

≈: INTRODUCTION ≈



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The scholarship on emotions has focused on how emotions are produced—in and through words or neurological processes—but only rarely asked how they can be perceived. The studies in this book focus on both the production and the perception of emotions, and by doing so they investigate the materiality and corporeality of emotions, be it in our bodily behavior and gestures, the objects that endear us, or the material conditions that impose on us certain social relationships with emotional valence. This approach deviates from the dominant understanding and study of emotions, which has long based itself on the concept of interiority.

In the eighteenth century, the concept of interiority changed the ways in which emotions were performed and experienced. In the Germanic world, this emerging culture, *Innerlichkeit* (interiority), placed emotions, affects, and passions in the interior of the self and prior to actions, behavior, and expressions. As Rüdiger Campe and Julia Weber have recently shown, the concept of *Innerlichkeit* was a long time in the making. Present already in the Stoics, Medieval Jewish religion, and Christian mysticism, and shaped by Luther in his idea of an inner man in the early sixteenth century, it gained crucial momentum in Christian piety in the late seventeenth century and broke into broadly defined cultural and social patterns in the late eighteenth century. This model of emotions has firmly retained its normative and compelling power into the late twentieth century.¹ It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to give a definitive explanation of the power of *Innerlichkeit* for the understanding and performance of emotions in the Germanic world and beyond. But it undoubtedly made possible conceptual solutions that aimed at bridging what was perceived as the gap between internally experienced emotions and their external expressions. At the same time, interiority functioned as the privileged, noble, and potentially free space compared with the messy world of bodies and things. This model has continued to inform investigations centered on words

and languages of emotions, and it also can be seen in cultural studies inspired by neuroscience that try to locate the place where emotions emerge firmly in the interior of the human body and psyche.

There is an increasing body of scholarship, informed by modern psychology and neuroscience, focusing on what goes on inside the naturally hardwired human brain, and specific parts of the brain like the amygdala, most clearly expressed in human facial expressions. Although this “bio-revolution” can be helpful in understanding neurological, physiological, and endocrinal aspects of emotions, even in different historical contexts, it also has its limitations.² As Barbara Rosenwein has argued, neuroscience has been able to demonstrate that our physiological system has *affective potential*. But it cannot delineate the meanings of emotions, present or past.³ And that is the main focus of historical and cultural studies—to reconstruct the meaning of historical experiences, expressions, and their changes. At its best, historical studies of the rise of scientific knowledge show how such knowledge has influenced individuals, societies, and nations to understand their feelings, resulting actions, and their employment in practices of everyday life. Late nineteenth-century knowledge about the nervous system, for example, could influence how people attempted to shape how they should feel. To conceive of feelings in terms of nerves—be it in diaries or public arenas—and if possible show that one was calm, cool, and collected with nerves of steel could be a major focus.⁴ But the horizon that purely scientific approaches yield is too narrow to capture the broader societal—and personal—meanings of emotions.

This book does not limit itself to scientific frameworks. It understands the “bodiliness” and “thingliness” of emotions not in terms of an isolated interiority but as relational and embedded in social spaces and embodied practices. Inspired by a range of historical emotions that is broader than what interiority or traditional, cognitive understandings permit, it aims to rethink the ways in which bodies and things give rise to and shape emotions. To understand and accept the variety of disciplinary definitions of emotions, we want to reach back to the intellectual traditions that gave rise to that very variety. Although in the current parlance, “affect” is a term frequently used in literary studies and “theory” (and those working on the eighteenth century often use “sentiments” or “passions”), whereas historians prefer words such as “emotion” and “feeling,” historically these concepts share common roots.⁵ With regards to our characterization of “emotion,” our approach is, to borrow a distinction from linguistics, descriptive, or observational, rather than definitional or prescriptive. All these words refer to those habits and perceptions of the mind and the body that drive or situate us rather than we controlling them.

Emotions, sentiments, passions, and affects have a long-lasting presence in German cultural and historical studies. The *locus communis* of the emotion discourse has been rhetoric. Not only the art of persuasion in forensic speech

but also the realms of artistic expression derive their infatuation with emotions from rhetoric. In their classical configurations, painting, poetry, theater, dance, and even music—a German composer and theorist Johann Mattheson (1681–1764) called it *Klangrede*—were seen as rhetorical techniques of evoking and expressing emotions.⁶ Even the study of textual meaning, hermeneutics, went through a rhetorical turn in the beginning of the eighteenth century when, among others, the German pietist theologian August Herrmann Francke claimed that the understanding of the Bible was based on the understanding of the affects (emotions) of its author.⁷ From here a line extends to Friedrich Schleiermacher and the hermeneutics of Wilhelm Dilthey, who in his mature thinking saw emotions as essential for the methodical understanding of human expressions (*Ausdrücke*), but, at the same time, posited language as the highest form of these expressions.⁸ In Dilthey's hermeneutics, the old, linguistic understanding of emotions reached its high point. This emphasis on language is important to keep in mind given Dilthey's seminal role in shaping the methodologies of the Humanities in the German-speaking world and beyond.

Dilthey's contemporary, art historian Aby Warburg, emphasized a cultural feature that transcended the expression of an individual's lived experience and opened up new ways to think about objects in relation to emotions. In his view, works of art are not only defined by individual subjectivity but also something that he called *Pathosformel*, or pathos formula, which is the foundation of "the historical psychology of human expression."⁹ Warburg's conceptual tools opened up objects—in this case works of art—and gestures as spaces for their own subjectivity and thereby agents of emotion. It is this capacity of objects to move and mobilize emotions that has recently received renewed attention. For instance, Caroline van Eck has forcefully argued for the living presence of the objects of art. At the same time, the Marxist notion of commodity fetishism has been rediscovered and newly employed in studies on material culture.¹⁰ Both of these concepts—living presence and commodity fetishism—frame objects as vehicles or even as perceived agents of emotional intentionality. As Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randles show in their recent volume on the materiality of early modern European emotions, a work of art or any material object can exhibit agency because it can be claimed to emotionally influence us.¹¹

Besides art history and the study of material culture, the materiality of emotions was an important theme in early emotion research stemming from family history. Hans Medick and David Sabeau, leading historians of the Göttingen School, argued in their 1984 volume on *Interest and Emotion* that emotions were embedded in material interests and social networks. To contest the prevalent interpretation in family history that emotions and (material) interests were mutually exclusive and that they constituted a social and civilizational hierarchy—middle class families became increasingly emotionalized whereas

peasant and working class families resorted to the language of property and material needs—these scholars argued that emotions and material interests, be it in terms of property or material survival, were firmly intertwined.¹² By the time Medick and Sabean's piece came out, Peter and Carol Stearns were working on an article that set the direction for the history of emotions for the next twenty years. With their concept of emotionology, the Stearnses underlined the primacy of language for historical understanding of emotions and especially their change.¹³ In the wake of this focus on the history of emotions as a history of concepts, terms, discursive shifts, and so on, the materiality and embodiment of emotions disappeared from the mainstream.

The work of Sabean and Medick notwithstanding, it is clear that in the 1990s, the history of emotions was caught in the linguistic turn that set the agendas for many fields of historical and literary scholarship.¹⁴ The materiality of emotions was an early victim.¹⁵ It is also of great significance for the current state of research that when the critique against the linguistic turn and linguistic understanding of emotions emerged in the mid 1990s, its point of departure in finding the counterpoint to the constructionist theory of emotions was not their materiality but their physicality, their bodiliness. Bodies became the counterweight to language in the understanding of emotions. Yet, as this book aims to argue, there is even more work to be done not only on mapping the words, phrases, and metaphors of how the body is involved in both perceiving and producing emotions, but also on how the feeling body is embedded within a web of material conditions, objects, and things.¹⁶

Since the late 1990s, a renewed interest in material culture has emerged. As Bill Brown, one of its early advocates, suggests, the "history in things might be understood as the crystallization of the anxieties and aspirations that linger there in the material object."¹⁷ Leora Auslander, a material culture historian, has argued that the difference between words and texts on one hand and the objects on the other is the capacity of objects to convey emotions in different ways since they served several functions whereas words have a directed and focused intentionality.¹⁸ Monique Scheer's influential concept of emotions as practices also suggests an uneasiness with the distinctions between the interior and exterior dimensions of emotions.¹⁹ More specifically, the lives of things are often to be found in their mode of circulation; things are commodities and, as Marx and later Benjamin argued, in modern capitalism they are often animated, become fetishized, and are perceived as having the capacity to affect us.²⁰ Predating capitalism, the animation of things is a profound feature of civilizations. It stretches from art works to everyday objects, such as money, banners, diaries, photographs, or flowers—things that manifest emotions, emotions that would not exist without them.²¹

As we have discussed, important debates have led to the creation of a lively historical subfield, the "history of emotions." Yet a comparable momentum

seems delayed or less asserted in literary studies. This is in part because a concern with literary emotions, a lingering association with roots in the classical world, has in the post-World War II era been considered naive, unmediated, and affirmative. To put it differently, a specific literary study of emotions was considered unnecessary because emotions were assumed to have long been a major focus of literature and traditional literary study into the early twentieth century. Consensus emerged that emotions in literature required no further discussion or that to do so was subjective or mystification. It was precisely this concern that theories of literature aimed to move beyond or demystify. Thus, in the second half of the twentieth century, German literary studies paid increasingly less and less attention to emotions. In what we might call the “heyday of theory,” scholars were drawn to studies informed by interests in fields such as psychoanalysis, sexuality, feminism, deconstruction, semiotics, discourse analysis, and anthropology.²² This seemed fitting in a humanities landscape that identified discourse, signification, class consciousness, and the politics of representation as the urgent questions and provocations of the day (in some but not all cases, these issues were also at the core of the distinctiveness purportedly characterizing literary and artistic artifacts). Consensus prevailed that exposing rhetoric, representation, and structures formed the seemingly never-ending task of literary study. If mentioned at all, emotions were considered just rhetorical figures that revealed the impossibility of stable structures.²³ That there was once broad agreement that emotions were central to the humanities was not considered significant for their further development.

That the literary studies have neglected the emotions and especially their corporeality and materiality is surprising given the history of the humanities in the last 150 years. Two key disciplines that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, psychological aesthetics and hermeneutics, built their projects largely on emotions, bodies, and the physical world. With regards to recent efforts to take the cultural study of emotions to the next stage by paying attention to corporeality and materiality, these two forerunners deserve mention.

From its beginnings in the 1860s, *Einfühlungsästhetik* (empathy aesthetics), the dominant school of psychological aesthetics, placed bodies and things and our emotions relative to them unabashedly at the core its project. Today, we might conceive of the project of *Einfühlungsästhetik* as a dual attempt both to widen the range of specific emotions adhering in aesthetic events beyond the limitations of the duality of pleasure/displeasure promulgated by formalists working in a Kantian framework, and at the same time to recognize the presence of the body and the particularities of material worlds. The path-breaking thinker of *Einfühlungsästhetik*, Friedrich Theodor Vischer, observed how, per the act of empathy described by the new aesthetics, our sense of self, “with its physical feeling and bodily perception, extends its forms and movements into

the object.”²⁴ Both the activities of an artist and those of a viewer can only be possible on the basis of such relationships as the “intrinsic connection between seeing and touching,” which is in play in the perception of phenomena such as mountain ranges.²⁵ In things, per *Einfühlungsästhetiker*, we recognize our emotions—the cloudy sky reminds us of our facial expressions of concern—because we have already symbolically projected our emotions into things and their movements. Hence, in this view, what we would today call material culture exists because of emotional projection wherein people attempt to mimic themselves through object making.²⁶

While empathy thinkers such as Vischer emphasized empirically framed processes of emotional projection into natural objects, the creator of the *Geisteswissenschaften*, Wilhelm Dilthey, sought to build his new discipline on the reader’s emotionally informed intervention into the objective expression of historical, emotionally tinged, lived experience. At the same time, Dilthey asserted a basic human need for enhancing and intensifying “lived experience,” which is also to say an intensification of feeling. Elucidating various spheres of feeling, which he associated with formal features of literary works, he linked, for instance, the rhythmic features organizing poetry to those organizing bodies and their movements, such as walking, breathing, and regular alternations of waking and sleeping.²⁷

Emotional interiority remained a component of Dilthey’s thought. Yet scholars have been slow to appreciate how Dilthey’s new discipline conceded from its beginnings the embodied nature of emotional life: “Life always consists in the interaction of a living body [*beseelter Körper*] and external world which constitutes its milieu.”²⁸ The modern historical emphasis on language and literature as largely mental rather than fully lived, that is embodied, has no doubt contributed to this often one-sided reading of Dilthey. Out of this interaction, contended Dilthey, emerge specific changes to our emotional states (*Gefühlslage*), which then guide and inform our actions, basic drives, and further emotions: “The most powerful are those that are permanently embedded in bodily states.”²⁹ While it has been pointed out that Dilthey, particularly in his later works, emphasized the expression or objectifications of lived experience, critics have yet to devote much effort to discussing the role of materiality or corporeality in Dilthey’s writings.³⁰ At the same time that he identified in emotion the source of understanding, he identified objects, gestures, historical narratives, literary works, and musical scores as the medium for accessing the psychic-emotional and historical worlds of people in and behind these objects and actions. It is significant that this foundational figure in the history of German literary theory attributed such importance to the material dimensions of texts. Indeed, he emphasized how a range of expression includes “gestures and facial expressions,” “every room in which chairs are arranged,” “the swing of a hammer,” a staged drama, or a musical score. To take the example of

music: “The object of the historical study of music is not some mental or psychic process behind the composition, but something objective, namely the tonal nexus that appears in the imagination as expression.”³¹ Thus material culture, spatial practices, and the body were integral concerns at the dawn of literary and historical criticism in the German-speaking traditions.³²

Phenomenology also indicates productive directions for contemporary research in literary and cultural studies.³³ A certain lineage stretches from Dilthey’s emphasis on the question of life, specifically its threefold articulation (*Erlebnis-Ausdruck-Verstehen*), to phenomenology, at least through an early adherent, Martin Heidegger.³⁴ In *Sein und Zeit* (*Being and Time*, 1927), for instance, Heidegger discussed phenomena such as *Furcht* and *Angst*, which he chose not to characterize as emotions (per tradition) but as manifestations of *Befindlichkeit* (attunement), or, in their most familiar understanding, *Stimmungen* (moods).³⁵ For Heidegger, such emotional phenomena do not relate to psychological states, nor do they operate according to distinctions of interiority/exteriority.³⁶ We do not cognitively or observationally assess situations and judge them to be fearful.³⁷ Instead, fear is a way to “sense out” the world. His discussion is clearly influenced by Edmund Husserl’s reflections on feeling, which is caught up in our “lived experience of value,” that is, how we incline toward or away from something. For Heidegger, affect (*Affektion*), or being sensuously moved, as well as something mattering to us, are only possible because we can be attuned to the world in particular ways: “In attunement lies existentially a disclosive submission to world out of which things that matter to us can be encountered.”³⁸ What are traditionally referred to as emotions become, in Heidegger’s work, modes (*Befindlichkeit*) through which the world can manifest itself and matter for us. Husserl’s affectivity and Heidegger’s moods are a far cry from the discussions of historically and culturally situated emotions undertaken in this book. Yet the emphasis, which can also be found in Dilthey, on feeling, one that is related to a first-person approach, one that is situated and that serves as a basis for determining what is good and bad for us, offers to enrich current discussions in emotion studies.

Current and recent literary research on emotions in the German context reveals both innovative and traditional approaches.³⁹ While the representations of melancholy in early modernity, or terror in the gothic novel, or love in modernist novels have occasionally been the subject of study in a traditional vein—focusing on themes or subjective expression—recent work that problematizes models of feeling points in new directions.⁴⁰ Other scholars have studied the history of literary emotions as features of texts and literary genres or the modalities and operations of emotions in readers as they encounter fictional depictions.⁴¹ While recent years have seen scholars in German literary studies rediscovering emotions, the assumption that what is at stake, so to speak, centers on discourse, rhetoric, and representation still dominates.

Affect Theory, associated with studies by Gilles Deleuze, Brian Massumi, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, and Lawrence Grossberg, has at times attempted to complicate, to some extent, this trend.⁴² Of course, a lack of consensus prevails among affect theorists concerning just what affect is and what it is to do.⁴³ Depending on the theorist, it means something different and has a different provenance.⁴⁴ The most prominent mode of affect theory assumes an unconvincing distinction between “emotion” as secondary, subjective, ideological, or representational, and “affect” (per affect theory) as unqualified and subversive intensity.⁴⁵ The emphasis on intensity remains nevertheless indebted to the concept of representation by privileging the purported disrupting power of affect. The discussion of embodiment, for instance in Massumi, is not only idealized but is vigilantly controlled by the opposition of intensity versus content leaving embodiment feeling generalized, unsituated, dehistoricized, and flat.⁴⁶ What links most work under the name “affect theory” is the notion that what supremely holds our attention as critics is the “virtual” and the unsignifiable with its excess of acceleration. By contrast, the authors of the present volume are interested in just those moments of emotion materialized and embodied where things are emerging from absolute indeterminacy or flux and begin to impact observers. At the same time, research on bodies, embodiment, presence, material culture, materiality, neuroscience, and pleasures continue apace and have led to waves of perturbations and provocations across the humanities. We might speak then of twin recent developments: the challenges that studies of embodiment and “thingliness,” or corporeality and materiality, pose on the one hand, and the rediscovery of emotions in literary studies on the other. The study of emotions in literature and the visual arts has yet to come to terms with the contention that bodies and things are essential factors in the cultural appearance of emotions. This volume attempts to do just that.

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With these considerations of corporeality and materiality in mind, this book examines the long history of emotions in the German-speaking world since the sixteenth century through a range of different disciplinary approaches. To do this, it presents three closely intertwined approaches to understand and study the culture and history of emotions: emotions and bodies, emotions as practices of space and material interests, and emotions and things.

The first part of the book centers on the embodied nature of emotions by both tracing medical languages, gestures, and artistic tropes that have influenced the understanding of bodies in the practices of emotions, and unpacking the tangibility of emotions and their memories on the human body itself, namely through the skin. Sara Luly’s essay probes magnetism, a late eighteenth century medical movement that runs parallel and often against the concept of *Innerlichkeit*. The medical doctor Franz Anton Mesmer wanted to overcome

Cartesian dualism by positing the universal fluids as the metaphysical foundation of all living and nonliving beings. Animal magnetists thus believed they could direct the fluids and thereby heal their patients. Magnetism, argues Luly, recognized “the interconnectivity of objects and bodies as well as the way in which those interconnectivities are manifested physically in embodied affective responses,” which provided a mechanism to challenge gender hierarchies within the family. As a popular discourse that recognized the bodiliness of emotions, it continues to influence our thinking about emotions through terms such as “mesmerized” and “animal” attraction. In the course of the nineteenth century, for example, this popular medical discourse made it for the composer and pianist Franz Liszt, as Hannu Salmi shows in his study, to emerge as an instigator of what Salmi calls emotional contagion. An early designer of celebrity culture, Liszt was not only known as a virtuoso of his instrument but also as a performer who captivated his audience. He did this, Salmi argues, by using his staged body and amplifying its emotional impact with modern communication and transportation technology.

In the end of the nineteenth century, the migration of the body to the figure of the *Ausdrucksbewegung* allowed, as Derek Hillard argues in his chapter, the development of an approach to the bodiliness of emotions that was as equally powerful as magnetism and other popular medical discourses. Rainer Maria Rilke’s novel of 1910, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge*, considers emotions not as hidden, inner events expressed in conventional gestures, such as facial movements, as many scientists and theorists did at the turn of the century. Instead, emotions are created through kinetic bodies as people attempt to make sense of their social and material environments. In her study on the communist agitprop groups in the 1920s, Sabine Hake discovers this same functionality of the body in making emotional statements—for instance, taking a stand by crafting a certain bodily and highly gendered habitus. “The communist habitus,” Hake argues, “relied heavily on the spectacle of masculinity both to distinguish the militant culture of the KPD from the communitarian culture of the SPD and to align the project of class struggle explicitly with the emotional regimes of self-discipline and self-control.” It is this regime that gripped participants at their performances, quite the opposite of the mania provoked by Liszt some eighty years earlier.

The importance of the body for the understanding and experience of emotions in the Weimar Republic and especially in the politically charged environments of the everyday, is further confirmed by Russell Spinney in his study of the affective practices of anti-Semitism. In this case, persecution was literally preserved through a memory of goose bumps on one’s body discovered in an oral history interview. The individual’s memory of her skin’s reaction to her teacher’s anti-Semitic efforts in the classroom, however, did not just simply reveal a feeling of fear from the exclusionary practices of one’s peers,

but rather a more complex interplay of interiority and exteriority, including an individual's physical sensations, personal goals, and stubbornness, along with the increasingly widespread practices of harassment from teachers and peers, which continued to shape more specific feelings later in life. The growing anti-Semitic threat to Jewish children and their families was thus made very clear. Yet the expression of fear was not necessarily so direct if even visible at all; and as Spinney shows, Jewish children and their parents creatively responded to the growing threat of anti-Semitism in a wide variety of ways.

The second part of the book takes a step beyond the thesis of interiority of emotions and explores emotions as relational practices of space and material interests. Joy Wiltenburg examines the meaning of social space in defining emotions, in particular laughter, in early sixteenth-century Switzerland. Her case study on the famous medical doctor and memoirist Felix Platter makes a clear distinction between reproducible and commodified jokes widely traded and available in jestbooks and forms of laughter embedded in social relations and spaces, in both public and private spaces involving courtship, friendships, and relationships of power across different generations and gender. Although scholars have yet to unearth sufficient case studies, it seems that the interiority doctrine and commodification—as found in the jestbooks—were contemporaries. Christian Sieg traces the notion of interiority to Luther's idea of inner man and then follows its development and maturation into a widespread cultural pattern toward the end of the eighteenth century. Contrary to what we might expect, interiority does not fully explain such emotions as shame and empathy. At the end of the eighteenth century, as Sieg suggests in his analysis of Karl Philipp Moritz's *Anton Reiser*, shame and empathy were still understood in social and spatial terms. Spaces lend themselves to commodification, which deploy emotions, as Jared Poley's study in gambling and especially the role casinos and gaming tables shows. In the nineteenth century, German casinos experienced intense growth when gambling became illegal in France after the 1830 Revolution. In this era that saw the rise of the modern casino in the Rhineland, casinos "weaponized" the emotions of the gamblers against them, Poley suggests, by using the gambling halls and tables as tools of intensification and deadening of affects. The casinos were a clear example of the capitalist commodification of emotions that Hannu Salmi described in his contribution on Liszt. The commodification process can be seen in another area as well. In the course of the nineteenth century, German spas were transformed, as Heikki Lempa argues, from sites of tranquility and serenity to places of excitement and joy. Emotions were an important part of traditional medicine and its therapeutic tools. To restore one's health, a doctor often prescribed a spa visit, which helped rebuild emotional balance and tranquility. This was reflected in common sales talk for German spas in the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a result of the changing medical conceptualizations and the

increasing commercial pressures, the emotional sales talk emphasizing serenity and tranquility was replaced with sales pitches for adventures and excitement, be it in casinos, theaters, restaurants, or sporting opportunities at spas.

In the third part of this volume, the attention shifts to the relationships between things and emotions. As we mentioned, spaces and even social relationships could be harnessed to material interests by “weaponizing” emotions for financial gain, sales talk, and political suppression. At the same time, spatialized and socialized emotions could also resist the forces of commodification, as Hake shows. But how did the status of things change? The political meaning of emotionalized objects becomes obvious when we look at the ways in which German educators discovered things, natural objects, and playthings as instruments of their pedagogical agenda. In her investigation of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and Friedrich Fröbel, two of the most influential figures of early childhood education in the nineteenth century, Ann Taylor Allen traces their use of objects to instill maternal love as an educational strategy. Although playthings of all kinds became important to Fröbel, the commodification of reproducible toys was yet to come. In the 1840s, however, a new technique and technology expanded to allow potentially unlimited reproducibility of images, the daguerreotype. But, as Sarah Leonard suggests, the photographs produced were “static, colorless, and two dimensional.” The intention of these images was not individuation but capturing the sitters’ “particular emotional style” in highly conventionalized spaces and gestures that conveyed discipline and reserve for women and often a more expressive repertoire of emotions for men. In her study of the work by the photographer Bertha Wehnert-Beckmann, Leonard shows how such emotionally charged objects as rings and daguerreotype photographs themselves were used to produce these styles. In a way, photography therefore became an educational tool in self-fashioning of men and women and families that could afford them.

Since the late eighteenth century, a particular object assumed a central role in the new emotional language, the flower. In her study on emotional language of flowers, Ute Frevert investigates their rise as symbols and agents of gendered emotions since 1800. The flowers, she suggests, were used to express political meanings and personal intimacy because they gave an objective conceptual form to emotions attached to those meanings. Flowers became popular symbols of political leaders and political parties, while they underlined gender distinctions by expressing personal relationships. In the course of the nineteenth century, a codified language of emotions attached to flowers emerged. The “use of flowers in private and public communication since around 1800,” Frevert argues, “testifies to a growing emotionalization that set foot in European and other Westernized societies.” But objects were also given a more active role in evoking emotions as Frevert’s study shows, for flowers could be perceived as emotional agents.

Objects also served civil society in enforcing emotional communities, as Ruth Dewhurst's study on choral societies in Imperial Germany shows. Songs, banners, flags, architectural structures, and other "objects," she argues, "elicited enthusiasm, joy, excitement, or national pride" to create emotional communities. This question of agency became acute to Rainer Maria Rilke who in his poetry explored the ways in which objects impressed themselves on us. In her study of Rilke's *Neue Gedichte*, Lorna Martens discovers the poet's attention to how objects provoked radical, emotional appeals in us, thereby displaying themselves as agents of emotions. As Erika Quinn's detailed analysis of the practices of bereavement in wartime Germany shows, objects could turn into emotional icons that exhibited a living presence in their user's everyday life. The wartime diary of Vera Conrad became a placeholder for her husband in the Second World War as she awaited his return from the Eastern Front. The diary entries reveal her attempts to make sense of their relationship and maintain communication. But as in the daguerreotype photographs analyzed by Sarah Leonard, it was not only what the diary contained but what it was. For Vera, it became an object that carried special emotional valence; it became a "totemic object for its author as well as her children."

The studies of this volume suggest four separate but closely intertwined trends that defined the culture of emotions in the Germanic world between 1500 and 1950. First, a culture of emotional interiority emerged in theology and philosophy, which then put its stamp on religious practices, poetry, literature, music, and also on forms of personal interaction. Yet, even during the time of its hegemony, in the early nineteenth century, the culture of interiority was contested. The modern Germanic world and its models of the self were clearly not understood to be shaped exclusively by feelings from within. The second trend plays out against the background of the *longue durée* of exteriority, the manifestation of emotions in the body persisting from early modern precursors. Yet since the early nineteenth century, these underwent changes that reflected the social and cultural transformations of the era. When medical knowledge and practices changed, for instance, so did the understanding of the body and its emotions; when music changed, so did its relationship to emotions and the body; when theater changed, so did its understanding of the body and its emotional agency. The question is, then, what was the nature of these changes? This brings us to the third trend. Our studies have discovered a duality of strategies that indicate, since the middle of the nineteenth century, a commodification of emotions ranging from their educational usage, commercial manipulations with flowers, concerts, spa visits, and photographs to outright "weaponization" for profit mongering with gambling. Yet, and this is particularly pronounced in our studies on the twentieth-century, emotions, especially as they were manifested in the body and objects, also provided forms and resources of resistance to commodification and repressive politics,

be it the actor's pose in socialist theater, a child's response to anti-Semitism, a motto of a choral society, or a family icon. Finally, emotions were gendered. The question is not about the ownership of emotions and affects, but the strategies and forces that employed these emotions to enforce gender hierarchies, undermine them, and find new ways of emotional agency. In an early modern family setting, a joke and laughter could serve as a tool of enforcing masculine hegemony; and around 1800, the affective language of magnetism could enforce standards of heteronormative sexuality. Yet there are increasing signs and expressions of women's emotional intimacy and agency, be it in the reserved emotional style in daguerreotypes, flowers, or the adornment of a diary. More importantly emotions became tools of political symbolism as we see in the use of flowers in the emerging women's movement since the late nineteenth century and the masculine pose in the Communist agitprop performances in the 1920s.

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the Weimar Republic," *Revue Suisse d'Histoire* (Swiss Historical Review) 61 (2011): 74–89.

Notes

1. See Rüdiger Campe and Julia Weber, eds. *Rethinking Emotion: Interiority and Exteriority in Premodern, Modern, and Contemporary Thought* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), and especially the editors' "Rethinking Emotion: Moving beyond Interiority. An Introduction." See also Christian Sieg's contribution in this volume.
2. For further discussion of this "bio-revolution," see Jan Plamper, *History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 60–67, 137, 302, 206–50.
3. Nicole Eustace, Eugenia Lean, Julie Livingston, Jan Plamper, William M. Reddy, and Barbara H. Rosenwein, "AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions," *The American Historical Review* 117 (2012): 1505.
4. Uffa Jensen and Daniel Morat, eds., *Rationalisierungen des Gefühls: Zum Verhältnis von Wissenschaft und Emotionen, 1880–1930* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2008); Joachim Radtkau, *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität: Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler* (Munich: Hanser, 1998); Cf. Martina Kessel, *Langeweile: Zum Umgang mit der Zeit und Gefühlen in Deutschland vom späten 18. bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001); and Peter N. Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York: New York University Press, 1994).
5. On emotion words, see, for instance, Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 32–56.
6. As Rüdiger Campe has shown in his *Affekt und Ausdruck: zur Umwandlung der literarischen Rede im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1990), in the German-speaking world the rhetorical discourse of "affect" was the dominant conceptualization of emotions until the late eighteenth century.
7. Markus Matthias, "Die Grundlegung der pietistischen Hermeneutik bei August Hermann Francke," in *Hermeneutik, Methodenlehre, Exegese: zur Theorie der Interpretation in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Günter Frank and Stephan Meier-Oeser (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2011), 194–98.
8. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Der Aufbau der geschichtlichen Welt in den Geisteswissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1981), 267. See also Daniel Morat, "Verstehen als Gefühlsmethode: Zu Wilhelm Diltheys hermeneutischer Grundlegung der Geisteswissenschaften," in *Rationalisierungen des Gefühls: Zum Verhältnis von Wissenschaft und Emotionen, 1880–1930*, ed. Uffa Jensen and Daniel Morat (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2008), 113–14.
9. Aby Warburg, "Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (1912)," in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999), 585. According to Caroline van Eck, Warburg's pathos formula tried to capture "facial expressions, gestures and figures, in particular drapery, that result from the impact of extreme emotions," *Art, Agency and Living Presence: From the Animated Image to the Excessive Object* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 179.

10. See, for instance, Hartmut Böhme's encyclopedic *Fetishism and Culture: A Different Theory of Modernity* (Boston: de Gruyter, 2014).
11. Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randles, "A Feeling for Things, Past and Present," in *Feeling Things. Objects and Emotions through History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 10–12, draw especially on the work of the anthropologist Alfred Gell and the literary critic Bill Brown.
12. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, eds., *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), see especially the editors' "Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology."
13. Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *The American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 813–36.
14. Besides Stearns, the work of William Reddy is of crucial importance for the linguistic turn in the history of emotions. See especially William M. Reddy, "Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions," *Current Anthropology* 38 (1997): 327–51; and William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
15. Not even the gender and feminist studies could change this trajectory. In fact, in the early literature on gender and women, emotions were hardly a subject of systematic investigation. A great exception is the work of Anne-Charlott Trepp who, especially in her "The Emotional Side of Men in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany (Theory and Example)," *Central European History* 27 (1994): 127–52, argued that around 1800, German educated middle class developed peculiar emotional behavior that amounted to what she calls sensitive masculinity. See also her "Liebe als erlebte Emotion und gesellschaftliche Wertsetzung im 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert," *Sowi: Sozialwissenschaftliche Informationen* 3 (2001): 14–21; and "Code contra Gefühl? Emotionen in der Geschichte," *Sowi: Sozialwissenschaftliche Informationen* 3 (2001): 44–52. More recently, the gendered bodily and material nature of emotions has become a mark of emotion studies. See, for instance, Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight against AIDS* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009); Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History—Lost and Found* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), chapter 2, "Gendering Emotions," 87–147, and the literature there; and Katie Barclay, "Performing Emotion and Reading the Male Body in the Irish Court, c. 1800–1845," *Journal of Social History* 51 (2017): 293–312.
16. On mapping the body and words and phrases that link the body and feelings to emotions, see, for example, the extensive work by Ute Frevert and others in their *Emotional Lexicons* on terms like the heart. Ute Frevert, et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). They suggest an increasing "somatization" of emotions that may have replaced the spirit or soul as "emotional points for navigation" with the rise of modern science, but there is still much room for further exploration of this shift and mapping of other parts of the body involved in emotions (e.g., the stomach or skin). On the body and emotions across different cultures, see also Plamper's *History of Emotions*, 29–32 and 268–70.
17. Bill Brown, "How to Do Things with Things (A Toy Story)," *Critical Inquiry* 24 (1998): 935.

18. Leora Auslander, Amy Bentley, Leor Halevi, H. Otto Sibum, and Christopher Witmore, "AHR Conversation: Historians and the Study of Material Culture," *The American Historical Review* 114 (2009): 1356.
19. Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012): 193–220.
20. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), esp. chapter "The Fetishism of the Commodity and Its Secret"; Walter Benjamin, "The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire," in *Selected Writings* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2006), 31.
21. On fetishism and its relationship to emotions, see Caroline van Eck, *Art, Agency and Living Presence*; Caroline van Eck, "Living Statues: Alfred Gell's Art and Agency, Living Presence Response and the Sublime," *Art History* 33 (2010): 642–59; and Böhme, *Fetishism and Culture*, 190–93. A stimulating methodological intervention is found in Oliver J. T. Harris and Tim Flohr Sørensen, "Rethinking Emotion and Material Culture," *Archaeological Dialogues* 17 (2010): 145–63; and Oliver J. T. Harris and Tim Flohr Sørensen, "Talk About the Passion," *Archaeological Dialogues* 17 (2010): 186–98. For the development of a theory of accumulation and circulation of affects in a Marxist sense, see Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
22. David E. Wellbery, *Positionen der Literaturwissenschaft: acht Modellanalysen am Beispiel von Kleists Das Erdbeben in Chili* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1993).
23. Paul De Man, *Allegories of Reading: Figural Language in Rousseau, Nietzsche, Rilke, and Proust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 169.
24. Friedrich Theodor Vischer, "The Symbol," *Art in Translation* 7 (2015): 434.
25. Vischer, "The Symbol," 435.
26. Vischer, "The Symbol," 444.
27. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Poetry and Experience* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1985, 80.
28. Dilthey, *Poetry and Experience*, 96.
29. Dilthey, *Poetry and Experience*, 97.
30. Peter N. Miller, *Cultural Histories of the Material World* (University of Michigan Press, 2013). Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, by contrast, suggests a potential in Dilthey's attempt at "bridging the distance between the material surfaces of cultural objects and a sphere of original *Erleben*," — *The Powers of Philology: Dynamics of Textual Scholarship* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 77.
31. Wilhelm Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World in the Human Sciences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 229–30, 241–42.
32. It is the central, mediating term in the title for the first section of his *Plan for the Continuation of the Formation of the Historical World in the Human Sciences*: "Lived Experience, Expression, and Understanding," Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 191.
33. In philosophy, phenomenology has brought emotions to the foreground. See Andreas Elpidorou and Lauren Freeman, "The Phenomenology and Science of Emotions: An Introduction," *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences* 13 (2014): 507–11. See also Giovanna Colombetti, *The Feeling Body: Affective Science Meets the Enactive Mind* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014).

34. Dilthey's influence on Heidegger is evident in *Sein und Zeit*. See Sebastian Luft, "Kant, Neo-Kantianism, and Phenomenology," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Phenomenology*, ed. Dan Zahavi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 57.
35. Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time* (Albany: State University Press of New York, 1996), 126–31.
36. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 128–29.
37. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 132.
38. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 130.
39. For volumes with both innovative and very traditional studies, see, for instance, Anne Fuchs and Sabine Strümper-Krobb, eds., *Sentimente, Gefühle, Empfindungen: zur Geschichte und Literatur des Affektiven von 1770 bis heute; Tagung zum 60. Geburtstag von Hugh Ridley im Juli 2001* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2003); and Lars Saetre, Patrizia Lombardo, and Julian Zanetta, eds., *Exploring Text and Emotions* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2014).
40. See, for instance, Martin von Koppenfels and Cornelia Zumbusch, eds., *Handbuch Literatur & Emotionen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016). In a historical context see also Ute Frevert, Pascal Eitler, Stephanie Olsen, eds., *Learning How to Feel: Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
41. Burkhard Meyer-Sickendiek, *Affektpoetik: eine Kulturgeschichte literarischer Emotionen* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005); and Sandra Poppe, *Emotionen in Literatur und Film* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2012).
42. For a view of the current discussion on affect, see Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
43. The use of the term "affect" (instead of emotion, feeling, sentiment) does not make the work at hand a case of "affect theory." Contributors in the present volume who engage with "affect theory," such as Sara Luly and Hannu Salmi, find it lacking, and offer their own implied or explicit uses of the term "affect."
44. Because of its form and content, what Sedgwick terms "affect" would be considered emotion by Massumi. Deriving her "affect" from the psychology of Silvan Tomkins, Sedgwick critiques prevailing notions of affect as "reified substance," a "unitary category" without an interest in particular feelings: Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, and Adam Frank, "Shame in the Cybernetic Fold: Reading Silvan Tomkins," in *Shame and Its Sisters: A Silvan Tomkins Reader*, ed. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Adam Frank, and Irving E. Alexander (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 17. Lawrence Grossberg, on the other hand, draws explicitly on Freud (and Raymond Williams) for his notion of identify investment, *We Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 79.
45. "Emotion" and "affect," per Massumi, "pertain to different orders": Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 27.
46. Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual*, 25.

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