Witchcraft is an intensely emotional crime. The crime of witchcraft fundamentally concerns the impact of emotional states on physical ones. Anger, envy or hate of one person towards another could manifest itself in a variety of physical ailments and even death. In early modern Europe, women’s passions and lusts were sometimes said to make them more prone to witchcraft than their male counterparts. It was not just the witch who was intensely emotional: the Devil could also play the role of jealous lover or violent master. So too the families, relations, friends, and sometimes the community as a whole, would be drawn into the complex web of emotional claim and counter claim from which developed accusations and condemnations of witchcraft.

Yet despite the path-breaking work of Lyndal Roper and Diane Purkiss on the emotional self-representation and imagination of accused witches and their accusers, an emotional history of witchcraft remains relatively unexplored. This symposium seeks to bring together scholars from a number of different fields, including history, art history and anthropology, to probe further into the relationship between witchcraft and emotions through an inter-disciplinary perspective.

Speakers: Victoria Burbank (Anthropology, University of Western Australia), Johannes Dillinger (History, Oxford Brookes), Sarah Ferber (History, University of Wollongong), Iris Gareis (Anthropology, Goethe University Frankfurt), Malcolm Gaskill (History, University of East Anglia), Eliza Kent (University of New England), Isak Niehaus (Anthropology, Brunel University), Abaigéal Warfield (History, University of Adelaide), Jan Machielsen (History, University of Oxford), Patricia Simons (History of Art, University of Michigan), Julian Goodare (History, University of Edinburgh), John Taylor (Anthropology, La Trobe University), Deborah Van Heekeren (Anthropology, Macquarie University), Charlotte-Rose Millar (History, University of Melbourne), Laura Kounine (History, Max Planck Institute Berlin), Jacqueline van Gent (History, University of Western Australia) and Charles Zika (History, University of Melbourne).

Image: Unknown artist, frontispiece woodcut, In Performance at the Blocksberg (Blockes-Berges Verrichtung) by Johannes Praetorius [Hans Schultze], 1668 and 1669 editions.
**WEDNESDAY 25 NOV 2015**

9.30am  Registration

10 – 10.15am  Welcome

10.15 – 11am  Malcolm Gaskill (History, University of East Anglia), *The Personification of Witchcraft: Emotion, Law and Reality in Early Modern England*

11–11.30  MORNING TEA

11.30-1pm  Johannes Dillinger (History, Oxford Brookes University and Johannes Gutenberg Universität, Mainz), *The Comfort of Witchcraft: The Emotional Links between Child Witches, their Families and the Community*

Jan Machielsen (History, New College, Oxford), *Elided Emotions? Pierre de Lancre’s Use of Child Witnesses in his Tableau de l’inconstance des démons et mauvais anges (1612)*

1-2pm  LUNCH

2 – 3.30pm  Abaigéal Warfield (History, University of Adelaide), *(De)Constructing Fear of Witches and Weather Magic in Sixteenth-Century Neue Zeitungen*

Victoria Burbank (Anthropology, University of Western Australia), *Anger, Fear, Envy and Revenge: Supernatural Aggression in a Remote Aboriginal Community*

3.30-4pm  AFTERNOON TEA

4 – 4.45pm  John Taylor (Anthropology, La Trobe University), *Sins of the Ancestors: Christianity, Colonialism and Generational Curses in Island Melanesia*

**THURSDAY 26 NOV 2015**

9.30-11am  Elizabeth Kent (Independent Scholar) *Setting Up Satan’s Kingdom: Male Witchcraft Confessors in the Salem Trials, 1692*

Iris Gareis (Anthropology, Goethe-University, Frankfurt), *Love and Love’s Labour: Gendered Magic and Emotionality in the Early Modern Hispanic World*

11-11.30am  MORNING TEA

11.30-1pm  Charlotte-Rose Millar (History, University of Melbourne), *The Devil’s Victims: Emotionally Vulnerable Witches in Early Modern England*

Isak Niehaus (Anthropology, Brunel University, London), *From Witchcraft to Satanism in Bushbuckridge, South Africa*

1-2pm  LUNCH

2-3.30pm  Julian Goodare (History, University of Edinburgh), *Emotions and Power in European Witchcraft*

Deborah Van Heekeren (Anthropology, Macquarie University), *Living with Sorcery in a Papua New Guinea Village*

3.30-4pm  AFTERNOON TEA

4-4.45pm  Discussion – Sarah Ferber (History, University of Wollongong)

7.30-10pm  FILM SCREENING & PANEL DISCUSSION: ‘Häxan: Witchcraft through the Ages’ silent film (1922), re-released in 2001 with English subtitles. The Singapore Theatre (B120), Melbourne School of Design, The University of Melbourne

**FRIDAY 27 NOV 2015**

9-10.30am  Jacqueline Van Gent (History, University of Western Australia), *Magic, Embodiment and Materialized Emotions in Early Modern Sweden*

Laura Kounine (History, Max Planck Institute in Berlin), *Conscience, Confession and Selfhood in Lutheran Witch-Trials*

10.30-11am  MORNING TEA

11-12.30pm  Charles Zika (History, University of Melbourne), *A 1626 Print by Michael Herr and Matthäus Merian the Elder: Displaying Witchcraft as Emotional Excess and Moral Disorder*

Pat Simons (History of Art, University of Michigan), *The Effective and Emotional Role of the Woodcuts in Guazzo’s Compendium Maleficarum (Milan, 1608)*

12.30-1.15pm  Discussion

1.15-2.15pm  LUNCH

CONFERENCE CLOSE
Victoria Burbank

[Anthropology, University of Western Australia]

Anger, Fear, Envy and Revenge: Supernatural Aggression in a Remote Aboriginal Community

Fear of sorcery pervades the remote Aboriginal community of Numbulwar in Southeast Arnhem Land, likely contributing directly to the stress of daily life and indirectly to the premature morbidity and mortality characteristics of Aboriginal lives more generally. ‘Black magic’, as sorcery is now called in this community, is anticipated as a means of punishment or revenge for a range of violations. ‘Black magic’ is also precipitated, according to local theory, by ‘jealousy’, a word that non-Indigenous people might translate as ‘envy’. Individuals never identify themselves as sorcerers and are rarely identified as sorcerers by others. However, the belief that sorcery is at work in the community is widespread. In this belief complex the place of family, a vital feature of Aboriginal sociality, is critical. ‘Family’, referring either to a ‘close’ kinsperson or to the collective of close kin, may be victimized instead of the perpetrator of the provoking act. Conversely, a victim’s ‘family’ member may be complicit in the act of sorcery that killed him or her. Some observers of Indigenous Australia have argued that sorcery beliefs have increased, attributing this to outsider prohibitions on physical violence. While this may be so, I join with those who see sorcery beliefs as representations of social relationships, including the relationships of Aboriginal people to the encompassing social order and read them to better understand the experiences implicated in the ill-being of Aboriginal people.

VICTORIA K. BURBANK was Professor of Anthropology at the University of Western Australia until her retirement in 2014. She is a psychological anthropologist who has worked in the Arnhem Land community of Numbulwar since 1977. Her publications on Numbulwar include Aboriginal Adolescence: Maidenhood in an Australian Community (1998), Fighting Women: Anger and Aggression in Aboriginal Australia (1994) and An Ethnography of Stress: The Social Determinants of Health in Aboriginal Australia (2011).

Johannes Dillinger

[History, Oxford Brookes University and Johannes Gutenberg Universität, Mainz]

The Comfort of Witchcraft. The Emotional Links between Child Witches, their Families and the Community

This paper wants to explore the multifaceted emotional attractions that fantasies of demonism and concrete accusations of witchcraft offered to children. Talking about witches provided children in difficult social/familial situations with a means to (re)integrate themselves into various types of communities. These communities included the imaginary community of the witches with the devil as a substitute father, as well as the local community in everyday life that was willing to treat the child witch with some respect or even affection as long as it kept denouncing witches.

In addition to that, the witchcraft fantasy was for a number of children the most effective way to express feelings of hate and vengefulness by indulging in elaborate fantasies of destruction shaped by demonological stereotypes.

In most cases, child witches alienated their families and forced them to distance themselves emotionally from the child. This could tempt the parents to over-identify with the community at the expense of the emotional structure of the family.

The paper hopes to contribute to the history of emotional relations between children and their families.

JOHANNES DILLINGER is Professor of Early Modern History at Oxford Brookes and Professor of Modern History and Regional History at Mainz (Johannes Gutenberg Universität). Dillinger studied history, Catholic theology and education at Tübingen, Norwich and Trier. He worked as a guest lecturer at Georgetown, Stanford and JNU New Delhi. Dillinger won the Friedrich Spee Award for outstanding contributions to the history of witchcraft. His publications include English and German monographs on the political representation of the peasantry in the early modern period, on the uses of counterfactuals in historiography, on terrorism, treasure hunting, and witchcraft.

Sarah Ferber

SARAH FERBER is Associate Professor of History and convenor of the History program at the University of Wollongong. She is currently writing an overview monograph entitled Magic, Witches and Demons in Pre-Modern Europe and its Colonies. Her recent work includes: Devotional violence and emotional governance in a seventeenth-century French female religious house in Susan Broomhall and Sarah Finn, eds, Violence and Emotions in Early Modern Europe, (2015) and The constitution and conditions of everyday magic in late medieval an early modern Catholic Europe, in Kathryn A. Edwards, ed., Everyday Magic in Early Modern Europe, (2015).

Iris Gareis

[Anthropology, Goethe-Institute, Frankfurt]

Love and Love’s Labour: Gendered Magic and Emotionality in the Early Modern Hispanic World

In early modern Spain and Spanish America prosecutions for witchcraft (brujería) were far less numerous than those for hechicería (not the same, but similar to English ‘sorcery’). Defendants of sorcery accusations were mostly female urban magicians who acted at the request of their clients, especially in helping to solve emotional problems with lovers or violent husbands.

Spanish and Spanish American witchcraft narratives only occasionally mention emotions usually associated with witchcraft such as hatred or envy. According to descriptions of the witches’ Sabbath, positive feelings prevailed. Defendants from the Basque Country, as well as Africans from New Granada (modern Columbia), described their experiences during the witches’ gathering as feeling like they were in paradise. The African slaves, for instance, enjoyed a delicious banquet with plenty of wine served by minor devils on golden dishes, while dancing and having sexual intercourse with their friends.

Testimonies, treatises, literary texts, dramatic and visual representations on sorcery and witchcraft suggest certain gendered models of emotionality to be followed or others to be condemned. The paper seeks to explore how emotions were implied in the construction
of the two types of magical agents, the witch and the sorcerer or sorceress, as well as the degree to which emotions linked or ascribed to these two types were considered to be gendered.

IRIS GAREIS is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Goethe-University in Frankfurt. She has also taught Early Modern History in universities in Argentina, Germany, and Switzerland. She is co-editor of the series Hexenforschung (Witchcraft Research, Bielefeld) and author of numerous articles on witchcraft in the Hispanic and Lusophone World. Her publications include contributions to *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft* (2006), *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America* (2013), as well as the editing of an anthology on *Concepts of Evil and Evil Entities in Latin American Religions* (2008, Spanish and English articles).

Malcolm Gaskill

*History, University of East Anglia*

**The Personification of Witchcraft: Emotion, Identity, and Reality in Early Modern England**

A contemporary lack of precision about witchcraft may have served early modern ideological purposes, but as a criminal offence witchcraft needed evidence to get convictions. This was challenging, as high acquittal rates indicate. And yet considerable numbers were convicted, which raises the question of how the balance of probability ever tipped against the accused. This paper considers the contribution of emotion to English witchcraft trials. Accusers didn’t necessarily know what a witch was; but they knew how witches made them feel and could demonstrate this passionately at law. Emotions mattered, and historians who take them seriously have a better grasp of early modern experience and the representation of that experience. This helps us to understand witchcraft accusations on their own terms, and so capture something of the authentic experience of being a witch and of being bewitched – the phenomenology of witchcraft, remote from abstruse theories. The historical strangeness of witchcraft cannot be explained away in a modern idiom; it must be embraced as strange, as it was by perplexed contemporaries. Conversely, the study of witchcraft also provides rich material for the history of the emotions in general. Early modern people deployed emotions to engage with the supernatural world, and so left clues about how they understood themselves.

MALCOLM GASKILL is Professor of Early Modern History at the University of East Anglia and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. The author of five books, including *Witchfinders: A Seventeenth-Century English Tragedy* (2005), *Witchcraft: A Very Short Introduction* (2010), and *Between Two Worlds: How the English Became Americans* (2014), he is currently the Principal Investigator on a three-year collaborative project funded by the Leverhulme Trust, entitled ‘Inner Lives: Emotion, Identity and the Supernatural, 1300-1800’. As part of this work, Gaskill is preparing a book-length study of witchcraft, heresy and emotion in the seventeenth-century frontier town of Springfield, Massachusetts.

Julian Goodare

*History, University of Edinburgh*

**Emotions and Power in European Witchcraft**

This paper will discuss emotions that were expressed in social situations that arose in the negotiation of village witchcraft in early modern Europe. Emotions helped people to navigate through these situations – or, sometimes, hindered them in doing so. Power was important here because people were trying to achieve favourable outcomes or to avoid unfavourable outcomes.

The basic situations to be examined are village quarrels and reconciliation rituals. After two people quarrelled, one of them suffered a misfortune that they attributed retrospectively to the other person’s witchcraft. What emotions were expressed by each person during the quarrel? And what emotions did the accuser (the self-defined victim) attribute retrospectively to the person to whom they sought to attach the label of ‘witch’? People’s direct expression of their own emotions is conceptually separate from their attribution of emotions to others. As for reconciliation negotiations: these were also emotionally charged, but the conciliatory emotions that they entailed could be very different from the confrontational emotions expressed when people sought to achieve their ends through quarrels. The paper will sketch a framework for understanding how villagers used different emotions in asserting their interests in witchcraft situations.


Elizabeth Kent

*Independent Scholar*

**Setting Up Satan’s Kingdom: Male Witchcraft Confessors In the Salem Trials, 1692**

Elizabeth Reis has argued the Salem confessions were intimately linked to ‘women’s and men’s notions of sin, Satan, and self’. The 1692 trials, Reis said, show a ‘female model’ of witchcraft confession, one that allows for an exploration of the ‘causative influence of women’s sense of their own depravity and their recognition of a similar corruption in other women’. Men, Reis argued, had a different idea of sin – one based more on the idea of a particular sin. In this paper I argue against this gendered difference. Male witchcraft confession was very rare, but when it did occur I believe it should be understood as men describing depravity in masculine terms. I treat witchcraft confession not only as the telling of credible stories about one’s own propensity for witchcraft, but also as a form of emotional self-reportage. These male witchcraft confessions from 1692 suggest what emotional materials early modern Anglo-American men might recruit to tell a credible story about their own sinful natures.
E.J. KENT is a graduate of the University of Melbourne who now works as an Independent Researcher. Her research interests are masculinity and witchcraft in the early modern Transatlantic English world. She has published a book *Cases of Male Witchcraft in Old and New England, 1692-1592* in 2013, and a variety of articles dealing with gender and witchcraft. She is currently pursuing research on masculinity and the Salem witch trials, and work on masculinity and ideas of evil in early modern English culture.

**Laura Kounine**

[History, Max Planck Institute, Berlin]

**Conscience, Confession and Selfhood in Lutheran Witch-Trials**

The crux of a witchcraft trial was premised on the moral question of what kind of person would commit such a crime. Those on trial were asked to give an account of their ‘soul’, and were asked to search their conscience and lay bare their heart. In the fiercely Lutheran duchy of Württemberg, the notion of ‘conscience’ was made to matter, and it was a paradigm that both sides – the interrogators and those put on trial – appropriated and made relevant. Ideas about the self and emotions – and therefore ideas about guilt and legal culpability – were made sense of through the prism of one’s relationship with God and the Devil. In order to add depth to intellectual concepts – and teleologies – of the self, we must understand how the individual self was understood, felt and experienced. In this way, histories of the self are inextricably tied to the history of emotions.

Through an examination of two witch trials that took place in Württemberg, the first of Anna Murschel in 1598, and the second of Dorothea Rieger in 1678, this paper will examine the ways in which Lutheran ideas of conscience, sin and moral choice came to bear on the ways in which these women and their interrogators battled over the identity of the witch.

LAURA KOUNINE is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the History of Emotions Centre at the Max Planck Institute in Berlin. She completed her PhD at the University of Cambridge in 2013 under the supervision of Professor Ulinka Rublack. In 2014 she was an ECIR fellow at the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at the University in Melbourne. She is currently revising her thesis on *The gendering of witchcraft in early modern Württemberg* for publication, and she is co-editor of a forthcoming essay collection on *Emotions in the History of Witchcraft*.

**Jan Machielsen**

[History, New College, Oxford]

**Elded Emotions? Pierre de Lancre’s Use of Child Witnesses in his Tableau de l’inconstance des démons et mauvais anges (1612)**

It is generally acknowledged that Pierre de Lancre’s *Tableau de l’inconstance des démons et mauvais anges* (1612, 2nd ed. 1613) offers the most detailed and sexually explicit account of the witches’ Sabbath of the early modern period. The work is based on testimony gathered during a witch-hunt conducted in the Basque-speaking Pays de Labourd in 1609. The Bordeaux judge excerpted at great length from the testimony of children, taking seriously their detailed imaginings of the Sabbath, but also – by representing them as objective fact – denuding them from their emotional content (and substituting his own). What were these children thinking and feeling? The question becomes still more urgent when we read the text carefully. Throughout the Tableau, Lancre makes a careful but never explained distinction between witches and witnesses, considering these children [he mentions about two dozen by name, but claims to have interviewed hundreds] to belong to the latter category. Close reading and the collating of names and places show that it was their parents and relatives that these children testified against. Salvaging the drama that unfolded from Lancre’s stylised account may seem like an impossible task, but the same reading strategies and newly discovered archival material show that we can recover much more than we thought possible.

JAN MACHIelsen is Departmental Lecturer in Early Modern European History at New College, Oxford. He is the author of *Martin Deírio: Demonology and Scholarship in the Counter-Reformation* (Oxford, 2015), and co-editor, with Clare Copeland, of *Angels of Light? Sanctity and the Discernment of Spirits in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2013).

**Charlotte-Rose Millar**

[History, The University of Melbourne]

**The Devil’s Victims: Emotionally Vulnerable Witches in Early Modern England**

One of the key issues in English witchcraft is to understand the point at which (and the conditions under which) men and women were believed to succumb to the Devil and become witches. If we examine all extant English witchcraft pamphlets it becomes clear that, far from appearing randomly, devils were often portrayed as targeting potential witches at moments of extreme emotional disturbance. A close study of these pamphlets demonstrates that in the first half of the seventeenth century devils often appeared to their victims after they expressed rage, hatred or envy. This paper will explore cases of devils appearing to potential witches immediately after moments of great emotional disturbance. It will argue that rage, envy, hatred and greed were viewed as the primary reasons for men and women succumbing to witchcraft. The paper will attempt to speculate as to why some groups of witchcraft pamphlets emphasised the emotional fragility of potential witches and some did not. Ultimately, this paper will argue that witches were often depicted in popular print as people who were unable to control their emotions and that this apparent deficiency made them more vulnerable to the Devil’s influence.

CHARLOTTE-ROSE MILLAR is an Associate Investigator and Research Assistant in the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions (1100-1800) and is based at the University of Melbourne. Her recently completed PhD examined the role of the Devil and emotion in seventeenth-century English witchcraft pamphlets and is currently under contract with Ashgate. The book will significantly expand the work of the thesis by covering the entire period of state-sanctioned executions (1563-1735). She has seven peer-reviewed articles and book chapters (three accepted and in press) and has been awarded two prizes for her published work.
Isak Niehaus
(Anthropology, Brunel University London)

Form Witchcraft to Satanism in the South African Lowveld: A View from the Anthropology of Emotions
Discourses about witchcraft have a long history in the Bushbuckridge area of the South African Lowveld, and have constantly been reconfigured to confront new situations of life. Yet, over the past decade, witchcraft has largely retreated from public spaces, and discussions about it are largely confined to the domestic domain. In the place of witchcraft, discourses about Satanism have come to grip the public imagination. Whereas witches are imagined to be elderly men and women, who have inherited the capacity and inclination to perpetrate harm, nearly all Satanists are imagined to be girls, who have been lured to join malevolent covens by promises of immense wealth. Confessions about Satanism are a common occurrence within Pentecostal church services, high schools assemblies, and even at political meetings. In my contribution I draw on on-going ethnographic fieldwork in Bushbuckridge, and utilise concepts from the anthropology of emotions to explore reasons for this change. I suggest that participation in discourses about Satanism enables villagers to reflect on the impact of new religious, political and economic changes, and can also be understood through the notions of ‘projection’, ‘introjection’ and ‘desire’.


Patricia Simons
(Art History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

The Effective and Emotional Role of the Woodcuts in Guazzo’s Compendium Maleficarum (Milan, 1608)
Guazzo’s treatise has received little scholarly attention, and its twenty-two woodcuts even less. Printed only in Latin, the text is largely a selection of previously published arguments and anecdotes directed at a relatively learned, male audience who were to use the book in a personal, contemplative manner. According to the preface, every reader must emotionally battle against the seduction of evil ‘illusions [fascinationes] and witchcraft’, the book arming them with proof and truth as remedies against the enemy. Since the first chapter points out that images have a corporeal and emotive effect, the woodcuts were implicitly commissioned not only to increase the book’s commercial potential but also to augment its efficacy and reinforce its claim to be factual.

This paper examines the impact of book illustrations in demonological discourse as representations akin to exempla, seemingly to add eyewitness veracity to the accounts. Guazzo’s images are not closely modelled on earlier works and they sometimes amplify and vivify a single sentence. By taking several cases, including the oft-reproduced “kiss of shame” and the werewolf, the paper investigates how pictorial and textual sources lead to woodcuts that are both persuasively conventional yet skilfully inventive as they blend fact with fascination.

Pat Simons is Professor in the History of Art at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Her books include The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History (Cambridge University Press, 2011) and the co-edited Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy (Clarendon Press, 1987). Her studies of the visual and material culture of early modern Europe have been published in numerous anthologies and peer-reviewed journals, ranging over such subjects as female and male homoeroticism, gender and portraiture, the cultural role of humour, and the visual dynamics of secrecy and of scandal.

John Taylor
(Anthropology, La Trobe University, Melbourne)

Sins of the Ancestors: Christianity, Colonialism and Generational Curses in Island Melanesia
In Vanuatu, perceived patterns of misfortune across generations of family and extended kinship are often interpreted as manifestations of ‘curses’. This is especially the case with slow onset illnesses, including for example diabetes, hypertension or cancers, but may equally be linked to situations where ostensibly unrelated events such as financial hardship or injuries caused by accident are interpreted as causally linked to historical events. Rather than being overtly framed within discourses of ‘kastom’ (‘indigenous tradition’), such curses are intimately tied to histories of Christian missionisation and the Church, and more particularly to the malignant actions of those missionaries or ni-Vanuatu priests and catechists who wielded both a productive and dangerous power within the context of colonialism. This paper compares several oral narratives of family curses, analysing them for what they say about the ongoing effects of colonialism, such that it also links expressions of sacred power to the broader culture of colonialism, including the centres of European empire. As also explored here, engaging with such contexts ethnographically can entail emotionally fraught encounters, which give rise to ethical concerns that may be of similar relevance to scholars working in other disciplines.

John Taylor’s work as an anthropologist is influenced by critical theory, and guided by the capacity of ethnography to directly engage the struggles of everyday life and reveal deep understandings of ourselves in relation to others. He is currently exploring the intersection of spirituality and healthcare seeking practices in the Western Pacific. He also researches and writes on human mobility, religion, photography and tourism including at home in New Zealand.

Jacqueline van Gent
(History, University of Western Australia)

Magic, Embodiment and Materialized Emotions in Early Modern Sweden
In eighteenth-century Sweden, magical practices blurred the line between material and immaterial aspects of the world and emotions became social forces that materialized in malevolent or benevolent outcomes. Many of these magical activities, be they harming, healing or love magic, employed a cultural concept of embodiment which was marked by a significant social permeability of body borders, allowing for the body to be intruded and influenced.
by other humans with magical power or by spirits. Shape shifting, a common indicator of magic, was another expression of embodied practices which call for a rethinking of early modern notions of self, body and materiality.

In this paper I will discuss how embodied emotions were interpreted as material forces in magical practices, and how they were linked in fundamental ways to specific cultural meanings of selfhood and embodiment in early modern Sweden.

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