

Center for the History of Emotions

Director: *Ute Frevert*



Research Team 2014–2016

Agnes Arndt, Magdalena Beljan, Juliane Brauer, Stephen Cummins, Pascal Eitler, Dagmar Ellerbrock (as of 10/2014: Technische Universität Dresden, Germany), **Ute Frevert**, Benno Gammerl, Bettina Hitzer, Uffa Jensen, Anja Laukötter, Philipp Nielsen (as of 09/2016: Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, NY, USA), Margrit Pernau, Anne Schmidt, Kerstin Singer, Gian Marco Vidor

Postdoctoral Fellows

Edgar Cabanas (as of 10/2016: Camilo José Cela University, Madrid, Spain), Luis-Manuel Garcia (09/2014–12/2015: University of Groningen, Netherlands; as of 01/2016: University of Birmingham, UK), Razak Khan (as of 11/2015: University of Göttingen, Germany), Laura Kounine (as of 09/2016: University of Sussex, Brighton, UK), Kedar A. Kulkarni (as of 10/2016: Freie Universität Berlin, Germany), Joel Lee (as of 01/2016: Williams College, Williamstown, USA), Stephanie Olsen (until 09/2015), Daphne Rozenblatt, Makoto Harris Takao, Pavel Vasilyev (as of 01/2017: The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, Israel), Carlos Zúñiga Nieto

Predoctoral Fellows

Moritz Buchner (as of 01/2017: Forum Transregionale Studien, Berlin, Germany), Joseph Ben Prestel (as of 04/2015: Freie Universität Berlin, Germany), Imke Rajamani, Sandra Schnädelbach

Adjunct Researchers

Edgar Cabanas (Camilo José Cela University, Madrid, Spain), Dagmar Ellerbrock (Technische Universität Dresden, Germany), Luis-Manuel Garcia (University of Birmingham, UK), Razak Khan (University of Göttingen, Germany), Jan Plamper (Goldsmiths—University of London, UK), Joseph Ben Prestel (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany), Elisabetta Scirocco (Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, Italy), Pavel Vasilyev (The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, Israel)

Visiting Researchers

Ian Patrick Beacock (Stanford University, USA), Rob Boddice (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany), Fanny H. Brotons (Spanish National Research Council [CSIC], Madrid, Spain), Michaela Constantinescu (University of Bucharest, Romania), Christopher Ewing (The City University of New York, USA), Charlotte Greenhalgh (Monash University, Melbourne, Australia), Benjamin Peter Hein (Stanford University, USA), Takashi Ito (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan), Nina Jakoby (University of Zurich, Switzerland), Mirjam Lynn Janett (University of Basel, Switzerland), Barbara Jean Keys (The University of Melbourne, Australia), Ville Kivimäki (University of Tampere, Finland), Amir Minsky (New York University Abu Dhabi, UAE), Jennifer Montgomery (Binghamton University–State University of New York, USA), Laura Otis (Emory University, Atlanta, USA), Sophie Pitman (University of Cambridge, UK), Ilaria Scaglia (Columbus State University, USA), Yair Selteneich (Tel Aviv University, Israel), Gabriela Stoica (University of Bucharest, Romania), Veronica Undurraga (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago, Chile), Pablo Andres Toro Blanco (Alberto Hurtado University, Santiago, Chile), Anna Schram Vejlby (University of Copenhagen, Denmark), Holly Yanacek (University of Pittsburgh, USA)

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

Sensations and emotions, as the Russian artist Kazimir Malevich acknowledged, are crucial in a variety of ways: They are as crucial for the painter in guiding his brush as they are for the viewer in making sense of and appreciating a work of art. But they are also crucial in a wider sense, as Malevich's *Three Female Figures* suggests. The women's faces are blank and lack any sign of emotion. They resemble hollow shapes that need to be filled in in order to be rendered human.



K. Malevich (ca. 1930). *Three Female Figures*.

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Introductory Overview

While the Center's focus on studying the history of emotions was one of a kind in 2008, recent years have seen the growth of related research on a global scale. This testifies to the overall relevance of the new field. At the same time, it allows for increased cooperation and collaboration in which the Center takes a leading role. Its work is recognized internationally by historians as well as by scholars and scientists from other disciplines. When the General Assembly of the International Committee of Historical Sciences chose "Emotions" as one of four major themes at the World Congress of 2015 and invited Ute Frevert (together with Philippa Mattern from Australia) to organize the day-long panel, they acknowledged both the general interest in emotions as a topic of historical inquiry and the salience of the Center's research. At the same time, the editors of the *Handbook of Emotions* asked Ute Frevert to write an article on "The History of Emotions," which they considered, to quote Lisa Feldman Barrett, to be "one of the most important contributions to the volume." This indicates that the science of emotions (dominated by psychologists and neuroscientists) has come to place more weight on history, a fact also shown in the conferences and publications of the International Society for Research on Emotion.

The Center for the History of Emotions (HoE) makes its work accessible through public seminars and lectures, conferences, and publications.

In December 2016, Pascal Eitler and Uffa Jensen organized the international conference *Failing at Feelings*. It sought to counteract the common assumption that emotions always work as they should. While people often expect or desire to experience a particular emotion in a particular situation, such emotions sometimes do not appear or last long. This can be observed in relation to family and gender, sexuality and seduction, politics and protest, as well as to animals and things. The conference inquired into the concrete historical and social circumstances that condition this failure to feel. Against this background, participants also discussed the successful production of emotions, the role of institutions, discursive frames, competing norms, significant others, and divergent expectations, as well as the importance of conflicts and situational factors. The failure to feel tells us something about the possibilities of successful feeling and about the historicity of emotions.

A selection of papers will be published in a peer-reviewed journal.



Key Reference

Frevert, U. (2016c). The history of emotions. In L. Feldman Barrett, M. Lewis, & J. M. Haviland-Jones (Eds.), *Handbook of emotions* (4th ed., pp. 49–65). New York: Guilford Press.

Among the Center's publications, the book series "Emotions in History" features prominently.

Emotions in History—A Book Series With OUP

The series, jointly edited by Ute Frevert and Thomas Dixon (Queen Mary University, London), takes various perspectives on emotions by drawing on the history of science, medicine, psychology, literature, art, religion, politics, and economics. Contributions range from medieval to modern periods and reach across regional and national boundaries. The series was launched in February 2014 and its fifth volume was released in 2016. Four out of five volumes originated at the Center; three more will be added in 2017.

- Ute Frevert et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000*
- Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*
- Ute Frevert et al., *Learning How to Feel: Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970*
- Margrit Pernau et al., *Civilizing Emotions: Concepts in Nineteenth Century Asia and Europe*
- Erin Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy: Sadness and Selfhood in Renaissance England*



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Two of these volumes (*Emotional Lexicons*; *Learning How to Feel*) have come out of collaborative projects at the Center. Carried out over multiple years and bringing together 10 to 20 researchers, these long-term projects go far beyond what can be achieved at conferences and in conference publications. Each begins with a set of common research questions that are then broken down into individual chapters. Multiple rounds of debate and criticism serve to produce a coherent, yet multifaceted perspective. The process of producing the final book manuscript takes between 2 to 3 years of intense collaboration. Only institutions like the Center can effectively foster such collaboration. The work has received highly positive reviews from the research community.

At the end of 2014, we chose emotional encounters as the topic of our next collaborative project. Capitalizing on our strong interest in transnational history, the project examines face-to-face encounters across cultural boundaries over a long-term perspective. It addresses the emotions people have experienced in cross-cultural encounters by drawing on individual case studies. Collaborating researchers inquired into the strategies people have employed to interpret one another's emotions as well as the role emo-

tions have historically played in facilitating or obstructing communication across cultural divides. Starting from contemporary experience, *Encounters With Emotions* sets out to highlight historical changes and transcultural dynamics in how emotions have been used to negotiate cultural differences. The manuscript has been submitted to OUP and is currently under review.

Alongside long-term collaborative and individual projects, scholars at the Center also set up three different reading groups between 2014 and 2016 that focus on the multisensory, law, and economy. Another reading group on religion was launched in December 2016. In regular meetings, group members discuss precirculated articles or book chapters. The reading groups have been well received not only at the Center but have also attracted members of the MPRG Felt Communities, graduate students from the IMPRS Moral Economies, and students from Berlin universities.

In 2014, the Center recruited several international researchers with an interest and expertise in law and its relation to emotions. Their research spans from the early modern period to the 20th century, thus extending beyond the original focus on modernity. This has allowed them to explore continuities

and discontinuities in discourses on reason and rationality, on good and bad morals, "cool" and "hot" blood, and on emotions that were deemed just or unjust, acceptable or despicable.

A new focus group on "Religious Feeling—Feeling Religious" was recently established, following in the footsteps of the Center's previous research on religious enthusiasm, the "New Age" movement, and on religious charity and social work. A workshop in June 2016 served as a platform for discussing major epistemological questions and hypotheses with international scholars and members of the Australian Research Council Centre for Excellence in the History of Emotions (ARC CHE). In September 2016, three new research projects were added to the Center:

- Stephen Cummins, *Penitent Feelings: Confession and the Emotions in Catholic Europe, c. 1600–1800*;
- Carlos Zúñiga Nieto, *Carmelite and Ursuline Nuns' Religious Feelings of Trust and Love in the Making and Unmaking of the Spanish Empire, 1850–1914*;
- Makoto Harris Takao, *Countering Christianity: Religious Phobia and the Making of Modern Japan, 1823–1912*.

Other researchers at the Center have also taken a keen interest in religion, as have graduate students of the IMPRS Moral Economies, and will join the focus group in numerous pursuits. More postdoctoral fellows will follow in 2017, thus expanding the temporal and regional scope.

The 51st Historikertag in 2016 with the theme *Matters of Belief* revolved around the significance of religion in contemporary society and history. Because India was the 2016 partner country, the Center presented its research on South Asia in a series of posters, publications, and talks. Imke Rajamani gave a talk on *Religions in Indian Communities and Societies* and Margrit Pernau a talk on the *Global History of Religions*.

The German "**Historikertag**" is a biennial conference that presents and discusses current historiographical research. It draws up to 4,000 visitors (scholars, history teachers, high-school and university students, journalists), making it one of the largest humanities conferences in Europe.

For the 50th Historikertag in 2014, the Center was invited to organize a well-visited panel on *Feeling History: What Can We Gain or Lose by Researching Emotions?* Apart from Ute Frevert and Benno Gammerl, Frank Bösch (Potsdam), Valentin Groebner (Luzern), Lyndal Roper (Oxford), and Dorothee Wierling (Hamburg) addressed questions like:

- How can feelings be theoretically defined and empirically grasped in a historically meaningful, methodologically rigorous way?
- Is the history of emotions interested in searching for a clear, universal reality grounded in neuroscience beyond the confines of the linguistic turn and poststructuralism?
- Does historical research on emotions provide fresh, valuable perspectives on the history of bodies and subjectivities in particular and on cultural, economic, and political dynamics in general?
- Does the history of emotions run the risk of getting caught up with insignificant micro-social phenomena, thus losing sight of pressing relevant phenomena like social inequality and power struggles?

The lively discussion demonstrated participants' interest in the field. The panel clearly reached its goal of firmly placing the "History of Emotions" on the agenda of German historiography, which, compared to the international community of historians, has taken much longer to acknowledge and embrace it. The high international impact of the new field can best be judged by its prominence at the 2015 *World Congress of Historians* in Jinan (China). The Congress, which takes place every five years, hosted 2,700 participants from 90 different countries. Apart from 60 smaller panels, 4 major topics were selected for day-long panels, one of them being Historicizing Emotions. Ute Frevert (who had initially planned the theme day together with the late Philippa Maddern, founding director of the

Key Reference

Eitler, P., Hitzer, B., & Scheer, M. (Eds.). (2014a). Feeling and faith: Religious emotions in German history [Special issue]. *German History*, 32(3).



Poster for the 51st Historikertag.

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Key Reference

Frevert, U. (2016b). Historicizing emotions (CISH Major Theme Day 2) [in Chinese]. *World History*, 235, 16–23.

www.mpib-berlin.mpg.de/en/research/history-of-emotions/world-congress-of-historians-jinan-2015



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ARC CHE) chaired and introduced the topic to an audience of about 800 people. Eleven researchers—among them Anne Schmidt and Benno Gammerl—from eight countries presented their work in four panels (*Emotions, Capitalism, and the Market; Emotions and the Creation of "Others"; Emotions in Bodies and Spaces; Historicizing Emotions: Theories and Methodologies*).

Apart from widening the geographical and chronological scope of the Center's research, the group's researchers have discussed future orientations and research agendas. Starting in 2008, research at the Center has been organized in three central areas: cultivation and education, embodiment, and power relations. The areas serve to both structure and integrate the large number of individual projects. In the future, we plan to introduce a new area (potentially replacing "embodiment") that will highlight the importance of emotion knowledge and science. In addition, we have formed so-called focus groups for researchers interested in topics like law and religion. Along with these, the following projects aim to supplement our portfolio, especially in the field of education:

- The project *From Intelligence Measurement to Emotional Competence: The Classroom as a Laboratory of Modernity* (Anja Laukötter)

will study the history of the classroom from the early 20th century to the present. It seeks to demonstrate that foundational elements of the laboratory as a space of experimentation (whose origins can be traced back to the late 18th and early 19th century) eventually found their way into other social spaces during the 20th century. Empirical and educational psychology thus treated the classroom as an object of research. Using methods from the history of science, the project aims to better understand the status of emotions and their relation to cognition in psychological models and methods. It will investigate the ways in which psychology has come to shape ideas about "development" and, more generally, the habitus of everyday life.

- The project *New Education* (Margrit Pernau) takes as its starting point debates on the civilizing process and criticisms of the concept. Since the late 19th century, both have contributed to the development of new forms of education geared toward creating new men and women with new emotions. The project's primary case study focuses on the Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi, which provides education mainly for Muslims from kindergarten to the university. Founded after World War I as a project

New Regions on the World Map of the History of Emotions

Initially, research at the Center concentrated on the modern period (18th to 20th centuries). Geographically, it focused on Europe, North America, and South Asia. Between 2014 and 2016, research expanded both chronologically to the early modern period and geographically to Latin America, Japan, and Turkey (Ottoman Empire).

At the same time, there is a growing interest in the field beyond Europe, the United States, and India. At Jinan, for example, participants of the panel *Historicizing Emotions* initiated a research network in Latin America. In 2016, Ute Frevert followed the invitation of Andrea Noble (University of Durham, UK) and Zandra Pedraza (Universidad de los Andes, Colombia) to introduce Colombian students to research on the history of emotions and meet interested colleagues. The cooperation will be continued.



Figure 1. Exploring new world regions on the world map of the history of emotions.

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of the Indian national movement, Jamia's political concept was strongly influenced by interaction with German Reformpädagogik between the 1920s to the 1970s, particularly its ideas about work as a way to form students' minds, hearts and bodies.

Since its very launch, the Center has established strong ties to international colleagues working in related areas. This includes the Centre for the History of the Emotions at Queen Mary University (London), launched in November 2008 and led by Thomas Dixon (co-editor of the OUP series *Emotions in History*). It also extends to the ARC CHE, which has its headquarters at the University of Western Australia.

Taking advantage of Laura Kounine's early career fellowship at the University of Melbourne, two international conferences were jointly organized in 2015–2016 on *Witchcraft and Emotions*. The first took place in Melbourne and focused on *Media and Cultural Meanings*. It brought together scholars from disciplines such as history, art history, and anthropology to explore the emotional self-representation of accused witches and their accusers. The second conference, hosted at the Institute, concentrated on *Social Conflict and the Judicial Process*, taking into special consideration the Center's strong interest in the interplay between law and emotions. Using witch trials as a prime example of emotional jurisdiction, historians, anthropologists, and scholars of religion outlined the ways in which accusers and witnesses vented their hatred and fear and how this impacted the outcome of the trials.

The Society for the History of Emotions, a global professional association for historians of emotions recently established by the ARC CHE, nominated Ute Frevert as one of ten council members. Margrit Pernau has been invited to join the editorial board of the Society's peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal *Emotions: History, Culture, Society*, whose first issue will be published in 2017.

The collaboration with the Centre de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud at the EHESS (Paris) on *Emotions and Political Mobilization in South Asia* has been successfully brought to a conclusion. Margrit Pernau and Imke Rajamani were part

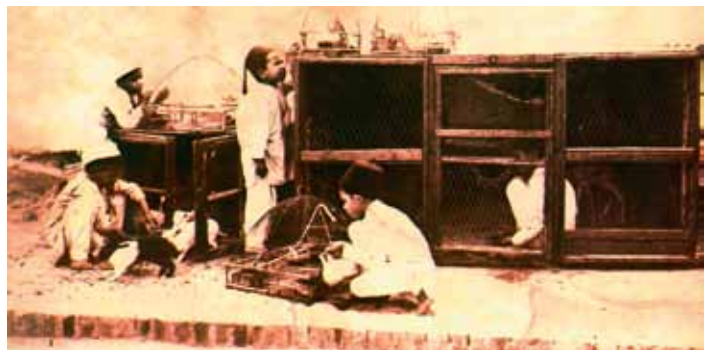


Figure 2. Education at the Jamia aimed at bringing together intellectual training and manual labor.

Source: M. Hasan and R. Jalil, *Partners in Freedom: Jamia Millia Islamia*, New Delhi 2008, p. 103.

of a research team comprising scholars from different disciplines (political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, and literature) who worked on mass movements in Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh from the 19th century to the present.

The research group *The Healthy Self As Body Capital: Individuals, Market-Based Societies and Body Politics in Visual 20th-Century Europe* is funded by the European Research Council and was established in October 2016. Led by Christian Bonah (Université de Strasbourg) and Anja Laukötter, it aims to better understand the role played by visual (mass) media and their emotional effects in the transition from the early 20th century's dominant national, biopolitical public health paradigm to the market-driven healthcare of the late 20th century. Main fields of research include the history of food and nutrition, of movement and sport, of sexuality and reproduction, and of addiction.

Public Colloquia and Visiting Scholars

Organized weekly or fortnightly during the academic year and open to the public, the Center's colloquium has become an established institution among university students, doctoral candidates, and researchers from the Berlin area and beyond. Since the first seminar in April 2008, more than 140 public colloquia have taken place with speakers from all over the world. Out of the 49 colleagues who presented their work in the reporting period 2014–2016 (see Appendix pp. 307–315), 40%

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Kounine, L., & Et Ostling, M. (Eds.) (2016). *Emotions in the history of witchcraft*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pernau, M. (in press). Anger, hurt and enthusiasm: Mobilizing for violence in India, 1870–1920. In A. Blom & S. Tama Lama-Rewal (Eds.), *Emotions and political mobilization in South Asia*. London: Routledge.

Rajamani, I. (in press). Mobilizing anger in Andhra Pradesh: The emotional politics of the Angry Young Man and popular Telugu cinema. In A. Blom & S. Tama Lama-Rewal (Eds.), *Emotions and political mobilization in South Asia*. London: Routledge.

Feelings Against Jews: The Emotional History of Antisemitism

Adverse feelings are a central part of antisemitism. However, the existing literature in the social sciences, social psychology, and history mainly emphasizes the cognitive aspects of antisemitism. As early as 1946, however, Jean-Paul Sartre defined antisemitism as a passion in his seminal work *Anti-Semite and Jew*. Following this perspective, Uffa Jensen's new project stresses the importance of emotions in the history of antisemitism, using insights from historical, socio-logical, philosophical, psychological, and neurological research. In 2016, the German Research Foundation (DFG) accepted Jensen's application for a Heisenberg Professorship, which will be affiliated with the Center for Research on Antisemitism at the Technische Universität Berlin.



were from the USA, 30% from Germany, 20% from Europe, and 10% from other countries. By invitation, national and international colleagues thus forge a comprehensive network of personal and institutional cooperation and scientific communication. This network reaches far beyond the historical discipline and includes scholars from sociology, political science, anthropology, evolutionary biology, economy, philosophy, literature, religion, music, and film studies. The Center has also kept close ties with former researchers (Monique Scheer, Jan Plamper, Dagmar Ellerbrock, Philipp Nielsen,

among others) who have been appointed as university professors and have used their status to foster cooperation on multiple levels (teaching, conferences, research). The Center has been attracting high-profile scholars from all over the world who choose to spend their sabbatical here (e.g., Laura Otis, Emory University, Atlanta; Barbara Jean Keys, The University of Melbourne) or are funded by institutions like the DAAD, national research foundations, etc. (see Appendix pp. 319–320). This has proven a welcome opportunity to engage in intense collaboration and expand the Center's visibility and academic outreach.



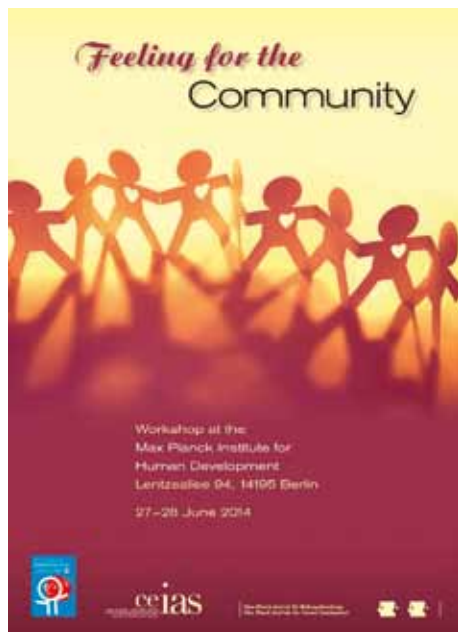
Since its launch in 2013, the bilingual internet portal *History of Emotions—Insights into Research* has grown considerably. The more than 20 contributions posted thus far have shown how the history of emotions can be fruitfully researched through in-depth analysis of a single source, such as a text, photograph, postcard, or film. They have thus drawn attention to broader questions and methods of the history of emotions. The internet portal is open to the Center's researchers and international scholars. Edited by Margrit Pernau, Anja Laukötter, and Laura Kounine, the short pieces are also available on social media, have received attention from the press and a broad audience, and are successfully used in academic teaching and research.

Research Area: Education and Cultivation of Emotions

The history of emotions has sought to overcome the classical, but increasingly unproductive nature versus nurture dichotomy. Research on education and the way that actors learn to feel and make sense of their feelings must focus on norms and institutions. However, the latter cannot be adequately understood without studying the role of bodies and materializations, while, at the same time, bodies cannot be conceptualized outside their socialization.

Collaborative Research Activities (selected)

In collaboration with the research project EMOPOLIS (*Emotions and Political Mobilization in South Asia*, EHESS Paris), the group organized an international workshop on *Feeling for the Community* in June 2014. Emotional communities are by now a well-researched topic. The group contributed by adding a temporal dimension to the concept of community, analyzing interactions between imagined communities based on a long-term perspective, like the nation or the religious community, and those that actually bring together bodies in space, and hence are much shorter in duration, like audiences, demonstrations, and riots. This research required the collaborative effort of scholars working with texts (journals, newspapers, novels), media experts (films), literary scholars focusing on performance studies (oral genres like poetry and sermons), and political scientists and anthropologists (personal interviews).



Several articles that came out of this workshop have been accepted for publication as a special issue of a prestigious journal.

The edited volume on *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives* originated in a 3-day international conference on *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History* held at the Center in 2012. The organizers Stephanie Olsen and Juliane Brauer received over 200 applications, mostly from historians of childhood and education, many of whom have developed a strong interest in the history of emotions. *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History* demonstrates how scholars can write a history of childhood emotions and explains why combining the history of childhood and the history of emotions affords historians a more valuable, complex approach. The volume conceptualizes the tensions inherent to emotional formation on the "emotional frontier," a site where children's agency is subjected to competing emotional prescriptions, practices, and performances. The chapters represent the best new scholarship on the interplay of childhood and emotions as they relate to sexuality, war and conflict, politics and policy, space and material culture, youth organizations and institutions, and relationships with families, authority figures and peer groups. The 11 case studies cover a wide range of cultures and periods, spanning from Africa and Asia to Oceania and the Americas. The volume has received excellent reviews and feedback, underscoring the importance of the methodological and theoretical framework of the individual case studies, and is already widely used as a textbook.

Researchers

Margrit Pernau
Juliane Brauer
Edgar Cabanas
Benno Gammerl
Uffa Jensen
Kedar A. Kulkarni
Anja Laukötter
Stephanie Olsen

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Pernau, M. (Ed.). (2017a). Feeling communities [Special issue]. *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 54(1).

Researcher

Benno Gammerl

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Gammerl, B. (2015a). Can you feel your research results? How to deal with and gain insights from emotions generated during oral history interviews. In H. Flam & J. Kleres (Eds.), *Methods of exploring emotions* (pp. 153–162). London: Routledge.

Gammerl, B. (2015b). Ist frei sein normal? Männliche Homosexualitäten seit den 1960er Jahren zwischen Emanzipation und Normalisierung. In P.-P. Bänziger, M. Beljan, F. X. Eder, & P. Eitler (Eds.), *Sexuelle Revolution? Zur Geschichte der Sexualität im deutschsprachigen Raum seit den 1960er Jahren (1800|2000 Kulturgeschichte der Moderne No. 9)* (pp. 223–243). Bielefeld: transcript.

anders fühlen—feeling differently

How did the normalization of homosexualities impact the emotional practices of men-loving men and women-loving women between the 1960s and the 1980s? How did the latter in turn affect processes of liberalization in West Germany? These are the core questions of the project. Firstly, it focuses on feelings that transgress societal norms. This aspect is highlighted in an issue on *Feeling Differently*, coedited for *Emotion, Space and Society*. Secondly, the study argues that such queerulent affects can trigger historical change. In this sense, the equality-based pattern of love that gained currency among gays and lesbians after the 1970s paved the way for the legal recognition of same-sex partnerships which was ultimately achieved in 2001. This link is explored in "Affecting Legal Change," which will be published soon. The interplay between emotions and spaces was explored in a co-edited themed issue for *sub|urban* (2015). The notion that spaces impact emotional patterns and vice versa, informs the structure of a monograph, which is currently being prepared for publication. It follows the shifts that the emotional lives of men-loving men and women-loving women have undergone since the 1960s in three roughly chronological sections entitled "avoiding," "getting on," and "arriving." Each starts with a chapter that traces major developments within the history of homosexualities, continues with a chapter about the spatial constellations—local, trans-

national, and urban/rural—within which agents experienced and made sense of their feelings, and concludes with a chapter on decisive changes in emotional patterns and practices. From this history of emotions perspective, the book criticizes the heroic narrative of liberation and the corresponding contentions that gay shame was transfigured into gay pride and that queer fears were ultimately overcome. Based on oral history interviews and gay and lesbian publications, the work shows instead that fear continued to shape the emotional lives of gays and lesbians. They did not rid themselves of anxiety, but rather learned to perceive and to handle it in new ways. This transpires from the filmic fear scripts that inform a 1982 article about a neo-Nazi attack on a gay journal's editorial office as well as a biographical narrative about a male assault on a female narrator. Analysis of both records supports the claim that emancipatory self-perceptions necessitated regular occurrences or productions of fear, which, in turn, enabled the emancipated subject to overcome this fear time and again. It is exactly such intricacies and decisive reinterpretations that lend a history of emotions perspective on the history of homosexualities its specific surplus value.



Logo of the project
"anders fühlen"—"feeling
differently."

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Researcher

Uffa Jensen

Key Reference

Jensen, U. (2014a). Across different cultures? Emotions in science during the early twentieth century. In F. Biess & D. M. Gross (Eds.), *Science and emotions after 1945: A transatlantic perspective* (pp. 263–277). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Curing Emotions:

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

This completed project studied the transnational history of psychoanalysis in the early 20th century, focusing on Berlin, London, and Calcutta. The project understood psychoanalysis not just as a body of theories about the self but as a therapeutic practice that aims to influence the self. At the same time, the project stressed the emotional significance of psychoanalysis. The first part of the study looked at the institutional history of psychoanalysis in the three cities. It described how psychoanalysis was established both as a discipline outside of university structures and as a therapeutic technique

on an expanding market of psychotherapeutic cures. Major figures were identified, as were the core institutions of the psychoanalytic movement on a local level: private practices, clinics, training institutes, etc. This section also discussed institutions that facilitated the globalization of psychoanalysis, such as congresses, publishing houses, journals, etc. The second part of the manuscript discussed the complexity of the emergence of psychoanalytic practices in Berlin, London, and Calcutta. It raised the question as to what role Freud actually played in the invention of psychoanalysis, particularly in remote places

like Calcutta. Moreover, the section raised questions about what kind of patients received psychoanalytic treatment, what kind of diagnoses were common, how the psychoanalytic setting was designed, and what kind of effects the treatment had on patients. The third section discussed the significance of emotions in psychoanalytic therapy and its theories. The narrative focused on the role of energetic language in psychoanalytical conceptions of the mind as well as on the emotional dimension of the oedipal structure.

The chapter also explored the role of emotions in the psychoanalytic movement and in the popular reception of psychoanalysis. The final part studied the political dimension of psychoanalysis. The project aimed at exploring the political potential of psychoanalysis by discussing postcolonial, feminist, and other criticisms, as well as Freudian-Marxist approaches. At the same time, the project argued that the long-term political significance of psychoanalysis lies in its allegedly apolitical nature, in its practical knowledge about the self.

In 2016, the manuscript *Zuviel der Liebe. Die Weltgeschichte der Psychoanalyse in Berlin, London und Kalkutta 1910–1040* was successfully defended as a *Habilitationsschrift* at Freie Universität Berlin. It is currently being prepared for publication with a German publishing house.

Emotions and Knowledge in Health Education Films and the Shaping of the Modern Subject in the 20th Century

Science has long conducted research on emotions and has significantly shaped how they are perceived. Moreover, visual media, and film in particular, substantially changed the way knowledge and emotions were produced, circulated, and received in the 20th century. Thus, the project examines the relationship between emotions and knowledge in both East and West German sex education films and their close ties to film production in France and the United States.

Analyzing the concrete effects of discourse, the project shows how experts in medicine, psychology, pedagogy, and film theory constructed the notion of "endangered" audiences who could be reached by triggering certain emotions: fear for soldiers in World War I; shame and disgust for the general public in the interwar period; fear and trust for soldiers in World War II; and empathy and humor for "youth" in the postwar era. Important is the insight that the identification of certain audiences with particular emotions has come to shape our contemporary understanding of the transfer of knowledge through the media and our understanding of the relationship between perception, cognition, and (moving) emotions. The study illustrates how sex education films were intentionally developed as an "emotional engineering technique." Based on a filmic dispositive approach, it explores the international and transnational

media alliances and visual iconography that informed the production of sex education films in Germany and details the ways films used visual devices and novel film techniques to develop "scientifically emotionalized moral tales" with the aim of preventing the spread of disease and encouraging certain sexual practices and precautions. In doing so, these films helped shape contemporary interpretations of the human subject as a "preventative self" and reinforced practices of self-optimization. For this reason, the study also treats recipients' reactions to, and rejections of, this advice. Finally, the project details the ways psychologists and sociologists used these films in experiments on the transfer of emotions and knowledge and on the conditions under which (health) behaviors and attitudes can be addressed and changed. Combining these different perspectives and methodological approaches, the project thus shows how the deployment of film as a new educational tool worked in practice and how the history of these films can be understood as a negotiation of the modern human subject in different political systems (Weimar democracy, National Socialism, Allied Occupation, West Germany and the GDR). It ultimately demonstrates that the historical construction of an emotional but "paradoxical self" was strongly shaped by the sciences and by international exchanges.

Researcher

Anja Laukötter

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Researcher

Juliane Brauer

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Youth, Music, and Emotions:

Collective Singing as a Form of Emotional Education in East Germany (1945–1973)

In 1946, children and adolescents in the Soviet Occupation Zone sang the words “We love our joyful life.” They were supposed to be happy, to help rebuild their country with dedication, and to enthusiastically demonstrate to the world that a better future was possible in the eastern part of Germany. And yet, after the end of World War II, young people faced a disastrous situation. Thus, convincing them to fulfil this vision demanded nothing less than giving them a completely new emotional education. Taking up ideas from 1930s “artistic education,” political leaders and teachers in Germany directly after the war viewed the collective singing of new songs as a key to the hearts of children and adolescents. In the first two decades after the war, hundreds of new children's songs were composed. These new songs promised children an optimistic future and called for patriotism and the willingness to fight for a socialist utopia.

The research project uses songs and collective singing as historical sources in order to study emotional education in the GDR. It analyzes when, where, and to what end children and adolescents sang or were asked to sing. In order to draw comparisons with West Germany, the project focuses on discourses on music education and details the pedagogical methods that made them concrete. By drawing on records of youth group meetings

and practices of singing at schools, festivals, and celebrations, the project seeks to provide a multifaceted perspective on the ways in which certain emotions were communicated, encouraged, and regulated. In this fashion, the project treats political authority as a social praxis geared toward the education and mobilization of emotions.

This analysis of emotional education takes particular aim at showing how the education of young people was connected to certain expectations for the future. Celebrating them as the “leaders of tomorrow,” the socialist state promised its children and young people happiness and comfort within the collective as well as a chance to realize their individual potential, but only if they affirmed the state's particular vision of the future. Desiring a socialist future was the only available option. This, however, led to conflicts between the youth and the state. Certainty for the future and a belief in progress were displaced by mistrust and disappointment in a generation of young people who took their own path. In the early 1970s, the state declared that “really existing socialism” had been achieved. The 1973 World Festival of Youth and Students in East Berlin thus concludes the phase of postwar history in which the GDR projected itself as a state of the future.

Researcher

Kedar A. Kulkarni

Key Reference

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Theatre and the Subject of Emotion:

The 19th Century Marathi Musical Play and Popular Indian Consciousness

The project focuses on the confluence of precolonial and emerging performance genres from approximately 1790–1890 in western India. In the absence of widespread literacy in South Asia—only 6% were literate in vernacular languages according to the 1911 census—performance was a powerful and accessible medium, one that operated by uniquely spatializing its reception: One had to be in a specifically defined place among social others in order to participate. Like print media, performance also operated by circulation—both poet-performers and theatre troupes actively toured, rarely resting in any one city for long. This project considers how the repertoires of

precolonial performance were incorporated into colonial era dramatic traditions and repurposed for newly emerging social concerns. It asks: How did different performance genres enable people to feel differently toward the same topics? How were aesthetics implicated in structures of feeling, enabling certain things to be felt, while relegating others to insignificance?

This project begins with traditional performance genres whose worlds were largely historical, erotic, heroic, and epic. Balladeers traversed a broad geographical area in western India, consolidating representations and offering a systematic felt understanding of heroism,

cowardice, romance, morality, and other topics related to the behaviors of heroic figures, mythological figures, and even “regular” people. But these depictions differed significantly from emerging performance genres—the farce, the music drama, and drama translated from English. These new genres focused on different values and generated different meanings. The same historical figures in the new drama were quite different from those depicted in ballads. What was the difference, and how did the public reenvision their own pasts and futures as a result of performance?

By examining one century of performance across multiple genres, some findings

indicate a strong continuity between the stories being told, but a large discontinuity in how the stories are told. For example, epic characters who accomplish legendary feats of heroism are reinterpreted with a “softer” compassionate side in the later 19th century, in conjunction with emerging discourses of conjugality. This shift is, significantly, a generic one. Through repetition and popular appraisals, these softer tones for heroism replace the older models for example, and one can see such shifts across both genres as well as characterizations during the course of the 19th century.

Experiencing Designs and Designing Experiences: A Historical Analysis of the Role of Emotions in Theme Parks in the United States and Germany From the 1950s to the Present

The theme park industry has transformed the way we think about leisure and entertainment, both of which have come to play an ever greater role in the world economy since the 1950s. Indeed, historical research demonstrates that theme parks have contributed to the emergence and consolidation of a postmodern conception of entertainment strongly based on the design, manufacture, and commodification of emotional experiences, especially happy ones.

Because they are concerned with constructing emotional experiences, this project sought to explain why theme parks should be regarded as historical examples of an “emotional industry” that simultaneously reflects and transforms the emotional life of its surroundings. Yet, despite the fact that emotions have historically played a key role in the evolution, design, and consumption of theme parks, this complex has been taken up by historians only recently.

Drawing upon sources such as archival records, newspapers, public and private reports, interviews, brochures, and ego-documents, the project had two main, interrelated objectives. First, it sought to analyze the relation between the historical transformation of notions of happiness and other positive emotions and the evolution of theme parks and

the so-called “emotional industry” in North America and Germany during the second half of the 20th century. The project showed that shifting conceptions of happiness over the last 50 years have been closely related to changes in the way entertainment is produced and consumed, to the rise of so-called emotional labor and to the increased use of high-technology design techniques and customization services in the entertainment industry and tourism. It also showed that this historical transformation is culturally dependent.

Second, the project sought to understand the ways theme parks as “emotional spaces” have transformed the emotional experiences of tourists over the past 60 years. This inquiry included asking how these emotional spaces have changed the way tourists search for authentic experiences and self-transformation in travel and the shifting role of emotions in tourists’ face-to-face encounters with others abroad. In particular, the project compared the different ways travelers and tourists have historically faced and coped with otherness. It also showed how the increasing “thematization” of tourism has gradually changed the ways emotions are produced, consumed, and experienced by tourists.

Researcher

Edgar Cabanas

Researcher

Margrit Pernau

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Civility, Civilization, and Civil Society

Drawing on her previous work on *Civilizing Emotions* (published in the OUP-series *Emotions in History*, cf. p. 100), Margrit Pernau has embarked on an in-depth exploration of the relationship between emotions and modernity. Canonical texts on modernity from Marx and Weber to Norbert Elias and Michel Foucault have emphasized modernization as a process that increasingly disciplined emotions. Originating in the structural needs of factory, bureaucracy, and the modern state, the control of emotions moved from external enforcement to interiorization and the creation of new forms of subjectivity. This research has led to a wide range of studies on Europe and on India.

A look at the emotional expectations and experiences among the Muslims of north India from the mid-19th century to World War I, however, shows that this master narrative needs to be (and can be) made more complex through the inclusion of emotions. While the creation of discipline certainly was a very important element of the politics of the colonial state, there was also a strong counter current, geared not at the control of emotions, but at their intensification. If balance ('adl) and the avoidance of excess had been viewed as ideals

until the 1870s—never completely disappearing afterward—it was fervor and enthusiasm (josh) that became the new key value, with actors claiming that only those nations and communities that had preserved or recovered the ability for strong, hot emotions and who had not lost their vigor in the civilizing process would survive. Gender and age were important factors in this narrative. Men confidently claimed the need for strong emotions for themselves, but they believed children should learn strict discipline, and were uncomfortable with the fact that women, too, were increasingly speaking out for their right to feel passionately and to act in accordance with these feelings. Class, on the other hand, was less of an issue in north India before the war.

Not all spheres of life were equally emotionalized. While the workspace, and notably the colonial bureaucracy, continued to require discipline, the (1) family, friendship, and intimacy, (2) communities of caste, religion, and the nation, and (3) the public sphere, increasingly witnessed the display of strong emotions.

Emotions and Modernity in Colonial India: From Balance to Fervor has been submitted to the publisher by the end of 2016.



Figure 3. Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk, Sir Saiyad Ahmed Khan, and Justice Saiyad Mahmud.

Source. Wikimedia Commons/Unknown photographer.

Research Area: Emotions and the Body

Attempts to overcome the stalemate between nature and nurture have not only focused on their interdependence, but have also introduced new perceptions of the relation between emotions and the body. The body is always already socially and culturally marked; at the same time, there is no society and culture without embodiment and materialization.

Collaborative Research Activities (selected)

The workshop *Sexotic* at the Institute focused on moral economies, body techniques, media, and the interplay between sexuality and exoticization (19–20 February 2015). Assuming that sexuality—as a seemingly natural need, as a supposed key moment in the subjectivation of human beings and as an important object of state control and biopolitics—only emerged during the 18th and especially the 19th century, especially in Europe or the so-called “West,” it became reasonable to examine the history of sexuality within the context of colonialism and colonial encounters. Nevertheless, it was crucial to think of the “sexotic” not as something that concerned only the relationship between the colonizers and the so-called colonized but also to reconstruct this multilevel sexualization of the “exotic” and exoticization of the “sexual” as a mechanism of producing, of promoting, or fighting all kinds of “other” people or “other” practices, outside as well as inside the “West.” The first three panels dedicated to the topics: *Tourism, Migration, and Sex Reform* led to situations of colonial or postcolonial encounters and transfers with seemingly or truly conflicting moral economies that were also deeply embedded into an inner-

European struggle about divergent sexual politics. The fourth session on *Visual Culture* underlined the central role of the visualization of the “sexotic” through the introduction of new kinds of media, such as photography, film, or the variety. These new media did not determine but framed every kind of encounter or relationship between the “West” and its imagined “exotic” sexual “other.” Selected papers are to be published in a special issue of *Sexualities* (SAGE journals), currently in the peer review process.

The online journal *Body Politics*, founded by Pascal Eitler, who is also member of the Editorial Board which also includes Magdalena Beljan and Joseph Ben Prestel, has published six volumes between 2014 and 2016. During this period, it attracted more than 10,000 visitors from over 100 countries, including about 2,000 from the English-speaking world. The individual volumes were dedicated to different aspects of the history of the body in the 19th and 20th centuries, such as the history of violence, the history of animals, and the history of fat. The history of emotions has served as an important point of reference for the journal's articles. It will be the focus of a forthcoming volume dedicated to the control of affects.

“What new insights become available for historians when “emotions” are included as an analytical category? The most recent volume of *Osiris* edited by Otniel E. Dror, Bettina Hitzer, Anja Laukötter and Pilar León-Sanz explores the historical interrelationships between, on the one hand, science and its cultures, and, on the other, cultures of emotions. It argues that a dialogue between the history of emotions and the history of science leads to a rethinking of our categories of analysis, our subjects, and our periodizations.

The ten case studies in the volume explore these possibilities and interrelationships across North America and Europe between the twelfth and the twentieth century in a variety of scientific disciplines. They analyze how scientific communities approached and explained the functions of emotions; how the concomitant positioning of emotions in and/or between body-mind-intersubjectivity took place; how emotions infused practices and how practices generated emotions; and, ultimately, how new and emerging identities of and criteria for emotions created new knowledge, new technologies, and new subjectivities, and vice versa.”

Researchers

Margrit Pernau
Bettina Hitzer
Magdalena Beljan
Pascal Eitler
Uffa Jensen
Joel Lee
Gian Marco Vidor
Moritz Buchner
Imke Rajamani

Key Reference

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BODY POLITICS
Zeitschrift für Körpergeschichte

www.bodypolitics.de/en



Researchers

Margrit Pernau
Imke Rajamani

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Researcher

Imke Rajamani

Key References

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Rajamani, I. (2016). Pictures, emotions, conceptual change: Anger in popular Hindi cinema. In M. Pernau & D. Sachsenmaier (Eds.), *Global conceptual history: A reader* (pp. 307–336). London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Intermediality

If emotions are anchored in the body, they cannot be accessed through written texts alone. Instead, emotional experiences and expressions have to be traced through a variety of modes and media. This research project develops ways in which the interface between linguistic and nonlinguistic sources can be explored, ranging from architecture to miniatures and paintings, from popular films to poetry and descriptions of spatial practices.

Emotional Translations

The conceptual history of emotions has been a focus of the research group since its inception: Concepts are central to the way emotions are experienced and interpreted. Margrit Pernau and Imke Rajamani have argued that emotion history can play a crucial role in moving the history of concepts beyond language by translating between reality perceived by the body and its interpretation, between concepts in different modes and media, as well as between concepts and practices.

Monsoon Feelings

Following up on the *Emotional Translations* approach, Margrit Pernau, Imke Rajamani and Katherine Butler Schofield (King's Col-

lege London) organized a 3-day conference from 25 to 27 June 2015 at the Institute to explore Monsoon Feelings in South Asia beyond language, in intermediality, and across disciplinary boundaries. The participating experts in South Asian history and fine arts discussed how paintings, poetry, music, architecture, festivals, films, and medical knowledge document and have shaped people's emotional experiences of the rainy season from the 12th century to the present. A collective volume is currently being prepared for publication that presents the rich sociocultural history of Monsoon Feelings to a larger audience in the form of an academic coffee-table book.

Angry Young Men:

Masculinity, Citizenship, and Virtuous Emotions in Popular Indian Cinema

Anger and democracy are closely intertwined political concepts—each can foster, enforce, suppress, or destabilize the other. This project investigates when, how, why, and for whom being angry became a practice of feeling Indian in a country often referred to as the world's largest democracy. *Virtuous anger* gained popularity as a political key concept in India through the cinematic figure of the Angry Young Man. The angry underdog hero, who fought in action-packed films against "the system of injustice" upheld by a corrupt establishment, is still remembered in India today as the most prominent icon of the 1970s and 1980s.

When the Angry Young Man conquered the silver screens, he turned popular Indian cinema into a central arena of political debate, contestation, and mobilization in South Asia. In order to investigate the rise and role of *virtuous anger* as an indicator and factor of political change in India, the study analyzes the emotion concept by means of seman-

tic nets that span across popular Hindi and Telugu films, magazines, posters, newspapers, and court case files. The multimedia political semantics revealed a first phase in the history of *virtuous anger* (ca. 1974–1984) where the concept functioned in support of the Nehruvian idea of Indian nationalism based on the principles of socialism, secularism, and democracy, principles represented by the Congress Party in parliament. Paradoxically, anger in defense of the ideology of democracy was used both by the Congress and the Angry Young Man as its fictional advocate to justify drastic measures against oppositional forces as well as measures of authoritarian—and thus antidemocratic—governance. The study then identified a turning point in the history of *virtuous anger* around 1984, after which the concept became an important emotional factor in the rise of *Hindutva*, a populist and chauvinist ideology promoting Hindu hegemony. Activists of Hindu fundamentalist politics used Indian cinema and its popular

images of angry citizens and vigilante action to attract young men to their organizations. Finally, the study identifies *virtuous anger*, *victimhood*, and *citizenship* as a coconstitutive semantic complex that underlies varied protest movements, with the potential to fuel conflict and radicalization in India and beyond.

The findings of the research were submitted to the Freie Universität Berlin as a doctoral dissertation in March 2016. Imke Rajamani successfully defended her dissertation on 22 June 2016 and passed the examination with distinction (*summa cum laude*). She is currently preparing her dissertation for publication.

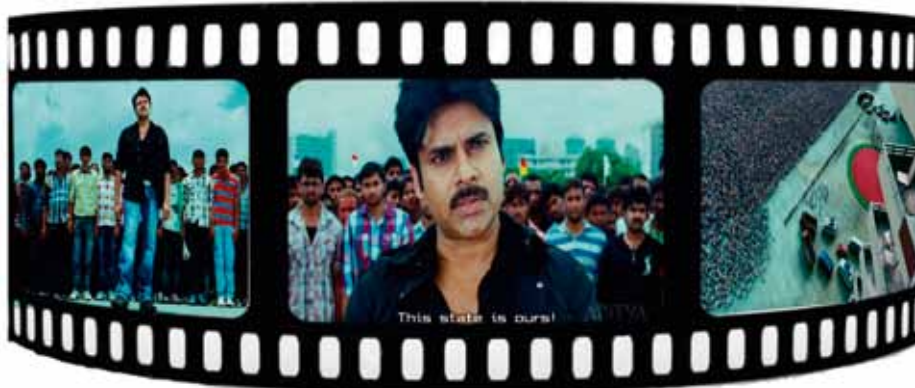


Figure 4. Angry Young Man Rambabu (Pawan Kalyan) mobilizes the citizens of Andhra Pradesh to free the South Indian state from the rule of corrupt politicians.

Source. Film still from Telugu movie *Cameraman Gangatho Rambabu* (Puri Jagannadh, 2012).

Disgust (Ghṛinā) and the Visceral Life of Caste

Caste and untouchability, despite the widespread abandonment of the ideological premises on which they are generally understood to rest, persist in everyday life in South Asia with both force and subtlety. Prevailing theories of caste—as civilizational episteme, as cynical vote-bank politics, or as a fusion of Brahmanical sociology and colonial governance—explain a great deal, but they do not sufficiently account for the ongoing *visceral* life of caste, the grip it has on bodies and passions, and its effects beyond being a mere “state of mind.” This project addresses the sensory and spatial media through which caste is communicated and the affective-emotional effects that it induces in order to better comprehend how caste and related religious forms of belonging and othering actually operate.

Following Gopal Guru’s claim that studying phenomena such as *humiliation* and their textual representations might help reorient

the study of caste, the research project focuses on passions excited by encounters at the boundaries of caste society—encounters between “touchable” and “untouchable,” *āshraf* and *ārzal*, “general” and “Dalit.” Through an examination of a range of Urdu and Hindi texts from the late 19th century to the present, and through interviews and oral histories in the north Indian cities of Lucknow and Varanasi, the work tracks continuities and changes in the deployment of *ghṛinā* (disgust) and related emotion-concepts (*nafrat*, *zillat*, *āpman*), which play a disproportionately large role in the representation of untouchability in Muslim and Hindu contexts in the modern period. This project both draws on and informs the author’s concurrent ethnographic work in north India, which addresses questions of Dalit religious and social history, the politics of recognition in postcolonial South Asia, urban infrastructure and sanitation labor, and the politics of smell.

Researcher

Joel Lee

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Researcher

Pascal Eitler

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The Love of Animals: On the Political History of an Ambivalent Emotion

This project deals with the emotionalization and politicization of human–animal relations from the mid-19th to the end of the 20th century. It focuses on developments in Germany while positioning them within a broader western European and North American context.

The project has three main findings:

First, it demonstrates how changing conceptions of animals and humans as animals challenged common knowledge about emotions ("feelings," "affects," "sensations") during the second half of the 19th century and how, in turn, shifting ideas about emotions affected perspectives on animals. The clear distinction between human and animal became less stable because complex emotions were now being ascribed to certain animals, particularly popular pets such as dogs and cats. Emotions became a powerful link between humans and other animals, not only in evolutionary theory but also in physiology and psychology, philosophy and theology.

Second, the project reconstructs the diverse ways in which animals were emotionalized in daily life. Drawing on children's literature and advice manuals, the project shows how the family has functioned as an emotional contact zone for both humans and their pets from the 19th century onward. Drawing on the practical

turn within emotion research and animal history, the project also discusses the question as to whether this emotionalization only represented the feelings of humans toward specific animals or whether it really produced specific emotions within these animals as well.

Third, the project demonstrated that this emotionalization became the basis for a politicization of human–animal relations in Germany after the mid-19th century. The animal welfare movement did not simply discover the emotions of animals, but rather ascribed emotions to them and made emotions the underlying condition for animal rights. In doing so, it reproduced a very hierarchical order between humans and their emotions: The emotionalization and politicization of human–animal relations went hand in hand with distinctions between "civilized" and "barbarian," "healthy" and "sick," "middle class" and "under class," and "German" and "Jewish" emotions.

The project thus argues that contemporary debates on animal welfare are rooted in an ambivalent political history. If animal emotions are no less socially produced than human emotions, politicizing these emotions always means reproducing them in a specific way. It implies doing something not only to humans but also to other animals.

Researcher

Magdalena Beljan

Key Reference

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Love Works: Artist Couples in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Artist couples are hyped up by pop culture as the ultimate love couples, connected not only through their "intense feelings" for each other but also through a shared passion for their profession. The project questions this romantic and ahistorical view on love and artist couples and investigates the historically changing relation of emotions and work among German and US-American artist couples in the field of fine and applied arts from the late 19th century onward.

As the field of fine arts opened up to female artists in the beginning of the 20th century, artist couples became more and more common, especially in avant-garde movements and art colonies. Love and work became central for the formation of selves in the 20th century, and art can be seen as a field particularly impacted by this process. Never-

theless, artist couples did not automatically overcome traditional expectations on gender roles. While communication about art seems to be integral for the exchange of emotions and even for falling in love, the life as artists often clashed with traditional expectations regarding gender roles. Better understanding artist couples will not only give us a better idea of how conceptions of love and romance changed over time but also how creative networks functioned. A closer look at couples at the German Bauhaus, for example, shows that romantic relations seemed to be highly important for the development but also for the stabilization of social and creative networks of artists in the 20th century.

The project *Love Works* is part of the Dahlem International Network Junior Research Group

KUNST-PAARE

For a full description of the group and the individual projects, see their homepage www.kunst-paare.de

Kunst-Paare (Art Couples)—a collaboration of young researchers funded for 3 years by the Excellence Initiative and run by the Freie Universität Berlin and the MPI for Human Development, Berlin. The research group inquires into relationship dynamics and gender relations in the arts and will organize group

presentations and workshops. Two international workshops are planned for the first half of 2017: *Feeling Close: A Workshop on the History of Intimacy in the 20th Century* and *Mediality Couples: Relation Works Between Images and Performances*. Initial findings will be published in an edited volume in May 2017.

AIDS and Emotions

Emotions like anxiety and fear have played a prominent role in the history of AIDS and HIV. However, the etiology of these emotions and the ways in which they are experienced are often sidelined, as if they, unlike AIDS itself, had no history. By discussing the ways in which politics, media, and self-help groups like the Deutsche AIDS-Hilfe in (West) Germany addressed and shaped emotions, the book elucidates the how and when of emotions' historical significance or lack thereof.

Grief and Mourning of the Italian Bourgeoisie (1860–1915)

Feelings related to death had a significant public presence in late 19th-century Italy. Pompous funeral processions were common, as was publishing obituaries in newspapers and booklets, while many graves in ornate cemeteries were designed by famous artists. But why did death and grief play such an important role in a society that was undergoing secularization and rationalization? This project explored the practices of grief and mourning in Italy from the foundation of the liberal nation state to the beginning of World War I. It argued that a specifically bourgeois-elitist culture of mourning established itself, but that it was soon contested by new social dynamics. Grief served as a way for the upper and middle classes to set themselves apart from other groups, such as the lower social classes and the population of southern Italy and the countryside. Additionally, the new, "decent" style of mourning was seen as "modern" and "civilized" in contrast to the old, "wrong" practices of mourning that were perceived as being indissolubly connected with the social order of the Ancien Régime. The project explored the distinguishing features of the emotional regime of the upper and middle classes. It drew on sources such as obituaries, scientific and literary texts, newspaper articles, advice literature, as well

as letters and diaries. The work studied contemporaneous understandings of death, the social relations associated with grief, and the impact of religion and patriotism on mourning rituals. Finally, it analyzed the relationship between emotions and the body and the spatial dimension of grieving. The project was carried out in close cooperation with Gian Marco Vidor, who has also worked on grief culture in Italy.

The study concluded that grief and mourning are determined by their historical, social, and cultural settings. Using a history of emotions approach, the project identified a tension between the feelings of individuals, the importance of grief as a social virtue, and demands that emotions be controlled, which was an important feature of the self-representation of elites.

Feelings of pain and loss played an important role in the emotional culture of traditional Catholicism. In the age of secularization and nationalism, they were increasingly viewed as a hindrance to the well-being and productivity of the individual. Since the loss of a beloved person is a strong emotional experience, individuals often tried to hide their feelings and preferred reclusiveness. Hence, over the long term, grief came to be regarded as an individual, negative emotion that lacked social value.

The dissertation supervised by Ute Frevert and submitted in 2015 will be published in the prestigious book series *Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom*.

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Researcher

Moritz Buchner

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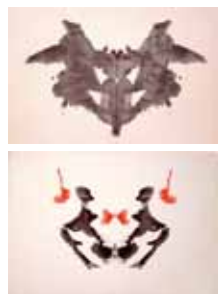


Figure 5. Two inkblots of the Rorschach test.

Source. H. Rorschach/
Wikimedia Commons.

Minerva Research Focus: Emotions and Illness. Histories of an Intricate Relation

Ever since Virginia Woolf decried contemporaneous writers' silence toward illness in her 1926 essay "On Being Ill," literature has widely explored the significance of illness for human existence. However, the history of the relation between feelings and illness in the 20th century—both as experiences of the self and as scientific concepts—remains largely unexplored. The Minerva research group aims to close this gap by studying, first, the emotional history of the 20th century's most publicized disease—cancer—and second, the scientific and cultural history of psychosomatic medicine, a field that sparked many scientific, social, and political debates on the relation between emotions, mind, and body during the 20th century.

Oncomotions: New Perspectives on 20th-Century Cancer History

In placing the role of emotions center stage, this project brings together different aspects of cancer history that are usually kept apart: the scientific history of medical research in laboratories and wards, the cultural and political history of early detection campaigns, and the everyday history of the social and individual experience of living with cancer. The first part of the project explores how and why scientific and "practical" medical concepts about emotions' impact on cancer changed during the 20th century. After cellular pathology "expelled" emotions from laboratory cancer research to the margins of medicine, the 1920s' search for a more holistic science slowly brought emotions back into the fold of cancer medicine. It was only with the invention of stress and personality tests (like the Rorschach) in the 1950s and 1960s that emotions were reintegrated into some experimental cancer research. After peaking in the 1970s, the focus of psychosomatic cancer research shifted from the role emotions played in causing cancer to their role in curing it.

Second, the project studies how emotions were used to achieve the shifting aims of early detection campaigns. While a kind of moderate fear was first thought to be helpful, the attitude toward the usefulness of fear changed during the 1920s. Later, in Nazi Germany, *concern* was prioritized over *fear*, the latter now perceived as cowardice. The return to the belief of psychoanalysis and psychosomatics that fear should be talked about helped reintroduce the emotion into early detection campaigns in the 1970s and 1980s. Third, the project examines how cancer was discussed during the 20th century. Medical,

philosophical, and theological understandings of emotions' corporeal and existential impact played a crucial role in finding an answer to the pressing question as to whether, when, and how cancer patients should be told about their disease. Until roughly 1930, safeguarding hope by "gently lying" was viewed as crucial for the chance to be cured; later, National Socialist discourse championed frankness, drawing on a notion of courage also used when talking about dying on the battlefield. In postwar Germany, cancer again became taboo: Pointing to the experiences of POWs, many regarded death by despair as a serious danger. The cancer taboo only began to dissipate in the 1960s, when a more robust concept of hope and new ideas about the salubriousness of talking about negative emotions came to prominence.

The Search for the Whole Human: Psychosomatic Medicine in the 20th Century

The ideas of psychosomatics have become widely disseminated and accepted, both in society and in medicine. The particular appeal of psychosomatics in Germany certainly has something to do with its self-portrayal as a more humane alternative to the cold, detached world of modern medicine. Despite this "success story," a comprehensive history of the field remains to be written.

A collaborative project, codirected with Alexa Geisthövel of the Institute for the History of Medicine and Ethics in Medicine, Charité Universitätsmedizin Berlin, has been designed to explore and write this history. Twenty-four authors from German, Swiss, British, Canadian, American, and Israeli universities will contribute to a book that will be submitted in 2017.

Research Area: Emotions and Power

Feeling rules and emotional experiences are deemed decisive wherever power and power differentials come into play. In modern societies, power is regularly framed by an emotional language that addresses people's sense of honor and dignity directly or indirectly. These particular emotions can lead people to submit to, or revolt against, power, both in the economic and political sphere.

Collaborative Research Activities (selected)

The conference *Common Room—Architecture, Democracy and Emotions since 1945*, organized by Philipp Nielsen and Till Großmann (IMPRS Moral Economies), took place in May 2016. The papers questioned how built environments have enabled, (un)intentionally provoked, and methodically educated a variety of feelings toward different forms of democratic governance through their conception, materiality and use. Architecture rendered concrete ideas about emotions and their value for democratic governance, perceived as a political claim as well as a practice. Seven panels—on *Squatting, Capitalism and Democracy, The Image of Housing, The Politics of Public Housing, Representing the State, Permanently Provisional*, and *Architectural Nostalgia*—illuminated how ideas about morality and conduct were inscribed into government and official architecture, particularly following World War II and during decolonization, at a time when almost all countries, regardless of actual practices of governance, claimed to be democracies or, at the very least, republics.

The findings of the conference were communicated to a wider audience in a panel discussion at the Martin Gropius Bau cosponsored by the Berliner Festspiele. Philipp Nielsen and Till Großmann convened politicians, architects, and social activists to discuss the implications of emotions on building practices and democracy in Berlin today. A relevant publication is in preparation.



of researchers and doctoral students focuses on these topics. Their projects reflect the Center's strong and ongoing interest in capitalism and economy and investigate (individually and collaboratively) the ways in which emotions have been observed, generated, muted, controlled, and fueled on the level of production and consumption. The topic's relevance for the Center was highlighted by the fact that, when Ute Frevert organized the Major Theme Historicizing Emotions of the World Congress of Historians (cf. pp. 101f.), she decided to dedicate the first of four panels to *Emotions, Capitalism, and the Market*, which included talks by Anne Schmidt and others. Back in 2012, a conference at the Institute addressed the underresearched questions of how emotions have been shaped in capitalist cultures and how capitalist cultures have been shaped through emotional discourses and practices. It was the starting point for an international collaboration between Anne Schmidt and Christopher Conrad (Geneva, Switzerland), which led to a volume dedicated to the question of how bodies and affects are formed in liberal market societies. Its contributors offer new approaches from the history of emotions, affect studies, actor-network theory, and other fields to enrich the analysis of capitalist societies, addressing issues such as speculation, industrial production, advertising, and ethics.



Figure 6. New York Stock Exchange in 1936.

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Researchers

Ute Frevert
Dagmar Ellerbrock
Agnes Arndt
Razak Khan
Philipp Nielsen
Anne Schmidt
Joseph Ben Prestel

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Since 2014, new projects at the Institute have been exploring the links between emotions, output, human resources management, and consumer society; a reading group consisting

Researcher

Agnes Arndt

Feelings in Capitalism:

Emotions and Motivations of German Entrepreneurial Elites in the 19th and 20th Centuries

If one is to believe contemporary entrepreneurs, to be an entrepreneur is not a profession, but a way of life that demands both an extraordinary ability to deal with uncertainties and risk and a desire to cultivate a certain "emotional attitude." According to this line of reasoning, it is not the capital needed to establish, lead, and maintain an enterprise that decides whether it will succeed or fail, but rather the right personality type. Today's entrepreneurial climate fosters and seeks personalities capable of teamwork but also those who are headstrong, extremely resilient, independent, willing to take risks, and capable of solving problems. In short, it demands that entrepreneurs be emotionally stable. But how are such personalities formed? Which emotional dispositions have to be trained in order to ensure entrepreneurial success and which have to be avoided?

Historical analysis demonstrates that industrialists like Werner Siemens, August Thyssen, and Hugo Stinnes were all convinced that "empathy" with oneself and with business partners was an absolute necessity. They tried to pass the ability to empathize on to their children and grandchildren. Many of Werner Siemens' letters to his brothers Karl and Wilhelm—who

led the company's branches in St. Petersburg and London, respectively—were dedicated to the question of how one should interpret the emotions of business partners abroad, how one could build trust with them, and how this trust could lay the foundation for emotions like loyalty that would, in turn, help foster good business relations. This topic is still relevant for today's entrepreneurial culture, where PR departments try to make the emotions of their employees and those they do business with into manageable objects of business practice and research. This knowledge is then transmitted in advice manuals and training seminars. The project analyzes the history of this form of entrepreneurial emotion management. Drawing on autobiographical and biographical writings, letters, estates, business school curricula, and journals and social networks dedicated to entrepreneurialism, the project seeks to grapple with the history of entrepreneurial practice. It thus takes up entrepreneurs' ties to the family, church, and civil society, as well as the individual motives, dispositions, and emotions—succinctly put emotional drives—of entrepreneurs from the late 19th century to today.

Researcher

Anne Schmidt

Advertising Emotions

The research project studies how advertising culture produced advertisers and consumers—two social figures inextricably linked with one another. It analyzes discourses and the ways in which they were materialized in apparatuses, artefacts, and in practices of (self-)conduct. It seeks to contribute to the historicization of the concept of the human being, "one of the least theorized categories and a veritable black box of historical analysis" (Jakob Tanner). The study poses a number of questions related to the history of emotions, which are particularly productive when researching how economic actors are subjectivized. The history of emotions helps us recognize that the modern history of the economy is not a story of the ascent of reason and the elimination of passions. Rather, the construction of subjects in capitalism has always been connected with

the cultivation of feelings. Thus, prescriptions on emotional (self-)conduct were constitutive aspects of the morality and ethics of advertisers. Historical actors assumed that specific feelings distinguished advertisers and were necessary prerequisites for being a "good" advertiser. Drawing on contemporaneous theories of emotions, advertisers developed not only techniques and instruments for managing their own feelings but also for structuring the feelings of consumers. Knowledge about feelings was not static and neither were practices and techniques of emotional (self-)conduct. Quite the opposite, they changed drastically over the time period in question and, as the study shows, they constantly produced new subjects. The project focuses on the period between the end of the 19th and the beginning of

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the 21st century. It centers on Germany, but takes a transfer history perspective. It draws on a wealth of different sources, including advertising journals and books, educational material and curricula, autobiographies, a wide range of multimedia advertising material, and contemporaneous literature of various

disciplines (such as economics, psychology, psychoanalysis, sociology, anthropology, and neuroscience). The findings are rounded out by comprehensive material from the archives of different German and American companies. Project status: Research is complete; half of the book manuscript has been written.

Sabine Donauer was awarded the Körber Foundation's 2014 German Thesis Award as well as the 2015 Otto Hahn Medal for her dissertation *Emotions at Work—Working on Emotions: The Production of Economic Selves in 20th-Century Germany*. In her thesis, supervised by Ute Frevert from 2009 to 2013 at the Center and submitted at the Freie Universität Berlin, Donauer shows how, beginning with the Second Industrial Revolution, science and economics took an increased interest in the feelings of workers, making them into objects of various interventions.



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Democratic Emotions: Compromise and Humility in the Federal Republic of Germany

This project investigates attitudes toward democracy in postwar West Germany. It probes the emotions invoked as well as (un)intentionally provoked in the effort to build democracy. It thus follows two inter-related paths: One traces sentiments about compromise as a part of political culture while the other focuses on ideas about architecture as expressing and shaping democratic space and emotions.

The importance of dialogue has been at the center of much literature on postwar democracy. This project studies how such dialogue was to be facilitated through procedural and spatial arrangements—be it by granting committee rights to minority parties in parliament or by designing hallways and cafeterias in parliamentary buildings in a certain way. Moreover, it examines the emotions thought necessary for such dialogue—humility, for example. Its emphasis on practice reveals that these spatial and procedural arrangements could only ever enjoy limited success in achieving the desired goals. Social Democrats in the opposition suspected some of the government's compromise proposals to be clever entrapments; Liberal delegates complained about being unable to participate effectively in committee meetings because of seating arrangements and faulty acoustics; and angry citizens sang scornful songs about supposedly lavish government buildings when passing

them on the Rhine, in turn frustrating parliamentarians working in cramped offices, the result of the government's attempt to display humility. These examples indicate not only the complex emotional interaction between government and opposition, state and citizens, but also the ways, in which both objects analyzed in this project—the arrangement of space and arrangements for dialogue—are intimately linked.

The project traces the debates and changes surrounding these two types of arrangement from the founding of the Federal Republic in 1949 to the height of left-wing terrorism in the late 1970s. Terrorism challenged attitudes both toward compromise and the limits ascribed to it as well as ideas of how to foster accessibility and dialogue between state and citizens through architecture. Following a bomb attack on the Constitutional Court, judges, politicians, and police forces discussed additional security measures. In this debate, questions of democratic dialogue, the now much more complicated feelings related to unmediated contact between judges and citizens, and continued discourse on humble architecture intersected. Emotions were crucial in connecting political theory and ideas about political space with practice. They were fundamental to the ways competing claims to participation and access—be it opposition or citizenry—were negotiated.

Researcher

Philipp Nielsen

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Researcher

Razak Khan

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Production of Space and Emotions:

Memory, Nostalgia, and Muslim Identity in Rampur (19th–20th Century)

The research project explored the ways in which space and emotions are entangled with one another in the formation of Muslim histories and identities in South Asia. These issues were examined by focusing on Rampur, which was the last Muslim-ruled princely state in the colonial United Provinces and is an important political center in contemporary Uttar Pradesh, India. The project details the diverse forms that Urdu print culture and local associational culture use in order to articulate the emotion of love for land (*ḥubbu'l-waṭani*) and the sense of belonging to Rampur (*Rampuriyat*).

These shared emotions and practices have been transformed by a number of factors, including the political and social tumult of communal politics, colonialism, and the violent partition of India. The effect of the religious identity politics of the postcolonial period have been particularly important in this regard, segregating people spatially and discursively into a “Muslim ghetto,” in the words of right-wing agitators. Urdu newspapers, journals, and autobiographical literature have

served as sites where emotions, community, and subjectivity are articulated, contested, and negotiated. Rampuri identity is shaped by the emotions of love and nostalgia as well as by practices of remembrance, mourning, and forgetting. The project sought to research this local history of emotions and explored how it continues to affect the lives of Rampuris, who are divided by borders but united by shared emotions in the conflict-riddled postcolonial nation states of India and Pakistan.

The research included oral history interviews with inhabitants of Rampur. These interviews focused on residents' perceptions of the changing trajectory of their locality and the possibility of coexistence in times of increasing national and communal discord. One of the project's aims was to rethink the role of memory and emotions in the production of locality, affective archives, and history. The book manuscript *Minority Pasts: Locality, Histories, and Identities in Rampur* has been approved for publication by Oxford University Press, India.

Researcher

Joseph Ben Prestel

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Feeling Urban Change: Debates About Emotions in Berlin and Cairo, 1860–1910

Between 1860 and 1910, Berlin and Cairo went through profound processes of transformation. The dynamics of change in the two cities included demographic growth, economic restructuring, and the expansion of a centralized state apparatus. The project, which was completed as a doctoral dissertation in 2015, analyzed how contemporaries in both cities described the impact of these transformative processes on urban dwellers. Focusing on debates about emotions, the project revealed that authors in Berlin and Cairo voiced very similar concerns about the transformation of their cities during the second half of the 19th century.

The dissertation examined arguments about the effects of urban change that were published in German and Arabic newspapers, magazines, travel guides, and academic literature. Processes of urban change such as economic restructuring were portrayed in these sources as affecting emotions. Con-

temporaries in both cities presented shifting practices like newspaper reading or strolling through the city as engendering a transformation of emotions, including love, honor, and disgust. The analysis of police and court records in archives in Berlin, Cairo, and London showed that these debates were not limited to the academic sphere, but were inherently tied to urban dwellers' activities in these cities. Contemporary documents also pointed to the importance of these debates for notions of personhood and the conceptualization of new kinds of subjects in Berlin and Cairo. The comparative focus of the project ultimately drew attention to the emergence of similar arguments about specific “urban emotions” in both cities.

With this finding, the project took scholarly work on urban change during the 19th century in a new direction by providing a less Eurocentric and more global understanding of the historical transformation of cities in this

period. The argument that emerged from the dissertation was neither that cities all over the world became the same nor that emotions offered a universal language to make sense of urban change during the second half of the 19th century. Rather, the project demon-

strated that similar understandings and arguments about emotions shed light on specific similarities in the histories of Berlin and Cairo. In both cities, emotions provided a useful way for particular social groups to negotiate the effects of urban change.

The dissertation, supervised by Ute Frevert, was successfully defended at the Freie Universität Berlin in April 2015. The book *Emotional Cities: Debates on Urban Change in Berlin and Cairo, 1860–1910* is under contract with Oxford University Press and scheduled for publication in fall 2017.

Emotional Citizens: Love, Loyalty, and Trust in Politics

The project studies how citizens in the modern age emotionally relate to politics. The relationship works in both directions: Politicians, the media, and others reach out to citizens, offering forms of emotional identification; citizens, either individually or as social groups, reach out to politicians, negotiating emotional investment. In particular, two sets of emotions lend themselves to forging strong bonds between citizens and their representatives in the political realm: trust (or loyalty) and national honor.

Trust as an emotional concept has seen an enormous upsurge and intensification since the late 18th century. Not only does it play a huge role in shaping social and economic relations but also features heavily in political discourse. In democratic or democratizing societies, trust has gradually replaced loyalty and fidelity. Instead of relying on people's unquestioned support and unconditional allegiance, parliamentary systems of politics tend to realize conditions under which trust—as a temporary investment—can be granted or withdrawn. Trust thus serves as a bargaining chip. At the same time, it is presented as an emotional attitude that demands constant cultivation and social support. Over the longer term, trust can never simply be retained, but has to be nurtured and sustained by conscious political and media efforts.

Another influential emotional concept that has shaped the relations between citizens and politics in the modern period is honor. Honor was initially perceived as the prerogative of the ruling Prince whose honor was rooted in his aristocratic and dynastic lineage. Since

the early modern period, at least in Europe, it was transferred to the state that the Prince represented and/or served. During the 19th century, honor became associated with nations, that is, all the citizens that made up a nation. Any offense to a nation, therefore, affected each individual citizen and necessitated violent means to protect national honor. Ultimately, it called forth each citizen to stand up for their nation's honor and defend it against foreign assaults, a conception of honor that manifested itself all over Europe during World War I.

But honor proved to be more than a political rallying cry. As evidenced by personal diaries, letters, and other ego-documents, honor also served as a powerful semantic tool to make sense of personal loss and grief during the war and thus sustain the war effort despite serious hardship and traumatic experience. While modern democracies initially tended to downplay political emotions and focus on the "rational" culture of political compromise (see Philipp Nielsen's project, p. 119), totalitarian systems chose to enlist emotional politics and propaganda. A case in point is National Socialism, which systematically mobilized emotions in line with a specific political agenda, emotions that were to be drawn upon in order to secure citizens' support for the regime's aims and goals. Research has shown how propaganda artfully crafted sensorial schemes to elicit positive or negative emotions and how the regime incorporated social and cultural practices like singing, marching, and camping in order to stage popular compliance and passionate approval.

Researcher

Ute Frevert

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Researcher

Ute Frevert

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Honor and Shame: An Emotional History of Power

Shaming a person or group has been, as the project contends, a common practice among those who hold or strive for power throughout history. This can play out on an individual level but can also serve as a strategic device, enacted by institutions and their representatives.

The project first focused on how children have been shamed in the family, in peer groups, and in school. Drawing on the genres of children's and advice literature during the 19th and 20th centuries, the project showed that shaming had a powerful impact on children's lives. Children were usually shamed when they violated the norms adhered to by friends and schoolmates or broke the rules prescribed by parents and teachers. Both sets of norms could clash with one another, which produced deep insecurities and anxieties in children. As a general trend, norms prescribed by adults decreased in importance throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries. By contrast, peer groups acquired a greater role in defining expectations that children and adolescents had to meet. Failure resulted in shame, conceived both as an individual, interiorized feeling and as the product of collective shaming.

As a second step, the project studied the legal politics of shaming that have undergone a resurgence in the United States since the 1980s, tracing them back to traditional practices of legal shaming that emanated in Europe's Middle Ages. The pillory remained in use as a prominent shaming site in Europe up until the early 19th century. In a similar vein, public executions served the purpose of both shaming the culprit in front of large audiences and educating audiences about what to expect if they did not obey the rules. It was particularly interesting

to analyze the movements and currents that opposed such practices of public shaming. The research showed that arguments in favor of human dignity served as an increasingly powerful counterforce. Beginning in the 19th century, this argument gradually gained momentum and ultimately succeeded in delegitimizing punishments aimed at shaming the culprit. It also served to engender support for collective empathy with the culprit's sorrows and sufferings.

In a third step, the project analyzed the practices of humiliation in which states or state officials engaged against other states. If honor is viewed as a fundamental, emotional concept of states and nations then withholding honor and inflicting shame can be seen as an effective means of disempowering adversaries. The project studied the effects of this in international relations both among European states/nations and between European and non-European states/empires, with a particular focus on China, during the long 19th century. The project particularly focused on the body language of humiliation, that is, to bowing, kneeling, and prostration. It treated these postures as a language of emotion that drew on a long cultural and political tradition of deference that acquired new meanings during the period of imperialism and colonialism.



Figure 7. Daniel Defoe in the pillory, by J. C. Armytage.

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Research Area: Law and Emotions

Law, an increasingly powerful instrument for shaping and regulating social practices and relations, entertains a close relationship with emotions. Penal law, above all, often deals with offenses motivated by strong passions and affects. During the modern period, legal debates continuously struggled to make sense of these emotions and relate them to paramount categories of free will, individual responsibility, and culpability. Such discourses had strong repercussions on how justice was administered, how defenses were framed, and how public opinion on the case was formed.

Collaborative Research Activities (selected)

The 2-day conference at the Institute on *Criminal Law and Emotions in European Legal Cultures: From the 16th Century to the Present* (21–22 May 2015), organized by Laura Kounine and Gian Marco Vidor, convened historians and legal scholars working on the relationship between law and emotions in criminal legal cultures over a *longue durée*. Focusing essentially on Europe, it explored and discussed how legal definitions, practices, and judgments influenced, and were influenced by, moral and social codes as well as religious and ideological norms and perceptions of the body, gender, age, and social status. The conference showed how the history of emotions could be applied to criminal legal cultures: by historicizing specific emotions and analyzing how they were discussed, experienced, and perceived in a particular legal context; and by examining the ways in which emotions, emerging from legal contexts and practices, could be valuable diagnostic tools, casting new light on more traditional themes of historical analysis, such as power, religion, morality, and scientific knowledge. Participants explored the (emotional) experience and subjectivities of legal professionals and the way that everyday people encountered the law as plaintiffs, defendants, or witnesses and how these people understood strategically used and even tried to oppose, the law's understanding of emotional phenomena. Some of the conference papers have been selected to be part of a thematic section on *Law and Emotions* in the *Journal of Social History*. Based on case studies, the papers discuss continuity and change in perceptions of emotions and their place in crime and morality. While having diverse regional and temporal focuses, all the essays share a focus on the courtroom

as an emotional space. They explore how those taking part in a trial handled different forms of knowledge about emotions in the practice of law in accordance with, or in opposition to, general social and cultural attitudes and public opinion. They investigate the presence, absence, and meanings of emotions in the courtroom as a fundamental aspect of criminal law practices. Furthermore, they take into consideration not only the emotions that were shown, expected, and provoked but also those which were repressed, controlled, or proscribed by different legal actors and the public.

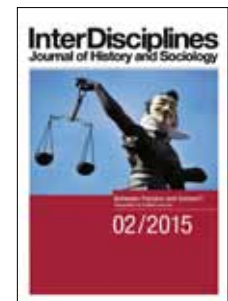
Legal regulations and practices were also identified as important tools for shaping the emotional setting of gun cultures. The workshop *Recht und Gefühl: Zur historischen Relevanz einer konstitutiven Beziehung* (Law and Emotions: The Historical Relevance of a Constitutive Relationship), organized by Dagmar Ellerbrock together with Sylvia Kesper-Biermann in cooperation with the LMU Munich, explored the interdependency between emotions and law. The workshop discussed the emotional dimensions of legal cultures and the shifts they have undergone from a historical perspective. It showed that passions influence legislation and senses have always been a part of the juridical process. It also proved that law regulates emotional behavior and that legal procedures often arouse emotions. Although passions and emotions have been woven into the texture of law, this link had been neglected since the Age of Enlightenment advocated passion-free legal procedures. Only recently has the inevitable presence of emotions in all aspects of the legal system reassumed its position as an important object of research.

Researchers

Ute Frevert
Dagmar Ellerbrock
Stephen Cummins
Laura Kounine
Daphne Rozenblatt
Pavel Vasilyev
Gian Marco Vidor
Sandra Schnädelbach

Key References

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Researcher

Ute Frevert

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Emotions in German Penal Law, 1794–1945

The project is divided into two parts that are connected by a single question: How does penal law make sense of, and deal with, emotions? In its first part, the project studies so-called crimes of passion—that is, manslaughter or murder—that were allegedly motivated by strong feelings of deception, betrayal, or maltreatment. Comparing different legal systems—in France, Britain, the United States, Germany, and Italy—during the modern period, the project analyzes the ways in which legal experts and lawmakers attempted to deliver justice in cases where the perpetrator had acted in a highly emotional state. On which grounds did they define “fits of fury” as something that could be viewed as a mitigating circumstance or permit attenuating judgment? The project argues that, by linking fury to honor, the law helped to ennoble the perpetrator. Adultery in particular was thought to compromise the honor of husbands, thus entrenching an inherently gendered conception of honor. However, leniency of the law was mostly dependent on “heat of the moment” arguments, that is, attempts to avenge the violation of one’s honor. By contrast, jurists showed less understanding for premeditated, cold-blooded revenge killings aimed at restoring the collective honor of the family. By discriminating between notions of individual and collective (family) honor, examples from European history exhibit a

qualitative difference in comparison with modern-day honor killings. The full extent of the hypocrisy in judging modern-day (Muslim) honor killings, however, becomes apparent when considering that gendered concepts of emotions and honor only disappeared from European legal thought after the 1970s, partly following feminist criticism.

In its second part, the project investigates how legal systems have dealt with emotions that were strongly connected to religious beliefs and practices. After laws against blasphemy were altered (since God apparently could not be insulted), the emphasis shifted toward protecting religious believers from having their feelings offended by those who did not share their beliefs. This was done very differently in different national legal systems, as the comparison between the Anglo-Saxon countries, France, and Germany will show. But even within Germany, public and legal opinion changed throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. For a long period, the law treated religious insults as a breach of peace; in other times, however, it accorded religious feelings their own legal status and penalized every offense, regardless of its effects. By examining legal debates and linking them to social, political, and cultural developments in particular societies, the project seeks to understand how and why religious feelings have mattered to societies and needed—or not—legal protection.

Researcher

Sandra Schnädelbach

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Feeling the Law: Concepts on the Relation Between Emotion and Judgment in German Jurisprudence 1870–1933

One goal of the project is to move past the long-spun narrative that situates law and legal decision making in the realm of “cool” rationality by taking a closer look at narratives of “feeling the law.” Judicial emotion, legal intuition, and a feeling for justice were equally prominent concepts around 1900. During the late 19th and early 20th century, a number of jurisprudential texts focused on the role of *Rechtsgefühl* in law and legal practice, debating whether this term denoted an innate sense of justice, a common feeling for the law, or a trained juristic intuition. Beginning with these debates, the project inquires into the meaning that was attrib-

uted to emotions within theoretical accounts of the genesis and legitimization of law. It discusses the influence of contemporaneous natural sciences on the function of emotion within jurisprudence and on ideas about (legal) science and emotion. Finally, it looks at how shifting concepts of emotions shaped debates on methods of legal decision making. Was it acceptable for a judge to consult his *Rechtsgefühl* when making a judgment? What was the relationship between the *Rechtsgefühl* and the particular form of emotion management expected of jurists in the courtroom? The expanding crisis of the German justice system in the late Wilhelmine years

and the Weimar Republic gave the debate on the *Rechtsgefühl* urgency: Increasingly under the eye of a critical public and growing mass press, judges had to "stage" the management of their emotions in the courtroom.

Juristic emotion management also had a social function, and issues of gender and class often determined definitions of what constituted successful emotion management. Analyzing the ways jurists were socialized as

well as the space of the courtroom and the jurist's tone, voice, and rhetoric, the project examines courtroom practices as a means of stabilizing or challenging existing norms of emotion management. Records on disciplinary hearings against judges show how feelings of authority and honor were central in defining the limits of emotional expression in court and how these feelings were undergoing changes at the turn of the century.



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Figure 8. Facing the Jury. Woodcut by Ludwig Manzel, ca. 1890.

Source. Allgäuer Online Antiquariat, Memmingen.

Passions at Bar: Crimes and Emotions in Italian Penal Law in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Between the 1870s and 1920s, Italy's intense debates on crime, criminals, and penology produced a wealth of analyses and theories. The focus of criminological debate shifted from the crime to the criminal, from what used to be a purely philosophical and juridical entity to a social and physical individual. This shift had a great influence in reframing perspectives on the relationship between human emotions and criminal deeds. On this matter, the so-called crimes of passion are particularly revealing for the historian of emotions. Drawing on concrete case studies, this project critically analyzes the figure of the criminal of passion as a complex legal, medical, social, and cultural construction. Preliminary findings (to be published in a volume titled *Emotional Bodies: Studies on the Historical Performativity of Emotions*, edited by Dolores Martín Moruno and Beatriz Pichel, University of Illinois Press) demonstrate that this legal debate gave new impulses to the physiology and psychology of human emotional phenomena, impulses that went far beyond questions of legal responsibility and mitigating circumstances in criminal trials.

The project also seeks to place crimes of passion in a larger context by taking up theories

and concepts of emotions that were contained in, or shaped by, theories of criminal law, codified legal norms, and new forms of legal and medical knowledge, such as criminal anthropology, forensic psychiatry, and criminal sociology. Which emotions were considered to have explicit juridical relevance or, on the contrary, implicit and indirect relevance, and why? A preliminary analysis of the role of emotions in the Italian criminal penal system will be published in an article currently under peer review by the journal *Crime, History and Society*.

Finally, the project has also explored the performative dimensions of emotions in Italian legal practices and rituals in the courtroom and especially in the court of assizes. It has sought to understand the emotional dynamics that influence the run of the trial. It asks how emotions were treated in rhetoric; how they were strategically used, staged, scrutinized, judged, and portrayed; and how this dynamic both influenced, and was influenced by, questions of gender, social class, age, and power relationships between individuals, groups, institutions, and forms of (scientific) knowledge.

Researcher

Gian Marco Vidor

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Researcher

Daphne Rozenblatt

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The Politics of Malice:

Law, Science, and Violence Against the State in Modern Europe

This project focuses on the politics of emotions in political crime trials in modern Europe. During the long 19th century, non-institutional political actors increasingly used assassination as a means of political action. Notwithstanding the close association of such violence with anarchism, actors of several political stripes executed attacks to subvert governmental policies or undermine the political system as a whole. But a successful assault on the state was less a matter of the murder itself than the discourses it spawned. Thus, the trial became a central battleground in which the prosecution, defense, scientific experts, journalists, and the assailant her/himself used a range of practices to explain and judge political violence. Courtroom procedures turned from the crime to the criminal, attempting to explain who a defendant was instead of what he or she did. Highlighting the psychological, physical and, importantly, emotional makeup of the defendant, these legal processes served a further purpose: depoliticizing the defendant's motive and, in turn, politicizing character and feeling. For jurists, scientists, and journalists, the character of the political criminal was the subject of heated debate, reflection, and redefinition. As theater, laboratory, and interrogation room, European courts tried the "modern soul."

At the crossroads of law, science, politics, and popular media, the modern trial is familiar territory for historians. However, the history of emotions gives a new perspective on the politics of emotional practices and styles that conflicted with the law as an emotional regime. For instance, the defiance of a killer's smile or insistence on revenge as a valid form of justice challenged notions of correct or incorrect feeling within courtroom jurisdiction. The increasing use of psychiatric expertise to explain criminal motives, changing notions of insanity and its conflation with deviance, new styles of political violence, and the emotional dispositions of rogue political actors contributed to the emotional redefinition of legal concepts such as malice. Emotions came to define motive over and above conscious intent and how the legal and scientific adjudication of political crime legitimized and materially enforced state standards of feeling. Describing the cause of political violence as the enemy within served a further purpose: as a psychological threat, political murder by citizens contrasted with the civilizational menace posed by foreigners, protecting the legitimacy of the modern state as a representative government based on consensus.

Researcher

Pavel Vasilyev

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Emotions in the Early Soviet Courtroom

The project interrogates the role of emotions in early Soviet legal thought and practice. The project focuses in particular on the experimental legal model of "revolutionary justice," which existed relatively briefly from 1917 until 1922. In this period, there was no penal code in Soviet Russia and the judges were officially supposed to be guided by their revolutionary feeling of justice and not to be confined by formal "bourgeois law." In the absence of clear judicial procedures and codified norms, early Soviet defendants also seemed to have more procedural freedom to appeal to the judges and their emotions. Following Terry A. Maroney's definition of law and emotion scholarship as "a multidimensional engagement with various foci," several analytical approaches are incorporated,

including focusing on particular emotions, legal debates, and the performance of legal actors in the administration of justice. Drawing on an extensive range of published and unpublished materials, including numerous investigatory reports and trial records from the Central State Archive of St. Petersburg (TSGASPB), the project shows the influence of emotions on the administration of justice, the performance of legal actors in the courtroom, and the framing of defense—while at the same time highlighting substantial discrepancies between the writings of legal scholars and the actual implementation of the new legal model. These findings are further situated and discussed in the context of early Soviet ideas about the malleability and perfectibility of human nature, the emergence of the new

Soviet person, and the transformation of the deviant and the social order.

The first results of this project are published in an article in a special issue of *Historical Research* showcasing new approaches to the history of revolutionary Russia. This piece attempts an "emotional" intervention in the field of early Soviet legal history and provides a theoretical background on the role of emotions in early Soviet legal thought and practice. An additional manuscript for the 2017 special issue of *Rechtsgeschichte/ Legal History* on law and emotions in modern

Europe adopts a broader perspective and considers a longer history of German and Russian debates about the role of emotions in legal judgment.

Additionally, a monograph tentatively titled *Revolutionary Law and Revolutionary Feeling: Emotions, Crime and the Administration of Justice in Early Soviet Petrograd* (planned submission date: early 2017) will be the first book to explicitly bring together the history of emotions theoretical framework and the field of early Soviet legal history.

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Barbarous Jealousy:

Law, Homicide, and the Passions in Southern Italy, 1650–1800

This project explores the relationship between law, homicide, and the passions in 18th-century Italy. The initial question was: Why did jealousy emerge as a crucial explanation for high levels of homicide in 18th-century Italy? How did new thinking about the emotions of homicide shape legal practice? A variety of legal texts, correspondence, and trials indicated that new concerns stemming from political economy around the "quality" of the peasantry caused Italian reformers to identify jealousy as a social problem. The larger context of this was the development in thought about how government, through legislation, could influence feelings and behavior. The most important explanation given for violent disorder in southern Italy was that prior legal regimes, those that came after the fall of Rome ("barbarian" laws), inculcated passions and customs that caused homicide. The admixture of laws instilled passions that caused vindictiveness and jealousy. What developed amongst many thinkers was hope for rational reform of the legal situation of the Kingdom of Naples. The 1770s and 1780s saw an increasing reception of models of law that gave a central place to educating passions. Laws were seen as tools to channel human passions. Moving from legal thought, the reality of certain controversial legal practices

criticized by such reformers was examined: forgiving crimes as well as victim-controlled prosecution. The project demonstrates that an element of early modern criminal law was challenged both conceptually and practically: the right that injured parties (especially the kin of the murdered) held to both prosecute and forgive offenders. Opponents saw this system as compromised by both private hatred and undue clemency. Their new approach saw an active role for prosecution at the service of public rather than private interest. The practice of legal forgiveness was explored in "Forgiving Crimes in Early Modern Naples" and will be discussed in a broader frame in "The Emotions of Victims and Legal Change in Europe, c. 1650–1800," forthcoming in *Rechtsgeschichte*. From the focus of this project emerges a methodological interest in explanations of long-term trends in homicide. Recent historiography of homicide sees trust in government and fellow-feeling amongst citizens as the most important factors in homicide rates, but without critical analysis of such emotional factors. The review article in preparation, "Emotions and Long-Term Changes in Homicide Rates," will assess the assumptions of the historiography by bringing them into contact with methodologies drawn from the history of emotions.

Researcher

Stephen Cummins

Key Reference

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Researcher

Laura Kounine

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Emotions, Gender, and Selfhood in German Witch-Trial Narratives

This project examines emotions, gender, and selfhood as conceptualized and experienced through the lens of witch-trial narratives in early modern Germany. It charts new territory in two critical ways. Where many history of emotions studies have remained on the level of representation—focusing on the norms and discourses of emotions at particular points in history, in legal, medical, theological, philosophical writings, and in visual and textual media—the project demonstrates how historians can go further to explore how thoughts and feelings could be articulated, expressed, and repressed. Second, this research shows how the history of emotions expands our understanding of major subjects of historical enquiry. The history of emotions sheds light on how gender norms were experienced and contested by individuals at the moment of the witch trial. And the history of emotions, by homing in on the interface between norms and individual experience, sheds light on the history of selfhood and subjectivity, themselves emerging as topics of major historical interest.

The project draws on highly rich trial records of accused witches to provide nuanced readings of the emotions, subjectivities, and selves imprinted in the testimonies of the men and women caught up in early modern witch trials. By tracing patterns in the language

of witch-trial narratives, it becomes clear that common folk made sense of themselves and their situation through the idioms of conscience, heart, and soul, idioms that were deeply entangled with the Lutheran worldview. The project demonstrates, therefore, that we should no longer think—as has been the dominant historiographical interpretation—of early modern common folk as only conceiving of themselves as situated within a network of social relations while attributing the higher realms of interiority to their elite counterparts. Nor should we remain trapped in chronologies of selfhood that focus on the Enlightenment as the key moment of change in the development of the "modern self." Rather, this work shows that multifaceted, and at times conflicting, notions of personhood emerged in these trial records, notions of personhood that were related to other categories, such as age, social status, and gender. Through this approach, the project demarcates the ways in which these selves were experienced and given meaning at a particular moment: that is, in the moment of being on trial for a charge of witchcraft. This work is forthcoming in *Imagining the Witch: Emotions, Gender and Selfhood in Early Modern Germany* in the "Emotions in History" series at Oxford University Press.

Key Reference

Cummins, S., & Kounine, L. (Eds.). (2016a). *Cultures of conflict resolution in early modern Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Cultures of Conflict Resolution in Early Modern Europe

Traditionally, the history of conflict in early modern Europe has been told as a story of how people learned to restrain hot emotional responses and escaped from the violent tenor of the Middle Ages. Emotions were "cooled" as civilization and law acted, respectively, as internal and external constraints. This collaborative work challenges such simple accounts of the restraint of emotions. Instead, it explores the complex emotional contexts and attractions of law, peace making, and mediation in early modern Europe. The book is a cooperative work, directed by Stephen Cummins and Laura Kounine, exploring the interplay of law and emotions in early modernity. The book investigates the emotional codes of conflict and its resolution in this period under three major themes: peace making as an emotional practice; typologies of early modern mediation and arbitration; and the role of criminal law in conflicts.



Minerva Research Focus: Emotions, Violence, and Peace

The *Minerva Research Focus: Emotions, Violence, and Peace* (2012–2014) studied the link between violence and emotions on multiple levels. It analyzed structural conditions and effects as well as cultural embeddedness and social interactions.

The crucial issue of civil gun cultures and how they were both founded on, and gave rise to, strong emotions was the topic of a conference that sought to understand the emotional impact of gun practices. This knowledge is central to concepts of violence prevention. Experts from Australia, Canada, the United States, Central and East Europe, and the Middle East debated on the emotions that are usually associated with gun cultures: Fear, mistrustfulness, pride, and honor. For instance, whether fear-driven actors plead for strict or loose regulation of private firearms depends on the way in which their emotions are linked to notions of gender (especially ideas of masculinity) as well as political narratives of freedom, protection, and state responsibilities. Particular shooting incidents evoke emotional shifts: They can either intensify indolence and self-centeredness or give rise to empathy and responsibility. The global comparison showed that alterations in the normative regulation of gun cultures have been guided by a modification of the emotional attachment to firearms. Media coverage was identified as an

important instrument for changing the emotional framing of gun cultures. Gun-related legislation can be considered as an important factor in defining the emotional coding of gun cultures, since the frequency of firearm use shapes emotional attitudes toward handguns. Research perspectives emerging out of this correlation were explored in a workshop on *Law and Emotions*, see p. 123 for details.



Figure 9. The myths of civil gun cultures.

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"After taking up my position as Professor of Modern History at the Technische Universität Dresden, I became an adjunct researcher at the Center for the History of Emotions and continued my collaboration with the MPI for Human Development. I held two talks at the MPI for Human Development LeadNet Conference in 2015: one at the Scientific Panel on *Understanding Violence and Gun Cultures: The Turn to Emotion* and one at the Career Session on going *From MPS to Professorship*. Together with Juliane Brauer (MPI for Human Development) and Irmgard Zündorf (Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung Potsdam) I organized a workshop on how to teach GDR history at historical sites, examining the emotional impact of historical learning. In May 2015, I was invited as a speaker at the conference *Criminal Law and Emotions in European Legal Cultures: From the 16th Century to the Present*, organized by Laura Kounine and Gian Marco Vidor (both MPI for Human Development). Since 2014, Juliane Brauer and Anne Schmidt have been offering seminars on the history of emotions in my academic department. Colleagues from the Center for the History of Emotions have often been invited to give talks in my colloquium."



Researcher

Dagmar Ellerbrock

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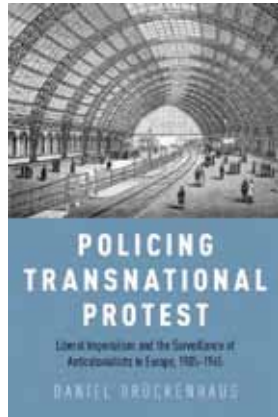
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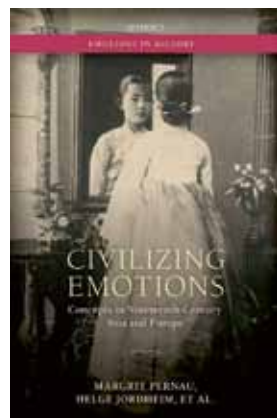
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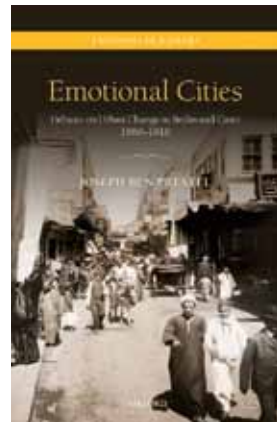
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