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## Love

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## Chapter X

### Love

Niamh Cullen

Sicily, December 1966. In a courtroom in the coastal town of Trapani, a group of men stand trial on the charges of abduction and rape of a seventeen year-old girl with the intention of forcing her into marriage. Franca Viola had been taken by force from her family home in western Sicily a year beforehand, and held by her abductor for over ten days before being found by police. Abductions leading to marriage – or indeed elopements that sometimes looked like abductions – were not unheard of in 1960s Sicily. The expectation was that they would always end in marriage. Franca Viola was the first to reject this cruel custom, and to press charges on her aggressor, Filippo Melodia.

The case, as presented by the facts, had very little – if anything – to do with love. The kidnapping was a violent act and Viola was clearly unwilling. Over the course of the week-long trial, it became clear though that what was at stake, was the very nature and meaning of love itself. The arguments of both the prosecution and the defence hinged on competing definitions of love. Franca Viola apparently used love as the justification for her rejection of Melodia's proposal; she would instead 'marry the man I love'.<sup>1</sup> The prosecution, in summing up her case, applauded Franca Viola's example. She 'chose to follow her feelings rather than the path indicated by convenience or [...] tradition'.<sup>2</sup> Another journalist, commenting on the case, spoke about the 'rights' that Franca Viola and girls like her had to 'their feelings and to the heart'.<sup>3</sup> In 1960s Italy, both the media and the courtroom were asserting that love was a reasonable expectation, even a right. The understanding of love shared by Franca

Viola, her family, the prosecution team, the judge was bound up with individual choice and freedom, equality between men and women, as well as with a globalised understanding of modernity. The Italian public, by and large, was also in her favour, accepting Franca Viola's right to love and to her choice of marriage partner.

Italy in the mid-1960s was a changing society. The post-war economic miracle (1957-63) was bringing an end to rural, peasant Italy through widespread migration from south to north and rural to urban Italy. The miracle also brought millions more into contact with consumerism and mass culture, whether American films or Italian television and illustrated magazines. Gender roles and relations were shifting, while the family was being redefined. The counter-cultures of 1968, with their emphasis on individualism, youth, liberty and free love, were just a couple of years away, although slower to arrive in Sicily, where the idea of family honour was still strong.

Although it was Franca Viola's definition of love – as connected to gender equality and modernity – that prevailed, it was not the only one at play in that Trapani courtroom in 1966. Viola's aggressor Filippo Melodia also claimed in his defence to have acted out of love. According to Melodia's legal team, Franca Viola and Filippo Melodia were two 'doves' who had been prevented from 'realising their dream of love' by her father.<sup>4</sup> Melodia was being jailed, they claimed, simply for falling in love. Here love was painted as secretive and passionate. A powerful, ungovernable feeling, it might overwhelm anyone but was more likely to spill into male possessiveness, control and violence. Presented in the Italian media as part of the southern, Sicilian tradition of elopement, passion and romantic love, this understanding of love had its own strong, global roots. The tensions and contradictions at the core of what is understood as love – between passion and violence, transgression and control, liberty and possession – have been present in

varying degrees and forms across very many parts of the globe since at least the eighteenth century, when this chapter begins.

The following pages will attempt to untangle this knot of differing understandings, and to tease out the shifting, contradictory nature of love. Focusing on romantic love between couples, this chapter will sift through its varying meanings in local, national and global contexts since the eighteenth century. Other forms of love such as divine love, love in politics and between family and friends, are beyond the scope of this discussion, except where they illuminate the history of romantic love. The discussion begins with an attempt to locate the origins of romantic love, before going on to examine correspondence and the various languages of love – written and material – from the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. The twentieth century is dominated by the globalization of love through mass culture, technology and colonial power, although this is also a story with its own local and regional accents. Finally, we will examine the ways in which individuals and groups have attempted to reimagine romantic love in different times and places, before considering how the late twentieth and twentieth-first century legal redefinition of marriage in many societies – through the legalisation and liberalisation of divorce law and the introduction of same sex marriage – may be bringing about a broader shift in how we understand romantic love between couples.

### **Love: untangling the knot of power, liberty, equality, passion**

It is a commonplace of twenty-first century globalised mass culture that ‘love’ is universal emotion and that being capable of loving is an intrinsic part of the human condition. It does appear that most societies that we know of have some

understanding or concept of conjugal love; that is, love between a couple who are in a sexual relationship, and what we might now term 'romantic love' and it is this kind of love, rather than love in families or divine love, that will be the focus of this chapter. What we term romantic love does at the same time have a specific history, and can be located and traced across time and space. What people have understood by love, how they have experienced and articulated it and what role it has played in their lives, has shifted over time and across societies, nations and communities. It is for the most part a western history, although historians are increasingly examining its global dimensions, as well as tracing the global spread of the western notion of romantic love through colonialism, missionary work and mass culture.<sup>5</sup>

The origins of romantic love are often traced back to the medieval tradition of courtly love, a poetic lexicon located mainly in France and Italy and linked to Christianity, although William Reddy has drawn links also with medieval Japan.<sup>6</sup> Others place its origins much later, linking a new understanding of love with the Enlightenment ideas of individuality and liberty, and the cult of sensibility.<sup>7</sup> Its roots have also been traced to Christianity, with its emphasis on monogamy and love of the divine, while Peter Stearns suggests a possible link with Protestantism in particular.<sup>8</sup> Romantic love gained a particular significance amongst the current of sentiment and ideas of the Romantic movement, and their emphasis on individualism and liberty of feeling in politics as in life. In the twentieth century, sources from Italy, Africa and Egypt and no doubt elsewhere talk about 'modern love' as a new way of being and feeling, indicating the place of love in the forces of global modernization.<sup>9</sup> Modern love is usually connected to equality, although Katie Barclay's work on early modern Scotland makes it clear that love was not the equalising, liberating force it is usually seen as now, but one deeply embedded in the patriarchal system. Francesca Cancian's

work on what she termed the ‘feminisation of love’ in modern western culture also found that the ways in which love has been defined reinforce existing gender roles and expectations.<sup>10</sup> A slippery and contradictory notion, love can be bound to modernising and liberating forces, while it also has a much darker history. Often seen as ungovernable – carrying connotations of passion, madness and possession, leading to jealousy, control and sometimes violence – it has been used to govern women, of course.

Although it is only the latter half of the twentieth century that we might speak, as Stephanie Coontz does, of how love has fully ‘conquered marriage’, love and marriage have a much longer interlinked history.<sup>11</sup> An arranged marriage could also be a loving one, although understandings of what love meant in these contexts shifted over time and from place to place. Barclay shows how seventeenth-century Scottish couples wrote of love in marriage in terms of affection and caring behaviour while their eighteenth-century counterparts, in keeping with the cult of sensibility and the rise of individualism, described love as a powerful, abstract force which could engulf the self.<sup>12</sup> By the early eighteenth century, there were expectations among elite couples in Scotland that love might play a role in courtship, with the decline of parental authority in marriage and the growth of public leisure spaces. There was evidently a global dimension to this emotional and affective shift. In China, the late seventeenth century saw much discussion of companionate marriage, which although toned down again from the early eighteenth century onwards, nevertheless left its mark. Indeed Janet Theiss offers glimpses in her work of an elite marriage based on affection and a strong conjugal bond in early eighteenth-century Jiaxing.<sup>13</sup>

Even as there was increasing space given to love in elite courtship from the eighteenth century onwards, these developments in the history of marriage and the

emotions were still partial and patchy. While we can see simultaneous glimpses of companionate marriages in Anglophone societies and in China, there are still large areas of the globe, and significant groups of people – particularly those of the peasant and working classes, slave communities and other marginalised groups – whose experiences present much greater challenges for historians to research, although there is more work to be done. Emma Griffin's work on English working-class biography in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries points to the role of the industrial revolution in reshaping courtship: as new leisure spaces for leisure opened and populations became more mobile and urban, there was increased freedom and privacy in courtship, and the role of parents diminished.<sup>14</sup> Kathryn Sloan's work on criminal records of seduction and elopement in nineteenth-century Mexico notes similar tensions between parents and children as courting couples grasped at new freedoms in the changing city.<sup>15</sup> Stearns notes the connection between love and commerce even in preindustrial eighteenth-century society, through colourful clothes and other such symbols.<sup>16</sup> Sally Holloway's work on the material culture of courtship in England between the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries examined the ritualised practices of exchanging love letters and tokens in the context of the growing commercialisation of romantic love.<sup>17</sup> Rodolph Bell found that in Italy, migration, urbanisation and social change brought increased an emphasis on love in courtship – often resulting in parental conflict – to larger towns in the nineteenth century and only in the early twentieth century to rural villages.<sup>18</sup> Urbanisation also provided new and increased opportunities for men and women to develop loving relationships with somebody of their own sex.<sup>19</sup>

We might also consider how love in marriage could be understood differently to marrying for romantic love; how we might consider loving behaviour between

couples as distinct from the more abstract notion of romantic love. Even as love began to play a greater role in courtship, it was usually considered as just one among many things to be considered when choosing a marriage partner. Claire Langhamer found that this was the case in England right into the mid twentieth century, when people still gave great importance to social and practical matters in courtship; financial circumstances mattered, as did social class, education and religion.<sup>20</sup> That is not to suggest that such courtships and marriages were necessarily less loving though; it was not necessarily a choice of pragmatism over romance, since ‘suitability’ could also suggest and encourage feelings of love. Simon Szreter and Kate Fisher, in their oral history of English marriage and sexuality before the 1960s, identify reciprocal ‘caring’ and ‘sharing’ as central to how couples in early to mid-twentieth-century England spoke about love in marriage.<sup>21</sup> A loving marriage was one in which each partner cared for the other according to the expectations of their gender roles, while also sharing emotionally with each other. In Italian memoirs of couples who married before the 1960s, women in particular wrote of love in marriage more readily than they wrote of romance, passion or love before the wedding.<sup>22</sup> This was the case for marriages that were arranged or semi-arranged (as was still common in Italy up to the 1950s) as it was for those who formed unions more freely. Evidence from around the globe also suggests that marriages did not have to be freely chosen to be loving ones. Indeed arranged marriages persist in many societies, for example in late twentieth-century Egypt, India and elsewhere, and are not considered incompatible with love.<sup>23</sup>

The very idea of romantic love can also, as Barclay suggests, have a patriarchal function. She argues that in Scottish elite marriages, it was indeed the notion of romantic love itself that was used to curb women’s freedom and self realisation. While in seventeenth-century correspondence, love was usually linked



with obedience for women, eighteenth-century women wrote of their whole selves being enveloped by love. Obedience thus gave way to belonging: 'I am yours'.<sup>24</sup> Ingrid Tague, in her study of eighteenth-century English marriage, finds similarly that in the conduct literature of the time, love was regarded as a necessary corollary to obedience, a tool to ensure that women played their subordinate roles in marriage with satisfaction.<sup>25</sup> Indeed until 1925 the promises both to 'love' and to 'obey' were part of the vows all women marrying in the Church of England had to take, indicating that 'love' and 'obey' were by no means seen as incompatible.<sup>26</sup> In making the case that Franca Viola should be free to marry whom she chose, her legal team and indeed the Italian media of the 1960s made their definition of love – as linked to equality and freedom of choice – seem like the natural and obvious one. A glance at the history of love shows that this development was by no means universal or inevitable though. The reasons for this may be contained in the nature of love itself.

If love did gradually become more closely associated with marriage over time, it must also be noted that almost all societies had some idea of love as a dangerous and uncontrollable force. Folk stories and songs tended to delineate the boundaries of what was acceptable within a community and what was not, to warn about transgression and to set out the consequences. Many folk stories or tropes about love can be understood in this vein. Love, lust or passion, as they might be named or understood, were powerful feelings that had the power to break down boundaries, disrupt community mores, break patrilineal bonds and patriarchal family structures. It is not by chance that love might indeed be seen as madness or illness, or as an abstract force more powerful than the couple themselves. In many places too, there have been well-known formulae for breaking the rules, usually through elopement, whether in eighteenth-century Scotland, nineteenth-century Mexico or in southern Italy, up to the

twentieth century.<sup>27</sup> Elopement generally had severe consequences though – in Scotland it was seen as an ‘abandonment of duty’ – and the couple who eloped ran the risk of being estranged from their families.<sup>28</sup> As such the decision could have emotional, affective and financial consequences. Elopement, and ideas about love as powerful, dangerous and a kind of madness, were strongest in societies and communities where the rules that governed courtship and marriage were strictest.

Such ideas could also bleed into darker feelings and practices; love as possession becoming jealousy, with connotations of violence and control, usually by men over women. Filippo Melodia described his own motive in terms of possessive love. Love as madness and as wild, uncontrollable passion could also spill easily into actual violence as we can see from the work of Jade Shepherd on nineteenth-century England, among others.<sup>29</sup> This kind of love could also cause insanity: to ‘feel nearly mad’ with the thought of the lover.<sup>30</sup> The history of so-called crimes of passion demonstrates just how closely entangled love and passion have been with madness and violence.<sup>31</sup> If the notion of love could be used to subordinate women within marriage at a societal level, it might also become a way of controlling a woman within an intimate relationship, even outside of and against the patriarchal rules of the wider community. There is evidence too that the growing prevalence of romantic love – with its emphasis on both freedom of choice and possessiveness in love – as in nineteenth-century England, could lead to heightened male jealousy and consequent violence.<sup>32</sup> Indeed Barclay argues that romantic love even in the twenty-first century is inherently violent: chaotic and unstable, it calls for sacrifice of the self and possession of the lover, belying Giddens’ notion of ‘confluent love’, based on gender equality.<sup>33</sup>

It was evident from the outset that the abduction of Franca Viola was a violent crime, but usually the lines between abduction and elopement were much murkier and it was almost impossible to tell what blend of love, passion, persuasion, violence and coercion lay at the heart of each story. Would the couple have been able to describe it clearly even to themselves? Running like threads through the history of love, we have to bear these shifting, contradictory and sometimes confused meanings in mind. Just as love was liberating for some, it could be a means of patriarchal control for others, or bound up in complex and confusing ways with intimate violence. Love is and has been all of these things. The following section will attempt to tease out how love has been understood, described and experienced over time by lovers themselves.

### **Languages of love: correspondence, material culture and the body**

Scholars have made extensive use of correspondence as a way of examining how people in the past described and demonstrated their love in letters, particularly as the cult of sensibility gave rise in the eighteenth century to an increased introspection and articulacy in matters of love. Feelings of love were not just communicated through words alone and historians have also drawn our attention to the value of letters as physical objects of love; to understand their language, we should pay attention to such details as the folding of the pages, the underlining of words, their arrangement on the page and even the manner in which the letters are preserved, as well as to the words themselves.<sup>34</sup>

Love letters, in courtship at least, were not usually private affairs. Reading and writing them could be a collective experience that involved the family.<sup>35</sup> Letters might also be published, creating a two-way borrowing system of words and tropes

between the personal and the literary spheres. Letters exchanged between adulterous lovers were, of course, the exception. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when elite courtship was usually highly codified and divorce difficult to access, the rare written remnants of adultery that historians have uncovered give us glimpses of what must have been vast, hidden emotional landscapes encompassing same sex relationships as well as illicit heterosexual love affairs.<sup>36</sup> Such letters were often destroyed, while in some cases, they only came to light because of a court case.<sup>37</sup>

Emotions tended to run very high in illicit letters; lovers wrote of overwhelming passion, lust, desire and jealousy. The writers could often be openly sensual and sexual, writing of lovers' bodies, touch and desire, obviously unconstrained by convention in the manner of courtship letters. In eighteenth-century England, lovers wrote of being 'all on fire' and of how a lover's 'magick touch' could bring about a 'Delirium of Ecstasy', while another lusted after his lover's 'panting bosom'.<sup>38</sup> In nineteenth-century Italy, religious imagery of the Madonna and the sacred heart blended with the heart as a more conventional symbol of romantic love.<sup>39</sup> Such strong emotions could easily manifest in the body too; an eighteenth-century English woman was 'very ill' after her lover left her.<sup>40</sup> In eighteenth-century China, a married upper-class woman wrote to her lover that she 'coughed blood' and had rashes on her body.<sup>41</sup> Such physical signs might have signified not just heightened passions but inner conflict about the affair. In nineteenth-century southern Italy, women wrote of the pain of their unrequited love in highly physical, and visual language. There were tears of blood, images of withered flowers, and the likening of the loss of love to the pain of death.<sup>42</sup>

These heightened passions could have a darker side, since the adulterous affair, although existing outside of social convention, could reproduce and even

amplify gendered power structures.<sup>43</sup> Women had much more to lose if the affair was discovered, and their lovers were usually aware of the power this gave them. Passion and lust in these cases, easily spilled into jealousy, with potentially violent consequences.<sup>44</sup> Seymour's work suggests at the same time that it would be a mistake to assume that women were always disempowered by love.<sup>45</sup> His sources were letters written by upper-class southern Italian women to a travelling circus performer in the 1870s. These women took a measure of control over their lives, creating their own 'emotional arenas' with letters of love, tokens and even gifts of money. In doing so they gained a certain amount of power and freedom – of imagination and expression – in a world where women's lives were highly codified and controlled.

It must be remembered that it was only an educated minority who had the means to read and write letters in the eighteenth and, in many places, well into the nineteenth and even early twentieth centuries. Still fewer of these letters have been preserved, and gaining any insight into the emotional experiences of ordinary people in the past, can be much more difficult. William E. French's study of love letters in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Mexico draws on the correspondence of a much broader section of the population.<sup>46</sup> Based on a study of the love letters lodged as evidence in court cases – in cases of breach of promise, abduction, rape and crimes of passion – the letters he has examined were written by ordinary people in the Mexican countryside, often transient migrant workers in mining towns, who belonged to a semi-literate society. As legal evidence in criminal investigations, such correspondence form exceptional cases. Despite this they allowed French to reconstruct the wider emotional vocabularies on which these couples drew, and to trace the intermingling of oral and written culture in their letters.

Written in the context of growing migration and population transience in North Mexico, these letter writers wrote not just in courtship but also as a means of keeping in touch across distances. Increased population mobility, combined with mass literacy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, made the letter a tool of mass communication for families and lovers, whether between village and city or across oceans, only fully displaced by the telephone and then the internet in the very late twentieth century. It is estimated that during the First World War, four million letters were sent to and from the French front every day.<sup>47</sup> Indeed the experience of being away at war forced many millions to articulate their love by means of pen and paper, for the first time. In addition to studies of well-known elite couples, historians have also begun to excavate the love languages of ordinary people from the masses of letters exchanged during the First World War and preserved in archives.<sup>48</sup> The romantic vocabulary of Italian couples corresponding during the war could be inflected by both the language of war and the sights, sounds and smells of ordinary life as they remembered it at home: letters were not just signed off with a ‘thousand kisses’ (as was usual in Italian) but sometimes with ‘a shrapnel’ or a ‘torrent of kisses’, while a Genovese dock worker called his wife his ‘anchovy’ as a pet name.<sup>49</sup> Since these couples were as likely to be married already as to be courting, they articulated not just their longing and desire for one another, but also negotiated more mundane matters of household and family by letter.<sup>50</sup> Declarations of physical desire and sexual longing might easily blend with discussions of family and finance, giving us insights into how love was articulated over the course of time as well as space, in an ordinary, happy marriage.

Transoceanic migration was increasingly common from the nineteenth century, as well as intercontinental and interregional migration, forcing couples to

continue to bridge distances and call their love into being through writing. While the history of migration has largely focused on such issues as identity, integration and family, historians are also increasingly examining how bonds of love were kept alive over great distances.<sup>51</sup> Just as with war, migration forced many millions to articulate love and keep intimate bonds alive through letters, despite varying levels of familiarity and comfort with the written word. Lovers in the twentieth century might exchange and treasure photographs of each other, just as material tokens were exchanged in earlier centuries. Negotiating distances and long spells of time apart, as well as grappling with what could be a new and awkward communication form, migration changed how millions experienced love and intimacy. While some were undeterred by poor grammar and used the earthy vocabulary of the world around them to articulate love and intimacy, others found letter writing awkward and formulaic. For an Italian male migrant worker in 1950s Germany, letters were a poor substitute for human contact. He and his fiancée never felt at home with the written word, simply repeating the same formulaic expressions of love to each other in their letters.<sup>52</sup> While many overcame these obstacles, recreating physical intimacy when they were reunited, in other cases love did not survive the distance.

For men away from home and family – whether at war or in male-dominated environments such as mining towns or construction sites – the act of writing to a sweetheart often served a particular emotional need. This was even given official recognition in the Italian fascist ‘godmother of war’ initiative which paired young women with single men at the front as penpals, and had national counterparts elsewhere. Far from home and in male-only environments, men could be the more emotional partners, pouring all their feelings into the – often idealised – distant sweetheart.

## **Modern love: mass culture, technology and the globalising of romantic love**

Even if it was difficult to articulate emotions on the page, lovers were always able to draw on wider vocabularies, narratives and motifs of love in order to give shape and colour to their own intimate expressions. Feelings could also be suggested or exaggerated by tropes from literature, films, magazines and images. The intertwining of popular culture, commerce and romance is not exclusively a modern phenomenon. The exchange of cards and tokens for Valentine's Day had its origins in late seventeenth-century England.<sup>53</sup> The opera in nineteenth-century Italy encouraged lovers to place their own experiences in the register of passion, tragedy and exaggerated emotion, just as the novel had suggested romantic tropes to courting couples in eighteenth-century England.<sup>54</sup> It is nevertheless true that the intertwinement of mass culture, globalisation and technology to produce a globalised notion of romantic love, is predominantly a twentieth-century story. It has also largely been framed as the story of the global spread of the western idea of romantic love, although this interpretation is not without criticism.<sup>55</sup>

It is certainly true that European customs relating to marriage, monogamy and the nuclear family were exported through colonialism as well as through the related softer powers of religious missionary work, consumerism and mass culture. Western models of marriage and family were imposed through legal codes, as either the direct or indirect result of colonialism: in Egypt, Siam and China and India, laws were passed either discouraging or banning concubinage, polygamy and child marriage in the early twentieth century as part of broader projects of modernisation.<sup>56</sup> However such legal reforms were accompanied in many cases by grassroots activism.

Arguments for reform were often made from feminist perspectives – from the May



Fourth movement in 1920s China to Egyptian feminists Zaynab Fawwaz and Malak Hifni Nasif – complicating the view of these developments as purely a function of Western hegemony.<sup>57</sup> In early twentieth century China, the changing discourse about love, which sought to situate identity in emotion and sexual desire rather than in kinship ties, drew on both the late imperial cult of Qing and European romantic thought, so that new ideas were hybrid rather than purely western, and consciously linked to modernity.<sup>58</sup> In late nineteenth-century Ottoman Turkey, it was French romantic thought that began to disrupt traditional patterns of arranged marriage in elite Istanbul society; while such cultural changes were linked to a broader enthusiasm for Western European style modernity, that is not to deny the real emotions that were also involved in love marriages.<sup>59</sup> In Turkey too, feminists used romantic love as a way to argue against plural marriage. Ideas about the companionate marriage were certainly seen as liberating for women like Fawwaz and Nasif in Egypt and Halide Edib in Turkey, who had all experienced plural marriages.<sup>60</sup>

Western ideas about love and marriage were also spread by the missions and associated with Christianity. Temilola Alanamu has uncovered how in nineteenth-century southwest Nigeria, women might use Christianity as a script to exercise their own will in choosing a husband, refusing to marry a man who was not a convert.<sup>61</sup> In black communities in the American south – pre and post-slavery – love also had an important political and social meaning; being able to marry for love could signify control of one's own destiny, respectability and even an assertion of humanity.<sup>62</sup> There is no simple narrative to be told about the diffusion of romantic love around the globe; rather it is a story marked by complexity, adaptation and negotiation.

Although the idea of the companionate marriage, as we have seen, had much older roots, it was only from the mid twentieth century onwards that a marriage based on romantic love became something that everyone strived towards and felt they could expect. Claire Langhamer has identified the Second World War as a turning point in the history of marriage; while courtship had always been about finding a balance between love and pragmatism, the years following the war saw the balance shifting towards love.<sup>63</sup> The demands for a better life after the upheaval of war were not just about social housing and secure work; ordinary people also began to feel they had a right to love.

In the socially conservative climate of post-war Europe – and Franco's Spain after the civil war – social reconstruction was strongly linked to the ideology of the Christian family. Laws on homosexuality remained unchanged until the late twentieth century, while social attitudes hardened in the 1950s. Romantic love, just as much as religion, served to bind young men and women to the traditional Christian model of marriage and family. Widespread Americanisation together with the growth of mass culture, brought many millions more into contact with the Hollywood ideal of romantic love in these same years. In Italy, illustrated photoromance magazines reached a mass audience, bringing many rural and working class women into the reading public for the first time with their serialised, animated love stories.<sup>64</sup> Such stories presented love as a powerful force which could overcome any obstacle and eclipsed all other considerations. It gave meaning to women's lives and the longed-for happy ending was usually a wedding. In advice columns, women were exhorted to follow their hearts and choose love. At the same time, both Catholic morality and conservative social values were reinforced in magazines; women's behaviour in courtship was governed by rigid codes, while any sexual activity before or outside of

marriage was condemned. The combination of romantic storylines and aspirations for women with rigid moral codes and gender expectations could be observed across post-war Europe and the US, peaking in the popular culture of the 1950s.<sup>65</sup>

These contradictions did not go unnoticed by women at the time. Indeed, although magazines, films and popular fiction reinforced the message that love alone gave meaning to women's lives, historians have found that in reality it was often men who were the more romantic partners.<sup>66</sup> Men were usually more free to choose of course, while the role of women was simply to be courted. Perhaps more importantly there was an awareness that, since married women were not usually expected to earn their own living until the late twentieth century, they simply could not afford to be too romantic about marriage. There were also more public, political critiques of romantic love in 1950s Europe. In her book, *Courtship Customs in Post-War Spain* (1987), Spanish writer Carmen Martín Gaité critiqued the rigid, conservative morality that she faced growing up in Franco's Spain, where the romantic stories and imagery of popular culture served to bind women to the traditional roles of wife and mother.<sup>67</sup> It is notable too that in predominantly Catholic Spain, France and Italy, young women writers shocked the contemporary public not just for their frank portrayals of sexuality, but also and perhaps more importantly for their rejection of romantic feeling.<sup>68</sup> There was always a measure of negotiation between popular culture and its consumers of course; Dyhouse explored the role that women's own desires and fantasies, carved out against the social and cultural conditions of each particular moment, played in the creation of celebrity 'heartthrobs' over the course of the twentieth century.<sup>69</sup>

Although the influence of the US – through cinema and through the global spread of consumer culture – looms large in this story, neither is it simply the story of

the global spread of the Hollywood version of romantic love. There have always been different national styles in the representation, at least, of romantic love. Luisa Passerini has connected a certain understanding of love with the idea of Europe in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>70</sup> In rural north China, where arranged marriage had been in sharp decline since the 1960s, the idea of having a ‘common language’ in marriage was important. In 1960s and 1970s, this idea was shaped by communism, shared goals being stressed as a key attribute of the ideal revolutionary couple, but over time it drew on popular culture too, while there was a wider range of words that could be drawn on to talk about love.<sup>71</sup> In twentieth-century colonial Nigeria, newspapers carried debates about whether kissing was properly African, or whether it was simply a custom imported from European and American cinema, anxieties about modernisation blending with concerns about colonialism and racial identity.<sup>72</sup>

It was not as simple as a globalised style of modern love on the one hand and traditional, local and national modes of courtship and marriage on the other. There were many different national adaptations of the Hollywood romance, and varying local and regional styles of representing love in cinema, magazines, music and fiction, from the stereotype of the Latin Lover in Italian cinema, to the melodramatic stories of Yeşilçam cinema in Turkey between the 1950s and the 1970s.<sup>73</sup> Continuing into the twenty-first century, plural styles of love continue to be represented in forms such as the Latin American telenovela, as well as Bollywood and Nollywood cinema. It is therefore no longer, or not just, a story of Hollywood ideals conquering global audiences, but of different national cinemas (with their varying dramatic and emotional registers) appealing to particular regional markets in the telling of love stories. The western-style romantic story has thus proved both remarkably durable and adaptable.

## **Free love: imagining alternative ways of loving**

Even as the western idea of heterosexual romantic love became ever more dominant, and more closely bound up with marriage, there were numerous efforts to reimagine love and to create alternative models of the loving relationship. These were played out in the private, intimate sphere while some experiments in new forms of love and intimate relationships were also connected to radical politics.

Same sex relationships had always offered both an alternative to heterosexual coupling and a challenge to the patriarchal model of traditional, western marriage. Sharon Marcus uncovered a tradition of eroticised, romantic friendships between women in nineteenth-century England.<sup>74</sup> Oscar Wilde also famously drew on ancient Greek thought to elevate same-sex love to a Platonic ideal, lifting it out of the realm of bodily desire and toward a higher plane.<sup>75</sup> While English lesbianism in the twentieth century is usually framed in terms of sexology as well as the emergence of a distinct identity, recent work by Jane Mackleworth emphasises the importance of love to how women thought about same sex relationships. The writer Christopher St John found alternatives to passionate love, which was liable to fail, in ideas of ‘noble friendship’ between women and in the transcendence of divine love.<sup>76</sup> She also drew on Plato, while the writings of Sappho crucially offered a framework in which to think about female longing, a rare perspective in the western romantic tradition which usually privileged the male gaze and masculine yearning for the female beloved.

The radical politics of late nineteenth-century socialism, anarchism and communism also prompted many revolutionaries to rethink not just the organisation of society but also the politics of intimate life. While in nineteenth-century France, utopian socialist Charles Fourier famously theorised the reorganisation of work

according to human passions, transforming labour into pleasure and dismantling the traditional models of marriage and family, others conducted their intimate experiments on a smaller scale. Rowbotham charted how experiments with free love intersected with feminism and socialism in her group biography of young Anglo-American radicals at the turn of the twentieth century, while Cheadle and Foster uncover similar intersections between sex, politics and love in fin-de-siècle Scotland and Ireland's revolutionary generation of 1916.<sup>77</sup> Edward Carpenter too connected his socialist politics with his ideas about love between men.<sup>78</sup>

In nations where revolution was successful, we also see attempts to reimagine and reorder intimate life, to mirror the ways in which the nation itself is being reorganised. Russian feminist and radical thinker Aleksandra Kollontai rejected romantic love as being too possessive and argued instead for relationships between comrades on the basis of strict gender equality; ideas which were given some expression in the new 1918 family code.<sup>79</sup> During the Spanish Republic, we also see free love being espoused as a key feature of Spanish anarchism, although the curious leniency towards sexual violence afforded in the 1936 CNT Congress resolution on the family suggests that this was to be free love primarily for men.<sup>80</sup> Neither did political revolution always lead to the reimagining of love, relationships and family structures. The official ideology of revolutionary Cuba instead reinforced traditional gender roles while love in private relationships was subordinate to love of the revolution.<sup>81</sup>

The sexual revolution of the 1960s took up the cause of free love again, although this time the meaning was somewhat different to what had been intended in the early twentieth century; now it was taken to refer to sexual promiscuity rather than simply love between equals. Love was nevertheless talked about quite a lot in the

hippie movement, from the ‘summer of love’ to the admonition to ‘make love not war’. It was an idea or a feeling associated with youth and liberty, and regarded as being in opposition to the conformism and materialism of the older generation. The radical youth protest movement of 1968 again made close associations between free love and radical politics, just as earlier radicals had done. The ’68 movement began, famously, in Paris, with a protest about the right of male students to access women’s dormitories.<sup>82</sup> Activists in Italy, France and elsewhere recalled the concerted attempts that they made to separate sex from feeling in their own lives and to reject both romantic love and jealousy.<sup>83</sup> This was an effort though, as activists recalled; for many it was a particular stage rather than a new way of life while others recalled how the suppressed feelings could sometimes manifest in other, physical ways, as illness.<sup>84</sup>

Many women activists also pointed out that the sexual revolution came with a double standard; free love was not actually free for women. Second-wave feminism grew in part out of this realisation and some feminist groups called for a rejection not only of marriage and romantic love, but of all heterosexual partnership. For Shulamith Firestone, writing in 1970, ‘love [...] perhaps even more than childbearing, is the pivot of women’s oppression today’.<sup>85</sup> Many feminists argued instead for women to withdraw from men entirely and embrace what became known as political lesbianism instead. In the Italian feminist magazine *Effè*, we see instead a recognition of the importance of love in women’s lives and attempted to theorise a more feminist, if still problematic, version.<sup>86</sup>

If the entanglement of love with gendered power remained a persistent challenge for second-wave feminists, there were some signs that gay and lesbian culture might again offer a space for reimagining romantic love outside the framework of heteronormative and patriarchal power dynamics. Craig M. Loftin’s

edited collection of letters written to *One*, the first openly gay magazine in the United States, shows how gay men in the 1950s and 1960s were framing their desires and expectations in terms of love, companionship and long-term relationships as well as sexuality and identity.<sup>87</sup> Benno Gammerl also found that some West German 1960s gay magazines wrote about love and monogamy in order to emphasise the respectability of queer lifestyles, and to make an argument for civil rights before the 1970s.<sup>88</sup> However there were tensions within gay communities over whether to emphasise respectability and assimilation into western heteronormative relationship patterns, or difference. The rhetoric of the (male dominated) gay rights movements of the 1970s was vocal in its assertion of difference while also focusing on civil rights, sexuality, visibility and community.<sup>89</sup>

The AIDS pandemic also fundamentally reshaped the emotional and social landscape of LGBT communities in the 1980s. Discussions about love, sex, monogamy took on particular urgency for gay men in New York and elsewhere during the 1980s, as reflected in literary works such as Larry Kramer's play *The Normal Heart*.<sup>90</sup> Paul Monette's memoir, *Borrowed Time*, writes of his long-term, non-monogamous relationship with his partner, formed in the years of gay liberation but ultimately shaped by the context of AIDS. He defined love for them as meaning: 'someone to play with' and being 'the same person'.<sup>91</sup> He also preferred the word friend to lover.<sup>92</sup> Love, for him, related to companionship and self-actualisation, drawing on the trends identified by Langhamer and Giddens in mid to late twentieth century relationships although crucially outside the structures of monogamy and the patriarchy.<sup>93</sup> Matt Cook's work on the emotional impact of AIDS in 1980s Britain also points to how romantic love, in the context of AIDS, also became connected with solidarity, community, care and grief.<sup>94</sup>



While the rhetoric of the gay liberation movements of the 1970s did not have too much to say about love, Benno Gammerl has found some indications of how West Germans who identified as lesbian and gay had their own personal narratives and experiences of love shaped by the changing legal and social climate after the 1970s; from narratives which emphasised the sudden and unexpected nature of love in 1950s and 1960s West Germany where lesbian and gay relationships were often hidden or coded to stories of love happening more gradually and openly in a society where such relationships were more open and visible from the 1970s onwards.<sup>95</sup> Changing social and legal contexts have thus shaped the ways in which individuals experience and describe love and intimacy.

### **Love, marriage and the law in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries**

The 1970s feminists who called for a rejection of love recognised that the companionate marriage was for many simply an illusion. Based on the grounds of friendship, mutual interest and shared companionship, this model of marriage was demonstrating its fragility even as it gained ground in the post-1945 world.<sup>96</sup> Claire Langhamer connects the rising divorce rates in 1970s England with the post-war rise of the companionate marriage, noting that romantic love was often a fragile basis for a lasting union. Rebecca Pulju notes a similar trend in post-war France.<sup>97</sup> By the mid twentieth century, understandings of what love meant in the context of marriage were changing: the ‘caring’ and ‘sharing’ which couples who married up to the 1960s had spoken of, had given way to expectations that a couple would each share the others interests, understand each other deeply and realise themselves through their love.<sup>98</sup> Anthony Giddens identifies ‘confluent love’ – based on gender equality and self-

actualisation through romantic love – as characteristic of late twentieth-century western society.<sup>99</sup> According to his model, seeking meaning through love also makes people more prepared to move on, when love fails. Indeed, many of the campaigns for legal divorce or for broader access to divorce in the late twentieth century, have often based their arguments around love. If there was no love, it was right that a marriage should end, leaving husbands and wives free to seek new love.<sup>100</sup>

It could also be argued that it was not romantic love in itself that was failing, but the contradictory nature of marriage in the mid twentieth century. A couple might marry, broadly as equals, with shared interests and understanding, but often found once they started a family, their lives diverged along familiar gendered lines. Although they had been led to expect a different model of love and marriage to their parents, the reality of married life turned out much the same. These contradictions were especially apparent in the 1950s and 1960s when married women and mothers were not expected to work. In her assessment of middle-class Italian marriage in the 1960s, Enrica Asquer notes that women were more disappointed by the lack of shared leisure time with their husbands, than by their domestic arrangements.<sup>101</sup> Even if marriages were made on the basis of mutual interests, shared leisure and friendship, these did not always last beyond courtship as men sought fulfilment and leisure in the world of male sociability while women were relegated to home and family. Indeed it is usually women who were, and are more likely to seek a divorce than men; we might ask what this tells us about late twentieth-century love, given that it was and is women who are especially encouraged to seek fulfilment through love. Indeed it seemed in the late twentieth century, with many couples choosing cohabitation and serial monogamy over marriage, that love and marriage were yet again becoming uncoupled.

If widespread access to legal divorce reshaped marriage for the late twentieth century, the legalisation of same sex marriage in many jurisdictions in the early decades of the twenty-first century have redefined the institution yet again by loosening the link between marriage and the patriarchy. While the gay rights movements of the 1970s tended to focus on identity and sexuality, the campaigns for gay marriage have focused overwhelmingly on love. In the late twentieth century, love was a destabilising force for traditional marriage, while decades later, it was represented as a stabilising force, legitimising a new form of marriage. Once again, love is proving itself to be an unstable force, whose shifting meanings are reflected in changing social and political contexts, but also shaped by the desires, imaginations and relationships of ordinary people.

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<sup>1</sup> Ettore Serio, “Gli gridai: Se mio padre non ti denuncia lo farò io”, *Giornale di Sicilia*, 12 December 1966, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in f.d., ‘Chiesti centoquaranta anni per i rapitori di Franca Viola’, *La Nazione*, 15 December 1966, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ferrente Azzali, ‘Una sentenza riformatrice’, *Il Resto del Carlino*, 18 December 1966, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Ferrante Azzali, ‘Una sentenza riformatrice’.

<sup>5</sup> Saheed Aderinto, ‘Modernising Love: Gender, Romantic Passion and Youth Literary Culture in Colonial Nigeria’, *Africa* 85, no. 3 (2015): 478-500 (490); Temilola Alanamu, “‘You May Bind Me, You May Beat Me, You May Even Kill Me’: Bridewealth, Consent and Conversion in Nineteenth-Century Abẹ̀òkúta (in Present-day Southwest Nigeria)’, *Gender and History* 27, no. 2 (2015): 329-48.

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<sup>6</sup> R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); William Reddy, *The Making of Romantic Love: Longing and Sexuality in Europe, South Asia and Japan, 900-1200 CE* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> Allen Pasco, *Revolutionary Love in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century France* (London: Routledge, 2009); Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

<sup>8</sup> Peter N. Stearns, 'Romantic Love', in *A Bloomsbury Cultural History of Love in the Modern Age*, ed. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming).

<sup>9</sup> Saheed Aderinto, 'Modernising Love: Gender, Romantic Passion and Youth Literary Culture in Colonial Nigeria'; Kenneth M. Cuno, 'Modernising Marriage in Egypt', in *Marriage, Law and Modernity: Global Histories*, ed. Julia Moses (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); Niamh Cullen, *Love, Honour and Jealousy: An Intimate History of the Italian Economic Miracle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

<sup>10</sup> Francesca M. Cancian, 'The Feminisation of Love', *Signs* Vol. 11, No. 4 (1986), 692-709.

<sup>11</sup> Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, a History: How Love Conquered Marriage* (London: Penguin, 2006).

<sup>12</sup> Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*.

<sup>13</sup> Janet Theiss, 'Love in a Confucian Climate: The Perils of Intimacy in Eighteenth-Century China', *Nan Nü* 11 (2009): 197-233.

<sup>14</sup> Emma Griffin, *Liberty's Dawn: A People's History of the Industrial Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 109-33.

<sup>15</sup> Kathryn A. Sloan, *Runaway Daughters: Seduction, Elopement and Honor in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008).

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<sup>16</sup> Stearns, 'Romantic Love'.

<sup>17</sup> Sally Holloway, *The Game of Love in Georgian England: Courtship, Emotions, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

<sup>18</sup> Rudolph Bell, *Fate, Honour, Family and Village: Demographic and Cultural Change in Rural Italy since 1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 67-112.

<sup>19</sup> Matt Houlbrook, "'A New City of Friends': London and Homosexuality in the 1890", *History Workshop Journal* 56, n. 1 (2003): 33-58.

<sup>20</sup> Claire Langhamer, *The English in Love: The Intimate Story of an Emotional Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>21</sup> Simon Szreter and Kate Fisher, *Sex before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918-1963* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 196-226.

<sup>22</sup> Niamh Cullen, *Love, Honour and Jealousy: An Intimate History of the Italian Economic Miracle*, 27-37.

<sup>23</sup> Kenneth M. Cuno, 'Modernising Marriage in Egypt'.

<sup>24</sup> Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*, pp. 102-120.

<sup>25</sup> Ingrid H. Tague, 'Love, Honor, and Obedience: Fashionable Women and the Discourse of Marriage in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Journal of British Studies* 40, No. 1 (2001): 76-106; 85-89.

<sup>26</sup> Timothy Jones, 'Love, Honour and Obey? Romance, Insubordination and Marital Subjectivity in Interwar Britain', in *Love and Romance in Britain, 1918-1970*, ed. Alana Harris and Timothy Jones (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 124-43.

<sup>27</sup> Barclay, *Love, Power and Intimacy*, 109. Sloan, *Runaway Daughters*; Cullen, *Love, Honour and Jealousy*, 92-107.

<sup>28</sup> Barclay, *Love, Power and Intimacy*, 109.

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- <sup>29</sup> Jade Shepherd, 'I Am Not Very Well I Feel Nearly Mad When I Think of You': Male Jealousy, Murder and Broadmoor in Late-Victorian Britain', *Social History of Medicine* 30, No. 2 (2017): 277–298 (288-289).
- <sup>30</sup> Shepherd, 'Male Jealousy', 289.
- <sup>31</sup> Ruth Harris, *Murders and Madness Medicine, Law, and Society in the Fin de Siècle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); William E. French, *The Heart in the Glass Jar: Love Letters, Bodies, and the Law in Mexico* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015); Mark Seymour, *Emotional Arenas: Life, Love and Death in 1870s Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
- <sup>32</sup> Shephard, 'Male Jealousy', 288.
- <sup>33</sup> Katie Barclay, 'Love and Violence in the Music of Late Modernity', *Popular Music and Society* 41, no. 5 (2018): 539-55.
- <sup>34</sup> Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randles, eds, *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions through History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- <sup>35</sup> Sally Holloway, 'You Know I Am All on Fire': Writing the Adulterous Affair in England, c.1740–1830', *Historical Research* 89 (2016): 215; Martyn Lyons, "'Questo cor che tuo si rese': The Private and the Public in Italian Women's Love Letters in the long Nineteenth Century', *Modern Italy* 14, no. 4 (2014): 355-68.
- <sup>36</sup> Holloway, 'You Know I Am All on Fire', 322. Seymour, *Emotional Arenas*, 82.
- <sup>37</sup> Seymour, *Emotional Arenas*; Theiss, 'Love in a Confucian Climate'; French, *Heart in the Glass Jar*.
- <sup>38</sup> Holloway, 'You Know I Am All on Fire', 335.
- <sup>39</sup> Seymour, *Emotional Arenas*, 88-89.
- <sup>40</sup> Holloway, 'You Know I Am All on Fire', 330.
- <sup>41</sup> Theiss, 'Love in a Confucian Climate', 226.

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<sup>42</sup> Seymour, *Emotional Arenas*, 91-93.

<sup>43</sup> Holloway, 'You Know I Am All on Fire', 333-35.

<sup>44</sup> Cullen, *Love, Honour and Jealousy*; French, *Heart in the Glass Jar*; Shepherd, 'I Am Not Very Well'.

<sup>45</sup> Seymour, *Emotional Arenas*, 78-112.

<sup>46</sup> French, *Heart in the Glass Jar*.

<sup>47</sup> Martha Hanna, 'A Republic of Letters: The Epistolary Tradition in France during World War I', *American Historical Review* 108, no. 5 (2003): 1338-61 (1339).

<sup>48</sup> Carol Acton, 'Writing and Waiting: The First World War Correspondence between Vera Brittain and Roland Leighton', *Gender and History*, 11, no. 1 (1999): 54-83; Martyn Lyons, *The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Christa Hämmerle, "'Waiting Longingly..." – Love Letters in World War I: A Plea for a Broader Genre Concept', *Max Planck Centre for the History of Emotions Insights into Research*, <https://www.history-of-emotions.mpg.de/texts/love-letters-in-world-war-one>, accessed 21 November 2020.

<sup>49</sup> Lyons, *Writing Culture of Ordinary People*, 57-62.

<sup>50</sup> Lyons, *Writing Culture of Ordinary People*, 63-67.

<sup>51</sup> Sonia Cancian, *Families, Lovers, and their Letters: Italian Postwar Migration to Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010); Sonia Cancian, Marcelo Borges and Linda Reeder, eds, *Emotional Landscapes: Love, Gender, and Migration* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2021).

<sup>52</sup> Quoted in Cullen, *Love, Honour and Jealousy*, 80.

<sup>53</sup> Sally Holloway, 'Love, Custom & Consumption: Valentine's Day in England 1660-1830', *Cultural and Social History* 17, no. 3 (2020): 295-314.

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- <sup>54</sup> Holloway, *Game of Love*; Seymour, *Emotional Arenas*.
- <sup>55</sup> Jack Goody, *The Theft of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 267-85.
- <sup>56</sup> Moses, *Marriage, Law and Modernity*.
- <sup>57</sup> Lisa Tran, 'From Toleration to Prosecution: Concubinage and the Law in China', in *Marriage, Law and Modernity*, ed. Julia Moses, 60-61; Cuno, 'Modernising Marriage in Egypt', 133-4.
- <sup>58</sup> Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).
- <sup>59</sup> Paul Ginsborg, *Family Politics: Domestic Life, Devastation and Survival, 1900-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 82.
- <sup>60</sup> Cuno, 'Modernising Marriage in Egypt', 134; Ginsborg, *Family Politics*, 70-77.
- <sup>61</sup> Temilola Alanamu, "'You May Bind Me, You May Beat Me, You May Even Kill Me': Bridewealth, Consent and Conversion in Nineteenth-Century Abẹ̀òkúta (in Present-day Southwest Nigeria)'.
- <sup>62</sup> Frances Smith Foster, *'Til Death or Distance Do Us Part': Love and Marriage in African America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010); Tera W. Hunter, *Bound in Wedlock: Slave and Free Black Marriage in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017); Emily West, *Chains of Love: Slave Couples in Antebellum South Carolina* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004).
- <sup>63</sup> Langhamer, *The English in Love*.
- <sup>64</sup> Niamh Cullen, 'Changing Emotional Landscapes? Grand Hotel and Representations of Love and Courtship in 1950s Italy', *Cultural and Social History* 11, no. 2 (2014): 285-306; Penny Morris, 'A Window on the Private Sphere: Advice



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<sup>65</sup> Susan Weiner, 'Two Modernities: From Elle to Mademoiselle. Women's Magazines in Postwar France', *Contemporary European History* 8, no. 3 (1999): 395-409.

<sup>66</sup> Cullen, *Love, Honour and Jealousy*, 21-37; Claire Langhamer, 'Love and Courtship in Mid-Century England', *Historical Journal* 50, no. 1 (2007): 173-96; Szreter and Fisher, *Sex before the Sexual Revolution*.

<sup>67</sup> Carmen Martín Gaité, *Courtship Customs in Post-War Spain* (1987; trans. London: Associated University Presses, 2004). This theme was also developed in Martín Gaité's novel/memoir (trans. Helen Lane), *The Back Room* (1978; trans. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2000).

<sup>68</sup> Carmen Laforet, *Nada* (Madrid: Ediciones Destino, 1945); Françoise Sagan, *Bonjour Tristesse* (Paris: René Julliard, 1954); Milena Milani, *Una Ragazza di Nome Giulio* (Milan: Longanesi & C., 1964).

<sup>69</sup> Carol Dyhouse, *Heartthrobs: A History of Women and Desire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). See also Teo, Hsu-Ming, ed., *The Popular Culture of Romantic Love in Australia* (Victoria: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2017).

<sup>70</sup> Luisa Passerini, *Europe in Love, Love in Europe: Imagination and Politics between the Wars* (New York: New York University Press, 1999) and *Love and the Idea of Europe* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2009).

<sup>71</sup> Yan Yunxiang, 'Courtship, Love and Premarital Sex in a North China Village', *The China Journal*, 48 (2002), 29-53.

<sup>72</sup> Saheed Aderinto, 'Modernising Love: Gender, Romantic Passion and Youth Literary Culture in Colonial Nigeria'.

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<sup>73</sup> Jacqueline Reich, *Beyond the Latin Lover: Marcello Mastroianni, Masculinity and Italian Cinema* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004); Seçil Büker, 'The Film Does Not End with an Ecstatic Kiss', in *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber (London: Rutger University Press, 2002), 167-49.

<sup>74</sup> Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Marriage, Desire, and Friendship in Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

<sup>75</sup> Linda Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994). See also Matt Houlbrook, 'A new city of friends'.

<sup>76</sup> Jane Mackleworth, "'The Nature of My Love Had Never Been in Doubt.'" Christopher St John (1871-1960): Platonic Love and Sapphic Desire', *Cultural and Social History* 17, no. 3 (2020): 375-89.

<sup>77</sup> Sheila Rowbotham, *Rebel Crossings: New Women, Free Lovers and Radicals in Britain and the United States* (London: Verso, 2016); Tanya Cheadle, *Sexual Progressives: Reimagining Intimacy in Scotland, 1880-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020); Roy Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923* (London: Penguin, 2014).

<sup>78</sup> Matt Houlbrook, 'A new city of friends', 45-47.

<sup>79</sup> Ginsborg, *Family Politics*, 1-68.

<sup>80</sup> Ginsborg, *Family Politics*, 226-312; Martha Acklesberg, *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Bloomington, IN: AK Press, 1991); Jose Pierats, *The CNT in the Spanish Revolution Volume 1*, ed. Chris Ealham (Oaklands: PM Press, 2011), 107.

<sup>81</sup> Carrie Hamilton, *Sexual Revolutions in Cuba: Passion, Politics and Memory* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Emily Snyder,

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<sup>82</sup> Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, C.1958-c.1974* (Oxford: Bloomsbury, 1998).

<sup>83</sup> Rebecca Clifford, ‘Emotions and Gender in Oral History: Narrating Italy’s ‘68’, *Modern Italy* 17, no. 2 (2012): 209-21 (218); Rebecca Clifford, Robert Gildea and Anette Warring, ‘Gender and Sexuality’, in *Europe’s 1968: Voices of Revolt*, ed. Robert Gildea, James Mark and Anette Warring (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 239-57; Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), 67-8.

<sup>84</sup> Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation*, 68.

<sup>85</sup> Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (London: Verso, 2015 [1970]), 115.

<sup>86</sup> Penny Morris, ‘Feminism and Emotion: Love and the Couple in the Magazine Effect (1973–1982)’, *Italian Studies* 68, no. 3 (2013): 378–98.

<sup>87</sup> Craig M. Loftin ed., *Letters to One: Gay and Lesbian Voices from the 1950s and 1960s* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2011), 65-102.

<sup>88</sup> Benno Gammerl, ‘Affecting legal change: Law and Same-Sex Feelings in West Germany since the 1950s’, in *From Sodomy Laws to Same-Sex Marriage: International Perspectives since 1789*, ed. Sean Brady and Mark Seymour (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 109-121; 113-6. Matt Houlbrook also traced a similar pattern of ‘respectability politics’ in 1950s London. *Queer London Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 195-263.

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<sup>89</sup> Josie Mc Lellan, 'Glad to be Gay Behind the Wall: Gay and Lesbian Activism in 1970s East Germany', *History Workshop Journal*, 74, n. 1 (2012), 105–130; Scott Gunther, *The Elastic Closet: A History of Homosexuality in France, 1942 to the Present* (London: Palgrave, 2009), 45-65; Gay Liberation Front Manifesto (London, 1971). Available at <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/pwh/glf-london.asp>.

<sup>90</sup> Larry Kramer, 'The normal Heart' in *Two Plays: The Normal Heart and The Destiny of Me* (New York: Grove Press, 2014), 54-55.

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<sup>92</sup> Paul Monette, *Borrowed Time*, 24-5.

<sup>93</sup> Claire Langhamer, *The English in Love*; Anthony Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy*.

<sup>94</sup> Matt Cook, '“Archives of Feeling”: the AIDS Crisis in Britain 1987', *History Workshop Journal* 83, no. 1 (2017): 51–78.

<sup>95</sup> Gammerl, Benno. "Same-Sex Intimacy in Transition", in: *History of Emotions - Insights into Research*, October 2013, DOI: [10.14280/08241.8](https://doi.org/10.14280/08241.8)

<sup>96</sup> On mutuality see Marcus Collins, *Modern Love: An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Atlantic, 2003).

<sup>97</sup> Rebecca Pulju, 'Finding a Grand Amour in Marriage in Postwar France', in *Domestic Tensions, National Anxieties: Global Perspectives on Marriage, Crisis, and Nation*, ed. Kristin Celello and Hanan Kholoussy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 126-46.

<sup>98</sup> Claire Langhamer, 'Love, Selfhood and Authenticity in Post-War Britain', *Cultural and Social History* 9, no. 2 (2012): 277-97.

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<sup>99</sup> Anthony Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

<sup>100</sup> Langhamer, *The English in Love*, 149-208; Cullen, *Love, Honour and Jealousy*, 160-92.

<sup>101</sup> Enrica Asquer, *Storia intima dei ceti medi: Una capital e una periferia nell'Italia del miracolo economico* (Rome: Laterza, 2011), 129-31.