





Center for the History of Emotions

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Introductory Overview

In January 2008, a new research center was established at the Institute: the Center for the History of Emotions. An interdisciplinary group of historians, anthropologists, and educational scientists has embarked on a type of research that had hitherto been widely neglected, as historians had been turning a blind eye on emotions, and psychologists had not considered that emotions might have a history.

Emotions and Human Development

The Center was formed under the assumption that emotions matter to and in human development. On the level of personal development, emotions constitute a crucial asset of individuality and personhood. Someone who has lost their emotions (e.g., by a traumatic experience or brain damage) lacks an important quality of self that facilitates social interaction. Emotions enable and stabilize interpersonal communication, as much as they stimulate individual memory. But most emotions are not given by birth, they have to be learnt and acquired, either by imitation or by socialization. Here, the level of social development comes into sight. The degree to which a person embodies and expresses emotions depends on a set of social factors comprising gender, class, religion, nationality, and age. Emotions are not stable, but change over the lifespan. Institutions like family, school, workplace, and the military, as well as verbal and visual representations of emotions (in novels, poems, cinema, theatre, paintings, photographs, etc.) play a formative role.

Emotions can thus be considered as entities that contribute greatly to human development, both on the individual and on the collective level. At the same time, they are themselves shaped by human culture, both material and immaterial. The *éducation sentimentale* recounted by Gustave Flaubert in his 1869 masterpiece highlighted this in a powerful way: Firstly, it stressed the importance of emotions for the process of character-shaping. It then questioned how emotions were "educated," that is, taught, learnt, and cultivated through the course of adolescence. All along, Flaubert made it crystal-clear that this education took place at a specific historical moment. The passion of his generation, as he described it,

existed "only today," as an "inactive passion." Other generations, so Flaubert invites us to think, might have different passions and undergo different processes of *éducation sentimentale*.

Main Assumptions

The Center for the History of Emotions follows this invitation. We perceive emotions mainly as cultural artifacts modeled and influenced by social forces. Different institutions, we argue, display different emotional styles or regimes. They develop specific emotional scripts and ensure that their members know how to read those scripts. They also determine what kind of emotional commitment should be shown in what kind of social relationship. Societies thus create various *emotionologies*, that is, standards of feeling and emotional expression. They might differ between men and women, children and grownups, and slaves and masters. They vary according to social context and situational settings and they change due to new challenges and power relations.

Our first assumption, therefore, is that emotions have a history. They are susceptible to change, both in the way in which they are individually expressed and in the way they are socially assessed and valued. To give just one example: Anger in Greek-Roman antiquity bore a different meaning compared to anger in the 19th century. Its status in the socio-cultural fabric of society differed as much as its functions within social groups. Who was allowed to be angry and behave accordingly differed as well. Furthermore, the language of anger, its bodily gestures and facial expressions, underwent considerable changes. To what degree this might reflect changes in the proper experience of anger is an open and fascinating question. Cultural historians, aware of the power of language to shape



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

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and construct reality, are inclined to answer this question in the positive. Psychologists might disagree—which then offers a great opportunity for interdisciplinary debate and controversy. This debate has already started at the Institute and will continue within both disciplines.

Our second assumption refers to the power of emotions to make history. Emotions are not only subject to change; they also induce change and bear a considerable impact on social, economic, and political developments. As much as interests do, emotions motivate people's decisions and actions. They help to start and uphold communication and interaction among people, but they are also responsible for groups breaking up and disintegrating. Social movements that formed during the modern period heavily depended on shared emotions that kept them dynamic and going. Without the power of empathy and solidarity, neither abolitionism nor socialism and anti-colonial movements would have succeeded to mobilize and bind millions of people. On another tone, the thrust of anti-Semitic or antifeminist groups relied on evoking strong feelings of hatred, distrust, and fear among their followers. Feeding and channeling these emotions has been crucial for the success or failure of social and political movements that are considered a defining element of modern societies.

Time Frame and Historical Shifts

Although the history of emotions can be traced back at least 3,000 years, the Center focuses on the modern period, starting in the 18th century and continuing to this very day. We assume that during this period there were major shifts in the way people perceived and conceptualized emotions. The first shift took place in the late 18th century with a heightened interest in subjectivity and the advent of sentimentalism. The latter was not confined to the level of the individual; it also encompassed a serious reconfiguration of how the individual related to other persons and to society at large. Emotions were considered as major elements of sociability, civility, and identity formation. At the same time, they were seen as vital components of social bonding and political action on a systemic scale. Revolutionary and reform movements set out to consciously instill and educate new emotions among citizens, and social institutions closely monitored the educational process. The next major shift in the history of emotions came in the second half of the 19th century, framed by the rise of the natural sciences and by colonialism. Both were predicated on theories of natural and social evolution which profoundly influenced the nature of the European presence in non-European societies. European discourses on civility/barbarism and race became reconfigured in a way that not only altered perceptions of colonized peoples but also of the lower strata of European societies. This had severe repercussions on how emotional norms, standards, and regimes were constructed. The colonial encounter transported European discourses to the far reaches of the Empire and, at the same time, it deeply affected perceptions of the self and the other in the metropolis. Shifts in the gendering of emotional regimes were closely intertwined with discourses on "the East," and emotional standards were set by a dual distancing from the female and the "oriental."

A third shift occurred, so we argue, in the early decades of the 20th century. High capitalism and a growing consumer culture ("mass culture") forced a rethink of the boundaries and relationship between the individual and society. Emotions gained a public

visibility that pervaded all areas of human life. Political mass movements made ample use of emotional language in order to mobilize and integrate new members. In Europe, commercials intentionally and intelligently tapped the reservoir of emotions in order to steer consumer behavior. Industrial relations became susceptible to emotional management and therapy. The family—the nuclear family in Europe as well as the joint family in other parts of the world—was reconsidered as a place of emotional tension and conflict (between fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, husbands and wives) and consequently was regarded as in need of advice and support. Those (and other) developments changed the ways in which emotions were defined, read, and judged.

Conceptual History

In order to test these hypotheses, we have begun working on a collaborative project that investigates the conceptual history of emotions. This project starts from two assumptions: Firstly, the way that historical actors classify and label emotions provides us with insights into how they perceive emotions. This assumption links up with research conducted by historians of science. Secondly, we assume that labeling shapes the manner in which emotions are experienced. Here, we are informed by psychological approaches that stress the cognitive components of emotions and connect them to physiological changes.

Following those assumptions, we are collecting and analyzing articles on emotions and related words that have appeared in European encyclopedias from the 18th century until today. We are tracing the development of those words ("feeling," "affect," "passion," "sensitivity," "emotion," etc.) in comparison and relation to one another. This allows us to discover shifts and ruptures in word usage and meaning. It also allows us to discover discourses that influence those developments and shifts. At this point, it seems that theological and philosophical discourses were gradually outnumbered and outperformed by medical, psychological, and neurological reasoning. The triumph of social and life sciences

then brought along a complete change of key references—from God to nature, from the soul to the body, and, eventually, to the brain. It will be a major challenge to link those epistemic shifts to societal developments and exigencies. This will be done by adding other lemmata to our list. We thus contextualize the information gained by the analysis of emotion-words and connect it to discourses and practices in other domains, that is, gender relations, class and ethnic structures, or the politics of sex and religion. In the end, we will produce a monograph presenting the conceptual history of emotions not only as the interface between various disciplinary discourses striving for hegemony but also as a dynamic field reflecting power struggles and social cleavages in the modern world. As such, it is intended to sharpen sensibilities as to our own present day use of language and to enhance intellectual self-reflection, not just among historians, but in other disciplines as well.

Research Areas

Apart from the collaborative project that engages all post-doctoral members of the Center, each scholar has worked on his or her own project. Altogether, they cover a broad array of topics—from love to fear, from honor to trust, from "civil" to "barbarous" emotions, and from emotions in religious practice to those in social and political movements. As a common denominator of our work, we use the two basic statements mentioned above:

- Emotions have a history.
- Emotions make history.

Each project sets out to prove these statements in its own way by using a wide range of source material, research strategies, and methods. Many work with written sources exclusively, while others add pictures and oral interviews. Several employ discourse analysis as a tool of tracing emotion-talk and emotion-work, some apply theories of ritualistic expression and enactment of emotions, and others rely heavily on theories of linguistic and semantic change.

The projects are not only linked by the stated assumption that emotions are subject to historical change as much as they have an

impact on historical events and developments. They also share the opinion that, first, emotions bear an intense relationship to culture, that they are intentionally and unintentionally cultivated, and, in turn, strongly influence the way people see themselves as human and social beings. As this cultivation and identity-formation usually takes place in institutions (family, schools, the military, religious communities, clubs, etc.), an institutional focus is common to all projects. Secondly, they pay close attention to the fact that emotions are embodied, that they are felt and expressed through bodily gestures and movements. Thus, they cannot be studied without regard to the changing concepts and uses of the body. Bringing the body into the historical analysis of emotions opens up an intense dialogue with the natural and life sciences. As historians, though, we assume that not only emotions but the body itself has a historical dimension. Thirdly, every single project takes into account that emotions have power and make power, albeit to varying degrees. Displaying emotions is closely linked to power structures in a society or social group. Certain emotions qualify those in power and distinguish them from the powerless. As power structures shift, so do emotions. Culture/Cultivation, Body, and Power are thus considered the building blocks of our theoretical framework. They provide common ground for all projects on which to build hypotheses. With regard to culture/cultivation, we follow the assumption that educational efforts to shape and change individual emotions are increasing throughout the modern period due to heightened concerns about individuality and sociability. But it would be misleading to expect a growing tendency toward homogeneity. Even if hegemonic structures cannot be overlooked, the dynamics of modern life leave room for counterdiscourse, deviation, and alteration of emotional self-concepts. In relation to the body, we share the concept that it is the location of experiencing and expressing emotions. Social norms regarding emotional displays are implemented via techniques of controlling the body. This, in turn, affects the experience of emotions that are mediated by knowledge about how emotions

work in the body. Thus, the epistemological transformations within the life sciences that produce new ideas about the emergence and plasticity of emotions are bound to leave an imprint on day-to-day bodily practices. As for power relations, they tend to periodically install new balances between the private and public, with severe repercussions on the quality and quantity of emotions exchanged between those with more or less power. Negotiating power relations increasingly involves emotion-talk, with apparent shifts in terminology and semantics. This is particularly striking in the realm of political history, with regard to "national honor," or trust/mistrust of politicians.

Although all projects share this common ground and contribute to building and testing those hypotheses, they do so with different points of emphasis and focus. This is why it seemed useful to group them into different research areas. This does not mean that their focus is exclusive; it only means that those projects grouped together have more in common with one another than with those found under another heading.

Regional Variation and Research Policies

The emotional world that the projects set out to investigate is by no means conceived as flat and homogenous. Rather, we start from the assumption that concepts and practices of emotion follow different logics that depend on succinct cultural influences. The place and function that a society (an institution, a social group, etc.) allocates to particular emotions vary according to needs and cultural setups. Religious traditions have a great impact here, as much as self-concepts that mediate between former experiences and future expectations. Under this assumption, it is necessary to cover different areas in order to get a sense of how great (or small) differences and entanglements actually are and were. Comparison permits us to overcome the danger of perceiving culturally specific characteristics as universal.

Under this comparative approach, the Center brings together areas which have historically been kept apart as "the West" (Europe and North America) and "the East" (India).

It thereby challenges not only the alleged dichotomy between them but also the alleged homogeneity within each category. Instead of considering them as unified cultural spaces, we are interested in differences as much as similarities. While all the projects are united in their effort to introduce comparative perspectives into their conceptual design, several explicitly compare two or more countries in order to define the relative impact of religion, political structures, and social composition on the politics and culture of emotions. Comparison deliberately includes a keen interest in encounters, entanglements, and mutual influences. As much as those encounters have brought forth the categories of "West" and "East," they have shaped the discourses on and practices of emotion in each country. It should be stressed that this is an altogether new research strategy that is unique to the global academic landscape. Traditionally, research in the humanities and social sciences on Western and non-Western countries has been separated both intellectually and institutionally. If there was a contact at all, it proceeded along a one-way lane, setting out to decide whether concepts gathered from the European and North American context might be applied to situations in Asia or Africa. This could lead to stating similarities or differences, without, however, challenging the concepts and the epistemological dominance of the West. The refusal of post-colonialism to accept universal categories and its insistence on fragmentation are also to be read in this perspective.

The Center wants to cut across this mutually exclusive arrangement. Right from the beginning, we have brought together scholars working on Europe, the US, and India. While discussing a broad range of disciplinary approaches to emotions (in psychology, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, literary studies, art, music, film, and history), we aimed at an equal input from both academic traditions into the development of our own concepts and methodology. Thus, our emphasis is less on studying historical encounters (though this does have a place in individual studies, see below) than on provoking present-day encounters in theory and methodology.

It would be asking too much to expect each scholar to turn into a specialist on both regions. But we constantly expose researchers working on Europe and the US to such knowledge on India (and vice versa) that makes discussion meaningful and the evolution of a common frame of reference possible. The Center thus provides a model for integrating Western and non-Western knowledge into a common epistemological framework. If successful, this might offer a blueprint for the reorganization of academia, notably as to the position of "area studies" within social science and humanities.

Cooperation

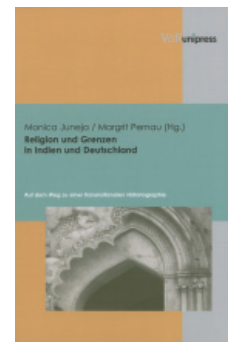
During its short existence, the Center has consciously fostered links of cooperation, both internally and externally. Within the Institute, we started interdisciplinary conversations with the other Centers and the Independent Junior Research Group (IJRG) on "Affect Across the Lifespan." We discussed different perspectives on the emotional framing of doctor-patient relationships with the Center for Adaptive Behavior and Cognition. We asked the Center for Educational Research for advice on teacher-student interaction. We cooperated with neuroscientists from the IJRG on "Neurocognition of Decision Making" in a common project on musical expression of emotions (see under Pernau). We engaged in a ground-breaking dialogue with developmental psychologists from the Center for Lifespan Psychology on respective research questions and methods. This is the most rewarding and intellectually stimulating type of cooperation: approaching other disciplines in order to learn how they perceive emotions on the level of behavior, (re)cognition, and perception/interpretation.

Externally, we cooperate with the newly established Cluster of Excellence at the Free University Berlin that works on "Languages of Emotion." We share crucial questions, and we benefit from the large amount and high quality of scholars in literary studies, musicology, film, and art who participate in the Cluster's research program. Several of those scholars have taken part in our weekly colloquium and vice versa. In addition, close contacts have

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been established with the Einstein Forum that stages a conference series on "Passions in Culture," with the Centre Marc Bloch, with the Graduate School for Muslim Societies and Cultures at the Free University, and with the Institute for African and Asian Studies at Humboldt University.

Internationally, we cooperated with a number of Indian institutions (preparing a workshop in Delhi in March 2009) as well as with the initiative to develop the history of emotions and the history of medicine at Queen Mary, University of London. We established contact

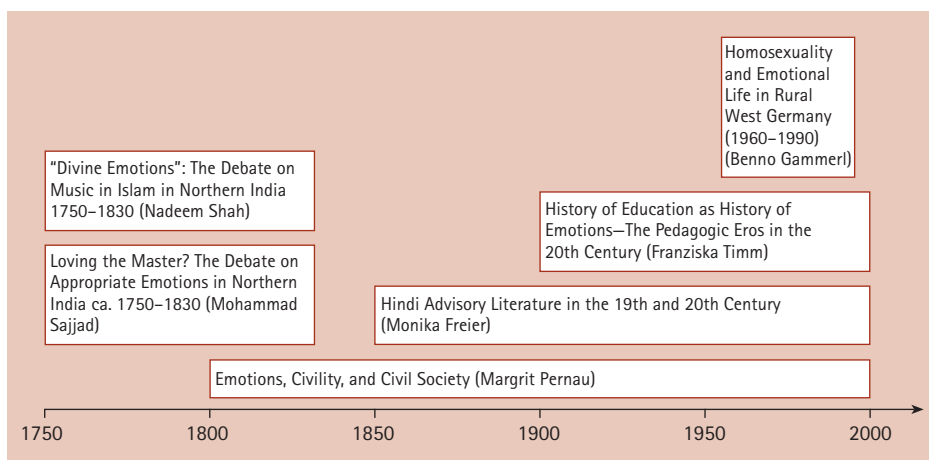
with numerous American, British, Canadian, French, Israeli, Austrian, Swiss, and Scandinavian scholars. Their names either appear in our colloquium series or on the list of guests who will pursue their work on the history of emotions at the Institute in 2009 and 2010. Furthermore, we started talks with relevant colleagues at Yale University (Steven Pincus), at the Graduate Center of City University of New York (Dagmar Herzog), and at the University of Chicago (Dipesh Chakrabarty, Rochona Majumdar) in order to organize joint conferences (summer schools) for graduate students.

The Center for the History of Emotions in April 2009



Left to right, front row to back row: Ute Frevert, Margrit Pernau, Nina Verheyen, Christa Hämmerle, Benno Gammerl, Salil Misra., Maritta Schleyer, Monique Scheer, Claire Bielby, Franziska Timm, Daniel Brückenhaus, Susanne Michl, Christian Bailey, Mohammad Sajjad, Nadeem Shah, Jan Plamper, Anne Schmidt.

Research Area: Cultivation of Emotion



Emotions, Civility, and Civil Society

This project poses two central questions. First: Society is built not just upon a set of institutions but also on certain rules of interaction and, hence, on an emotionology, on knowledge about appropriate emotions. Can we be more precise on the emotional foundation of political and social structures? Second: Civility is often perceived as the foundation of civil society. This concept is, at the same time, historical and normative, endowing the development of the West since the 18th century with universal validity. How does this Western civility relate to other concepts of civility? Taking up Shmuel Eisenstadt's idea of "multiple modernities," can we speak of "multiple civilities"? What is the specificity of the European attempt to civilize emotions? What are the repercussions for the genealogy of civil society?

These questions, with particular consideration to Indian Muslims, are being followed up from the early 19th century to the present, within three different settings. Courtly civility is being investigated with reference to the kingdom of the Asaf Jah dynasty of Hyderabad in southern India. Founded by a general of the Mughal emperors in the early 18th century, the state came under British indirect rule at the turn of the century. While Hyderabad was never isolated from either North India or from the developments in the larger Islamic world, it saw itself as the heir and preserver of

Mughal court culture. Courtly emotions were traditionally symbolized in the twin image of the rose—the nobleman's feelings for the arts and his ability to be moved by love and by the plight of his fellow humans—and the sword—standing for righteous anger, sternness, and courage. It could be suggested that three major shifts occurred during the period under investigation, first the shift from a military to a civil aristocracy in the beginning of the 19th century, second the introduction of administrative reforms and higher education in English for the elite since the 1870s, and, finally, a second wave of bureaucratization and a rising influence of the national movement since the First World War, which tended to delegitimize court culture altogether. The second field of investigation focuses on the rise of the North Indian middle class, which since the middle of the 19th century depicted itself in opposition to the old nobility and to old forms of religiosity. Instead of the importance of the ruler or the saint for upholding a moral world order, in which civility and civil emotions were alone held possible, they emphasized the responsibility of every individual. The methodical lifestyle advocated made the control of emotions necessary. As for the Victorians, but in no direct and unequivocal genealogical dependence from their ideas, it was the family and (later) the nation that provided a refuge for legitimately strong emotions. Up to the present day, social mobil-

Researcher

Margrit Pernau

Key Reference

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Figure 2. 25th jubilee of the coronation of Mir Osman Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad (1936).

Source. Yadgar-e Silver Jubilee-e Asaf Sabe'.

ity is predicated upon the learning of rules of deportment and of feeling, which alone can transform a newly rich into a respectable person.

The third field of investigation concentrates on Unani medicine. This medical system originated in the reception of classical Greek (Ionian) medicine and its humoral pathology by Arab scholars and later integrated elements of the Hindu Ayurveda. The knowledge on the interrelations between the body, the emotions, and civility laid down in treatises and journals of the 19th and 20th century emphasises that, while the bodily constitution of a person predisposes him/her for certain feelings—an excess of yellow bile for instance inducing anger, the inverse also holds true: Health, the equilibrium of the humors, can be reached through the equilibrium of emotions. Together they form a precondition for virtue, on the individual as well as on the social level. Besides charting the field of the secondary literature, a substantial part of the sources on Indo-Persian emotionology has been collected, ranging from princely mirrors, panegyric biographies, educational texts, ethical treatises,

journals, and advice literature in Urdu and Persian, which remain to be translated. First in-depth analyses have permitted to refine the methodology, notable in the field of the entanglement of colonial and indigenous notions of civility.

A number of PhD theses explore complementary aspects of this project. The dissertations of Nadeem Shah and Muhammad Sajjad focus on the transition period from the 18th to the 19th century and hence permit to gauge the impact of colonial rule through its comparison to developments already under way before. The dissertation of Maritta Schleyer, on the other hand, permits a detailed view on the interrelationship between religious and nationalist emotions in the first half of 20th century North India. As the entanglement between Muslim and Hindu emotionology has as yet hardly ever been explored, the dissertation by Monika Freier provides the opportunity to draw out the interactive elements in the construction of religious identities of both communities.

Nonverbal Expression of Emotions

Verbal sources provide information about emotionology; they are also one of the means through which people express their emotions. This project aims to look at possibilities to

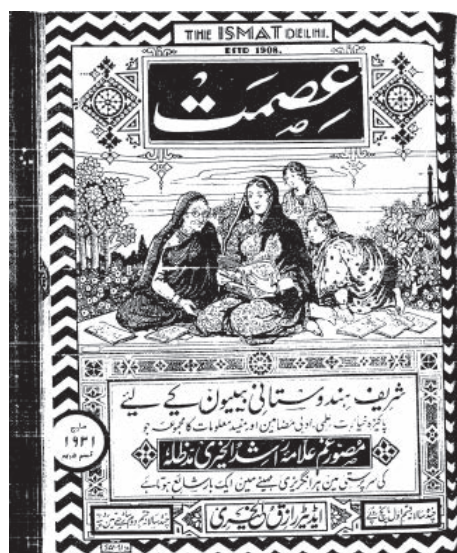


Figure 3. Magazine for Educated Ladies, Delhi.

Source. Ismat, Issue March 1931.



Figure 4. Workshop with Vidya Shah, October 2008.

© MPI for Human Development

get at emotions expressed through nonverbal media, even if the actors do not themselves provide a “translation” into language. In a workshop on Indian music conducted in cooperation with Isabel Dziobek from the Independent Junior Research Group, Neuro-cognition of Decision Making of the Institute, we tried to explore whether cooperation with psychologists and neuroscientists could help us to decipher these emotions.

In a live performance, Vidya Shah, an Indian vocalist, sang songs expressing different emotions. Participants with different degrees of familiarity with Indian classical music were asked to identify the expressed emotions and to classify their own reactions to the music. While the setting of the experiment certainly would require further refinement, it has shown that emotions can be evoked without language. The German audience, even without prior knowledge, had no difficulty of “feeling the music.” However, a commu-

nication about the precise kind of emotional experience is not possible without language. Every form of scientific testing and interpretation of test results takes place within a very specific linguistic and cultural frame, to which a direct access, circumventing the learning and translation process, is not possible. The basic difference between the approaches of the disciplines thus has not been eradicated, but confirmed. However, disagreement is not the end, and discussions on how to integrate music and other nonverbal expressions of emotions into the core of our projects are presently going on. Clifford Geertz’s dictum might become a motto for the collaborative ventures at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development: “Progress is marked less by a perfection of consensus than by a refinement of debate. What gets better is the precision with which we vex each other” (C. Geertz, 1973, *The interpretation of cultures*, p. 29).

Researcher
Nadeem Shah

"Divine Emotions": The Debate on Music in Islam in North India 1750–1830

There has been a perennial debate in Islam on the permissibility of "music." Despite opposition from certain sections, some Sufis have practiced spiritual music throughout history. For them, the spiritual music engenders a feeling of deep ecstasy and love and helps them unite with the Ultimate Reality. Viewed from the methodological standpoint of emotionology, the study of Sufi music during the late 18th and 19th century opens up new vistas of research. As the era was one of intense debates, reforms, and discourses among the religious/literary elites, the debate on music came to represent diverse "rules of feeling." The preliminary research conducted on the basis of existing theories of emotions indicates that there exists a possibility to find out if there was a trend toward cultivating new emotions or to give new orientation to the emotions regarding music. The debate among the reformers on the appropriate emotions regarding music appears to have placed emphasis on more constraints and regulations. However, a great deal of ambivalence

and inconsistency in their stated positions on music poses a greater challenge to the existing theories of emotions.

A comprehensive study of the available sources will put the theories of emotions to a close scrutiny. Secondary literature indicates that this particular phase (1750–1830) was a watershed in the history of Indian Muslims, marked by an overall intellectual churning. It triggered off numerous debates and discussions on discourses of religious reforms, perceptions of colonial intervention, and sociopolitical vision of Muslim elites in the contemporary period and subsequently. It is, indeed, worthwhile to assess the dominant emotionologies on music of this period within context. The ideas and attitudes of the contemporary Sufis/Ulema (religious elites) toward music offer an insight into the overall emotional flux in North India at this time. The multiple emotionologies on music which appear to have been formulated during this period hold out a promise to review the developments in literary, cultural, political, and religious activities in North India during the late 18th and 19th century.

Figure 5. Sufi musicians.

© Margrit Pernau



Loving the Master?

The Debate on Appropriate Emotions in North India ca. 1750–1830

In Islamic mysticism, the relationship between the spiritual master and the disciples is based on love and devotion. The Sufi masters prescribed for the disciples a strict discipline containing "emotion rules." This project looks at the standards for the love relationship between the master and his disciples in late 18th and early 19th century India.

In this period, the nature of this relationship underwent a change. It was debated by the reformist scholars who asked the Muslims to rethink their practices, access the primary sources, and shift their focus from the other-worldly to this-worldly aspects of Islam. Hence, they criticized the intercessionary beliefs and customary Sufi practices and rituals, such as Sufi music and the annual festive ceremony, performed at the Sufi hospices or shrines in the name of expressing devotion, respect, and love to the masters. The reformists redefined the meaning of human and divine love. This study aims to trace the link between emotions and the effective strategies

of the reformist movement to purge Indian Islam of local influences and ultimately wage a war against the Sikhs and the British.

The debate helps to understand how emotions were shaped by the contemporary sociocultural situation and provides the background behind the division of Indian Muslims into different sects in the 19th century. The study assumes that there were different groups or institutions within the Indian Muslim community holding different notions of emotions and styles of expressing them. This debate will also demonstrate the ideological positions of the contemporary mystics and scholars on the appropriateness or inappropriateness of certain emotions. At the initial stage, the sources and materials that shed light on the contemporary social and religious conditions, as well as the precepts and practices of different mystical traditions, are collected. This study endeavors to place the different attitudes of the mystics and scholars of India within the larger framework of the history of emotions and will, in future, contribute to a comparative study of emotions in different cultures.

Researcher

Mohammed Sajjad



Figure 6. Morning prayers at the tomb of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, Delhi.

© Agentur VII, John Stanmeyer

Researcher
Franziska Timm

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

Pedagogic eros is still in our days thought to motivate teachers to conduct their work with enthusiasm and passion. It is surprising at this point that pedagogic engagement is perceived as "eros," whose sexual connotations are inappropriate for contemporary education concepts. It would be justified to claim that this idea, whereby there is a close relationship between sensual love and educational practice, is an euphemism for perversity and sexual violence. This project aims to investigate the idea of pedagogic eros in the 20th century in a historically systematic approach and with the application of semantic field analysis, to explore four different research areas.

- (1) Firstly, in the area of pedagogic and educational discourse, treatises and professional documents, apologies and newspaper articles, as well as writings related to educational science and lexicography are analyzed with regards to the meaning and legitimizing of pedagogic eros.
- (2) Secondly, the project aims to shed some light on pedagogic advice literature that was supposed to shape teacher behavior and professional ethos. Relevant keywords in those sources are terms like "personality of the teacher" and "favorite student."
- (3) As the subtle practices of pedagogic eros are not discussed in the previously mentioned areas, the fictional treatment of the subject is taken into consideration. Autobiographical novels highlight the pupils' perspective, in particular, and offer an insight into the emotional world harbored within pedagogic relationships, for instance, "Girls in Uniform" by Christa Winslow, "Entangled Emotions" by Stefan Zweig, or "Ruth" by Lou Andreas-Salomé.
- (4) Finally, specific cases, where the teacher-pupil relationship was characterized as pedagogic eros, are studied. Recently, published documents lead to further research on this subject in archives like the Secret State Archive, the Diary Archive in Emmendingen and the Odenwald School.

Until now, the first and the fourth areas of research have produced results. Although eros is only marginally mentioned in teacher advice literature, education specialists often referred to it in order to discuss pedagogic matters. What seems to be problematic is the antinomy between coming close and keeping a distance, the personal as opposed to the objective, elites versus equal chances, or the femininity in educational relationships. For the daily teaching practice, eros was a controversial reference value. Cases from modern history include the pedagogic relationship between Alfred Schmid, founder of the youth group "Grey Corps" (1930), and the young Dietmar Lauermann, or between Hans Dietrich Hellbach, music and German teacher at the Paulsen School in Steglitz, Berlin, and his students during the 1940s and 1950s. In both cases, eros was manifested in two individuals involved in an educational relationship, echoing the archetype of the ancient Greek pederasty and serving as a mechanism for the reproduction of a patriarchal social model. However, aside from those important discrediting aspects, it could be suggested that eros performs an essential conciliating function between generations. It can be argued that the gap between teachers and pupils, growing larger through adolescence, could be bridged with the idolizing associated with pedagogic eros.

Hindi Advisory Literature in the 19th and 20th Century

This research project focuses on the importance of the cultivation of emotions in North India from 1870 to 1947, exploring both individual (subject-formation) and collective (community-formation) levels. Analyzing advisory literature will draw light on notions such as Indian and Hindu identity in a period of extensive socioeconomic and political change.

Methodological starting point of this project is the concept of emotionology. The cultivation of certain emotions, as propagated in advice manuals, sets up standards or "feeling rules" that transcend the private domestic sphere. Existing studies on advisory literature in Indian languages underpin this argument, often focusing on female gender roles and societal shifts in the late 19th to early 20th century.

Looking at a broader context for Hindi advisory literature will allow us to better understand the negotiation and mainstreaming

of political, religious, and gender identities.

Specifically looking at Hindi advice manuals, it is argued that they mirror the establishment of an alleged homogenous identity. The concept of an ideal Hindu behavior, drawn from images of past glory, is linked to the dissociation from cultural practices that are depicted as foreign and, therefore, threatening. This historical process is demonstrated in the way emotional standards are set up and undergo changes in advisory literature.

It is essential for the initial stage of this research project to examine a broad range of source material. A representative collection of advice manuals can be accessed in several North Indian libraries as well as the British Library. Supplementary sources—fictional works that explicitly state an educational aim, magazines addressing female and male audiences—will also be taken into consideration. Textual analysis of the sources reveals the ways in which emotions are depicted, the mechanism of cultivating and controlling them as well as underlying body concepts. Further in-depth research includes the influence of institutions, such as the colonial state and Hindu religious reformatory groups, working through schools, associations, and publishers.

By defining advisory literature as part of a wider cultural practice, the research project aims to draw conclusions on how changes in emotional patterns interact with, or even precede other aspects of social change. In order to set up a methodological tool box, the role of emotions in contemporary Hindi advice manuals will be investigated first.

Researcher

Monika Freier



Figure 7. Educational poster used for classroom instruction and as decoration.

Source. Rao, Sirish, Geetha, V., & Wolf, G. (Eds.). (2001). *An ideal boy: Charts from India*. Published by Dewi Lewis.

Researcher
Benno Gammerl

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

This research project explores the emotional history of rural homosexuality that has not gained much attention so far and, by applying qualitative research methods, it aims to answer the following questions: How and why did emotional concepts and practices, role models and behavioral patterns, change between 1960 and 1990, that is, while the social acceptance of homosexuality (slowly) increased? Which emotional repertoires –between friendship and love or handshake and kiss–were influential within intimate same-sex relationships, and how were they implemented, appropriated, and transformed by individual actors in specific situations? Thus, the project operates on two different levels. On the one hand, it scrutinizes the available models for intimacy and emotional repertoires by analyzing gay and lesbian magazines as well as certain films and books. On this level, the changing patterns of heterosexual intimacy—for example, the growing acceptance toward unmarried couples or the attribution of therapeutic qualities to relationships, to name but two, are also taken into account. On the other hand, a number of contemporary witnesses are interviewed as part of the project. These oral history sources allow the author to reconstruct individual emotional biographies and to discern different types of handling and expressing feelings in particular situations and constellations. While analyzing those differences, a number of criteria have to be taken into account, including gender, generation, and the contrast between rural and urban settings. As the main work that has been done so far was dedicated to the second level, the

preliminary results gained on the first level of research will only be summarized shortly to indicate the outline of the argument. Through an analysis of numerous male-to-male “lonely-hearts” advertisements it emerges that the desired relationships were often described as “comradeship” (*Kameradschaft*) and “ideal friendship” (*ideale Freundschaft*) in the 1960s, whereas the word “love” (*Liebe*) was not used until the late 1980s. Another significant change is that from the 1970s onward, a willingness to talk (*Gesprächsbereitschaft*) was increasingly expected from the prospective partner. These shifts exemplify what can be referred to as the transition from a hearty (*herzlichen*) to a tender (*zärtlichen*) emotional vocabulary or repertoire for male-to-male intimacy between 1960 and 1990. These changes correspond to the growing social acceptance of homosexuality, as well as to the transformation of heterosexual relationship patterns. They demonstrate the ways in which different models for the understanding and expression of feelings between same-sex partners were available at different historical moments. On the second level, the research project explores the ways in which these varying models and patterns were appropriated, adopted, and negotiated within individual emotional practices. These questions will be addressed on the basis of qualitative interviews with 32 women and men aged between 36 and 75 years, who have lived in rural areas of Germany and have experienced intimate situations with persons of the same sex between 1960 and 1990. We searched for suitable contemporary witnesses via the internet by distributing flyers and through advertisements in gay and lesbian magazines as well as in local newspapers.

Table 1 Survey Sample by Gender and Age Group									
Gender	Age group								Total
	36–40	41–45	46–50	51–55	56–60	61–65	66–70	71–75	
Female	3	2	1	3	4	0	2	0	15
Male	1	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	17
Total	4	4	4	6	6	2	4	2	32



Figure 8. Logo of the project "anders fühlen."

© Frank Schulz

More than 100 people responded to our appeal. Out of those, a group of 15 women and 17 men was selected, constituting a multifaceted cluster based on their age and level of education.

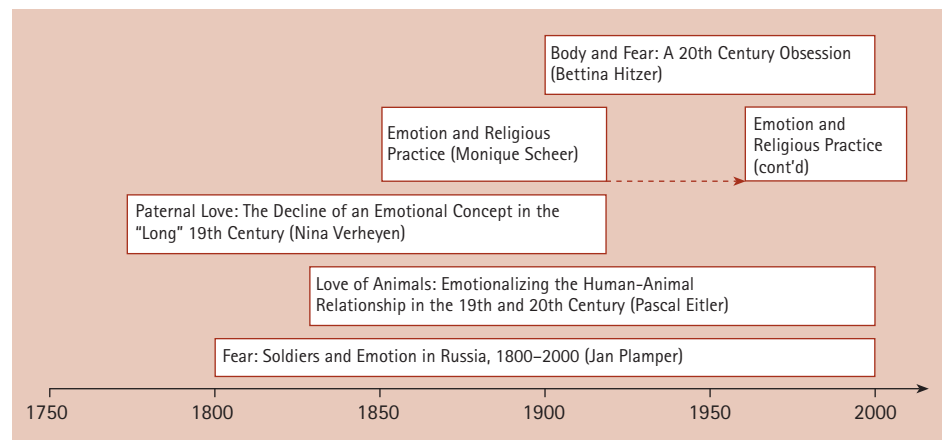
So far, 15 interviews have been conducted, and it has already become evident that the biographical experiences of the interviewees are quite varied. Several of them are or were married, several of them have children, most of them have moved from a rural to an urban environment, however, a number also moved in the opposite direction, for instance, founding lesbian communities in the countryside in the 1970s. There are two conversations with each respondent, usually on two consecutive days. The first one is a narrative/biographical interview that helps to reconstruct the biographical context and background of the emotional experiences and practices that are the subject of the second talk. The latter is a semistructured interview that follows an outline covering a range of nine different topics. The questions are partially adjusted to each individual case, based on the information gathered in the first conversation. They primarily address the handling and the expression of emotions in different contexts and situations.

These qualitative data containing memories and stories related to experiences will, on the one hand, be summed up in emotional biographies concentrating on the ways in which respondents described, understood, and

made sense of the changing manner in which they dealt with their feelings during their life course. On the other hand, the data will be analyzed by identifying certain semantic, narrative, metaphorical, or rhetoric patterns and by looking for significant recurrences and distributions of these patterns. These findings will subsequently allow for the formulation of a typology describing different modes of emotional experience in the context of homosexuality and of recalling and reporting those experiences. At a final stage, the goal is to find out whether these types can be related to a distinction between rural and urban contexts, whether they are gender specific, or whether they can be linked to certain generational characteristics.

Finally, the two levels of analysis will be combined by establishing connections between the models of perceiving and displaying emotions that were available at certain historical moments in magazines, films or otherwise, and the individual memories and narratives. By describing approximations, contradictions, and modulations, and by relating these to changes within the social context at large, the aim is to develop a framework for interpreting the change of emotional patterns and performances.

Research Area: Emotion and Body



Researcher

Pascal Eitler

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Love of Animals: Emotionalizing the Human-Animal Relationship in the 19th and 20th Century

A large part of modern society takes the love of animals for granted. On an individual level, this phenomenon was already quite known in the Middle Ages, as in early modern times. However, on a social level, this form of emotionalizing the human-animal relationship was, to a great extent, unknown until the mid-19th century.

This research project explores discourses and practices of emotionalizing and de-emotionalizing the human-animal relationship between the mid-19th and the end of the 20th century in Western Europe and North America with the focus on Germany. During this period, public awareness and social relevance regarding the love-of-animals phenomenon really exploded not only in Germany but also in Switzerland, Britain, France, and the United States. The project aims to view this phenomenon within a historic and social context, posing questions concerning the changes in the cultural conditions and ramifications of the love of animals. In this manner, the goal is not only to prevent a scientifically unproductive moralizing of the human-animal relationship; instead, it must be argued that (in contrast to the common claim) animals do not simply "have" feelings by nature; furthermore, the feelings that animals "have" are not more basic forms of human emotions, as is often

supposed according to Darwin. What is much more important is that particular emotions were at first attributed to particular animals, an attitude that was later challenged. Drawing on the example of the love of animals, this research project is directed against a problematic naturalization of emotions.

From the perspective of cultural history and discourse analysis, in order for emotions to be experienced, not only does one have to display and perceive them, one must also match and classify them, recognize, or deny them.

In this sense, the human-animal relationship represents a reference value for people to define themselves and their emotions in a wider context: People need to be recognized and respected by themselves and by other people, they must be shown to differ from animals, and one important aspect of this is the way they deal with emotions. In this regard, the project is aimed at three different directions:

- the changes in the relationship of humans with their pets within families;
- people's views toward laboratory animals used for experiments;
- the different reactions concerning "wild" animals kept in zoos.

Between the mid-19th century and the end of the 20th century, those three kinds of human-animal relationships went through a social process of emotionalizing (or de-emotionalizing). This process was interacting in hugely varied ways with processes of moralizing and

politicizing as well as processes attributing to those relationships aesthetic and pedagogic values. The love of animals was not, therefore, an isolated phenomenon. With the emphasis on Germany, the research combines different groups of sources, such as periodicals of the animal protection movement, advice literature, scientific compendiums, and lexica, as well as selected newspapers, novels, and films. Based on these references, the project demonstrates that for the past 150 years the love of animals has been tightly connected with controversial disputes regarding the questionable relationship between politics and morality, the possible importance of scientific progress, and the constantly changing family role models and education standards.

At this point, the research on the love of animals with the focus on laboratory animals is almost complete. In the case of the growing protests against animal testing (in Britain already since the 1840s and in Germany since the 1880s), the emotionalizing of the human-animal relationship was combined with a successive moralizing of animal life and feelings. The protest against animal testing was in this respect also a struggle concerning the hegemonic interpretation of the terms "life" and "feelings," between life sciences and conventional medicine, on one side, and philosophy and alternative medicine, on the other. In this connection, the borders differentiating humans from animals have shifted more and more during the 19th and 20th century, and there have actually been occasions when those borders were completely blurred: Since the mid-19th century and in reference to Arthur Schopenhauer, on the one hand, and Charles Darwin, on the other, man has been linked to animals as "relatives." With Schopenhauer and Darwin in mind, emotions obtained an important position within this social debate regarding the human-animal relationship. The question was posed: Do animals possess emotions? If yes, then which emotions? Should humans have emotions toward animals? If yes, toward which animals? In this context, the project examines different groups of sources especially for changing semantics of emotions (contrasting, e.g., "affects" and "reflexes") and different

strategies of emotionalizing animals (e.g., by referring to the "pain" or "fear" of laboratory animals). It can be argued that portraying such emotions was not only the most successful way of emotionalizing and moralizing the human-animal relationship but probably of verifying emotions as such.

The next step from this stage is to historically reconstruct the relationship between laboratory animals and pets: Often it was the same animals, cats and dogs in particular, dominating public awareness and private affirmation during the 19th and 20th century. Until the 1970s, it was mainly mammals, mostly cats and dogs, that were in the focus of this process of emotionalizing and moralizing; hardly any feelings were attributed to other kinds of animals. It can, therefore, be suggested that the emotionalizing of the human-animal relationship moved from the private sphere into the public arena.

On this question, as well as others, the project treads on new scientific territory, considering the gaps in the current research. What has been available until now is a wide range of philosophical interpretations, but hardly any empirical research on the human-animal relationship from a historical perspective (especially for the German case). For this reason, the project is focusing on reconstructing and analyzing historically significant changes in the human-animal relationship, concentrating on specific time frames and developments in the love of animals regarding processes of emotionalizing or de-emotionalizing.



Figure 9. Illustration of the debate on vivisection.

Source. Christoph Schultz, *Ein Beitrag zur Vivisectionsfrage*, Berlin, 1881, p. 34.

Researcher

Bettina Hitzer

Body and Fear: A 20th Century Obsession

The research project examines the changes in the way people dealt with body fears during the 20th century, particularly in Germany between 1890 and 1970. The term body fear includes a group of fears caused by potential changes to the body. At the foundation of the project, several assumptions have been taken into consideration.

The healthy body acquired a specific meaning and importance in the West during the 20th century. Infant and child death rates decreased significantly during the 19th century, while life expectancy rose. The spectacular successes of bacteriology in the late 19th century against a number of infectious diseases led to an unprecedented euphoria and the belief that all illnesses could be eradicated with the inexorable progress of medicine. At the turn of the 20th century, the idea of a healthy body was compressed into the image of a young, beautiful, and productive (in both senses of the word) body, and this was the desired model for the nation. The development and popularization of technologies, enabling people to preserve and improve their health, is tightly connected with the idea that health can be universally achieved (Foucault). The concept of precaution, or even prevention that became keynote in the

20th century is also related to that development. This modern form of prevention interferes directly with the body as it manipulates it and is tightly connected to a turn of the body toward medicine and drugs as well as an increasing risk discourse regarding the body. Prevention is increasingly important as part of the individual's sense of self-responsibility, perceived as a moral and financial duty that everyone owes to society.

How and why did fears related to the body change in the 20th century?

The first results indicate that body fears, in the sense of fears regarding the deterioration of the body, pain and loss of body autonomy, seem to have gained ground, whereas fear of the "great" death seems to have subsided. With regard to the relationship between body fears and anxieties of the soul, there does not seem to be a linear development, rather, this relationship was defined by a complexity of factors. In any case, it seems that cases of deterioration of the body are mentioned as an issue more toward the end of the 19th century than at the beginning of the 1960s. It was first during the 1960s that a series of taboos was broken, and people started to be more open about deterioration of the body. For the first time, the feelings of the affected people, such as fear, pain, and sense of shame became the focus of attention, whereas before those feelings were only hinted at.

The idea that everyone can manage to stay healthy and even to avoid death proved to be extremely important. Since this idea was proposed by various health industry stakeholders, people had to learn to care for prevention and awareness regarding the dangers that threatened their bodies but also to have the responsibility for their own health or illnesses. To what extent and in which ways this was managed will be among the questions further examined within this project. Another question posed as the project continues is whether prevention and the promise for a healthy body possibly caused more body fears by raising the hopes that people could cheat death or at least delay it by enjoying better health.

These questions and hypotheses are highlighted through two relevant examples: on the one hand, how people deal with cancer in

Figure 10. Campaign against cancer, 1931.

© Deutsches Hygiene Museum Dresden



public and, on the other, the social perception of old age. Following the decrease of infectious diseases during the 20th century, cancer has become the most dreaded disease in the West and is, therefore, particularly relevant to the project. At the same time, old age acquired a new meaning in the 20th century, when society became fixated upon staying young, efficient, and productive. The new credo is: live long and stay young. Prevention and rejuvenation appear to be more and more achievable. Therefore, old age is also of vital importance in relation to body fears. Within the research project, three areas related to fears of body changes have been identified:

- (1) the perspective of those who could be possibly affected;
- (2) the public display and representation of emotions;
- (3) how people coped with those emotions as well as the social, political, and financial relevance of those anxieties.

In order to explore these levels, a variety of sources will be used, namely, newspaper and journal articles, novels, photos, films, reviews, letters (written in response to relevant publications, events, campaigns, as well as medical and pharmaceutical innovations and scandals), archive material from pharmaceuticals, and insurance companies and health authorities (regarding prevention, prescribing medicine, and research).

The next phase of the project will include an analysis of the interrelation between body fears and body hopes in the sense of managing to be healthy, with detailed reference to the social perceptions about cancer and old age as well as regarding health policies and economic relevance of body fears. It will also be useful, at this point, to examine how various health specialists assess body fears, and which role those ratings play in offering, financing, and marketing preventive and early diagnostic treatments.



Figure 11. The ladder of life.

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Researcher

Jan Plamper

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Fear: Soldiers and Emotion in Russia, 1800–2000

"The most important feeling which governs all thoughts and actions before and after combat, (...) is the feeling of fear," wrote the Russian émigré General P. N. Krasnov in 1927 (Krasnov, 1927). This project investigates these feelings of fear from several perspectives. On the one hand, it attempts to reconstruct the specific notions of fear circulating in and among soldiers, to understand how they actually dealt with their fears, and to examine how fear influenced soldierly actions in a concrete situation like a battle. On the other hand, it seeks to describe the army's attempts to shape and regulate these emotions, including the place of fear within Russian military psychiatry's diagnostic tools and treatment of "shell-shocked" troops. Related constructs, like panic and hysteria, but also honor, bravery, and especially the issue of masculinity, will likewise figure prominently. The corporeal dimension is critical here—hence, the inclusion under Research Area "Emotion and Body." The focus is on the Russian army and the Russo-Japanese War and the First World War (1904–1905, 1914–1918), an apt case to probe these issues: Few armies exhibited a more volatile mixture of modern and premodern characteristics, and few wars in history have left more written traces of fear-talk by soldiers, officers, military theorists, and military psychiatrists.

Specifically, the project asks:

- (1) how soldiers were conditioned to cope with their fear,
- (2) how they actually dealt with their fear, and
- (3) how they were treated when they could not cope and broke down with fear-related symptoms.

The tentative structure of the monograph conforms to these three questions:

Part One: Conditioning

Chapter 1: Drill: The Formation of an "Emotional Regime"

Chapter 2: Detering Fearful Behavior: Legal Discourse and Legal Practice

Part Two: Practices

Chapter 3: Acting out of Fear, Coping With Fear

Part Three: Trauma

Chapter 4: Military Psychiatry: Diagnosis and Treatment

Chapter 5: Masculinity: Resocialization and Honor

In Part One, Chapter 1 deals with the training of recruits and the emergence of a distinct "emotional regime" (Reddy, 2001). A number of sources informed Russian military drill. One was military theory, for example, by General M. Dragomirov, who developed a doctrine of "controlled berserkerdom," according to which the superiority of Russian peasant soldiers over their "decadent" Western counterparts rested on the capacity to unleash (and reign in) their animalistic premodern selves on command. This military theory belongs in other scholarly contexts (philosophy, theology, and social sciences) as well as literary and non-Russian contexts (e.g., Tolstoy's and von Clausewitz's writings). This chapter also examines such sources as officer handbooks for the training of recruits and the sermons of military priests, Imans, and Rabbis who were instrumental in justifying killing despite religious taboos. Chapter 2 moves from the norms of abstract training and practical drill to everyday discipline, that is, the reinforcement of the army's emotional regime by way of punishing its transgression. It thus addresses how military authorities responded to certain forms of undesirable behavior that were attributed to fear—desertion, mass panic, and self-mutilation. Its basis is published legal sources and unpublished files of military tribunals.

Part Two turns to soldiers who had undergone military training and to their experience of fear before and in combat. Based on memoirs, letters, ethnographic studies, and archival sources (e.g., perlustration reports), Chapter 3 reviews the entire spectrum of fearful behavior among soldiers. It describes such phenomena as the deliberate missing of a target and the somatic markers of fear (trembling, profuse sweating, and involuntary urination). It details the objects of fear, ranging from fear-inspiring persons (officers) to the experience of having to look into the eyes of a dying enemy soldier, a trope one frequently encounters in memoirs. Furthermore, it inquires

into how soldiers made sense of their fear. In particular, it reconstructs how soldiers conquered their fear by dehumanizing the enemy and with the aid of religion, superstition, and psychological rationalization ("if I hadn't shot him, he would have shot me"). It also treats the issue of solidarity in the microcommunity of the military unit (constituting a mirror of the macrocommunity of the nation). This community was held together both by outside threat and by the fear of shame, for instance, for being apprehended as a coward by one's fellow soldiers. Under the rubric of "strategies of coping," the chapter subsumes phenomena like battle cries, humor, cursing, alcohol, singing but also breathing techniques and the compulsive repetition of everyday tasks, such as cleaning one's rifle. The chapter also attempts a thick description of a specific battle, for which it hopes to provide a fresh reading by taking into account fear as an explanatory factor for soldiers' actions that have, so far, seemed enigmatic.

Part Three turns to those soldiers who could not cope with fear, the greatest psychological stress in warfare. Based on published military psychiatry and first studies on Russian military psychiatry, Chapter 5 discusses the Russian diagnoses, etiologies, and therapies of "shell shock." Chapter 6 deals with the reintegration of traumatized soldiers into society. Through the prism of social welfare, this chapter touches on questions of valor, honor, and masculinity, all of which were enmeshed with the emotion of fear.

While the project has led to such spin-offs as the first book-length introduction to the history of emotions, the special value of a Russian case study—much like the Indian case studies in the Research Center "History of Emotions"—is this: As a prime exemplar of "combined underdevelopment" (Leon Trotsky) or the "simultaneity of the un-simultaneous" (*Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen*, Ernst Bloch), Russia casts a new light on Western European developments in the areas of emotions and military psychiatry. Wherever possible, the project looks back into the 19th century and forward into the 20th. Ultimately, an understanding of the historically grown culture of fear in the Russian military might

allow us, for example, to better comprehend the actions of Russian forces in today's Chechnya and Georgia. This contemporary relevance extends beyond Russia, as problems associated with soldiers' fear are not likely to go away any time soon. Thus, in 2003 during the Iraq War, the U.S. Army initiated its first cowardice prosecution since 1968, charging Sergeant Pogany, aged 33, with "cowardly conduct as a result of fear" (Glassman, 2004). In so doing, it reconnected to an old pattern of punishing fear-related behavior by soldiers, a pattern that goes back to the ancient Chinese and Greek military thinkers. This pattern was put on hold during the Vietnam War because of the inroads psychoanalysis had made in military psychiatry. Today, with a new generation of antidepressants widely prescribed by military psychiatrists, tolerance for fear-related behavior has decreased and brought punishment back on the agenda. It is surprising that the story of soldierly fear, that "most important feeling which governs all thoughts and actions before and after combat," has never been told in greater depth. This project seeks to remedy this.

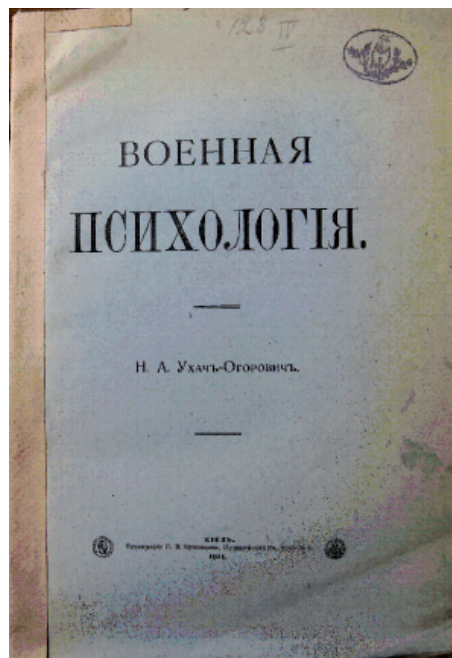


Figure 12. Book cover of N. A. Ukhach-Ogorovich. (1911). *Voennaia psikhologiya* [Military psychology]. Kiev: S. V. Kulzhenko.

Researcher

Monique Scheer

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Emotion and Religious Practice

In the last of his lectures on the "Varieties of Religious Experience," William James takes stock of the typical characteristics of religion. "In illustrating these characteristics," he writes, "we have been literally bathed in sentiment. In re-reading my manuscript, I am almost appalled at the amount of emotionality which I find in it." Though James the psychologist continually displayed great sympathy for the subjects of his study and essentially agreed that religious belief was rooted in physical experience, emotional rather than rational ("Instinct leads, intelligence does but follow"), James the bourgeois subject could not but be offended by the extravagant expression of that feeling. Theologians, too, (which James was not) have their difficulties with religious emotions. Whether the "feeling" of a supernatural reality can be trusted, and, therefore, whether emotional intensity should be sought in devotional practice, is a subject of intense debate across religions and time periods. Like any other feeling, religious emotion is also subject to social regulation and interpretation. What is more, social rules regarding the experience and expression of emotion in religious practice are constitutive of religious identities. Becoming a member of a certain religious group entails learning to feel and to express in accordance with the conventions and beliefs of that group. The project on "Ecstasies, Outbursts, and Rants: Emotional Religious Practices Among Revivalist Protestant Groups in Germany Since the 19th Century" analyzes the relation between emotional norms and religious experience among those who cultivate highly emotional practices as well as among those who scorn them.

The study combines anthropological and historical approaches. Fieldwork among neo-Pentecostals—known for the intensity of their emotional practices—and among mainline Protestants focuses on how they talk about emotions in relation to their religious practice. This information is situated in broader historical contexts through the examination of sources which discuss the same issues in the 19th century, including polemics against revivalist groups, apologetic writings defend-

ing the cultivation of intense emotional states in church, and first-person conversion accounts that discuss religious experience in terms of emotions. The recent history of enthusiastic religious practices in Germany is closely intertwined with that of the US: early Methodists from England and the US communicated with German Pietists, and German immigrants to America often returned to their homeland as converts to a new revivalist-style religiosity. This transnational network also plays into debates about emotional styles between different religious communities, and it remains visible today in neo-Pentecostal/charismatic churches.

Religious feelings are generally seen as "arising" when they are "triggered" by religious practices, such as singing a hymn, murmuring a prayer, and listening to a sermon. Social rules only regulate the extent to which individuals are "permitted" to express these emotions—for example, it is thought that in the Black American church they are allowed to flow freely, without much constraint, whereas in a German Lutheran church one is expected to keep such feelings to oneself. The approach taken in this investigation challenges this view, assuming, rather, that emotions (and their absence) are learned and practiced, as a "technique of the body" (M. Mauss). The religious practices of a particular group are bound up with the emotional practices they cultivate; they are designed to produce certain feelings, which are nevertheless experienced as involuntary, adding to their persuasive force.

Different religious cultures privilege different senses in the cultivation of their emotional practices. The Catholic case, for instance, foregrounds sacred images, emphasizing the primacy of vision as a channel for the cultivation of emotionally charged communication with the divine and culminating in the apparition experience. Another important sensory channel is hearing, from the inspiration provided by music and speech to the experience of supernatural auditions. The study currently underway tests the hypothesis that charismatic Christians see emotion itself as a form of communication with the divine: The perception of bodily feelings is

learned, practiced, and interpreted as a part of religious practice.

A previous study on Marian apparition cults in postwar Germany showed that they rely heavily on the expression of emotion by child "seers" who act as mediators for the assembled devotees in their interactions with divine beings, such as the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus. In one particularly well-documented apparition cult, the sources are a window on the seers' activities, indicating that they use bodily techniques from play habits to learn to experience religious emotions. It also became clear that the emotions of the participants observing and interpreting the children's activities contribute to the conviction that the divine beings are there to help them cope with war-related anxiety and grief. It can be argued that the Christian models underlying these emotional expressions function according to a circular logic: While learning to quell their fear, to console their grief, participants also learn to be fearful and to express their pain. This is confirmed by polemics directed against these religious practices: Critics claimed that rather than consoling, Marian apparitions engendered unacceptable images of a vengeful God and struck fear into the hearts of devotees. The current project builds on this work on the relation between religion and emotional practices as well as the use of a broad range of historical sources to access conflicting discourses.

The approach based on the notion of "bodily techniques," which allows for emotions to be learned and cultivated, their expression practiced, at times "merely performed" and at others experienced as involuntary and spontaneous, conceptually unites cognitive and bodily knowledge, bridging the gap between discourse and experience.

This approach emphasizes that cognitive and physical components of emotions are inextricably intertwined, that learning to name a feeling and learning to have it cannot be neatly separated. Thus, a study of emotions in religious practices must take discourses about emotions into account if one wants to understand what people are experiencing and why. Throughout this period, debates between "enthusiasts" and "antienthusiasts" are also debates about the status of emotions—where they come from and what they mean. On the one hand, emotions are seen as spontaneous, "natural," and therefore somehow "authentic." The religious meanings given to emotions—feelings of joy as evidence of the presence of the divine, for example—only become plausible based on this consensus about emotions. But other discursive forces pull them into the opposite direction: These discourses disqualify "mere emotion" as disconnected from thought and having no meaning whatsoever. The examination of the shifting currency of such discourses in different social groups from the 19th century to the present day aims to historicize religious experience and contribute to a broader history of the way we learn to "trust our feelings" or not, why some groups value open expression and intense experience of feelings and others do not.



Figure 13. Children in religious service.

© Wikimedia

Researcher

Nina Verheyen

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Paternal Love: The Decline of an Emotional Concept in the "Long" 19th Century

The project sets out to analyze the history of emotions through the lens of masculinities and family life, examining the decline of "paternal love" as an emotional concept during the 19th century. While motherly love has been intensively studied, fatherly love has barely been scrutinized in academic research. Its neglect is not coincidental, but a result of precisely the historical process this research seeks to understand: While in the late 18th century maternal and paternal love drew at least equal interest in normative writings, during the 19th century the latter fell into oblivion. Against this background, the project investigates coexisting and competing models of "paternal love" within the family, especially the model of an openly loving and affectionate fatherhood as a key feature of masculinity. Geographically, the study focuses on Germany, with France and Britain adding a transnational perspective. In terms of social strata, it deals primarily, though not exclusively, with the educated elite and the newly emerging middle class, which particularly emphasized the ideal of the affectionate fatherhood. Methodologically, this project is based on normative texts, letters, and autobiographies, as

well as family portrayals, and is viewed from a moderate social constructionist perspective.

The main questions posed are the following:

- How was "paternal love" defined and how did the semantics change over time?
- Which social groups tried to push or oppose the normative ideal of openly affectionate paternity, when, where, and why?
- What kind of social, political, and economic structures restricted the arena for openly expressed paternal love as a social practice?
- How did men experience and represent their fatherhood?

In Germany, the decline of paternal love as an emotional concept took place in a very obvious and, possibly, more radical way than in France and Britain. In public discourses of the late 18th century, one found the claim for both maternal and paternal love: In line with the cult of sensibility and the esteem for intimate family life, a number of educationalists and other members of the intellectual elite shaped the ideal of a father who took care of his children regularly, intensively, and affectionately. Accordingly, several middle-class men and even certain aristocrats presented themselves in autobiographies and family portraits as the emotional hub of the family; others, however, were quick to criticize the model, fearing such fathers would lose their ability to pose strict family rules. The extent to which normative texts on paternal love as well as visual self-representations of affectionate fathers reflected the social practice of everyday family life, remains an open question; in any event, the ideal itself quietly disappeared during the 19th century. While normative texts increasingly glorified maternal love as a natural instinct, paternal love was taken for granted or was even ignored. In family portraits, the father, now often dressed in black, slowly drifted from the middle to the edge of the frame, more physically distant from a tender mother-child dyad painted all in white. Furthermore, in novels of Imperial Germany, the father was often portrayed as authoritarian, distanced and emotionally controlled. Sometimes, even the term *Vaterliebe* no longer referred to his emotions toward his children, but rather to their emotions toward him.

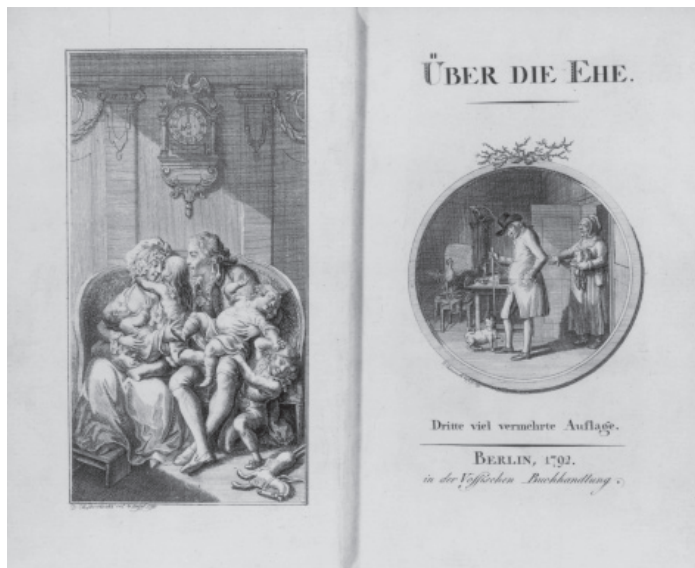


Figure 14. Etching by Daniel Chodowiecki. (1791). In Theodor Gottlieb Hippel, *Über die Ehe*. Berlin: Voss.

© b p k Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin

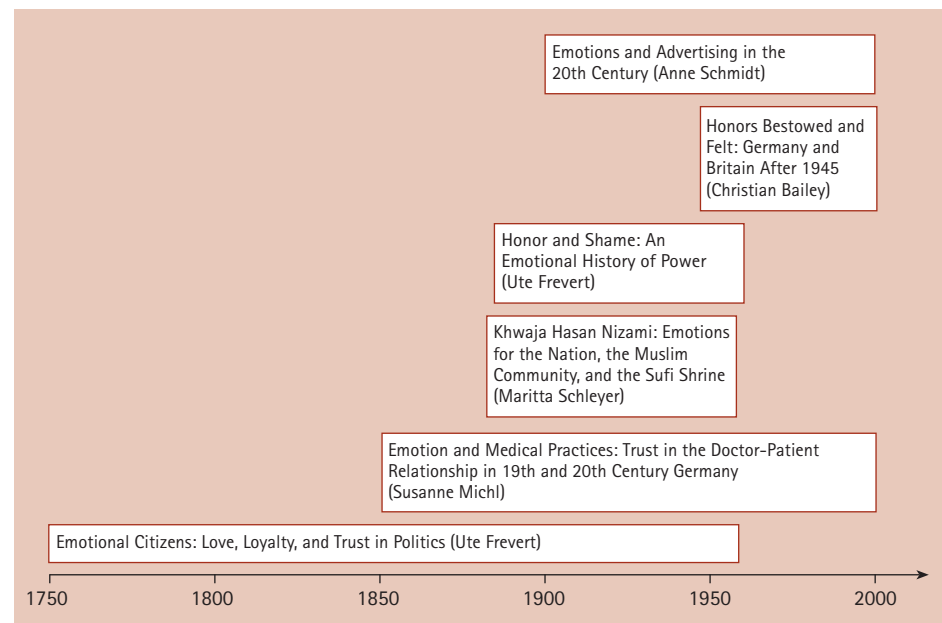
Family history is one of the rare fields of research that has always taken the importance of feelings into account—as they signify both social behavior and power relations. In fact, more than 30 years ago, family historians received broad public recognition for their bold and questionable argument that the emotionality of family life only emerged with the “modern” family itself. At the same time, feminists unmasked the concept of maternal love as a paternalistic invention of the age of the Enlightenment that tied women to the household while it set their male counterparts free. In this line, the project assumes a close connection between concepts of emotions and the division of labor both inside and outside the family. Still, overvaluing motherly love in modern times can only be understood in relation to undervaluing fatherly love, whose decline was probably entangled with socioeconomic processes in the course of the 19th century, such as the industrialization and urbanization. However, those trends alone cannot explain the shrinking interest in fatherly emotions, since recent research on fatherhood in Victorian England shows that the dynamics of an industrialized world could even increase the longing of middle-class males for domestic pleasures. In any case, from a male point of view, the decline of paternal love as a normative demand could be seen as an advantage as well as a deficit: It allowed men to pursue time-consuming careers and intensive public lives, however, several men felt pushed out of their families to a point where they had to seek emotional compensation and power assertion outside a feminized “private” life.



Figure 15. Domestic happiness—Häusliches Glück. (1808). In *Rosaliens Vermächtniß an ihre Tochter Amanda oder Worte einer guten Mutter an den Geist und das Herz ihrer Tochter: Ein Bildungsbuch für Deutschlands Töchter* (pp. 338–339). Leipzig: Glatz, Jakob.

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Research Area: Emotion and Power



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

Overlooked by most political scientists, modern societies see strong emotional bonds between citizens and politicians. Heads of state seem to be the prime objects of citizens' affection and anger. They are flooded with letters (nowadays e-mails) that voice all kinds of concerns, material as well as immaterial. They themselves invite direct communication by presenting themselves as fatherly (sometimes motherly) figures, sensitive to citizens' needs and sorrows. The project traces this relationship back to early modern practices of rule and government. It follows the development of modern politics in different constitutional forms (monarchical, republican) and analyzes the changing vocabulary of citizens' emotional offerings. By focusing on love, dedication, veneration, trust, and fidelity/loyalty (as well as their absence, negation, and opposites), it explores the emotional landscape of political communication. This implies looking at both parties within this communication process: those in power and those who address power. Main sources are letters written by citizens to heads of state as well as official speeches and proclamations of the latter.

How can we make sense of the emotional landscape of politics? Does it not run against the grain of modern conceptions of political power as utterly depersonalized? While early modern politics in continental Europe, so the familiar story goes, were based on the absolutist power of an omnipotent ruler, modern systems rely on a multitude of power networks that become more and more impersonal and volatile. Politics in general put on a rational and prosaic attire. Bereft of the decorum of early modern practices of representation, they pretend to be cloaked in grey flannel suits, rather than sumptuous brocade. Furthermore, they replace obedient subjects with self-assured citizens, well-informed and able to judge their representatives objectively and without emotional commitment. That is as far as the theory goes. But practices are different, and they cast doubt on the notion of rational politics and citizens. The language of modern representative politics is heavily tainted by strong emotions that are supposed to connect citizens and governments. To a certain degree, this language seems to be borrowed from premodern systems, mainly when it comes to love, dedication, veneration, and loyalty. Other emotional

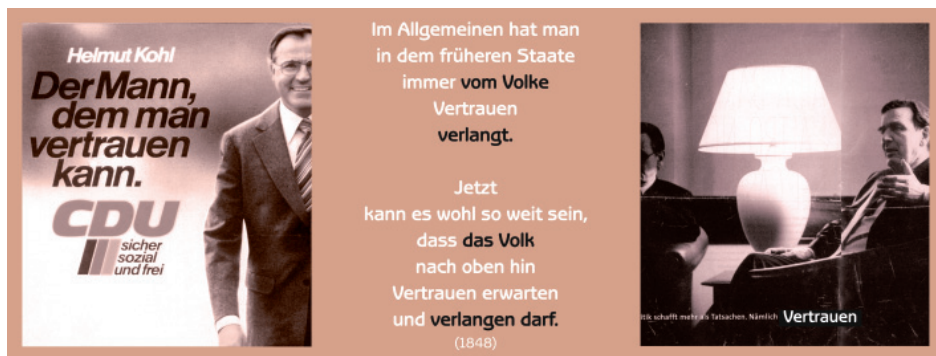


Figure 16. Collage of campaign advertisement in Germany focusing on trust.

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Collage by MPI for
Human Development

concepts like trust and distrust enter the field as original innovations and carry new aspirations and expectations. On the whole, and this is the main point, modern politics depend on emotional inputs that accompany citizens' empowerment and orchestrate their political mobilization. Rather than depersonalizing and objectifying power relations, modern political regimes—be they parliamentary democracies or totalitarian dictatorships—take great interest in tapping into people's emotions and using them as means of stabilization, integration, and legitimization.

The project explores those emotional politics by asking three types of questions:

- (1) Where does the emotional language of politics come from? Where and how is it formed, and how does it travel—not only in time but also from one area to the other? What role does religion play? How are the private (family) and the public connected?
- (2) Who uses emotional language for what reasons? What do citizens and politicians expect when they “talk emotions”? What genres and media do they prefer to send out emotional messages?
- (3) How does emotional language work? How do certain genres and media shape and create structural forms of emotional expression that, to a certain degree, define what is expressed? What kind of meaning do these expressions transport? What kind of references do they evoke? Under which conditions do they fail to work? What happens, for example, during political ruptures, when references are no longer stable?

As these questions are fairly broad, they need a clear methodology. This is provided by a well-defined set of primary sources. It consists of letters that citizens wrote to major politicians, mainly heads of state. These letters are collected in great numbers in federal archives and offer a wealth of information. On the other hand, the source material includes political speeches, addresses, and proclamations whose emotional appeal is being analyzed from the perspective of the questions mentioned above.

The time frame covers the modern period, starting in the early 19th century and ending in the 1950s. At this initial stage, the project focuses on Germany (Imperial period, Weimar Republic, National Socialism, GDR and Federal Republic). At a later stage, France, Britain, and the US will be included.

During 2008, the rather scant secondary literature was thoroughly examined. At the same time, the process of reading and copying the relevant letters (from all periods) has started; those are stored both in the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Imperial period) and the *Bundesarchiv* in Berlin, Lichterfelde (Weimar, NS, GDR). Several lectures on the relationship between trust and fidelity have been given, and a short essay appeared in the journal “Merkur” (January 2009).

Researcher

Ute Frevert

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Figure 17. Torn-up picture poster of a political convention of the NSDAP 1936 "Parteitag der Ehre."

© Collage by MPI for Human Development

Honor and Shame: An Emotional History of Power

A hundred years ago, the search for honor figured prominently on the list of major human emotions. Men killed and were killed because they strove to save their honor. Insults were perceived as acts against honor of a person and received a fervent rebuke. Today, at least in Western countries, honor seems to have lost its prevalence. It is no longer seen as motivating people's actions and nonactions. The same holds true for national honor. Although many people tend to feel patriotic and proud of their country, they seldom think in terms of national honor and dishonor. In other regions of the world, though, honor still reigns. Honor killings persist until this very day, and international relations are often represented as questions of honor.

So what has happened to Western notions of honor during the course of the 20th century? How can we understand the emotional drain-out, in contrast to the persistence of honor-based emotions and actions in non-Western societies? What does it tell us about power relations and about the inequality of those who participate in them? How does power translate into honor, and what kind of power—cultural, political, economic, etc.—is at stake? Does the alleged decline of honor

reflect, as Max Weber suggested, the rise of capitalism as a way of structuring social relations according to economic interests? Do feelings of honor interrupt and undermine the smooth functioning of market forces and are, thus, to be eliminated? Have international relations become interest-driven as well, so that practices of honor and shame no longer play any role?

The project seeks to test (and possibly refute) Weber's hypothesis by singling out four research areas. They are closely connected and follow the assumption that social and national honor are profoundly intertwined. Firstly, the project explores to what degree the alleged loss of honor in the West is merely a semantic problem. Can it be, so the question goes, that honor is no longer mentioned because its substance has been incorporated into other emotional concepts like pride, dignity, and respect, etc.? A study of modern encyclopedias and dictionaries seems to point to this direction. It also reveals interesting national differences. While honor has become marginal in West German linguistic discourse after 1945, it has kept much of its salience in Great Britain, the US, and France. This might be due to the abundance of honor talk during National Socialism and its thorough repudiation after the collapse of the "Third Reich." As part of the *Lingua Tertii Imperii* (Victor Klemperer) honor, it seems that it became an un-word in the Federal Republic, like many others (e.g., fidelity). Employed only reluctantly in public discourse, those words found it hard to retrieve a positive meaning. In other Western countries, the rupture was much less dramatic. Interestingly, the GDR presents yet another case. Here, honor was revived immediately after the foundation of the East German state and put to its service. The regime created a vibrant culture of honor largely modeled after the Soviet example and drawing on the experiences of earlier socialist movements. To what degree this culture managed to reach and influence people's behavior and emotions is an open question. In order to provide an answer, the project looks, secondly, at the rituals and practices of honoring individual people. Christian Bailey's project concerns this matter.



On a third level of investigation, the project focuses on those practices that are meant to insult and shame a person. Insults are legally defined as attacks on the honor of a person. So at least the law must have an idea of what this honor is about and of what it consists. By looking at legal texts (codifications, commentaries) over the course of the 19th and 20th century, I expect to see changing concepts of what an insult was meant to be and why a certain behavior was considered harmful to the honor of a person. These concepts, so the hypothesis goes, lend themselves to changing notions of civility that govern the expression of emotions in social behavior (here, my project links up with Margrit Pernau's). As a next step, archival sources (mainly court cases) have to be consulted in order to reconstruct both norms and practices of insult and shaming. No decision has been taken as to now, if the archival work will expand in countries like Britain, France, and the US in addition to Germany, both West and East.

Fourthly, and finally, the project explores the notion of national honor and the practices attached to it, mainly, language, images, and rituals. Here, the scope is again an international one. On a comparative basis, both internal and external usages of honor will be analyzed throughout the 20th century. A first examination of diplomatic sources has revealed to what extent all European powers employed a language of honor when they prepared to go to war in 1914. During the war and in its aftermath, honor was again heavily in demand. It seems that especially nations like Germany, Austria, and Italy felt, thought, and argued in terms of honor and shame. There is multiple evidence that they were extremely susceptible to what they perceived as shaming strategies on the part of victorious nations. This hypothesis is tested by means of media articles, political speeches, posters, and citizens' communications with politicians. Particular attention is given to those practices that linked personal and national honor as well as personal and national shame. The phenomenon of the "shorn women" who were accused of having dishonored the nation by engaging in sexual relationships with

enemy soldiers is a case in point. Shaving these women's heads was used as a humiliating practice that took away their honor and subjected them to public shame.

The fact that gendered notions of honor and shame transcend national and regional boundaries becomes apparent when we introduce India as an object of comparison. During Partition, women on both sides sought to save their honor by committing suicide. Female honor here became closely linked to communal honor. How far this analogy goes will be examined in greater depth, first on the basis of secondary literature, later by using published primary sources.

So far, the focus of the project has been on conceptual work, collecting primary sources on honor and related concepts throughout the modern period (1740–1960) for countries like Britain, Germany, Italy, and France. Encyclopedia articles have mainly been used, as they allow to follow the development of the concept over time. Primary material has also been collected concerning conflicts over honor and shame during the early 20th century, especially during and after World War I and World War II.



Figure 18. "A la France bientôt l'Alsace réunie," postcard 1915.

© Historical postcard collection, University of Osnabrück

Researcher
Christian Bailey

Honors Bestowed and Felt: Germany and Britain After 1945

This project analyzes the act of bestowing honors, the ritual of awarding honors, the wearing of honors as decorations, and the reception of such public commendations by national publics. The practices of honors-giving and receiving are highlighted as instances of emotional control on the part of the state and of emotional arousal on the part of the publics.

The ritual of honors-giving is described as one of a number of symbolic gestures within cultures that has structured the emotional life of the citizens. During the 20th century, unprecedented numbers of citizens have been recruited to fight and kill within wars and have then been expected to reorient themselves within a peaceful political order. For this, the institution of honors-giving has been crucial, helping individuals to manage the emotional transition between war and peace. The emotions aroused by engaging in destructive acts against an enemy, and the accompanying danger, are stabilized by rituals of honors-giving and receiving that promise to offer the individual a permanent position within the elite of a nation.

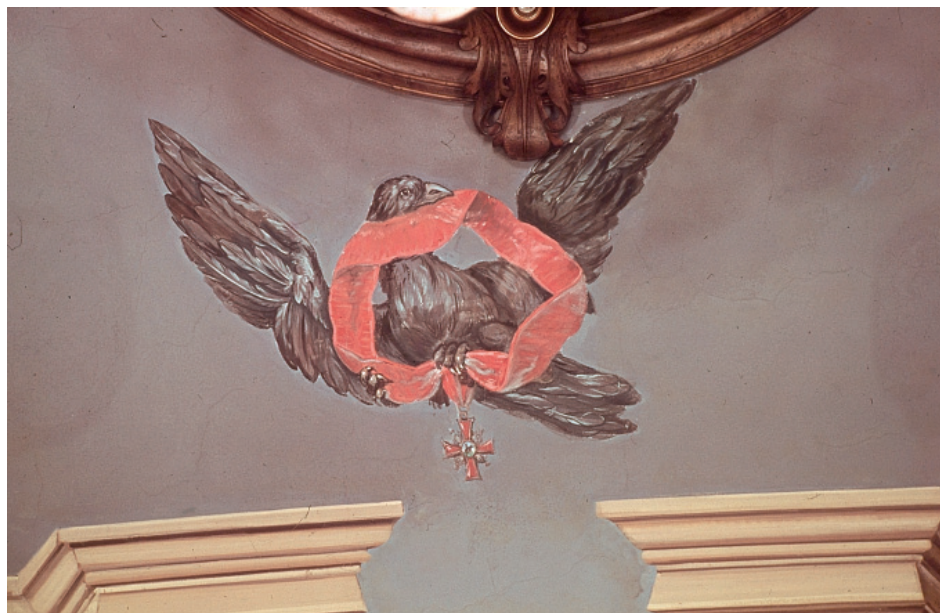
An investigation into the honors system in the post-1945 period economically provides a

broad perspective on the social, political, and cultural history of Germany and Britain. The great number of honors awarded in Britain after the Second World War suggests that political leaders sought to recognize and regiment the emotional labor expended in fighting this protracted conflict. By contrast, the abolition of honors-giving and decoration-wearing in post-Second World War occupied Germany implies that the postwar authorities sought not to validate the emotional labor expended by German soldiers. However, the revival of an honors system in both the Federal and Democratic Republics suggests that, without such symbolic gestures, German political leaders would not have been able to secure the emotional investment of their citizens in the state. Indeed, such emotional commitment needed to be created anew after the discrediting of German political authority that accompanied military defeat and widespread condemnation of the National Socialist Regime.

This project is not, however, merely designed as a study of postwar *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. The study assesses the place of the honors system in the creation of two new German states and in the reinvention of the British state during the postcolonial era. The retention of an Imperial honors system in Britain during a period of decolonization and

Figure 19. Castle Molsdorf; detail: Eagle with medal. Painter: Peter Weingart (1738).

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für Kunstgeschichte,
München



fading great power status offers a revealing insight into the challenges faced by a political leadership in maintaining an emotional regime domestically, while losing power internationally. Similarly, in German states, whose provisional status within an unstable Cold War international context was potentially harmful to their legitimacy, the ritual of bestowing honors was an important part of the (re)establishment of state sovereignty. Honors functioned as a means of encouraging citizens' emotional investment, either in a West German state eager to prove its credentials as a member of a Western liberal democratic bloc or in an East German state that strived to be part of the Soviet global vanguard. The analysis of the honors system as an instance of an emotional regime established and policed by the modern state involves a consideration of a complex of emotions. However, this research will particularly interrogate the relationship between the honors system and the notion of honor as an emotion. It benefits from recent historical scholarship that has demonstrated how honor, regarded in the early modern period as an individual and private quality, became a public, or even nationalized, emotion in the 19th and 20th centuries. An analysis of the honors system offers a valuable perspective on the political appropriation and policing of this emotion, particularly after earlier notions of national honor had been disavowed, having appeared to provoke foreign policy aggression and military conflict. The endurance of honors systems suggests that the arousal and evocation of the emotion of honor has been deemed essential for establishing stability, consensus, and hierarchy within the modern nation-state.

In spite of the overall endurance of the honors system in Britain and Germany, there have been striking instances of prominent individuals refusing or renouncing such official accolades. This project directs attention to such examples of refusal, which illustrate the limits of the emotional regimes in both countries. When individuals accept the recognition of their work, they accept they have provided a service to the state and thus render their labor to the state. Similarly, when they

acknowledge being honored by the state, they internalize the state's emotional regime: They will be honored. However, when individuals, such as the Nobel Prize winning novelist Doris Lessing, declined being honored, they refused to hand over their labor and refused to "feel" the emotions encouraged by the state. When others, like Günter Grass, renounced their honors, they declined continuing to place their work at the service of the state and to have their emotional lives structured by the state.

The study analyzes military and governmental records as well as media reportage, personal testimonies, and material culture sources such as medals, uniforms, and iconography. Much of the research is being conducted in the *Bundesarchiv* in Berlin, the Royal Archives in Windsor, and the National Archives in Kew.

Researcher
Susanne Michl

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

The medical encounter between doctors and their patients does not take place in an emotionally neutral space. Numerous emotions are generated, negotiated, and suppressed in the supposedly rational field of therapeutic practice. Especially the claim for trust lies at the heart of the relationship between medical practitioners and their patients, not least because this emotional pattern is able to negotiate the power relations between the two parties.

In this project, trust and trust production stand for a complex emotional management that is effective in the range of health practices by patients and doctors. How are emotions regulated, steered, encouraged, or impeded, and by whom? Which forms of emotional expression are judged as adequate or inadequate? Which emotional rules and norms are set up, and how are these rules dealt with? Therefore, the focus is on the changing processes and strategies of emotional attachment and distancing as well as the attribution of specific emotional dispositions and expectations, for example,

the circumstances under which empathy and compassion became a desirable aspect of the medical encounter. Comparative aspects with other European countries, especially France, are included in the project.

Firstly, the medical literature concerning the doctor–patient relationship has been scrutinized: medical text books and newspapers, teaching materials for medical students and reference books of medical psychology with the objective of pointing out the quantitative and qualitative changes in the discourse on trust occurring in the 19th and 20th century. This general overview permits, at a further stage, to examine, in more detail, the emotional management in different sociocultural settings. The focus is here particularly on general practitioners and on various patient groups, such as women, workers, and families. Popular journals and newspapers as well as patient–doctor correspondence and diaries serve as historical sources in exploring the ways patients dealt with emotions in the medical encounter.

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

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



Figure 20. Pharmaceutical advertisement, ca. 1950.

© b p k bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin

know one another, at the core of the latter lies a rather abstract expert system based on different mechanisms of trust. In this approach, encounters between doctors and patients could be perceived as access points which are, according to Giddens, "sources of vulnerability for abstract systems." As first results suggest, the emergence of scientific medicine in the middle of the 19th century strengthened the perception that emotions disturb the doctor's clinical gaze upon the patient's body. Still, great efforts had to be made in order to suppress the emotions emerging during a medical encounter. The trust production, though, had to rely even more on external habits and conducts than on emotional patterns.

- (2) In the 20th century, the doctor-patient relationship did not remain static. There is a consensus in the research literature to describe the changing doctor-patient relationship in the 20th century by means of shifting power relations. In the first half of the 20th century, the paternalistic type of the medical encounter, as it developed during the 19th century, was still predominant. Particularly when it came to medical decision-making, the practitioner exerted his authority over the patient like a father taking care of his family. This model, though, seemed to falter in the second half of the century, when what could be described as a partner relationship emerged, notably with the introduction of an ethical concept developed in the US and concerning the medical decision-making: the concept of informed consent.

In the course of the century, more attention was paid to psychological dimensions of the medical encounter. Particularly in a psychoanalytic approach, the emotions of the patient as well as the doctor were scrutinized in their interaction. The famous book "The Doctor, His Patient and the Illness" by psychoanalyst Michael Balint had an enormous impact on the conceptualization of a highly emotional doctor-patient encounter. For a successful therapy, Balint strongly emphasized upon the self-cultivation of the general

practitioner who is required to control and dose his or her emotions conceived as drugs accelerating or slowing down the patient's recovery.

Finally, the project is related to an interdisciplinary field of medical history and medical ethics as well as medical psychology and medical sociology; the relevant institutes of medical faculties in Germany are committed to training medical students and doctors in psychology and communication skills and ensuring that they share the commonly accepted standards of ethical practice. Cooperation with those institutes is necessary for this project in order to reach those dealing with the management of emotions in their daily practice.

Researcher
Maritta Schleyer

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

Khwaja Hasan Nizami (1878–1955), a Sufi of the Chishti Islamic mystic order—an emotionally expressive devotional practice by tradition—was an influential figure in the public life of Delhi and North India in the first half of the 20th century. Not only was he a religious teacher, reformer, and missionary but also a highly prolific author and journalist, who took part in various religious and political discourses, often closely interwoven. The historical backdrop of Khwaja Hasan Nizami's work was marked by the Indian nationalist movement against the British colonial power, a variety of flourishing religious reform movements and growing tensions between Hindus and Muslims.

This project aims to shed light on particular ways in which devotional Islam responded to the challenges of a changing political and religious landscape. Khwaja Hasan Nizami's appropriation of the nationalist cause, his usage of modern communication techniques and orthodox rhetoric, and the propagation of a new set of religious emotional norms can be interpreted as tools expressing negotiations of identity and influence as well as survival strategies for Sufism in a situation where it faced growing marginalization.

In the initial phase of research, published and unpublished sources are gathered from South Asian and European libraries and archives, consisting of Khwaja Hasan Nizami's large literary output and of secondary sources that locate him within the ongoing debates among different religious groups and the nationalist movement.

The subsequent study phase of the project is devoted to an in-depth analysis of the material questioning the interrelation between Khwaja Hasan Nizami's religious agenda of defence and modernization of Sufi practice and an Islamic mission, on the one hand, and his political activism, on the other. The study, therefore, aims to prove that, in Nizami's work, emotions form a link between the political plateau and the religious realms, as manifested, for instance, in his evocation of an "emotional community" of Indian Muslims

of the past glorious Mughal kingdom and of a possible future "Muslim" Indian nation. Emotions are thus perceived to be connecting social, political, economic, and religious conflicts on the local level, individual motives and the nationalist cause.

In addition to theories on the history of emotions, Foucault's concept of "governmentality" is being explored as a further possible tool to establish this conceptual link between the two strands of Khwaja Hasan Nizami's work, both reflecting on his deep emotional involvement and referring to his conscious use of techniques of power.



Figure 21. Portrait of Khwahja Hasan Nizami, 1924.

Source. Hermansen, Marcia. (2001). Common themes, uncommon contexts: The Sufi movements of Hazrat Inayat Khan and Khwaja Hasan Nizami. In Pirzade Zia Inayat Khan (Ed.), *A pearl in wine: Essays on the life, music and Sufism of Hazrat Inayat Khan* (pp. 323–354). New Lebanon: Omega Publications.

Emotions and Advertising in the 20th Century

This research project explores the changing meaning and importance of emotions in advertising and marketing in the 20th century. Its aim is to grasp the core of those changing processes, to present them, and to pose questions regarding their implications on the whole of the society. Therefore, the study analyzes selected marketing strategies and advertising campaigns against the backdrop of the social and political framework and the theoretical knowledge available at that time. The project starts by accepting the following: During the 20th century, emotions played an increasingly important role for marketing and advertising, and this constantly growing emotional charging corresponded with certain fundamental cultural changes in society. In the past one hundred years, advertising professionals have taken an interest in human emotions like few other specialists. With the ongoing scientific progress, groundbreaking innovations in the media sector, growing markets, changing consumer habits, and users' increasing technical skills, those professionals changed their preconceptions dramatically regarding the interrelation between advertising and emotions as far as the public is concerned. As an example, one has to think of Lucian Bernhard, on the one hand, who, in about 1908, presented an advertising poster with a limited amount of writing as a visual solution with an aesthetic and, therefore, emotional appeal; on the other hand, in the early 1990s, the textile manu-



Figure 22. Advertisement for a shoe shop, 1908.

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facturer Benetton, based on the concept that one could reach consumers through shocking campaigns, criticizing society, advertised using the picture of a young man dying of AIDS, surrounded in his final moments by his mourning family in a manner resembling classic *Pietà* representations. By analyzing those shifts, the project aims to demonstrate the strong links between developments in history and culture, on the one hand, and emotions as well as how those are perceived, on the other. One must point out that those changing processes often took place from the bottom upwards and not the other way round; moreover, they did not seem to follow a linear but rather a circular progress pattern, and they were, at the same time, extremely dynamic and conflict ridden.

The history of advertising in Germany is at the focus of the study. However, in order to comprehend the developments in Germany, one needs to examine what happened abroad. America, in particular, appears to offer a trendsetting role model and to be important even as a negative example to be avoided. However, one must observe that influences were mutual: More than ever, during the National Socialism era and during World War II, a number of distinguished advertising and communication specialists immigrated to the US, shaping developments there in a decisive manner. Those developments were later partly adopted by Europeans.

Looking beyond Germany is important for a further reason: Internationally operating companies and global businesses in the process of penetrating new markets would consider whether the people they targeted would function and react like the German consumers. How would one think about people and their emotions in other cultures? What means could be used to reach new customers on an emotional level? Could advertising strategies be customized and, if so, in which way and with what results?

Research on three different levels is important for the practical analysis: the level of science, that of practice, as well as the level that deals with response to advertising campaigns. The following questions are relevant to those levels.

Researcher
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Figure 23. AIDS—David Kirby, Benetton campaign 1992.

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Firstly: Scientific Level

What were the political, economical, and social perceptions regarding advertising, emotions, and consumerism? What was known about the emotional impact of advertising? What were the people's hopes and fears? Which sources generated knowledge? Which personal and social images were behind them? In which ways and for which reasons have perceptions changed in the past one hundred years? Which assumptions were established and what was rejected?

Secondly: Practical Level

Which ways were used to implement theoretical knowledge? Which strategies and techniques were tried out in order to reach people's feelings, to manipulate and shape them? Which media, verbal and audiovisual expression tools were available? What did

people expect from those various tools and how were they used? Did advertising create new models and concepts or was it rather commanded by established perceptions in order to reach potential customers?

Thirdly: Response

How did people respond to advertising campaigns? How were campaigns rated in the media, in politics, and in business? How were the consumers' reactions evaluated? Moreover, what implications did those evaluation processes have, in their turn, on how advertising was perceived and on the concrete working practice of advertising specialists? The sources are multiple: Apart from analysis of advertising media and campaigns themselves, I will examine debates and decisions on an executive, legislative, and judicial level in order to highlight relevant political and legal aspects. Scientific reports from disciplines such as psychology, sociology, and communication studies, as well as publications by advertising specialists, consumer psychologists, and textbooks on advertising methodology and practice will be used in order to analyze the changing perceptions regarding advertising and emotions. Furthermore, my research will include newspapers and, eventually, TV reports and talkshows on the topic of advertising in order to investigate reactions to marketing strategies and advertising campaigns. Finally, material from company archives and advertising agencies will highlight aspects of business policies and advertising agencies' practices.

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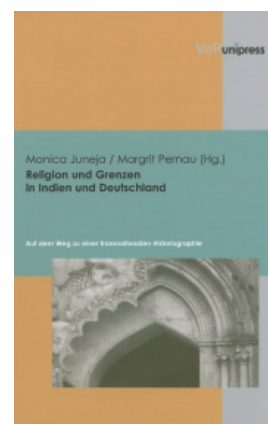
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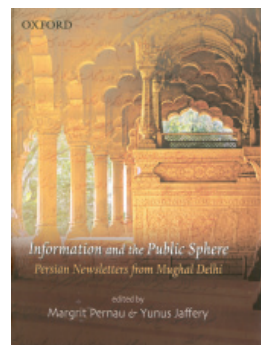
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