

## PREFACE

*Angelos Chaniotis and Pierre Ducrey*

The idea for this volume was born in Gare du Nord, in Paris, in 2006, when Pierre Ducrey, then Treasurer of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (CISH) and member of the Programme Committee of the *21st CISH International Congress of Historical Sciences*, and Angelos Chaniotis, then Senior Research Fellow for Classics at All Souls College, were looking for a theme for a panel dedicated to ancient history in the forthcoming Congress – a congress that covers all historical disciplines, all periods, and all regions of the world. The subject of emotions immediately appealed to us as a subject that both reflects current trends in ancient history and classics and opens possibilities for a dialogue among the historical disciplines. The CISH Programme Committee first accepted it as ‘Round Table’, to upgrade it later to a ‘Specialised Theme’, due to the importance of the subject and the rich content of the proposed program. The proposal was finally accepted in the CISH General Assembly at Beijing, in September 2008.

In the meantime (June 2008), Chaniotis received a grant from the European Research Council for the project ‘The Social and Cultural Construction of Emotions: the Greek Paradigm’ (University of Oxford, 2009–2013).<sup>1</sup> This grant provided the funds for the organisation of the Table Ronde ‘Emotions as Historical Factor’, which took place during the *21st CISH International Congress of Historical Sciences* in Amsterdam (26 August, 2010). Ten scholars from Greece, Finland, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the USA presented papers and contributed to the discussion.

The majority of the chapters in the present volume were originally written for that Table Ronde (by Douglas Cairns, Angelos Chaniotis, Jane Masségia, Teresa Morgan, Katariina Mustakallio, Maria Patera, and Onno van Nijf). In order to provide a representative sample of approaches to emotions in Greece and Rome by historians, philologists, archaeologists, and art historians, the organisers solicited more contributions – having no illusion that a single volume could ever comprehensively cover the subject. Several contributors to this volume were recipients of scholarships through the Oxford project or participated in workshops organised by the project (Olympia Bobou, Douglas Cairns, Nikoletta Kanavou, Daniel King, Jane Masségia, Lene Rubinstein, and Melina Tamiolaki).

As already said, this volume does not comprehensively cover all aspects of emotions in Greece, Rome, and the Roman Empire, although it comprises a representative sample of sources (Greek and Latin historiography, oratory, and poetry,

1 See <http://emotions.classics.ox.ac.uk>.

inscriptions, medical treatises, archaeological sources, and personal names), methods (analysis of texts and language, iconology, study of skeletal remains), emotions (anger, grief, pride, fear, and joy), and themes that range from emotional arousal, the study of emotional communities, the interdependence of status and emotional expression, the description of emotional episodes in historiography, and the physiological aspects of emotions to ancient discourses of emotion, the interdependence of funerary ritual and emotion, the difficulties in reconstructing the emotional background of child burials, and the question of whether trust was experienced as an emotion. This volume continues the *problematique* explained in the volume *Unveiling Emotions: Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World* (edited by Angelos Chaniotis in the same series). Four introductory essays in that volume describe the problems connected with the study of emotions in papyri, inscriptions, literary texts, and archaeological sources. Further essays discuss case studies. The chapters in this volume should be understood as approaches to further case studies and types of sources.

The editorial work for this volume received valuable help from the research assistants of the Oxford project, Dr Harriet Archer, Emily Lord-Kambitsch, Dr Jonah Rosenberg, and Katharine Waterfield, who proofread the volume and corrected the English of the contributors who are not native speakers. Michael Anthony Fowler (Columbia University), Chaniotis' research assistant at the Institute for Advanced Study, translated the chapter written by Maria Patera. The editors are also very grateful to Harald Schmitt (Steiner Verlag) for his assistance in technical aspects of the volume's production.

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# APPROACHING EMOTIONS IN GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

## An Introduction

*Angelos Chaniotis and Pierre Ducrey*

In Ismail Kadare's novel *Aksidenti (The Accident)* an Albanian analyst employed by the European Council and an Albanian woman working in the Archaeological Institute in Vienna are killed in a car accident in Austria under unclear circumstances. The authorities are puzzled about this accident, which may not have been an accident after all. Above all they are puzzled about the relationship between the man and the woman. Despite the fact that they have access to their correspondence and other documents and that they interview friends, acquaintances, and the individuals who had observed them in their last days, they ultimately cannot say whether it was love that brought them together. An independent researcher continues the search for truth, connecting it with the question of whether love truly exists. In order to answer these questions, he reconstructs the last forty weeks of the couple's lives and presents this reconstruction in a narrative, in which the man's and the woman's perspectives alternate. He finds out – or so he thinks – that nothing was as it seemed. As Akira Kurosawa's *Rashomon* can be seen as an essay on the subjective nature of historical accounts, Kadare's novel addresses the limited possibilities of an observer to understand the emotions of others. Therefore, it addresses the question of whether historians can study emotions.

'Yes, we can!' is the response given by an increasing number of historians in the last decades.<sup>1</sup> The study of emotions has emerged as one of the most dynamic subjects of historical research. Emotions hold a strong position in ancient studies as well, for more than a decade.<sup>2</sup> The question no longer is whether students of classical antiquity should consider emotions in their research. As there is hardly any ancient text or image that does not directly or indirectly originate in emotions, reveals emotions, or seeks to arouse emotions, classicists have no other choice but to attempt to reconstruct the emotional background of their sources. War is a case in point. War ranks high up among the factors that influenced political and social institutions, and left its imprint on art, literature, and culture,<sup>3</sup> thus allowing us to measure the role and importance of feelings, both collective and individual. Euro-

1 Hitzer 2011; Plamper 2012.

2 For an overview see Chaniotis 2012b.

3 E.g., Ducrey 1985 [2009]; Raaflaub and Rosenstein (eds.) 1999; Chaniotis 2005.

pean literature begins with emotional and emotive images of war in the *Iliad* and the poetry of Archilochos, and scenes of battles and the sack of cities inspired artists from the beginning of Greek visual art, in Mycenaean painting and stone-carving. The scene in the *Iliad*, in which Achilles kills innumerable Trojans thus provoking the anger of the river Skamandros, who threatens to drown him (21.214–273), could not have left an ancient audience unmoved, and a similar emotive power stems from a relief jar from Mykonos (c. 670 BCE).<sup>4</sup> Achaean warriors are shown seizing infants from the arms of their mothers and cutting them in two with their huge swords. In scenes such as this – or as the representations of the Sack of Troy on an amphora by the Kleophrades Painter (c. 500 BCE; see p. 275 figure 2) – we can make plausible assumptions concerning the emotions expected to be aroused: fear and empathy. The same emotions later prevail in dramatic performances – for instance, in the way Euripides illustrated the fate of captured women and children after the fall of Troy in his *Trojan Women*, probably with the destruction of Melos by the Athenians in mind (416 BCE). References to audience responses are rare but, when they exist, they are telling. When Phrynichos presented the destruction of Miletos by the Persians (494 BCE) on the tragic stage, he moved the audience to tears. The poet was fined one thousand drachmas for having reminded the Athenians of their misfortunes, and the production of this drama was subsequently forbidden (Herodotos 6.21). War is connected with the whole range of emotional responses: fear of death and defeat; hope, joy, and pride for victory; contempt for the enemy, and gratitude for the successful leader; grief for the dead and affection among comrades; desire for booty and envy for the more fortunate or privileged. For this reason, Greek and Roman historical narratives of war cannot be dissociated from descriptions of emotional backgrounds and emotional responses.<sup>5</sup> Analogous observations can be made with regard to most aspects of ancient public life, whether this is the popular assembly of a Greek city or the Roman senate, an Athenian or Roman court, the funeral of a public figure, the celebration of a festival, or the *adventus* of an emperor.<sup>6</sup>

The question, therefore, clearly cannot be whether ancient historians and classicists should approach emotions but with what questions they should do so. The nature of their sources<sup>7</sup> sets certain limits to their quest. They cannot directly study neurobiological processes, and only in some well-documented cases they

4 Erwin 1963.

5 E.g., Thucydides 3.36.4–6; 3.49.1; 5.84–116; 7.29.5; 7.86.5; Livy 31.24.3. Emotional aspects in the description of sieges: Chaniotis 2013, 451–454. See also, in this volume, pp. 15–52 (Xenophon), 53–84 (Hellenistic historians), and 273–311 (Greek art).

6 Emotions in the interaction of the Roman elite: Kaster 2005. Emotional aspects of festivals: Chaniotis 2011. See also, in this volume, pp. 351–368 (the assembly as an emotional community), 215–235 (pride in the Roman elite interaction), and 237–250 (display of grief in Rome).

7 Overviews of the sources and the methodological problems connected with their study: Kotsifou 2012 (papyri); Chaniotis 2012c (inscriptions); Sanders 2012 (literary sources); Masségli 2012 (archaeological sources). For the variety and heterogeneity of the source material see also the contributions in Munteanu (ed.) 2011.

may have access to psychological reactions or to the physiological/somatic aspects of emotion.<sup>8</sup> But they do have access to the external stimuli that generated emotions. They also have information concerning the various factors that determine the manifestation of emotions. In the context of Greek and Roman history and culture the study of emotions primarily means the study of representations and displays. How were emotions and feelings observed and described in literary sources? How were emotions displayed, concealed, or restrained?<sup>9</sup> How were emotions evaluated in intellectual discourses?<sup>10</sup> What means were used for the arousal of emotions and the creation of emotional communities?<sup>11</sup> How were emotions exploited in persuasion strategies in political life, in the court, in diplomacy, and in interpersonal relations? How were emotional norms (or ‘emotional regimes’) constructed and transmitted?<sup>12</sup> Were certain historical periods dominated by a particular emotion or specific attitudes towards emotions? Consequently, the study of emotions in Greek and Roman history and culture means first and foremost the study of contexts of communication and of emotional communities. But it also entails the study of those parameters that determined the arousal, manifestation, and representation of emotions in text, image, and material culture. Such parameters vary, ranging from gender, age, and education to hierarchical relations, religion, ideology, and values.<sup>13</sup>

The essays assembled in this volume address many of the above questions. The sequence in which the chapters are presented in the volume does not reflect manifold links among them. Such links concern types of sources (historiography: Chaniotis and Tamiolaki; the visual arts: Bobou, Masséglià, and Mustakallio), particular emotions (fear: Cairns and Patera; grief: Bourbou, King, and Mustakallio), approaches (linguistic expression and metaphors: Cairns, Morgan, and van Nijf), subjects (emotional arousal: Chaniotis and Rubinstein; emotional display: Chaniotis and Mustakallio; intellectual discourse: King and Patera; funerary rituals: Bourbou and Mustakallio; public oratory: Rubinstein and van Nijf; social relations and value systems: Baraz, Morgan, Masséglià, and Patera), and timeframes (the Hellenistic period: Boubou, Chaniotis, and Masséglià; the Late Republic and the early Imperial period: Baraz and Morgan).

In the field of the literary representation of emotions, Melina Tamiolaki attributes to Xenophon a series of innovations, especially a strong interest in vivid descriptions and in the narration of emotional episodes combined with the use of a more diversified vocabulary (pp. 15–52). For Xenophon emotions served as a medium that enhanced his reader’s understanding of historical events. The part

8 See the study of shudder by Douglas Cairns in this volume (pp. 85–107).

9 On the restraint of emotion see Harris 2001 and Kalimtzis 2012 (anger); cf. Maria Patera’s observations on the rationalisation of fear (pp. 108–112, 117–119, 123–131 in this volume).

10 E.g., Sihvola and Engberg-Pedersen 1998; Knuuttila 2004; Konstan 2006; Zaborowski 2012.

11 On the concept of emotional community see Rosenwein 2006 and Onno van Nijf in this volume (pp. 351–368); see also Chaniotis 2011 and forthcoming.

12 On ‘emotional regime’ see Reddy 2001 and Onno van Nijf in this volume (pp. 351–368).

13 Gender and emotion: Munteanu (ed.) 2011; cf. pp. 237–250 in this volume.

played by emotions in the interaction between historians and their readers is also discussed by Angelos Chaniotis, who focuses on the arousal of empathy in Hellenistic historiography (pp. 53–84). A different aspect of emotional arousal is the subject of Lene Rubinstein (pp. 135–165). As she explains, the presentation of images of vulnerability in Attic court speeches aimed to provoke the pity of the jurors toward the victim and their anger against the defendant; emotional arousal was a persuasion strategy. Persuasion strategies are intrinsically connected with values. An instructive example for the connection between values and emotions is treated by Yelena Baraz (pp. 215–235), who places pride in the context of Roman society, a society obsessed with status. A mismatch between a man's sense of self-worth and his assessment by his community leads to social tensions and excessive behaviours that may range from mockery to violence. These tensions were addressed by the discourse on pride in Roman society in the Late Republic and the early Imperial period. Social values are also reflected by personal names, a small group of which is examined by Nikoletta Kanavou (pp. 167–189). Kanavou observes that words denoting negative emotions were used for the composition of names that expressed the wish that an individual may remain free of a negative emotion or arouse it in his opponents.

Communication is the primary aim of emotional display in the ritual of lament in Roman culture, the subject of Katariina Mustakallio's contribution (pp. 237–250). Changes in mourning rituals from the Republic to the early Principate, in particular the gradual expansion of public mourning and demonstrations of grief for members of the elite, are an instructive example for the dynamic character of emotional display and the impact of social, institutional, and cultural changes on the 'emotional regimes'. A different 'emotional regime', that of the Greek city in the Imperial period, is approached by Onno van Nijf (pp. 351–368). Using the concept of the emotional community (see note 11) as a heuristic tool, he shows the political significance of emotional metaphors in the negotiations between citizens and elite, and in political life.

The importance of metaphor and metonymy has often been emphasised in studies on emotions;<sup>14</sup> it also is the focus of Douglas Cairns' chapter (pp. 85–107). With the somatic symptoms of fear and the Greek term φόβη as his starting points, Cairns explains how the designation of a symptom (shudder) comes to function as a name of the related emotion. Thus, he establishes a continuity between emotions as physical experiences and emotional concepts as linguistic and cultural categories. Linguistic expression is also the subject of Teresa Morgan, who explores the social value of trust (*pistis*, *fides*) in Greek and Roman culture and in early Christianity (pp. 191–214). Although trust is not an emotion, *pistis* and *fides* are invoked in ancient texts in terms indistinguishable from those used for emotions, sharing with emotions the same psychosomatic locations. In these passages *pistis* and *fides* function as emotive signals expected to arouse emotions.

<sup>14</sup> See Theodoropoulou 2012, with further bibliography.

Maria Patera surveys diverse attitudes towards emotions in Greek sources (pp. 109–133): the rationalisation and control of fear, the instrumentalisation of fear in the political life, for instance in Sparta and Rome, and the association of fear with age (childhood), gender, culture, and education. The perception of emotions has traditionally been studied with the help of philosophical treatises, especially the work of Aristotle. Daniel King's study of the construction of grief in the work of Galen (pp. 251–272) shows the necessity to combine the study of philosophical treatises with that of other sources, in order to understand how perceptions of emotion developed in intellectual circles and were diffused beyond them.

The historical context of the representation of emotions in Greek art is discussed in three essays. Olympia Bobou (pp. 273–311) identifies specific markers for the representation of emotions (body language, facial expressions) and studies their evolution from the late Archaic to the late Hellenistic period. The display of emotions and emotionality were determined by a variety of factors, such as the identity of the figures (mythological, divine, human), age, and gender. The importance of status is stressed by Jane Masségli (pp. 313–330), who explores how emotional expression in Hellenistic art correlated with the status of the individual depicted but also with the place in which works of sculpture were set up. While emotional restraint was connected with elite status and education, especially in honorific statues, low-status figures, whose statues did not have this honorary function, visibly show emotions.

The study of emotions in antiquity requires the full exploitation of the source material – beyond the 'usual suspects', that is, philosophy and drama (see note 7). In this volume, the range of sources – literary sources (historiography, medical authors, Greek and Latin poetry and oratory), inscriptions, and the visual arts – is complemented with a study that approaches the difficult question of whether the emotional background of material culture can be reconstructed. With skeletal remains of infants and children as her starting point, Chrysa Bourbou explains both the difficulties in studying the emotional context of children burials but also the possibilities opened by new developments in bioarchaeology (pp. 331–350).

To understand emotions as a historical phenomenon means to study the impact of specific historical conditions on the manifestations of emotions in texts, images, and in material culture. This be done both with diachronic surveys of sources (pp. 85–133, 191–214), and with the study of particular contexts, such as those of the Hellenistic world, the late Roman Republic, and the Imperial period. We hope that the variety of approaches, sources, and subjects assembled in this volume endorses a statement made in the volume *Unveiling Emotions*:<sup>15</sup>

Historians have to study emotions, because emotions have shaped all the source material that they have at their disposal. Therefore, the ancient historian does not only – perhaps not even primarily – study texts in order to understand emotions. It is far more urgent for an ancient historian to study emotions in order to understand texts.

15 Chaniotis 2012b, 23.

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