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# Introduction: War and Emotion in early modern Europe

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## ABSTRACT

*Since the 1980s, the history of emotions has developed rapidly. Some even speak of a real emotional turn. However, military history and the history of emotions still intersect little in early modern history studies. Since Antiquity, the emotions of soldiers have certainly been regarded as an objective parameter of war, and the role of emotions in the war context seems obvious. However the military history of modern Europe is still not very open to the concepts and methods of the history of emotions which, quite often, does not study war. Yet the history of emotions suggests fruitful avenues for renewing military history, and the study of war, omnipresent between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, is crucial to understand early modern societies.*

Since Peter and Carol Stearns' work in the 1980s, the history of emotions has developed rapidly. There are now a host of concepts, methodologies and a rich historiography. The recent publication of a number of syntheses, textbooks and handbooks bears witness to the coming-of-age of this field.<sup>1</sup>

The jury is however still out on the existence of a true 'emotional turn'. The development of the history of emotions has certainly produced a 'revolution in how we approach affectivity, as well as in its status.'<sup>2</sup> Historians have made considerable efforts to define the field and adopt the concepts developed by sociologists, psychologists and cultural anthropologists. In this regard, the works of Peter and Carol

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<sup>1</sup>See for example Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions. An Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What is the history of emotions?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018).

<sup>2</sup>Piroska Nagy, 'Les émotions et l'historien: de nouveaux paradigmes', *Critique*, 716-717, 1, (2007), p. 10.

Stearns, William Reddy and Barbara Rosenwein have been fundamental.<sup>3</sup> They have challenged many of the binaries established over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which impeded a historical approach to emotions. Two dichotomies of note were reason and emotion as well as the biological-cultural opposition regarding the origins of emotions. The approach of these scholars underlined the role of society in the construction of affect, which reintroduced the notion of rationality in the expression of emotions and the link between emotion and intentionality – that is to say, the insistence on a dimension of appraisal in the evaluation of external stimuli rather than viewing affective processing as raw, unsignified, subconscious, and beyond human will.<sup>4</sup> They also called into question the opposition between individuals and communities which resulted, at least in part, in the notions of ‘emotional regime’ and ‘emotional community’, and which drew attention to emotional behaviours and norms.<sup>5</sup> The adoption of the model of constructivism, largely inspired by anthropology, not only included emotions in the field of history, but overturned the linear and Eurocentric models of Johan Huizinga and Norbert Elias, who tell the story of modernity as of increasing self-mastering affect control.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Their notions of ‘emotional styles’ or ‘emotionologies’, ‘emotional regimes’, and of ‘emotional communities’ are now key concepts in the history of emotions. Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, ‘Emotionology. Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards’, *The American Historical Review*, 90, 4, (1985), pp. 813-830. William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, (Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 2006).

<sup>4</sup>Rom Harré (ed.), *The Social Construction of Emotions*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Bernard Rimé, *Le partage social des émotions*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005). More recently see Ruth Leys’ works, such as *The Ascent of Affect: Genealogy and Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017). For a more complete bibliography of studies from the field of social constructivism, such as those of Michelle Z. Rosaldo, Catherine Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, see in particular Catherine Lutz, ‘The anthropology of emotions’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15, (1986), pp. 405-436. For bibliographic guidelines, see Pirooska Nagy, ‘Les émotions et l’historien’, pp. 10-22.

<sup>5</sup>Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 129; Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, transl. by R. J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996 [1932]); Norbert Elias, *On the Process of Civilisation*, ed. by Stephen Mennell; transl. by Edmund Jephcott, (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2012 [1939]). For a critique of this model, see Rosenwein, ‘Worrying about Emotions in History’; and ‘Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions’, *Passions in Context: International Journal for the History and Theory of Emotions* [online journal], 1 (2010). For a more recent critique, see Damien Boquet and Laurent Smaghe, ‘L’émotion comme désir de vie’, in Élodie Lecuppre (ed.), ‘Le

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Since the early 2000s, the institutionalisation of the history of emotions has become manifest.<sup>7</sup> Institutions and centres for research have been established,<sup>8</sup> along with specialised journals<sup>9</sup> and several collaborative projects.<sup>10</sup> Such momentum is an essential component in the construction and recognition of any field of research. The multiplication of *handbooks* and collections dedicated to the history of emotions in numerous university publishing houses is further evidence of these new transformations.<sup>11</sup>

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*goût du sang et des roses*. *Relire L'Automne du Moyen Âge de Johan Huizinga aujourd'hui*, (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2019), pp. 205-223.

<sup>7</sup>Gabrielle Spiegel and Christian Delacroix proposed studying historiographic turning points by observing the transformations of the three components of the 'historiographic operation' described by Michel de Certeau and Paul Ricoeur: the '*lieu social*' (i.e. the institutions and positions of power), the '*pratique*' (i.e. the analytical procedures, the conceptual resources and the mobilised sources), and the way in which we write history. See Gabrielle Spiegel, 'Réviser le passé/revisiter le présent', *Littérature*, 159, (2010), pp. 3-25. Christian Delacroix, 'Écoles, paradigmes, tournants, ruptures: les embarras de la périodisation en historiographie', *Atala Cultures et sciences humaines*, Vol.17, (2014), pp. 219-231, here p. 221. See also Michel de Certeau, *L'Écriture de l'histoire*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), pp. 7-23 and pp. 63-120; and Paul Ricoeur, *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*, (Paris: Éd. du Seuil, 2000), p. 169.

<sup>8</sup>To name but a few: Max Planck Institut für Bildungsforschung de Berlin, the Queen Mary Centre for the History of Emotions of London, the Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions of Perth, and the *Émotions au Moyen Âge* (Emma) project in France.

<sup>9</sup>See, for example, the online journals *Emotion Review* <http://emr.sagepub.com>; *Emotions: History, Culture, Society* <https://brill.com/view/journals/ehcs/ehcs-overview.xml>, Accessed 30 March 2020, and *Emotions and Society* <https://bristoluniversitypress.co.uk/journals/emotions-and-society>, Accessed 30 March 2020. For France, cf. *Sensibilités. Histoire, Critique et Sciences Sociales* <https://anamosa.fr/les-revues/>, Accessed 30 March 2020.

<sup>10</sup>See, for example, the recent publication in six volumes edited by Andrew Lynch, Susan Broomhall and Jane W. Davidson on the *Cultural History of the Emotions*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 6 vol.; and the French publication edited by Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine and Georges Vigarello, *Histoire des émotions*, (Paris: Seuil, 2016-2017), 3 vol.

<sup>11</sup>See, for example, Jan Stets and Jonathan H. Turner (ed.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions*, (New York: Springer, 2008); Peter Goldie (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Lisa Feldman Barrett, Michael Lewis and Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, *Handbook of Emotions*, (New York: Guilford Press, 2010); Susan Broomhall and Andrew Lynch, *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe, 1100-1700*, (Abingdon & New York: Routledge, 2019).

The traditional opposition between emotions and their expression in historical documentation has led to profound reflection on the sources, methods and concepts used to interpret them, which makes it possible to overcome this original duality.<sup>12</sup> William Reddy considers language not as an « intermediary », but as co-constitutive of the emotional experience, which is considered to be a product of society, emotional expression and individual sentiments. Jan Plamper questions the very idea that the representation of an experience can be separated from an historical point of view. The need to pay attention to language mediation, to compare sources and situate them within specific contexts, social environments and normative systems is not peculiar to the history of emotions nor to twenty-first-century historiography in general. The focus on the gap between representation and reality is more generally in line with the work of historians of representation, for whom it has become a subject of study in itself.<sup>13</sup> The introduction of the emotional paradigm has not changed the way history is written either. The self-awareness essential to historians (and to the humanities in general) has become the norm since the linguistic turn – or, in France, the '*tournant critique*' of the *Annales* – of the 1980s, and the close interrelationship between emotion, truth and evidence-building in history has been widely acknowledged.

Yet history has demonstrated that the prism of emotions contributes to a better understanding of how the concepts of power, class and ethnicity relate to each other. It has also offered important insight into the effect of emotion on behaviours and reactions, and the way in which political, religious, familial and military institutions sought to control or regulate them. Emotional control was indeed an important issue for military officers, not only in their exercise of authority, but also as a tactical, operational and strategic issue.

Many important issues still require debate and further research.<sup>14</sup> The role of nature and culture in the emotional experience is one in particular. If constructivism has

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<sup>12</sup>These points are all the more essential considering how language determines experience, and that the expression of emotions resulting from norms, practices and social taboos as much as from rational intentionalities.

<sup>13</sup>Roger Chartier, 'Le monde comme représentation', *Annales. ESC*, Vol.44, (1989), pp.1505-1520; Carlo Ginzburg, 'Représentation: le mot, l'idée, la chose', *Annales ESC*, Vol.46, (1991), pp. 1219-1234.

<sup>14</sup>These issues have been highlighted in Quentin Deluermoz, Emmanuel Fureix, Hervé Mazurel and M'hamed Oualdi, 'Écrire l'histoire des émotions: de l'objet à la catégorie d'analyse', *Revue d'histoire du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Vol.47, (2013), pp. 155-189. On tensions and debates which continue to preoccupy the history of emotions see also Piroska Nagy, 'History of Emotions', in Marek Tamm and Peter Burke (ed.), *Debating New Approaches to History*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), pp. 189-215.

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allowed for emotions to become a field of historical study, it has its limits, and the danger of descending into relativism is but one. It is for this reason that William Reddy considered emotion as only partly acquired.<sup>15</sup> This suggestion holds promise especially for military history as it takes into account the contributions of cognitive and historical studies as well as the irreducible role of biology in human reactions.<sup>16</sup>

The inescapable mediation of the narrative has become an object of research, and the expression of the emotional experience a means to observe the norms, representations, and social usages of emotions. The scale at which emotional norms hold sway, however, is still under discussion among specialists. It is not so much a question of personal versus collective emotions. Today, many scholars of emotions consider them to be deeply relational.<sup>17</sup> But at what level should emotions be studied:

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<sup>15</sup>William M. Reddy, 'Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions', *Current Anthropology*, 38, (1997), pp. 327-351; and *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. xi. He also argued, as does Jan Plamper, that the dichotomy of 'acquired' and 'natural' is unproductive and itself a product of the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century.

<sup>16</sup>Four main perspectives – Darwinian, Jamesian, cognitive, and socio-constructivist – have emerged regarding the interpretation of the relationships between body and emotions, and between practice and the expression of emotions. Each proposes a way to define, study, and explain emotions, which carries implications for our understanding of the nature, causes, and consequences of emotion – and ultimately, human nature. Recent advances in anthropology and neuroscience have led to a finer understanding of the biosocial and biocultural construction of emotions, raising questions about the traditional perception of the relationship between the emotions and the body and challenging Eckman's theory of affect. Cf. Armelle Nugier, 'Histoire et grands courants de recherche sur les émotions', *Revue électronique de Psychologie Sociale*, 4 (2009), pp. 8-14 [<http://RePS.psychologie-sociale.org/>]. Today, the link between conscious (words, gestures, facial expressions) and unconscious (blush) body expressions and emotions is made by emphasizing the internalisation of social norms which are expressed both in words and in language. Boddice, *The history of Emotions*, pp. 106-131; and Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory*, 49 (2010), pp. 237-265.

<sup>17</sup>The cognitive approach as applied to the collective considers that emotional reactions are based on an individual's belonging to, and identification with, a social group and as a motive for action. Eliot R. Smith, 'Social Identity and Social Emotions: Toward New Conceptualizations of Prejudice', in D. M. Mackie and D. L. Hamilton (ed.), *Affect, Cognition, and Stereotyping: Interactive Processes in Group Perception*, (San Diego: Academic Press, 1993), pp. 297-315; 'Affective and Cognitive Implications of a Group Becoming Part of the Self: New Models of Prejudice and of the Self-Concept', in Dominic Abrams and Michael Hogg (ed.), *Social Identity and Social Cognition*, (Oxford:

that of the individual, considering that each person experiences events differently; that of 'emotional communities', from the family nucleus to very large social groups (the Christian community for example); or that of 'emotional regimes' (which can encompass entire societies)? If Rosenwein's and Reddy's models allow for changes in scale and for multiple belongings, the way in which individuals navigate the emotional regimes of the groups to which they belong remains to be explored. This therefore raises the problem of classifying individuals in a single community. The boundaries between communities are often porous; each individual is situated at a crossroads between many social, religious and professional communities, which are themselves heterogeneous and subject to major tensions.<sup>18</sup> Once again, the problems of taxonomy are not limited to the history of emotions or even to historians themselves.

One key issue remains to be discussed: how does an individual emotion become a collective experience?<sup>19</sup> If historians recognise the importance of group influence, and not only in modern armies, the communication and amplification of emotions, and the means with which they propagate from the individual to the collective are still poorly understood.<sup>20</sup> Their propagation depends on specific dynamics which cannot be reduced to the sum of individual emotions, and which remain to be explored.<sup>21</sup> Recent studies in history have nevertheless shown the fertility of the notion of understanding affective cultures through an *emic* and anthropological approach to words, gestures and iconographic representations of emotions.<sup>22</sup> They explore not only whether

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Blackwell, 1999); and Ruth Leys, 'The Turn to Affect: A Critique', *Critical Inquiry*, 37 (2011), pp. 434-472.

<sup>18</sup>Bernard Lahire, *L'homme pluriel: les ressorts de l'action*, (Paris: Nathan, 1998).

<sup>19</sup>Cf. the workshop organised by Piroska Nagy, *Emporté par la foule. Histoire des émotions collectives: épistémologie, émergences, expériences*, February 7, 2020 at the Université du Québec à Montréal.

<sup>20</sup>On the difficulties involved in the notion of collective emotions see for example Piroska Nagy, 'History of Emotions', in Marek Tamm and Peter Burke (ed.), *Debating New Approaches to History*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), pp. 189-215. For different approaches in sociology or philosophy see Deborah B. Gould, *Moving politics: emotion and ACT up's fight against AIDS*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009); Christian von Scheve and Mikko Salmela (ed.), *Collective Emotions. Perspectives from Psychology, Philosophy and Sociology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Mikko Salmela, 'Can Emotions be Collective?', in Andrea Scarantino (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Emotion Theory*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

<sup>21</sup>Gustave Le Bon, *Psychologie des foules*, (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1895), pp. 18-20. On his reflections, see Vincent Rubio, 'Psychologie des foules, de Gustave le Bon. Un savoir d'arrière-plan', *Sociétés*, 100, 2, (2008), pp. 79-89.

<sup>22</sup>The works of Gustave Le Bon are now much debated because of their universalist vision of collective emotion, and their emotional and irrational conception of crowds.

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societies in the past viewed emotions as collective, but also their understanding, appreciation and meaning. These studies question contemporary representations of crowds, mobilization and political action, and the perception of how situations escaped the control of the authorities. They highlight what is at stake in crowd discourse and in the narration of episodes of collective emotion. They study the phenomena of contagion, and the effectiveness of collective emotion which leads to action. In doing so, they rehabilitate the action of the people and the conscious capacity of a crowd to act on the world.<sup>23</sup> Other recent studies in neuroscience and in social psychology on suggestion and rumour propagation, contamination of eyewitness testimony, and memory distortion open up interesting perspectives.<sup>24</sup> The notions of suggestion, psychosocial contagion, and the psychosocial model have been used in particular to understand the cultural and social construction of representations and the way in which legends and mass illusions begin and spread, but also ‘fake’ news, false memories and the contagion of witness testimonies.<sup>25</sup> They are of particular interest for the

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On this conception at the turn of the nineteenth century, see Susanna Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors: Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-century France*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); Jaap van Ginneken, *Crowds, Psychology, and Politics, 1871-1899*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Damien Bouquet and Piroska Nagy, ‘Una storia diversa delle emozioni’, *Rivista storica italiana*, 128/2, (2016), pp. 481-520.

<sup>23</sup>Georges Lefebvre, *La grande peur de 1789*, (Paris: Armand Colin, 1932); Christian Borch, *The Politics of Crowds: An Alternative History of Sociology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Sophie Wahnich, ‘Émotions et ambition démocratique: la contribution de l’approche historique’, in Alain Faure and Emmanuel Négrier (ed.), *La politique à l’épreuve des émotions*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017), pp. 251-260; Piroska Nagy, ‘Collective Emotions, History Writing and Change: The Case of the Pataria (Milan, eleventh Century)’, *Emotions: History, Culture, Society*, 2, (2018), pp. 132-152.

<sup>24</sup>These studies focus on how ideas are formed and propagated, seeking to clarify what happens between perception and feeling. They take into consideration that ‘the emotional meaning of situations’ depends on the ‘abilities’ and ‘evaluation’ of individuals, and can therefore be ‘biased’ by culture, beliefs and context. Nugier, ‘Histoire et grands courants’.

<sup>25</sup>Christopher C. French, Anna Stone, *Anomalistic psychology: Exploring Paranormal Belief and Experience*, (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Brigitte Axelrad, *Les ravages des faux souvenirs ou La mémoire manipulée*, (Sophia-Antipolis: Éd. Book-e-book, 2010); Elisabeth Loftus and Katherine Ketcham, *Witness for the Defense: The Accused, the Eyewitness, and the Expert Who Puts Memory on Trial*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991). See also Louis Crocq, ‘Les paniques collectives: histoire, structure clinique, statut nosographique, étio-pathogénie et traitement’, in *LXXXIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès de psychologie et neurologie de langue française, compte rendu*, (Paris: Masson,



history of riots and the effect of panic on crowd movements, and especially so for military historians.

The history of emotions has, incidentally, developed along quite disparate lines depending on the period or topic of study. Scholars of social movements, riots and revolutions, medicine, women's history, family history, monastic communities, or power and the practices of governing, have all evolved along different avenues of thought.<sup>26</sup> In France, the history of emotions has had a profound impact on medieval studies.<sup>27</sup> A dialogue has recently begun between the French *Histoire des sensibilités* and the History of Emotions. Originally two distinct traditions – the first relied heavily on sociology and kept its distance from the neurosciences – they are increasingly finding common ground in the history of representations, their interest for actors and their perceptions of the world, and the desire to 'make affect a relevant factor in the study of the emotional understanding of past societies'. The recent convergence in France of the history of feelings and the history of emotions results from the desire to unify the 'three levels of affectivity – emotions, feelings and sensory perceptions'.<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, despite Lucien Febvre's early call to action and William Reddy's work, many modern historians are still wary of wading into the emotional realm.<sup>29</sup> Since the

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1986), pp. 180-191; Pat Jalland, *Death in War and Peace: A History of Loss and Grief in England, 1914-1970*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Rob Boddice (ed.), *Pain and Emotion in Modern History*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

<sup>26</sup>For an overview of the very ample historiography on the subject, see the online bibliography of the Perth's Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions ([https://www.zotero.org/groups/300219/che\\_bibliography\\_history\\_of\\_emotions/item/s/order/dateModified/sort/desc](https://www.zotero.org/groups/300219/che_bibliography_history_of_emotions/item/s/order/dateModified/sort/desc)). Accessed 29 March 2020.

<sup>27</sup>See for example Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy (ed.), *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Beauchesne, 2009) and *Sensible Moyen Âge: une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2015); Laurent Smagghe, *Les Émotions du prince. Émotions et discours politique dans l'espace bourguignon*, (Paris: Classique Garnier, 2012); Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy (ed.), *Politiques des émotions au Moyen Âge*, (Firenze: SISMEL-Galluzzo, 2010).

<sup>28</sup>Quentin Deluermoz and Hervé Mazurel, 'L'histoire des sensibilités: un territoire-limite?', *Critical Hermeneutics, Biannual International Journal of Philosophy*, Vol.3, (2019), pp. 125-170.

<sup>29</sup>Notwithstanding this, of note are the pioneering works of Lucien Febvre, 'La sensibilité et l'histoire. Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?', *Annales ESC*, 3 (Janvier-Juin 1941), pp. 221-238; and 'Honneur et Patrie', (Paris: Perrin, 1996); Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Les Amours paysannes (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1975); Jean Delumeau, *Le Pêché et la peur: La culpabilisation en Occident, XIII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, (Paris: Fayard, 1983); Delumeau, *La peur en Occident (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, (Paris: 2013 [1978]);

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decline of the history of mentalities, scholars of early modern history have explored practices and representations but still hesitate to tackle affect, emotions or sentiments. Despite the recent volumes on the history of emotions, edited by Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine and Georges Vigarello<sup>30</sup> few publications and doctoral dissertations expressly mention 'emotion(s)' or 'passion(s)' in their title.<sup>31</sup> This dearth of publications is all the more surprising given the keen interest that philosophers, literary scholars and historians of art have had for the philosophy (Descartes, Spinoza, Hume), rhetoric (Bernard Lamy), poetics (Scaliger), aesthetics (Leibniz, Kant, Burke) and painting (Le Brun, Diderot, Lavater, Winckelmann) of passions.<sup>32</sup> The conference entitled *Émotions en bataille* held at the Université du Québec à Montréal in October 2018 was the first early modern French-language conference exclusively dedicated to

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and Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile. Violence et solidarités à Paris au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Paris: Hachette, 1986). This is less true for the English-speaking world: see Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Early modern Emotions: An Introduction*, (Abingdon & New York: Routledge, 2017).<sup>30</sup>Corbin, Courtine and Vigarello, *Histoire des émotions*. The bibliographical notes for the sections which concern Early Modern history in volumes 1 and 2 are symptomatic of this trend, though the eighteenth century, a period when sentimentalism flourished, seems to be more substantially studied than previous centuries.

<sup>31</sup>The website <https://www.theses.fr>, Accessed: April 2019, identifies only 14 doctoral dissertations in history since 1979 which have 'emotion(s)' (5) or 'passion(s)' (9) in the title. Other dissertations with titles describing 'emotion' in the sense of 'sedition' are also indexed, four of which are in the field of early modern history. See for example Yann Rodier, *Les raisons de la haine. Histoire d'une passion dans la France du premier XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon, 2020). This number is likely far greater as there are many ways of phrasing emotion or passion in titles, not to mention studies which explore the subject despite omitting the words in the title. Nonetheless, this count gives a good idea of the work yet to be done. See Pauline Valade, *Réjouissances monarchiques et joie publique à Paris au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: approbation et interrogation du pouvoir politique par l'émotion (1715-1789)*, (PhD diss., Université de Bordeaux 3, 2016).

<sup>32</sup>To name a few examples: Christian Biet, *Racine, ou la passion de l'âme*, (Paris: Hachette, 1996); Thierry Belleguic, Éric van der Schueren, Sabrina Vervacke, *Les discours de la sympathie: enquête sur une notion de l'âge classique à la modernité*, (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2007); Frédéric Charbonneau, *Mémorialistes français du règne de Louis XV: bibliographie*, (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2011); Lucie Desjardins and Daniel Dumouchel, *Penser les passions à l'âge classique*, (Paris: Hermann, 2012); Syliane Malinowski-Charles, *Affects et conscience chez Spinoza. L'automatisme dans le progrès éthique*, (Hildesheim: G. Olms Verlag, 2004); Anne Régent-Susini, *Bossuet et la rhétorique de l'autorité*, (Paris: H. Champion, 2011); Jean Starobinski, *L'encre de la mélancolie*, (Paris: Seuil, 2012).

the history of emotions.<sup>33</sup> Though numerous, historians were far from the only scholars who participated.

Despite such interest in other fields, publications pertaining to emotions remain scarce in the field of early modern military history, although emotions are omnipresent. Indeed, since Antiquity, the emotions of soldiers have been regarded as an objective parameter of war. In the *Stratagemata*, written at the end of the first century BC, Frontinus dedicated an entire chapter to 'On dispelling fears inspired in soldiers by adverse omens'.<sup>34</sup> In the preceding chapter, he recounted that Agesilaus had stripped Persian soldiers of their terrible war costumes to quell the fear they instilled in his men. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Michel d'Amboise recommended that captains evacuate the fearful, injured or dead from battlefields because 'they caused terrible fright in their companions'.<sup>35</sup> Long before Charles Ardant du Picq's *Étude sur le Combat*, published posthumously in 1880, the humanity of soldiers and its subsequent repercussions on war operations were the focus of military men and war theoreticians, though it was not before the last third of the twentieth century that military historians began working on the subject in earnest.<sup>36</sup> John Keegan is often considered the first to have enquired into the experience of combatants. In *The Face of Battle*, he approached the history of combat from the perspective of soldiers and in terms of human behaviour. The 'emotional and physical environment' of combatants is at the core of his work.<sup>37</sup>

While not detracting from Keegan's important study, it is nonetheless worth noting that over a dozen years earlier, André Corvisier – and Émile Léonard well before him<sup>38</sup> – had already taken an interest in topics such as the moral and affective factors of army enlistment, the sense or denial of duty, violence and the sensibilities of soldiers, as well as living conditions and morale in the French army on the cusp of the eighteenth

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<sup>33</sup>Pascal Bastien, Benjamin Deruelle and Lyse Roy (ed.), *Émotions en bataille, XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Sentiments, sensibilités et communautés d'émotions de la première modernité*, (Paris: Hermann, forthcoming).

<sup>34</sup>Sextus Julius Frontinus, *The Stratagems and the Aqueducts of Rome*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1925), pp. 79, pp. 81-85.

<sup>35</sup> Michel d'Amboise, *L'art et Guidon des Gens de la Guerre*, (Paris: Arnoul l'Angelier, 1552 [1543]), ff. xvii v<sup>o</sup>, xxx v<sup>o</sup>, lxxxv v<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>36</sup>Charles Ardant du Picq, *Étude sur le Combat*, (Paris: Hachette, 1880).

<sup>37</sup>John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976).

<sup>38</sup>Émile Léonard's study remains a benchmark for the history of the French army in the eighteenth century. It focuses on the views of officers and soldiers and their evolution regarding military questions. Émile Léonard, *L'armée et ses problèmes au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Paris: Plon, 1958).

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century.<sup>39</sup> The small group of historians that gravitated around Corvisier and attended the seminar he co-presented with Fernand Gambiez a few years later became attentive to the role of emotions in war. In 1969, André Corvisier, Henry Contamine, Jean Chagniot, Jean-Paul Bertaud, and William Serman, among others, actively took part in an international conference on military history in Paris. They also participated in the 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference on the Historical Sciences in 1970, which dealt with the lives and the psychology of combatants and men of war.<sup>40</sup> This burgeoning new field of history, and the interest in emotions, encouraged further studies on the relationship of soldiers to death, violence and also fear.<sup>41</sup>

Though largely decried in France in the 1930s and in the years following the Second World War,<sup>42</sup> military history once again gained favour with social historians in the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>43</sup> It began foremost as a social history of armies, military institutions and structures, rather than a history of war, operations or combat.<sup>44</sup> In France, the

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<sup>39</sup>André Corvisier, *L'Armée française de la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle au ministère de Choiseul, le soldat*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), p.viii.

<sup>40</sup>David Kostewicz, 'A "Clearing House" for Military Historian: The International Commission of Military History', *Revue internationale d'histoire militaire*, Vol.75, (2013), p. 100.

<sup>41</sup>Cf. Fernand Gambiez, 'La peur et la panique dans l'histoire', dans *Mémoires et communication de la Commission française d'Histoire Militaire*, I, (1970), pp. 91-124; and 'Étude historique des phénomènes de panique', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 20, (1973), pp. 153-166; André Corvisier, 'La mort du soldat depuis la fin du Moyen Âge', *Revue Historique*, 254, (1975), pp. 3-30; and 'Le moral des combattants, panique et enthousiasme: Malplaquet, 11 septembre 1709', *Revue Historique des Armées*, 3, (1977), pp. 7-32; Jean Chagniot, 'Une panique, les Gardes françaises à Dettingen (27 Juin 1743)', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 24, (1977), pp. 78-95.

<sup>42</sup>Though Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, who founded the *Annales*, did not deny the structuring nature of war. Cf. Marc Bloch, *L'Étrange défaite: témoignage écrit en 1940*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1990). War in all its forms was also prominent in Fernand Braudel's second volume of *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, (Paris: A. Colin 1966 [1949]). See esp. chapter VI, vol. 2 'Les formes de la guerre', pp. 164-212, as well as the entire third section, pp. 225-514.

<sup>43</sup>See for example the works of Jean Bérenger and Jean Meyer on the navy; Philippe Contamine on the Middle Ages; Jean Chagniot, Jean-Paul Bertaud and Jean-Pierre Bois on the French Revolution and the eighteenth century.

<sup>44</sup>Regarding this historiography, see Laurent Henninger, 'La nouvelle histoire-bataille', *Espaces Temps*, 71-73 (1999); *De la guerre. Un objet pour les sciences sociales*, pp. 35-46; Catherine Denys, 'La renaissance de l'histoire militaire française pour l'époque moderne: un bilan historiographique (1945-2005)', *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen*

shift began to be truly felt in the decade following, and was driven by studies from English-speaking historians, the 'retour de l'événement' and the development of historical anthropology. George Duby's *Le dimanche de Bouvines* is a model in this genre.<sup>45</sup> Duby used the example of a unique event to expand upon notions of social, political and cultural structures in history. He offered an 'ethnography' of military practice, gestures and symbolism, an anthropology of battle and of its sacred and political aspects, and a reflection on the process of writing history, which determines the fabric of an event and its entry into the annals of history. His work served as a foundation in France for later developments in the field of cultural and anthropological history, which began to turn its attention to the physical and psychological state of combatants, their emotions and sentiments, and to the evolution of military cultures. Seminal studies by Olivier Chaline, Hervé Drévilion and Bernard Gainot are a result of this new impetus.<sup>46</sup>

Currently, the social, political and cultural history of early modern war is being renewed and sustained by a new generation of historians for whom the history of emotions is central to their work.<sup>47</sup> Their studies have been important additions to French historiography since the 2000s and provide a perfect complement to English-

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*Neuzeit, Arbeitskreis Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Vol.11, Iss.1, (2007), pp. 7-23; and for Germany, Ralf Pröve, 'La nouvelle histoire militaire de l'époque moderne en Allemagne', *Revue historique des armées*, 257, (2009), pp. 14-26.

<sup>45</sup> Georges Duby, *Le dimanche de Bouvines*, (Paris: Folio histoire, 2006 [1973]).

<sup>46</sup> Olivier Chaline, *La bataille de la Montagne Blanche (8 novembre 1620). Un mystique chez les guerriers*, (Paris: Noesis, 1999); Hervé Drévilion, *L'impôt du sang. Le métier des armes sous Louis XIV*, (Paris: Tallandier, 2005); and the many articles written by Bernard Gainot. For contemporary history and a study on World War I, see the publications of Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, also of great influence. Cf. *Combattre. Une anthropologie historique de la guerre moderne XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Paris: Seuil, 2008).

<sup>47</sup> To cite but a few, see the recent publications (and the additional bibliographic suggestions contained therein) of Ariane Boltanski, Yann Lagadec and Franck Mercier (ed.), *La bataille, du fait d'armes au combat idéologique*, (XI<sup>e</sup> – XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles), (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014); Marion Trévisi and Laurent Vissière, *Le feu et la folie. L'irrationnel et la guerre de la fin du Moyen Âge à 1920*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016); Benjamin Deruelle and Arnaud Guinier (ed.), *Cultures et identités combattantes en Europe de la guerre de Cent ans à la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2017); and the collection 'L'homme et la guerre' edited by Jean Baechler at Hermann Publishing. My own study, *De Papier de fer et de sang*, considers chivalric sentiment and the role of emotion and social representations in the behaviour of sixteenth-century warrior nobility. *De papier, de fer et de sang: chevaliers et chevalerie à l'épreuve de la modernité (ca. 1460 – ca. 1620)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015).

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language historians who also focus on the psychological aspects of combat. Since John Lynn's internationally recognised 1984 publication on motivation,<sup>48</sup> several other studies have followed, such as by Yuval N. Harari and Ilya Berkovich, as well as the publication edited by Erika Kuijpers and Cornelis Van der Haven.<sup>49</sup> Recent works on the two World Wars, as well as on shell shock and the emergence of military psychiatry also open up interesting perspectives on the issue of the motivation and psychology of soldiers.<sup>50</sup> Though military historians have long been interested in emotions and their behavioural consequences for soldiers, as well as in the tools used by officers and the military institution to manage them, they have scarcely begun to embrace the notions and methods espoused by the field of the history of emotions. And so, to paraphrase John Lynn, this issue of the *British Journal for Military History* is both a call to action for historians of war to embrace the recent contributions of historians of emotion, and an invitation to historians of emotion to engage in the history of war. For, despite the intensity of emotions felt by the men and women who wage and experience war, emotion is still largely absent in studies of early modern war.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>John A. Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic. Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-1794*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984); and *Another Kind of War: The Nature and History of Terrorism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

<sup>49</sup>Yuval Noah Harari, *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450-2000*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Erika Kuijpers and Cornelis van der Haven (ed.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500-1800: Practices, Experience, Imagination*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). See also, Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch and Katrina O'Loughlin, *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

<sup>50</sup>For example, see Mark S. Micale, Paul Lerner et al. (ed.), *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870-1930*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918*, (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Christine G. Krüger and Sonja Levsen (ed.), *War Volunteering in Modern Times: From the French Revolution to the Second World War*, (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Daniel Ussishkin, *Morale: A Modern British History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

<sup>51</sup>The structure and bibliography of the *Histoire des émotions* by Alain Corbin, the recent handbooks by Robb Boddice and Barbara Rosenwein, or *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe* underscore this point. Note an exception in Jan Plamper's article, 'Fear: Soldiers and Emotion in Early Twentieth-Century Russian Military Psychology', *Slavic Review*, 2009 (68-2), pp. 259-283.

Historiography has recently become invested with a renewed interest in individual agency and narrative history. The emotional approach provides us with fertile ground for refining our knowledge of the lives of these men of war, and of how they perceive the world. The notion that emotions are an essential aspect of understanding the combat experience was already at the heart of the shift proposed by John Keegan: adopting the viewpoint of common soldiers rather than that of the senior officers. However, the fact that the written word remained the monopoly of certain social groups places limitations on the study of earlier historical periods. Nonetheless, through the careful examination of written accounts and anecdotes, the methodical analysis of words, gestures, and codes, and the issues that surround the act of writing, we gain an understanding of the everyday experiences of the individual, and of the difficulties as well as the joys of military life. This also contribute to a better understanding of past societies as a whole, and of the complexity of their value systems.

This return to representation of the rules of combat, of the acceptable and the unacceptable, of courage, loyalty and honour, or of fear and suffering, must not, however, isolate the war historian from theoretical debates and the regulations issued by civil and military authorities. On the contrary, they help us to determine whether emotions were considered an objective parameter of war. If this is the case, then understanding how the State, the army and theoreticians – often themselves military professionals during the early modern era – thought about emotions and their relationship to accepted or rejected behaviour – fear, cowardice, anger and melancholy, for example – becomes possible. Their reflections resulted in defined ‘emotional regimes’. Although never perfectly imposed, these regimes reveal how military institutions and theorists attempted to regulate emotions, influence the morale of men and keep control of troops in the emotionally saturated environment of war. The ways in which they conceived emotions also inform us more generally about how they perceived the world. Indeed, naturalistic perceptions in early modern Europe nurtured particular reflection on emotions and conditioned the choices made to contain them as the professionalization of the military corps progressed.

The attention paid by the history of emotions to their performative nature also prompts us to focus on the way in which emotions influence the organisation of social groups and individual or collective actions. They thus invite not only the study of specific emotions and their expression in the military context, but also an understanding of what emotions reveal about military cultures and how they interrelate with those of other social bodies. The history of emotions is a useful tool for rethinking relationships – between combatants, between civilians and combatants, and between civil or military authorities and combatants. For emotions can play a decisive role in war: in the tactical, operational and even strategic use of terror to avoid combat, preserve soldiers and save military resources; in the violence exchanged

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between belligerents, exercised against populations as a reprisal, or present in the act of vengeance; in the tensions between disheartened soldiers and their officers or between warring elites and European monarchies. The emotional approach thus makes it possible to take a fresh look at the experience of war, the motivations and panic movements, or the means used to make an individual or a group take action.

This approach contributes to improving our knowledge of these unique military institutions which were the armies of the early modern age, and which recruited their members from a variety of geographical, social and cultural backgrounds. As a result, they were important centres of cultural exchange where diverse social, linguistic and religious communities rubbed shoulders. The sense of belonging that was created was expressed in ways and according to rationalities which differ greatly from those of contemporary armies. The concept of 'emotional community' is therefore of great use in understanding how military communities were organised, fought against one other or were merged. It sheds light on the interrelationship between the social, political or religious affiliations of the soldiers at a time when states were seeking to impose subjugation and obedience over traditional communities. Finally, it is an addition to the arsenal, one more tool to break with the teleological vision of the genesis of modern states and national armies, which continues in part to fuel nationalism and its myths. Thus, we continue to rehabilitate the study of war as one field of human activity among others.

Not all of the authors featured in this issue are, strictly speaking, military historians. But they propose to meet us halfway and to incorporate the notions and methodologies of the history of emotions into their own reflections on war, violence and international relations. The texts are not exhaustive studies, but they illustrate a variety of situations, sources, topics and historiographic traditions which will prove useful in exploring how the two fields intersect to provide fruitful avenues of future research.

They demonstrate the extent to which the rationalisation and professionalisation – of the Early Modern era in general, and the military profession in particular – made consideration of the emotions troubling the military more urgent. The ideal of mastering one's emotions was an Aristotelian notion carried through from the Middle Ages and reinforced by Neoplatonism and Neostoicism. The evolution in the perception of disorders of the soul and of the body, eventually considered natural even in noblemen, sparked new ways of thought on how they might be channelled. In war especially, more attention was given to managing if not controlling fear, sadness and compassion. This accompanied a redefining of the qualities inherent in the military profession and an affirmation of the need for discipline. A soldier's courage allowed him to confront danger and bear adversity. The detachment from a patient's suffering,



so essential to a good physician, also became a strength. Both were considered prerequisites to martial and therapeutic success.

When placed within their social and historical contexts, emotions reveal their performative power and bring to the forefront the relationship between emotional pragmatism and political, military and human action.<sup>52</sup> The articles in this journal issue prompt us to consider the multiple rationales and tensions at play within individuals so that we may retrace the logic of their actions. As much as they might seem irrational to us today, the decisions made under emotional stress, like the shrewd calculations of military administration, were based on 'sound reasoning'.<sup>53</sup> The papers invite reflection on this regime of rationality which determined the decisions of history's protagonists. They reveal reckless actions on the battlefield, supreme transgressions of religious norms (calling on the Turks), the prudence which tempered individual interests, and the necessity of preserving the army's precious human and material resources. And through it all, they unveil the power of emotion, instinct and especially fear in motivating action, reaction or the evolution of individuals and the structures in which they navigate.

In the highly charged emotional context of battle, emotions are a major driving force behind military action. They were a preoccupation which the military hierarchy and administration could not afford to eschew. In the sixteenth century, military regulations and treatises began to develop extensive ideas on how to manage the effects of emotions, fear foremost among them. It was affect which commanders, theoreticians and memorialists thought most about. They closely observed and described its every effect, from the release of bodily fluids to movements of panic which routed entire armies. Emotion clearly played a role in fashioning modern armies which were impossible to conceive without it. Despite every effort by the state to redefine martial virtues and criminalise cowardice, and despite the growing professionalisation of the military which turned the soldier into a cog in an overwhelming institutional machine, his humanity remained an inevitable and unavoidable consideration.

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<sup>52</sup>Following William Reddy's model and his notion of the 'emotive', which was inspired by that of performativity in Austins' discourse, and insists on the power of emotions to determine and transform behaviour.

<sup>53</sup>Raymon Boudon, 'L'explication cognitiviste des croyances collectives', and Louis Lévy-Garboua and Serge Blondel, 'La décision comme argumentation', in Raymond Boudon, Alban Bouvier and François Chazel (ed.), *Cognition et sciences sociales, la dimension cognitive dans l'analyse sociologique*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997), pp. 19-54 and pp. 55-68.

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In this regard, John Lynn's essay is halfway between historiographical reflection and case study.<sup>54</sup> 'The intersections between the history of warfare and the history of emotions,' he states, 'are clearly apparent, from the clash of great passions that precipitate armed conflicts, to memories that are propagated and continue long after the last shots are fired.' But these intersections are quite ancient – they existed well before the nineteenth century and the theories of Ardant du Picq. They are, paradoxically, at the root of many missed opportunities for renewing the history of war and the methodology and concepts of the history of emotions. Lynn begins with the assumption that, in contexts of war, 'emotions are experienced and expressed differently in different eras by different cultures.'<sup>55</sup> His is a reflection on the performative nature of emotions. Starting from perceptions of fear and honour during the Ancien Régime and revolutionary European 'command communit[ies]' and 'primary group[s]', he proposes to approach emotions not only as 'experience' and 'expression', but also as 'execution', i.e. as the levers of action.

This is precisely the conclusion of Giovanni Ricci regarding the geopolitics of emotion represented in Italian Renaissance appeals to the Turks<sup>56</sup>. The peninsula spanned both western European and Muslim worlds and its people feared, above all else, invasion from the armies of the Sublime Porte who, after the Fall of Constantinople, advanced

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<sup>54</sup>John Lynn is a Full Professor at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign and the author of numerous studies on war. He is one of the foremost international specialists on the history of war today. Among his principle works, see John A. Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic; Giant of the Grand Siecle. The French Army (1610-1715)*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and more recently, *Another Kind of War: The Nature and History of Terrorism*.

<sup>55</sup>He has applied this general principle of cultural history throughout his career and more notably in the debate with Victor Davis Hanson on the western model of war. Victor Davis Hanson, *The Western Way of War, Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989); and *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power*, (New York: Doubleday, 2001); John A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture*, (Boulder: Westview, 2003).

<sup>56</sup>Giovanni Ricci is Full Professor of Early Modern History at Università degli Studi di Ferrara. His work centres on the intersection between social and cultural history and his topics of interest vary from social mobility and societal fringes, princely funeral rituals and their political dimension, and Christian-Turkish relations and 'Turks' in the Mediterranean, to international relations during the Italian Wars. He is notably the author of *Poverta, vergogna, superbia. I declassati fra Medioevo ed Età moderna*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996); *Il principe e la morte. Corpo, cuore, effigie nel Rinascimento*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998); *I giovani, i morti. Sfide al Rinascimento*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007); *I turchi alle porte*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2008); *Appeal to the Turk: The Broken Boundaries of the Renaissance*, (Roma: Viella, 2018).

ever onwards both into the Balkans and the Adriatic. The Ottomans nonetheless evoked, in the peoples and cities of Italy, feelings of hope for liberation from the yoke of a rival, for a more just government, or simply for social, moral or religious renewal. Ricci demonstrates that, from the Fall of Constantinople (1453) to the Battle of Lepanto (1571), the intertwining of contrary emotions shaped relations between Italian forces as well as their relationships with the foreign powers which battled for dominion of the peninsula. He also notes how, over time, collective western history, out of moral and religious considerations, worked to suppress memory of the complex game of shifting alliances which was constantly played.

Benjamin Deruelle<sup>57</sup> and Laurent Vissière<sup>58</sup> also interrogate memory in their article. They give us an overview of how emotions of bereavement act on combatants. For, contrary to received opinion, it was not incumbent upon military men to be insensitive to death. Fathers, sons, brothers, comrades and even enemies were lamented, wept over and regretted. Their death gave birth to warlike fury as much as grief and opened psychological wounds so deep that they sometimes forced survivors to the very edge. Though grand manifestations of grief and lengthy literary compositions exalting the great warrior for eternity – or on the contrary discreet tears – stemmed from a social or political expression of grief, they nonetheless reveal the intensity of the emotions felt in the face of death in combat. They also unveil, at the cusp of the modern era, an emerging sensibility and a true military profession.

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<sup>57</sup>Benjamin Deruelle is Associate Professor of Early Modern History at the Université du Québec à Montréal. His work focuses on the history of the State, war and the elite, as well as on the culture and practices of war in the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. His publications include, *De papier, de fer et de sang: chevaliers et chevalerie à l'épreuve de la modernité (ca. 1460 – ca. 1620)*, and chapters on early modern history in *L'histoire militaire de la France* (Paris: Perrin, 2018). He made contributions to a global history of war published in 2019, entitled *Mondes en guerre* (Paris: Passés composés, 2019). He is currently co-director, with Hervé Drévilion and Bernard Gainot, of the series *Construction du militaire* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013, 2017, 2020).

<sup>58</sup>A former member of the École normale supérieure and the École des Chartes, Laurent Vissière is currently *Maître de conférences* in medieval history at Sorbonne-Université. He specialises in the early Italian Wars and his publications include “*Sans point sortir hors de l'ornière*”. *Louis II de La Trémoille (1460-1525)*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008); with Patricia Eichel-Lojkine, he has also edited *Les Louenges du roy Louys XII de Claude de Seyssel*, (Geneva: Droz, 2009). His work currently centres on the daily life of besieged populations in the fifteenth century.

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It is this spectre of professionalisation which H  l  ne Caz  s follows, though it is with regard to the medical rather than the military profession.<sup>59</sup> She demonstrates that the spirit of the Renaissance was not uniquely one of rediscovery of ancient or of experimental knowledge, but also one of questioning – in this case, questioning the role of emotions in the medical profession. For Charles Estienne, medical detachment from the suffering of his patients was a prerequisite for successful treatment. In view of the horrors of the flesh resulting from injury or dissection, such as by Leonardo da Vinci, Jean Fernel, Andreas Vesalius and Ambroise Par  , nervousness, pity and mercy become the enemies of the physician, the patient and of the healing process. H  l  ne Caz  s' text reveals just how hard it is to articulate medical compassion in the absence of emotion.

And in the final chapter, we see that emotions are as essential a parameter of the military profession as they are of the medical profession. Paul Vo-Ha demonstrates just that in his study on the function of emotions in seventeenth-century memoirs, correspondence and military treatises.<sup>60</sup> In his analysis of specific instances of surrender, he delves beyond written conceptualisations to demonstrate how fear drove soldiers to act. The causes, mechanisms and tactical consequences of fear greatly preoccupied commanders. Not only because it could undermine the morale of their troops, but also because it could be weaponised. At times, commanders admitted to resorting to carnage and massacre in order to terrorise the enemy and hasten capitulation. From threat to deed, violence was skilfully and subtly exploited with the express intent to avoid the even greater brutality of assaulting a breach.

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<sup>59</sup>H  l  ne Caz  s is a Full Professor in the Department of French Studies at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, where she has worked since 2001. She specialises in medieval and Renaissance Europe, and studies humanism and its traditions in domains as varied as the history of the book, the history of medicine and discourses on friendship and bibliography. She has authored many articles and books on the Estienne dynasty (Henri II, Charles, Robert I and Robert II), on sixteenth-century anatomists (Vesalius, Estienne) and on women in history and literary historiography. She has also edited collective works and articles. Her most recent publication is a collaboration with Fr  d  ric Charbonneau on *Recherches sur les habillemens des femmes et des enfans d'Alphonse Leroy* (Paris: Hermann, 2019 [1772]).

<sup>60</sup>*Ma  tre de conf  rences* in Early Modern history at Universit   Paris I Panth  on-Sorbonne, Paul Vo-Ha is the author of *Rendre les armes, le sort des vaincus XVI  -XVII   si  cles* (Ceyz  rieu: Champ Vallon, 2017). His work also centres on surrender, cessation of hostilities, captivity in war and extreme violence in the Early Modern era. He is currently embarking on new research on confessional coexistence in the armies of the king of France in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries.

It is our hope that the diversity of themes, perspectives and results presented here will convince the reader of the importance of integrating the questions and methods of the history of emotions into military history.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, to us they suggest fruitful avenues for renewing military history, pursuing further exchanges with cultural history and historical anthropology, and nurturing opportunities to study the military experience in relation to the rest of the historical field.

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<sup>61</sup>Unless otherwise credited, translations in the articles by Benjamin Deruelle, Giovanni Ricci, Laurent Vissière and Paul Vo-Ha have been provided by Nicole Charley and the authors wish to thank her for her excellent support.