



Image: Jacobello del Fiore, *Justice seated between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel* (1421) © Courtesy of Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Museo Nazionale Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia.

Powerful Emotions/ Emotions and Power c.400–1850

DATES: 28–29 June 2017

VENUE: Humanities Research Centre,
Berrick Saul Building, University of
York, Heslington Campus, York, UK

TUESDAY 27 JUNE

18:30 Opening reception at King's Manor

WEDNESDAY 28 JUNE

9.30–10.30 **PLENARY LECTURE** (BS/005) Chair: Helen Smith (University of York)
RITA COPELAND (University of Pennsylvania), 'The rhetorical life of emotions'

10.30–11.00 Coffee break

11.00–12.30	Parallel Session 1A RELIGIOUS FEELING BS/005 Chair: Claire Walker	Parallel Session 1B GUT FEELING Treehouse Chair: Mark Jenner	Parallel Session 1C SYMPATHY BS/007 Chair: Susan Broomhall
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ELIZABETH GOODWIN (The University of Sheffield) '“God in heaven could have been moved”: Caritas Pirckheimer, pathos and emotional defence against the Reformation' LISA BEAVEN (The University of Melbourne) 'Power, politics and emotion: controlling access to relics and sacred images in the churches of seventeenth-century Rome' JULIE HOTCHIN (Australian National University) 'The emotional force of liturgical cursing in late medieval Germany' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SKY DUTHIE (University of York) '“The Cry of Nature”: instinct, emotion and compassion in 1790s vegetarian-radical discourses' MICHAEL WALKDEN (University of York) 'Embowelled emotion: representing and repressing gut feelings in early modern England' CARLY OSBORN (The University of Adelaide) 'The body of Christ: the corporeal metaphor in sixteenth-century religious conflicts' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> LUCIA QUINAULT (Queen Mary University of London) '“So shall she now the softest Coulours Chuse / To paint thy fate and shadow out thy Woes”: poetry and emotion in the Abergavenny Scandal of 1729' JANE W. DAVIDSON (The University of Melbourne) <i>Passion, Lament, Glory</i> (video presentation) HARRIE NEAL (University of York) 'Mary Hays' Ecofeminism: Sympathy, Freedom and Biopolitics'

12.30–13.30 Lunch break



<p>13.30–15.00</p>	<p>Parallel Session 2A SHOCK (SHORT PAPERS) BS/005 Chair: Kirk Essary</p>	<p>Parallel Session 2B READING POWERFUL EMOTIONS BS/007 Chair: Merridee L. Bailey</p>	<p>Parallel Session 2C PASSION(S) BS/008 Chair: Harrie Neal</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MICHAEL D. BARBEZAT (The University of Western Australia (UWA)) 'What do we do with this unexpected thing: shock and finding purpose in twelfth-century Latin texts' CLARE DAVIDSON (UWA): 'Shockingly conventional: expressions of arousal in <i>Troilus and Criseyde</i>' YASMIN HASKELL (University of Bristol) 'Trauma or triumph? Some Jesuit responses to the shock of supression' ANDREW LYNCH (UWA) 'Linguistic and rhythmic shock in the <i>Alliterative Morte Arthure</i>' PAUL MEGNA (UWA): 'The power of shock in Middle English drama' GIOVANNI TARANTINO (UWA) 'The colour of fear in early modern Europe: from sexual shock to affective encompassment' ABAIGÉAL WARFIELD (The University of Adelaide) 'Shockingly frightful: fear and shock in news reports in early modern Germany' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> JOHN HUDSON (University of St Andrews) 'Reading powerful emotions in sources for the early English Common Law' KIMBERLEY-JOY KNIGHT (The University of Sydney) 'Reading powerful emotions in the Icelandic sagas' PIROSKA NAGY (Université du Québec à Montréal): 'Power and powerful emotions in Milanese Pataria, 1056–1066' <i>Respondent:</i> MERRIDEE L. BAILEY (The University of Adelaide) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> FRANCES MURRAY (University of St Andrews) 'Tears, judgement and royal authority: Christ's tears in Paschasius Radbertus' <i>Commentary on Matthew</i>' LAURA GODFREY (University of Connecticut): "'Mi bodi henge with thi bodi": internalising Christ's Passion in anchoritic literature' KATERINA GEORGOULIA (University of York) 'The painterly eloquence of the passions and the transformative power of painting in Rubens' <i>Democritus and Heraclitus</i> (1603)'
<p>15.00–15.30 Coffee break</p>			
<p>15.30–17.00</p>	<p>Parallel Session 3A EMOTION ON DISPLAY BS/005 Chair: Catriona Kennedy</p>	<p>Parallel Session 3B LOVE, LUST, AND VIOLENCE Treehouse Chair: Paul Megna</p>	<p>Parallel Session 3C EMOTIONS AND POLITICS IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE BS/008 Chair: Craig Taylor</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> LENA LIAPI (University of Aberdeen) 'Crime pamphlets and good fellowship: subversive laughter in early modern England' AMY MILKA (The University of Adelaide) "'Hold thy tongue, for thou shocks me": emotions in the courtroom in eighteenth-century York' ELIZABETH SPENCER (University of York) "'A yellow Damask Dress-Gown, lin'd with yellow Lustring": reading emotion into descriptions of clothing, 1700–1800' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> JEREMY GOLDBERG (University of York) 'Love and lust in later medieval England: exploring powerful emotions and power dynamics in disputed marriage cases' KATIE BARCLAY (The University of Adelaide) 'Love as early modern ethic' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CHARLES-LOUIS MORAND-MÉTIVIER (The University of Vermont) 'Strengthening an unwell king: emotions, literature and the reign of Charles VI' LUKE GIRAUDET (University of York) 'The Paris Massacres of 1418: writing emotion, irrationality and illegitimacy' HANNAH SKODA (University of Oxford) 'How did Joan of Arc feel?'
<p>17.15–18.15</p>	<p>PLENARY LECTURE (BS/005) Chair: Merridee L. Bailey DAVID LEMMINGS (The University of Adelaide), 'Emotions, power and popular opinion about the administration of justice: the English experience, from Coke's "artificial reason" to the sensibility of "true crime stories"'</p>		
<p>19.00</p>	<p>Catered reception, York Medical Society, including the launch of Issue 1 of <i>Emotions: History, Culture, Society</i></p>		

THURSDAY 29 JUNE

9.30–11.00	<p>Parallel Session 4A</p> <p>MEEKNESS AND ANGER</p> <p>BS/005</p> <p>Chair: Freya Sierhuis</p>	<p>Parallel Session 4B</p> <p>TRAVEL AND MIGRATION</p> <p>Treehouse</p> <p>Chair: Robin Macdonald</p>	<p>Parallel Session 4C</p> <p>MASCULINITY, PRIDE AND POWER</p> <p>BS/008</p> <p>Chair: Kimberley-Joy Knight</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MERRIDEE L. BAILEY (The University of Adelaide) 'The meek shall inherit the earth: meekness as a means of power' CLODAGH TAIT (University of Limerick) "'Land of Ire": lordly anger and its consequences in early modern Ireland' JAYNE KNIGHT (University of Tasmania): 'Power to the people: the angry multitude in Machiavelli's <i>Discourses on Livy</i>' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ELISA FREI (University of Trieste) "'Ready to use every violence against my domestic enemies": Italian Jesuits yearning for the Eastern Indies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' JETTE LINAA (University of Aarhus / Moesgaard Museum) 'From shame and shock to pity and peace: public emotions and hidden power behind the court case of a migrant Dutchman in early modern Denmark' SARAH GOLDSMITH (University of Leicester) 'Nostalgia, melancholy and elite masculine formation on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ALICE JORGENSEN (Trinity College, Dublin) 'Shame, disgust and Ælfric's masculine authority' BARBARA SAIN (University of St Thomas) 'Awe, pride and patriotism: power over nature as evidence of American greatness' RACHEL BACKA (University of Aberdeen) 'Manly tears? Grief and masculinity in the Icelandic sagas'
11.00–11.30 Coffee Break			
11.30–13.00	<p>Parallel Session 5A</p> <p>AFFECT AND AUTHORITY</p> <p>BS/005</p> <p>Chair: Richard Meek</p>	<p>Parallel Session 5B</p> <p>WRITING, READING AND RELIGION</p> <p>Treehouse</p> <p>Chair: Giovanni Tarantino</p>	<p>Parallel Session 5C</p> <p>FEELING HISTORY IN THE MIDDLE AGES</p> <p>BS/008</p> <p>Chair: Matthew Townend</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ELIZABETH ELLIOTT (University of Aberdeen) 'Authority and affect in the Bannatyne manuscript' KIBRINA DAVEY (Sheffield Hallam University) 'Refusing food and reclaiming passion: the power of starving women in early modern tragedy' LAURA BEATTIE (The University of Edinburgh): 'Investigating the power of fellow-feeling in Shakespeare's <i>The Tempest</i>' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HANNAH JEANS (University of York) "'She much delighted in that holy Book": femininity and emotional reading in 17th-century England' ROBIN MACDONALD (The University of Western Australia) 'Intimacy and distance: letter writers and letter bearers in the seventeenth-century French Atlantic world' KIRK ESSARY (The University of Western Australia): 'Calm and powerful passions: the Renaissance development of a classical distinction' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CATHERINE-ROSE HAILSTONE (University of York) 'The fear of God versus the power of kings: Gregory of Tours against King Chilperic of Neustria in the trial of Praetextatus' HENRY BAINTON (University of York) 'Feeling history in the High Middle Ages: powerful truths'
13.00–14.00 Lunch Break			
14.00–15.30	<p>Parallel Session 6A</p> <p>COLONIAL EMOTIONS</p> <p>Treehouse</p> <p>Chair: Jacqueline Van Gent</p>	<p>Parallel Session 6B</p> <p>ANGER AND POLITICS</p> <p>BS/008</p> <p>Chair: Henry Bainton</p>	<p>Parallel Session 1D</p> <p>STAGING EMOTION</p> <p>BS/005</p> <p>Chair: Andrew Lynch</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> JILLIAN BEARD (Griffith University) 'The emotions of "others": British colonial readings of "native" emotions and some implications for their governance' SOPHIE GEE (Princeton University) 'Communion, communication and sacrifice in the Enlightenment' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MEGHAN WOOLLEY (Duke University) 'The two sides of <i>ira regis</i> in the Becket conflict' ROWENA COCKETT (University of Exeter) 'Expressing and restraining royal anger in thirteenth-century Iberia: the cases of James I of Aragon (1208–1276) and Alfonso X of Castile (1221–1284)' RUARI PATON (The University of Manchester) 'Politics and women's anger in Cary's <i>The Tragedy of Mariam</i>' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SARAH MCNAMER (Georgetown University) 'God's hot haste: the power of divine disgust in <i>Cleanness</i>' MARY FAIRCLOUGH (University of York) 'Emotion and electricity in the eighteenth-century theatre' SARAH WATERS (Oxford Brookes University) 'Porous plurality and chaste singularity: the power of the passions in Shakespeare and Wilkins's <i>Pericles</i>'

15.30–16.00	Coffee Break		
16.00–17.30	Parallel Session 7A POWER AND SUBVERSION BS/005 Chair: Elizabeth Spencer	Parallel Session 7B DEVILS AND DEMONS Treehouse Chair: Michael Walkden	Parallel Session 7C GENRE AND GENDER BS/008 Chair: Hannah Jeans
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> KATHRYN PARKER (The University of Sydney) '“Then sing him home”: togetherness and political subversion in the Robin Hood balladry of Shakespeare’s <i>As You Like It</i>' CORA FOX (Arizona State University) 'Othello’s unfortunate happiness' BRADLEY J. IRISH (Arizona State University) 'Emotion and faction in the late Elizabethan court' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CHARLOTTE-ROSE MILLAR (The University of Queensland) 'Who has the power? The witch, the Devil and the dangers of emotion in early modern England' CHARLES ZIKA (The University of Melbourne) 'The power of rulers, fear and the future: the story of King Saul in the later seventeenth century' JENNIFER SPINKS (The University of Melbourne) 'Possession, power relations and the global supernatural in northern European demonologies' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> LUCIE KAEMPFER (University of Oxford) 'Complaint and power in Chaucer' KATIE VERNON (University of York) 'Destabilising emotions: the formulaic use of woe in <i>Le Bone Florence of Rome and Lybeaus Desconus</i>' JAN SHAW (The University of Sydney) 'Love, gender and leadership in <i>King Ponthus and the Faire Sidone</i>'
17.30–18.30	Closing roundtable, with drinks. Treehouse		

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

The Rhetorical Life of Emotions

RITA COPELAND

University of Pennsylvania

I argue here that it was the late Middle Ages, and specifically medieval Aristotelianism, that inaugurated the post-classical turn to a political theory of emotion. In this talk I will trace the political impact of Aristotelian rhetoric from the late medieval scholastic thought of Giles of Rome to the work of Hobbes and to Vico. I do not propose direct influence of Giles’ *De regimine principum* on the later authors (although it is at least possible that Hobbes and Vico knew the work). Rather I consider the reception of Aristotle’s Rhetoric from the thirteenth century onward, and the role of Aristotle’s analytic of the emotions in the formation of each author’s political thought.

Rita Copeland is Rosenberg Chair in the Humanities and Professor of Classics, English and Comparative Literature at the University of Pennsylvania. Her fields include the history of rhetoric, literary theory and medieval learning. Her new project is on rhetoric and the emotions in the Middle Ages. Her publications include *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 2011); *Pedagogy, Intellectuals and Dissent in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 2001); (with I. Sluiter) *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475* (Oxford University press, 2015); (with P. Struck) *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory* (Proquest LLC, 2012); and most recently, the *Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature, 800–1558* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

Emotions, Power and Popular Opinion About the Administration of Justice: The English Experience, from Coke’s ‘Artificial Reason’ to the Sensibility of ‘True Crime Stories’

DAVID LEMMINGS

The University of Adelaide

This paper discusses emotions and power in the administration and representation of criminal justice in early modern England. In the early seventeenth century, professional lawyers insisted that only they were competent to understand the ‘artificial reason’ of the common law; and lay opinion was associated with unreliable emotional engagement with the protagonists in trials. ‘Popular jurisprudence’ received renewed impetus from the post-Reformation emphasis on conscience and divine providence, however, and this kind of common sense interpretation often featured in popular accounts of law proceedings. Moreover, the ‘low law’ administered at grass roots level by JPs was less professionalised because most magistrates were not lawyers. The development of popular and emotional jurisprudence is demonstrated in the eighteenth century by analysis of judges’ charges, popular novels and the reportage of ‘true crime’. Ultimately, and despite further ‘lawyerisation’ of trials, the article argues that the rise of the novel and increased press reporting of criminal justice generated more vicarious engagement with the administration of justice. And this was emotional engagement: eighteenth-century popular jurisprudence represented justice as variously awesome, theatrical and unreasonably oppressive.

David Lemmings is Professor of History at The University of Adelaide and Leader of the ‘Change’ Program in the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. He has published extensively on the socio-cultural history of law and the legal professions in eighteenth-century Britain. His books are *Law and Government in England during the Long Eighteenth Century: From Consent to Command* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 2015); (ed.) *Crime, Courtrooms and the Public Sphere in Britain, 1700–1850* (Ashgate, 2012); and (ed., with Ann Brooks), *Emotions and Social Change: Historical and Sociological Perspectives* (Routledge, 2014, 2016). Together with Katie Barclay and Claire Walker he is currently working on a monograph that explores the role of emotion in social change through an analysis of representations of the family in the eighteenth-century press.

ABSTRACTS

Manly Tears? Grief and Masculinity in the Icelandic Sagas

RACHEL BACKA

University of Aberdeen

The Icelandic sagas were written by people both temporally and culturally removed from the events they claim to depict. Although it is likely that the culture in which these narratives were written had varying degrees of influence on the texts themselves, the sagas can still bring us insight in regards to how the saga authors believed their country's past to be, and what sort of social and gender dynamics were considered believable and important in early medieval Icelandic society.

While Viking-Age men are often depicted as brash, stoic, violent, vengeful, prideful or cunning, it is their relationship with less traditionally 'manly' emotions, such as grief, which can be the most striking.

This paper will use heroes of the Icelandic sagas to analyse the interplay of grief and masculinity in the Viking literary corpus, to show how demonstrations of grief affected the social standing of the men in question. It will be shown whether displays of grief could be seen as a 'manly' acts, or as sources of embarrassment for men in saga literature.

RACHEL BACKA is a Canadian doctoral student at the University of Aberdeen, in the Department of Scandinavian Studies. She holds a Master of Medieval Studies from the University of York, and a Bachelor of History from the University of New Brunswick. She has taken part in the AHRC programs, 'The Orkney Project' and 'Unlocking the Vikings: Languages, Myths and Finds', as well as being a volunteer researcher for 'York Minster Revealed'. Her research interests include cultures in contact, religious change, contacts and differences within the Norse diaspora and women in the early medieval period. She also has a non-academic interest in medieval glass production and cooking techniques. Her doctoral thesis is on the role of women in the conversion and Christianisation of Scandinavia in the early Middle Ages.

The Meek Shall Inherit the Earth: Meekness as a Means of Power

MERRIDEE L. BAILEY

The University of Adelaide

In 1441 Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, was charged with treason for necromancy after consulting astrologers who predicted a life-threatening illness for the young Henry VI. Eleanor was found guilty, probably in an attempt to break her husband Gloucester's grip on power. Part of Eleanor's punishment included a penitential walk through London on three market days. In this paper I want to explore two different accounts of Eleanor's punishment and its connection to meekness, one from a contemporary chronicle found in the National Library of Wales MS 21068 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34, and the other from Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Pt 2*. In a scene from the play, Eleanor's husband counsels her to show quietness and patience, while the chronicler refers to Eleanor's meek and demure countenance. Both are helpful in understanding how meekness, demeanour and power can bear witness to each other. While Eleanor's meek and demure countenance was supposed to signal to onlookers her willingness to accept the rule and authority of the crown, the chronicler reported that Eleanor's meekness won over the hostile crowd. This episode from Eleanor's life helps us to explore two questions: who is using meekness? and, to what purpose? In the paper I argue that, in the Middle Ages, meekness could be a strategic display to disrupt typical power relationships.

MERRIDEE L. BAILEY is a Senior Research Fellow with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at The University of Adelaide, and a social and cultural historian of late medieval and early modern England. She takes a social history approach to late medieval and early modern morality, looking at the differing guises through which morality was understood and practiced by ordinary people. Her first book, *Socialising the Child in Late Medieval England* (York Medieval Press, 2012), explored morality and courtesy in late medieval socialising discourses for young people. She has published several articles and chapters on the history of book culture in the *Journal of the Early Book Society*, *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* and *Parergon*, and on religious history in *Viator*. During the 2015–2016 academic year she held a Visiting Fellowship at Oriel College, Oxford, and she is currently an Associate Member of the History Faculty, The University of Oxford.

Feeling History in the High Middle Ages: Powerful Truths

HENRY BAINTON

University of York

History-writing's relationship with the emotions has been hiding in plain sight ever since the history of emotion was constituted as a scholarly field. The invisibility of that relationship, however, is curious. For emotion – or rather its absence – is central to history-writing's own identity, at least in its normative formulations. History-writing's disavowal of emotion cries out to be understood, not least because it is so counter-intuitive. History is written in the wake of crisis, and every crisis, as Paul Ankersmit has argued, 'creates a new paradigm of historical writing'. Yet crisis is crisis because it *feels* like crisis. Emotions both respond to crisis and help to generate it.

In this paper, I explore how high medieval history-writing invoked and/or renounced the emotions as it recounted political crisis. I will use Herbert of Bosham's *Historia* of the life and death of Thomas Becket (d. 1170) as a case study to do so. Bosham's *Historia* promises to be especially revealing in this respect, because Becket's murder was one of the most spectacular exercises of personal and political power in the Middle Ages. Like the emotions, Becket's assassination was perpetrated at precisely the point where the individual body and society converged. As a power-play, therefore, it was at once personal and political, individual and collective. The second reason why the *Historia* is such promising material is that Bosham explicitly discusses the incompatibility of the rules of history-writing (the *lex historiae* – which imposes the duty to tell the truth) with the emotions that writing the history of crisis necessarily generates.

Bosham argues that mourners like him are not bound by the *lex historiae*. In this paper I will argue that this is a deeply political position. By using emotion to resist the law of history, I argue, Bosham was continuing his mentor Becket's resistance to the intensification of secular power. By invoking the liturgy, hymns and the Psalms in order to express his grief, Bosham calls into question the effectiveness of dispassionate narrative in the face of political crisis. And he calls into question the legitimacy of the secular state, whose ideology, he implies, dispassionate narrative has so often served.

HENRY BAINTON is Lecturer in High Medieval Literature at the University of York and currently holds a Carlsberg Distinguished International Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Southern Denmark. His research project, 'Feeling History in the Middle Ages', explores how high medieval history-writers invoked, renounced and deployed emotions in the wake of political crisis.

What Do We Do With This Unexpected Thing: Shock and Finding Purpose in Twelfth-Century Latin Texts

MICHAEL D. BARBEZAT

The University of Western Australia

This presentation explores how one might read a surprising aside in Walter Map's *Courtier's Trifles*. Walter makes a comparison between proto-Melusine and Jesus Christ that appears designed to shock its audience, and it is, likewise, surprising to a modern reader. While it is perilous to explain a joke, it appears that a better understanding of Walter's shocking segue can only be gained from viewing it in the wider context of the early 'Melusine' legend in the Angevin court.

MICHAEL D. BARBEZAT is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, based at The University of Western Australia. His research and publications focus on connections between religious ideologies and conceptions of society, geography and identity, particularly in the fields of medieval historiography and literature. In his work, society, geography, human emotions and identity are repeatedly drawn together as the imaginative geographies of the afterlife and the sociopolitical geographies of medieval authors overlap in the course of their attempts to describe and explore their identities and their social positions. He is currently completing a monograph titled *Burning Bodies: Community, Eschatology, and Identity in the Middle Ages*, which is under contract with Cornell University Press.

Love as Early Modern Ethic

KATIE BARCLAY

The University of Adelaide

In my book, *Love, Intimacy and Power*, I argued that love was an emotional framework that proscribed a particular gendered model of behaviour that enabled the continuation of patriarchal power across the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Love was not passive, but practices of loving bound couples into gendered hierarchies. In this paper, I wish to expand this idea into the early modern community. In it, I argue that love was a Christian ethic in early modern Europe that proscribed social relationships in particular forms, which reinforced traditional hierarchies of power. As an ethic, love was not simply something felt, but something practiced and aimed for by the community, acting as a guiding principle for social order. This is most evident in discussions of charity, but can be seen also in discussions of relationships between monarchs and subjects, man and wife, parent and child. In exploring love as an early modern ethic, this paper proposes a novel way of understanding early modern social relationships that takes seriously the way that emotion shapes our values and social and political world. It also enables a reinscription of religion into discussions of early modern power, something that is increasingly important within the historiography. This is a large argument encompassing examples from across Catholic and Protestant Europe between c.1500–1800.

KATIE BARCLAY is a Senior Research Fellow in the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions and the Department of History at The University of Adelaide. She writes widely on gender, emotion and power in early modern family life and community.

The Emotions of 'Others': British Colonial Readings of 'Native' Emotions and some Implications for their Governance

JILLIAN BEARD

Griffith University

Among the many ways that Europeans 'created' the 'Indigenous Other' was to observe their emotional responses, compare them with their own and consider their appropriateness. These observations permeated travel diaries and journals of the long eighteenth century and figured in the moral philosophy and conjectural histories of the Scottish Enlightenment. This paper will discuss some of these observations focusing particularly on the emergence of resentment in Britain's relations with Native Americans and Indigenous Australians. It will look at the ways in which 'savage' resentment was read against 'civilised' benevolence and how these readings shaped powerful policies related to the governance of non-Europeans.

JILLIAN BEARD is a postgraduate student in the School of Humanities, Languages and Social Sciences at Griffith University, where she teaches a variety of undergraduate courses. Jillian was a Summer Research Scholar at the Centre for the History of European Discourses at The University of Queensland in 2008, and was awarded a University Medal for her Honours thesis at Griffith in 2009. Her current research focuses on conciliation in British colonial governance, and her broader research interests include emotions and 'Otherness'. She has published on this topic in France, and has a forthcoming chapter on representations of Muslims in the Australian media.

Investigating the Power of Fellow-Feeling in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*

LAURA BEATTIE

The University of Edinburgh

This paper considers the power of fellow-feeling in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Several critics have already noted the importance of fellow-feeling in the play, including Arthur Kirsch, Heather James and Leah Whittington. In their readings of the play, the term fellow-feeling is used as a synonym either for compassion (Kirsch), sympathy (James) or empathy (Whittington). This paper will argue that, although initially provoked by the emotions of compassion, sympathy and empathy, the significance of fellow-feeling in the play goes beyond the affective to promote and encompass a sense of duty and responsibility to one's fellow citizens. As such, the idea of fellow-feeling in *The Tempest* is closely linked with discourses of friendship and fellowship and is imbued with a sense of political agency.

The paper will begin by exploring the use of the term fellow-feeling in early modern England and its relation to compassion and the discourse of civic friendship before going on to look at specific examples from *The Tempest*. By examining the relationship between civic friendship and the compassionate emotions, *The Tempest* allows us to investigate the potential contained within the individual emotion of compassion for impacting upon the political dynamics of the commonwealth at large.

LAURA BEATTIE is a third year doctoral candidate at The University of Edinburgh. Her thesis examines the politics of Shakespeare's comedies in relation to structures of the household, community and the commonwealth. She has previously studied at the University of St Andrews, Freie Universität Berlin and the University of California, Berkeley.

Power, Politics and Emotion: Controlling Access to Relics and Sacred Images in the Churches of Seventeenth-Century Rome

LISA BEAVEN

The University of Melbourne

The aim of this paper is to explore the range of emotions associated with miracle-working images and relics in early modern Rome. Objects believed to have efficacy in terms of curing or healing people aroused intense emotions in the devout and an overwhelming desire for physical contact in the form of touch. In the period following the Reformation and the Council of Trent, relics came under intense scrutiny by the reformed Catholic Church, as scholars and church leaders attempted to authenticate and legitimate objects claimed to be holy relics in churches all over Rome. Miraculous images and icons were also the subject of increased attention and rivalry as individual churches and religious orders asserted the primacy of their icon, or sought to legitimise images claimed to produce miracles. In this situation those able to control access to such objects could command status and prestige and garner income. The question of access was therefore a highly political and fraught one in early modern Rome, with confraternities, religious orders, cardinals and foreign powers vying with one another for access to images and relics.

Such power struggles were manifest not only in relation to officially recognised relics and images, but also in the flourishing illegal trade in relics. Using primary source material such as apostolic visitations, this paper will explore the ways in which power and affect combined in official and unofficial attempts to control such objects in the churches of Rome.

LISA BEAVEN is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at The University of Melbourne. Her research project for the Centre focuses on the religious emotions associated with images and relics in early modern Rome. She has published widely on patronage and collecting in relation to seventeenth-century Rome and her book, *An Ardent Patron: Cardinal Camillo Massimo and his Artistic and Antiquarian Circle: Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin and Diego Velazquez*, was published in 2010. Most recently she has written a chapter on the 'Objects of Love' (in press) with Angela Hesson for the catalogue of the exhibition 'LOVE: The Art of Emotion', at the National Gallery of Victoria, as well as a chapter on cultural diplomacy at the court of Philip IV with José Luis Colomer (in press) for the volume *Ambassadors in Golden Age Madrid*, published by Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, Madrid.

Expressing and Restraining Royal Anger in Thirteenth-Century Iberia: The Cases of James I of Aragon (1208–1276) and Alfonso X of Castile (1221–1284)

ROWENA COCKETT

University of Exeter

This paper will explore the limitations placed on the expression of royal anger in thirteenth-century Iberia, focusing on the individuals of James I of Aragon and Alfonso X of Castile. The aim will be to see how far real expressions of anger from these two kings correlated with the ideal image of royal anger propounded by didactic sources. I will first use the *Siete Partidas* law code and the two mirrors for princes known as the *Libro de los Doze Sabios* and the *Castigos del Rey Don Sancho* to assess where the ideal limitations fell for the expression of royal anger. From this it becomes clear that royal anger was not seen as an evil to be eradicated, but rather as a necessary tool that must be contained within certain boundaries in order to be legitimate. These ideal boundaries will be assessed, before being compared to the restraint or non-restraint of anger expressed by James I in his

autobiographical chronicle, the *Llibre dels Fets*, and Alfonso X in his will and his sanction against his son Sancho. Here we are presented with an image of two fallible human kings who were aware of the ideal requirements for the restraint of royal anger, but who nonetheless struggled to conform to them in real social and political contexts. My paper therefore seeks to demonstrate that the expression of anger was subject to very specific limitations in the exercise of legitimate royal power, but that the necessary restraint of royal anger was difficult for kings to adhere to on an individual and personal level.

ROWENA COCKETT is a PhD student in Medieval Studies at the University of Exeter, where she graduated with a BA (Hons) in History with Proficiency in Spanish in 2013 and an MA in Medieval Studies in 2015. Her MA dissertation focussed on personality and rulership in James I of Aragon's autobiographical chronicle, the *Llibre dels Fets*. More recently her research interests have turned to the related area of the history of emotions, with her doctoral thesis investigating the perception and management of extreme emotions in thirteenth-century Iberia through a range of different sources.

Refusing Food and Reclaiming Passion: The Power of Starving Women in Early Modern Tragedy

KIBRINA DAVEY

Sheffield Hallam University

This paper will argue that women who starve themselves in early modern drama do so as an attempt to reclaim power over their bodies and passions. It explores three plays, the dates of which range from the early Jacobean to the early Caroline period: *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603) by Thomas Heywood; *The Duchess of Malfi* (1612) by John Webster and *The Broken Heart* (1633) by John Ford.

Often in early modern medicine, what an individual ate and drank was believed to directly affect their passions. Scholars of Renaissance humoral theory observe that diet could help to moderate 'fluid economies for the desired physiological, psychological, and ethical outcome'.¹ Moreover, early modern theorists such as Andre Du Laurens and Marsilio Ficino noted the relationship between self-starvation and melancholy. Bearing this in mind, this paper will suggest that the women in these plays are simultaneously afflicted with starvation as a result of their grief, and use food refusal as a method of governing their passions.

In each of the plays, women's passions are stifled and controlled by fathers, brothers and husbands. This paper will argue that the act of female food refusal in both public and private spheres is a reaction against the patriarchs that dictate how, to what extent and to whom their passions should be expressed. It will argue that, unable to 'do' anything, the only way the women in these plays can regain their power is by 'not doing', in this case, not eating, and that consequently, a seemingly passive response is in actuality an active one.

KIBRINA DAVEY is a third year PhD candidate in the English department at Sheffield Hallam University. She also teaches in undergraduate modules at the university, including 'Shakespearean Drama'. Her thesis is on violence and emotion in early modern tragedy and she is especially interested in the early modern proto-psychological explanations behind love as a passion and its role as an inducer of violence, illness and death, and how these ideas were played out on the early modern stage. Davey has had theatre reviews published in the journals *Cahiers Elisabethains* and *Early Modern Literary Studies*, and a book review in *Notes and Queries*. Her articles on John Ford and Philip Massinger are due to appear in forthcoming issues of *Early Modern Literary Studies* and *Textus*.

¹ Michael Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.10.

Shockingly Conventional: Observing Arousal in *Troilus and Criseyde*

CLARE DAVIDSON

The University of Western Australia

Medieval theories of emotion that explain an inherent or natural human capacity for love offer one context for the paradox at the heart of an embodied experience that is conventional but simultaneously capable of consistently causing feelings of shock. In this paper, representations of physiologically shocking desire in *Troilus and Criseyde* are situated within a medical discourse regarding the human capacity for sensory apprehension.

CLARE DAVIDSON is an Associate Investigator of The University of Western Australia (UWA) node of the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, and a sessional lecturer in English and Cultural Studies at UWA. She completed her PhD, which focused on the rhetoric of physiological and mental arousal in fourteenth-century Middle English literature, at UWA in 2017. She graduated with a BA (Hons) from The University of Melbourne in 2012. Her current research continues to explore sensory human experience particularly through the lens of aesthetics, reading practices and the history of the body.

Passion, Lament, Glory: Enduring Affect?

JANE W. DAVIDSON

The University of Melbourne

Twenty-first century perceptions of Baroque religious music are often described as being 'beautiful', 'spiritual', 'restful' and 'uplifting'. For many, a preference for the musical genre also signifies an expression of social and cultural sophistication. Given that much of this music was originally written for an educated elite, social status and style were clearly aspects that shaped reception of this music. A strong difference exists, however, between the eighteenth-century ceremonial practices integral to those religious works and our modern day consumption of the same music. Understanding Baroque religious music as apprehended in its historical context, and attempting to communicate at least some of its emotional intention to a modern day audience, is a complex challenge. What, if any, of the historical emotions can be stirred in modern spectators of Baroque religious repertoire? In this paper, a history of emotions analysis is coupled with perceptual feedback from a twenty-first-century audience to offer some answers to this question. The discussion focuses around a production devised by the current author entitled *Passion, Lament, Glory*, which combined music by Handel and Pergolesi to explore the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, performed at St Paul's Cathedral in Melbourne. Compositionally, emotional representation is conveyed through musical means as well as being expressed in the singers' words. When enacted, this meaning is clarified through physical and visual means. What happens when a modern enactment provides a perceptual experience that may have stronger emotional resonances to the original, yet be at odds with the audience's overarching expectations of Baroque religious music and its emotional meaning and expressive power?

JANE W. DAVIDSON is Deputy Director of the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, and Professor of Creative and Performing Arts at The University of Melbourne's Victorian College of the Arts and the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music. She has five core areas of academic interest: artistic development, arts and health, historically informed performance practices, emotion and expression in performance, and vocal studies. She has published extensively in the disciplines of music psychology and education, and now works in history of emotions, as well as reflective practice research.

"The Cry of Nature": Instinct, Emotion and Compassion in 1790s Vegetarian-Radical Discourses

SKY DUTHIE

University of York

The French Revolution convulsed the hearts and minds of many Europeans – joy, hope, fear and anger animated both the pen and the sword at a time when the potential power (and danger) of emotions was becoming increasingly apparent. For three particular individuals who proselytised a distinct combination of radical politics and vegetarianism – 'Anglo-Jacobin' revolutionary John Oswald, republican atheist antiquarian Joseph Ritson and radical publisher George Nicholson – the revolution offered the prospect of salvation not just for humanity but for all sentient life.

This paper will explore the ways in which Oswald, Ritson and Nicholson not only used emotional appeals to prompt their readers to political action but also how they themselves viewed the awakening of the instinctual compassion of individuals as vital in toppling of hierarchies of all description. These men encouraged their readers to take sympathetic heed of 'the cry of nature' – an inter-species 'universal language' of emotive sounds and expressions: 'the tremor of desire, the tear of distress, the piercing cry of anguish, the pity-pleading look, expressions that speak the soul with a feeling which words can but feebly convey'.¹ This 'cry' of actual animals fed into a more metaphorical conception of a broader 'cry' of nature which served not only as a collective voice of the subjugated natural world but also as the voice of humanity's own inherent sympathetic impulse: nature's 'voice of mercy which speaks from the bottom of my heart'.² For these thinkers it was only a revolution of the heart that could successfully challenge the cold, cruel and iniquitous 'civilisation' in which they found themselves.

SKY DUTHIE is an AHRC funded PhD student in the Department of History at the University of York. His thesis examines the place of vegetarianism within radical and leftist thought during the period c.1790-1900. His research interests are broadly based around the history of leftist thought and the history of animals in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Authority and Affect in the Bannatyne Manuscript

ELZABETH ELLIOTT

University of Aberdeen

This paper seeks to develop a reading of the Bannatyne manuscript, compiled c.1568, in light of current theories of extended mind, as part of a cognitive ecology. In constructing a manuscript that was to function as a family heirloom, Bannatyne responds to the ways in which the experience of self-construal, both individualistic and collective, is embodied and extended, drawing on the emotional resonance of poetry and the role of shared reading in the formation of affiliative ties. Bannatyne's manuscript facilitates a young man's attempt to stake a claim to power, in the form of an authoritative place within his own familial and social context, through the transmission of the tastes and values of the communities to which he belongs. The shared activity of reading will be explored as a practice that contributes to a cohesive effect that is both embodied and affective, shaping the perception of the relationship between self and community. In its contents, Bannatyne's book encodes shared social and familial ties, and alludes to the landscape of the city of Edinburgh, as a means to engage the emotions and bodily sense of its audience.

1 Oswald, *The Cry of Nature*, pp.57-58.

2 Oswald, *The Cry of Nature*, p.44.

ELIZABETH ELLIOTT is a Lecturer in English at the University of Aberdeen. A former Leverhulme Early Career Fellow, she holds degrees from the universities of Edinburgh and York. Her research focuses on late medieval and early modern literature, with particular interests in memory and life-writing, authorship, medieval literary theory and the politics of vernacular writing. Her first book, *Remembering Boethius: Writing Aristocratic Identity in Late Medieval French and English Literatures*, was published by Ashgate in 2012.

Calm and Powerful Passions: The Renaissance Development of a Classical Distinction

KIRK ESSARY

The University of Western Australia

In his monumental treatise on sacred rhetoric, the 1535 *Ecclesiastes*, Erasmus of Rotterdam writes: "It is generally agreed that there are two kinds of emotions, one gentler and more like those of comedy, the other more powerful and tragic." This distinction, which classifies emotions generally into two categories, calm and violent, is derived directly from Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, but it has its roots in the longer rhetorical tradition established by Aristotle's rhetorical categories of *ethos* and *pathos*. With the revival of Quintilian in the Renaissance, the taxonomy is taken up and transposed not only from secular to sacred oratory, but also from the domains of rhetoric into the treatises on the soul and its faculties. Apart from in Erasmus' rhetorical works, it appears, for example, in Juan Luis Vives' 1538 *De anima et vita* and also in Philip Melanchthon's theologico-medical treatise, the 1552 *Liber de anima*, where the gentler and more violent emotions are described as those which aid and destroy nature respectively. Moreover, calmness and violence are also mapped onto other attributes of the affections, for example whether they are temporary or long-lasting, whether they are painful or conducive to joy, and regarding the extent to which they do or do not overthrow reason. This paper will briefly outline the ancient background to the distinction (from Aristotle to Quintilian), and will then turn to examine the different ways in which it is employed in the sixteenth century.

KIRK ESSARY is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at The University of Western Australia. His research focuses on emotion and affectivity in the intellectual and religious history of sixteenth-century Europe. His first book is called *Erasmus and Calvin on the Foolishness of God: Reason and Emotion in the Christian Philosophy* (University of Toronto Press, 2017).

Emotion and Electricity in the Eighteenth-Century Theatre

MARY FAIRCLOUGH

University of York

This paper will investigate eighteenth-century writings about the theatre that make the figurative connection between the affective power of performance and electricity. In 1769 David Garrick demanded that performers' genius should 'like electric fire, shoot through the veins, marrow bones and all of every spectator', and the metaphor is found repeatedly in theatre reviews in the 1780s and 1790s.¹ The actress Dorothea Jordan was often praised for such electrical effects. In 1789 she addressed her audience directly after an interruption, and as the reviewer of *Woodfall's Register* notes, 'the effect was, as may readily be supposed, electrical; and even the envious few were compelled to join in the general and continued plaudits.'² I investigate the causes and effects of these connections between shared emotion at the theatre and electricity. Eighteenth-century electrical science was a new and fast-developing field, which produced spectacular, often highly theatrical forms of display. But descriptions of collective emotions

generated at the theatre seem to arise from contemporary medical and philosophical discussions of feeling itself as electrical. I examine the connection between these theatrical letters and reviews and contemporary analyses of the nerves. Medical and philosophical studies make electricity the means through which the organs of the body communicate, or even the vital property of life itself, and suggest that such nervous forces can pass from individual to collective bodies. The theatre is a space in which this shared feeling can be shaped and channeled by the performers on stage, producing an intriguing and at times unsettling example of the way in which collective emotions are understood at this period to exert power over the individual.

MARY FAIRCLOUGH is Lecturer in English and Related Literature at the University of York, UK. She is the author of *The Romantic Crowd: Sympathy, Controversy and Print Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), and *Literature, Electricity and Politics 1740–1840: Electrified Communication Every Where* (Palgrave, forthcoming 2017). She has published a number of articles on the intersection of literature, science and politics in the eighteenth century and Romantic period.

¹ David Garrick to Madam Clairon, August 1769. *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, vol. 1 (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1831), p. 359.

² *Diary or Woodfall's Register*, 10 November 1789.

'Ready to use every violence against my domestic enemies':¹ Italian Jesuits Yearning for the Eastern Indies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

ELISA FREI

University of Trieste

During the early modern period, closer relations between Europe and the rest of the world led many Jesuits to sail for the Western or Eastern Indies in order to spend the rest of their lives there as missionaries. Learning about their adventures, young pupils from all over the continent asked insistently, and with specific letters (*Litterae Indipetae*) filled with pathos and enthusiasm, to be sent there.

In this paper, I will analyse how hard it was for a young man, studying or teaching in the Jesuit colleges in most cases, to seek personal autonomy and pursue his vocation whilst being at the same time obedient and indifferent as a Jesuit was expected to be. In particular, two authorities which often the so called '*indipeti*' (petitioners for the Indies) wanted to get rid of were their families (especially the *pater familias*, but also tearful mothers and little siblings) and their local superiors (who frequently were accused of trying to keep them in their native provinces).

I will focus on the *Litterae Indipetae* aimed at travelling to the Chinese Empire, considering them alongside source material that is unknown in this area of research, the *Epistulae Generalium*. These registers of correspondence, sent from the office of the Superior General in Rome, include the personal answers to numerous petitioners for the Indies. These provide us with a valuable window into the multiple perspectives and processes involved in the selection of candidates for the overseas Jesuit missions, where personal vocation and power issues were inextricably intertwined.

ELISA FREI is a PhD student at the University of Trieste, conducting research on the *litterae indipetae* written by Italian Jesuits who asked to be sent to China and Japan (seventeenth–eighteenth centuries). Eliza has spent three months as an associate research student at CREMS, York, and her research interests focus on history of emotions, cultural history, the history of masculinity and the family, relations and perceptions between East and West, and letters.

¹ Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Fondo Gesuitico* 750, f. 207, Palermo 26 May 1705, 'prontissimo ad usare ogni violenza contro agli impedimenti de' miei nimici domestici'.

Othello's Unfortunate Happiness

CORA FOX

Arizona State University

Othello's famous expression of joy when he meets Desdemona in Cyprus – 'If it were now to die, 't were now to be most happy' (II.1.174-5) – operates as the starting point for an investigation into the ways happiness, in its dual and shifting Renaissance meaning of both 'contentedness' and 'luck', operates to structure a politics of exclusion (and inclusion) in Shakespeare's play and Renaissance English culture. Drawing on recent theorisations of what might be described as the more negative or sinister aspects of positive emotion, such as Sara Ahmed's *Promise of Happiness*, the paper traces the ways the play is a receptacle and generator of socially damaging positive emotional scripts and emotives, most of which can be traced to the intertexts and sources for the play in the literary traditions of romance and tragedy. Arguing that Othello's happiness is constituted by Venetian power, and not necessarily by fortune, the paper points to the ways positive emotions can be tied both to repressive political institutions of racial exclusion as well as social narratives of contentedness and refuge. It also situates *Othello* as a text in what Ahmed has called Western culture's 'unhappiness archive', as it critiques and challenges emergent notions of Western happiness.

CORA FOX is an Associate Professor at Arizona State University, Tempe. She works on English and continental Renaissance poetry and drama, classical intertextuality (and specifically imitations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), the history of emotion, and sexuality and gender studies. Her first book, *Ovid and the Politics of Emotion in Elizabethan England*, was published by Palgrave in 2009. She has also co-edited *Approaches to Teaching the Works of Ovid and the Ovidian Tradition*, which was published in 2010 in the MLA 'Approaches to Teaching' series. She has also published essays on Spenser, Ovid, Reginald Scot, and Isabella Whitney. Her current book project is tentatively titled *Shakespeare and the History of Happiness*.

Communion, Communication and Sacrifice in the Enlightenment

SOPHIE GEE

Princeton University

This paper is about the power and powerful emotions involved in the logic of human sacrifice during the eighteenth century. Real and imagined scenes of human beings being sacrificed abound in eighteenth-century writing. The Caribbean cannibal sacrifice in *Robinson Crusoe*, the slaughter of Irish children recommended in Swift's *A Modest Proposal* and theological debates about Christ's sacrifice and its connection to affairs of state are three prominent examples. This paper shows that the authors of such scenes repeatedly make appeals to readers' anxieties and emotions by invoking sacrificial logic.

The logic of sacrifice, both in Christian and 'savage' ritual, asserts that one human may substitute for and suffer on behalf of others. Sacrificial scenes therefore trigger a complex set of emotions that include both fear and desire (fear of being harmed, desire to be saved). Their narrative power relies on substitutory logic: that one person can inhabit the pain of another. This creates powerful intimacies and dependencies between otherwise unlike or incompatible subjects.

In this presentation I show that these apparently distinct images and traditions of sacrifice – Christian and 'savage' – become linked in eighteenth-century fiction. In the decades during which *Oroonoko*, *Robinson Crusoe* and *Pamela* were published, imperial and financial infrastructure was rapidly expanding in the Americas, Africa and the East Indies and ritual sacrifice by indigenous peoples was often used to explain and justify aggressive imperial policy. At the same time, Christ's sacrifice and its remembrance in the sacrament of the Eucharist were at the center of politico-

theological debate in England: struggles over the Sacramental Test Act and the Occasional Conformity Act turned on arguments about precisely how Christ's identification with and/or substitution for humans ought to be understood and performed. Sacrifice, in other words, was fundamental to the construction of religious and imperial power, two of the most emotionally and politically fraught arenas of the period. In novels, sacrificial narrative logic assumes that pain, loss and bodily suffering are necessary for redemption or repair, intimacy and identification.

SOPHIE GEE (PhD, Harvard 2002) is an Associate Professor at Princeton University. She is a specialist in Restoration and eighteenth-century British literature from Milton to Jane Austen. Her first book, *Making Waste: Leftovers and the Eighteenth-Century Imagination*, was published by Princeton University Press. Sophie is particularly interested in Alexander Pope, Jonathan Swift and Jane Austen, as well as in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century natural philosophy and theological writing. She also teaches classes on satire and on contemporary writers and writing.

The Painterly Eloquence of the Passions and the Transformative Power of Painting in Rubens' *Democritus and Heraclitus* (1603)

KATERINA GEORGOULIA

University of York

Passions and emotions were considered by early modern art theoreticians to be the 'kernel and soul of art' (Karel van Mander, 1603-1604). The persuasiveness of painting is reinforced through the rendering of emotions, which can evoke an enduring change in the beholder. A successful pictorial elaboration of passions and emotions has the power to manipulate beholder's emotions and behaviour. The painterly eloquence of the emotions can therefore enrich the argumentative voice of painting.

The present paper wishes to explore the role of passions in the use of early modern painting as a diplomatic tool. By looking at Peter Paul Rubens' *Democritus and Heraclitus* (1603, Museo de Escultura, Valladolid), the paper explores in what ways and for what purposes the early modern artist drew on basic concepts of medicine and physiology to enliven his painted bodies with passions and character. It will be argued that the meticulous rendering of the physical constitutions of the philosophers and their popular antithetical temperaments aimed at enforcing the persuasive power of the painting. The paper will suggest that *Democritus and Heraclitus*, which was gifted to an extremely powerful political persona, the *privado* of the Spanish king, duke of Lerma, was expected to alter the beholder's passions and behaviour and move to action. Painted during the Siege of Ostend (1601-1604), when the forces of the Dutch fought the Spanish army, the painting might be seen as an attempt to draw the attention of Lerma to the catastrophic consequences of the war. Rubens, a Fleming and a patriot, shows with this early painting his mastery in capturing in paint the emotional state of his heroes as well as his diplomatic skills by using the painterly eloquence of the two ancient authorities of philosophy to most probably stimulate discussion about the war.

KATERINA GEORGOULIA is a Research Associate at the University of York. Katerina was awarded a PhD by the University of York in 2015, with a thesis titled 'The Physicality of Rubens' Human Bodies: Visuality and Medicine in Early Modern Europe'. Katerina holds an MA in History of Art (University of York) and a BA in History and Archaeology (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens). Her latest article 'Rubens and Early Modern Dietetics', is forthcoming in *Rubens and the Human Body*, edited by C. van Wyhe (Brepols, 2017). Katerina's main research interest lies in the early modern human body as an explanatory category for art history and history of medicine.

The Paris Massacres of 1418: Writing Emotion, Irrationality and Illegitimacy

LUKE GIRAUDET

University of York

In the context of a raging civil war, the summer of 1418 witnessed a series of particularly violent massacres in Paris following the city's sudden fall to the Burgundian party. Following five years of Armagnac rule, the city's Burgundian supporters seized this opportunity to demonstrate their support of Jean sans Peur, duke of Burgundy, and his 'populist' policies, while targeting suspected Armagnacs inhabiting the city. Through the study of contemporary Parisian writings, we can gain an insight into how these medieval authors sought to explain and condemn the massacre of Armagnac prisoners by describing a city divided along perceived boundaries of emotionality, rationality and, inevitably, class. By characterising the perpetrators of these killings as those of the lowest classes driven by a 'mad anger' which overcame reason, these authors delegitimised a popular seizure of power in the city which had momentarily reversed the fundamental ideal of the *body politic*, while re-establishing aristocratic authority according to their own vision of rational, moral and appropriately emotional society.

LUKE GIRAUDET is currently completing a PhD in Medieval Studies at the University of York, studying *An Anonymous Parisian Journal, 1405-1449: Civic Community and the Individual at a Time of French Civil War and English Occupation*. A prestigious Wolfson Scholarship funds his research.

'Mi bodi henge with thi bodi': Internalising Christ's Passion in Anchoritic Literature

LAURA GODFREY

University of Connecticut

In his twelfth-century *De institutione inclusarum*, Aelred of Rievaulx instructs his anchoritic audience in a threefold style of meditation: 'thinges the whiche ben passed, thinges that ben present and thinges whiche ben to come'.¹ Meditation on the past was the most influential of the three, generally accomplished through affective and somatic meditation on Christ's Passion. This *imitatio Christi* for female mystics and saints involved bodily discipline through actions like wearing hair shirts, fasting and even self-flagellation. However, in the thirteenth century, the author of *Ancrene Wisse* suggested that his anchoritic audience choose a more internal, less bodily, route of penance and spiritual meditation.

It is internalisation of Passion meditation for anchoresses that is the core of my project. Instead of looking to the physical, outward expressions of devotion, I intend to focus on how these outward expressions are expressed within the soul: 'seeing' the vivid Passion in the mind's eye, 'feeling' Christ's pain in the heart, even 'smelling' the stench of death at Golgotha. By enacting bodily forms of meditation imaginatively within the soul, the anchoress intensifies her devotional feelings, both affective and somatic.

In this paper, I will present examples of internalised meditation from thirteenth-century anchoritic texts – such as *Ancrene Wisse* and *Be Wohunge of ure Laured* – to argue for the power that anchoresses might derive from internalising both emotions and bodily perception. I intend to provide another option for understanding anchoritic devotional practice, which combines internal and external forms of devotion for a vividly imagined, participatory practice of *imitatio Christi*.

LAURA GODFREY is a PhD student in Medieval Studies at the University of Connecticut. Her work focuses on late medieval English devotional literature, specifically Passion meditations, somatic devotion and spiritual allegories.

The quote in my title is from W. Meredith Thompson, ed., *Be Wohunge of ure Laured*, EETS, o.s., 241 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), p.36.

¹ Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Institutione Inclusarum: Two English Versions*, ed. John Ayto and Alexandra Barratt. EETS, o.s., 287 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 17.692-18.694.

Love and Lust in Later Medieval England: Exploring Powerful Emotions and Power Dynamics in Disputed Marriage Cases

JEREMY GOLDBERG

University of York

Depositions from matrimonial litigation are a compellingly, if deceptively, vivid source for the words, sentiments and circumstances surrounding courtship and marriage making. Such evidence is both coloured and shaped by the power dynamics of relations between the genders, between the individual and the collective of family, peer group and community, by the constraints of canon law, and the complexities of court procedure and recording practice. Drawing upon evidence from the dioceses of York and London before 1500 this paper will attempt to explore two related questions. First, how far we can read erotic love or simply lust out of the material? Second, can we discern the degree to which a romantic discourse might have facilitated the expression of desire or alternatively provided a veneer of respectability to the business of transferring women from paternal to marital control?

JEREMY GOLDBERG is Reader in Medieval History at the University of York. Goldberg was educated at the University of York and at the University of Cambridge. His main interest lies within the social and cultural history of late medieval England, in particular women's and gender history. Among his published books are *Women, Work and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy* (1992), *Women in England c. 1275-1525: Documentary Sources* (1995) and *Medieval England: A Social History 1250-1550* (2004). He has also edited several books, including *Women in Medieval English Society* (1997) and *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr* (2007).

Nostalgia, Melancholy and Elite Masculine Formation on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour

SARAH GOLDSMITH

University of Leicester

Caused by travel and a longing for home, nostalgia was an emotional state that held powerful sway over certain sections of eighteenth-century society. At the same time, individual sufferers were also subject to wider social, cultural and familial demands surrounding their emotional expression and performance. Examining this juxtaposition through considering the emotional strains caused by travel, separation and distance, this paper probes the private and public discourses surrounding nostalgia, melancholy and elite masculine formation on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour.

While its classical aims have received extensive attention, many elements of the Tour remain under-conceptualised. The emotional culture and performance of the Tour is one such neglected area. Applying theoretical frameworks offered by the history of emotions, and considering the tensions between public discourses and private familial cultures and dynamics, this paper argues that nostalgia formed a necessary but problematic part of the Tour. Nostalgia allowed for demonstrations of patriotic emotion and manly sentiment, but its association with an unenlightened state clashed with the masculine virtues supposedly constructed by educational travel. Identifying nostalgia as an undesirable emotional disorder for a young elite, educated and cosmopolitan man, this paper also considers the uneasy reality of longing for

home and the dual responses of compassion and denial from correspondents that reveal the complex dynamics of emotion, power and family within the Grand Tour and its wider context of elite masculine formation. Presenting a fresh revision of the currently disparate areas of the eighteenth-century Tour and nostalgia, this paper highlights the wider importance of concepts of emotion and distance to the histories of masculinity, education, travel and the family.

SARAH GOLDSMITH completed her AHRC-funded PhD, 'Danger, Risk-taking and Masculinity on the British Grand Tour to the European Continent, c.1730-1780' at the University of York in 2015. In 2016 she was an Early Career International Research Fellow with CHE at The University of Adelaide and The University of Western Australia, researching nostalgia and melancholy on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour. She began a three-year Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship with the University of Leicester in October 2016. This involves a new project, 'Embodying the Aristocrat: A History of the Eighteenth-Century Elite Male Body'.

'God in heaven could have been moved': Caritas Pirckheimer, Pathos and Emotional Defence Against the Reformation

ELIZABETH GOODWIN

The University of Sheffield

Caritas Pirckheimer, an abbess at the Nuremburg convent of St Clare's, recorded the 'dangerous, rebellious times' of the German Reformation in her journal, imbuing and framing events with the passion and emotion of women whose lives were changed dramatically. A trained humanist, Pirckheimer's utilisation of powerful emotions within the text connect to, and intend to inspire, that most quintessential of Classical rhetorical talents, that of *pathos*. Recording the forced, violent removal of screaming daughters from the convent by their mothers, angry letters from the City Council who questioned the very existence and 'rightness' of the convent and the sorrowful reactions of the women under her care, Pirckheimer used emotion not only to enable her to record the events around her with a sense of their individual narrative, but crucially, as a vital, deeply conscious, rhetorical tool of defence and persuasion.

Using methodology employed in histories of emotion in late medieval and early modern studies, this paper will explore the ways in which Caritas uses, references and explores her own emotions and those of the men and women around her to convince the reader and defend against the upheaval and onslaught against enclosed religious life by the Reformation.

ELIZABETH GOODWIN completed a PhD thesis, titled 'Communities on the Move: The Transformation of Communities of Women Religious in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', in 2015 at the University of Sheffield. It focused on both the creation and self-reformation of communities of women religious through visual, material and textual culture, and how these communities survived and reformed themselves after the rupture of the dissolution of the monasteries, without the institutional boundaries to form them. Her new research project examines the Reformation journal of Abbess Caritas Pirckheimer, exploring the ways in which she presents, utilises and seeks to inspire emotion within her work. Her other research interests include representations of women religious in popular culture, medieval religious visual culture and, linking to the history of emotions, affective, female-centric piety.

The Fear of God Versus the Power of Kings: Gregory of Tours Against King Chilperic of Neustria in the *Trial of Praetextatus*

CATHERINE-ROSE HAILSTONE

University of York

Just how powerful is the emotion of the fear of God? This paper proposes to shed light on how potent and influential the fear of God was in the power politics of the Merovingian world of Gregory of Tours. Using the case study of the trial of Praetextatus, located in book five of Gregory's famous *Histories*, this paper will test just how powerful the fear of God was when placed in combat against the secular powers and influence of the Merovingian king, Chilperic. To accomplish this the paper will analyse how Gregory deployed the fear of God in what became a struggle for dominance between the bishop and Chilperic over the right of the king to depose a bishop. How did Gregory use the fear of God in his stand against Chilperic? Was he successful? And what does this say about how potent the fear of God actually was in the struggles for power that haunted the political world of the late sixth-century Merovingians?

CATHERINE-ROSE HAILSTONE holds a BA in History and an MA in Medieval History from the University of York (2011–2015). She is now working on a PhD, focusing on analysing fear in the mind and works of Gregory, Bishop of Tours.

Trauma or Triumph? Some Jesuit Responses to the Shock of the Suppression

YASMIN HASKELL

University of Bristol

The Suppression of the Society of Jesus was both a cataclysm (the papal brief, 'Dominus ac Redemptor', of 1773) and a series of smaller earthquakes, as Jesuits were expelled from Spain, France, Portugal and their overseas dominions from 1759 onwards. During this period Jesuits produced letters, diaries, histories and literary works, in Latin and the various vernaculars, chronicling events as they unfolded and revealing their emotional responses to them. In this section of the panel I shall discuss a sample of contemporary Jesuit responses to the psychic shock(s) of the 'long Suppression', and suggest that Latin writing might have functioned for some as a form of emotional ballast.

YASMIN HASKELL is a Professor of Latin at the University of Bristol. She has recently moved from The University of Western Australia where she was the inaugural Cassamarca Foundation Chair in Latin Humanism (2003–2016). Yasmin works mainly on the reception of classical texts in the Renaissance and later, and on the long Latin tradition. From 2010–2016 she was one of 10 Foundation Chief Investigators of the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. Yasmin retains her affiliation with CHE as a Partner Investigator and leads research teams and projects on 'Jesuit Emotions' and 'Passions for Learning'. She is also the convenor of CHE's 'Languages and Emotion' research cluster. Yasmin's many publications have revolved around Latin philosophical/ scientific/ medical poetry, the Latin culture of the early modern Society of Jesus (Jesuits), and the history of emotions and mental health.

The Emotional Force of Liturgical Cursing in Late Medieval Germany

JULIE HOTCHIN

Australian National University

As Lester Little has shown in his studies of monastic anger, the monastic practice of singing maledictory formulas in liturgical performance was designed to invoke aid before God and his saints for protection against a perceived threat. These ritualised invocations or curses were corporate expressions of anger through which religious men and women pleased their case when property or other interests of the monastery were threatened. Notably, the ritual context of the liturgy was intended to curtail the potential volatility of the anger, underscoring the cultural ambivalence towards this emotion that was perceived as both a potential source of danger but also a valid expression of hurt, injury or offence.

This paper focuses attention on the dynamics of gender and power when nuns perform liturgical maledictions to resist religious reform in the latter fifteenth century. Johannes Busch, in his *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, describes in detail how the nuns of Mariensee and Wennigsen (both near Hannover) deployed ritual cursing to ward off the intrusion of religious reformers into their monasteries. The nuns countered the reformers' show of force by chanting *Media vita*, an antiphon with a long tradition of being sung by religious at moments of danger to direct anger, invoke divine aid and induce fear. I investigate the cultural logic of the nuns' ritual expression of anger through liturgical cursing. Articulations of anger play a central role in medieval processes of disputing; representing another person's anger was not a neutral description but articulates social relations and negotiations of power. I investigate why, when faced with threat, nuns responded by performing this symbolic malediction, what they might have expected to achieve and how they deployed emotion to achieve their aims. I explore the social role of anger and its gendered dimension in these conflicts, focusing on what the interplay of anger and fear in Busch's depiction of the exchanges between nuns and clerical reformers reveals about the negotiation of gender and power in late medieval monastic reform.

JULIE HOTCHIN is a Visiting School Fellow in the School of History at the Australian National University (ANU), Canberra, and an Honorary Associate Investigator with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. Her research and publications focus on medieval religious and cultural history with a particular focus on the intersections between religious women's devotional, education and intellectual activities in late medieval Germany. She co-edited (with Fiona J. Griffiths) *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100-1500* (Brepols, 2014).

Reading Powerful Emotions in Sources for the Early English Common Law

JOHN HUDSON

University of St Andrews/Michigan Law

Historians of law and emotions, like those who study that field in the contemporary world, have largely concentrated on crime and on litigation. Studies such as Paul Hyams' book *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England* (2003) and Steve White's analyses of court cases in literature have contributed greatly to understanding of these areas. However, law is concerned with much more than crime and litigation. It can be a means of making life more predictable, attempting to control the future by facilitating or promoting certain acts, for example the transfer of property. It attempts to prevent disputes, by laying down rules that indicate how potential cases will end, thereby seeking to deter litigation. All of these issues interact with emotions: for instance, the emotional dynamic within families has an intimate relationship to property arrangements. This paper explores such issues, as well as crime and litigation, through reading the sources for early English common law – lawbooks, plea rolls and other evidence

such as *miracula* – as sources for the history of emotions. Such examination also prompts broader reflections on the relationship of law and emotion, in theory and in practice.

JOHN HUDSON FBA is Bishop Wardlaw Professor of Legal History at the University of St Andrews and William W. Cook Global Law Professor at Michigan Law. His interests focus on ninth- to thirteenth-century Britain and France and on the late nineteenth-century study of medieval England. His volume of the *Oxford History of the Laws of England, Volume II 871-1216*, appeared in 2012. Professor Hudson is lead researcher on the ITN 'Power and Institutions in Medieval Islam and Christendom' and Director of the Institute of Legal and Constitutional Research. Together with Kimberly-Joy Knight and Merridee Bailey, he co-convenes a research cluster on the 'History of Law and Emotions'.

Emotion and Faction in the Late Elizabethan Court

BRADLEY J. IRISH

Arizona State University

'About one point there is no real controversy', writes Simon Adams, historian of Elizabethan politics, 'during the 1590s the Court was nearly torn apart by a factional struggle of major proportions'. In the final decade of Elizabeth I's long reign, power in the courtly sphere was overwhelmingly linked to the operation of factionalism, as both the queen and her courtiers were forced to contend with the fact that dangerous forms of social allegiance increasingly steered the ship of state. While scholars have explored the political and social dynamics of late Elizabethan factionalism for many years, there has been little attention to the affective underpinnings of such interpersonal affinities: besides the obvious material consequences of such group membership, factional participation also entailed significant psychic activity through the generation of attendant emotion. This paper argues that the connection between factional power and emotion can be valuably understood through the theories of group solidarity developed by sociologist of emotion Randall Collins. Using the Earl of Essex's infamous faction as a test case, I demonstrate how Collins's notion of emotional energy was vital to the solidarity generating activity of late Elizabethan factionalism. Reflecting the recent scholarly focus on positive emotion, I explore how feelings of collective solidarity and affinity were vital to political power in the period.

BRADLEY J. IRISH is an Assistant Professor of English at Arizona State University, where he studies emotion in Renaissance literature. His publications include *Emotion in the Tudor Court: Literature, History and Early Modern Feeling* (Northwestern University Press, forthcoming 2018) and essays on early modern emotion in *Shakespeare Studies, SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* and *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*. He is currently editing *Positive Affection in the Early Modern World: Emotion, Affect, and Well-Being*, with Cora Fox and Cassie Miura.

She much delighted in that 'Holy Book': Femininity and Emotional Reading in Seventeenth-Century England

HANNAH JEANS

University of York

The work of many scholars of reading suggests that women were taught to read passively in the early modern period, as opposed to the active, often-contestatory reading patterns of men. Whether women actually read passively has been extensively challenged, but rarely in relation to the emotions they displayed when reading. This paper will focus on various seventeenth-century women's reading habits, examining their emotional responses to certain texts, as recorded in their personal writings such as letters and

diaries. Women such as Dorothy Osborne and Elizabeth Delaval chronicle their emotional reaction to both religious texts and other genres, such as romantic fiction. These emotions, particularly in relation to devotional literature, could be seen as performative: allowing women to enact both femininity and piety. The notion of 'active' versus 'passive' reading will also be examined, with a suggestion that 'active' connotes 'rational', or 'non-emotional', and therefore 'male', contributing to the idea of a gendered distinction in how men and women respond to literature. Emotion and the representation thereof in women's writings can be seen as part of a negotiation of early modern gender norms, and it will be suggested that women's use of these norms allows them to claim some power over their own femininity and self-representation.

HANNAH JEANS is a PhD student at the University of York, researching women's reading habits in seventeenth-century England. She has previously worked on women's memoirs about the English Civil War, and representations of femininity in seventeenth-century life-writing. She is interested generally in the history of gender and literature during the early modern period.

Shame, Disgust and Ælfric's Masculine Authority

ALICE JORGENSEN

Trinity College, Dublin

This paper takes its start point from two instances where, unusually, Ælfric expresses feelings of shame: the *Letter to Brother Edward*, in which he says he is almost too ashamed to describe the practices of country-women who have beer-parties in privies; and CH 1, 28, in which he omits many details of the siege of Jerusalem, including an instance where a mother eats her child, saying that it is not fitting to set forth all the shameful sufferings of the Jews. I will consider Ælfric's expressions of shame as a specifically gendered performance. Both of these passages involve anxiety and disgust over transgressive bodily practices by women, and implicate Ælfric, as a preacher, in representing and regulating female bodies. The *Letter to Brother Edward*, if we accept that it is one text and all by Ælfric (as Mary Clayton cautiously does in her recent edition), also shows Ælfric rebuking Edward for adopting Danish dress, 'ða sceandican tylung' ('this shameful dress'), in a manner that 'his agen cynn unwurþað' ('dishonours his own kindred'). It thus also shows a concern for the management of male bodies and how they display nationality, kindred and honour. However, the full force of disgust is projected onto the female figures who eat and excrete in the same space. Another figure repeatedly associated with the language of shame is Arrius, whose repulsive death excreting his own guts recurs four times in Ælfric's writings: here again we have the trope of the leaky body and the reversal of inside and outside, in conjunction with a matter of policing identity, in this case the line between heresy and orthodoxy. Ælfric's anxiety over the body and its margins is closely associated with the construction of his own authority, as a defender of orthodoxy, as a preacher, and as a man. As Mary Swan has shown, compared to anonymous homilists of the same period Ælfric often avoids 'I' or 'we': the body of the particular preacher is occluded in favour of an apparently direct transmission of scriptural and doctrinal authority. Whereas for the secular aristocracy bodily performance on the battle-field is conceived of as a major site of male shame and honour, for the monk control and transcendence of the body are central: both are profoundly threatened by a penetrability and leakiness of the body that is conceived of as feminine.

ALICE JORGENSEN is Assistant Professor of English Literature to 1500 at Trinity College, Dublin. She has published variously on Old English poetry and prose, including articles on shame in the works of Ælfric [*English Studies* 93:5 (2012): 529–38; *Anglo-Saxon England* 41 (2013 for 2012): 249–76] and emotion in *The Battle of Brunanburh* [*Neophilologus* 100:4 (2016): 663–676]. She was the lead editor of the 2015 Ashgate volume *Anglo-Saxon Emotions*. She is working on a monograph on performing and learning emotion in late Anglo-Saxon England.

Complaint and Power in Chaucer

LUCIE KAEMPFER

University of Oxford

Complaint is one of the most powerful expressions of interiority and of sorrow that exists in Chaucer's poetry. But complaint embodies a contradiction: its emotional power lies in its utter helplessness and passivity. Complaint is the linguistic and poetic construct which represents the overwhelming power of love's passion. Indeed, in love, emotions overpower body and language. Troilus, for example, is reduced to a near-death state by lovesickness and constantly needs to be brought back to language and to action by Pandarus – his plaintive mode represents his total lack of power. In this pattern, complaint, along with other bodily manifestations of emotion, thus represents the failure of language and of communication rather than its embodiment.

In *Troilus and Criseyde* and, more obviously perhaps, in the *Book of the Duchess*, a consolatory dynamic is at play. I argue that emotion and power are the backbone of this dynamic. Emotion is represented by a failure of the cognitive faculty and of language – complaint being part of this linguistic failure through its 'programmatically uselessness' (Lee Patterson, *Acts of Recognition*, 2010, p.183). On the other side, the side of power and mastery, stands language – dialogue and communication. This is slightly complicated in Chaucer, however, through the power that is given to compassion. Complaint thus negotiates between passion-induced powerlessness and expressivity, visibility. It is this visibility and readability which allows for compassion, an emotion which demonstrates power and which also achieves redemption for the sufferer.

LUCIE KAEMPFER is a PhD student at the University of Oxford (Lincoln College). She studied French and English Literature at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, and in 2015 commenced her doctoral studies, funded by the Berrow Foundation, under the supervision of Helen Barr. She is working on the multifaceted representation of joy in Chaucer, and *Troilus and Criseyde* in particular, and has participated in two graduate conferences with plans to contribute to a colloquium on medieval emotions organised by the London Medieval Society.

Power to the People: The Angry Multitude in Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*

JAYNE KNIGHT

University of Tasmania

Niccolò Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*, first published in 1531, is a remarkably nostalgic work of political theory that seeks to elucidate problems of government by consulting examples drawn from the ancient Roman past. Public emotions were a central challenge for the Romans as well as for the statesmen of Machiavelli's time: the passions of the people could make or break a republic or principality, and they therefore had to be handled with caution. This paper focuses on Machiavelli's treatment of the anger of the multitude in the *Discourses*, and considers how his thoughts on the roles of public anger in politics were informed by his study of Roman history.

By examining Machiavelli's interpretation of emotional episodes drawn from Livy's history of Rome, this paper engages with and adds to Machiavellian scholarship concerning the Florentine's relationship with classical literature (e.g. Duff 2011; Kapust 2010; Mansfield 1996; Rahe 2000; Skinner 1990). It goes a step further to evaluate Machiavelli's provocative assertion that emotions remain the same across time periods. He writes:

[A]nyone wishing to see what is to be must consider what has been: all the things of this world in every era have their counterparts in ancient times. This occurs since these actions are carried out by men who have and have always had the same passions, which, of necessity, must give rise to the same results.

[*Discourses on Livy* 3.43, trans. Conaway Bondanella and Bondanella [Oxford, 1997]]

In Machiavelli's view, history is predictable because emotions are predictable. By underplaying the influence of historical context on political emotions, Machiavelli is able to justify his undertaking in the *Discourses* and lend authority to his analysis. This prompts us to question how emotions of the past are used to substantiate political claims.

JAYNE KNIGHT is a Lecturer in Classics at the University of Tasmania. She was awarded a PhD by the University of British Columbia in 2015 for her thesis titled 'The Politics of Anger in Roman Society: A Study of Orators and Emperors, 70 BCE–68 CE'. She is interested in Roman social and cultural history, Latin literature and the history of emotions. Jayne is currently working on a monograph on anger and politics in ancient Rome and is designing a series of new history and culture units for the Classics curriculum.

Reading Powerful Emotions in the Icelandic Sagas

KIMBERLEY-JOY KNIGHT

The University of Sydney

Long before there was an 'emotional turn' in scholarship, the legal scholar and historian William I. Miller was analysing shame, anger, fear, honour and disgust to understand motive and motivation in Icelandic society. Although *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking* (1990) emphasised strategic aspects of social behaviour, and feuding was understood through the lens of rationality, Miller later turned his attention to the emotional life of the sagas (1992). Despite the interpretive complications inherent within sources that may appear resistant to give up their emotions, Miller suggested a number of crucial access points including 'somatic semiotics'. This paper builds on Miller's periphrastic approach, which focuses less on emotion words and more on contextual clues, interactions and the 'unspeakable', to examine the powerful emotions at play in the formation and dissolution of social bonds in 13th-century Iceland. For example, love is a major driver of action (feuding) and social identity, yet it is rarely explicitly declared in the dialogue. Therefore, it will be argued that it is necessary to read powerful 'somatic indices', including gestures, in order to understand the emotional performativity of social practices.

KIMBERLEY-JOY KNIGHT is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at The University of Sydney, and a specialist in the social, cultural and religious history of the High and Later Middle Ages. Her current research explores how love, sexuality and desire were understood, expressed and enacted in medieval Norway and Iceland and analyses in what ways they were conditioned by Christian doctrines. In order to assess the connection between these elements, her project focuses on gestures, somatic semiotics and interactions as a way of examining emotional bonds and relationships. She is currently preparing a monograph titled *Tears and Sanctity: Emotions and the Construction of Sainthood*.

Crime Pamphlets and Good Fellowship: Subversive Laughter in Early Modern England

LENA LIAPI

University of Aberdeen

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, pamphlets were published which presented stories about criminals, sometimes including taxonomies but also narratives of the life and death of criminals. Historians and literary scholars have analysed these

pamphlets as a way to reinforce social hierarchies. Joad Raymond and Peter Lake examine how pamphlets used inversion and laughter in order to promote order and acceptable values. More revealingly, Linda Woodbridge has analysed how pamphlets used elements from jest books in order to 'identify the lowliest poor as funny, worthy of contemptuous laughter rather than social concern'.

However, many theorists of laughter and humour have argued that laughter is ambiguous and impossible to pin down. Humour is multivalent and even when we know that people laugh, what they are laughing at can be more difficult to ascertain. Mary Douglas in particular has maintained that laughter and jokes 'attack classification and hierarchy' by showing that through the joke, hierarchy can be seen as subjective rather than absolute.

This paper aims to use these theories of laughter and show how crime pamphlets use laughter in order to satirise the social hierarchy, by having criminals speak and attack hypocrisy of the powerful and the social wrongs taking place in London. Even though these pamphlets criticise criminals, they also allow them to take central stage and to use laughter against their social superiors, undermining the view that the social hierarchy is fixed and sacrosanct. It is rare that criminals are made the object of scorn in the pamphlets; more commonly, it is the social order and its pretensions that are the object of laughter. The paper will also compare these pamphlets to other texts that satirise the social ills of London, in order to show how these publications can be read as an attack to the powerful, rather than an attack on those marginalised.

LENA LIAPI is a Teaching Fellow in History at the University of Aberdeen. Her research focuses on print culture and the cultural history of crime in early modern England. She is currently preparing a monograph (based on her doctorate thesis) titled *Roguary in Print: Crime and Culture in Early Modern London*, ('Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History' series, Boydell & Brewer, forthcoming). She is working on a new project titled 'Notorious: Fame, News and the Public Sphere (1640-1720)'. This project aims to establish how notoriety and popular fame were produced through not just printed materials, but also manuscript networks and word of mouth.

From Shame and Shock to Pity and Peace: Public Emotions and Hidden Power Behind the Court Case of a Migrant Dutchman in Early Modern Denmark

JETTE LINNA

University of Aarhus / Moesgaard Museum

In the late sixteenth century, large numbers of Dutch migrants settled in the Danish city of Helsingør, just as they settled in many other cities in Northern Europe. The migrants turned the city into a multi-cultural and multi-religious environment with economic power concentrated among the migrant groups. This development rendered the locals de facto powerless in a city they felt was rightfully theirs. Feelings of resentment and anger towards the migrants developed among the locals, and occasionally deliberate acts of provocation from migrants towards the locals left the city on the brink of ethnic violence. The starting point of this paper is a court case evolving around an almost unbelievable provocation that could have ended in ethnic violence, but didn't. This paper explores how local political institutions, in such a time of crisis, succeeded in defusing a highly volatile situation through a very carefully planned public display of emotions, aimed at turning the feelings of the offended locals from shame and shock to pity and peace.

JETTE LINNA is a Curator in Historical Archaeology at Moesgaard Museum, Denmark, and Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, University of Aarhus, and in the Department of Maritime Archaeology, University of Southern Denmark. She is currently the head of the Danish Council for Independent Research/Humanities project, 'Urban Diaspora: Diaspora Communities and Materiality in Early Modern Urban Centres' (2014–2017). This cross-national and cross-disciplinary research project unites 14 archaeologists, historians and scientists from 10 universities and museums in Denmark, Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands in the first large-scale effort to explore the materiality of migration in Scandinavia and beyond, 1400–1700.

Linguistic and Rhythmic Shock in the Alliterative Morte Arthure

ANDREW LYNCH

The University of Western Australia

Early uses of 'shock' as a verb in English relate to quick and forceful actions in battle, such as massed cavalry attack or striking an opponent with the front of a shield. In the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, c. 1400, 'shock' would seem to express the direct suddenness and weight of an aggressive bodily contact and its disorienting impact, involving both intense concentration and a momentary blankness, a suspension of access to 'feeling'. The *Alliterative Morte* puts 'shock'-usages, like most battle action, in the 'historic present' and in stressed alliterating positions, presumably for greater emphasis, but does not elaborate directly on their affective and emotional attachments. I am interested in how readers and listeners, then and now, who experience a rhythmic and aural correlative of the 'shock' at the same time as it is delivered and suffered within the narrative, might respond affectively and emotionally to the poetic experience.

ANDREW LYNCH is the Director of the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions and Professor of English and Cultural Studies at The University of Western Australia. He has published extensively on medieval English literature, as well as medievalism, especially on themes of war and peace. With Susan Broomhall and Jane Davidson, he is the general editor of the forthcoming, six-volume *Bloomsbury Cultural History of Emotions*. His recent publications include three book collections: he is the editor, with Stephanie Downes and Katrina O'Loughlin, of *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); with Michael Champion, of *Understanding Emotions in Early Europe* (Brepols, 2015); and, with Louise D'Arcens, of *International Medievalism and Popular Culture* (Cambria Press, 2014).

Intimacy and Distance: Letter Writers and Letter Bearers in the Seventeenth-Century French Atlantic World

ROBIN MACDONALD

The University of Western Australia

Letters have long been recognised as both vehicles and creators of affect that could prompt and nurture correspondents' emotional ties over long – and sometimes short – distances. Particular attention has been paid to family correspondence and the ways in which parents and children were able to sustain intimacy despite physical separation (see, for example, the work of Elizabeth Buettner). Yet while scholars have analysed the textual content and materiality of letters, relatively little attention has been paid to the individuals who carried them, or to the ways in which the emotions of these letter bearers shaped a missive's message. Who, this paper will ask, had emotional power in epistolary exchanges, and how did this power function?

This paper will argue that far from being mere conveyers of missives, letter bearers were powerful and carefully chosen individuals who could exert considerable influence over the ways in which a letter was received. Drawing on letters written by Jesuit and Ursuline missionaries, it will explore both the emotions involved in choosing a letter bearer (personal relationships, trust, and so on) and the emotional strategies used by letter bearers in order to influence and persuade a letter's recipient. One seventeenth-century letter bearer – himself the subject of the missive, though not its author – had apparently 'wished himself to be the bearer of the letter so that he might plead his cause in person' (*Jesuit Relations*, 25: 133). Attending to the emotional strategies of letter bearers can thus disrupt the traditional view of writers and recipients as the principal makers of epistolary meaning. Furthermore, this focus on messengers highlights the

roles of individuals frequently eclipsed in analyses of early Canadian correspondence networks: the Indigenous people who often carried them.

ROBIN MACDONALD is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, based at The University of Western Australia. She recently completed her PhD thesis, 'Inhabiting New France: Bodies, Environment, and the Sacred, c.1632–c.1700' at the University of York. Her current research focuses on histories of encounter in seventeenth-century North America, early modern letter writing and materiality.

God's Hot Haste: The Power of Divine Disgust in Cleanness

SARAH MCNAMER

Georgetown University

In the Gawain-poet's *Cleanness*, God is introduced as a figure who typically uses his power – in particular, his power to punish sin – after measured deliberation: he punishes Adam and Lucifer severely, but without losing his cool. But when it comes to sins having to do with the 'fylthe of the flesche', God gets hot: his vengeance is 'hasty', overwhelming in its destructiveness, powered by hate and disgust. Criticism of the poem has not missed this: as Ad Putter puts it, the 'filth' of sexual sin 'catches God on the raw, short-circuiting His usual temperate calm, in the same way that human beings react with instinctive revulsion (rather than rational consideration) to remove from their vicinity what is felt as "dirty"'.

This paper takes up the matter of divine disgust as a powerful emotion in two ways. First, it draws on theoretical work on disgust (for example, William Ian Miller's *Anatomy of Disgust*, 1998) in order to illuminate the particular contours of disgust in *Cleanness*. But it also seeks to historicise the disgust in this poem, rooting it in a particular place and time in English history. Building on my previous work, in which I hypothesise that the Gawain-poet wrote at the court of Edward III (and not in the reign of Richard II, as has long been assumed), I argue that *Cleanness* had a very particular kind of cultural and political work to perform: in the wake of the sexual scandals and fracturing of power under Edward II, what Edward III needed, in order to maintain and reinforce his dynastic power, were sons who would not deviate from accepted heterosexual regimes, who would marry and reproduce just as good princes should. Thus, I am advancing a hypothesis here about the original, historical purpose, as well as the generic character, of *Cleanness*: it is not, I argue, a homiletic poem intended for a broad audience, but a poetic mirror for princes, designed to teach and move the sons of Edward III (particularly, I suggest, Prince Lionel) and steer their affects/desires along suitable, 'divinely-sanctioned' heterosexual paths. Its affective strategies, then, including its depiction of God's disgust, were potentially consequential in the world of real, princely power in fourteenth-century England.

SARAH MCNAMER is Associate Professor of English and Medieval Studies at Georgetown University. Her 2010 book, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, won the 'Book of the Year' award from the Conference on Christianity and Literature. Recent work includes 'The Literariness of Literature and the History of Emotion', *PMLA* 130 (2015), 1433–42; a chapter on 'Emotion' for *A New Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Peter Baker (Wiley-Blackwell, forthcoming 2017), and a critical edition, translation, and study, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: The Short Italian Text* (University of Notre Dame, in press). Her current work on literature and the history of emotion centres on the works of the Gawain poet.

The Power of Shock in Middle English Drama

PAUL MEGNA

The University of Western Australia

Like many emotions, shock is contagious. Consequently, performances of shock offer powerful opportunities for playwrights invested in shocking their audience. The creators of Middle English Biblical drama often capitalised on such opportunities. Indeed, the archive of Middle English drama is rife with scenes in which initially sceptical characters are shocked into belief: from the Digby *Conversion of St. Paul*, to the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*, which depicts sceptical Jews tormenting the Eucharist until a series of shocking miracles cause them to convert to Christianity. Such scenes stage sequences of scepticism, shock and conversion in order to shock their audience into converting, not from one religious faith to another, but out of a complacent, ersatz posture of uncritical belief and into a more genuine, emotionally invested belief in orthodox doctrine including Christ's virgin birth, miraculous deeds and resurrection. Given that these fundamental elements of Christian belief were not contested in the medieval and early modern milieu in which Middle English drama was originally performed, I will argue that the creators of Middle English drama sought to remind audiences of their shock-value by showing initially sceptical characters shocked into believing them.

PAUL MEGNA is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, based at The University of Western Australia. His work focuses on medieval literature's fixation on negative emotion and he is especially interested in the pre-modern roots of existentialist philosophies of anxiety, shame, despair and love. He has published in journals including *PMLA*, *Exemplaria*, *postmedieval* and *The Yearbook of Langland Studies*. He is currently developing a monograph titled *Existential Emotion in Middle English Literature*. He is also working on a research project that takes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of medieval and contemporary passion plays.

'Hold thy tongue, for thou shocks me': Emotions in the Courtroom in Eighteenth-Century York

AMY MILKA

The University of Adelaide

In the eighteenth century, the criminal courtroom was an emotional arena, in which appeals to compassion, outrage and other moral emotions were common, as were physical displays such as weeping and fainting, and unruly laughter and shouts from the public galleries. Emotions were performed, interrogated and interpreted by litigants, legal professionals and even the courtroom audience. Likewise, the majesty and power of the law was upheld by the emotional management of the judiciary as they passed through the country, dispensing justice at the twice-yearly assizes.

Public understanding of criminal justice was informed by spectatorship of trials and executions, but also pieced together from a wide variety of printed material, including newspapers, ballads, broadsides, pamphlets and literary representations of crime and punishment. To compete with these varied productions, trial reports selected material which might shock, amuse or titillate their readers, often reporting trials for violent or unusual felonies at length.

This paper draws upon a collection of *Trials at Large of the Felons in the Castle of York* during the 1770s to recreate the experience of criminal justice at the assizes. The accounts paint a vivid picture of everyday instances of crime in the city and its surrounds, from sheep stealers to shoplifters. They reveal local rivalries, nosy neighbours, the power of gossip and hearsay, and the attitudes of the general public towards the law. But they are also remarkable for their emotional intensity: on every page the outbursts of angry

witnesses, sympathetic prosecutors, weeping prisoners and incredulous lawyers are reported in detail. This paper argues that the collision of emotional styles evident in provincial trials complicated public understandings of the power and efficacy of criminal justice.

AMY MILKA is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, based at The University of Adelaide. Her current project is a co-authored book with David Lemmings, titled 'Professors of Feeling: Emotions in the English Criminal Courts, 1700-1830'. She received her PhD from the University of York in 2013. Her research interests include the relationship between literature and broader print culture during the eighteenth century, political pamphlets and cheap tracts, and the representation of radicalism in England and France during the French Revolution.

Who has the Power? The Witch, the Devil and the Dangers of Emotion in Early Modern England

CHARLOTTE-ROSE MILLAR

The University of Queensland

In 1645 Jane Hott, a widow, was hanged for witchcraft in Faversham, Kent. Her guilt was confirmed not just by her confession, in which she admitted that she had allowed the Devil in the shape of a familiar spirit (in this case, a hedgehog) to suck her blood but, also, by a swimming test. On being taken to be swum, Jane confidently asserted that she would sink and thus be proven innocent. She floated. When questioned about her confidence, Jane confessed that the Devil had followed her the whole way to the river, promising her that she would not sink – but when she was placed in the water, the Devil sat on the crossbeam above her and laughed.

Jane was just one of many accused witches who was betrayed by the Devil. In early modern England, ordinary men and women were believed to join with the Devil because of powerful emotions: most commonly, a desire to be revenged, or to hurt or even kill their neighbours out of malice. Hatred, anger and a desire for revenge were all believed to tempt men and women away from God and into a pact with the Devil. Although, on the surface, this pact gave witches great malefic power, in numerous pamphlet accounts it was the Devil who was really in control. In this paper, I will explore the links between emotion and power in English witchcraft narratives and highlight the dangers of giving into emotions for the promises of a power that often remained elusive.

CHARLOTTE-ROSE MILLAR is a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at The University of Queensland, and an Associate Investigator with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. Her book, *Witchcraft, The Devil and Emotion in Early Modern England*, is forthcoming with Routledge in 2017. She is also the author of numerous works on witchcraft, diabolism, emotions and sexual practices in early modern England and has been awarded two prizes for her published work.

Strengthening an Unwell King: Emotions, Literature and the Reign of Charles VI

CHARLES-LOUIS MORAND-MÉTIVIER

University of Vermont

The reign of Charles VI of France (1380-1422) took a dramatic turn in 1392 when he experienced the first of his bouts of madness that plagued the kingdom of France. Since he was unable to govern, Queen Isabella of Bavaria and a council of regency led by the uncle of the king soon started governing for the king. Numerous tensions within the extended royal family resulted in a particularly bloody civil war opposing the partisans of Burgundy

and those of the House of Orleans. This bloody domestic conflict was only one of the many problems of the kingdom, alongside international tensions such as the Hundred Years War and the Great Western Schism.

In this presentation, I will study how authors of the period, such as Christine de Pizan and the Religieux de Saint-Denis, dealt with the debilitating health of the king. I will argue that they did not shy away from it, but on the contrary addressed it through an emotional representation of the sovereign as a loving, courageous personality. They rebuilt the persona of Charles VI through the emotions that the kingdom should feel towards him, painting him as a suffering sovereign, whose disease becomes part of his kingship. They built the nation as an emotional community that must be moved and transformed by the struggle of the king, thus enabling his image not to suffer too much from his condition.

CHARLES-LOUIS MORAND MÉTIVIER is Assistant Professor of French at the University of Vermont. His research focuses on the literary representation of extreme emotions begotten by massacres of the medieval Renaissance period. He is the author of *Dramatizing the Martyrdom of the Waldensians in Lubéron. The Tragedy of the Sack of Cabrières. A Critical Edition and Translation in Prose*, which is forthcoming with AMS Press, and co-editor (with Andreea Marculescu) of *Affective and Emotional Economies in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, forthcoming with Palgrave Macmillan. He is currently working on two new books, one tentatively entitled *Like Father, Like Son? Literature, Nation, and Emotions in the Reigns of Charles V and Charles VI*, and the other examining the emotional language of the French Wars of Religion as a weapon of mass destruction.

Tears, Judgement and Royal Authority: Christ's Tears in Paschasius Radbertus' Commentary on Matthew

FRANCES MURRAY

University of St Andrews

When showing mercy to rebellious subjects, early medieval rulers were often described shedding tears. The Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious, for example, was described weeping for the souls of those who rebelled against him in the Astronomer's *Vita Hludowici*, completed between 840 and 841. Gerd Althoff interprets these scenes as evidence for ritualised emotional performances. This paper suggests an alternative approach. An examination of exegetical material brings to light the biblical models that could underpin such scenes. This paper focuses on the ninth-century commentary on the gospel of Matthew, written by Paschasius Radbertus, who was the abbot of Corbie between 843 and 850. Paschasius expanded on references to Christ's tears three times. In each instance, he described Christ shedding tears on behalf of the sinners who persecuted him, just as a Carolingian ruler might weep on behalf of their sinful and rebellious subjects. These tears reflected Christ's mercy, and were used by Paschasius to frame him as a clement judge. Previously dismissed as derivative re-workings of patristic writings, in recent years the case for the originality of Carolingian biblical commentaries and their relevance to political life has been made. They are a valuable source for ninth-century mentalities and, importantly for my purposes, assumptions about the nature of power, mercy and justice in the ninth century.

FRANCES MURRAY (BA Oxon., MLitt University of St Andrews) is a PhD candidate at the University of St Andrews. Her thesis, 'Weeping Kings: Masculinity and Power in the Early Middle Ages' examines depictions of weeping rulers and explores how these contributed to the representation of power in texts of the eighth and ninth centuries. She is supervised by Professor Simon MacLean and her research is funded by a 'seventh century scholarship', awarded by the School of History.

Power and Powerful Emotions in Milanese Pataria, 1056–1066

PIROSKA NAGY

Université du Québec à Montréal

Emotive crowds – motivated by and moving for religious reasons – are significant actors of the public stage of the high and late medieval West. The movement of the Pataria in Milano, 1056/57–1075, is one of the best-known early manifestations of a popular movement in support of the so-called 'gregorian' reform of the Church. As such, it shows the *populus christianus*, the people motivated by a religious cause, at its emergence in action at the beginning of the second millennium. The movement polarises the society of Milano between 1056/7 and 1075, creates spectacular moments in and around the city and leads to the violent death of its two principal leaders.

This episode of an urban riot or émeute, motivated by both religious and social reasons, recalls the original (though late medieval) meaning of the term 'emotion', precisely social unrest. All the narrative sources are partisans, either in support of, or against the *patarini*, and show well the different visions of the popular, collective emotions by their authors – as well as those of the protagonists and the people of Milano who expressed them.

This paper does not pretend to renew the important historiography of this very special moment of Italian urban history, but at most to reflect on the role of emotions in relation to power in the main narrative sources, themselves divided between pro- and anti-patarine authors and thus, between two opposite perspectives on the events described. Popping up in the sources and in the course of history that they eventually change, how are these powerful emotions of the crowd generated and how do they contribute to the events in a period of intense turmoil in the city? What do we learn about the 'agency' attributed to emotions, in the sources we are interested in? Do they create the events, or do they rather shape the reactions to it? How do they intervene in the formation of the two parties, both of which are reflected by the sources written by and for them? Do emotions as events generate or reflect different emotional practices in the two parties?

Piroska Nagy is Professor of Medieval History at Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) and a Partner Investigator with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. Piroska has previously taught at the Université Paris I, the Université des Antilles et de la Guyane, Université de Rouen and the Central European University. She is author of *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge: Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution, Ve–XIIIe siècle* (Albin Michel, 2000) and co-author, with Damien Boquet, of *Sensible Moyen Âge: Une histoire culturelle des émotions et de la vie affective dans l'Occident médiéval* (Seuil). With Damien Boquet in 2006, she launched the first French research project on the history of emotions, 'Emotions in the Middle Ages' and with him co-edited *Émotions médiévales* (2007); *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge* (2009); *Politiques des émotions au Moyen Âge* (2010); *La chair des émotions au Moyen Âge* (2011); *Sensible Moyen Âge: Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval* (Seuil, 2015).

Mary Hays' Ecofeminism: Sympathy, Freedom and Biopolitics

HARRIE NEAL

University of York

"The prints were engraved with the hope of, in some degree, correcting the barbarous treatment of animals. The very sight of which renders the streets of our metropolis so distressing to very feeling mind. If they have had this effect and checked the progress of cruelty, I am more proud of having been the author, than I should be of having painted Raphael's Cartoons." (William Hogarth, reflecting on his series of engravings, *Four Stages of Cruelty*.)

In the abstract above, William Hogarth reveals the great extent to which his series of engravings, *Four Stages of Cruelty*, which feature multiple examples of cruelty towards animals, were intended to acknowledge and curb such cruelty. Sympathy, in Hogarth's view is the presumed effect of looking at images of violence towards animals. Indeed, the entire city of London, filled, as he depicts it, with barbarity to animals, becomes 'distressing' to anyone with a 'very feeling mind'.

In the years following Hogarth's *Four Stages*, art featuring dead, dying, injured and trapped animals began, more frequently, to be accompanied by images of women and girls. Whether women were present to reify sympathy in the painting, to redirect the viewers' gaze from the animal onto them, or the other way around, or to emphasise a gender divide defined by women's affiliation with animals and emotions in opposition to male reason and intellectual enquiry, these paintings give crucial insights into sympathy and the sexual politics of animal relations in this period. The paintings of Jean-Baptiste Greuze, Joshua Reynolds, John Opie and Thomas Gainsborough all engage in an aesthetic which positions women and violated animals together. In contrast with earlier sixteenth-century paintings of women and birds, such as the many and various renderings of Leda and the Swan, which draw on women's animal-like sexual deviancy, these eighteenth-century paintings reflect a culture of sentimentalism. This paper will take a look at a few of these paintings in trying to answer the bigger question of what looking at animals can tell us about the culture of emotions in this period and the meanings attached to them.

HARRIE NEAL is a second-year PhD student in the Department of English and Related Literature at the University of York. Her project is centred around eco-feminist vegan philosophy and ethics in women's novels. At the moment she is looking at the work of Mary Shelley.

The Body of Christ: The Corporeal Metaphor in Sixteenth-Century Religious Conflicts

CARLY OSBORN

The University of Adelaide

In this paper I examine the 'repertory of actions' repeated in public executions and mob lynchings in seventeenth-century France and England – particularly in the context of the religious wars. I find that this repertory draws from longstanding mythical and ritual scripts of imagining the community as a body, and purging it of a physical pollutant. The corporeal metaphor invokes and directs emotion as a bodily process: disgust is felt within the body, towards other bodies, and is acted upon with physical violence that obliterates some bodies and exalts others. Thus the devout Catholic processionists shouting, 'For the flesh of God, we must kill all the Huguenots!' Flesh and blood are central to both the rhetorical foundation and the grisly action of these conflicts, and collective emotion is both the furious beginning and catharsised end of each execution-performance.

CARLY OSBORN is the Education and Outreach Officer and a Research Fellow at The University of Adelaide node of the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. She completed a PhD in English at The University of Adelaide and her thesis, 'Tragedy, Sacrifice and the American Dream: A Girardian Reading of Some Post-War American Novels', was awarded The University of Adelaide Doctoral Research Medal. Her research interests include: the theory of René Girard; history of emotions; violence, ritual and spectacle; tragic theory and catharsis.

'Then Sing Him Home': Togetherness and Political Subversion in the Robin Hood Balladry of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*.

KATHRYN PARKER

The University of Sydney

Shakespeare's *As You Like It* has long been associated with the Robin Hood tradition in its contrast between exiled and usurping dukes in green and urban political spaces. This paper will explore the role of two songs and a ballad within the play which intensify an emotional sense of togetherness for the audience with the exiled duke and his merry band of lords in the forest. English broadside ballads were one of the most widely sold forms of print in the early modern period. By setting lyric texts to tunes from ballads and other traditional songs within his plays, Shakespeare uses the connection of other performance mediums to generate meaning and emotional response for theatre audiences. As the songs in *As You Like It* connect with the wider oral tradition of Robin Hood, they bring the past and the present simultaneously into the musical fabric of the comedy. I will demonstrate how the songs carry the emotion and the political intrigue of the forest to question power structures in early modern England for Shakespeare's early audiences.

KATHRYN PARKER is a PhD student with the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at The University of Sydney, under the supervision of Professor Liam Semler and Dr Alan Maddox. She completed an MA in Shakespeare Studies at King's College London in 2015, with the support of a John Monash Cultural Scholarship, a Bachelor of Arts with First Class Honours at The University of Sydney (2012) and a Bachelor of Music Studies at Sydney Conservatorium of Music (2011). She has worked as a dramaturg and musician with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, the Rose Playhouse in London and various Australian independent theatre companies.

Politics and Women's Anger in Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam*

RUARI PATON

University of Manchester

My paper examines women's anger as depicted in Elizabeth Cary's 1613 play *The Tragedy of Mariam*. In my paper I claim that the anger Cary depicts in her female characters exceeds received Aristotelian and Senecan thought on anger as a response to an isolated incident of personal insult or injury inflicted by another individual. For Cary, I argue, there is a fundamental political component to women's anger that is revealed and attested to in the speeches of and dialogues between her female characters. Thus I propose that work in the fields of political and affect theory by Sara Ahmed, Audre Lorde and Jean-Luc Nancy – in which anger is posited as an affect produced in response to repeatedly encountering political and systemic injustices and a tool that can be used in political resistance to subjugation – opens new possibilities for reading Cary's female characters' anger. For these conceptions of anger separate the affect from the personal grievance and instead view it as a product of the wider social context in which it was produced and, moreover, read its expression in relation to those social conditions. In this paper I examine the influence of structural inequality along lines of gender and race on the feeling and expression of anger and explore the ways in which Cary shows how anger can be used not only to challenge injustice but also, contrarily, to reinforce the narratives and ideologies that produce it.

RUARI PATON is a Masters student at the University of Manchester, where he is currently studying English Literature. His main interests are early modern drama and poetry, in particular the works of Elizabeth Cary and Christopher Marlowe, and political and critical theory.

'So shall she now the softest Couloours Chuse/To paint thy fate and shadow out thy Woes': Poetry and Emotion in the Abergavenny Scandal of 1729

LUCIA QUINAULT

Queen Mary University of London

This paper will explore the ways in which literary forms empower emotional responses to public events, using as a case study the wide range of literary texts – published and circulated in manuscript – inspired by the notorious Abergavenny scandal of 1729. Lady Abergavenny's beauty, adultery and death, followed by a trial in which her husband was awarded a staggering £10,000 in compensation, stimulated poetry, drama and opera, giving voice to desire, remorse, pity, despair and contempt. Drama and poetry intersect in their treatment of the scandal, and while poetry offers its writers and readers an opportunity to explore a single viewpoint, and to circulate it privately, drama re-imagines the causes and conversations and exposes them to public judgment. The alternating prose and verse of opera thus offer us a self-contained sample of the uses of different literary genres in expressing emotion and presenting the social and moral power struggles provoked by the affair.

LUCIA QUINAULT is a PhD candidate in the Department of English at Queen Mary University of London. Her thesis title is 'Fugitive, Occasional and Local: Manuscript Poetry Circulation in Rural Warwickshire, 1703–1763'. She is supervised by Markman Ellis.

Awe, Pride and Patriotism: Power Over Nature as Evidence of American Greatness

BARBARA SAIN

University of St Thomas

This paper will highlight connections between emotion and power by studying several overlapping currents of emotion in early nineteenth-century America: 1) the deep emotional responses people had to the beauty and dangers of the natural world; 2) the emotions they felt at the sight of human inventions manipulating nature; and 3) the way those affective responses were channeled to support specific projects or a patriotic national identity. In doing so, the paper will address a number of the suggested conference themes: how specific objects elicit emotions, how demonstrations of power can shape emotional experience, how that emotional experience can be used for political aims, and the affective dimension of nation-building.

To present its argument, the paper will first describe how the idea of transforming nature was foundational for early American communities. It will then examine the connection between public emotion and land improvements, looking at how projects or inventions were portrayed before, during, and after their implementation. Particular attention will be given to emotional themes in documents promoting proposed projects or describing the benefits of completed projects. These texts, which include petitions for government funding and newspaper articles giving public updates, often emphasise how transforming the landscape can lead to social, economic and political power. Descriptions of the

festivities surrounding major projects also reveal the interplay of emotional expectations, amazement at human ingenuity, and patriotic pride. The 1828 groundbreaking for the C&O Canal and the 1825 opening of the Erie Canal will be the key examples of such celebrations. Attention will also be given throughout the paper to emotional discourses surrounding other advancements, such as improved plows, steam engines and railroads.

BARBARA SAIN is an Associate Professor of Theology at the University of St Thomas, a private Catholic liberal arts college in Minnesota, USA. Her research interests include the theology of Hans Urs von Balthasar, theories of truth and knowledge, and theology and engineering. Her publications include: 'Expression in the Theo-Logic: Hans Urs von Balthasar on the Manifestation of Divine Truth in the World', *Philosophy & Theology* 19 (2007); 'Education for Human Development: Evaluating a Senior Design Project in Mali Through the Lens of Christian Theology' (with Camille George, forthcoming); and 'A Course in Integration: Faith, Engineering, and Feedback' (with Michael Sain, forthcoming).

Love, Gender and Leadership in King Ponthus and the Faire Sidone

JAN SHAW

The University of Sydney

This paper considers the relationship between gender, love and leadership in the fifteenth-century English prose romance *King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone*. It examines discursive and gestural declarations of love in this romance and how these representations conceptualise the relationship between love, gender and agency, particularly in comparison with the earlier Middle English *King Horn* romance with which this romance is closely related.

In some romances, feminine agency is invoked simply, aimed at achieving the heroine's love objective. In others, however, feminine agency takes on wider scope, and a broader leadership enterprise becomes evident. This paper considers the wider implications of agency resulting from emotional practices of love. It reconfigures the longstanding relationship between masculine love and chivalric action to focus on the ways in which feminine love can redirect agency in unexpected ways, and ultimately renegotiate the spaces of leadership. This paper therefore explores how feminine emotions and spatial practices interact to reorganise relationships of power.

This paper reads these romances through Monique Scheer's theorisation of emotions as a bodily practice, Doreen Massey's hypothesis that space, spatial practice and identity are all co-constitutive, and Amanda Sinclair's assertion that the body is deeply implicated in the meaning-making function of leadership.

JAN SHAW is a Senior Lecturer in English at The University of Sydney, and an Associate Investigator with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. Her research area is Middle English romance and her research focuses on relational aspects of identity formation with particular attention to gender. She has published on women in the romance of medieval Britain, medievalism in contemporary literature by women, and narrative and gender approaches in leadership studies. She is co-editor of *Storytelling: Critical and Creative Approaches*. Her book, *Space, Gender, and Memory in Middle English Romance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), considers the interweaving of space, time and memory in the scripting of feminine life stories. Her current work explores how the use of gendered identities in fifteenth-century romance opens up conversations about issues of social and political concern.

How did Joan of Arc Feel?

HANNAH SKODA

University of Oxford

This paper will examine the emotions of Joan of Arc. Despite the wealth of scholarship on both Joan and the history of emotions, I continue to be struck by two pressing sets of questions:

- Criminological labelling theory examines the reciprocal relationship between how 'deviants' are labelled, and the kinds of behaviour in which they are then more likely to be engaged. Might the same not be true of emotional labels? Presumably emotional labels can also shape the ways in which people behave, and, as historians, we should be particularly aware of this process. If someone is repeatedly labelled as hysterical and enraged, the probability that they will become so is increased. If someone is continually labelled as irritable and sharp, their emotional repertoire is effectively reduced, and those labels are likely to affect their patterns of behaviour. In any case, those labels will certainly be used to condemn them. This is an aspect of the history of emotions which I believe has been underexplored, and the trial of Joan of Arc provides an intriguing and disturbing example of emotional categorisation, labelling and condemnation.
- It seems equally clear that these processes of emotional labelling are highly gendered. The paper will address early fifteenth-century assumptions about emotional behaviours in which women were deemed more likely to engage, and consider the implications of these.

The paper, then, will examine the ways in which emotional labels can be used to denigrate, to constrain and to condemn; and the ways in which such labels are themselves highly gendered – the trial of Joan of Arc presents a wonderful case-study. The trial of condemnation itself is infused with emotional language, and this paper takes it as the main source. It will be juxtaposed with contemporary theories of emotions, particularly those of Jean Gerson, as well as what we know of Joan from other sources such as her letters.

HANNAH SKODA is a Tutorial Fellow and Professor of Late Medieval History at the University of Oxford. Her research focuses upon the social and cultural history of later medieval Europe, particularly France and Germany, with the history of education and of conflict forming areas of special interest. Her first book focused on popular violence in later medieval northern France. Her current research focuses on the misbehaviour of fifteenth-century students at the universities of Oxford, Paris and Heidelberg. Drawing on criminological models, her research examines the relationship between the negative stereotypes imposed upon students by a variety of commentators and observers, and the ways in which the students negotiated those stereotypes in their actual misbehaviour. She is also writing a book about the development of something akin to a sense of nostalgia in the later Middle Ages.

'A yellow Damask Dress-Gown, lin'd with yellow Lustring': Reading Emotion into Descriptions of Clothing, 1700–1800

ELIZABETH SPENCER

University of York

'a yellow Damask Dress-Gown, lin'd with yellow Lustring; a blue Silk Night-Gown, lin'd with blue and white check'd stuff; a black Silk Night-Gown, lin'd with black stuff...' (*Daily Advertiser*, 1742)

'one Grey Damask Night Gown, a Green Sattan Night Gown...a Yellow Tabby Night Gown...a pink and white striped Lutestring Gown...' (Will of Ruth Tennyson, 1763)

'my Black & white Calico [gown] & petticoat...my black cloth manto...my yellow cloaths...a white sasnet hood...A white mbrodered Apron...' (Account book of Sarah Mellish, 1708–1718)

Although they come from different sources, these three extracts share a number of similarities when it comes to the description of clothing. It is only in two of these sources, however, that the description of clothing has been read by scholars as emotive. In women's wills and account books, detailed description – defined as 'a sort of itemisation, which actually or metaphorically breaks up a whole into distinct, perceptible, and, in some instances, purchasable bits' (Wall) – has been interpreted as a medium through which women were able to express powerful emotions about people and possessions. This paper will move through a comparative discussion of the description of women's clothing in wills, account books and newspaper advertisements for lost and stolen goods, in order to challenge this approach.

Wills are generally understood to be emotive documents by their very nature, while some scholars have interpreted bequests of clothing as evidence of emotional attachments between women, reading sentiment into often detailed descriptions (Berg, Pointon). In contrast, a major limitation leveled at account books as a source is that they are lacking in 'feelings'; again, however, description has been read as confirmation of emotion within this context, with scholars making an assumption that detailed description is unnecessary for the keeping of 'accurate' accounts – and that it is therefore meaningful when included (Smyth). Here, descriptions of clothing have variously been interpreted as evidence of delight in new clothing, pride, and even vanity. No such claims have been made about newspaper advertisements, however, though they share a similar descriptive language. This paper therefore seeks to question why detailed description has only been read as emotive in certain contexts, and to question whether we can really use descriptions of clothing as evidence of powerful emotions.

ELIZABETH SPENCER is a doctoral candidate in her third year in the Department of History at the University of York. Her research on women's clothing in the eighteenth century is funded by the White Rose College of Art and Humanities, and is supervised by Dr Natasha Glaisyer.

Possession, Power Relations and the Global Supernatural in Northern European Demonologies

JENNIFER SPINKS

The University of Melbourne

Sixteenth-century European Christians collected and circulated many reports of magical rites, figures and objects from beyond Europe's borders. Chronologically, these coincided with an increasing fear of the Devil and of witchcraft within Europe. This paper draws upon a range of printed travelogues, wonder books and especially demonological treatises to explore the powerful emotions depicted in and roused by reports of non-European diabolical magic. In particular, it will focus on the exercise of mastery of demons by priests. What emotional powers were local demons perceived to have over their local victims in reports by European outsiders, and who had the power to command and exorcise these demons? Further, how were these narratives consumed and circulated back in a European context? Using case studies concerning the Americas and Japan – both 'new worlds' for Europeans in this period – the paper will analyse how reports by Jesuit and other travellers were recycled in demonologies prepared by authors including Jean Bodin, Martin Del Rio and Pierre de Lancre. The paper will examine why this material gained so much polemical traction within northern European print culture, even though reports were originally recorded by Spanish, Italian and Portuguese missionaries. It will set the material in the context of domestic European concerns about possession, emotional narratives and power relations, and will ask what it can tell us about European anxieties during an era transformed by religious conflicts and global encounters.

JENNY SPINKS is currently the Hansen Senior Lecturer in History at The University of Melbourne, following four years at the University of Manchester. She researches polemical print culture in northern Europe, and has co-curated exhibitions on early modern apocalyptic and supernatural beliefs. Her publications include *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Pickering and Chatto, 2009) and (co-edited with Charles Zika) *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse, 1400–1700* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

'Land of Ire': Lordly Anger and its Consequences in Early Modern Ireland

CLODAGH TAIT

University of Limerick

The sixteenth-century rulers of the patchwork of lordships in the Gaelic north and west of Ireland used displays of anger as a tool to control followers and intimidate opponents. In a face-to-face society, Irish lords had a lot to gain by cultivating an image of unpredictability. Performances of rage might be accompanied by displays of ritual oath-taking and cursing, and extravagant threats were often followed up by violent deeds. Using examples from the O'Neill lordship, this paper will discuss the words, gestures and meanings of lordly rage. As the Elizabethan reconquest of Ireland gathered pace from the 1570s, such displays were increasingly used against the lords by English observers. In a context when self-mastery – control of appetites and 'passions' – was increasingly enjoined on 'civil' men, lordly rage could be cast as excessive, inappropriate and a sign of a man unfit to rule others due to his inability to rule himself. The use of male anger to undermine the Irish by characterising them as emotionally 'other' was to continue well into the seventeenth century.

CLODAGH TAIT is a Lecturer in the Department of History, Mary Immaculate College, at the University of Limerick. Her publications include: *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550–1650* (Palgrave Macmillan 2002); (edited with David Edwards and Pádraig Lenihan) *Age of Atrocity: Violent Death in Early Modern Ireland* (Four Courts Press, 2007); and (edited with Salvador Ryan) *Religion and Politics in Urban Ireland, c. 1500–1750; Essays in Honour of Colm Lennon* (Four Courts Press, 2015).

The Color of Fear in Early Modern Europe: From Sexual Shock to Affective Encompassment

GIOVANNI TARANTINO

The University of Western Australia

Blacks were all too often depicted as ape-like, sexually lustful and religiously unregenerate, chiefly in order to provide an emotional alibi for religious indoctrination, exploitation and white supremacy. However, colour-blind emotional perceptions of others also ended up ratifying notions of whiteness, or what Richard Dyer has called a 'culture of light', as the tendency of universalisms may actually be to deny difference by encompassing it.

GIOVANNI TARANTINO is a Research Development Officer with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. He is also an Honorary Research Fellow at The University of Western Australia and Reviews Editor for the journal *Emotions: History, Culture, Society*. His research interests revolve around the history of tolerance (and intolerance) towards religious minorities in the early modern era.

Destabilising Emotions: The Formulaic Use of Woe in *Le Bone Florence of Rome* and *Lybeaus Desconus*

KATIE VERNON

University of York

This paper discusses how formulaic language in two fourteenth-century romances is used to represent emotion and, through this, undermine readers' expectations of both narrative events and protagonists. By exploiting established, formulaic phrases, *Le Bone Florence of Rome* and *Lybeaus Desconus* challenge narrative progression and character depiction in unexpected ways, using the emotion of woe as a key nexus for these unanticipated developments. For instance, *Le Bone Florence of Rome* disrupts narrative order and undermines the conventional happy ending, expressed through devices such as the happy marriage. In this romance, woe is established as having a causal root, yet the narrator makes unresolved and unexplained comments on the female protagonist's woe immediately before the closing formulae. This re-orientates the reader back into the narrative, creating a sense of instability. Similarly, in *Lybeaus Desconus*, the protagonist knight is overwhelmed by his emotions, especially fear and woe, at what appears to be the final battle. These emotions render him powerless and passive, preventing him from fighting. In both cases, such emotions are also able to reveal nuanced depictions of power, for example between different characters, and between the psyche and the somatic. These depictions of emotion are problematic because they undermine the genre's need to establish order at the end of the romance, and the ennobling connotations of knighthood. The portrayal of emotions in such a way presents them as overwhelming, able to destabilise the narrative world.

KATIE VERNON completed an MA in Medieval Studies at the University of York in 2016. Her thesis focused on different methods of reading materiality in Middle English romance. Prior to postgraduate studies, Katie studied English at the University of Cambridge, writing dissertations on medieval portrayals of birdsong, and early modern depictions of child disability in marvel ballads. She intends to pursue a PhD in September 2018, which will examine material culture in Middle English romance.

Embowelled Emotion: Representing and Repressing Gut Feelings in Early Modern England

MICHAEL WALKDEN

University of York

Early modern discourses on digestion and emotion share a common anxiety over the messiness of our inner workings. Medical treatises on these subjects frequently deployed metaphors of social unrest and political control to warn against the perils of being ruled by our 'grosser parts'. A host of symbolic and affective associations – the perceived chaos of the passions, the literally lowly position of the gut, and the instinctive revulsion towards faecal matter – all combined to form a powerful rhetoric of abuse. In early modern England, to be over-emotional was to be excremental.

This paper will explore how this faecal rhetoric functioned both as a means of corporealising emotional states and as a tool of social control. I will begin by examining the ways in which seventeenth-century medical discourses on emotion and digestion also expressed sociopolitical anxieties, looking at some familiar and some less well-known texts. Then, through an analysis of successive discussions of hypochondria in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I will demonstrate that faecal rhetoric provided fertile ground for the moral elevation of rationality, the brain and the 'higher' functions – a process which implicitly sustained and nurtured the view of emotion as something undesirable, base and polluting.

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Shockingly Frightful: Fear and Shock in News Reports in Early Modern Germany

ABAIGÉAL WARFIELD

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Sixteenth-century Germany saw the emergence of a new genre of printed news known *Neue Zeitungen*. These reports covered all sorts of events such as battles, unusual weather conditions, abnormal happenings and criminal executions. While these texts conveyed information, Joy Wiltenburg has argued that they did not simply relay facts; through writing about the most appalling of crimes, authors were spreading 'states of feeling'. Titles often provided the most basic of cues signalling the emotional content that lay ahead with adjectives such as *erschrecklich* or *erschrocklich*. This is an interesting adjective because while it is usually translated as 'frightening', in modern German this word can also be translated into English as 'shocking' or 'alarming'. This shows how deeply connected the relationship between fear and shock is in the German context and highlights the difficulties facing historians using emotion words from different languages and times. A sensitivity to these nuances, I will argue, broadens the discernible boundaries of the 'state of feeling' conveyed in these news reports.

ABAIGÉAL WARFIELD is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, based at The University of Adelaide. Her current project investigates how fear of God, the Devil and witches was constructed in early modern German news, specifically in non-periodical reports. She has written about how the crime of witchcraft was represented in early modern German media in a number of forthcoming chapters, and is currently completing a monograph on this subject.

Porous Plurality and Chaste Singularity: The Power of the Passions in Shakespeare and Wilkins's *Pericles*

SARAH WATERS

Oxford Brookes University

This paper will consider the power and powerlessness attached to the passions in the early modern period. It will show to what extent this was connected to gender. The power of the passions will be discussed through a reading of Shakespeare and Wilkins's *Pericles*. It will reflect on the male tragedy that appears to be the story of *Pericles* before revealing what this focus elides: the story of Marina.

Drawing on proto-medical early modern treatises, this paper will investigate the interaction between the environment and the body in *Pericles*. It will discuss how *Pericles*' melancholia interacts with his body, his mind and the sea. Turning then from the porosity of *Pericles*, and the way in which his melancholia is reciprocated by his natural environment and onstage audience, we will explore the fate of his daughter Marina.

Marina's melancholia is ultimately not reciprocated or validated. However, she finds agency in her remarkable strength and individuality. She locates this not in melancholia, but rather in her

passionate advocacy of chastity and female singularity. This strength and power (while ultimately thwarted when she must heal her father at the cost of her own melancholia), is in sharp contrast to the despair and extreme emotional turmoil of *Pericles*.

By uncovering the story of female power which transcends melancholia, this paper will show that *Pericles* contrasts early modern perceptions of women as porous and weak, as grievous and harbourers of excessive emotion, and dangerously open to weakening passions. Ultimately, *Pericles* locates strength and restorative passionate power in Marina who has affective authority over the weaker emotion-filled men of the play.

SARAH WATERS is a final year doctoral student at Oxford Brookes University. Her thesis is interdisciplinary, situated in the field of medical humanities, and investigates the connections between female melancholia in the early modern period and female depression in the present day. It works in particular with proto-medical early modern treatises and contemporary diagnostic and psychiatric texts (1960–2017) and focuses the discussion through the representation or absence of female melancholia on the early modern stage particularly in Shakespeare's canon. Other research interests include: Shakespeare adaptation and appropriation; Medical Humanities; John Donne and Metaphysical Poetry; children's literature, C.S. Lewis and Inklings studies.

The Two Sides of *Ira Regis* in the Becket Conflict

MEGHAN WOOLLEY

Duke University

Medieval writers and modern scholars have debated the extent to which emotions are naturally occurring or consciously constructed. *Ira regis*, the king's anger, has received much scholarly attention as a political tool that could serve as a warning sign, intimidate enemies and motivate just action. However, royal anger is not always viewed in this light. King Henry II of England is perhaps the medieval figure best known for *ira regis*, particularly following the murder of Thomas Becket. His infamous outburst is typically depicted by medieval sources and modern scholars as an overflowing of emotion, resulting in the archbishop's unintended murder.

This paper will use the Becket dispute as a case study to complicate this picture and present the two sides of *ira regis*: anger as a political tool and anger as an uncontrolled passion. An analysis of the primary sources (Becket's collected correspondence, saint's lives, and chronicle accounts) shows the king's anger as uncontrolled and disorder-inducing. Through looking at the pattern of events within the dispute, however, it is possible to look beyond these textual constructions to see the king's performances of anger as planned, logical and effective. When considered holistically, these two sides of *ira regis* invite us to reconsider the conceptual division between constructed and natural anger. The very understandings of anger as out of control and intimidating were what enabled it to work as a political tool. While some displays of anger were almost certainly entirely unintentional or wholly performative, this case study suggests that the most effective instances of *ira regis* were both.

MEGHAN WOOLLEY received a Masters degree in Medieval History from the University of St Andrews and is currently completing a PhD in History at Duke University. Her research interests focus on the intersections of emotions, ritual and politics in the High Middle Ages, particularly in twelfth-century England.

The Power of Rulers, Fear and the Future: the Story of King Saul in the Later Seventeenth Century

CHARLES ZIKA

The University of Melbourne

In 1692 a long and curious pamphlet, *Saul at Endor, or the Ghost of the Marquiss de Louvois Consulted by the French King*, was circulating through Europe in German, French and English. It was a biting satire that related how the modern-day Saul, Louis XIV, visited a woman skilled in the black art of necromancy, the servant of a Madam Voisin, the fortune teller and poisoner executed for witchcraft by Louis himself 12 years earlier. Louis's intention was to discern his future from the ghost of the Marquis de Louvois, his minister of war who had died suddenly the year before.

This undocumented pamphlet testifies to the ways witchcraft was appropriated to de-legitimise and instil hostility towards Catholic rulers in England and France in the second half of the seventeenth

century, especially after the Popish Plot and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But it also opens up questions about the potency of fear and knowledge of the future by those who hold power. The paper will explore these issues in the context of a world still firmly embedded in a cosmos dominated by competing supernatural forces. It will also analyse the temporalities of fear evident in this story, such as the critical role played by both anticipation and memory. Anticipation drives the action, while memory is rejected or ignored, a significant element that points to the story's powerful political message.

CHARLES ZIKA is a Professorial Fellow and Chief Investigator in the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at The University of Melbourne. His interests lie in the intersection of religion, emotion, visual culture and print in early modern Europe. He is co-editor (with Jenny Spinks) of *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse, 1400-1700* (Palgrave, 2016) and author of *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Routledge, 2007). Recent articles explore apocalyptic time, emotion and disaster in sixteenth-century pamphlets, Sabbath rituals and ridicule in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century prints.