<CT>**Introduction**

<CT>**Encountering Feelings**

<CST>**Feeling Encounters**

<CA>Benno Gammerl, Philipp Nielsen and Margrit Pernau

<FL>In January 2008, the Indian cricket team met the Australian team in Sydney for a test match. Feelings were running high on both sides when Harbhajan Singh, the Indian spinner, was heard calling the only non-white member of the Australian team, Andrew Symonds, a monkey. Singh was barred from play for three games for the racial taunt. Right from the beginning, however, doubts were raised as to whether he had really used the word monkey, or whether he had sworn at his opponent in Hindi, making a sexual innuendo about Symonds' mother – in its own cultural context no less offensive.[1]

This incident is a poignant example of how emotions move across cultural divides. The case triggered fierce debates about the potential for misunderstandings between languages. Many Indian commentators pointed to their country's leading role in the anti-apartheid movement in order to cast doubt on the accusations concerning Harbhajan's racism, claiming that it was highly unlikely that Harbhajan had used English rather than Hindi to abuse his opponent in a moment of stress. The case becomes even more complicated when viewed as the outcome of a series of previous encounters rather than as an isolated incident.[2]

During the Australian team's visit to India half a year earlier, Indian crowds at Baroda had taunted Symonds with monkey chants throughout the game. But for the Australian team, the victorious Indian team's extensive post-match celebrations really 'sparked passion inside of us', as Symonds put it in an interview. Describing their own celebrations in the past as 'humble', the

Indian players' multiday affair seemed excessive to Symonds. He continued: 'Something gets triggered inside of you, something is burning inside of you – it is your will for success or your animal instinct that wants to bring another team down.'[3] Harbhajan Singh, in turn, criticized the Australian team for being sore losers: 'They say they play the game in the right spirit, but they don't in reality. There is nothing gentlemanly about the way they play. … I was responding to a lot of vulgar words that were said to me.'[4]

Both teams were primed for the next round. Taking the tense atmosphere into account, they agreed to tone down their insults before the Sydney match. The Indian team had expressly promised to refrain from offending Symonds by calling him a monkey.[5] Yet this was not to be. Instead, the events that led to the international scandal and Harbhajan's suspension unfolded. The incident started with Harbhajan tapping bowler Brett Lee on the backside with his bat and saying 'hard luck'. Symonds said that he then 'had a bit of a crack at Harbhajan, telling him exactly what I thought of his antics'.[6] This 'telling' seems to have included the word 'fuck', whereupon Harbhajan furiously replied in kind – and uttered 'monkey' or 'maa ki …' (mother's …).[7]

This incident reveals a number of important things about emotional encounters. First, it draws attention to the fact that emotions are experienced through the body and that body language and gestures, like a slap on the backside, can also be used to convey and incite them. Additionally, it shows that the corporeal dimension of emotions inhibits neither their tactical use nor the intersubjective negotiation of their meaning. Finally, the example demonstrates how intercultural encounters are often laden with history. In this case, this history is not limited to that between two players and two teams but extends to a broader history of racist abuse, which in turn reaches back to the history of the construction of racial difference, a history that is far older than

any of the players involved in the dispute. The Indian aristocrat Ranjitsinhji's cricket career in Victorian England is only one example of the role race politics have played in athletics: the first Indian to bat for the English team in 1896 and the supposedly racial or non-racial attributes of his body dominated his athletic life both at times of inclusion in and exclusion from English cricket and society.[8] This history, moreover, explains why an organization like the International Cricket Council sanctions racial abuse much more harshly in comparison to insults invoking the sexual behaviour of an adversary's mother.

<A>**Why Should Historical Research Focus on Emotional Encounters?**

<FL>Sport is, of course, not the only field in which emotional encounters cross cultural boundaries – within societies as much as between them – on a regular basis. Encounters between people who have been socialized into different emotions have become almost commonplace at the beginning of the twenty-first century. People know, practise and value different emotions (or value emotions differently) and express them through a multiplicity of codes. Many experience cross-cultural encounters on a more or less regular basis, from tourists to refugees, from managers of multinational corporations or non-governmental organizations to migrant labourers, from residents of multi-ethnic metropolises to people who go abroad to seek knowledge or to find love. Encounters with culturally diverse forms of emotional expression in newspapers, television programmes and social media have become a part of everyday life.

Encounters with Emotions starts from contemporary emotional encounters and seeks to analyse them from a historical perspective, beginning with early modernity. By highlighting historical changes and transcultural dynamics, this approach promises to generate fresh and

valuable insights for two fields of research that have up to now remained largely separated from each other: research on the history of emotions and research on cross-cultural encounters.

Encounters with Emotions first of all contributes to the study of the history of emotions by undertaking a much needed re-evaluation of the opposition between universalizing and particularizing understandings of them. Although overcoming this divide has been important for the field's agenda for a number of years now, it remains haunted by the distinction between nature and nurture to this day. Many neuroscientists and psychologists work with the assumption that all humans share the capacity to experience the same basic emotions, which are, so they claim, expressed through a universally valid set of facial micro-expressions. If this assumption is true, then communicating emotions across cultural divides should be relatively unproblematic. According to this theory, feelings experienced and expressed through the body are more transparent and easier to transmit than verbal utterances, which have to be translated. By contrast, many historians and anthropologists hold that within each particular cultural setting humans learn specific emotional behaviours and practices ultimately incommensurable with those of other cultures. Such practices are not limited to signs and symbols. They are also inscribed into, and expressed by, the body.[9] This theory implies the notion that a mutual understanding of feelings across cultural divides can only be achieved through processes at least as complicated and laborious as those involved in linguistic translation. In their analysis of individual case studies, the authors of this volume critically engage with these supposed dichotomies, maintaining that emotional encounters hold considerable potential for misunderstandings and failures of communication. Such misunderstandings can also spark further interaction. At the same time, body language and other forms of non-verbal communication are occasionally capable of bridging the gap and creating new meanings.

Questioning both universalizing and particularizing assumptions, the authors are able to forge new approaches to the historicization of emotions.

Furthermore, the book contributes to the study of encounters, which has long been a staple of global history. Bringing emotions into the mix provides a concrete vantage point for analysing the local and bodily effects of, and reasons for, transformations of global power structures. Focusing on emotions offers a new perspective on the capacity of encounters to not only reproduce but also transform attitudes and behaviours, transformations that can trigger heretofore unforeseen developments. The focus on emotions in face-to-face encounters also enables the authors to scrutinize in greater detail how feelings impacted the very production and the shifting organization of cultural differences. It allows for investigating the interplay of language and visual codes with more bodily ways of learning. The integration of emotions into the study of global encounters is not intended to replace existing research on their cultural and cognitive dimensions but should rather complement it.[10]

Exploring the grounds between universalizing and particularizing understandings of emotion and between local and global dynamics of encounter is the main objective of this volume. The chapters will do so by examining a broad range of case studies. They thereby spin a number of interrelated threads, woven together in the conclusion by highlighting the specificities of emotional translation and by tracing major historical trajectories that have shaped emotional encounters since the seventeenth century.

<A>**Questions, Geographical Focus and Time Frame**

<FL>Through discussing face-to-face encounters across cultural boundaries with the aim of rethinking the relationship between nature and nurture, *Encounters with Emotions* begins by

addressing the culturally and historically specific preconceptions people bring to an encounter. Such preconceptions are informed by, among other factors, education, past experiences and assumptions about the other and his or her culture, all of which premediate each actor's behaviour and his or her interpretation of the encounter and its emotional content. At the same time, the authors stress the inherent openness of all encounters and their capacity to provoke unanticipated reactions, which in turn have the potential to challenge and ultimately overwrite earlier scripts. The authors claim that it is precisely this aspect of the encounter that can trigger historical change.

The case studies in the individual chapters thus address the following questions: firstly, which emotions – curiosity, disgust, fear or longing, among many others – have cross-cultural encounters caused in people with divergent emotional styles and behavioural habits? Secondly, what interpretive strategies have people employed in attempting to understand each other's emotions? Finally, what role have emotions played in facilitating or obstructing understanding and communication across cultural divides?

Looking at history over the longue durée while taking up a broad geographical scope enables the authors to consider a wealth of source material in which various actors describe their efforts to grapple with emotional differences. The area studied extends from Europe across the Arab world to Asia. While the book's scope does not encompass the entire world – a venture that might be more ambitious than wise – it draws attention to the close and complex interrelations that connect the geographical areas studied that have been in contact through trade, travel, conquest and migration since antiquity. This focus, however, is not an exclusive one: when our main actors wander into other regions, we follow them.

The period studied stretches from the seventeenth century to the present, thus combining early modern, colonial and more recent developments that have so far rarely been considered together. This broad time frame allows the book to trace changes in the dynamics of encounters and their emotional ramifications that often unfolded at a rather slow pace. With the foundation of the East India Company and the increase of missionary activities at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the level of interaction between Europe and Asia reached a new level of intensity. Within this time frame, particular emphasis is placed on the nineteenth and twentieth century. However, this does not deny earlier encounters, and the authors do not aim to privilege the eastward travels of European traders and envoys. Throughout the period under consideration, people travelled and migrated in both directions as well as between India, Persia and Central Asia, between the entire Islamicate world and the Hijaz. These flows were anything but negligible in terms of size and significance. The chapters map some of these movements, analysing the historical effects of the encounters they brought forth.

<A>**Emotions, Encounters and Cultures: Concepts and Key Terms**

<FL>Striving for consistent definitions is one of the ways the social sciences attempt to avoid misunderstandings and ensure that the different authors of a book, as well as its readers, are reflecting on the same subject and grappling with the same problems. However, to suggest unified definitions is counterproductive once research begins to move across cultures, both temporally and spatially. If the ways actors conceptualize their experiences impact not only their interpretation of the world but also their actions and practices, then providing unequivocal definitions of core concepts at the outset unduly limits the analysis. Such definitions could at best provide equivalents for a small range of concepts used by certain actors or within certain cultures

– usually those closer to the researcher in time and language – while remaining inadequate for other contexts. Overstepping the limits of a definition's validity and indiscriminately applying it to every culture thus harbours the danger of misleading researchers to liken things others hold to be dissimilar while separating things others may think are connected. Such one-sided definitions substantially minimize the explanatory value of historical analysis.

Changing concepts of what an 'emotion' is are a case in point. The word itself is a neologism that only came into use in English and French in the eighteenth century. It was an umbrella term that linked two concepts long viewed as distinct: affections and passions. The convergence of these two concepts was crucial for shifting the debates on emotions from theology and moral philosophy to psychology and medicine.[11] But concepts of emotions vary over time; and, as anthropological studies have shown, they also vary across space.[12] Studies on emotion concepts outside Europe are rare. Yet the existing research on South Asian understandings of emotions suggests that they differ from German or English perceptions, and South Asians themselves also underwent considerable shifts from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Rather than attempt to come up with a universally valid definition of what an emotion is, or putting one region's conception in opposition to another, the authors of this volume hold that conceptions of what emotions are and how they work are determined by a multitude of factors. This approach highlights culturally contingent concepts of emotions that can be mapped onto the following questions: how and to what extent can emotions be controlled, either through effort of the will or through employing stronger counteremotions? How are the boundaries between emotions and virtue and vice drawn? What role does the body play in emotional life? Is it placed in contradistinction to the mind? And how can it be affected by external agents like demons, other bodies, atmospheres or drugs? Are emotions considered to be

rational or irrational phenomena, conventional or spontaneous? Are emotional dispositions viewed as products of education and cultivation, as inborn traits or as a mixture of the two?

However, beyond differences between regions and historical periods, conceptions of emotions also vary across – even within – present-day academic disciplines as the distinction between universalizing and particularizing approaches shows. In addition to this major divide, emotion research is further complicated by affect theoretical positions in the humanities that emphasize the bodily, immediate and involuntary force of affect, by appraisal theories in psychology that highlight the cognitive dimensions of feelings and by critical approaches in the neurosciences that challenge their discipline's assumptions about the hardwired nature of emotional responses. *Encounters with Emotions* does not subscribe to any single one of these positions, combining instead different aspects of them. For example, the authors draw on affect theory when they emphasize the fact that emotional dynamics exceed the limits of established structures of meaning, thus ascribing a certain openness to emotions; nevertheless they take recourse to cognitive and praxeological understandings of emotions when they describe them as culturally contingent and learned.

Encounters, too, the second key concept in the volume's title, may appear in many shapes and sizes. The authors' interest in debates on nature and nurture has motivated them to conduct research into a specific type of encounter that involves both minds and bodies: face-to-face encounters bring actors into the same physical space where they may share a common focus of attention and where they not only hear and see but also smell, touch and, in rare cases, even taste each other. Face-to-face encounters have figured prominently in certain strands of philosophy. The phenomenological tradition in particular has focused on the moment of encounter as constitutive for identity and ethics.[13] *Encounters with Emotions* extends these enquiries into

intersubjectivity and subjectification by analysing the emotional dynamics that permeate them and addressing their broader social and cultural implications.

However, these assumptions about face-to-face encounters – shared space, co-presence and their multisensory dimension – are more ambiguous than they might appear initially. In the era of online video communication, face-to-face encounters can obviously take on a very different guise.[14] The notions of novelty, strangeness and familiarity that define the dynamics of encounters are themselves subject to historical change, as are the criteria that allow actors to consider an encounter as either a success or a failure. Equally, and even more decisively, face-to-face encounters rarely exist in a pure state. As the vignette in the introduction amply demonstrates, every face-to-face encounter is at least partially determined by the cultural knowledge of those involved. It follows that every such encounter draws on a history that precedes it and that every such encounter is permeated by the traces of collectively remembered experiences in which the actors themselves may have had no part. Thus, the focus on the immediacy of face-to-face encounters should not blind us to the fact that they always involve different levels of mediation, which adds depth to the interpretation.[15]

Although all encounters are informed by premediated concepts, their effects are by no means determined in advance. Every encounter holds the potential to bring those taking part in it into unforeseen situations, opening up space for experiences that transcend the limits of established categories.[16] Encounters can motivate a rearrangement of the frames of understanding that enable those involved to integrate the challenging experience into their worldview. Shifts in conceptual structures and learning processes are always bound up with the specific temporality of the encounter. While a certain degree of strangeness defines every encounter, it can give way to familiarity as the encounter turns into a more regular form of

interaction. This familiarity can be based on trust, but it can also encompass experiences and expectations of violence. Encounters do not take place in a space beyond power relations. The authors of *Encounters with Emotions* do not understand encounter as an ethically or politically neutral counterconcept to conquest, but rather as a tool that brings along its own set of equally difficult ethical and political questions.[17]

The concepts of culture and difference play a decisive role in our research. Taking up face-to-face encounters allows us to enquire into the corporeal dimensions of emotions as potentially universal features. In the moment of an actual encounter, as the case studies presented here will show, the corporeality of emotions is not only capable of reproducing but also subverting established scripts. Moreover, integrating cultural differences and transcultural dynamics helps the authors to remind us of the fact that the shape an encounter can take is at least partially also conditioned by the culturally specific forms of socialization that inform the attitudes and opinions of the individual actors involved in it. As differences vary, the volume's authors are particularly interested in those differences that are not experienced on an everyday basis but occur once actors move out of their familiar surroundings and confront others who express and practise their emotions in unfamiliar ways. Their interest in cultural differences notwithstanding, the authors bear in mind that, depending on its usage, the concept of culture can be no less problematic than some of the more loaded concepts associated with it, such as civilization, ethnicity or race.

Thus, in order to avoid subscribing to any brand of essentialism, the authors of *Encounters with Emotions* view cultures as contested systems of shared meanings, ideas and practices. Every culture is constructed and changeable, lacking predetermined boundaries. The non-monolithic features of culture are further emphasized by paying attention to divergences not

only between but also within cultures (intercultural and intracultural differences) as well as to the effects encounters generate in all parties involved (transcultural dynamics).[18] Furthermore, the authors specifically aim at investigating the historicity, the non-static and dynamic character of cultural identities and differences by highlighting their production within encounters and by scrutinizing the role emotions play in drawing ever new and divergent boundaries. Finally, the case studies also take care to note the historical intersections between divergent forms of differentiation; for example, along the lines of class, race and gender as well as the transformations they have undergone. The experiences people have with these intracultural differences and the strategies they develop to grapple with them intraculturally can have a significant impact on the ways intercultural encounters play out. In turn, intercultural encounters can impact the shape these differences take as well as the ways people approach them within each culture. Thus, analysing the intersectionality of cultural differences as well as the vicissitudes of their historical development lies at the heart of our research into the role of emotions in encounters.

<A>**Sources, Methods and Approaches for Researching Emotional Encounters**

<FL>*Encounters with Emotions* draws on a large corpus of sources. While placing primary focus on ego documents, the individual chapters also deal with material ranging from governmental records to advice books and novels. As mentioned earlier, the analysis of this source material will contribute to our understanding of the diverse ways people have attributed meaning to their engagement with emotional difference and their emotional coping with difference. In using these sources to grasp the nuanced emotional dynamics of face-to-face encounters, the authors are careful to remind us that the individual accounts detailed in the source material are informed by

the particular positions – during the encounter itself and in the retrospective moment of writing about it – of those who composed them.

What, then, are the methodological approaches that can help us understand the ways people grapple with these differences in concrete historical situations? We have identified four main axes of inquiry: remediation, translation, mimesis and transmission. Placed on a scale, these approaches move from practices centred on knowledge to practices increasingly centred on the body.

Experiments that attempt to prove the universality of emotions are often conducted under circumstances that fail to take account of the test subjects' previous experiences. Some researchers claim that if people from a 'non-Western preliterate' culture in New Guinea and 'Westerners' who have never met each other before are able to correctly read each other's facial expressions, then this shows that the ways emotions are expressed and codified are universal. By implication, this assumption is used to support the claim that emotions are neither learned through previous encounters nor coloured by cultural expectations.[19] However, attention should be drawn to the fact that even 'first encounters' do not take place on a tabula rasa but are preceded by preconceived ideas about the other and by scripts that influence how the encounter might play out. This phenomenon has been termed premediation.[20] An example of premediation might be the significant role played by Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist representations of the devil as having round eyes and a big nose for these groups' first contacts with Europeans.[21] This shows the ambivalence of the concept: historical sources, whether textual or visual, can be read both as mediation of an experience (the encounter with the round-eyed Europeans) and also a premediation of further experience (seeing the similarity between devils and Europeans). Nevertheless, such scripts are not simply acted upon, and, while they certainly contribute to the

content of emotions and the form of their expression, they do not wholly determine them. Encounters between two or more different scripts, encounters with an environment that does not conform to one's expectations and encounters between bodies lead to what has been called remediation. The content of these remediations can only be partially deduced from the scripts at play at the beginning of an encounter.[22] Changes in the scripts allow for different practices and for different ways of acting in the world. Although emotional expressions can have established meanings before the encounter, these can undergo change in the course of the interaction. Encounters thus open up space for those involved in negotiating the meanings of their emotions anew. Viewed from this perspective, it becomes clear that encounters force people to use their skills of adapting to, and learning about, unfamiliar emotional codes and practices. Such experiences contribute to an archive that can in turn support navigating the complexities of future encounters. Thus, returning to our interest in the nature/nurture debate, we might say that as a cultural phenomenon, emotions are expressed according to scripts, but as a natural phenomenon, their breadth and complexity escape the grasp of such scripts, so that they always remain capable of subverting and transforming them.

Translation enables the interlocutors to find or create equivalents in meaning between divergent expressions. The field of translation studies offers some helpful tools for analysing these processes. Over the last decades, the discipline has moved beyond its earlier focus on literary texts and philology and has entered into a fruitful dialogue with anthropology, which in turn has led to an increased focus on questions related to the historical context of acts of translation and the creative role of translators. Furthermore, the translation studies field has moved away from the assumption that there are either equivalents between languages (in which case it would be the task of the skilful translator to find them) or there are not (in which case

translation is described as a story of loss and betrayal). Recent advances in translation studies have suggested that equivalents do not precede translation but are created through the very process of translation itself.[23] Applying the insights of translation studies to the study of encounters, which themselves always demand some sort of translation, it becomes clear that, like every translation, every encounter builds up an archive that informs further encounters. Rather than being carried in a closed box across a cultural and linguistic chasm, meanings and equivalents are constantly being negotiated. Thus, although emotional expressions have particular meanings before an encounter, a fact that our analyses will do justice to, the encounter itself has the potential to reconfigure them.

Nevertheless the negotiation of meanings does not take place in a vacuum. If the debates on Orientalism and the production of colonial knowledge have shown us anything, it is the power of epistemological shifts and reconfigurations. However, this does not imply that the colonized (or, more generally, the weaker actor) and their interpretation do not have an impact on the process of translation – negotiation is not power's other.[24] Nor does it mean that both sides have to completely agree on the meaning of equivalents for the encounter to proceed. While dictionaries (or ethnographies) can freeze meaning for a certain span of time, the translation process and its creation of equivalents remains an ongoing everyday activity. Society and culture are the sites where translation takes place; and they can themselves be regarded as products of ongoing translational activities.[25]

Bringing emotions into the debate allows us to show their similarity to linguistic codes while simultaneously demonstrating how they transcend the realm of language. Emotional expressions are undoubtedly endowed with meaning, which can but need not be the same across cultural divides. In this sense, they can be analysed like other signs that are translated between

languages, signs whose meanings are not given but rather created and modified through encounters. However, things become more challenging when we consider the fact that emotional expressions have a surplus that cannot be reduced to the representation of an already existing, stable emotion. In this sense, emotional expressions, and even emotions themselves, can be interpreted as factors that play a crucial role in the creation of meaning and the process of translation in the encounter.[26]

Beyond translation, theories of mimesis offer another avenue for research on emotional encounters.[27] Theories on the mimetic imitation of bodily movements have been used to analyse the ways emotions were coordinated in early colonial encounters.[28] Although many theories of mimesis take care to account for the historical specificity of encounters and the cultural alterity that defines them, they ultimately rely on implicitly universalizing assumptions about the cross-cultural readability of emotions through sympathetically relating to the other's bodily gestures.[29] 'Yielding', a term used to denote an opening of the body towards the other, enables an emotional fusion between the participants of an encounter. The notion draws attention to the sensual aspects of attunement. Yielding highlights attunement's potential to produce new emotional expressions and to enable actors to experience new feelings. Current theories of embodied cognition in the neurosciences, which are explicitly based on a universalist understanding of emotions, have further advanced this model of mimesis.[30]

These anthropological and neuroscientific theories provide tools that can help us understand the role of the body in mimesis and its place in the construction of alterity and difference. However, mimesis also has a disruptive potential. It can create disturbing similarities between subjects that are supposed to remain distinct. Desires resulting from mimetic imitation can lead to envy and competition.[31] Furthermore, on the level of society, it has been suggested

that intersubjective mimesis is constitutive for individuality itself ('interdividuality'). In light of the disruptive potential of mimetic behaviour and the emotions such disruptions can cause, mimesis is capable of bringing about change. Adaptation then does not necessarily imply that the capacities of two bodies must be brought into attunement with one another; rather, adaptation can also be brought about by a transformation of the power structures that codify and underlie the mimetic act.[32] For the authors of *Encounters with Emotions*, mimesis and mimicry thus allow us to think about bodily imitation as enabling a specific mode of cross-cultural understanding that need not necessarily result in harmonization but can also engender conflict and disagreement.[33]

If the bodily processes involved in mimesis are primarily intentional, the theory of transmission emphasizes the non-intentional dimension of emotional encounters and, more importantly, their emotional reverberation.[34] An offshoot of affect theory, it employs neurochemical theories of transmission with the aim of overcoming conceptions of contained selfhood as well as a supposed modern Western optocentrism.[35] Instead, the theory of transmission focuses on the permeability of bodies and on overcoming the dichotomy between subjects and their environments.[36] Changes in, and resonances between, the moods participants bring to an encounter are explained by the transmission of chemical properties between bodies.[37] *Encounters with Emotions* shares this concern with broadening the scope of the senses involved in encounters beyond the visual. At the same time, its authors acknowledge the impact that historically specific regimes of perception have on how bodies interact and resonate with each other. This allows the authors to conceive of feelings as being simultaneously non-intentional, non-representational, bodily and also culturally learned.[38]

<A>**Difference: Historicity and Intersectionality**

<FL>*Encounters with Emotions* works with the basic assumption that emotions are neither self-identical entities that remain constant over time and space, nor are they always expressed in the same way. Nevertheless, differences can vary in degree and intensity. Moreover, the absence of precise equivalents does not prevent translation and communication, emotional or otherwise. All the same, the authors of this book view differences as products of the dynamics of the encounter. In addition, they operate within a broad spectrum of intersecting lines of differentiation. Thus the authors avoid making the problematic claim that there is a universally invariant nature of emotions and also avoid the opposite danger of exoticizing the other and considering particular cultural differences as absolutes.

People encounter differences – between emotional styles, cultural codes and shared histories, among other things – and learn to cope with them on a daily basis. For this reason, the individual chapters of this volume are not restricted to encounters on faraway shores but view intracultural and intercultural interactions as a continuum rather than as a dichotomy. Learning to understand the diverse ways others express their emotions and developing the ability to navigate unexpected emotional reactions are faculties that actors develop from a very early age, even if they never move out of their hometown or village. In this respect, the categories of age, gender, class and race learned at home come to play a crucial role in colonial encounters.

Most children first encounter emotional difference in the family. Successfully navigating social interactions within the familial setting demands that children learn how to read different emotional codes and develop different emotional expressions depending on whom they are interacting with.[39] Gender and age, categories that should themselves be historicized, often define the ways in which these differences play out. Intrafamilial relations are structured by

rules, codes and hierarchies that give rise to differences in the ways family members interact with one another; and these structures can vary across time and space – ranging from highly differentiated codes, which distinguish the emotional interaction with the father's elder brother from even that with his younger brother, to configurations that place individual variances among siblings at the core. Children's early experiences with the differences permeating intrafamilial interactions form the basis for their future emotional interactions, which increasingly encompass unfamiliar situations. Children not only learn how to encounter different emotional styles, they also learn how to learn, thus developing the ability to interpret unexpected situations, behaviour and expressions of emotion. In many cases, this interpretation proceeds through the translation of new differences into familiar ones.[40] This can be witnessed in the fact that cross-cultural encounters often employ metaphors of friendship and family in order to transform differences between strangers into familial relations, hierarchical or otherwise.

Finding effective ways to organize differences on a global scale in the age of colonial encounter and to make these differences both understandable and manageable was one of the central projects of the European Enlightenment. The idea of stages of development that all societies pass through – albeit at different times – offered one of the most important means for systematizing the observations of manifold diversity made by travellers, traders and early colonists. The idea basically holds that, like humans, all societies go through a life cycle: they are born, develop into childhood and adolescence, experience the strength and autonomy of adulthood and then slowly descend into old age. Childlike nations like the Irish or the Africans, so the theory went, thus co-existed with senescent nations that had gone through a long period of decline, like the Chinese or the Indians. The stage a particular nation or people had attained could be recognized not only by the social and economic structures that defined them but even

more by the emotions that prevailed among them. For example, childlike nations were supposedly hot, boisterous and uncontrollable and thus in need of the guidance of adult nations with more refined emotions. Metaphors of family and age not only provided a frame for interpreting the emotions observed but also suggested and legitimized ways of responding to them. These responses were premediated through the earlier experience of the colonizers and their metropolitan readership, which in turn constituted premediation for encounters to come.[41]

The problem of basing colonial power and its interpretation of emotional encounters on a theory of stages of development was that these stages are transient: children grow up and parents lose their position of authority, becoming dependent on those they had governed only yesterday. Hence, the theory of historical stages of development could not provide sound footing for a long-term colonial project. Without being abandoned entirely, in the course of the nineteenth century the child metaphor was progressively replaced by gender metaphors that essentialized the difference between colonizers and colonized, giving it an element of permanence. Colonies were now viewed as being feminine, if not effeminate. The essentializing character of the gender metaphor supported the idea of a permanent polarization between the character of the colonizers and that of the colonized. These gender-based metaphors thus served to firmly place the colonies under the guardianship of their manly colonizers. What did not change, however, was the fact that colonial powers drew on familiar perceptions of emotions to interpret unfamiliar experiences.[42]

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the conceptualization of difference underwent a radical shift that intensified hierarchies within categories of race and gender. The ambiguity inherent to early modern concepts of ‘race’, which often viewed it in confluence with class, gender, religion and ethnicity, was succeeded by attempts to develop more precise definitions of

racial identity.[43] These efforts were intimately intertwined with the rise of imperialism and the increasingly unequal distribution of agency and power on a global level. They coincided with the move towards a politics of racial segregation founded on coercion and subjugation and ran parallel to the gradual naturalization and biologization of race.[44]

Within the colonial setting, the kinship metaphors that were used in order to understand racial differences as stages of development faded in significance, while theories of sexual reproduction and genetic heredity gained ground. The concrete effects of this shift were important on many levels. For instance, 'mixed-race' children, especially those who had a European father from the middle or the upper classes, could be integrated into metropolitan societies relatively easily up until the early nineteenth century, when their supposedly tainted lineage led to them being largely excluded and discriminated against.[45] In line with this shift, strategies for understanding the other's emotions and the emotions bound up with cross-cultural encounters also underwent changes: strategies of adaptation and sympathy were succeeded by strategies of distancing, which were embodied in feelings of disgust and contempt. These strategies and feelings were no longer learned primarily within familial relations but within class relations.

As a result, the rigid distinctions and hierarchies that defined perceptions of class, race and gender mutually reinforced each other in separating certain bodies from others.[46] This became manifest in both the effeminization of non-European and the Orientalization and racialization of labouring bodies.[47] Growing fears of 'miscegenation' led to ever stricter surveillance over, and even prohibition of, intimate encounters, especially between European women and non-European men; they also motivated parallel attempts to prevent certain forms of close contact between elites and subalterns.[48] These widening gaps also had an emotional

dimension, as stereotypes based on race, gender and class often relied on the ascription of specific emotional styles to subjugated groups.[49] Moreover, they triggered a dramatic shift in European evaluations of transcultural encounters, which could no longer be imagined as being peaceful, promising interactions or as harbingers of a future equality but could only be seen as dangerous, conflict-ridden and shot through with stark inequalities.[50] In this context, bodily desires for the forbidden other could subvert but also reinforce hierarchies.[51]

The historicity and intersectionality of differences not only contributed to shaping colonial relations but also relations among Europeans. In Europe, the homogeneity within and distinctions between different nations gained in importance over the course of the nineteenth century. Religious and denominational affiliations, for example, began to lose their capacity to cut across linguistic and political barriers and were instead used to bolster nationalist identities.[52] Along with religion, class and gender also played a significant role in reshaping understandings of national and racial identities and differences within Europe.[53]

These processes can be described as part of a process of universalizing the organization of differences.[54] Within the categories of gender, race, nationality, class and religion, rigid boundaries based on the logic of mutual incommensurability were increasingly enforced but in a more and more comparable manner. In some ways, this universalization of difference was countered by the universalism of sameness that was gaining ground during the nineteenth century, a universalism that advanced, among other ideas, the discourse of human rights.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, a new form of universalism of difference emerged that attempted to invert or dismiss hierarchies altogether. In their place, it propagated ‘a radical attitude to difference’ founded in ‘a sensory experience and enjoyment of it’.[55] Aesthetic, spiritualist, pedagogical and other avant-garde movements criticized civilization, exoticized the

other and praised cultural diversity and the 'cross-fertilizations' it enabled.[56] They also called for the protection of alterity against the forces of assimilation. These movements replaced the notion of progress and development with an emphasis on cultural relativity and an appreciation of '"primitive" … emotionalism'.[57] Emotionality itself came to be revered – at least by some – as a desirable quality of the other, whose example might enable overly rational Westerners to regain access to their feelings.

During the process of decolonization, attention was drawn to the detrimental psychological effects that colonial and other transcultural encounters had had on their 'non-European' participants.[58] Philosophers began advocating a new ethics of attentiveness towards the other, who was to reveal herself in face-to-face encounters – both intimate and distancing – 'not in a shock negating the I, but as the primordial phenomenon of gentleness'.[59] These developments ultimately paved the way for the multiculturalist and cosmopolitan discourses that started to gain prevalence in the 1960s. While some authors advocated a communitarian politics of recognition in place of earlier egalitarian models of universal individual rights,[60] others criticized forms of identification based on binaries, instead looking towards processes of hybridization or creolization as a way of fostering and valuing the productive and unforeseeable effects of cultural intermingling.[61] A further position aimed at establishing a new balance between universal human rights and cultural particularities.[62] Finally, other authors foreground transcultural encounters in 'the messy realm of everyday intermingling' as an embodied, affective and sensual form of cosmopolitanism or as a model for postcolonial hospitality.[63] This approach presumes the subjects' ability to draw emotional satisfaction from juggling with cultural differences. Taken together, all of these political and ethical theories provide specific models for grappling with difference through emotions.

These debates highlight an ongoing concern in contemporary societies with questions of cultural diversity. In this context, the dynamics of globalization engender frequent encounters, which can help to bridge differences through feelings of curiosity, trust and solidarity but which, at the same time, can reinforce boundaries through hate, disgust and shame.

<A>**Recent Historiography on Transcultural Encounters**

<FL>Against the background of these debates, historical research on transcultural or cross-cultural encounters has also changed significantly since the 1980s and 1990s. Early contributions were primarily focused on researching large-scale contacts between civilizations, the economic and political conditions that enabled them and the conversions, conflicts and compromises that they brought with them.[64] Historical studies on transcultural or cross-cultural encounters have since moved beyond this approach, following three main avenues of research.

Firstly, the one-way street leading from Europe to the rest of the world has been replaced by the study of a network of manifold and multifariously connected routes. Instead of focusing exclusively on how Europeans moved to the colonial peripheries and spread their ideas and goods there, newer research has directed its attention to flows of people, things and thoughts towards Europe as well as to flows between non-Western regions.[65] One example might be studies of the trading networks that originated in the Hadhramaut in present-day Yemen in the sixteenth century, which connected places like Alexandria and Canton; these studies bring specific kinds of encounters into view that had escaped the attention of earlier historians.[66] At the same time, there has been growing interest in the study of settings before the establishment of a colonial state, when hierarchies were less clearly defined, agency was more broadly distributed and 'the dynamics of cross-cultural encounters were not always predictable'.[67] Yet, as many

scholars have stressed, placing the study of these constellations on the research agenda should by no means serve to veil or relativize the violent and exploitative asymmetries of imperial formations. The aim of such studies should rather be to expose the historical contingency of colonial hierarchies in order to prevent the unintended reproduction of these structures in present-day discourse.[68] For the authors of *Encounters with Emotions*, this broadening of perspective has been particularly helpful, as it facilitates a more rigorous approach to the analysis of the historicity of encounters and the fact that they always unfold under specific political, social and economic conditions.

Secondly, the understanding of individual cultures as self-contained homogenous entities has given way to an emphasis on openness, connectedness and relationality. Thus, approaches that highlight hybridity and aim at 'eschewing all closed models of knowledge' have gained in prominence.[69] From this perspective, the Mediterranean, for example, does not constitute a cultural divide but rather a lively contact zone.[70] These reconsiderations have also engendered criticisms of the notion of the first encounter. Although this idea haunts research on cross-cultural encounters to this very day, many scholars emphasize that each encounter is informed by premediations that can have a decisive impact on the way encounters play out.[71]

Thirdly, cross-cultural analyses have long focused on representations of, and knowledge about, the other, as well as on narratives, memories and identities, thus largely remaining within the purview of discourse analysis and cultural history.[72] More recent research, however, tends to underscore the bodily and sensual dimensions of encounters. These fresh approaches offer some alternatives to the constructionist assumption that claims that it is impossible to know and understand the other and that one can therefore only access the ways in which one's own culture has produced the other and rendered them intelligible.[73] From this point of view, which largely

follows Edward Said's Orientalist paradigm, attempts at translation are always distorting and, therefore, doomed to fail.[74]

Yet the question as to whether encounters hold the potential to foster contact across the divide between self and other – for those partaking in the encounter as well as for those studying it – has provoked other responses as well. Researchers have begun to move away from macrostructural frames of analysis, shifting their focus towards the everyday, towards 'the ways in which power and class and gender can be in a colour or a shape or a look'.[75] They often study the intersubjective constitution of subjectivities, drawing special attention to the body and the corporeal materiality of the encounter, accounting for its sensual and emotional dimensions.[76] However, this does not necessarily imply that there is a common bodily substrate that would enable universal transcultural human understanding. The debate about the extent to which one can comprehend the ways Hawaiians interacted with Captain James Cook and his crew – or whether one can comprehend these interactions at all – has clearly and succinctly laid bare the complexities of this issue.[77] Therefore, emphasizing the bodily and emotional dimensions of encounters does not necessarily require researchers to make assumptions regarding a shared physiological apparatus, but it does necessitate the development of methodological tools for crossing boundaries between and beyond languages.

* * *

<FL>The individual chapters cross these boundaries in manifold ways. Each chapter focuses on a specific group of actors – some of them less paradigmatic than others but all of them crucial for examining the multilayered complexity of transcultural encounters: topics range from missionaries, travellers and anthropologists across to entrepreneurs, diplomats and occupiers and

on to prisoners, the mentally ill, performers and lovers. Taken together, these diverse perspectives shed light on crucial aspects of both intercultural and intracultural encounters. The book eschews a chronological or comparative structure, which would bind the authors to the problematic assumption that historical periods or specific regions can be treated as self-contained entities. Instead, the authors focus on actors, their movements and their encounters with others, thereby weaving together a longitudinal narrative with individual case studies that are paradigmatic for certain constellations. This approach enables them to home in on the complex interrelations between different regions and time periods. This actor-based approach, with its theoretical and methodological emphasis on emotions, practices and bodies, provides fertile ground for the authors' in-depth analyses of complex social and cultural interactions and the emotions that permeate them and that have played a crucial role in the creation and organization of globalized spaces. By conducting their research on these different actor groups and the emotional structure of their encounters in a historically sensitive way, the authors offer fresh insights into a phenomenon that is not only experienced by an increasing number of the world's population on a daily basis but that also allows us to rethink the dichotomous conception of emotions as being either a product of nurture or a given of nature, a dichotomy that structures academic and non-academic debates on feelings to this very day.

The focus on specific groups of actors provides methodological clarity and coherence to the individual chapters. Reality, however, is often much messier. Missionaries also facilitated diplomatic negotiations; diplomats and tourists fell in love; lovers could become insane or end up as prisoners. Traders provided anthropological knowledge, and anthropologists were recruited to the army for their local expertise. In order to trace these overlaps and connections, *Encounters*

with Emotions contains numerous cross-references and threads, linking the chapters with one another.

The woman smoking the huqqah in the picture (Figure 0.1) embodies this plurality of roles.[78]

<<FIGURE 0.1>>

Figure 0.1 Detail of *Begum Samru's Household* (c. 1820), Delhi, India. © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL In 74.7). Used with permission.

<FL>Born as Farzana around 1750, she was raised in an establishment for dancing girls in northern India before being sold or gifted as a mistress to Walter Reinhardt, a soldier of fortune and mercenary from Austria, Luxembourg or Germany. Little is known about their emotional relationship, if they indeed had one at all. However, the events following Reinhardt's death in 1778 show that Farzana had by no means remained a submissive slave girl but had ambitiously used her position to establish a network of contacts and mutual obligations all over northern India. Relying on the personal loyalty of the army, over which she took command, she successfully placed herself at the head of the principality of Sardhana, some fifty miles northeast of Delhi, which had been given to Reinhardt by the Mughal emperor. She was recognized in her new role both by the Mughal court and the rising British colonial power. In the decades up until her death in 1836, she governed her territory with a firm hand and occasional cruelty, not only imprisoning her adversaries but in one instance even burying a slave girl alive and sitting on her grave until the victim's cries subsided. An astute diplomat, she moved between different cultural contexts without apparent difficulty. Known as Zeb un Nisa at the Mughal court, where the

emperor called her his beloved daughter, she was known as Begum Samru (after Reinhardt's nickname Sombre) in British circles. In her Mughal and British palaces she lavished hospitality on British travellers, not only introducing them to the Mughal court, increasingly an object of British curiosity, but also helping them to navigate the intricacies of imperial protocol. She converted to Catholicism in 1781, adding Princess Joanna to her names, built a church in Sardhana modelled on St Peter's Basilica in Rome and supported Christian missionaries. At the same time, she continued to celebrate Hindu and Muslim festivals at her cosmopolitan court, where Hindus and Muslims of all denominations intermingled with Catholics, Protestants and Jews from different regions of India and Persia, Armenia, England, Scotland, France, Germany, Poland and Portugal.[79] While she continued to dress like an Indian princess, she did not adhere to the rules of seclusion but interacted freely with the men, riding horses, drinking wine and smoking her water pipe. After her death, the principality of Sardhana was incorporated into British-Indian territory. David Dyce Sombre, her adopted son, had to leave India, was unable to find a place in Britain due to his cultural ambivalence, was declared insane and died at a young age.

In line with the overall argument of the book, the trajectory of Begum Samru's life exemplifies the fact that crossing multiple boundaries has only been possible in specific times and places. A life like Begum Samru's would have been unimaginable in the late nineteenth century. The encounter of feelings and the feeling of encounters have varied significantly over time, conditioned by the historical, political and cultural circumstances under which they took place. At the same time, cross-cultural encounters have always involved specific emotions and the bodily navigation of different emotional repertoires. This concurrence of the particular and the universal explains why actors and their feelings have never been fully transparent or

completely opaque to one another. It is precisely this ambivalence that allows the authors of this volume to challenge the divide between nature and nurture that has long dominated research on the emotions.

Ultimately, this approach highlights the encounter's potential for bringing about unforeseeable outcomes and initiating processes of learning. Mediating between the theoretical frameworks of universal and particular approaches, *Encounters with Emotions* thus accounts for both the cultural dimensions of nature and the bodily dimensions of nurture by combining analyses of symbolic forms with analyses of historicized bodies.

Benno Gammerl is DAAD lecturer in queer history at Goldsmiths, University of London and adjunct researcher at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development's Center for the History of Emotions in Berlin. He published (with Jan S. Hutta and Monique Scheer) 'Feeling Differently: Approaches and their Politics', in *Emotion, Space and Society* (2017) and most recently *Subjects, Citizens and Others: Administering Ethnic Heterogeneity in the British and Habsburg Empires, 1867–1918* (Berghahn, 2018).

Philipp Nielsen is an Assistant Professor for Modern European History at Sarah Lawrence College and an Associated Researcher at the Center for the History of Emotions at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin. He received his PhD from Yale University in 2012. His publications include *Between Heimat and Hatred: Jews and the Right in Germany, 1871–1935* (forthcoming with Oxford University Press, 2019) and *Architecture, Democracy and Emotions: The Politics of Feeling after 1945* with Till Großmann (Routledge, 2018). His

research interests include Jewish German history, German political and architectural history and the history of emotions.

Margrit Pernau is Senior Researcher at the Center for the History of Emotions at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin. She has been research fellow at the Social Science Research Center Berlin, the Modern Orient Centre in Berlin, the Institute of Advanced Studies in Freiburg and the EHESS in Paris. Among her publications are *The Delhi College: Traditional Elites, the Colonial State and Education before 1857* (Oxford University Press, 2006), *Ashraf into Middle Classes: Muslims in 19th Century Delhi* (Oxford University Press, 2013) and *Civilizing Emotions: Concepts in Nineteenth Century Asia and Europe* (with Helge Jordheim et al., Oxford University Press, 2015). She has also written numerous articles on the history of emotions, modern Indian history and historical semantics.

<A>**Bibliography**

Abulafia, D. *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

———. *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*. London: Lane, 2011.

Althusser, L. *Philosophy of the Encounter: Later Writings, 1978–87*, ed. F. Matheron and O. Corpet, trans. G.M. Goshgarian. London: Verso, 2006 [Fre. orig. *Sur la philosophie*. Paris: Gallimard, 1994].

Appadurai, A. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Asad, T. ‘Muslims and European Identity: Can Europe Represent Islam?’, in E. Hallam and B.V. Street (eds), *Cultural Encounters – Representing ‘Otherness’* (London: Routledge, 2000), 11–27.

Bachmann-Medick, D. ‘The Trans/National Study of Culture: A Translational Perspective’, in D. Bachmann-Medick (ed.), *The Trans/National Study of Culture* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 1–22.

Bachmann-Medick, D. (ed.). *The Trans/National Study of Culture: A Translational Perspective*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.

Balme, C.B. *Pacific Performances: Theatricality and Cross-Cultural Encounter in the South Seas*. Houndsmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Bank, A. ‘Losing Faith in the Civilizing Mission: The Premature Decline of Humanitarian Liberalism at the Cape, 1840–60’, in M. Daunton and R. Halpern (eds), *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 364–83.

Bayly, C.A. *The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003.

Beneito-Montagut, R. ‘Encounters on the Social Web: Everyday Life and Emotions Online’. *Sociological Perspectives* 58(4) (2015), 537–53, doi: 10.1177/0731121415569284.

Benhabib, S. *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

———. *Another Cosmopolitanism*, ed. R. Post. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Benjamin, W. ‘The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire’s Tableaux Parisiens’, in W. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. H. Arendt, trans. H. Zorn (New

York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), 69–82 [Ger. orig. ‘Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers’ (1923)].

Bentley, J.H. *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Bhaba, H.K. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Bitterli, U. *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800*, trans. R. Robertson. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989 [Ger. orig. *Alte Welt, Neue Welt*. Munich: Beck, 1986].

Blasco, M. ‘Stranger to Us than the Birds in our Garden? Reflections on Hermeneutics, Intercultural Understanding and the Management of Difference’, in M. Blasco and J. Gustafsson (eds), *Intercultural Alternatives: Critical Perspectives on Intercultural Encounters in Theory and Practice* (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 2004), 19–48.

Bochner, S. (ed.). *Cultures in Contact: Studies in Cross-Cultural Interaction*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1982.

Booth, H.J. ‘Making the Case for Cross-Cultural Exchange: Robert Byron’s The Road to Oxiana’, in C. Burdett and D. Duncan (eds), *Cultural Encounters: European Travel Writing in the 1930s* (New York: Berghahn, 2002), 159–72.

Borutta, M., and N. Verheyen (eds). *Männlichkeit und Emotion in der Moderne*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010.

Bose, M. ‘Harbhajan Singh Row Exposes Cultural Divide’. *The Telegraph*, 15 January 2008. Retrieved 12 September 2018 from

http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/cricket/2288942/Harbhajan-Singh-row-exposes-cultural-divide.html.

Braudel, F. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philipp II*, 2 vols, trans. S. Reynolds. New York: Harper & Row, 1972 [Fre. orig. *La Méditerranée et le monde méditeranéen à l'epoque de Philippe II.* Paris: Colin, 1949].

Brennan, T. *The Transmission of Affect*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Broomhall, S. (ed.). *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2017.

Brown, K. 'Native Americans and Early Modern Concepts of Race', in M. Daunton and R. Halpern (eds), *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 79–100.

Chatterjee, K., and C. Hawes. 'Introduction', in K. Chatterjee and C. Hawes (eds), *Europe Observed: Multiple Gazes in Early Modern Encounters* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2008), 1–43.

Chatterjee, K., and C. Hawes (eds). *Europe Observed: Multiple Gazes in Early Modern Encounters*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2008.

Clendinnen, I. *Dancing with Strangers*. Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2003.

Conrad, S. 'Globalization Effects: Mobility and Nation in Imperial Germany, 1880–1914'. *Journal of Global History* 3(1) (2008), 43–66, doi: 10.1017/S174002280800243X.

Crivelli, C., J.A. Russell, S. Jarillo and J.-M. Fernández-Dols. 'The Fear Gasping Face as a Threat Display in a Melanesian Society'. *PNAS (Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences)* 113(44) (2016), 12403–7, doi: 10.1073/pnas.1611622113.

Dallmayr, F. *Beyond Orientalism: Essays on Cross-Cultural Encounter*. Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1996.

Daunton, M., and R. Halpern. ‘Introduction: British Identities, Indigenous Peoples, and the Empire’, in M. Daunton and R. Halpern (eds), *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 1–18.

Davidann, J.T., and M.J. Gilbert. *Cross-Cultural Encounters in Modern World History*. Boston: Pearson, 2013.

Delanty, G. ‘Cultural Diversity, Democracy and the Prospects of Cosmopolitanism: A Theory of Cultural Encounters’. *British Journal of Sociology* 62(4) (2011), 633–56, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-4446.2011.01384.x.

Dening, G. *Beach Crossings: Voyaging across Times, Cultures and Self*. Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2004.

Dixon, T. *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Douglas, B. *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511–1850*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Dumouchel, P. ‘Emotions and Mimesis’, in S.R. Garrels (ed.), *Mimesis and Science: Empirical Research on Imitation and the Mimetic Theory of Culture and Religion* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2011), 75–86.

Eitler, P., S. Olsen and U. Jensen. ‘Introduction’, in U. Frevert et al., *Learning How to Feel: Children’s Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1–20.

Ekman, P., R. Sorenson and W.V. Friesen. ‘Pan-Cultural Elements in Facial Displays of Emotion’. *Science* 164(3875) (1969), 86–88.

Fabian, J. ‘You Meet and You Talk: Anthropological Reflections on Encounters and Discourses’, in S. Juterczenka and G. Mackenthun (eds), *The Fuzzy Logic of Encounter: New Perspectives on Cultural Contact* (Münster: Waxmann, 2009), 23–34.

Faiq, S. (ed.). *Cultural Encounters in Translation from Arabic*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2004.

Fanon, F. *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. C. Farrington. New York: Grove Press, 1963 [Fr. orig. *Les damnés de la terre*. Paris: Maspero, 1961].

Fischer-Tiné, H. ‘Reclaiming Savages in “Darkest England” and “Darkest India”: The Salvation Army as Transnational Agent of the Civilizing Mission’, in C.A. Watt and M. Mann (eds), *Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia: From Improvement to Development* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), 125–64.

Fisher, M.H. *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain 1600–1857*. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.

———. *The Inordinately Strange Life of Dyce Sombre: Victorian Anglo-Indian MP and ‘Chancery Lunatic’*. London: Hurst, 2010.

‘Forum: Perspectives on Teresa Brennan’s The Transmission of Affect’. *Women: A Cultural Review* 17(1) (2006), 103–17, doi: 10.1080/09574040600628724.

Freitag, U. *Indian Ocean Migrants and State Formation in Hadhramaut: Reforming the Homeland*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Frevert, U., et al. *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014 [Ger. orig. *Gefühlswissen: Eine lexikalische Spurensuche in der Moderne*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2011].

Frevert, U., et al. *Learning How to Feel: Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Fuchs, M. 'Reaching Out; Or, Nobody Exists in One Context Only: Society as Translation'. *Translation Studies* 2(1) (2009), 21–40, doi: 10.1080/14781700802496191.

Gammerl, B., J.S. Hutta and M. Scheer. 'Feeling Differently: Approaches and Their Politics'. *Emotion, Space and Society* 25 (2017), 87–94, doi: 10.1016/j.emospa.2017.07.007.

Gandhi, L. *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

Gandhi, M.K. *Hind Swaraj, or, Indian Home Rule*. Madras: S. Garnesan & Co., 1921.

Garcia, L.-M. '"Can You Feel It, Too?": Intimacy and Affect at Electronic Dance Music Events in Paris, Chicago, and Berlin'. Ph.D. dissertation. Chicago: Department of Music, University of Chicago, 2011.

Gilroy, P. *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2004.

Girard, R. *Theatre of Envy: William Shakespeare*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Glissant, É. *Introduction à une poétique du divers*. Paris: Gallimard, 1996.

Goffman, E. *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961.

Gordon, L. 'Internal Colonialism and Gender', in A.L. Stoler (ed.), *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 427–51.

Greenblatt, S. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Gruzinski, S. ‘Découverte, conquête et communication dans l’Amérique ibérique: Avant les mots, au-delà des mots’, in L. Turgeon, D. Delâge and R. Quellet (eds), *Transferts culturels et métissage Amérique/Europe, XVIe–XXe siècle* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1996), 141–54.

———. *La pensée métisse: Cahiers de l’institut universitaire d’études du développement*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999.

Gumperz, J.J. ‘Contextualization and Ideology in Intercultural Communication’, in A. di Luzio, S. Günthner and F. Orletti (eds), *Culture in Communication: Analyses of Intercultural Situations* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2001), 35–53.

Gustaffson, J., and M. Blasco. ‘Introduction–Intercultural Alternatives: Critical Perspectives on Intercultural Encounters in Theory and Practice’, in M. Blasco and J. Gustaffson (eds), *Intercultural Alternatives: Critical Perspectives on Intercultural Encounters in Theory and Practice* (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 2004), 11–18.

Hallam, E., and B.V. Street. ‘Introduction: Cultural Encounters – Representing “Otherness”’, in E. Hallam and B.V. Street (eds), *Cultural Encounters – Representing ‘Otherness*’ (London: Routledge, 2000), 1–10.

Hallam, E., and B.V. Street (eds). *Cultural Encounters – Representing ‘Otherness’*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Hansen, J. ‘Before the International Cricket Council Appointed Appeals Commissioner’. *The Age*, 29 January 2008. Retrieved 7 October 2015 from http://www.theage.com.au/ed_docs/hansen.pdf.

‘Harbhajan Attacks “Vulgar” Australia’. *ESPN Cricinfo*, 4 October 2007. Retrieved 12 September 2018 from http://www.espncricinfo.com/indvaus/content/story/313550.html.

Himka, J.-P. *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867–1900*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.

Ho, E. *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Horden, P., and N. Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.

Hulme, P. *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797*. London: Methuen, 1986.

Hunt, L. *Writing History in the Global Era*. New York: Norton, 2014.

Iriye, A. *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Jäger, L. 'Intermedialität – Intramedialität – Transkriptivität: Überlegungen zu einigen Prinzipien der kulturellen Semiosis', in A. Deppermann and A. Linke (eds), *Sprache intermedial: Stimme und Schrift, Bild und Ton* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 301–23.

Jobs, S., and G. Mackenthun (eds). *Embodiments of Cultural Encounters*. Münster: Waxmann, 2011.

Judson, P.M. *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Kaiserová, K., E. Nižňanský and M. Schulze Wessel (eds). *Religion und Nation: Tschechen, Deutsche und Slowaken im 20. Jahrhundert*. Essen: Klartext, 2015.

King, R. (ed.). *The Mediterranean Passage: Migration and New Cultural Encounters in Southern Europe*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001.

Knoblauch, H. ‘Communication, Contexts and Culture: A Communicative Constructivist Approach to Intercultural Communication’, in A. di Luzio, S. Günthner and F. Orletti (eds), *Culture in Communication: Analyses of Intercultural Situations* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2001), 3–33.

Konishi, S., M. Nugent and T. Shellam (eds). *Indigenous Intermediaries: New Perspectives on Exploration Archives*. Acton: Australian National University Press, 2015.

Lall, J.S. *Begum Samru: Fading Portrait in a Gilded Frame*. New Delhi: Roli Books, 1997.

Levinas, E. *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, trans. A. Lingis. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1969 [Fre. orig. *Totalité et infini*. La Haye: Nijhoff, 1961].

Levinas, E. *Humanism of the Other*, trans. N. Poller. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003 [Fre. orig. *Humanisme de l’autre homme*. Paris: Fata Morgana, 1972].

Leys, R. ‘The Turn to Affect: A Critique’, *Critical Inquiry* 37(3) (2011), 434–72, doi: 10.1086/659353.

Linrothe, R. *Ruthless Compassion: Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art*. London: Serinidia Publications, 1999.

Lobo, M. ‘Affective Energies: Sensory Bodies on the Beach in Darwin, Australia’. *Emotion, Space and Society* 12(1) (2014), 101–9, doi: 10.1016/j.emospa.2013.12.012.

Lüsebrink, H.-J. ‘Von der Faszination zur Wissenssystematisierung: Die koloniale Welt im Diskurs der europäischen Aufklärung’, in H.-J. Lüsebrink (ed.), *Das Europa der Aufklärung und die außereuropäische koloniale Welt* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006), 9–18.

Lüsebrink, H.-J. (ed.). *Das Europa der Aufklärung und die außereuropäische koloniale Welt*. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006.

Lutz, C.A., and L. Abu-Lughod (eds). *Language and the Politics of Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Mageo, J.M. (ed.). *Cultural Memory: Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.

Manjapra, K. *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Marjanen, J. 'Undermining Methodological Nationalism: Histoire croisée of Concepts as Transnational History', in M. Albert et al. (eds), *Transnational Political Spaces: Agents – Structures – Encounters* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2009), 239–63.

McClintock, A. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

McDevitt, P.F. 'Bodyline, Jardine and Masculinity', in A. Bateman and J. Hill (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Cricket* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 70–84.

Nagel, J. *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Nandy, A. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Nelson, B. 'Civilizational Complexes and Intercivilizational Encounters'. *Sociological Analysis* 34(2) (1973), 79–105, doi: 10.2307/3709717.

Niedenthal, P.M., et al. 'Embodiment in Attitudes, Social Perception, and Emotion'. *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 9(3) (2005), 184–211, doi: 10.1207/s15327957pspr0903_1.

Obeyesekere, G. *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Ortiz, F. *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, trans. H. de Onís. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995 [Spa. orig. *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*. Havana: Jesús Montero, 1940].

Osterhammel, J. *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*. Munich: Beck, 1998.

Pernau, M. 'Whither Conceptual History? From National to Entangled Histories', *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 7(1) (2012), 1–11, doi: 10.3167/choc.2012.070101.

———. 'Civility and Barbarism: Emotions as Criteria of Difference', in U. Frevert et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 230–59.

Pernau, M., et al. *Civilizing Emotions: Concepts in Nineteenth-Century Asia and Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Pernau, M., and I. Rajamani. 'Emotional Translations: Conceptual History beyond Language'. *History & Theory* 55(1) (2016), 46–65, doi: 10.1111/hith.10787.

Plamper, J. *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Pratt, M.L. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Reddy, W.M. *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Renn, J. *Übersetzungsverhältnisse: Perspektiven einer pragmatistischen Gesellschaftstheorie*. Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft, 2006.

Ricoeur, P. 'Phenomenology and Hermeneutics'. *Noûs* 9(1) (1975), 85–102.

———. *The Course of Recognition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Rozbicki, M.J., and G.O. Ndege. 'Introduction', in M.J. Rozbicki and G.O. Ndege (eds), *Cross-Cultural History and the Domestication of Otherness* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1–12.

Rushdie, S. *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981–1991*. London: Granta Books, 1992.

Saada, E. *Empire's Children: Race, Filiation, and Citizenship in the French Colonies*, trans. A. Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012 [Fre. orig. *Les enfants de la colonie*. Paris: La Découverte, 2007].

Sahlins, M. *How 'Natives' Think: About Captain Cook, for Example*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Said, E.W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Sandiford, K.A.P. 'The Professionalization of Modern Cricket'. *International Journal of the History of Sport* 2(3) (1985), 270–89, doi: 10.1080/02649378508713580.

Schwartz, S.B. 'Introduction', in S.B. Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1–19.

Seigworth, G.J., and M. Gregg. 'An Inventory of Shimmers', in M. Gregg and G.J. Seigworth (eds), *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 1–25.

Sen, S. 'Enduring Colonialism in Cricket: From Ranjitsinhji to the Cronje Affair'. *Contemporary South Asia* 10(2) (2001), 237–49, doi: 10.1080/09584930120083837.

———. *Migrant Races: Empire, Identity and K.S. Ranjitsinhji*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.

Shellam, T. ‘Mediating Encounters through Bodies and Talk’, in S. Konishi, M. Nugent and T. Shellam (eds), *Indigenous Intermediaries: New Perspectives on Exploration Archives* (Acton: Australian National University Press, 2015), 85–102.

Shoemaker, N. *Native American Whalemen and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

Sinha, M. *Colonial Masculinity: The ‘Manly Englishman’ and the ‘Effeminate Bengali’ in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

Sluga, G. ‘Identity, Gender, and the History of European Nations and Nationalisms’. *Nations and Nationalism* 4(1) (1998), 87–111, doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.1998.00087.x.

———. *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Smith, V. *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Stewart, C. ‘Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture’. *Portuguese Studies* 27(1) (2011), 48–55, doi: 10.5699/portstudies.27.1.0048.

Stoler, A.L. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Subrahmanyam, S. *Explorations in Connected History*: *From the Tagus to the Ganges*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

‘Symonds Sparked by Indian Celebrations’. *ESPN Cricinfo*, 28 September 2007. Retrieved 12 September 2018 from http://www.espncricinfo.com/indvaus/content/story/312827.html.

‘Symonds Tells his Side of the Story’. *ESPN Cricinfo*, 7 January 2008. Retrieved 12 September 2018 from http://www.espncricinfo.com/ausvind/content/story/329488.html.

Tamcke, M., and J. Gladson (eds). *Body, Emotion and Mind: 'Embodying' the Experiences in Indo-European Encounters*. Vienna: Lit-Verlag, 2013.

Taussig, M. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Taylor, C. 'The Politics of Recognition', in A. Gutmann (ed.), *Multiculturalism and 'The Politics of Recognition': An Essay by Charles Taylor* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 25–73.

Thomas, N. *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.

Vaughan, A.T. *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Verheyen, N. 'Age(ing) with Feeling', in U. Frevert et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 151–76.

Wise, A., and S. Velayutham. 'Introduction: Multiculturalism and Everyday Life', in A. Wise and S. Velayutham (eds), *Everyday Multiculturalism* (Houndsmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1–17.

Young, R.J.C. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*. London: Routledge, 1995.

<A>**Notes**

1. Bose, 'Harbhajan Singh Row Exposes Cultural Divide'. Many thanks to William Gould and Margrit's Facebook friends for finding this incident for us.

2. The history of cricket, its professionalization since the 1960s and the even older conflicts over race and masculinity are equally important. On the professionalization of cricket, see, for example, Sandiford, 'The Professionalization of Modern Cricket', 270–89; on race and masculinity in the sport, see Sen, 'Enduring Colonialism in Cricket: From Ranjitsinhji to the Cronje Affair', 237–49; McDevitt, 'Bodyline, Jardine and Masculinity', 70–84.
3. 'Symonds Sparked by Indian Celebrations', *ESPN Cricinfo*.
4. 'Harbhajan Attacks "Vulgar" Australia', *ESPN Cricinfo*.
5. Bose, 'Harbhajan Singh Row'.
6. 'Symonds Tells his Side of the Story', *ESPN Cricinfo*.
7. Hansen, 'Before the International Cricket Council Appointed Appeals Commissioner'.
8. See Satadru Sen's biography of Ranjitsinhji, *Migrant Races: Empire, Identity and K.S. Ranjitsinhji*.
9. Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, 75–146.
10. For a review of relevant literature, see the section 'Recent Historiography on Transcultural Encounters' below in this chapter. Hunt, *Writing History in the Global Era* and Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* have recently argued for including emotional perspectives in global history.
11. Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category*; Frevert et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000*; for a work on early modern emotions that also includes some thoughts on transcultural encounters, see Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*.
12. Lutz and Abu-Lughod, *Language and the Politics of Emotion*.
13. Levinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, 187–218.

14. Beneito-Montagut, ‘Encounters on the Social Web: Everyday Life and Emotions Online’, 537–53.
15. In a similar fashion, Erving Goffman stresses the physical co-presence of the participants in an encounter while simultaneously reminding us that encounters are always embedded in larger social structures; Goffman, *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*.
16. Affect-theory approaches highlight openness and unexpected potentials as well, often taking recourse to Spinoza’s notion of encounter; Seigworth and Gregg, ‘An Inventory of Shimmers’, 3. From a Marxist perspective, Louis Althusser also emphasized the contingencies and aleatory dynamics of encounters; Althusser, *Philosophy of the Encounter: Later Writings, 1978–87*, xli and 193. For a similar conception, see also Schwartz, ‘Introduction’, 3.
17. Fabian, ‘You Meet and You Talk: Anthropological Reflections on Encounters and Discourses’, 25.
18. Fernando Ortiz introduced the notion of transculturation in 1940; Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*. For a different take on the phenomenon of cultural intermingling, see Stewart, ‘Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture’, 48–55.
19. Ekman, Sorenson and Friesen, ‘Pan-Cultural Elements in Facial Displays of Emotion’, 87, but for a counter-position based on further research in Papua New Guinea, see Crivelli et al., ‘The Fear Gasping Face as a Threat Display in a Melanesian Society’, 12403–7.
20. For an early example of this critique, see Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797*; for premediation, see Ricoeur, ‘Phenomenology and Hermeneutics’, 85–102; Ricoeur, *The Course of Recognition*; Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus*.

21. Linrothe, *Ruthless Compassion: Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art*, 20–22, 134.
22. Balme, *Pacific Performances: Theatricality and Cross-Cultural Encounter in the South Seas*, 2–6; Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511–1850*, 9, 18–19; Gruzinski, 'Découverte, conquête et communication dans l'Amérique ibérique: Avant les mots, au-delà des mots', 141–54; Jäger, 'Intermedialität—Intramedialität—Transkriptivität: Überlegungen zu einigen Prinzipien der kulturellen Semiosis', 301–23.
23. Pernau, 'Whither Conceptual History? From National to Entangled Histories', 1–11, with further references. For an early version of this argument, see Benjamin, 'The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's Tableaux Parisiens', 69–82.
24. Faiq, *Cultural Encounters in Translation from Arabic*.
25. Bachmann-Medick, *The Trans/National Study of Culture: A Translational Perspective*; Fuchs, 'Reaching Out; Or, Nobody Exists in One Context Only: Society as Translation', 21–40; Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*; Marjanen, 'Undermining Methodological Nationalism: Histoire croisée of Concepts as Transnational History', 239–63; Renn, *Übersetzungsverhältnisse: Perspektiven einer pragmatistischen Gesellschaftstheorie*.
26. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, 63–111; Pernau and Rajamani, 'Emotional Translations: Conceptual History beyond Language', 46–65.
27. Eitler, Olsen and Jensen, 'Introduction', 1–20.
28. Clendinnen, *Dancing with Strangers*, 11 and passim; Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*, 76, 78.

29. Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*.

30. Niedenthal et al., 'Embodiment in Attitudes, Social Perception, and Emotion', 193.

31. Girard, *Theatre of Envy: William Shakespeare*.

32. Dumouchel, 'Emotions and Mimesis', 76–81.

33. In order to describe how imitation produces and reproduces inequalities, Stephen Greenblatt developed the notion of *mimetic capital*; Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*, 6.

34. See Brennan, *The Transmission of Affect*. For a criticism of affect theory's bias against intentionality, see Leys, 'The Turn to Affect: A Critique', 443.

35. Brennan, *Transmission of Affect*, 17.

36. Brennan, *Transmission of Affect*, 7. On whether Brennan actually needs to use neurochemistry to make her argument, see 'Forum: Perspectives on Teresa Brennan's The Transmission of Affect', 103–17.

37. Brennan, *Transmission of Affect*, 9–10, 20. For a similar approach, see Garcia, '"Can You Feel It, Too?": Intimacy and Affect at Electronic Dance Music Events in Paris, Chicago, and Berlin'.

38. Gammerl, Hutta and Scheer, 'Feeling Differently: Approaches and Their Politics', 87–94.

39. Frevert, *Learning How to Feel: Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970*.

40. Smith, *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters*.

41. Pernau, 'Civility and Barbarism: Emotions as Criteria of Difference', 230–59. As far as the current state of research can tell us, this might indeed have been a particularity of the European tradition. While the Islamicate world and South Asia, for instance, made extensive

use of family metaphors to make sense of encounters between strangers, this did not extend to the use of gender or age as ways of classifying different social groups.

42. Verheyen, 'Age(ing) with Feeling', 151–76.

43. Brown, 'Native Americans and Early Modern Concepts of Race', 79–100; Chatterjee and Hawes, 'Introduction', 28–30; Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain 1600–1857*, 5.

44. Bank, 'Losing Faith in the Civilizing Mission: The Premature Decline of Humanitarian Liberalism at the Cape, 1840–60', 364–83.

45. Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism*, 183–84, 208; Saada, *Empire's Children: Race, Filiation, and Citizenship in the French Colonies*; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*.

46. McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, 257; Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers*.

47. Fischer-Tiné, 'Reclaiming Savages in "Darkest England" and "Darkest India": The Salvation Army as Transnational Agent of the Civilizing Mission', 125–64.

48. Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism*, 9, 181; Hallam and Street, 'Introduction: Cultural Encounters—Representing "Otherness"', 3; Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century*; Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*, 8.

49. Borutta and Verheyen, *Männlichkeit und Emotion in der Moderne*; Pernau et al., *Civilizing Emotions: Concepts in Nineteenth-Century Asia and Europe*.

50. Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters*; Lüsebrink, 'Von der Faszination zur Wissenssystematisierung: Die koloniale Welt im Diskurs der europäischen Aufklärung', 17–

18; Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*.

51. On the intricacies of cross-class, cross-gender and cross-race desires as they played out between the servant-lady Hannah Cullwick and her master-husband Arthur Munby in Victorian England, see McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 132–80.

52. This process has been particularly well studied within the ethnically diverse regions of Central Eastern Europe; Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867–1900*; Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria*; Kaiserová, Nižňanský and Schulze Wessel, *Religion und Nation: Tschechen, Deutsche und Slowaken im 20. Jahrhundert*.

53. Gordon, 'Internal Colonialism and Gender', 427–51; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 353; Sluga, 'Identity, Gender, and the History of European Nations and Nationalisms', 87–111.

54. This seemingly contradictory simultaneity of universalization and difference has been analysed in an exemplary fashion by studies that view nationalism as an inter- or transnational phenomenon; Conrad, 'Globalization Effects: Mobility and Nation in Imperial Germany, 1880–1914', 43–66; Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. For an example from the history of religion, see Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*.

55. Blasco, 'Stranger to Us than the Birds in our Garden? Reflections on Hermeneutics, Intercultural Understanding and the Management of Difference', 31.

56. Booth, 'Making the Case for Cross-Cultural Exchange: Robert Byron's The Road to Oxiana', 167; Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship*.

57. Young, *Colonial Desire*, 52. See also Gumperz, 'Contextualization and Ideology in Intercultural Communication', 35.

58. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj, or, Indian Home Rule*; Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*; Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*.

59. Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 150. See also Levinas, *Humanism of the Other*.

60. Taylor, 'The Politics of Recognition', 25–73.

61. Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981–1991*. See also Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*; Bhaba, *The Location of Culture*; Glissant, *Introduction à une poétique du divers*; Gruzinski, *La pensée métisse: Cahiers de l'institut universitaire d'études du développement*; Knoblauch, 'Communication, Contexts and Culture: A Communicative Constructivist Approach to Intercultural Communication', 28; Stewart, 'Creolization', 48–55.

62. Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism*; Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*.

63. Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?*; Wise and Velayutham, 'Introduction: Multiculturalism and Everyday Life', 1–17.

64. Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times*. See also Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800*; Bochner, *Cultures in Contact: Studies in Cross-Cultural Interaction*; Nelson, 'Civilizational Complexes and Intercivilizational Encounters', 79–105.

For a more recent exploration of this approach, see Delanty, 'Cultural Diversity, Democracy and the Prospects of Cosmopolitanism: A Theory of Cultural Encounters', 633–56.

65. Thomas, *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire*, 3, 16f.; Bachmann-Medick, 'The Trans/National Study of Culture: A Translational Perspective', 14; Chatterjee and Hawes, *Europe Observed*; Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism*; Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire*; Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race*; Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History*: *From the Tagus to the Ganges*; Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776*.

66. Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants and State Formation in Hadhramaut: Reforming the Homeland*; Ho, *Graves of Tarim.*

67. Chatterjee and Hawes, 'Introduction', 5. See also Konishi, Nugent and Shellam, *Indigenous Intermediaries: New Perspectives on Exploration Archives*.

68. Chatterjee and Hawes, 'Introduction', 23–24.

69. Davidann and Gilbert, *Cross-Cultural Encounters in Modern World History*, 3; Dening, *Beach Crossings: Voyaging across Times, Cultures and Self*, 13.

70. This approach goes back to the seminal work of Braudel; Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philipp II*. For recent works, see Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*; King, *The Mediterranean Passage: Migration and New Cultural Encounters in Southern Europe*; Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*. On the concept of the contact zone, see Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*.

71. Balme, *Pacific Performances*, 6; Daunton and Halpern, 'Introduction: British Identities, Indigenous Peoples, and the Empire', 5.

72. Hulme, *Colonial Encounters*; Hallam and Street, *Cultural Encounters—Representing 'Otherness'*; Lüsebrink, *Europa der Aufklärung und die außereuropäische koloniale Welt*; Mageo, *Cultural Memory: Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific*; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.

73. Dallmayr, *Beyond Orientalism: Essays on Cross-Cultural Encounter*, xvii; Gustaffson and Blasco, 'Introduction–Intercultural Alternatives: Critical Perspectives on Intercultural Encounters in Theory and Practice', 16; Schwartz, 'Introduction', 1–2.

74. Asad, 'Muslims and European Identity: Can Europe Represent Islam?', 11–27; Faiq, *Cultural Encounters in Translation*; Said, *Orientalism*.

75. Dening, *Beach Crossings*, 18. See also Fabian, 'You Meet', 26; Rozbicki and Ndege, 'Introduction', 2.

76. Balme, *Pacific Performances*, 2; Gruzinski, 'Découverte', 145; Fabian, 'You Meet', 32–33; Hallam and Street, 'Introduction', 4; Jobs and Mackenthun, *Embodiments of Cultural Encounters*; Lobo, 'Affective Energies: Sensory Bodies on the Beach in Darwin, Australia', 104; Shellam, 'Mediating Encounters through Bodies and Talk', 85–102; Tamcke and Gladson, *Body, Emotion and Mind: 'Embodying' the Experiences in Indo-European Encounters*.

77. Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific*; Sahlins, *How 'Natives' Think: About Captain Cook, for Example*.

78. For her colourful biography, see Lall, *Begum Samru: Fading Portrait in a Gilded Frame*; for the biography of her adopted son, see Fisher, *The Inordinately Strange Life of Dyce Sombre: Victorian Anglo-Indian MP and 'Chancery Lunatic'*.

79. Fisher, *Inordinately Strange Life*, 33.