

Commentary

When feelings grow cold

What to do next in the history of emotions?

MARI EYICE*

The history of emotions has become prominent within historical disciplines in the last decade. This is evident from the abundance of research that has been published, the steady stream of introductions to and handbooks describing the field,¹ and the research infrastructure that currently exists to promote it. In pace with this establishment of the history of emotion as a perspective in history and as a research field, its own historiography and genealogy has become increasingly distinct. At the same time, providing overviews of the current developments within the field and prophesying about the future become ever more challenging as the field grows.

It is likely that the history of emotions has reached a kind of crossroads and with the expansion of the field, a diversion of ways in which to tackle the question of emotions in history has emerged. A steady inflow of new historians is turning attention to the history of emotions, while some of its more senior members are seeking new ways to approach the historical subject. Furthermore, the research infrastructure from which much influential work in the history of emotions has emanated during the last ten years is being re-cast and joined by new research environments with wider scopes.²

In this commentary to the history of emotions, I have interviewed seven historians, Katie Barclay, Xavier Biron-Ouellet, Rob Boddice, Rhodri Hayward, Bettina Hitzer, Piroska Nagy, and Raisa Maria Toivo.³ They are all active within the history of emotions field of research, but come from different academic backgrounds and are working in different academic milieus and with different historical themes and periods. I have asked them to give their views on what has pushed the history of emotions forward

*PhD in History, researcher in History, Department of History, Stockholm University, Sweden, mari.eyice@historia.su.se

during their time in it, and how they envision the future of the history of emotions as a historical endeavour to understand and explain the past. The questions aim to highlight recent developments in the history of emotions and to consider possible ways of developing the field for the future. The interviewees were all given the same questions in advance and have been talking to me on Zoom. In contrast to other articles mapping the field through interviews with prominent historians, they have not been in discussion with each other about the questions posed to them.⁴

Theoretical and methodological developments in the history of emotions

As works in the history of emotions have amassed, a kind of genealogy of the perspective has been handed down through theoretical and methodological texts and in empirical studies. It often starts with the forerunners of history of emotions, from Johan Huizinga to Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch and onwards to the foundational works by Peter Stearns, Barbara Rosenwein, and William Reddy. This genealogy is by now well-known to anyone familiar with the field, but approaches to the history of emotions are nevertheless varied and newer developments within the field have not reached canonical status in the same ways as earlier contributions have. I asked the interviewees what they consider to be the most important developments in the field during their active time in it. Most of them started their research around the time the history of emotions was forming as a research perspective, but many of them did not consider their own research as part of the budding field until later, even though they were familiar with the initial works of for example Reddy.

Regarding the field today, several of the interviewees point to a later development of a practice- and performance-based approach as crucial to the field. According to Biron-Ouellet, there was a limiting focus on concepts in the earlier days of the history of emotions, which restrained historians from developing refined methods for studying emotions in history. Today, when work within the field has grown considerably, there are more insights into how the history of emotions can actually be carried out, according to Biron-Ouellet. Toivo also points out that the field has reached a plurality in both scope and methods that in itself makes it relevant even after a long prehistory of searching for emotions in history. In this plurality, she highlights the turn to practices and performances, as well as materiality as especially significant. Toivo emphasises the works of Monique Scheer and Piroska Nagy as particularly inspiring. Scheer has developed a theoretical framework for studying emotions as practices, in which emotions are seen as bodily and social.⁵ Nagy, who herself is one

of the interviewees for this text, has promoted the study of emotions as social, collective and bodily in many studies.⁶ Barclay likewise points to a shift from language and words to practices, performances and materialities in the recent development of the history of emotions. Barclay herself has worked considerably with practice theory and developed new materialism in relation to the history of emotions.⁷ Hayward in turn highlights Barclay's work as a part of newer developments that have invigorated the field.

The developments of the history of emotions that the interviewees find most helpful thus seem to follow a more general trend in the historical disciplines in the last decade, where a strong focus on discursive and linguistic aspects in history has gradually received competition from material and practice-based approaches. For the history of emotions, it seems that this trend has the decided effect to widen the scope of the historical endeavour. In the words of Barclay, practice theory helps the historian of emotions to give space to the body in history and to theorise the relationship between language and the physical experience of emotions. Likewise, Hitzer says that the later developments have helped historians admit the human body in history, and also offered a way to think of the body in connection to language.

Nagy emphasises this process in broader terms. According to her, historians of emotions are no longer struggling with a perceived divide between nature and culture, or between an idea about emotions as natural and eternal in opposition to a historically changing culture. During the first fifteen years of the history of emotions as a research field, this was the central issue for historians of emotions, according to her. Historians were trying to reach beyond this perceived divide to find the "real" feelings of historical subjects, but it was not until very recent developments in the neurosciences that the historians' claim that emotions are culturally specific rather than natural gained scientific support.

According to both Nagy and Boddice, it is above all the work of Lisa Feldman Barrett and her cultural and social neuroscience that is the basis for this change in how emotions are perceived. Feldman Barrett's theory that emotions are made in cultural settings, rather than being something we are born with, admits the historical changeability of emotions that historians have been seeing in the sources.⁸ Furthermore, the claim that emotions are made in social settings disrupts the idea of "inner feeling" in opposition to "outward expression", which is in many ways a modernist projection of the nature of emotion. Boddice sees this development as the key change in the history of emotions field of research during his time in it. According to him, the history of emotions has gone past the debate about whether emotions are socially or universally constructed, which was ever present in older works within the field.

While there seems to be a certain degree of concord about central developments in the history of emotions in the last few years, concerns about those developments are also raised by some of the interviewees. Hayward highlights that while a canon of classical works in the history of emotions has gradually developed, leading to the later direction in the field that has been discussed above, other works in the history of emotions have been lost along the way. In a British context, he points to Raymond Williams's concept "structures of feeling" from the mid-1950s, which was used in some later history of emotions studies, but is largely neglected in the field today.

The quest of the history of emotions

Although it is evident from the wealth of studies in the history of emotions that there are many incentives to study emotions historically, I asked the interviewees what they thought historians of emotions are searching for when partaking in the trends discussed above.

Barclay saw the turn to practices, performances and new materialism as a way to access the body in historical research on emotions, and the body is also what she thinks historians are searching for more broadly; "we are searching for the body and for human flesh. People who are not what they say, but how they feel, their senses and their nerves and their gut feelings". Barclay's answer reveals a kind of longing for the actual person in history, something that is expressed in different ways by other interviewees as well. Toivo says that she thinks historians of emotions are searching for the connection between emotions and experiences and "reality" in quotation marks, material reality or social reality. Nagy and Biron-Ouellet are in agreement that the history of emotions was on a quest for human experience already from the beginning. The focus on concepts and norms in the early works in the history of emotions was a necessary building block for enlarging the world that historians can research for eventually accessing historical people's emotional experiences, according to Nagy and Biron-Ouellet. According to Boddice, historians of emotions are ultimately posing questions about human meaning and about human experience, but he feels that the research field is not equipped to answer those questions at present. According to him, the field has reached an impasse, where the methods and theories available in the field are no longer sufficient to answer the questions posed by it.

If we go by the answers above, it seems that the history of emotions is on a quest for the human experience in history. This aim is quite different from how the scope of the history of emotions is usually described in introductions to the topic and reveals an ambition that is at the same time

more visionary and more complicated than seeking mere representations of emotions in the past.⁹ Furthermore, in discussing this quest, it becomes apparent that there is a discrepancy about how the history of emotions could and should proceed. Boddice's idea about an impasse lays bare that the history of emotions as a historical endeavour is by no means a completed project.

The future for the history of emotions

There are many things that the interviewees suggest that the history of emotions should both do and be in the years to come. Concerning which topics should be in the pipeline to address next with a history of emotions perspective, the suggestions are often based on present-day concerns that have revealed gaps in our historical understanding of a phenomenon. Toivo points to several current societal developments as incentives to study the history of emotions. Accelerating globalisation, climate change and the crisis brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic are all issues that create a heightened need to study how emotions shape people's understanding of reality. She asks why people who are living through roughly the same events with roughly the same available information, nevertheless create diametrically opposing explanations of what is happening to them? Both Barclay and Hitzer also say that the current pandemic has made them think about new topics for the history of emotions. According to Barclay, COVID-19 made her see a gap in the history of emotions concerning hope and fear in times of epidemics. Hitzer sees a need to investigate how the representations of data, graphs, tables and other visual media shape emotions.

The interviewees also perceive a lack of certain perspectives in the field as it is practiced today. Hayward thinks that historians of emotions have not been very good at dealing with inequality. In studies of materiality and emotion, for example, there is little consideration of the uneven distribution of goods, even though that clearly affects people's emotional lives, according to Hayward. Another inequality which has until recently been largely neglected in the history of emotions is race.¹⁰ There are theoretical works that have been influential for historians of emotions in which ideas of inequality and hierarchy are tied to the very theory of emotion, yet this point has been ignored by historians.¹¹ However, Hayward sees recent social justice initiatives such as the Black Lives Matter movement as the reason to why this blind spot in the field is starting to be eradicated.

Boddice and Nagy also address the uneven scholarly attention to different groups and cultures within the history of emotions field. Boddice

notices in passing that the history of emotions is primarily concerned with white people, but more specifically with the Western world. There is a pronounced lack of other areas of the world and of other cultures than Western ones that are examined, according to Boddice. Nagy likewise identifies this focus on the West as a problem within the field. She sees it as a question about decolonialisation of the history of emotions. According to her, the problem is not just that there has been little research on other areas of the world, but that the field of the history of emotions in itself is based on Western concepts and theories of emotions, which makes it problematic to transfer to studies of other cultures.¹²

In relation to these shortcomings, several of the interviewees raise the issue of monolingualism among historians. This might be a more general concern for history as a discipline, but contributes to the problems raised with the lack of non-Western perspectives within the field. Boddice sees a singular focus on English literature and a negligence of literature written in other European languages. This is an experience he shares with Nagy, who observes how publications in English fail to reference relevant research written and published in for example French, German, and Italian. This is also at odds with the quite distinct international character of the history of emotions field, which is highlighted by several of the interviewees. Historians of emotions gathered in the different research centres or working individually elsewhere are to a high degree familiar with each other and collaborate, according to the historians in this interview. However, this interaction might not extend to actually reading the works of colleagues published in languages other than English.

Perhaps most significant for the question about the future of the field are the interviewees' ideas regarding the way history of emotions should be studied, theoretically and methodologically. Biron-Ouellet perceives a general lack of comparative studies in the history of emotions, both regarding transcultural and temporal comparisons.¹³ There is also a need to reconsider the way emotions as such are viewed in the history of emotions, according to some of the interviewees. As we have seen, Nagy addressed the need to decolonialise the history of emotions to be able to more inclusively study other cultures, and this critique has bearing also for how emotions are studied within the existing research field today. According to Nagy, the view of what emotions are is constructed within a cognitive understanding of emotion, backed up by a therapeutic discourse. According to this view, emotions are primarily individualistic and functioning within individualistic societies. This understanding is at odds with much of the very early historical works on emotions, conducted within the *Annales* school. Both Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre stressed the collective character of emotions in history. Nagy feels that this approach has been

left aside for the last thirty years, and although some theoretical work in the history of emotions has recently stressed a collective character of emotions; this is yet again something that remains to be studied empirically. In her own research, this is what Nagy is currently occupied with.¹⁴

Boddice also sees a limitation with the categories that define the history of emotions today. As we saw earlier, he feels that the field has reached an impasse, where it is unable to answer the questions it poses. According to him, the definitional constraints of the concept of emotion is in itself the problem. The separation of fields such as the history of emotions, the history of the senses and the history of memory is a projection of our own modern categories and ignores how these aspects of human experience were connected and often completely disrupted in the past. This is the reason why Boddice himself has advocated a turn towards a history of experience in recent publications, which he perceives as a merging of the history of emotions with the history of the senses.¹⁵

Hitzer has herself worked with what she describes as the intensive link between emotions and senses historically. In her research on the history of cancer, she saw how important especially the senses of touch and smell could be to emotions in relation to the experience of cancer.¹⁶ In contrast to Boddice, however, Hitzer sees a value in refraining from merging the two fields into a new one, since she perceives them as two distinct entities that are both unstable and changeable in history. By examining them separately, but being attentive to how they interrelate, she thinks the historicity of both entities will become clearer.

Hitzer raises instead the question of the temporality of emotions. In her own research milieu at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin, she has been inspired by the ideas of Ulman Lindenberger, a psychologist who is working with emotional development in the lifespan of individuals and who argues that emotional change is connected to aging. In the history of emotions, this idea has not been explored, according to Hitzer, although emotional change through generations has been considered, mainly through Rosenwein's work on generations of feelings.¹⁷ Hitzer suggests that historians of emotions should consider emotions throughout a lifespan of a generation and how those might be affected by changing historical contexts.

Finally, there is the question about what the history of emotions as a research field can become in the future. The interviewees were asked both what they hoped for and what they thought likely to occur. Some of the interviewees discussed this question in relation to current and coming trends in society. Hayward argues that the history of emotions has from the start been following popular trends, so that thinking within the field has followed new developments in society. For example, he sees the turn

towards the body and practices discussed earlier in this text as a response to a transformation in popular psychological thinking, where interest in bodily practices such as yoga and meditation already before the turn to practices in history had replaced more cognitively oriented methods for self-help and therapy. This means that the development in the future is possibly also in part dependent on which role emotions play in society. Both Toivo and Hitzer discussed how contemporary events had made them think about the history of emotions in new ways, and they too think that the development in the field is partly dependent on societal change. Barclay also points out that the history of emotions is dependent on a societal interest in emotions and that a backlash in an interest in emotion would affect the perspective. However, she does not see that happening in the near future.

The possible popular influences notwithstanding, it seems that all of the interviewees agree that the history of emotions will transform in the foreseeable future, even if their visions of how it will alter are different. Barclay brings up the current state of gender history as a desirable development for the history of emotions. She argues that gender history is such a well-known perspective that it provides a constant inflow of new people and new ideas. If the history of emotions reached the same level of recognition as gender history, the scope of the field would be expanded and re-energized. What is gained for the discipline of history as whole would be that more attention would be brought to the humanness of historical subjects, as well as the disorderliness and uniqueness of these subjects. Hitzer likewise considers it desirable that the history of emotions is integrated into the more general discipline of history. Moreover, she sees a risk in having most of the research on the history of emotions carried out at specialised research centres, and thus making the field seemingly appear either too exotic or too passé once the centres are gone. However, the discipline of history as a whole would gain from a deeper understanding of how emotions are integral to any aspect of historical development, according to Hitzer. Hayward also sees the future disappearance of the centres as a reason for the coming change within the field. He thinks that emotions as a discrete category for historical research will eventually disappear and probably be replaced by a broader category such as the history of experience.

Other interviewees also point to the history of experience as a way forward. Biron-Ouellet identifies a need to integrate emotions into the broader discipline of history, which would make history less cynical as a discipline. According to him, valuing emotions as part of each historical situation leads to appreciating that the historical record meant something experientially visceral to people of the past. Texts are not just remains of

“genre” or “ritual” for example, but something that had bearing for people’s experiences. According to Biron-Ouellet, focusing on experiences instead of emotions is a way of achieving this, since the framework of history of experiences integrates the body and the senses in the same framework. Nagy agrees with several of the others that the history of emotions makes history more human-focused, but that it needs to expand to reach its potential. She highlights the French research field of *histoire des sensibilités*, centred around Alain Corbin, in which emotions are already incorporated into a much wider framework of sensibilities. However, she thinks that the emergence of the history of experience offers new methodological and theoretical insights into the study of human experience.

Boddice has, as was noted above, advocated the history of experience as a way to deal with the shortcomings he perceives in the history of emotions today. He thinks that the ultimate goal for the history of experience is to understand what it means to be human, without assuming anything *a priori* about human nature. Some works in the history of emotions have already done that to a certain extent, according to Boddice. Reddy’s book *The Navigation of Feeling* (2001) investigates the French Revolution as a period when some emotions were lost and new ones emerged, but Boddice thinks that a disruption with the assumed continuity of emotions through history needs to be considered much more deeply. For this to occur, historians have to work more together with the disciplines of natural sciences, even though this is a prospect encumbered with many difficulties in the academic world today.

Toivo also discusses the future of the field in relation to the history of experience. She hopes that the history of emotions will merge with other disciplinary fields of enquiry, like it has already done in her workplace at the HEX centre at Tampere University, which is dedicated to the history of experience. However, like Boddice, Toivo sees problems with establishing a new field of research. According to her, the development of new theories and methodologies that are currently going on at HEX requires long-term support and also allowances for mistakes.¹⁸

Judging by the answers to these last questions, it seems that there is indeed a divide in how the future of the history of emotions as an endeavour to understand the past and as a research field is perceived by some of its current and prominent members. Primarily, there seems to be a discrepancy in how the interviewees think that the history of emotions should relate to the general discipline of history. While there are strong voices for integrating the study of emotions into the wider historical endeavour, the call to integrate the history of emotions into a new field of the history of experience seems to instead advocate for further study of human experience as a discrete category. As becomes clear from Boddice’s and

Toivo's comments, this endeavour seems to be connected to an interdisciplinary ambition.

Conclusions

These interviews have revealed an ambition among historians to engage with the historical subject in its human, bodily and experiencing form. That this ambition is addressed so boldly in the interviews is in itself a sign that the history of emotions has evolved in the last five to ten years.¹⁹ The field seems by now to have reached a state of agreement as to the ability of historical research to access human experience in history. Although there have been several attempts at this in the discipline of history before, it seems nevertheless that recent developments in the history of emotions have re-actualised and invigorated the quest for human experience in history.²⁰ As several of the interviewees pointed out, success for this ambition would mean more consideration of the humanness of historical subjects, something that would surely enrich the discipline of history as a whole.²¹

Furthermore, it seems that this progression has evolved in relation to the development in the disciplines of neurosciences and psychology. Whether this might be the start of a new kind of interdisciplinary research, it may be too soon to say; but there are certainly aspirations among the interviewees and in other groups signalling such a direction.²²

Another consequence of this evolution is the divergence of perspectives on how the history of emotions should proceed from its current position. While some of the interviewees seem to see this development as a means to study the history of emotions as such more efficiently or more broadly, others see it as a reason to widen critical inquiry under the name of the history of experience. This disciplinary bifurcating might be spurred by the current reorganisation of the research infrastructure for the history of emotions, and it remains to be seen whether the history of experience will emerge as a field in its own right, as the history of emotions has done up to this point. Whatever the case may be, it seems like the search for emotions in history faces a thorough reshaping in the years to come.

Participants

KATIE BARCLAY is deputy director of the ARC Centre of Excellence in the History of Emotions and associate professor and head of department in history at the University of Adelaide. Her publications include *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (2011); *Men on Trial: Performing Emotion, Embodiment and Identity, 1800–1845*

(2019); *A History of Emotions: A Student Guide to Sources and Methods* (2020); and *Caritas: Neighbourly Love and the Early Modern Self* (2021).

XAVIER BIRON-OUELLET is a postdoctoral researcher at the Università Ca' Foscari Venezia and a co-host of the virtual research seminar *Pour une histoire de l'expérience : le laboratoire médiéval* at Université du Québec à Montréal. He has published several articles on medieval emotions, for example "A Collective Emotion in Medieval Italy: The Flagellant Movement of 1260" together with Nagy in *Emotion Review* (2020).

ROB BODDICE is a senior researcher at the Academy of Finland Centre of Excellence in the History of Experience at the University of Tampere. He is an associate editor of *Emotion Review* and his publications include *The Science of Sympathy: Morality, Evolution and Victorian Civilisation* (2016); *Pain: A Very Short Introduction* (2017); *The History of Emotions* (2018); *A History of Feelings* (2019); and together with Mark Smith, *Emotion, Sense, Experience* (2020).

RHODRI HAYWARD is a reader in history at Queen Mary University of London. He is one of the founding members of the Centre for the History of the Emotions at Queen Mary and has most recently published "Busman's Stomach and the Embodiment of Modernity" in *Contemporary British History* (2016); "Ruling Minds: Psychology in the British Empire" in *Annals of Science* (2018); and "Runaway: Gregory Bateson, the Double Bind, and the Rise of Ecological Consciousness" in *British Journal for the History of Science* (2019).

BETTINA HITZER is, since February of 2021, a Heisenberg Researcher at the Hannah Arendt Institute for totalitarianism studies at the Technische Universität Dresden and was one of the original members of the history of emotions research group at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin. She has recently published *Krebs Fühlen: Eine Emotionsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (2020) which was awarded the Leipzig Book Fair prize in non-fiction 2020.

PIROSKA NAGY is a professor in history at Université du Québec à Montréal. She is a co-host of the virtual research seminar *Pour une histoire de l'expérience : le laboratoire médiéval* at Université du Québec à Montréal. She was one of the research leaders of EMMA, the Émotions au Moyen Âge research programme in history of emotions in the Middle Ages. Her publications include *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge* (2000); together with Damien Boquet, *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge* (2009); and also together

with Boquet, *Sensible Moyen Âge* (2015), which has been translated into English, *Medieval Sensibilities* (2018), and into Italian, *Medioevo sensibile* (2018).

RAISA MARIA TOIVO is professor of history and the Lived religion branch leader at the Academy of Finland Centre of Excellence in the History of Experience at Tampere University. She works on early modern experience of religion and religious conflict. Her publications include *Witchcraft and Gender in Early Modern Finland and the Wider European Experience* (2008); *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland* (2016); and together with Sari Katajalla-Peltomaa, *Lived Religion and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (2020).

Notes

1. See for example Jan Plamper: *The history of emotions. An introduction* (Oxford, 2015); Rob Boddice: *The history of emotions* (Manchester, 2018); Barbara H. Rosenwein & Riccardo Cristiani: *What is the history of emotions?* (Cambridge, 2018); Piroska Nagy: "History of emotions" in Marek Tamm & Peter Burke (eds.): *Debating new approaches to history* (London, 2019); Katie Barclay: *The history of emotions. A student guide to methods and sources* (London, 2020); Katie Barclay, Sharon Crozier-De Rosa & Peter N. Stearns: *Sources for the history of emotions. A guide* (London, 2020).

2. The history of emotion has been promoted at three major research centres, the History of Emotions Center at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin, the Queen Mary Centre for the History of the Emotions in London, both founded in 2008, and The Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions in Melbourne founded in 2012. All three centres currently face structural changes. At the same time, new research centres, with some of their theoretical and methodological foundations based in the history of emotions (but with a wider scope) are opening. The Academy of Finland Centre of Excellence in the History of Experiences in Tampere is one example.

3. See presentations of all participants at the end of the article.

4. See for example Jan Plamper et. al.: "The history of emotions. An interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns" in *History and Theory* 49:2 (2010); Nicole Eustace et. al.: "AHT conversation. The historical study of emotions" in *The American Historical Review* 117:5 (2012).

5. See primarily Monique Scheer: "Are emotions a kind of practice (and is that what makes them have a history)? A Bourdieuan approach to understanding emotion" in *History and Theory* 51 (2012).

6. See for example Damien Boquet & Piroska Nagy: *Sensible Moyen Âge. Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2015); Piroska Nagy & Xavier Biron-Ouellet: "A collective emotion in Medieval Italy. The Flagellant movement of 1260" in *Emotion Review* 12:3 (2020).

7. See for example Katie Barclay: "New materialism and the new history of emotions" in *Emotions: History, culture, Society* 1:1 (2017).

8. See primarily Lisa Feldman Barrett: *How emotions are made. The secret life of the*

brain (Boston MA, 2017). For a theoretical discussion in history that draws on Feldman Barrett, see for example Rob Boddice: “History looks forward. Interdisciplinarity and critical emotion research” in *Emotion Review* 12:3 (2020).

9. See for example “The history of emotions [...] studies the emotions that were felt and expressed in the past; it looks at what has changed and what ties together their past and present” in Barbara H. Rosenwein & Riccardo Cristiani: *What is the history of emotions?*, 1.

10. However, there is psychological literature where this issue is raised. Hayward notes for example Frantz Fanon’s work on race and mood disorders and refers to works by Michael Marmott and Richard Leyard on the relation between depression and rank.

11. Hayward exemplifies by citing Silvan Tomkins’ work on affect theory.

12. There are notable exceptions to the Western focus, however. Rob Boddice gives examples of Margit Pernau’s work and the works of her research group at the Max Planck Institute in Berlin who are mainly concerned with India, and the work of Paolo Santangelo who is a leading expert on emotions in a Chinese context.

13. Nagy highlights Reddy’s work on love as one notable comparative study, see William M. Reddy: *The making of romantic love. Longing and sexuality in Europe, South Asia, and Japan, 900–1200 CE* (Chicago IL, 2012).

14. See for example Piroska Nagy: “Quand l’émotion collective prend corps. La pataria Milanaise (1057–1075)” in *Sensibilités* 1 (2020).

15. Most recently together with Mark Smith. Rob Boddice & Mark M. Smith: *Emotion, sense, experience* (Cambridge, 2020).

16. See primarily Bettina Hitzer: “The odor of disgust. Contemplating the dark side of 20th-century cancer history” in *Emotion Review* 12:3 (2020). For more extensive work on the emotional history of cancer, see also Bettina Hitzer: *Krebs fühlen. Eine Emotionsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 2020).

17. Barbara H. Rosenwein: *Generations of feeling. A history of emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge, 2016).

18. Toivo points to her research together with Sari Katajala-Peltomaa as an example of this kind of work. See Sari Katajala-Peltomaa & Raisa Maria Toivo: *Lived religion and gender in late medieval and early modern Europe* (Abingdon, 2020).

19. In Jan Plamper’s introduction to the field from 2015, the discussion about whether or not historians can truly access human experience in the past is still central, see Plamper: *The history of emotions*.

20. For recent examples, see Joan W. Scott: “The evidence of experience” in *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991); and the contributions in Paul Münch (ed.): “Erfahrung” als Kategorie der Frühneuzeitgeschichte, *Historische Zeitschrift. Beiheft*, 31 (München, 2001).

21. There are recent examples of using experience as a theoretical concept in empirical studies. In the Swedish context, see for example Mari Eyice: *An emotional landscape of devotion. Religious experience in reformation-period Sweden* (Turku, 2019); Anton Runesson: *Blod, kött och tårar. Kroppslig erfarenhet i Sverige, ca 1600–1750* (Stockholm, 2021). See also the discussion in Jagger Andersen Kirkby: “Fra følelsernas historie til følelser i historien” in *Scandia* 87:1 (2021).

22. In the Swedish context, there are examples of interdisciplinary projects in the research of emotions where historians are prominent. See for example the activities of the network *Anxiety: An interdisciplinary research network*, which is funded for a 2-year period by Uppsala University.