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## Book Reviews

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**Borgeaud, P., *Exercices d'histoire des religions: Comparaison, rites, mythes et émotions*, ed. Daniel Barbu and Philippe Matthey (Leiden: Brill, 2016. ISBN: 9789004316324**

*Exercices d'histoire des religions* includes nineteen texts published by Philippe Borgeaud, professor at the University of Geneva, between 1986 and 2011 in various journals, mostly specialised in the study of religion. Its editors, Daniel Barbu and Philippe Matthey, former students of Borgeaud, arranged the articles in two distinct groups. Eleven of these studies, occupying slightly more than half of the volume, deal with issues of definition, methodology and the central role of comparison in the study of religions. The remaining eight texts explore the place of emotions in religious studies and their connections to ancient Greco-Roman ritual and myths.

The meditations on the status of the modern study of religions, included in the first part of the volume, represent a clear echo of Borgeaud's earlier diptych, composed of a book that explored the history of religions in antiquity, *Aux origines de l'histoire des religions* (Seuil, 2004), and a study of the making of this discipline in modernity, *L'histoire des religions* (Infolio, 2013). In the present volume, Borgeaud's analysis of it amounts to a historiographical X-ray photograph of the field, one which acknowledges that nineteenth-century constitutive elements continue to play an active role in the current studies: 'A non-confessional academic discipline with a comparative vocation, history of religions is still haunted, to this day, by the ghosts present at its birth' (11). One of these recurring phantasms is the primary act of comparing Christianity with other peoples' beliefs and practices, Borgeaud argues. Marred by the superior ontological status granted to Christian religion, the discovery of the 'Other' took the form of continuous and anxious negotiations of granting 'religion' to non-Christians.

In 'Le couple sacré/profane: Genèse et fortune d'un concept "opérateur" en histoire des religions', Borgeaud illuminates the modern biography of another central spectre lingering in the current study of religions, the sacred/profane pair. The fine historiographical distinctions at work in this article should alone recommend it as required reading throughout contemporary

departments of religion. Borgeaud's archeology of this dual concept amounts to a remarkable reconstruction of its intellectual history in the context of French sociology of religion, showing how its initial articulations by Émile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss and Henri Hubert turned into the cornerstone of the twentieth-century history of religions, even before its extensive uses in the works of Roger Caillois and Mircea Eliade (21–46, esp. 36).

Once he identified and classified the conceptual revenants disquieting the study of religion, Borgeaud proposes a methodological corrective. 'Qu'est-ce que l'histoire des religions?' represents Borgeaud's passionate plea for restoring the role of comparison in the study of religion as its main conceptual tool, one that refines descriptions, redefines concepts and shapes new habits of the mind. Comparison, for Borgeaud, enhances the discipline's flexibility, by adapting its horizon with each new significant study, and by keeping wide open the doors of communication between the specialists of various religions, epochs, and regions (47–68, esp. 51–2). Furthermore, 'Réflexions sur la comparaison en histoire des religions antiques' channels the same innovative spirit, arguing that the best trajectory for a future history of ancient religions entails lessening the attention given to the archeology of concepts and focusing on a rigorous act of comparison articulated by the 'analysis of the cross-cultural formation of new symbolic configurations' (81–106, esp. 106). The element of *pathos* in Borgeaud's call for a new comparative study of religions transpires in his essay on Jean-Pierre Vernant's contribution to the history of religions. Its final notes amount to an invitation to build a republic of comparativist scholars, one to which each student of religion will bring her own philological skill, historical expertise and personal appetite for comparison (142–158).

Throughout the first part of the book, the author retraces the double helix, ancient and modern, of the DNA code of the notion of 'religion'. Through a close reading of Greco-Roman material, the author proposes to define 'religion' as carrying, through its Roman embodiment, the meaning of a proper relation to ritual: 'scrupulous respect not toward a final goal (divinity) but towards its instrument of mediation' (92). This very precise understanding of *religio* as 'hesitation' and as a 'scrupulous recollection' allows Borgeaud to transition towards the major themes of the second part of the book, dedicated to the connections between emotions, rituals and myths in the study of Greco-Roman religions.

'Rites et émotions. Considérations sur les mystères' investigates the connections between Aristotle's description of therapeutics of emotions

through theatrical representations, and the initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries as a ‘controlled experience of fear and anxiety’ in Plutarch’s first-century comparison of death to the moment of initiation. Entering in conversation with previous work on emotions in antiquity by David Konstan (*The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature*, 2006), Margaret Graver (*Cicero on the Emotions: Tusculan Disputations 3 and 4*, 2009), and Martha Nussbaum (*Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*, 2002), Borgeaud delves into modern reconstructions of the Stoic theory of emotions to identify the stage of ‘appraisal’ as the intermediary phase between the production of the phantasms in the cognitive system and its emotional response to it. It is this precise notion of appraisal as a preliminary reconnaissance that brings together Borgeaud’s two fields of inquiry, defining ancient religion and defining emotions in ancient religion. Redefining *religio* as a scrupulous recollection in Rome and positing ‘appraisal’ as the intermediate act in the Stoic cognitive theory of emotions allows Borgeaud to locate the ‘religious relevance of emotions’ in the ability of *appraisal* to lead to the mastery of the soul’s turbulence and to ‘peace with gods’ through punctilious ritual performance. Finally, the Stoic notion of ‘appraisal’ enables Borgeaud to uncover the role of the controlled economy of emotions within rituals and mystery initiation, as a means of reaching back to a trauma, evoke it and alleviate it.

It is impossible to do justice to the wealth of details and acumen in Borgeaud’s nineteen studies in the space of this review. Written with stylistic elegance, immense erudition, discrete humor and graceful gentleness – even when categorically refuting obsolete positions in the study of religion – Borgeaud’s *Exercices* encapsulate the professional and, at times, emotional trajectory of a mature historian of religion, constantly preoccupied with shaping the tools of his own trade and enlarging its borders at the same time.

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**Broomhall, S., ed., *Ordering Emotions in Europe, 1100–1800* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015).** ISBN: 9789004305090 and **Broomhall, S., ed., *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London/New York: Routledge, 2017).** ISBN: 9781138925748

‘The past is a foreign country: they *feel* things differently there’ (35) quips the literary historian R. S. White in *Early Modern Emotions*, subtly rephrasing L. P. Hartley’s famous line. As a programmatic statement it neatly sums up the drive behind the growing multidisciplinary endeavour to historicise our understanding of individual and communal emotions. The Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions has been at the forefront of this research, and few scholars have been more prolific than Professor Susan Broomhall, who has authored and edited nearly a dozen books on medieval and early modern emotions alone. Two of these will be discussed in this review: the first a specialised volume on the interactive relationship between emotions and systems of thought in late medieval and early modern Europe; the second a student-friendly introduction to the study of early modern emotions. Together comprising well over a hundred contributions by ninety different authors, these two works highlight the vibrancy and diversity of recent work in the history of emotions as well as some of its limitations.

*Ordering Emotions* examines how emotions were conceptualised and ordered in medieval and early modern systems of thought and how they in turn ordered the latter. It consists of thirteen clearly argued essays that address self-contained case studies which collectively advance the common aims of the volume, set out in Broomhall’s concise introduction. Arranged in chronological fashion, individual chapters take the reader from eleventh-century theology and music theory to eighteenth-century inquisitorial practice and medical discourse, while frequently reaching back to key classical authors. Making use of Barbara H. Rosenwein’s notion of emotional communities, the essays in this volume situate the discursive construction of emotions within specific historical and social contexts, even if several contributors (most notably Louise D’Arcens, Louis C. Charland and Robert S. White) argue for the trans-historicity of experiences of and ideas about emotions. Through their focus on prescriptive literature about the proper way to express and manage one’s emotions, many of the chapters also engage with William M. Reddy’s concept of emotional regimes. Particular attention is paid to the ways in which thinking about emotions

interacted with understandings of the senses, mental capacities, morality, and male and female bodies.

Reasons of space prevent discussion of individual chapters, yet a number of central claims can be highlighted. Discussing scholastic treatises about angelic and demonic orders, Juanita Feros Ruys demonstrates that a history of emotions approach can uncover how ‘issues of affect problematised the existent structures of reasoning’ (31). Examining medieval music theory, Carol J. Williams highlights the role music played in harnessing emotions deemed conducive to interests of state. Spencer E. Young likewise reminds us that the classification of emotions is ‘rarely (if ever) neutral’ (84). Several contributions – including that by Han Baltussen on Nicholas of Modruš’s *De consolatione* (1465–6), Broomhall on Nicolas Houel’s *Traité de la Charité chrestienne* (1578), and Yasmin Haskell on eighteenth-century Jesuit education – focus on the practical implications of theoretical works, and show how appeals to emotions could produce real-world effects. François Soyer challenges the idea of a clear-cut distinction between elite and popular attitudes towards gender ambiguity in early modern Iberia, while Raphaële Garrod suggests that the very ‘harshness’ of Jesuit views on maternal love testifies to ‘the intensity of the “natural” affective experience they attempted to harness’ (196). Taken together, these essays provide close readings of seminal texts which convincingly show how many of the main European intellectual traditions sought to order emotional practices. The reliance on theoretical literature by predominantly elite men at the same time marks out the limits of this project, which ultimately provides less insight into the ways structures of thought were themselves shaped by experiences of everyday life.

A much broader range of topics and materials is covered by *Early Modern Emotions*, which in four sections comprising a hundred brief entries offers a near-comprehensive survey of concepts, themes and sources appertaining to emotions in early modern history, although the focus is again nearly exclusively on Europe. Intended as a primer for students, *Early Modern Emotions* will in fact be useful reading for anyone working in the field of early modern history. A first section setting out the key concepts and theories in history of emotions research is followed by a fascinating set of investigations of early modern understandings of emotion that situate terms such as ‘the passions’, ‘fellow-feeling’, ‘melancholy’ and ‘love’ within specific historical contexts. Section three deals with sources and methodologies for the study of early modern emotions, ranging from poetry, music and funerary monuments to devotional objects, educational treatises, maps and economic records.

It provides ample suggestions to those seeking to broaden their study of emotions and invites everyone else to look at their materials in a different way. This applies even more to the ‘focus topics’ which take up the second half of the book, which showcase an exciting cross-section of research on nearly every aspect of early modern life. With emotion often quite literally made palpable on the page, entries such as those on religious radicalism or punishment aptly display how a history of emotions approach can serve to connect readers to historical lived experiences.

The greatest merit of *Early Modern Emotions* is that it both maps out the state of the field and identifies avenues for future research. However, with the exception of Giuseppe Marcocci’s discussion of Amerindian and African slaves and Ananya Chakravarti’s use of Marathi texts, non-European voices are still largely absent in this wider project. Now that the emotional life and agency of even non-humans including worms and insects is claimed for historical study, the need to extend research to emotional communities the world over is all the more pertinent. As Chakravarti rightly points out, such prospective work ‘may well push us to clarify the conceptual terms via which we do the history of emotions *in general*’ (120). The dearth of non-European sources is the only evident lacuna in an otherwise excellent volume. If *Ordering Emotions* caters to a specialist readership, *Early Modern Emotions* will be widely consulted by students, teachers and experts in early modern history alike.

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**Carrera, E., ed., *Emotions and Health, 1200-1700* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013). ISBN: 9789004250826**

*Emotions and Health, 1200-1700* is a collection of essays that grew out of a symposium of the same title at the Queen Mary Centre for the History of the Emotions in 2010. The volume contributes to a growing body of interdisciplinary scholarship that seeks to delineate the relationship between cognition, bodily experience and culture in the production of feeling states broadly categorised as emotion. With its focus on European medical texts circulating between 1200 and 1700, Carrera’s volume addresses this issue

from the standpoint of the intersection between the history of emotions and medical history. As the title indicates, the point of the departure is examination of the relationship between concepts of 'emotion' and 'health' in pre-modern Europe. 'Emotion' is adopted as a practical shorthand for a rich vocabulary of pre-modern terms such as 'passion', 'accidents of the soul', 'affections of the mind' and 'vital spirits'. 'Health' is broadly associated with 'well-being' and various synonyms such as 'balanced lifestyle', 'regimens of health', and 'healthy lifestyle'.

The central argument of the collection emphasises continuity of thought about the mind-body connection and embodied soul in a range of discourses in medieval and early modern Europe. Carrera's methodologically nuanced introduction argues for a culturally specific conceptualisation of emotion that recognises the interplay between short- and long-term goals and culture-bound and cross-cultural values in understanding individual and collective experience of emotion (11). The cross-cultural goal examined by each chapter is health, which is analysed through the lens of different emotions: sadness, fear, anger, love and melancholy. Nicholas Lombardo opens up this discussion in Chapter 1 with an account of Aquinas's views on the relationship between emotions (passions) and psychological health (virtue). He shows that for Aquinas, emotions are vital to human flourishing if they function in accordance with their inner nature. It is therefore good to be sad when the circumstances warrant it, but only if the passion of sadness is moderate and appropriate. In Chapter 2, Nicole Archambeau's case study of the inconsolable sorrow of a fourteenth-century bereaved mother, Lady Mathildis de Sault, examines the social forces shaping personal emotional experience. Archambeau reads de Sault's testimony in the canonisation inquest for Countess Delphine de Puimichel as a source of insight into the frameworks available for the expression and experience of emotion in fourteenth-century Provence.

The focus shifts from sadness to fear and anger in chapters 3 and 4. William MacLehose's analysis in Chapter 3 of medical redefinition of the incubus as a physiological rather than a supernatural phenomenon in late eleventh- and early fourteenth-century medical texts focuses on fear. Elena Carrera's survey of Latin, English, Spanish, French, German, Catalan and Portuguese medical texts from 1250–1700 in Chapter 4 uses the case study of anger to argue that the importance of the mind-body connection meant that passions were understood as 'cognitive-physiological events' (96). Both chapters emphasise the conceptualisation of emotion as a physiological and

psychological reaction affecting both body and mind. Terror is theorised as a pathological response to fantasy and imagination during sleep in MacLehose's texts; Carrera outlines the framing of anger as an evaluative response that could be managed to produce a positive therapeutic effect.

Vernacular medical writing in late medieval and early modern Spain is examined by Michael Solomon in Chapter 5. He argues that these texts conflated or ignored conflicting advice from medical writing that treated love and sex as distinct phenomena with different hygienic implications. The resulting confusion between 'hygienic coitus' and 'pathological love' provided 'new vehicles for fulfilling amorous desire' (157).

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 return to sadness and the related concept of melancholy. In Chapter 6, Erin Sullivan uses the dramatic convention of death from a broken heart as the starting point for an illuminating account of belief about the physiological effects of grief in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England. Angus Gowland focuses on the relationship between melancholy, subjectivity and selfhood in Renaissance discourse on the impaired rationality of the melancholic subject in Chapter 7. In the volume's final chapter, Penelope Gouk highlights the enduring nature of belief in the restorative properties of music, in particular as a cure for melancholy, between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.

The strength of the collection lies in the range of disciplinary perspectives from which the chapters enrich understanding of pre-modern belief about the symbiotic relationship between body, mind and soul in the experience and expression of emotion. The concepts of health and well-being are, by comparison, relatively under theorised. Despite equal billing in the title, health plays second fiddle to emotion in that the focus is on the impact of emotion on models of health and well-being, and the historical meaning of these models is not developed beyond references to Galenic and Aristotelian principles of balance and moderation. *Emotions and Health* nevertheless succeeds in achieving its aim of re-examining pre-modern conceptualisation of emotion, and, in doing so, opens up a number of avenues for further research.

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**Champion, M. and A. Lynch, eds, *Understanding Emotions in Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) ISBN: 9782503552644**

*Understanding Emotions in Early Modern Europe* is a remarkable collection of essays, which has among its overall merits that of stressing the vantage points offered by history of emotions as a discipline, while at the same time pointing out its internal contradictions. Throughout fourteen essays that focus mainly on English material, the volume is dedicated to those things that those who lived in the past ‘left behind’ – according to the powerful expression of Rom Harré adopted by Joanna Burke. But from the perspective of a history of the emotions, these things which were left behind appear to be elusive and fleeting. For example, are narrators reliable? Are passions a social construction related to material or even just linguistic conditions, and therefore relative from a cultural point of view? Or are they instead something that can be grasped through the filter of everyone’s own experience? Despite the admission made by the editors in closing their stimulating opening essay – which is more than a review of the contents of the volume or of past bibliography – that ‘no one else could be ever be in a position to know just what the narrating observer felt’ (xxxix), they suggest that the inevitable gap between the *phaenomenon* and the *noumenon* is not a good reason to dismiss the history of emotions. The interdisciplinary methodologies used by the authors of the essays share the premise that despite and because of their subjectivity, emotions force historians to approach them in an objective way, rooting them in the time they were lived, defined and described. Also, the volume makes clear how, in a sort of ‘Kuhnian’ way, a change in the depiction of a certain emotion can signify a rebellion against the paradigm of reference, therefore providing scholars with useful tools for periodisation.

The volume is divided into three sections, devoted to intellectual history, literature and socio-material history. Obviously this division is more functional than real, since the essays communicate with one another well beyond this thematic distinction. A good example is genre, which often dictated the way that emotions were depicted.

As mentioned above, the British world takes the lion’s share of the collection (Anlezark, Stanyon, Harbus, Rubik, Hall, Shoemaker, Liddy, Bowdler and Balme), but even in this case many of these essays go beyond a limited geographical connotation. Other contributions focus on French and German medieval texts (Lynch, Carpenter, Nash), and others instead enter into a dialogue with classical authors like Augustine and Boethius (Konstan,

Champion, Feros Ruys). Ancient models for interpreting emotions, like those proposed by Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics, are nonetheless a recurring presence in the entire volume, and the persistence in their application, perpetuated in modified forms by Christian authors, is a useful litmus test to grasp the continuities and discontinuities in ways to understand the emotions, precisely as the title of the collection suggests.

In sum, *Understanding Emotions in Early Europe* provides its readers with a rich overview of the theoretical debates which underlie the history of the emotions both at a methodological and a thematic level. It is also a collection that easily leads one to think beyond the book's immediate subject matter, at a time when emotions occupy the public sphere to the extent of influencing the interpretation, and even the creation, of facts.

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**Chanotis, A., ed., *Unveiling Emotions: Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012). ISBN: 9783515102261 and Sanders, E. and M. Johncock, eds, *Emotion and Persuasion in Classical Antiquity* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016). ISBN: 9783515113618**

The study of emotions has firmly arrived within Classics, as the editors and contributors of both volumes under review here point out. In the last two decades, the recognition has taken off among scholars of the ancient world that emotions play a strong part in the historically variable construction and performance of social identities, as reflected particularly in literary, philosophical and rhetorical texts. Both volumes under consideration are aware that they are riding the crest of a wave, and both, in different ways, see it as one of the main tasks of the current moment to expand the source materials, and with it adjust the methodologies that scholars of emotions in antiquity consider to be at their disposal.

*Unveiling Emotions* arose out of a multi-year research project at Oxford University, funded by the European Research Council and directed by Angelos Chanotis, on 'The Social and Cultural Construction of Emotions: The Greek Paradigm'. The new sources and methods that form the programmatic spine

of the project are papyri, inscriptions and archaeological materials, which, in turn, reflect back on approaches to more traditional textual sources, in their own right no longer restricted to literary or philosophical works. *Emotion and Persuasion in Classical Antiquity*, based on a London conference in 2013, already works on the premise of this extension (one of its editors, Ed Sanders, is a former member of the Oxford research team), but translates this programmatic stimulus into a select focus on persuasion as a site of the articulation and visibility of emotion.

Both volumes succeed in their programmatic ambitions, though both volumes also reflect the difficulty of balancing new methodological impulses with the centrifugal force of the case study. Both volumes, in addition, and despite their often deliberate and knowledgeable signposting of the state of discussion in modern and early modern historical approaches to the study of emotions, predominantly address themselves to a readership of classical scholars, a point to which I will return at the end of this review, when discussing the larger question of the structures and formats of interdisciplinarity and collaboration in the study of emotions.

*Unveiling Emotions* is divided into a substantial introduction, four parts, and an envoi. Chaniotis's introduction lays out the research project at large, and its place in the developing field of the historical study of emotions. Understanding itself as not purely or predominantly a social constructivist account of emotions, it instead makes a case that scholars of antiquity need to take seriously the presence of emotions as a factor that has lastingly shaped the textual and material sources available to the scholar of the ancient world. Recognising the importance and the import of emotions, whether as moral, social, or rhetorical precepts, 'emotional scripts', or the workings of 'emotional communities', is necessary for any reading of ancient sources – and in turn, a much larger range of ancient sources can contribute to understanding the efficacy of emotion in ancient, here specifically Greek, culture.

Four areas of new or newly evaluated sources, and the methodological questions and possibilities they raise, receive important, substantial survey articles in the first part: Chryssi Kotsifou on the papyrological evidence (including Early Christian and Coptic); Chaniotis on epigraphy; Jane Masségliia on archaeology (with a particularly hands-on schema for questions to be asked of archaeological and iconographical materials); and Ed Sanders on an enlarged sense of textual sources, considering, beyond literary and philosophical materials, especially rhetorical, technical and historiographical writing. The next three sections, authored by a variety of

contributors, including the core members responsible for part I, cash out on the programmatic template and are, as a series of case studies, grouped around emotions in the interactions between mortals and gods (part II); the 'situatedness' of sources treating on emotions in the public sphere (part III); and the place of emotions in interpersonal communication (part III, maybe the loosest category). The genres and events studied range from inscribed prayers to first-person divine biographies, from public acclamations, pledges and petitions to *ad hominem* invective in court speeches, or personal letters of consolation.

The volume is rounded off with an envoi by Maria Theodoropoulou, informed by cognitive linguistics, on the important role of language in mediating emotion and its study, as well as its embodiment: a particular challenge for those studying the past, in turn again amplifying importance of language. This envoi reaffirms the centrality of communication, linguistic or not, as a site of emotion and a guiding parameter of the volume overall. Incidentally, the importance of the theme is itself visible in the forms of community and communication prompted by a multi-year research project: this volume gestures towards new forms of presenting work that is both individual and collaborative, grown over a period of close interaction. It does not quite let go of the traditional conventions of the edited volume, but through the strongly programmatic section, and the multiple contributions by some individual authors, it (even only) indirectly reflects on the questions of the community and communities created by such overarching research areas as the study of emotion.

*Emotion and Persuasion*, while maintaining the energy of an enlarged view on source material, makes rhetorical practice the tightening string that links the sixteen contributions of the volume. The volume is divided into four equal parts, centred around 'Emotion in Classical Greek Oratory – new directions'; 'Emotion and the Formation of Community Identity'; 'Persuasive Strategies in Unequal Power Relationships'; and 'Linguistic Formulae and Genre-Specific Persuasion'. The overall selective focus on persuasion obviously gives the book direction, even though the four categories increasingly fray at the edges. The sections on Attic oratory and on community identities (which still range widely from epigraphic communities, Thucydidean appeal to loyalty, and Roman civil war trauma, to Plato's emphasis on the emotions caused by choral dancing as a civic duty) hang together well; the unequal power structures (from military hierarchies, to imperial authoritarianism, to divine-human poetic relations) become more centrifugal; the genre- or

formula-specific category, much as it holds relevant, instructive pieces, from politeness formulae, to love curses, to comic quarrels, and the discursive psychology of the elegist, is held together more by a will to order.

The range of source materials as well as of recent theoretical impulses reflects the outlook that is suggested in *Unveiling Emotions*. It is clear that editors and contributors have thought and read widely, and deliberately beyond familiar territory, whether this concerns the sociology of trauma, memory studies, medieval and early modern emotional communities (Barbara Rosenwein's work is a recurring reference, as are William Reddy's 'emotional regimes'), the study of nostalgia (Boym), or cognitive psychology and linguistics. This opening up to the insights and tools of the study of emotion across a range of contemporary disciplines, though, also highlights, in both volumes, the challenges of the essentially polycentric, multi-disciplinary landscape of the study of emotions, even if we stay only within the range of the traditional humanities.

It may be a particular hallmark of Classics, as the study of the ancient Greek and Roman worlds, to think of its engagement with contemporary theoretical and methodological impulses largely as a transformative act: they are scrutinised for the usefulness and resonance they might have for ancient source materials, in the process often adapted, modified, or selectively used. But there is often little corresponding confidence, or will, to turn the tables and think through the possibilities ancient materials raise for contributing to ongoing methodological discussions elsewhere in their own right. In both volumes, there is imaginative, intelligent use of critical insights gleaned from the current historical study of emotion, and some contributions, especially in *Unveiling Emotion*, hint at the larger questions of what the ancient sources contribute to the historical discussion per se; but there is little explicit endeavour to shape that very discussion from the point of the classicist. The materials are there, and the conditions are good. Opening the field to sources not fully appreciated before is an important step both volumes make. Chaniotis' point, made both in *Unveiling Emotions* (23), and repeated in its (more traditionally structured, and more diffuse) companion volume *Unveiling Emotions II* (2013), edited jointly with Pierre Ducrey, is telling in this regard: 'Historians have to study emotions, because emotions have shaped all the source material that they have at their disposal. Therefore, the ancient historian does not only – perhaps not even primarily – study texts in order to understand emotions. It is far more urgent for an ancient historian to understand emotions in order to understand texts' (13). This is

undoubtedly true. But must the understanding of ancient texts, and their effects, stop at the disciplinary boundaries of Classics?

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**Enenkel, K. A. E. and A. Traninger, eds, *Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2015). ISBN: 9789004300828**

Western literature was inaugurated with an invocation to the Muses to sing of Achilles' anger while modern-day psychologists recognise anger as one of the biologically 'basic' emotions. We tend to imagine that both angers have at least *something* in common, but it's much more interesting, perhaps, to think about how different they are, about how Homer and Paul Ekman were hardly talking about the same thing at all. The lengthy and complex story of what happens to anger – as well as what happens to us when we are angry – in the three-odd millennia since the *Iliad* was first sung is yet incomplete, but the erudite collection of essays under review here helpfully contributes a chapter on that topic in the early modern period. It also serves as a keen reminder of the obvious advantages that such a multifaceted collection holds from the perspective of comparative analysis. Here one is able to think along with the authors about the myriad ways in which anger is described, depicted and denounced in a variety of contexts from the Quattrocento through the Enlightenment, and from Scandinavia to China.

Given the large number of essays – each of which makes a distinct contribution to understanding anger in its specific context – and the space allotted here, what follows is only a general sketch of some of the broader contributions the volume makes to the history of emotions. The collection comprises nineteen essays on anger in philosophy, literature, art, religion and politics, primarily in early modern mainland Europe, but also on anger in marginal- and non-European contexts. The 'discursive' angle, indicated in the title, corresponds to an approach taken by most of the authors to account for early modern conceptualisations of anger, attitudes toward it, and performances of it, with an emphasis on the notion (correct to this reviewer's mind) that 'anthropologically generalised' conceptions of anger are not terribly useful for the historian of emotions.

Though it only modestly purports to do so as one of its main purposes, the collection makes a major contribution to the reception of Stoicism, and in particular of Seneca's *De ira*, a work that looms large in the background of the majority of essays included here. But it is a qualified appropriation of Stoic attitudes to anger, and the typically strong antagonism toward anger of all kinds embodied in Stoic thought is tempered or rendered ambiguous in various contexts, whether via appeals to Christian discourses on emotions or to the Aristotelian virtue of *mediocritas*. The complexities of appropriating and qualifying (often heavily) ideas from Seneca's masterwork on anger are in full view, and the impact of the Roman philosopher's thought can be felt not only in philosophical treatises and theological works (Pontano, Lipsius, Weyer, Montaigne, Descartes, Perkins and Hume are all featured here, alongside many lesser known figures), but also in Neo-Latin epic and vernacular tragedy in Italy, France, and Germany, and in art (Rubens and Rembrandt).

Three essays in the collection beneficially expand the scope of the still largely European-focused history of emotions by paying attention to discourses of anger on the margins of Europe as well as on the other side of the globe. Thus, Bernd Roling provides a fascinating overview of shifting interpretations of berserker anger from Old Norse sagas in the works of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scandinavian antiquarians, which moved from demon possession to rabies to hallucinogen ingestion. And we learn, for example, how conceptualisations of *ira regis* are meaningfully mapped onto understandings of the wrath of God in the writings of sixteenth-century Turkish historians of the Ottoman expansion in the contribution by N. Zeynep Yelçe, while such a concept fails to function meaningfully in the same way in Ming and Qing dynastic China for both political reasons and reasons to do with Confucian metaphysics in the essay by Paolo Santangelo (an essay which also includes a full-blown taxonomy of anger-like emotions in late imperial China). Whether individual researchers trained in European history and literature need to take a 'global' approach to emotions research will continue to be debated in the coming years, but whatever the outcome of these debates it is already abundantly clear that collaborative and comparative work with researchers trained in non-Western traditions is a boon for the history of emotions for the very simple reason that such comparisons helpfully illuminate texts and traditions on all sides.

The variegated approach taken in this volume is indispensable for the field. As Seneca wrote about anger, there are 'a thousand other kinds of this

multiform evil' (*mille aliae species sunt mali multiplicis*), but by contributing a number of high-quality essays that approach anger from different angles, the authors have done us a service not only for thinking about the thousands of kinds of anger in the early modern period, but for thinking about emotions in history comparatively and across disciplines as well.

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**Lamb, J., *Scurvy: The Disease of Discovery*, with a coda written by J. May and F. Harrison (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017). ISBN: 9780691147826**

Sometime in the history of evolution, humans and other primates lost the ability to synthesise their own vitamin C, and the vitamin had to be incorporated through nutrition. A prolonged deficiency leads to scurvy, a disease which for centuries accompanied European discovery and colonial expansion, with an estimated two million deaths in navies and merchant fleets between 1500 and 1800. An illness with both bodily and psychological effects, scurvy is the subject of Jonathan Lamb's study *Scurvy: The Disease of Discovery* (2017), a volume highly relevant to the present journal as it links the history of the disease to that of emotions, culture and society. The scope of the book is impressive, combining neuroscience, global and maritime history, history of science and medicine, history of literature and art history, and drawing on sources ranging from voyagers' accounts and medical treatises to poetry and prose fiction from Homer to George Orwell.

The cause and cure of scurvy remained an enigma until the discovery of vitamin C in the 1930s. Was scurvy the result of an absence, a deficiency in diet, or a toxic presence in the air or in food? Lamb argues against a triumphalist narrative with heroes such as James Lind and James Cook. A cure – foremost citrus fruit – was 'repeatedly found, only to be lost again'.

The effects of scurvy, in Lamb's readings, pervade a vast body of Western literature; today, they can be understood through neuroscience. The absence of vitamin C leads to a breakdown in the production of collagen, resulting in putrid gums, loose teeth, and creaking bones, which lend themselves to mythical overtones of 'Life-in-Death'. It also affects the synthesis of



neurotransmitters such as serotonin and dopamine, causing disturbances in the perceptual apparatus, the mood and personality. Scorbutic patients experienced sensations of extreme vividness, alternating abruptly between pleasure and horror. They were prone to tears and hallucinations. Lamb explores the condition of ‘scorbutic nostalgia’, which he describes as an ‘ellipse of loss and satisfaction’ (22). Sufferers from scurvy had a feeling of incommunicability, made worse by their isolation across oceans. Writing on the illness posed the challenge of expressing the inexpressible in words.

Lamb devotes a powerful chapter, based on archival research, to the British settlement at Port-Jackson in Australia. The colony was an unprecedented penological experiment, whose initiators had not reckoned with scurvy. The convicts arrived in a scorbutic state in a region with utterly few antiscorbutics. As food rations were cut and the settlers had to compete for resources with the indigenous population, criminality and insanity flourished, repressed by the authorities with extreme cruelty. Lamb identifies a ‘culture of scurvy’ – also ‘culture of dazzle’ – expressed in theatrical performances by convicts for convicts, as well as in the intriguing works of the anonymous Port Jackson Painter.

Lamb’s text proceeds through a free flow of associations rather than systematic discussion. It gains rhetorical force through the use of personification and metaphor: ‘the genius of scurvy’, ‘the sin of scurvy’, ‘ellipse’, ‘dazzle’. The style has something of a visionary quality, which contrasts with the factual tone in the book’s Coda by the neuroscientists James May and Fiona Harrison. At their best, Lamb’s readings are illuminating, forcing the reader to reconsider canonical works; an English instance is Coleridge’s *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, a French one Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s *Paul et Virginie*.

In his examples, Lamb posits the presence of scurvy as an agent, overt or covert. At the opening of the fourth book of Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*, the mutinous men on Gulliver’s ship plan to go to Madagascar for recruits, several men on board having died. No reason is given for their death, but Lamb supplements the explanation that they ‘die of a sickness that is now inevitably scurvy’ (246). Scurvy in Lamb’s book becomes all-pervasive. Milton’s *Paradise Lost* accompanies the whole volume in a brilliantly suggestive way, but the relations between the poem and scurvy are not made explicit. A study of Lamb’s sources sometimes leads to question marks. When the Frenchman Kerguelen refers indirectly to his discovery of the Kerguelen Island by quoting an English journal, the reason, rather than scurvy, is an authorial strategy, presenting the quoted document as evidence for his claims

(see Loïc du Rostu, *Le Dossier Kerguelen*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1992). The Swedish naturalist Anders Sparrman accompanied Cook on the *Resolution* voyage, and Lamb twice quotes a passage from his travelogue as an instance of the scorbutic patient oscillating between pleasure and horror (23, 59). But in Sparrman's Swedish original (*Resa till Goda Hopps-udden [...]*, vol. 2, Stockholm: tryckt hos Carl Delén, 1802), published nearly 30 years after the event, the episode is full of ambiguities and does not allow for a clear-cut interpretation (see 56–7, 68–9).

Jonathan Lamb's forceful volume is thus sometimes open to question, but it will leave no reader unaffected in his or her perception of scurvy.

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**Rosenwein, B. H., *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). ISBN: 9781107481841**

Over the last two decades, Barbara H. Rosenwein has contributed much to the study of the history of emotions, not least of all the concept of 'emotional communities' (i.e., 'groups ... that have their own particular values, modes of feeling, and ways of expressing those feelings'; 3). Unlike William Reddy's 'emotional regimes', Rosenwein's 'emotional communities' require a patently micro-historical analysis of how particular historical groups experience, express and theorise emotions. Although *Generations of Feeling* is anything but micro-historical in scope, it remains micro-historical in method insofar as it analyses an ambitious array of emotional communities in medieval and early modern England and France. Beyond its many insights on these emotional communities, it contributes to scholarship on the history of emotions by modelling how we might bring a micro-historiographic methodology to bear on the study of the *longue durée*.

True to its title, Rosenwein's capacious study is attentive to the processes through which emotional communities inherit and rework the ideologies of emotion espoused by earlier generations. Chapter 2, for example, explores three successive emotional communities of Merovingian aristocrats, focusing both on their debt to pre-medieval discourses of emotion developed by Cicero and Augustine (surveyed in Chapter 1) and the manner in which

each individual community responded to its unique historical circumstances. Hence, the Austrasians of the late sixth century, who were plagued by violent family infighting, placed a high value on familial love, while the succeeding generation of Neustrians, for whom aristocratic conflict was largely nonviolent, distanced themselves from their Austrasian predecessors by devaluing familial affection and valuing a monkish detachment from worldly objects.

Chapter 4 begins in the Cistercian monastery of Rievaulx during the abbacy of Aelred. Rosenwein focuses on Aelred's theology of love, which promotes an all-encompassing, community-building love (*caritas*) and denigrates a covetous, community-destroying love (*cupiditas*). While her analysis of Aelred's *On Spiritual Friendship* and Walter Daniel's firsthand accounts of Aelred's abbacy tell us much about how Cistercians taught each other to love well, it runs the risk of implying to non-medievalist readers that the *cupiditas/caritas* distinction, employed in a wide variety of medieval emotional communities, was uniquely Cistercian. Later, Rosenwein contrasts Cistercian asceticism with the misogynistic gender dynamics of Raimondin court, in which Troubadour poets displaced their anxieties about losing the favour and protection of their male patrons onto the figure of the fickle and changeable lady.

Chapter 6 juxtaposes the various communities occupied by the lachrymose mystic Margery Kempe and the upwardly mobile, emergent bourgeois community gleaned from the Paston letters. As Rosenwein points out, Kempe's *Book* complicates the notion of emotional community insofar as it repeatedly depicts its protagonist's histrionic emotional expressions causing her to be ostracised by practitioners of a more sober piety. The Paston letters, on the other hand, exhibit a restrained emotionality – precisely that of Kempe's disapproving critics. By contrasting Kempe's *Book* and the Paston letters, Rosenwein gives us a nuanced vision of late-medieval England in which various subjects espousing radically different emotional ideals interacted to form a heterogeneous emotional community.

Focusing on despair and happiness in the seventeenth century, Chapter 8 surveys a wide variety of literary texts, such as John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and medical treatises, such as Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, as well as Protestant testimonials and the politically charged writings of the Levellers. While the authors of medical treatises like Burton and Timothie Bright anticipate modern psychology by diagnosing pathological melancholy and offering various cures, devotional writers like Bunyan and the authors of

Protestant testimonials recall Margery Kempe insofar as they characterise despair as a springboard to joyful religious authenticity.

Interspersed between these longer chapters, which contrast the emotional mores of two or more distinct communities, are shorter chapters that focus on one or two theories of emotion and the social conditions in which they were forged. Chapter 3 examines the Carolingian scholar Alcuin of York whose treatise *On the Virtues and Vices* provides a therapeutic guide for distinguishing between holy and sinful emotions. Chapter 5 surveys the theology of emotions developed by Thomas Aquinas, though it gets too bogged down in Thomistic minutiae to make a substantive claim about how Thomas's theory grew out of his emotional community. On the other hand, Chapter 7 on Jean Gerson's linking of emotion and musical theory and Chapter 9 on Thomas Hobbes's political theory of emotion (and his exclusion from the Royal Society of London) both provide fascinating accounts of how these theories of emotion interacted with the cultural milieus in which they were forged.

This book's greatest strength is that it does not attempt a totalised or teleological account of eleven hundred years of emotions history. Instead, by weaving a rich tapestry of emotional communities, it provides a useful introduction to the history of emotions in medieval and early modern England and France.

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**Shoshan, N., *The Management of Hate: Nation, Affect, and the Governance of Right-Wing Extremism in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016). ISBN: 9780691171968**

Perhaps because I am an anthropologist like the author, maybe because I am an Israeli and a Jew like him, but possibly more so because I am also a German citizen who resides in the very country the book explores, my first reaction to *The Management of Hate* was anxiety. An anxiety that directly relates to our – overlapping – categorical belongings, and a deep-seated unease that brings up perpetuated, often numbed-down trauma, about these other Germans – the far-right extremists, who are at the focus of his ethnography. These others seem to exist in what German language refers

to as *parallelwelt* (parallel society), even though they live in the very same country, not to say the very same city, where I often sojourn: they exist in some parallel universe in (East) Berlin. These others are invested in a past they relate to as glorious, as a desirable state, whereas I see the abyss opening up, threatening to swallow me up. Unsettlingly, they, like me, attempt to fill the conundrum of ‘Germanness’ with meaning. In this sense, reviewing Shoshan’s book for *Emotions: History Culture Society* is an apt fit, as exactly these issues are at stake.

Shoshan conducted undercover ethnographic research with these ‘other alien Germans’ for eighteen months, passing himself off as an American student called John – and experiencing some close shots to see his cover blown by mere circumstance. During this time in the field, Shoshan gained valuable insights into the life-worlds, the sense-making processes of the far-right youths, and also the attempts of the various branches of the German state, which defines the youths as delinquents, to govern them. Shoshan’s insights compliment ethnographies of (native) German anthropologists as well as psychologists and sociologists to understand this very specific, complex, intriguing and strange part of German society, which most likely is one of the least understood strata.

The structure of *Management of Hate* is extremely useful in this regard: Shoshan leads the reader into the experience-scapes of the far-right youths. He depicts their conflicts with the German mainstream (whatever that is from their point of view), but also their take on the threats to their idea of German society (cue: Muslims, mainly, who stand in opposition to Germans) and the underpinnings on which they dwell to construct their world, and world view, which leads him into the difficult area of mystical time, a timeframe that is independent of actual time and connects ideological and geographical strands alike. Yet, the right-wing youths are neither immune to actual events – attempts of interventions from the German state – nor are they homogeneous or free of contradictions: an appreciation of kebabs exists side by side with Islamophobia against the very kebab seller.

From this informative ethnography follows the second part of the book: encounters with state agents who come in various guises. These state agents attempt to govern the far-right youths. In other words, they are the actors that stem from a meddling, Foucauldian panopticum whose aim is to manage those that are defined as delinquents. Shoshan unravels the intricate connections between the different actors of the German state carefully – and evidences forcefully a condition that can be described as veering between mutual

suspicion, resentment and misunderstanding. The two binaries of German society (which mutually wish to undermine each other in their extremes), and the nuances and contradictions that exist within each, come out.

The final part connects these different levels and engages with the national German public: what is this? Typically, in German discourse, 'integration' refers to migrants who are divided into good migrants (integrated) and bad migrants (non-integrated); diversity meanwhile remains problematic, as the recurrent bitter debates about German citizenship, migration, and male circumcision evidence. Only recently, social scientists have been arguing along lines, akin to those Shoshan advances, which extend the notion of integration to a societal level, independent of *MiGraHi* (acronym for migration background). Integration – as well as participation – is an issue that cuts across the ethnic divides in the country. Put bluntly, migrants vs non-migrants, integrated vs non-integrated *ausländer* (foreigners) are nothing but a smoke-screen, as 'we' the hegemonic majority – fallaciously – assume 'we' can manage these via integration facilitation. What the uncanny actors of Shoshan's ethnography indicate are conflicts about 'Germanness', statehood, inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation that exist within German society in general, and which, in specific combinations, can amount to radicalisation of specific strands – a pattern that also exists in a culturally different shape amongst those with *MiGraHi* or in cross-over versions (as with converts), indicating that individuals who become radicalised can reinterpret one specific strand of their identity investments. This is to say that Shoshan finishes his monograph by connecting the German state of affairs to cross-cultural patterns, thus underlining the importance of comparative studies of extremism and radicalisation.

While Shoshan certainly increased my knowledge on the topic at hand, my own emotional reaction, the unease about the uncanny too close for comfort, did not vanish. If anything, how often we – as German citizens – completely talk past each other, and also how desperately we – as a society – need advances in the area of diversity management and de-radicalisation became even more apparent, but before we even get to this we need integration. I remain intrigued by his contribution, and grateful for his boldness to conduct the research, as well as hopeful that his finely tuned output will unsettle law and policy makers as much as it disturbed me.

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