

Emotion and the senses in archaeology

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Abstract

Archaeologies of emotion have wrestled with, and refuted, the many challenges inherent in accessing something that has been dismissed as intangible, individualistic, and subjective. In doing so, emotion-centric archaeology has forged many methodological and theoretical avenues, demonstrating the rich potential for emotion as a multi-faceted investigative tool. After surveying various approaches linking emotion and the senses, this study explores how cathedral clergymen and male lay iconoclasts in seventeenth-century England expressed competing anger and anxieties through touch. This approach underlines how synthesising a sensory subculture with competing emotional communities may offer a fresh perspective on past emotions and the senses.

Introduction

There remains concern amongst archaeologists who foreground emotion in their research that such an approach is still viewed with suspicion by some members of the archaeological community, or treated as a marginal, merely optional research avenue: rebuttals and refutations to this concern have been eloquent, timely, and necessary (e.g. Creese, 2016; DeMarrais, 2011; Foxhall, 2012; Harris, 2010; Harris and Flohr Sørensen, 2010; Tarlow, 2000; 2012). Since much ink has been spilled justifying why an emotion-centric archaeology is important, this survey of emotion and the senses simply takes the premise that emotion no longer requires the same lengthy justifications and would refer the unconvinced reader to these landmark—and hopefully, soon-to-be historic—discussions (particularly Harris and Flohr Sørensen, 2010; Tarlow, 2012).

It is therefore not the purpose of this chapter to convert those with residual concerns about sensory-emotive archaeology, but to speak to those who wish to examine the potential for how such studies have, and will continue, to offer exciting, vital, and original perspectives on past societies. Thus, for the sake of brevity, and to simply move beyond *why* to *how* we approach emotion and the senses, this chapter explores recent contributions with fresh methodologies, rich syntheses of evidence, and timely theoretical challenges. It spotlights the importance of linking specific senses with specific emotions, and contextualising this connection within sensory

subcultures, emotional communities (Rosenwein, 2006), and other important group identities including religious affiliation, social class, and gender.

Synthesising emotion and the senses in archaeology

Tarlow (2000; 2012) has already pointed out the deep need amongst archaeologists to problematise assumptive interpretations of ‘emotion’ as being simply biologically or culturally constructed, and thus embedded within a Western, post-Enlightenment Cartesian dualism of mind–body, culture–nature (see Murphy, 2013, pp.244–247 for a recent review of the biological underpinnings linked to emotion-centred archaeology). How emotions and emotional states were recognised, understood, and expressed in other societies requires a careful consideration of moods, feelings, external stimuli, affects, and personality (Tarlow, 2000, p.714). While a comprehensive appraisal of all these aspects may be impossible for many arenas of evidence and periods of the past, Tarlow’s call to consider the complex, non-static, heterogeneity of emotion may allow archaeologists to ‘write three-dimensionally’ about past societies (2000, p.720).

Crucially, Tarlow encourages attention towards physical, sensory interactions with the material world as innately linked with emotional states as a way of reanimating the tangible world with studies of less tangible emotions:

the meaning of architecture, artifacts, or landscapes in the past is animated by the emotional understandings which inform their apprehension. A landscape may be a place of dread or of joy; an artefact may be a token of love or a mnemonic of oppression. Emotion, in short, is everywhere. Emotion is part of what makes human experience meaningful (just as meanings make experience emotional). Emotionless archaeologies are limited, partial, and sometimes hardly human at all.

(Tarlow, 2000, p.720)

Hamilakis’ (2013) in-depth examination of archaeology’s complex history of sighted and sensing scholarship foregrounds the important but overlooked role of bodily senses as an investigative method in archaeology. He rightly points out that we should avoid assumptions that all past societies operated in a modern, Western understanding of five distinct but related senses (sight, sound, taste, smell, touch—see Skeates, 2010 for further critique of a Western five-senses paradigm), requiring a reflexive critique which Hamilakis offers.

Although Hamilakis (2013) prioritises the senses, what he is actually paving the way for is a coalition of the senses with identifying emotional, affective states of mind and being. This suggests a ‘sense and sensitivity’ approach, where the sensitivity of the physical body is used to trace the sensitivity of the intangible emotions within the body. Such an approach is a trajectory of research that should continue to be explored in all its richness by future sensorial archaeologies, and may take us beyond mere description of sensory events and places.

DeMarrais (2011, p.167) and Fleisher and Neil (2016, p.2), amongst others, have emphasised how important exploratory and experimental approaches are at this early stage of emotion-centric archaeologies, where we can begin to refine our approaches by making mistakes and employing unusual perspectives. Importing historian Rosenwein’s (2006; 2010) ‘emotional communities’ into archaeology may prove fruitful. These are ‘largely the same as social communities—families, neighborhoods, syndicates, academic institutions, monasteries, factories, platoons, princely courts’ but focussing on them may reveal their specific emotional taboos, norms, values, and modes of expression: an emotional sub-culture within a society (Rosenwein, 2010, p.11).

Similarly, although Hamilakis (2013) advocates a synaesthetic approach, in which all the senses are combined, in periods where certain senses were known to have been singled out, it might be wiser to focus on a particular sensory subculture (e.g. touch—see below) and/or emotional state (e.g. anxiety—see Fleisher and Neil, 2016) before recombining them with the other senses. This paid dividends for understanding haptic ‘task-scapes’ at Çatalhöyük in both prehistoric and modern eras (Tringham, 2013—discussed below), and reminds us that, just as we should not assume there was a concept of five distinct senses in past societies, we should also avoid assuming there was no concept of individual senses at all or that this approach is only helpful for societies with documented evidence of the concept.

The case study presented herein attempts to marry this sensory subculture approach with emotional communities in early modern England. Through iconoclastic damage to effigy tombs in four English cathedrals and contemporary sources, it investigates tensions between touch, anger/anxiety, and competing masculinities that may be evidenced. To contextualise this, a brief review of varying approaches to emotional-sensory archaeology is first outlined.

Sensory and sensing bodies: emotional dynamics between the living and the dead

Funerals

Discussions of physical interactions with the material world, and between the living and dead, have the potential for illuminating the difficult but gainful terrain of emotion and psychological states of different groups within a society (e.g. Gibson, 1986; Rosenwein, 2006). Feelings of bereavement and grief have been an important entry point into emotion-centred archaeology (Meskell, 1998; Nilsson Stutz, 2003, pp.81–100; Tarlow, 1999a). However, a recent trajectory in mortuary archaeology has examined the emotive and psychological effects of corpse management (e.g. Tarlow, 1999a; 1999b; 2012; Williams, 2003; 2004; 2007a; 2007b; Nugent, 2011; Pettitt, 2011), including a study of the haptic-sighted nature of funerary art (Nugent and Williams, 2012). More recent studies have focussed on recreating sensorial regimes at funerals and the emotional-psychological impact they may have had on groups of mourners (Roman: Graham, 2011; Anglo-Saxon: Williams, 2007a; 2007b; Bronze Age Cretan: Hamilakis, 2013, pp.129–90). These studies go beyond merely describing sensory stimuli and emotional responses by demonstrating how they influenced a perceived agency of the dead (i.e. a responsive, sentient corpse), highlighting how emotion and sensory environments facilitated physical, spiritual, and/or psychological connections between the living and dead. By exploring the orchestration of environs as stimuli for the human senses and body movements, a sensory-emotional dynamic can be foregrounded.

The dead: abjection and revenantism

The psychological-emotional state of abjection (as defined by social linguist Kristeva, 1982) has been a key theoretical framework for archaeological explorations of how the ‘uncanny’ physical properties of something could generate both attraction and repulsion by viewers or participants. Common physiological reactions to corpses (e.g. nausea, vomiting, repulsed by the smell) are universal responses triggered by the rapid decay processes at work **with** hours and days of death (Quigley, 1996, pp.222–230). Yet cadavers may be dressed, their hair styled and make up applied to restore a sense of order and normality to their bodies (Tarlow, 1999a; 2002) and offered food and drink, be spoken to, kissed, hugged, or stroked by mourners (Hertz, 2004 [1907], p.203).

Such responses represent a concerted effort to mediate, even assuage abject feelings towards the dead and restore a semblance of control and therefore humanity to the decaying dead body.

Nilsson Stutz (2003; 2008; 2016) has clearly demonstrated through her research on Mesolithic burials in Scandinavia and the Baltic the need to engage with the emotional-psychological states of those handling the remains of the dead (before, during, and after the funeral). Her approach marries the technical skills of archaeoethanatology (identifying how a corpse decayed through close reading of bone movement and taphonomy in undisturbed graves) with anthropological and theoretical prompts. In doing so, Nilsson Stutz provides a way to integrate burial evidence with the sensory expectations and challenges of a corpse and the way the living negotiated abjection.

Graham (2011) approaches the sensory experiences of mourners at Roman funerals from archaeological and textual sources within a framework of abjection. She explores how the corporeality of the abject cadaver may have been viewed in different ways by different funerary attendants performing various tasks to orchestrate the body for burial. According to Graham, mourners close to the deceased in life, engaging with the abject dead body, may have experienced competing feelings of love and loathing, which in turn influenced the way the deceased was remembered by different mourners.

We should not forget the importance of studies of revenantism and necrophobia since, whether explicitly or implicitly, they focus on communal fears of the dead returning in unwelcome guises and contexts, and are traceable in physical evidence of burial practices (e.g. Reynolds, 2002; 2009; Tsaliki, 2008). ‘Abjection’ and ‘revenantism’ are two distinct concepts. Abjection is repulsion towards the cadaver which is not reliant on religious beliefs, while necrophobia is a fear of the dead anchored in concepts of afterlife (Barber, 1988; Woodburn, 1982).

Moreover, unlike ghosts, the revenant dead are attributed physical properties, **sentience**, and human senses. Some societies may also believe the revenant dead have emotions, particularly anger, worry, shame, or honour, which has fuelled their return to the world of the living (e.g. Caciola, 1996; Woodburn, 1982). Yet revenantism studies seem to be disconnected from the more explicitly labelled ‘emotion’ and ‘sensory’ studies in archaeology. This would certainly provide fruitful avenues for future research into the emotional, sensory, and psychological dynamics between groups of the living and groups of the (unwelcome) dead.

Sensory and sensing spaces: emotional encounters and networks

Abjection has also been explored in archaeological studies of recently abandoned sites, offering a less obvious sensory-emotion approach to space and place. ‘Places of abjection’ (González-Ruibal, 2008, 256) may be a result of recent conflict still fresh in the collective memory of the communities involved. The uncomfortable tension between the memory and interpretation of a traumatic recent past may generate horror, disgust, and fascination centred on (un)familiar sights, smells, textures, and vistas. For example, modern excavations in western Germany uncovered traces of Nazism, engendering abject responses amongst the local community (Koshar, 2001) and uncovering remains of the Spanish Civil War dead (1936–1939) also caused intensely emotional, abject responses by locals and visitors to the excavation (González-Ruibal, 2008).

Shanks (1992, pp.73, 75) refers to archaeological conservation processes stemming the inherent abjection felt by modern archaeologists towards the decay and death they must sensorially and emotionally engage with, bringing order to the ‘otherness of the past’. Similarly, Buchli and Lucas cite Kristevan abjection experienced by modern excavators uncovering human remains or rotting garbage, ‘whether repulsion at perceived violations of privacy or the stench of rotting corpses’ (Buchli and Lucas, 2001, p.11). Indeed, abjection has been a key tenet of contemporary

archaeology in seeking to create distance and alienation between the modern observer and the recent past (see Harrison, 2011 for recent critique).

Moving beyond abject sites, Harris and Flohr Sørensen (2010) proffered four broad categories for aiding archaeological approaches to emotion-centric archaeology: (1) emotion; (2) affective fields; (3) attunement; and (4) atmosphere, and applied these to evolving construction campaigns at, and encounters with, Mount Pleasant Henge in Neolithic Britain. This malleable, overlapping, permeable vocabulary has generally been well-received (see comments in Harris and Flohr Sørensen, 2010) and has already been applied by Brown Vega (2016) to war and emotion in Late pre-Hispanic Peru. The longevity of these categories remains to be seen, but they may become crucial in moving emotion-sensory studies forward as a *lingua franca* capable of separating and linking different aspects of ‘emotion’ and ‘sense’.

Skeates (2010) provided a sensory-emotive biography of Maltese landscapes, dwellings, and natural features from 5200–700 BCE. He advocates reflexivity, inventorying a society’s sensory profile, experimentation with the surviving environment by the archaeologist, ‘thick description’, and creative writing. Such a wide chronological scope encourages archaeological biographies of emotional states linked with sensory encounters within and through natural and human-made spaces and places. Yet, since sites, monuments, and landscapes are rarely neutral arenas, there remains great potential for considering how sensory encounters were mediated, contested, or defined by others in social, ideological, and/or religious arenas.

Kus (2010, p. 171) emphasised the importance of such group activities that ‘might make emotions “legible” in material culture’. DeMarrais (2014) has also pointed to the importance of group performances in public arenas for exploring sensory and emotional dynamics (see also Gosden, 2004, p.38, who emphasises that emotions are not just expressed but are provoked and aroused in the moment). Creese (2016) offers a useful framework for examining sensory-emotive mediation between groups by applying sociologist Hochschild’s concept of ‘emotion work’ to nineteenth-century Iroquoian diplomacy. By focussing on how material culture circulated by the Iroquois was used to influence a subject’s emotional state within and beyond their own community, he reveals how ‘artefacts, bodies, landscapes and buildings ... are caught up in the affective constitution of historically particular kinds of power relations and political subjects’ (Creese, 2016, p.29). In this case, group dynamics and coalitions were created and maintained through emotional manipulation—particularly shifting negative emotions into positive ones—using gift-giving networks of artefacts (see also Maschio, 1998). This demonstrates how archaeologists may access sensory-emotive networks between groups in political landscapes.

Sensory subcultures and emotional communities

Touch and archaeological methods

Another approach to sensory-emotive sites through groups is Tringham’s ‘task-scapes’ explored at Çatalhöyük, underlining how ‘the sense of touch provides a key component for an archaeologist to empirically experience the sensuous nature of past places’ (Tringham, 2013, p.178). By singling out touch from the other senses, she identifies its three forms, following Rodaway (1994, p.48): (1) ‘reach’—direct contact with the skin; (2) ‘extended’—indirect, e.g. through clothing or using implements; and (3) ‘global’—the external effects of the environment or atmosphere on the body e.g. heat, rain, wind etc. It is the second form of touch—‘extended’—that is most pertinent to the exploration of iconoclasm presented later, as is archaeological interest in physical pain, previously highlighted in working environments of Neolithic slate plaque production (Thomas, 2013, pp.342–344). By focussing on touch—or haptic culture more broadly—we

may, like Tringham, identify how this sensory subculture intersected with group identities in emotional communities.

Touch has been singled out and revived as a method of enquiry: in the humanities; in psychology (Katz, 1989); literary philosophy (Josipovici, 1996); social anthropology (Paterson, 2007); and for researchers working with (damaged) medieval manuscripts (e.g. Borland, 2013; Wilcox, 2013). Seminal studies have been undertaken by social historians of British/English late-modern haptic cultures by Classen (1998; 2005; 2007; 2012), Candlin (2010), and Harvey (2003); a sociological-psychological treatise by Field (2001); an anthropologically inflected volume by Howes (2003); art-historical concerns in modern-day institutions in Dent (2014); and touch in museum studies in Pye (2007). These have earnestly called attention to the importance of appraising the taboos, proprieties, and anxieties governing (and governed by) touch. Yet it remains relatively overlooked in archaeology (although see Cummings, 2002; Tilley, 2004; Bailey, 2005; Nugent and Williams, 2012; Tringham, 2013).

Touch is more complex than just 'tactility' (*contra* Hamilakis, 2013). The ability to differentiate the textures of material things (tactility) is only one of the many attributes of the haptic system of the human body (Field, 2001, pp.76–77). The haptic senses also detect weight, proximity, temperature, vibration, pressure, pain, and pleasure (Field, 2001, pp.81–82, 85–89, 93–100, 135–146). It can leave a discernible trace on physical things (see Dent, 2014 for recent appraisal of touch impacting sculpture) and may still be visible today or documented by contemporaries (e.g. Nugent, 2016).

Touch is also enacted in a range of ways with(out) implements: stroking, kissing, lifting, gouging, scraping, hitting, incising, pushing, pulling etc. Repetitions of touch by many agents over time creates traceable erosion and staining, and encourage engagement with objects which bear signs of previous touching, directing others to do the same. Touch-based wear-and-tear can be observed on human remains, artefacts, monuments, and buildings which have not been subjected to weathering, heavy cleaning, or other process which might occlude the evidence. Unlike other bodily senses which can be reconstructed from the vehicles which created them (e.g. sighted experiences from vistas and sightlines; sound from reproducing the acoustics or musical instruments; smell from reconstituted properties of perfume or incense etc.), evidence of touch has an immediacy that can be traced and retraced, and thus added to, by successive generations.

Touch can also be conducted by groups as well as individuals, and thus collective actions need to be considered alongside haptic interactions of a single body. Gibson's (1986) theory of affordances argued that meaning is 'afforded' the individual through their physical interaction with their environment, rather than through disembodied thought. Thus, object surfaces 'afford' or offer the subject a physical perception even though it is socially constructed. While Gibson's (1986) approach has been criticised for failing to move beyond adult able-bodied males and sighted experiences (Hetherington, 2003, pp.1938–1939), the concept of affordances suggests an important juncture between touch and a surface.

Touch and its taboos vary over time, space, and within social hierarchies (e.g. Rodaway, 1994). Who can touch what, in what capacity, and for what purpose can vary hugely between ages, genders, ethnicities, religious identities, and both collective and personal ideologies and preferences. Various emotional states of a group or an individual may also impact haptic interactions, particularly interpersonal displays of affection or aggression for example. This may manifest through collective forms of touch such as group hugging, dancing together, sleeping in close proximity in a shared bed-space, respectful queuing, or to kiss or touch the dead in a funerary context. At the other extreme, anger and revenge may be manifested through wrestling, stabbing, smashing, and defacement. The way the living physically engage with the dead may also be stimulated by or express emotional conditions of the moment.

Moreover, touch is a way of confirming and authenticating what has (not) been seen: it does not automatically establish the truth of what is being handled, but confirms our own presence in reality (Hetherington, 2003, p.1940). Given that archaeology is a discipline dedicated to interpreting the physical traces of the past, the importance of touch cannot be overstated—both the archaeologists' power of touch to investigate and touch culture in past societies.

The power and privilege of touch in haptic culture

The human biological haptic system (albeit with varying degrees of ability per individual) allows us to perceive the world around us in a different but complimentary way to the other bodily senses of sight, smell, taste, and hearing (Field, 2001). But how the haptic system has been perceived and used to create knowledge and experiences, and stimulate and express emotions, depends on cultural context. For European intellectual societies, Heller-Roazen (2007) traced the widespread, long-standing influence of Aristotle's treatise 'On the Soul' (*De Anima*) which identified touch as the most acute human sense and associated it with ascertaining 'truth', especially if the eyes were thought to be deceiving. Aristotle's ideas on the primacy of touch were inherited by medieval and early modern scholarship and played a pivotal but vastly overlooked role in European concepts of sentience and emotion. This means touch in historic Western societies was often perceived as a distinct human sense (although never truly unchained from other senses) with its own regimes and philosophies.

Period-specific studies of touch by historians and art historians have also illuminated the power hapticity had in past societies. Touch in medieval Europe has been discussed in relation to the contested authority of divine touch by royalty versus divine touch of relics (Bloch, 1973; 1989); the authority and philosophies of touch amongst medieval medical practitioners (Siraisi, 1990) and the gendered taboos of touch in medieval midwifery (McMurray Gibson, 1999). Taking a 'cognitive archaeology' approach Woolgar (2006, p.3; also pp.29–62) highlighted bipolar concepts of power and transgression, lechery and virtue expressed in haptic culture in medieval Europe. Thus, bodiliness and touch were intimately connected but varied according to class, gender, profession, and evolving ideas about what constituted socially, religiously, or politically appropriate touch.

The reality of gender-specific constructions of knowledge through sight (male) or touch (female) has been debated amongst feminist historians and art historians for early and late-modern Europe. Classen (1998) argued that 'women have traditionally been associated with the sense [of touch] in Western culture, and in particular the lower senses' whereas men 'have been associated with reason, as opposed to the senses, or else with sight and hearing as the most "rational" of the senses' (Classen, 1998, pp.1–2).

Fisher (2002) has also argued that ocular-centric approaches to the tangible world have been privileged, and should be viewed (from an art historical perspective) as a masculinist approach. Conversely, haptic approaches have been harnessed by feminist studies of material culture as an alternative to patriarchal models of art history. However, according to Candlin (2010, p.30) men in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England also had touch-based vocations as sculptors, weavers, and craftsmen. Candlin uses this to contest Classen's (1998) assertion that haptic explorations of the world were uniquely female in eighteenth- to nineteenth-century England, where women were employed in 'touch-crafts' of sewing, weaving, and beading.

Studies of modern-day haptic cultures have identified how national identity and religion can influence degrees of interpersonal proximity, tactility between people in public, and in turn, the type and style of architecture for public spaces offered by different nations (Field, 2001, p.26; Rodaway, 1994). Therefore, how touch has been used to construct knowledge and

classify evidence, perform labour, and augment physical spaces both public and private, was divided not only between sight and touch (amongst other senses), but between masculine and feminine interactions with the physical world, and ideas of nationhood and religious affiliation. Candlin's argument that denying touch is a potent contributor to a gender-constructed sub-culture of touch/sight provides a theoretical avenue overlooked by archaeologists engaging in haptic studies.

Haptic culture did not necessarily follow the same rules, expressions, or expectations as optic regimes. Nor should it be assumed that the senses were always understood as a hierarchy or that ideas about (individual) senses were static, widely held, or monolithic. Therefore, a consideration of each of the senses individually and the specific cultural emphases and taboos relating to that particular sensory subculture may reveal tensions between different senses in different contexts. Thus, the degree of contestation, and collective versus singular experiences of embodied interactions, has a wealth of research potential behind it, and it is to examples of this in seventeenth-century England that we now turn.

Case study: touch and violence, pain and shame

Emotional communities and tensions in iconoclastic-era England

Violence and masculinity is well-attested for early-modern England through legal cases, plays, literature, personal diaries, and other contemporary accounts (e.g. Foyster, 1999a; 1999b; Shoemaker, 1999; Ward, 2008; Davies, 2013; Feather and Thomas, 2013). That is not to say women were never violent or suffered violence (and their effigies were damaged as well: see below), but violence by and against women was treated differently in the courts and, unlike masculinity, was not considered a defining element of femininity (Levin and Ward, 2008, pp. 8–10). Masculinity and selfhood was therefore constructed and negotiated partly through interpersonal violence, particularly with other men: even English schoolboys were expected to develop emotional shame-honour responses associated with male-on-male violence and anger (Foyster, 1999a; 1999b: see also Peltonen, 2003 on the need to draw blood or leave scars in duelling and Covington, 2013 on English Civil War soldiers viewing themselves as constructed by their wounds not just their capacity for violence). 'Godly violence' was also expected and used as an excuse by Parliamentary soldiers for their defacement of churches (Spraggon, 2003, pp. 108, 137–142).

These anxieties and angers in early-modern masculinity created groups of victims and groups of perpetrators. Male violence could be focussed on women, but for violence to be honourable or righteous, only male-on-male attacks were appropriate or worthy (Walker, 2003, p. 49). Whether men were acting on behalf of the State, in judicial or warfare contexts, or casual, sporadic violence, such conflicts were meant to create visible and lasting injuries. Thus, the early-modern patriarchy sustained itself through simultaneous acts of violence, and the physical and emotional suffering and anger which fuelled it.

Puritan frustrations

Puritan iconoclasm contested the ideas of Archbishop William Laud (1573–1645) whose ideas started to emerge in English cathedrals around 1628 (Spraggon, 2003, pp. 21–27). Laudian reforms encouraged a return to sacraments, ceremony, and beautification of the church interior. The clergy were to have greater control over laity, especially through church courts intervening in secular affairs. This was diametrically opposed to Puritan beliefs which rejected organised,

hierarchical church structures, man-made ceremonies, and what they perceived to be idolatrous ornamentation of the church (Spraggon, 2003, p.27). For Puritans, Laudianism threatened to reverse the Reformation and reintroduce Catholic resonances to the Church.

Some congregations, dissatisfied by slow and timid responses by clergy and churchwardens to encroaching Laudianism, began to deface mortuary monuments and interiors themselves, especially the Parliamentary militia who saw themselves as God's own army waging war against the idolatrous, popish Royalists (Spraggon, 2003, pp.108, 137–142; 177–216). The new iconoclasts were comprised of civic leaders, townsmen, and soldiers who took up arms against church monuments they deemed offensive (Lindley, 2007, p.122). These were the 'emotional communities', predominantly male, who were either angry and frustrated or nervous and cautious in relation to Laudianism.

Iconoclasm of effigy monuments

How iconoclasm operated as a form of 'indirect touch' (Tringham, 2013) offers a fresh perspective on these competing emotional communities: lay (male) iconoclasts felt frustrated and angered by a lack of action by the clergy to deface Laudian interiors, and the cathedral clergymen appear hesitant and anxious to enact this defacement in the written sources. By appraising surviving evidence of iconoclasm on effigies within affected cathedrals, we may be able to trace the anxiety–anger spectrum through the body parts, genders, and social roles of effigies selected for iconoclasm, and the type and scale of indirect touch used to mutilate them.

To explore iconoclasm of cathedral effigy bodies which were targeted by these iconoclasts, extant effigies from four English cathedrals were examined: Chester, Canterbury, Exeter, and Ripon (see Figure 7.1). Of the 75 effigies from 61 monuments available, 45 effigies across 38 monuments have bladed iconoclastic damage or tell-tale repairs, creating a small but suggestive sample. Attacks on non-familial attendant figures (e.g. Christ, Mary, angels, animals, biblical figures etc.) are not included since damage to the main effigial body is the primary focus.

Since tombs erected after the Reformation were discernible to iconoclasts (Llewellyn, 2000, pp.164, 176, 233), the monuments in this sample were divided into two phases: Period A (see Table 7.1: 31 effigies on 14 monuments) which were installed by the Reformation, the latest example dating to 1532; and Period B (see Table 7.2: 14 effigies on 10 monuments) installed after the Reformation but before the 1640s–1650s after which widespread iconoclasm had ceased: this sample dates from c.1564 to 1626.

Evidence of anxiety

It is difficult to identify from surviving effigies whether the iconoclasm they suffered was during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries and these findings cannot make a direct comparison between Reformation and Puritan iconoclasm. Period A tombs had also been exposed to a much longer series of iconoclastic campaigns throughout most of the sixteenth century whereas Puritan iconoclasm was conducted over roughly a decade, with major attacks on monuments occurring in 1642–1643. However, iconoclasts did not target every single tomb in either period: 75 per cent (27/36) of Period A effigies and only 32 per cent (8/25) of Period B effigies were actually damaged in this sample (see Figure 7.2).

Many Period B tombs were in locked chapels: Exeter's Carew triple-effigy-tomb was gated inside St John the Evangelist's chapel (Erskine, et al., 1988, p.106) and most of Canterbury's Period B effigy tombs were then locked inside St Michael's chapel behind 'iron grates and doors'

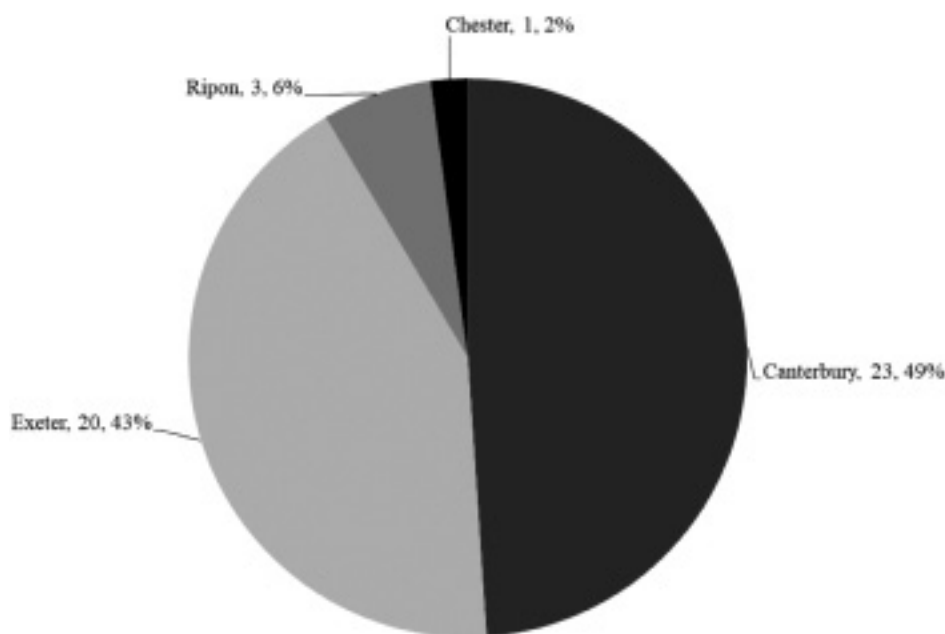


Figure 7.1 Proportion of eligible effigy monuments contributed to dataset (total number of monuments = 47).

(Gostling, 1825[1779], p.252). Thus, general lack of iconoclasm on Period B monuments may, in some cases, reflect increased anxieties and security measures for new elite tombs in the aftermath of Reformation iconoclasm.

All the large, primary Period B effigies are undamaged in St Michael's chapel, but some small attendant family figures have body parts carefully chipped off (see Figure 7.3: The Hales monument of 1592 was in this chapel by the 1650s at least: Nugent, 2016, p.231). Similarly, at Chester, three pairs of hands have been carefully sliced off from a small wall memorial (see Figure 7.3). The micro-iconoclasm and restricted access to some of these tombs suggests the clergy's timidity to enact anti-Laudian reforms, which enraged the public, and a reluctance to upset local families who (recently) commissioned the tombs. The conscience of the individual iconoclast cannot be excluded either. Delicate, precise forms of touch were employed by these iconoclasts: the effigies do not bear the heavy-handed slashing, gouging, and hacking of many other (less protected) effigies.

Evidence of anger and frustration

Hands and noses

Conversely, the sample suggests extensive damage to other effigies. Only Period A effigies in this sample had their whole arm removed (20 per cent of effigies). However, as in Figure 7.4, praying hands were more commonly attacked in Period B (75 per cent 6/8) compared to Period A (64 per cent 7/11). The reverse is true for noses which were commonly attacked in Period A but less so in Period B (26 per cent of effigies: see Figure 7.4). Clergy effigies in particular were more likely to have their noses mutilated in Period A than Period B (although the clergy

Table 7.1 Period A Effigy Monuments

No.	Cathedral	Period A Monuments	Iconoclasm	Gated Chapel	Title	Death	Tomb
1	Exeter	Bishop Leofric [Iscarus 1184?]	No	?	Clergy	1072	
2	Canterbury	Archbishop Walter	Yes	No	Clergy	1205	
3	Exeter	Bishop Marshall	Yes	No	Clergy	1206	
4	Exeter	Bishop Apulia	Yes	?	Clergy	1223	
5	Exeter	Bishop Branscombe	Yes	No	Clergy	1280	
6	Canterbury	Archbishop Pecham	Yes	No	Clergy	1292	
7	Exeter	Henry de Raleigh	Yes	No	Lay	1302	
8	Exeter	Robert Stapledon	Yes	No	Lay	1320	
9	Exeter	Humphrey de Bohun	Yes	No	Lay	1322	
10	Exeter	Bishop Stapledon	Yes	?	Clergy	1326	
11	Canterbury	Archbishop Reynolds	Yes	?	Clergy	1327	
12	Canterbury	Prior Eastry	Yes	?	Clergy	1331	
13	Canterbury	Archbishop Stratford	Yes	No	Clergy	1348	
14	Canterbury	Lady Mohun	Yes	Yes	Lay	1375	
15	Canterbury	Edward Black Prince	No	No	Lay	1376	
16	Exeter	Hugh Courtenay	Yes	No	Lay	1377	1391
17		Lady Courtenay	Yes		Lay	1391	
18	Canterbury	Archbishop Courtenay	Yes	No	Clergy	1396	
19	Ripon	Thomas Markenfield 1	Yes	?	Lay	1398	
20		Dionisia Markenfield	Yes		Lay	?	
21	Canterbury	Henry IV	Yes	No	Lay	1413	1413
22		Joan of Navarre	Yes		Lay	1437	
23	Exeter	Bishop Stafford	Yes	No	Clergy	1419	
24	Canterbury	Lady Holland	No	Yes	Lay	1439	1439
25		Earl of Somerset	No		Lay	1410	
26		Duke of Clarence	No		Lay	1421	
27	Canterbury	Archbishop Chichele	Yes	No	Clergy	1443	1425
28		Chichele Cadaver	Yes			--	
29	Canterbury	Lady Trivet	Yes	Yes	Lay	1443	
30	Ripon	Thomas Markenfield 2	Yes	?	Lay	1497	
31		Eleanor Markenfield	Yes		Lay	?	
32	Canterbury	Archbishop Morton	Yes	Yes	Clergy	1500	
33	Exeter	Precentor Sylke	Yes	No	Clergy	1502	
34	Exeter	John Speke	Yes	Yes	Lay	1518	
35	Exeter	Bishop Oldham	Yes	Yes	Clergy	1519	
36	Canterbury	Archbishop Warham	Yes	No	Clergy	1532	

sample is small for Period B). Thus, noses were a significant body part for damage during the Reformation, but praying hands were proportionally more important to iconoclasts during the 1640s.

In Period B, the range of affected body parts was smaller, especially for females, and hands were more often damaged rather than noses (although two lay males had their noses and hands damaged together) (see Figure 7.5). This suggests greater restraint and more specific, targeted damage, particularly towards female bodies by seventeenth-century iconoclasts; at least towards more recently built tombs. Female effigies had no other body parts affected by iconoclasm,

Table 7.2 Period B Effigy Monuments

No.	Cathedral	Period B Monuments	Iconoclasm	Gated Chapel	Title	Death	Tomb
1	Exeter	Cadaver Tomb [Anthony Harvey?]	Yes	No	Lay		c.1564
2	Canterbury	Dean Wotton	No	No	Clergy	1567	
3	Canterbury	Richard Lee	Yes	Yes	Lay	--	1592
4	Exeter	Gawen Carew	No	Yes	Lay	1585	1589
5		Mary Carew	No		Lay	?	
6		Peter Carew	No		Lay	?	
7	Exeter	John Gilbert	Yes	?	Lay	1596	1596
8		Elizabeth Gilbert	Yes		Lay	?	
9	Canterbury	Dean Neville	No	Yes?	Clergy	1615	1599
10		Alexander Neville	No		Lay		
11		Thomas Greene	Yes	No	Lay	1607	1607
12	Chester	Ellen Greene	Yes	No	Lay	?	
13		Dorothie Greene	Yes	No	Lay	?	
14	Ripon	Dean Fowler	Yes	?	Clergy	1608	
15	Canterbury	Lady Thornhurst	Yes	Yes	Lay	1609	1609
16		Sir Richard Baker	Yes		Lay	?	
17	Canterbury	John Boys	Yes	No	Lay		1612
18	Exeter	Dorothea Doderidge	Yes	Yes	Lay		1614
19	Exeter	Bishop Cotton	Yes	No	Clergy	1621	
20	Canterbury	Dean Boys	No	Yes	Clergy	1625	
21	Exeter	Bishop Carey	Yes	No	Clergy	1626	
22	Canterbury	Thomas Thornhurst	No	Yes	Lay	1627	1627
23		Barbara Thornhurst	No		Lay	?	
24	Exeter	John Doderidge	No	Yes	Lay	1628	
25	Canterbury	William Prude	No	Yes	Lay	1632	

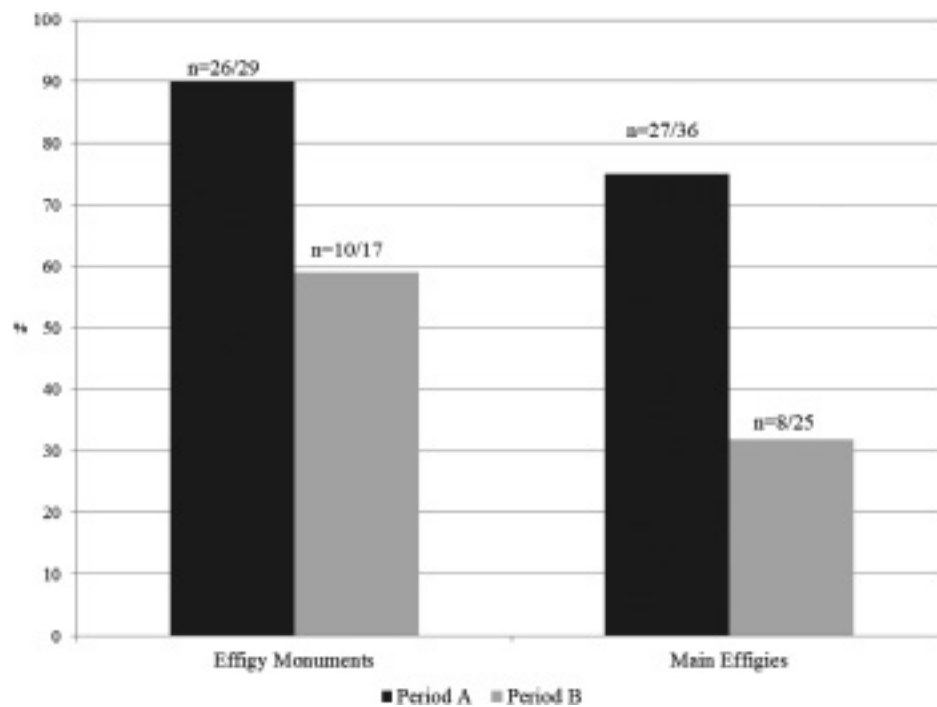


Figure 7.2 Comparison of Period A and Period B iconoclastic damage.

emphasising the restraint, maybe even reluctance, of seventeenth-century iconoclasts regarding the female form, and the general small-scale damage to post-Reformation effigies in this study.

Denastio: removing or mutilating the nose

Male effigies were not only attacked in more areas than females, but their noses were more often targeted. Graves (2008, p.40) cites Groebner (2004) on *denastio* as implying sodomy. Groebner (2004, pp.73–75) also cites multiple examples of the nose bearing phallic associations in late-medieval and early-modern texts, and thus its mutilation was considered to be a form of castration; a very attack on manliness and manhood. Men cutting off other men's noses was private retribution for being cuckolded (Groebner, 2004, pp.82–86). The idea that the density of the cartilage in the tip of the nose would signify virginity in either sex was circulated in the sixteenth century via Michael Scotus' exceptionally popular and widely-read *Liber physiognomie* (Groebner, 2004, p.73). Groebner (2004, p.75) also points to canon law in which 'a missing or disfigured nose is listed as grounds for exclusion from ordination to the priesthood'.

The emasculating qualities of *denastio* inflicted on effigies of Catholic clergymen by iconoclasts might be seen in this context. There may be subtle references to celibacy or lack of sexual experience amongst the priesthood, and the male iconoclasts were defining their own sense of masculinity in relation to their own sexual power and sexuality.

There are also overtones of disempowering Catholic clergy by disbarring them from their own profession by removing or mutilating their noses. In doing so, the effigial body was disconnected from any Catholic/Laudian context, including any surviving or ambiguously Catholic imagery which may have survived inside the cathedral. It could also symbolise the perceived end

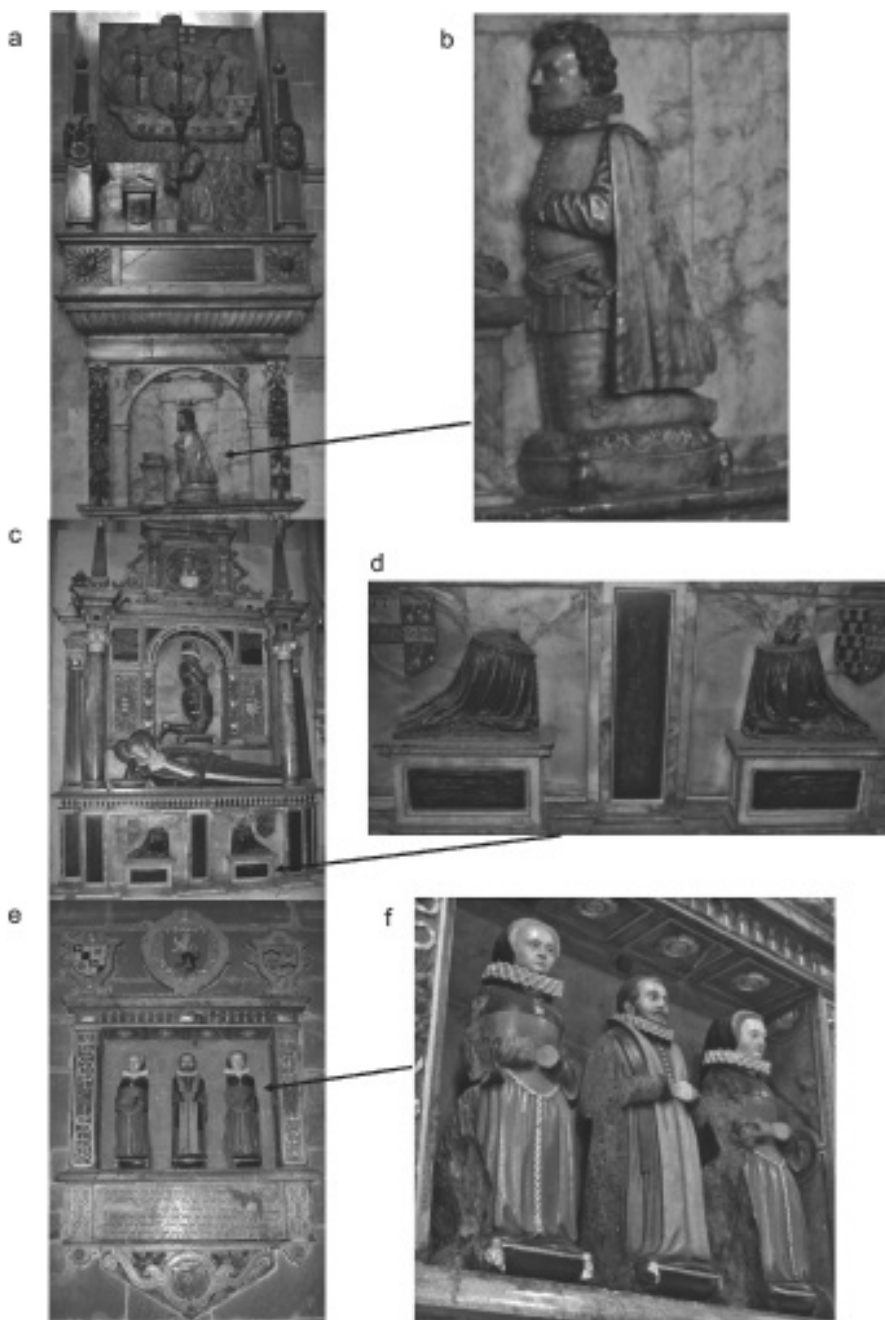


Figure 7.3 Top: Canterbury Cathedral, north nave aisle, (a) Hales Memorial, (b) iconoclasm of Richard Lee (missing hands and feet). Middle: Canterbury Cathedral, St Michael's Chapel, (c) Thomas and Barbara Thornhurst, (d) detail of the iconoclasm of attendants (missing torsos). Bottom: Chester Cathedral, south crossing, (f) Thomas Greene and his two wives, (g) detail of the iconoclasm of the three figures (missing hands). Image: Ruth Nugent. Figures a, b, c, d, courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. Figures e and f courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Chester Cathedral.

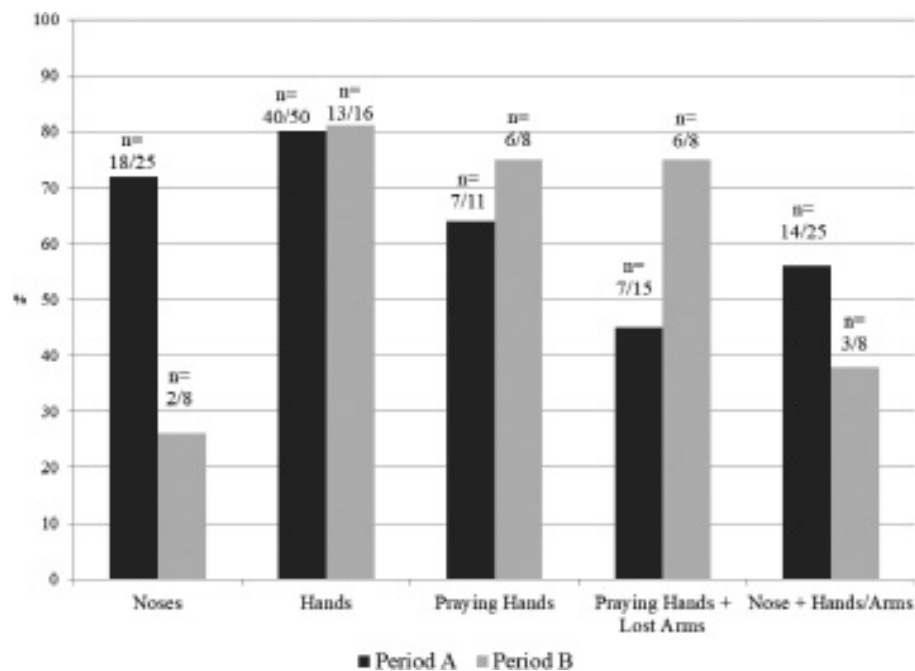


Figure 7.4 Comparison of Period A and B iconoclasm of effigies.

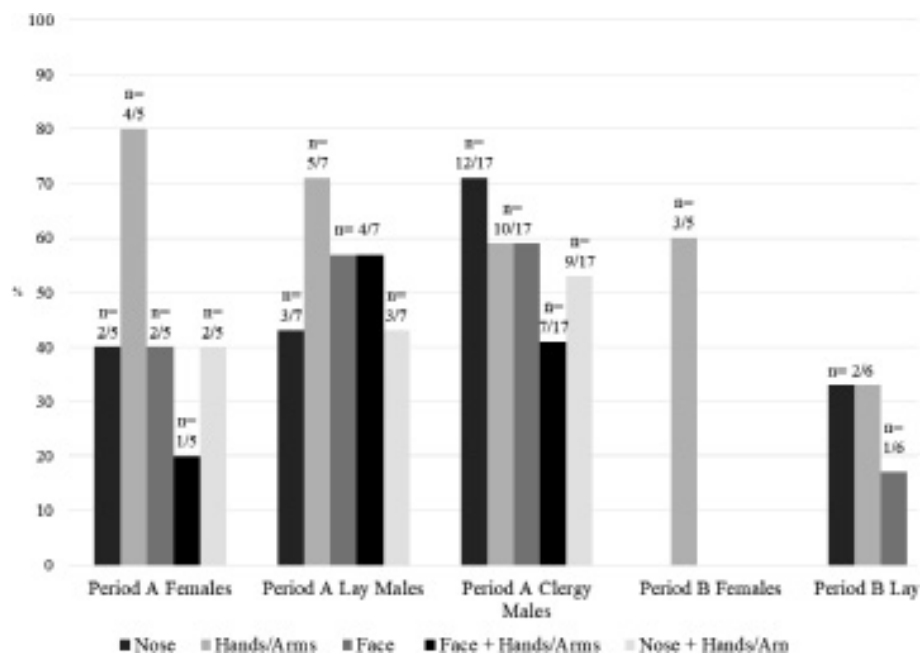


Figure 7.5 Comparison of Period A and Period B body part damage.

of the biological and spiritual Catholic legacy since iconoclasts were signalling the impotence of Catholicism and of its adherents. Thus, mutilation of male effigies was not simply ‘Catholic’ versus ‘Protestant’ but was loaded with complex enactments of masculinity, shame, honour, pride, power, violence, and sexual prowess.

Damage to hands

The removal of hands, especially praying hands, was a primary target for iconoclasts as they were an expression of a Catholic emphasis on intercession for the dead (Llewellyn, 2000, pp.97–105). Putting this into context, Graves (2008, pp.47–48) is right to point out that hands had agency. Hands **were** also the way people **touched** the physical world around them. If touching is a way of understanding, believing, and acting with intention, then removing their hands was not only judicial punishment (Graves, 2008, pp.47–48) but also a way of disabling their physical interaction with a new belief system. Not only could they not pray but other ways of creating knowledge and expressing their emotions were denied them. Iconoclasts were not only punishing and humiliating the effigial dead in a legally defined way, but also preventing them from any further insight, thought, emotional desire, or haptic experience. Cutting off the hands of the effigial dead, denying them the ability to touch, set a conceptual distance between the perceived physical sensuality of Catholic veneration and the disembodied, cerebral, even abstemious, overtones of Protestant practice (Aston, 2003).

Bodily pain

The parliamentary ‘Act for the abolishing and putting away of diverse books and images’ (1549–1550) under Edward VI, had sanctioned iconoclasm. However, emphasis had been on mutilating rather than removing the effigy. This meant the effigial body had to exist within the ‘pain’ inflicted by iconoclasts. It ensured a body exposed to perpetual suffering. The presence of the mutilated body signified the (absent) body of the mutilator, the perpetrator, the victor. Lying in a state of physical pain, exposed to public view and public touch, announced to present and future visitors that they had been subjugated by another group. It inflicted public humiliation and shame on the effigy and, in not repairing the damage, the victory of the iconoclast over the effigy was curated through the wounds on the dead. It was also a very public threat of the levels of mutilation and bodily pain that some people were willing and able to enact: a potent statement in a time of civil war.

Perceptions of iconoclasm

There was a sense of bravado and machismo expressed by iconoclast and Puritan minister Richard Culmer, when he and his cohort attacked Canterbury Cathedral in 1643 (Culmer, 1644). Culmer’s report is littered with references to his own bravery and his joy in horrifying onlookers with the damage he and his men were causing (e.g. Culmer, 1644, p.22). Yet his biography, written by his son, ‘admitted that Culmer had relieved himself in Canterbury Cathedral during the iconoclasm for fear of the crowd outside, which was ready to “knock out his brains”’ (Eales, 2004). Not only was iconoclasm contested by some crowds, but the public display of bravado and religious pride expressed by iconoclasts was, in some cases, a nervous performance in a very tense and public arena. Similarly, the carefully chipped family attendants on Period B monuments may be examples of reluctant defacement by the Laudian clergy. Thus, the mental

and emotional state of iconoclasts, and their own pride and beliefs, impacted the degree of damage they enacted, and how it was reported.

This may have been compounded by relationships (feuds, resentments, loyalties etc.) with the local families who had installed effigy tombs in the church or cathedral within living memory (Lindley, 2007, pp.32–34, 213). Many streams of early modern masculinity called for adult males to demonstrate their manhood by inflicting pain and scars on the bodies of other men, and by extension, on the (male) bodies in cathedral mortuaryscapes. As strongholds of traditional patriarchy, tombs legitimised inherited male privileges amongst the upper classes (Lindley, 2007, pp.13–15). Thus tombs, and the cathedrals housing them, were prime outlets for expressing high-level emotional states of anger, frustration, anxiety, shame, and honour. These emotions, felt and expressed by communities of men, centred on conflicting ideas of masculinity and on the performative nature of male-on-male bodily violence linked with subjugation, humiliation, and punishment.

Conclusion

The relationship between touch and other senses, such as sight, sound, and smell, have been briefly alighted upon in this survey. Holistic appreciations of sensory environments can fully integrate touch within the other senses, which may compete or harmonise with each other. However, the approach in this study has singled out touch because in some cases it has been viewed as more ‘truthful’ than sight, and viewed as a dominant mode of interaction and interpretation with the physical world over and above sighted experiences. From that perspective, touch must always be considered as a culturally constructed practice which varies across time and space. It cannot be assumed to have been experienced by everyone equally.

Touch could be corporate or individualised. It runs across the transgressive–normative spectrum. It could be violent, pragmatic, curious, venerative, repentant, forensic, mnemonic, privileged, symbolic, routine, private, and public. This study is by no means exhaustive, but excitingly suggestive of the overwhelming potential of sensory subculture investigations linked to emotional communities.

While describing sensory events and environments is an important part of studies of emotion, embodiment, and encounter, specific senses and specific emotions can be contextualised within a variety of practices, identities, beliefs, and taboos. By focussing on the sensory deprivation and pain inflicted on effigies by different groups of iconoclasts, expressions of shame, honour, power, and humiliation may be spotlighted. The role of touch in enacting iconoclasm and expressing both timidity and aggression can be illuminated within a spectrum of competing religious, political, and masculine identities. Thus, different emotional states and responses within and between emotional communities (clergy and non-clergy, civilians and militia, etc.) may be traced through scales of violence and defacement which have left physical traces.

Selfhood and constructs of the individual body (effigy) versus crowd behaviour (iconoclasts; clergy) have been briefly suggested but there is much more potential for considering single and corporate touch. The dialectical relationship between haptic culture and bodily etiquette, self-control, and public and private emotions offers exciting future terrains for sensory–emotion research. The way the human body was perceived, mediated, represented, and expressed within and beyond its haptic capabilities also requires greater attention than this study has afforded it. Recent, pivotal multi-period studies of corporeality in archaeology (e.g. Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow, 2002; Borić and Robb, 2008; Robb and Harris, 2013) and archaeologies of the post-medieval body specifically (e.g. Crossland, 2009; Tarlow, 2011; Cherryson, et al., 2012; Harris,

et al., 2013a; 2013b; Tarlow, 2015) have already laid solid and extensive foundations upon which emotion-sensory archaeology can build in myriad exciting ways, which this chapter seeks to contribute to. Notions of individuality, personhood, and even human-animal dynamics (such as Houston's 2001 examination of animal-related passions represented in Classic Maya art) are worthy of future examination from an emotional-sensory (even haptic) perspective.

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