to shifting medical, psychological, and social assessments of anxiety?

- (3) How did these shifting notions of fear affect decision making in politics, medicine, and the economy?

The results to date testify to the enormous complexity and ambiguity of fear-related cycles closely intertwined with questions of responsibility, blame, and meaning. This seems to be especially true when it comes to cancer. A short outline may illustrate some aspects of the far more detailed findings: Since the beginning of the 20th century, first early detection campaigns discussed the crucial importance of a kind of balanced "cancer anxiety" for persuading people to constantly check their bodies. During the 1930s, detection efforts were intensified, but body-related anxiety was judged very differently. By portraying a machine-like body, national socialist health campaigns tried to de-emotionalize cancer detection and to counterbalance anxieties by offering easily accessible detection procedures. Still, they tried to exploit fears related to the responsibility (of parents) and liability to the "Volksgemeinschaft." In the 1950s, the negative assessment of cancer fears was sharpened to the point of inventing a "cancer psychosis." Thus, media and doctors alike agreed more or less upon keeping silent about cancer as a way of counteracting a much feared cancer psychosis. In the late 1950s, severe criticism was voiced leading to a complete de-pathologizing of cancer fears. In the wake of a larger reevaluation of anxiety itself as well as a popularization of psychosomatic ideas, the corporeal aspects of cancer were increasingly replaced by a trend to depict cancer as a kind of emotional experience. The fear of getting cancer was, at this point, classified as a kind of healthy reaction to a "sick" environment and way of life, and, therefore, used as a tool for political action.

Somewhat different trends seem to be valid for conceptualizing and experiencing the process of aging which will be examined at the next stage of the research.



Figure 27. Poster, Anti-Cancer Campaign.

Source. Hamburg Association for fighting and researching cancer, around 1975.

## Fear: Soldiers and Emotion in Russia, 1800–2000

Using the example of Russia, the project first asks how soldiers were conditioned to cope with their fear, second how they did deal with their fear, and third how they themselves were treated when they could no longer cope and broke down with fear-induced symptoms. To this end, it employs a wide range of sources—from templates for the sermons of military priests to officer handbooks for the training of recruits, to military psychiatry and memoirs. While it looks back to 1812 and forward to the Chechen Wars, its focus is on the early 20th century, especially the Russo-Japanese and First World Wars.

The third question regarding soldiers who broke down with fear-induced symptoms has been the center of attention so far. A prize-winning coauthored article explores the comparative place of fear in French, German, and Russian medical theories of military “trauma” during the First World War. In these three countries, at least half a million soldiers were diagnosed with trauma—*émotion de la guerre, Kriegsneurose, travmaticheskii nevroz*. Fear played a key role in these disease constructs and the therapies used to cure them. Specifically, the article looks at pathogenesis (the importance accorded to fear in the descriptions of the origins of mental illness), masculinity (the relationship between fear and concepts of manhood), and spatiality (how soldierly fear correlated with specific places, such as the trenches or the home front). One of its conclusions is that the professional identity of the military psychiatric profession and its relationship to the state were critical factors in determining a national

military psychiatry’s conception of soldierly fear. French military psychiatrists were united by a strong esprit de corps and a belief in Republicanism and were thus less likely to attribute the causes of war-related mental illness to genetic or social predisposition, as, for example, in the concept of the lower-class “degenerate.” German psychiatrists were close to the Wilhelmine state and, hence, in a radical turn from previous scientific dogma in 1916, began emphasizing predisposition rather than the horrors of the war itself as the trigger for the disease—which absolved the Kaiserreich from paying veteran pensions to traumatized soldiers. Russian psychiatrists, by contrast, strongly identified with the peasant soldiers, whom they considered as lacking in political participation as they themselves. Nowhere was the gap between the state—embodied in the Tsarist autocracy—and the military psychiatric profession greater than in Russia and nowhere was psychiatric empathy for shell-shocked soldiers greater than in Russia.

A detailed research on fear in Russian military psychology showed how, for example, Tolstoi’s 1855 *Sevastopol Sketches* helped widen the boundaries of what could be written about soldierly fear and how General Dragomirov’s (Russia’s leading military theorist) writings during the 1870s and 1880s, already centered around the soldier’s fearful “psyche.” If at first military psychologists had conceptualized soldierly fear as a mere symptom, over the last decades of the 19th century, they began viewing it as a pathogen, causing a variety of diseases, including “male hysteria” and “traumatic neurosis.” The Russo-Japanese War produced more than 6,000 cases of traumatized soldiers, and the 1905 Revolution engendered even more fear talk—fear of social upheaval and chaos. As for the image of human nature that lay at the bottom of the etiology of fear-induced mental diseases, there were, in essence, two options: Either fear was a component of human nature or fear was unnatural. In 1911, an article identified two “doctrines” regarding soldierly fear—a “romantic” and a “realistic doctrine.” The former saw fear as an aberration from the norm of brave soldiers, while the latter assumed that all soldiers experience fear.

## Researcher

Jan Plamper

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Figure 28. Russian trauma patients, World War I.

Source. L. M. Pussep, *Travmaticheskii nevroz voennogo vremeni* (Petrograd, 1918), p. 79.

## Researcher

Monique Scheer

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## Religious Enthusiasm: Emotional Practices Among Revivalist Protestant Groups in the United States and Germany

The project on religious enthusiasm since the 19th century analyzes the relation between emotional norms and religious experience among those who cultivate highly emotional practices as well as those who are critical of them. The study combines anthropological and historical approaches. Fieldwork among charismatic Christians—known for the intensity of their emotional practices—and among mainline Protestants includes participant observation and narrative interviews focused on how Christians talk about emotions in relation to their religious practice. This information is situated in broader historical contexts through the examination of sources which discuss the same issues in the 19th century, including polemics against revivalist groups, apologetic writings defending the cultivation of intense emotional states in church, and first-person accounts that discuss religious experience in terms of emotions. Enthusiastic Protestantism in Germany in the past 150 years has been closely intertwined with that of the United States and England. This transnational network also plays into debates about emotional styles between different religious communities, and it remains visible today in charismatic churches.

One of the primary aims of this project is to theorize more fully the concept of emotional practices. Rather than viewing religious feelings as something "triggered" by religious practices, such as singing a hymn, murmuring a prayer, or listening to a sermon, it seeks to interpret empirical material based on the

idea that emotional styles are learned and practiced as a "technique of the body" (M. Mauss). Thus, the presentation of the results is organized around bodily practices and comportment rules in collective worship, the hearing and making of music and private communications with God. It also explores the role of language in shaping emotional experience.

The approach based on the notion that emotions are learned and cultivated, their expression practiced, at times "merely performed" and at others experienced as involuntary and spontaneous, conceptually unites cognitive and bodily knowledge, bridging the gap between discourse and experience. This approach emphasizes that cognitive and physical components of emotions are inextricably intertwined, that learning to name a feeling and learning to have it cannot be neatly separated. Thus, a study of emotions in religious practices must take discourses about emotions into account if it wants to understand what people are experiencing and why. Throughout this period, debates between "enthusiasts" and "anti-enthusiasts" are also debates about the status of emotions – where they come from and what they mean. It is important to understand these Protestant theories of the self and emotions because, among other reasons, they are deeply entangled with those developed in academic psychology in this period.

Beginning with the hypothesis that emotionalized Christian practice is based on the notion that emotion itself is a form of communication with the divine, it has become clear in the course of the study that this notion varies depending on how the self is theorized in a given system of thought. Mainline Protestants and charismatic Christians appear to have many more attitudes about emotions in common than originally hypothesized; it is in the bodily accomplishment of such shared values as "sincerity" that they differ.

The examination of the shifting currency of discourses and practices in different Protestant groups from the nineteenth century to the present day aims to historicize religious experience and to contribute to a broader history of emotional practices in Europe.



Figure 29. Jesus Culture youth conference in Redding, CA.

© www.flickr.com, ChasingFuries, 28.7.2006

### Love at the Edge: Fatherly Feelings in 19th-Century Ego Documents

Autobiographies are a common source for 19th-century European history. Very often written by middle-class males, autobiographies were a peculiar genre with specific rules regarding their content and style. Looking back upon a life spanning several decades, subjects reported in a loose chronological order the ideal rites of passage for the dynamic, modern Western masculine life: growing up, getting educated, finding a job, starting a family, achieving economic success and public recognition, slowing down and sitting down to write.

Authors insisted on telling the “truth and not fiction,” as Franz Lorinser, a theologian in Breslau, wrote in his memoir published in 1892. From the perspective of cultural history, though, the border between fictional and autobiographical writing was more blurred. Along narrative rules and social norms, middle-class males *constructed*, rather than documented, a meaningful life and a valuable self—a trait also applied to their description of emotions, often constructed *through*, rather than depicted in autobiographical texts. Seen more as a social practice than a mirror of real life, ego documents like autobiographies and letters or diaries, are therefore key to the history of emotions.

Against this background, the research project asked how German-speaking middle-class males constructed fatherhood and especially fatherly feelings in 19th-century ego documents. Was paternal love a topic at all? Did the topic change its shape and function through time? Where autobiographies are concerned, being a subtype of ego document aimed more specifically at

public audiences, paternal love was rarely mentioned. Still, the topic never vanished completely—certainly not around 1800, when the German middle classes longed for tender forms of masculinity and fatherhood; and neither ca. 1900, an era whose harsh and seemingly emotionless absent or distant fathers have often been described. However, there is evidence that paternal love as a topic of autobiographical writing substantially changed its form and function throughout the 19th century. If fatherly feelings were touched around 1800, they were often presented as a regular element of the masculine middle-class self. For example, episodes of paternal love were closely intertwined with descriptions of professional life. When at all mentioned 100 years later, paternal love was more often presented as an unusual experience that allowed the author to leave—and complement—the regular realm of his life for a brief moment. Fatherly feelings were still an important part of masculine identity, but pointing at its edge rather than its center.

**Researcher**  
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Figure 30. The tax inspector Alfred Ludwig Fröhnert with his son, Vienna 1907.

Source. Bestandsverzeichnis Sammlung Frauennachlässe. Zusammengestellt von Li Gerhalter, Institut für Geschichte an der Universität Wien, 2008, p. 207.

Researcher  
Gian Marco Vidor

### "This Sweet Flower Cut Down in its Prime." Emotions in the 19th- and 20th-Century Italian Cemeteries: The Case of Children's Graves

During the second half of the 19th century, two slow and interrelated processes started to affect the lives of predominantly upper-class children in urban Italian society: The transformation of the demographic conditions marked by a drop in child mortality rates and changes in cultural perceptions regarding children. Care, love, protection, control, education, and health became increasingly important for the upbringing of the offspring in aristocratic and bourgeois families. All these changes in children's lives, in which adults increasingly invested both emotionally and materially, were certain to have a deep impact in the way parents experienced and coped with the death of a child. Modern Italian cemeteries, that is, those established outside the city walls since the beginning of the 19th century, have preserved fragments that can shed light on these distressing events and the response they triggered. The way in which the space was arranged in cemeteries, the family graves, or the individual funerary monuments all bear traces revealing how upper-class parents dealt with the loss of a child. The project focuses on the impact that the age of the deceased child, the cultural and socioeconomic status of the family, the religious beliefs, and the cause of death, bore on the emotional dimension of this experience, the way the bereaved families



Figure 31. Cemetery of Lucca: Monument of Giuseppino Salani, 1885.

© Gian Marco Vidor

dealt with it, as well as the opportunities and manner of expressing the feelings triggered by the death.

The study of the 19th- and 20th-century funerary culture linked to the loss of a child in a European country is still a historiographical *terra incognita*, especially seen from the perspective of the history of emotions.

Six urban cemeteries in central and northern Italy have been chosen: Bologna, Florence, Livorno, Lucca, Padua, and Turin. Marked by numerous and well-preserved graves, these cemeteries have been surveyed and all visible funerary monuments for children dating from the beginning of the 19th century to 1940 have been photographically documented. For practical reasons of thematic scope, the Jewish sectors have not been taken into consideration, and the non-Catholic Christian ones will be considered only from a comparative point of view. The funerary monuments are analyzed based on both their iconographical and epigraphical components with the help of a database. Close scrutiny of these elements will offer the opportunity to partially understand what kind of emotions are depicted and in which manner, how their representation changes over time, and which impact the age and sex of the child bear. It is important to underline that the mere existence of monuments or tombstones dedicated specifically to children, with their particular emotional dimensions, seems to be linked to developments regarding the mortality rates of children and young adults: In the first half of the 19th century, they are rare and they become more common as we approach the end of the century marked by lower mortality rates. It seems that developing a deep relationship with a newborn or a young child was related to the child's chances of survival.

In order to access the past emotions inscribed on these numerous built and written artefacts, work with archival primary sources on the funerary culture concerning children and mourning parents is indispensable. Which ritual and spiritual guidelines and advice did the Catholic Church provide to families coping with the death of a child? Why is the figure of the Virgin Mary as *Mater Dolorosa*, archetype of the mother who lost a child and so popular in the Italian religious "landscape," absent in funerary monuments for children? What was the role of the cemetery in the bereavement of the parents? To what extent can the 19th-century necropolis be considered as a particular "emotional space"? These are some of the main questions on which the 2-year postdoctoral project will focus.

## A Genealogy of the Science of Emotion, 1860–2000

At the turn of the 21st century, the emotions have become one of the most vibrant fields of research in various disciplines. But what do we mean when we speak of "emotion"? From where does our language of emotion come? The research project zooms in on the grounding moment of our contemporary emotion terms: scientific psychology in the second half of the 19th century in central Europe. At that moment, lengthy treatises classified the emotions from a Spiritualist point of view. However some young aspiring scientists thought that the Spiritualists' take on the emotions was no longer satisfying. A natural scientific concept of emotion was needed and it was developed, at first on theoretical grounds. Experimental research was to follow only decades later.

The project traces the genealogy of our contemporary emotions terminology back to three contexts: in the mid-19th-century German physiological literature, its reception and transformation in French psychological writings, and the debate about "the nature of emotion" that revolved around William James' *Principles of Psychology* (1890). The implications of the reconfiguration of emotion in these three contexts are huge and reverberate throughout the entire 20th century, from experimental psychology, to the most recent research in neurosciences, the "emotional turn" in humanities, and the larger sociocultural everyday usage of the language of emotion. The project inquires into the origin and nature of emotion as an epistemic object both in academic psychology and in physiological research. It asks what kind of ascriptions about the emotions were made by scientists, that is, with regard to emotion and rationality, psychopathology, gender, race, children's emotions, and methods to study the emotions. How did scientific claims change over time? How did this affect our vernacular concepts of emotion and vice versa?

Research is being carried out on three levels:

- Firstly, on the level of scientific theory a top-down approach is favored allowing for primary sources to be considered. The focus is on the content of scientific theorizing

about emotion particularly in German and French sources that have received little attention so far.

- Secondly, the experimental practices deployed in the study of the emotions in psychology, pedagogy, and psychiatry are being analyzed within a comparative socio-cultural frame.
- Thirdly, the traffic of emotion terms between science and the vernacular is analyzed from a transnational perspective.

In a first part, this project has shown that emotions were given a crucial role in a new understanding of the brain function. However, in the process of the debate regarding the nature of emotion that took place during the 1890s, emotions became an unsolvable riddle to psychological research. Alfred G. Lehmann's gold medal winning monograph of 1892 on the main laws of human emotional life, marked a shortlived consensus. Behaviorism soon declared that emotions were useless and mere luxuries as far as their biological function for the organism was concerned. Yet, at the same time the emotions were securely anchored in the brain, thus becoming a prerogative of medical research. In psychology, the focus of research shifted to the social and the performative realms.

In a nutshell: This project examines how concepts of the emotions have shifted in disparate cultural realms, including psychology, medicine, and pedagogy since the mid-19th century, and considers theories, practices, and the vernacular that have shaped our contemporary understanding of the emotions. Sources are monographs, textbooks, and scientific journals in physiology and psychology as well as manuals on the emotions addressed to lay audiences in Germany, France, and the United States.

## Researcher

Claudia Wassmann

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Figure 32. Etching illustrating the physiognomy of the passions.

Source. Smith, R. (1997). *The Norton history of the human sciences*, plate 8. New York: W. W. Norton. Source of the image indicated in the book is the Wellcome Institute Library, London.

**Researcher**  
Sabine Donauer

The PhD project supervised by Ute Frevert and integrated in the Center's research program is part of the Cluster of Excellence "Languages of Emotion" (Free University Berlin).

### Emotions at Work—Working on Emotions, Germany 1870–1970

At the center of this project is the following observation: Within the process of industrialization, increased attention was given to the emotions of those who worked on large-scale production sites (*industrielle Erwerbsarbeit*). From the end of the 19th century onwards, new questions were being asked by social reformers, social scientists, physicians, and psychologists: Are workers satisfied with their work environment? Do they distrust their immediate supervisors? Do they feel their work is boring or do they even harbor disgust when it comes to highly partialized work on the assembly line? To what extent does their emotional engagement influence their "working curve"? How could "human relations" be improved to create a happy worker and a more productive work environment? Such questions were mainly triggered by two factors. First, strikes and social unrest posed a severe threat to a smoothly running economy. The danger of an outbreak of workers' resentment and "class hatred" would manifest itself with work stoppages and high levels of absenteeism. Second, especially scientists started to argue that production levels could be increased if companies managed to give their workers the feeling of being valued and supported.

This project assesses the role of science as crucial for both charging emotions in the workplace with new and powerful meanings and offering knowledge on how to deal with them. The emergence of entirely new

scientific fields revolved around how people behaved and felt at work: Occupational science (*Arbeitswissenschaft*), industrial and organizational psychology (*Arbeitspsychologie*), and industrial sociology (*Betriebssoziologie*) figure most prominently here. Furthermore, subdisciplines were developed within business studies, such as human resources management (*Personalwesen*). Against this backdrop, the following question sets are at the center of the project:

- (1) How do emotions become a research subject in the above named disciplines? How does the scientific interest in emotions relate to contemporary nonscientific (political, social) debates and issues in society?
- (2) How have these scientific fields conceptualized emotions over time? How should emotions be worked on according to their findings, that is, should they be controlled, counterbalanced, or dealt with in therapeutic talk?
- (3) Which media and agents translated scientific knowledge on emotions into industrial practices? Which training programs were used in companies to change emotional behavior?
- (4) How did the scientifically produced knowledge on emotions affect the perception, evaluation, and the expression of emotions in the workplace?

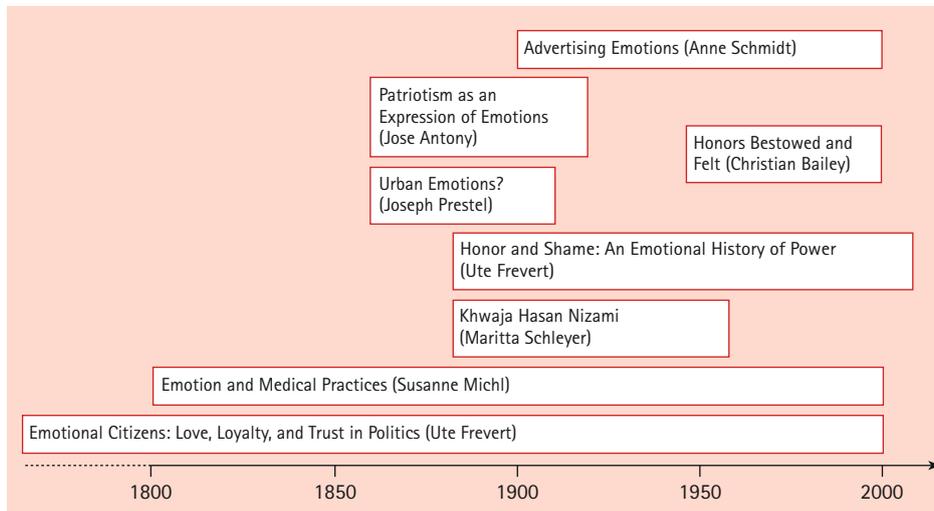
These questions will be answered by looking at a variety of sources, such as academic publications, companies' training manuals on interpersonal skills, popular scientific advice literature for employers and employees, as well as material from corporate archives. The project is based on the guiding hypothesis that the perception of, and dealing with, emotions in the workplace underwent a process of scientification (*Verwissenschaftlichung*) in the course of the 20th century. One effect of this process is that the working self became deeply psychologized, with the inner life perceived as an economic resource—the "human factor." This development carried with it an array of historically specific "technologies of the self" (Foucault) changing the emotional makeup of employers and employees alike.



Figure 33. Training workshop for machine fitters.

© Siemens Archive (SAA 8543; 1933)

## Research Area: Emotion and Power



The power of feelings is often invoked, but rarely examined in more detail. Furthermore, little do we know regarding the ways in which feelings are modeled by power structures and used by those in power. The projects with this research focus explore such interrelations and processes in topics from the fields of politics and business. Central emotional concepts of national and international policy (such as honor and disgrace/shame, or loyalty and trust) are investigated as well as the manner in which the carefully controlled and observed importance of feelings unfolded in the world of consumerism and advertising.

### Honor and Shame: An Emotional History of Power

Honor is back on the agenda. American protest movements campaign for “restoring honor” to a nation doomed to a seemingly dishonorable fate. The French President accuses the European Commission of “hurting the national emotions” by criticizing the French policy of deporting foreign citizens—another word for insulting the French honor. Migrants in Europe coming from North African and Middle Eastern cultural backgrounds force family members to defend their family honor and sanction those who allegedly have violated it.

Instances like these testify to the relevance of a research project that focuses on honor and shame during the long 20th century. Both are emotional concepts closely tied to premodern societies. According to Max Weber, the rise of capitalism and bureaucratic administration poses a critical challenge to practices and relations based on honor and shame. Economic interest rather than estate-bound notions of

honorable behavior seems to govern the modern world both on the national and international level and in personal relationships. The project seeks to test and refute Weber’s hypothesis by detecting and investigating practices of honor and shame in 20th-century Europe. It deliberately chooses those practices both from the realm of high politics and social behavior, suggesting that both worlds are intimately connected. Societies, so the argument goes, that do not acknowledge notions and practices of individual or family honor find it hard to come to terms with notions and practices of national honor.

Research carried out in 2009 and 2010 has concentrated mainly on two aspects:

- (1) the relationship between war, national honor, and honorable conduct; and
- (2) the impact of so-called male gender characteristics on notions and practices of honor.

As to the role of war, the ways in which countries during the First and Second World War treated those citizens who had not been

### Researcher

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born there but migrated to those countries later in their lives was examined. Even if they held legal citizenship, they were given a hard time, conforming to the demands of national honor and loyalty. Prejudices were strong both on the state level and in public discourse. Those prejudices were fuelled by fear as well as concepts of racial and national superiority. Practices of exclusion and shaming thus varied according to which social and ethnic groups were targeted as potential traitors and internal enemies.

Another way in which war shaped—and changed—notions and practices of honor has been studied with regard to international conflict and "critical moments" in which new world orders with new moral and emotional guidelines were perceived, projected, and realized. Modern wars during the 19th and 20th centuries had all been waged under the auspices of national honor; their outcomes, though, more often than not radically changed notions of honorable conduct. Europe, in particular, started (national as well as colonial) wars with clear ideas on who possessed honor and who had to be shamed. Still, in the aftermath of those wars, especially

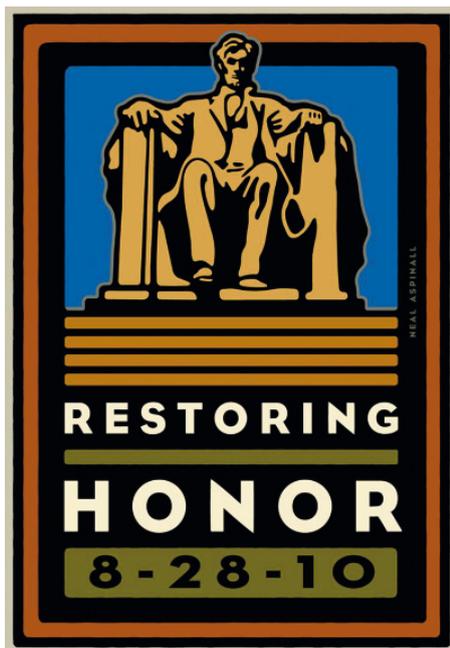


Figure 34. Logo of the "Restoring Honor Rallye," August 28, 2010, Washington DC.

© "Restoring Honor Rallye"

in the 20th century, new world orders were established that, in the shape of an expanding human rights and dignity discourse, saw different concepts of honor emerge and develop. As to the second line of research, connections between male gender characteristics, practices of socialization and education, and notions of honor and shame have been explored. Starting from the assumption that gender plays a crucial role in how honor is defined and perceived by historical actors, the emotional topography was analyzed as it developed since the late 18th century both for men and women. Focusing mainly on heroism and military conscription, the project questioned how those discourses and institutional practices served to expand honor (a concept originally applying exclusively to noblemen) to broader strata of male society.

## Emotional Citizens: Love, Loyalty, and Trust in Politics

During his first 100 days in office in 2010, Federal President Christian Wulff received thousands of letters and emails from ordinary citizens who felt the need to share with him their concerns and opinions regarding immigration, a "hot" issue in German politics and society. Apart from those, there were thousands of other letter writers who approached him on different grounds, sometimes asking for help, sometimes criticizing politics, and very often simply content with expressing their reverence and trust.

Emotional communication has become an important factor in modern politics that has been largely overlooked by political science



Figure 35. Election campaign poster promoting confidence.

© CDU <<http://www.bilder.cdu.de>>



Figure 36. People outside the palace cheering for the young king Frederick.

Source. <http://friedrich.uni-trier.de/de/kugler/117-d1/detail/> - Universität Trier, Projekt "Werke Friedrichs des Großen."

and history. Modern politics (as long as it is not totalitarian politics) is often thought of as unemotional, rational, instrumental, and strategic. The bureaucratic state, according to Max Weber, seems to be acting under transparent and generalized rules, asking its citizens to follow suit. In real life, though, traditional notions of charismatic politicians still have a lot of leverage and manifest themselves in numerous ways. In elections, politicians ask for people's trust and confidence; between elections, they present themselves as "good people" who love their spouses and children and even extend their love to the broader public.

To what degree is what might be described as the "emotionalizing of politics" a new phenomenon? How far back in history can it be traced? Is it tied to a particularly modern notion of democratic politics, and what distinguishes various types of modernity in terms of emotional communication?

These questions guiding the research project are asked on two levels: On the one hand, politics is analyzed as to its emotional content and formats. Focusing on heads of state, practices of emotional self-marketing and self-staging are examined. Going back as far as the 18th century, those practices were investigated with regard to the Prussian king Frederick the Great from 1740 to 1786. Starting from his self-concepts as they developed since adolescence, the project questioned whether and how these self-concepts were put into practice during various phases of his long life as a major European monarch. How



Figure 37. Frederick on horseback parading into the city of Breslau, saluting the masses by raising his hat.

Source. <http://friedrich.uni-trier.de/de/kugler/139-d1/detail/> - Universität Trier, Projekt "Werke Friedrichs des Großen."

did his claim to "reign over the hearts" of his subjects relate to his actual politics? How did he manage to transform the rule of fear to a rule of love that he claimed to pursue? Why, if at all, did he find it necessary to change the principles of ruling?

On the other hand, the manner in which citizens and subjects approached the king was examined. What did they expect and demand? To what degree did they accept or challenge the way power was communicated? What kind of emotions did they display toward the king and for what reasons?

Amongst the emotions communicated between prince and citizens, trust played an increasingly important role. Taken up by liberals and democrats during the 19th century, trust came to signify a quasi-symmetric relationship between those who governed and those who were governed. But how did notions of loyalty and fidelity correlate with this history of democratization? And how and why did undemocratic political regimes "highjack" notions of trust and fidelity? Both National Socialism and State Socialism in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) heavily played on the semantics of trust—to what ends? It is challenging to see how those semantics fared after those regimes broke down—were they immediately converted into a different language, were they discarded altogether, or did they survive unchanged?

These questions have been elaborated both on a more general and a more specific level in several articles, lectures, and reviews, ranging from political theory to constitutional debates.

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## Honors Bestowed and Felt: Germany and Britain After 1945

This project analyzed the bestowing and receiving of political honors as a form of commodifying and exchanging honor in modern Germany and Britain. Throughout the modern period, honor was a quality attributed to individuals who observed certain codes of behavior and who were recognized by their peers as honorable, expressed through a variety of gestures and rituals. While individuals' sense of their honor in the eyes of others has nevertheless often been unstable and the source of emotional struggle and conflict, one of the rituals which has commodified honor as an enduring form of social capital is the bestowing and receiving of political honors.

The study researched how such a commodification of honor has been used not only to establish or reinforce hierarchies but also to reward or compensate citizens for their services to the nation and to regulate the emotional lives of those honored and their peers. Furthermore, it analyzed how the awarding of honors aroused, exacerbated, and relieved such emotions as shame, jealousy, guilt and pride, and formed part of an emotional regime maintained by modern states. It attempted a three-way comparison of honors-giving in the German Federal Republic, the German Democratic Republic, and the United Kingdom, asking whether honor remained a constant within and across these different political cultures or whether it changed in the wake of ideological ruptures and the diverse manners in which people experienced and remembered history.

The project so far has analyzed the honors system (re)introduced in the German Federal Republic. Whereas throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries honors were liberally awarded after periods of military conflict as a means of recognizing service, managing the often traumatic transition from war to peace and justifying the war effort, Germans were forbidden from rewarding military service after 1945. When honors were reintroduced, Germans initially clamored for them, while increasing numbers also sought to display honors earned during the war years, in spite



Figure 38. HRH Duke of York; Major General JNR Houghton, CBE, Lord Crathorne, Lord Lieutenant Of N Yorkshire; General FR Dannatt, CGS (RLH).

© wikimedia commons

of this being forbidden. By contrast, West German public figures, politicians, and the mass media from the 1960s onwards displayed less enthusiasm for these symbols of official recognition. In this regard, they were similar to their counterparts in the United Kingdom, however dissimilar to their fellow Germans in the German Democratic Republic, where honors-giving and political ritual continued to play a significant role in citizens' lives. Although official support for honors has increased in the reunified Germany in the last decade, the greatest appetite for honors has been shown by individuals representing groups that feel insufficiently honored and recognized: womens' groups, the now internationally active military, members of ethnic minorities, and representatives from the new *Bundesländer* in the East.

This project has been complemented by broader research into social emotions, specifically a chapter within a multiauthored volume on the conceptual history of emotions. For this, the focus was on changing conceptualizations of social emotions since the 18th century in Britain and Germany, contrasting, for instance, the consistent valorization of interpersonal emotions, such as sympathy, with an increasing pathologization of collective emotions, such as anger or excitement in crowds.

### Emotion and Medical Practices: Trust in the Doctor–Patient Relationship in 19th– and 20th–Century Germany

Autonomy is one of the keywords to describe the developments in the medical systems in 20th-century modern societies, especially concerning the encounter between doctors and their patients. Nevertheless, little attention has been paid to another less individualistic and rational, and more social and emotional, phenomenon: The emergence of a highly complex and differentiated health system is based on successful strategies and mechanisms of trust, trust production, and trustworthiness. In this project, trust stands for a complex emotional management that is effective in the range of health practices by patients and doctors. How are emotions regulated, steered, encouraged, or impeded, and by whom? Which forms of emotional expression are judged as adequate or inadequate? Which emotional rules and norms are set up and how are these rules dealt with?

At two turning points in medical history, approximately in the second half of the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century, the discourse on trust was particularly intensified, and the emotional management changed considerably.

(1) The shift from a prescientific medicine to a medicine with its specialized knowledge, expensive instruments, and disease agents occurred in the second half of the 19th century. Various facets of this shift have been studied by medical historians. Still, it remains a *desideratum* to demonstrate how the discourse on the need to trust and be trusted and the conceptualization of other feelings accompanying the therapeutic encounter changed, given the emergence of a highly complex and functionally differentiated modern health system. According to the sociologist Anthony Giddens, there are two kinds of commitment in the modern world intensely connected with the need for, and development of, trust: the *facework* commitments and the *faceless* commitments. Whereas the former imply a face-to-face or personal trust between those who know one another, at the core of the latter lies a rather abstract expert system based on different mechanisms of trust. In this approach,

encounters between doctors and patients could be perceived as access points which are, according to Giddens, “sources of vulnerability for abstract systems.” The emergence of scientific medicine in the middle of the 19th century strengthened the perception that emotions disturb the doctor’s clinical gaze upon the patient’s body. Still, great efforts had to be made in order to suppress the emotions emerging during a medical encounter. The trust production, though, had to rely even more on external habits and conducts than on emotional patterns.

(2) In the 20th century, the doctor–patient relationship did not remain static. Especially since the 1920s more attention has been paid to psychological dimensions of the medical encounter. Particularly in a psychoanalytic approach, the emotions of the patient as well as the doctor were scrutinized in their interaction. The famous book “The Doctor, his Patient and the Illness” by psychoanalyst Michael Balint had an enormous impact on the conceptualization of a highly emotional doctor–patient encounter. For a successful therapy, Balint strongly emphasized the self-cultivation of the general practitioner who is required to control and dose his or her emotions, conceived as drugs, accelerating or slowing down the patient’s recovery.



Figure 39. Der Patient (Das Vertrauen/Trust), F. Silber.

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### Researcher

Susanne Michl

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**Researcher**  
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### Advertising Emotions

The project explores the meaning and importance of emotions in advertising throughout the 20th century in Germany and asks in which ways emotions were a constitutive element of capitalist practices of production and consumption. In the first phase of the project, advertising theory has been of major importance. The first results can be summarized as following:

In the beginning of the century, several economists and entrepreneurs, but mainly artists and art critics, explored ideas on advertising. Emotions played an important role in those reflections, but they were not supposed to be exclusively responsible for forming people's decisions and actions. The advertising specialists' main concern was to identify the aesthetic principles through which they could touch consumers on an emotional level and attract the attention of the busy city-dwellers. The Kaffee HAG company utilized these concepts exemplarily by paying high attention to a modern corporate design, artistic advertising and packaging, stylish points-of-sale, fashionable coffee shops, and attractive sales representatives.

During the interwar period, psychologists discovered advertising as a crucial domain. Affects and instincts became more important than aesthetic values. A striking shift occurred as consumers were viewed as mainly irrational, easy to manipulate, and with their emotionality much stronger than their logic. The most important change during the 1930s was that the focus shifted from a product-

oriented to a consumer-oriented perspective. As a consequence, conceptualizing and observing target groups became more important. Observing affects and instincts was gradually replaced by an awareness of the important role of consumer desires, hopes, and needs.

After the Second World War, marketing theories were more than ever adapted from the United States. Theories influenced by psychoanalysis and behavioristic approaches were in vogue. Advertising was regarded by many as omnipotent. The idea of managing a business by taking the consumers' needs into account, crucial for American entrepreneurs for decades, became more important. During the 1960s, advertising experts became increasingly doubtful regarding the influence potential of advertising. Empirical research and various advertising "flops" showed that consumers were relatively resistant to advertising messages. Complex theoretical approaches on communication became important and attributed more autonomy and rationality to consumers.

Since the 1980s, marketing experts have redirected their focus on emotions and moods. Through the emotional turn in cognitive psychology, emotions are no longer viewed as the opposite of cognition. Emotions are regarded as motives in decision-making processes. The neuroscientific turn in the 1990s pushed this emotional turn in advertising further. Since the turn of the millennium, a large number of books on neuromarketing has been published. Numerous authors promise completely new insights into consumers' emotions and their suggestibility. But there are also critical voices warning against this hype, highlighting that this new knowledge only proves what is already well known.

The next phase of the project will analyze the concepts of consumers and their emotions in more detail. Against the backdrop of advertising know-how, it will concentrate on several case studies in order to establish whether and how this know-how was put into practice. Finally, contexts and practices of reception will be examined to identify the ways in which advertising attempted to affect consumers' emotional lives.



Figure 40. Riefel Porzellan, 1907.

Source. Kraft Foods Deutschland (Ed.). (2006). *100 Jahre Kaffee HAG: Die Geschichte einer Marke* (p. 203). Bremen: Edition Temmen.

### **Patriotism as an Expression of Emotions Among the Gujarati-Speaking Hindu Mercantile Communities in Ahmadabad, Surat, and Bombay, 1858–1922**

The Great Upheaval of 1857 in North India is considered a landmark in the development of patriotism which led to the liberation of India from the colonial rule in 1947. In 1858, however, the colonial rule was strengthened with the Proclamation of the Queen. This introduced a new theory of rule for colonial India which provides a starting point for historians studying emotions linked to the emergence of patriotism and seeking to demonstrate that emotions had the power to make and/or change history in colonial India.

The research project will investigate the role emotions played in the emergence of patriotism among the Gujarati-speaking mercantile communities in Surat, Ahmadabad, and Bombay in West India. The emotions at the focus of my research are shame, honor, trust, loyalty, resentment, and guilt among patriots of merchant communities, which occurred as a consequence of the relationship between those communities and the colonial rule. The time-line of the project spans from 1858 up to the noncooperation movement of 1920–1922 (a political event of national importance which redefined patriotism in the early 20th century) led by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, a prominent leader of the Gujarati-speaking merchant communities from Western India.

The project critically views the mercantile patriotic tradition in order to investigate how the merchant communities, which historically had fostered a relationship of trust and loyalty with the rulers, adapted their emotionality over a period of 64 years. The research questions how this patriotic tradition failed to sufficiently address and denounce the following colonial interests: (1) commercial, (2) internal security, and (3) the legitimacy lent to the ideology of the civilizing mission. To what extent was this limitation of the patriotism emerging from the mercantile classes owing to the overlapping interests of commerce and the need for internal security in order to ensure that trade could be conducted undisturbed? Which factors contributed to

important groups of merchants acquiescing to colonial rule and adopting the civilizing mission ideology? The project addresses these issues through the lens of the history of emotions which can offer insights into the reasons for the failure of patriots by studying the overlapping emotionality binding common colonial and mercantile interests.

Ritual and symbolic incorporation of prominent members of the mercantile communities into the Imperial system from 1858 to 1880 and its liberal institutions from 1880 to 1915 assume importance in the study of emotions and emotion-related changes which fostered the rise of the patriotic tradition in the urban centers. By 1922, a unitary notion of Indian patriotism emerged with enforced severe repercussions in the way it altered perceptions and redefined standards and norms for a patriotic behavior in the entire British India. During this later phase, the socioeconomic institutions of merchants, called the *Mahajans* (roughly equivalent to “the chamber of commerce” or “guilds”), assumed importance in the anticolonial movement owing to their traditional institutional role of social and economic control. The older traditions were transformed into the mass political movements to reassert the social authority these social segments (indigenous mercantile order) traditionally held in the larger society.

It is essential for the initial stages of the research to examine a broad range of source materials in state archives of the urban centers in Western India, including municipal and judicial records. Supplementary sources—literary genres in Gujarati, novels, poetry, and essay collections—offer insights into the 19th century notions of patriotism.

**Researcher**  
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Figure 41. Drawing from the 1920s. In the center, a Gujarati trader from Bombay.

Source. Batty, E., *Costumes and Characters of the British Raj*. New Delhi, 1982.

## Researcher

Joseph Ben Prestel

### Urban Emotions? Debates on the City and Emotions in Berlin and Cairo (1860–1914)

Big-city dwellers are characterized by their urban surroundings even in their most mundane habits. This assumption informs a wide array of scientific inquiries into the life of big-city dwellers today. Between criminologists who analyze urban fear, sociologists who examine the erotic behavior of people in big cities, or anthropologists who shed light upon the emotional implications of gated communities, scholars seem to believe that the urban realm has an important impact on emotions. Are "urban emotions" therefore an essential consequence of life in the big city? Is there a history of urban emotions?

This project seeks to analyze the role emotions played in a phase of intensive urban change in two cities. It will trace debates regarding the city and emotions as well as shifts in emotional practices in Berlin and Cairo between 1860 and 1914. Did contemporary observers identify particular urban emotions? If so, which actors used the concept of urban emotions? Did debates about emotions influence urban change in Berlin and Cairo? As a way of providing answers to these questions, the project will utilize three case studies for each city. Firstly, the observations of contemporary scholars on shifts in patterns of feeling in Berlin and Cairo will be examined. Authors like Hans Ostwald or Muhammad Al-Muwaylihi commented widely on the impact of urban change on big-city dwellers in their respective city. To provide a historical context

beyond these scholarly debates, the second case study will focus on changes in the way emotions were policed during this period. It will examine the manner in which the law-enforcing agencies dealt with particular emotional practices, like processions, festivities, or erotic encounters in public. Thereby, it will trace shifts in the institutional handling of emotions in Berlin and Cairo during the second half of the 19th century. Finally, the third case study will provide analytical underpinnings concerning the impact the concept of urban emotions bore on urban change in the two cities. In particular, the ideas of the Garden City Movement regarding the psychological implications for the inhabitants of big cities proved influential in the building of suburbs in Berlin and Cairo after 1900. Ultimately, the Garden City Movement sheds light on the transnational dimension of urban emotions. Having originated in England at the end of the 19th century, its ideas about the need for reform in big cities became influential in various countries. To which degree such a shared perception of urban space was tied to a shared understanding of emotions in the big city will be one of the central questions addressed in the project.



Figure 42. Emad El-Din Street, Moustafa Kamel Pasha Square 1911.

Source. Serageldin, I., Azab, K. M., El-Sayeh, S. (2009). *The photographic memory of Cairo*. Alexandria, Egypt: Bibliotheca Alexandrina.



Figure 43. Unter den Linden, corner Friedrichstraße, 1898 (photographer W. Tietzenthaler).

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### Khwaja Hasan Nizami: Emotions for the Nation, the Muslim Community, and the Sufi Shrine

Khwaja Hasan Nizami (1878–1955) was a Sufi of the Chishti Islamic mystic order—an emotionally expressive devotional practice by tradition. Besides, he was an influential and controversial figure in the public life of Delhi and colonial India in the first half of the 20th century. He made himself a name as a religious teacher, reformer, and missionary. In addition, he was a highly prolific Urdu journalist and author of books and pamphlets on historical, religious, and political themes.

The research project is designed as a biographical case study of Khwaja Hasan Nizami's work from the perspective of the history of emotions. It assumes that the focus on emotions provides crucial insights into constructions of meaning by historical actors. Hence, it is a useful tool for writing a contextualized biography as it is envisaged here. By analyzing Nizami's construction of the Sufi, the Muslim, and the Indian national community in his numerous writings, the study examines the role of emotions in processes of collective identity formation. This is achieved through allotting different sets of feelings to those processes as their main identifiers. Besides, the project aims to shed light on particular ways in which leading figures of devotional Islam responded to the challenges of the changing political and religious landscape in early 20th-century India and fashioned a space for themselves in society.

The conceptualization of the dissertation has been completed. Most of the relevant primary sources, the major part of which consists of Nizami's publications, have been collected in South Asian libraries and archives and thoroughly worked through. In July 2010, a paper was presented and a panel chaired on the history of emotions in Sufism at the *European Conference of Modern South Asian Studies* in Bonn. One article entitled "Feeling Sufi—Feeling Indian" is ready for publication. It discusses the redefinition and universalization of a particular Sufi emotional style in Khwajah Hasan Nizami's 12-volume literary work on the siege of Delhi during the 1857

great Indian uprising. On the basis of close reading and analysis of the sources, the paper argues that Hasan Nizami attributed a cluster of feelings to the larger social community, which were thitherto largely associated with theological Sufi discourse and personal spiritual practice. In this widely received text, the author suggests pride, suffering, grief, repentance, love, and compassion as markers of Indian cultural identity. Feeling Sufi becomes feeling Indian. In this context, it is the inner constitution which defines national identity and not belonging to a geographic region or a religious community. Hence, Nizami constructs his vision of the contested Indian nation through the emotions as an inclusive one and as based on individual introspection and moral reform within a Sufi world view. Nizami's envisioned Sufis would be the ideal representatives of the psychic and ethic setup of the Indian citizen. Consequently, through his politics of emotions, the author also implicitly claims a central position for the Sufis in the colonial public and a possible future Indian nation-state.

Researcher  
Maritta Schleyer

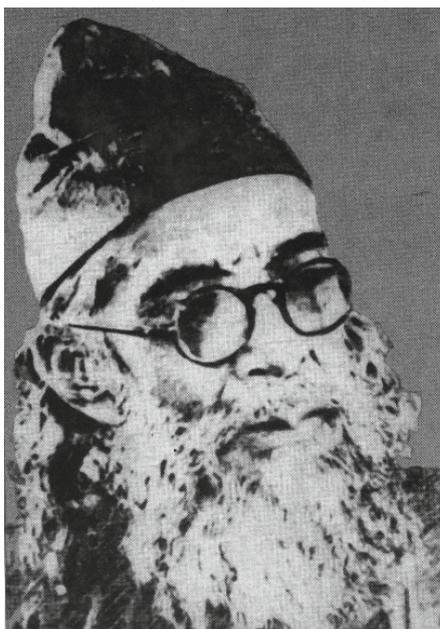


Figure 44. Khwaja Hasan Nizami, portrait as an old man.

Source. Deobandi, Majid: Khwaja Hasan Nizami. A book on the life and work of Khwaja Hasan Nizami. Anjum Book Depot: Delhi, 2007.

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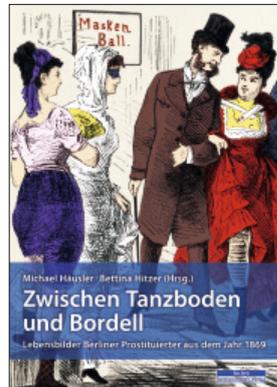
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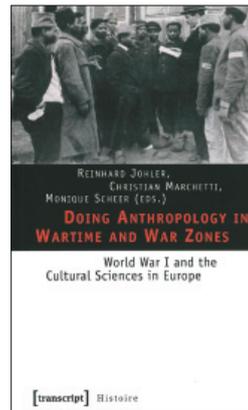
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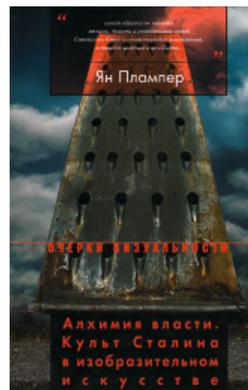
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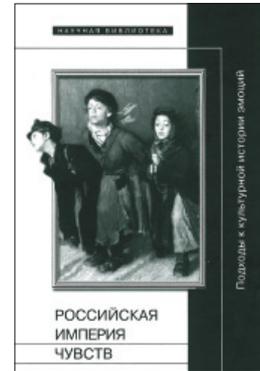
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