

Edited by  
Sarah A. Bendall  
and Serena Dyer

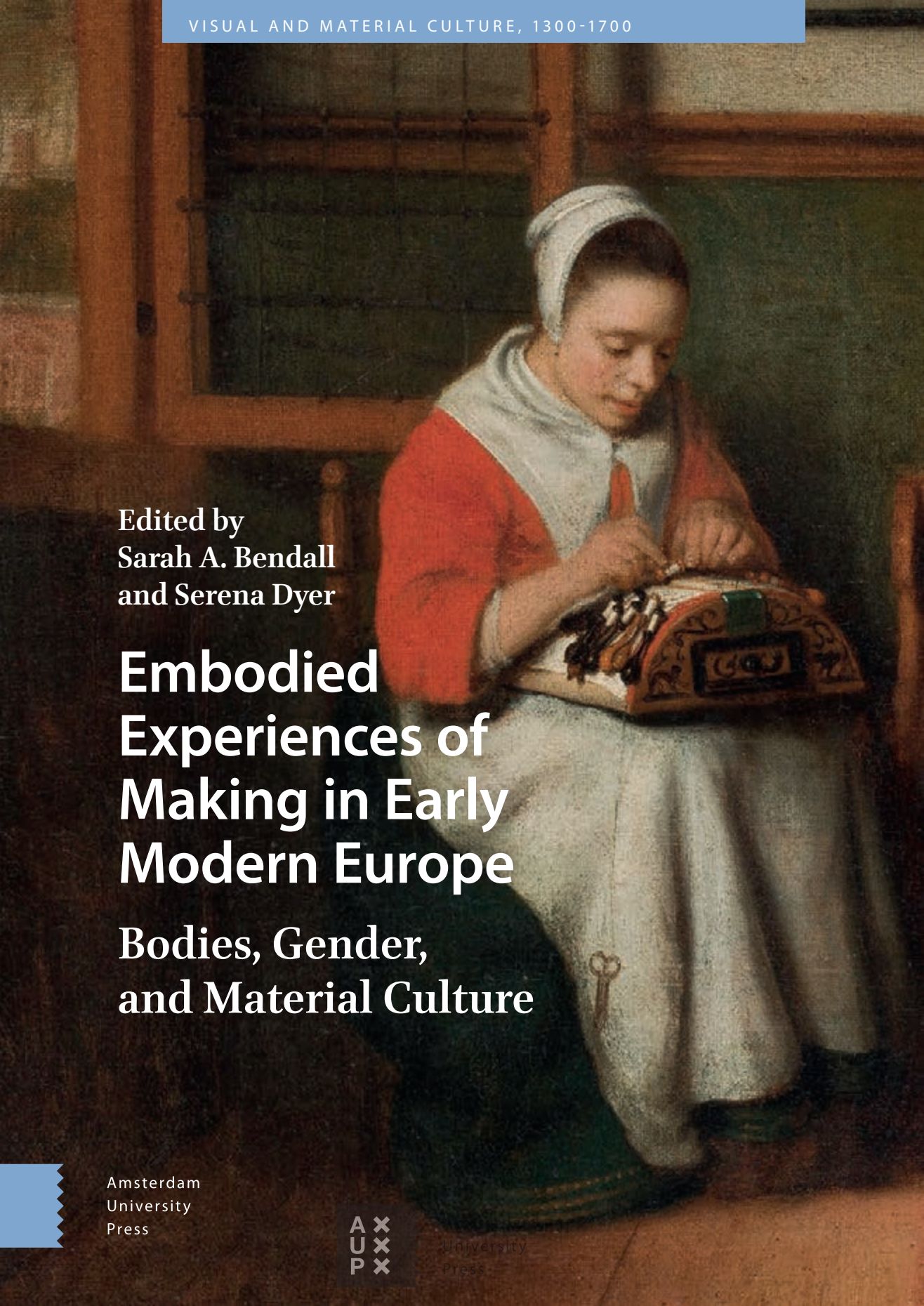
# Embodied Experiences of Making in Early Modern Europe

Bodies, Gender,  
and Material Culture

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# Embodied Experiences of Making in Early Modern Europe



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# Visual and Material Culture, 1300-1700

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Allison Levy is Director of Brown University Digital Publications. She has authored or edited five books on early modern Italian visual and material culture.



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# Embodied Experiences of Making in Early Modern Europe

*Bodies, Gender, and Material Culture*

*Edited by  
Sarah A. Bendall and  
Serena Dyer*

Amsterdam University Press



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# Acknowledgements

We are historians, but we are also makers. Our shared identification with this hybrid characterisation of our skills led to many Zoom calls discussing the immense value that our hand skill and sewing endeavours brought to our work as historians, and, subsequently, to the idea for this edited volume. Our first thanks must go to each other, for offering comradeship and friendship as we both navigated higher education with our unusual skillsets. We have also been delighted to encounter so many other historians, art historians, and literary scholars who also apply their hands as well as their minds to their research, and we thank those colleagues for many fruitful conversations, encouragement, and support. We would like to thank Erika Gaffney and our series editor Allison Levy at Amsterdam University Press for their belief in the value of the volume, and our anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and guidance. Finally, we would like to thank our contributors for their thoughtful and insightful reflections on the significance of making, both in the early modern period and in the present-day academy.



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# Foreword

In 2023 the surgeon Professor Roger Kneebone described medical practice as a ‘performing art’, one akin to theatre, music, dance, and public speaking. It requires rehearsals, memorization, and preparation as well as courage.<sup>1</sup> In doing so, he built on several decades of his own research into the tacit ways in which surgeons and their teams learned to work with, and around, each other in the confined space of a twentieth-century operating theatre. Acutely aware of the body before them, and the bodies of their colleagues, surgical teams coordinated movements in an unspoken manner that was not formally taught but learned through everyday practices. Like dancers, there was formal choreography, but the majority of movement was sensory, intuitive, and unwritten.

Yet historians, whether of science, medicine, or technology, have been primarily concerned with the changing physical environment and theoretical approaches to surgical practices. We study how new equipment and new ideas about hygiene coalesced; we look at how once dramatic interventions such as heart surgery became increasingly commonplace (and therefore little noticed). How then, like Kneebone, do you get back to past bodily practices and indeed to a sense of a ‘period body’? While we know that, biologically, the body spread out before the surgeon has remained basically unchanged over hundreds of years, its conceptualization in the early modern period did not. Did it make a difference to how you felt your own body, and that of others, if you thought of your interior as a set of fluids and vapours, a chemical concoction, or as a mechanical clock? If the words used to describe how your blood flowed changed, did you understand the meaning of your flushed cheek in a different way?<sup>2</sup>

In the pre-modern period, as today, we usually turn to surviving words to try to answer these questions, words taken from printed and manuscript material, diaries, legal documents, advertisements, and songs, to name only a few. We also turn to visual material to gain additional insights, or perhaps to notice things that go unnamed in writing. We even explore the scattered material remains ranging from broken clay pots to exquisite porcelain pieces. Over the past decades, however, a new set of techniques have emerged, originating not from history departments themselves, but from those whom historians have traditionally ignored: reenactors, theatre and film costume designers, and contemporary makers.<sup>3</sup>

1 Roger Kneebone, ‘Medicine: A Performing Art’, *BMJ* 383 (2023): <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.p2710>.

2 Katie Barclay and Bronwyn Reddan, eds., *The Feeling Heart in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Meaning, Embodiment, and Making* (Berlin: De Gruyter with Medieval Institute Publications, 2019).

3 Peter McNeil and Melissa Bellanta, ‘Letter from the Editors: Fashion, Embodiment and the “Making Turn”’, *Fashion Theory* 23, no. 3 (2019): 325–28.



Those trying to recreate a more holistic sense of the past through recreation or reconstruction have often been dismissed as amateurish; attempts to recreate a 'Tudor Fayre' or an English civil war battlefield have been overlooked as reliable source material. The distrust is not always misplaced. It is difficult, if not necessarily impossible, to replicate the precise tools, fabrics, feel, and smell of a seventeenth-century waistcoat or an eighteenth-century *fontange* headdress. Yet the work done over the past twenty years has shown how much we can learn by picking up a needle, a weaver's shuttle, or a lacemaker's bobbin. Using our own hands does not replicate the past but gives us invaluable insights into long forgotten skills. It also brings unwritten information and questions into view. We can ask: How do you understand temperature through sight and smell rather than reading a thermometer? How do you know that your bread is baked, your cheese is perfectly ripe, your thread is strong enough, the colour of your cloth stable, if not through a combination of practice and testing?

This new set of questions can, I should freely acknowledge, be daunting. It is already hard enough to learn the languages and palaeography that help us navigate early modern archival sources. Learning to sew, bake, create cosmetics, or solder silver using sixteenth- or seventeenth-century equipment (which also must be recreated) can feel very challenging.

But it is rewarding. As we learned some years ago from a 2007 Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded network on Early Modern Dress and Textiles (which included many of the participants referenced in this book as well as the late and much missed Professor Lisa Jardine), it is enormously helpful for any historian to try their hand at starching a ruff or sewing a seam.<sup>4</sup> Only by doing so do you get an instant sense of how skilful, creative, and economically important these overlooked aspects of the past might be.

The Arts and Humanities Research Council have also funded the network led by Dr Serena Dyer and Dr Sarah A. Bendall, *Making Historical Dress: Hands, Bodies, Methods*. But while the network explored dress, its implications go far further and are meaningful for anyone trying to move beyond the limitations of what archivists and museum curators thought was important to collect and preserve of the European early modern past. Bringing together a constellation of international researchers who were interested in understanding how you get an embodied sense of the past, either by using archival materials, techniques of recreation, and usually both, it offers both case studies and a set of parameters that are useful for historians of any period. Drawing on Hilary Davidson's seminal studies on fashion and embodiment, and the work of the School of Historical Dress, this volume offers a step change

4 'Early Modern Dress and Textiles Research Network', accessed May 31, 2024, <http://www.earlymoderndressandtextiles.ac.uk/>.

in how we gain insights into the physicality of earlier periods and places.<sup>5</sup> While essays deal with everything from silk to woodblock print making, Dyer and Bendall are experts at remaking in their own right. Their leadership ensures that the core of this volume lies in how you move from words to materials and from hands to matter (and back again). In theorizing the matter of making and remaking, *Embodied Experiences of Making in Early Modern Europe* brings skills and embodied knowledge into the heart of historical study. So, learn to dance, to paint, to bake, and to sew. These are skills that will serve you today but, even more importantly, connect you to a past that swiftly vanishes out of sight as we start to take them for granted.

*Evelyn Welch, University of Bristol*

5 Hilary Davidson, 'The Embodied Turn: Making and Remaking Dress as an Academic Practice', *Fashion Theory* 23, no. 3 (2019): 329–62.





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# 1. Introduction: The Bodies of Makers

*Sarah A. Bendall and Serena Dyer*

**Abstract:** This chapter familiarises readers with the core historiographical threads that have influenced studies of making, embodiment, and experimental history. It synthesises the now well-established ‘material turn’ with the emerging ‘embodied’ and ‘making’ turns and presents an agenda for an emerging methodological approach to the history of making. By emphasising the embodied aspects of making, both historical and experimental, this chapter outlines how turning our attention to these processes can uncover historical narratives and experiences that have so far been neglected in histories of the early modern period. Importantly, this chapter explores how historical experiences can be captured by historians through their own engagement with making through experimental historical approaches such as recreative practice.

**Keywords:** embodied knowledge; material turn; embodied turn; making and knowing; reconstruction; recreative practice

In 2020, when lockdowns around the globe confined people to the domestic space of their homes, many put their hands to work. With normal routines and twenty-first-century priorities disrupted, making became a widespread coping strategy. Whether knitting, painting, or baking sourdough bread, forms of making presented an opportunity for a slow, embodied, and mindful reconnection between the body and the world it inhabits.<sup>1</sup> Domestic rituals slowed, as cooking transitioned from the procedural simplicity of putting a ready meal in a microwave to an attentiveness to

<sup>1</sup> Juliana Young, ‘A Return to Tradition: The Significance of Baking During COVID-19’, *Digest: A Journal of Foodways and Culture* 8, no. 1/2 (2021): 27–42, 27; K. F. Morse, Philip A. Fine, and Kathryn J. Friedlander, ‘Creativity and Leisure During COVID-19: Examining the Relationship Between Leisure Activities, Motivations, and Psychological Well-Being’, *Frontiers in Psychology* 12, 609967 (2021): <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.609967>.



ingredients, methods, and process.<sup>2</sup> How we feed, clothe, and entertain ourselves shifted from a series of moments of consumption to gradual and elongated processes of making. Accessing the knowledge of how to make also became imperative. Tips, tricks, and recipes began to circulate on social media and internet blogs. While many found these initial instructions helpful, it was their own experiences throughout the long months of repeated lockdowns (during which the idea for this edited collection was conceptualised) that people began to rely on the most as they continued to bake.<sup>3</sup> As Juliana Young wrote of her experience of pandemic baking, ‘You cannot learn to make bread simply by reading the words on a page; you must learn about the weight, the texture, the temperature of the dough as it moves through the phases of mixing, kneading, and rising, and your body must absorb these feelings and carry them.’<sup>4</sup> Others noted that recipes ‘called for kneading the dough then folding it under itself several times’ and that their embodied experiences taught them that this ‘was not as easy as it sounds, and I’m still not sure I did this perfectly’.<sup>5</sup> As baker Claire Saffitz told Emily St. James, a senior correspondent for *Vox*, in May 2020, baking ‘shouldn’t only be a scientific process. It should also be a tactile process and, I think, sort of pseudo-spiritual.’<sup>6</sup>

What Saffitz’s description of her experience encapsulates is the inherently tacit nature of making practice and knowledge. As Michael Polanyi has written of the tacit, ‘We can know more than we can tell.’<sup>7</sup> Making knowledge is learnt, experienced, and practised via the body, but it is often difficult to communicate or precisely convey. The ethereal and elusive nature of making as a process conjures up the ‘spiritual’, as described by Saffitz: it is something intangible and indefinably, slippery and subtle. Embodied knowledge – that is, awareness which is held within the body – does not neatly conform to more scientific methods of recording and transferal. It is conjured through a convergence of sensory indicators. Knowing when to move from one stage to another of a making process can be indicated through the most delicate changes in scent to almost undetectable haptic sensations. Those indistinct moments are only knowable through doing and are felt through the body. Bodies are inherently subjective and shaped by class, gender, and historical space

2 M. Rebecca Genoe and Cory Kulczycki “‘I Really Don’t Know What I Would Have Done Without It’: Crafting as a Means of Stress Coping During COVID-19”, *Journal of Leisure Research* (2023): 1–21.

3 Young, ‘A Return to Tradition’, 29.

4 Young, ‘A Return to Tradition’, 31.

5 James Domestico, ‘Learning to Bake Bread During COVID-19’, last modified March 30, 2021, <https://www.ursinus.edu/live/news/5620-learning-to-bake-bread-during-covid-19>.

6 Emily St. James, ‘How to Bake Bread: On the Existential Comforts of Coaxing Yeast Out of Air, Kneading, Proofing, Baking, and Aharing’, *Vox*, May 19, 2020, <https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2020/5/19/21221008/how-to-bake-bread-pandemic-yeast-flour-baking-ken-forkish-claire-saffitz>.

7 Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 4.



and time. For lockdown bread makers (especially women) who balanced their new skills between childcare and working from home, this new skillset was acquired gradually and sporadically, in stolen moments of practice and doing.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the embodied knowledge expressed by Young in her experience of making dough cannot be replicated by mere instructions or machinery alone.

The language of embodiment was used when, in the late 1980s, the Matsushita Electric Industrial Company released their first bread maker. This machine, so some claimed, ‘embodies the skills of a master baker in a device that can be operated easily by people with no knowledge of bread making’.<sup>9</sup> Technology, here, was positioned as a replacement for the body’s knowledge. Such machines attempt to automate and make procedural that experience which had been held within the hands, bodies, and minds of makers. At their heart, they capitalise upon and sell making knowledge as something to be bought and consumed rather than developed and experienced. However, subsequent studies have shown that such knowledge cannot be mastered by modern machines.<sup>10</sup> Automation is at odds with the quietly attuned and symbiotic connection between body, mind, and the product being made. ‘Knowledge capture’, which proposed that tacit knowledge could be captured, made explicit and then embodied by a machine, could not and still cannot replace the human know-how gained from months or years of embodied experiences of making.<sup>11</sup>

For Young, the turn away from bread machines and back towards hand making was defined as a return to ‘traditional’ roles.<sup>12</sup> This tradition encapsulates both a gendered division of domestic labour within a heteronormative family unit and the turn away from the capitalisation and mechanisation of hand labour. This combination of embodied experiences and processes of making, the gendered and social dimensions of the making experience, and the temporally and culturally defined association between hand labour and the ‘traditional’ past sit at the heart of this volume’s concerns. Positioning itself in the centuries prior to the widespread

8 For studies of gender and domestic labour at home during the pandemic, see Timothy J. Haney and Kristen Barber, ‘The Extreme Gendering of COVID-19: Household Tasks and Division of Labour Satisfaction During the Pandemic’, *Canadian Review of Sociology* 59, S1 (2022): 26–47; Elaine Swan, ‘COVID-19 Foodwork, Race, Gender, Class and Food Justice: An Intersectional Feminist Analysis’, *Gender in Management* 35, no. 7–8 (2020): 693–703; Muzhi Zhou, Ekaterina Hertog, Kamila Kolpashnikova, and Man-Yee Kan, ‘Gender Inequalities: Changes in Income, Time Use and Well-Being Before and During the UK COVID-19 Lockdown’, *SocArXiv Papers* (2020): doi:10.31235/osf.io/u8yt.

9 Ikujiro Nonaka and Hirotaka Takeuchi, *The Knowledge-Creating Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 95.

10 Rodrigo Ribeiro and Harry Collins, ‘The Bread-Making Machine: Tacit Knowledge and Two Types of Action’, *Organization Studies* 28, no. 9 (2007): 1417–33.

11 Ribeiro and Collins, ‘The Bread-Making Machine’, 1417–18.

12 Young, ‘A Return to Tradition’, 27.



industrialisation and mechanisation of hand labour experienced during the so-called 'industrial revolution', the essays brought into conversation in this book grapple with the ways in which making was known through the body. Our authors speak to the ways in which hands, bodies, and minds experienced, practised, and embodied making and making knowledge, before patterns of work and industrial processes shifted towards the production line manufacturing practices of the modern world.<sup>13</sup> In these essays, the processes of manual production behind food, textiles, and art rested on an intersensory connection between mind, body, and object. As this volume will show, many of these making experiences took place in domestic homes or workshops, not factories and warehouses. For some of our authors, their experimental history approaches have brought making into the homes, labs, or studios of modern researchers. Such embodied experiences of making in the past were ubiquitous and unspoken, the result of processes of 'embodied cognition', and therefore rarely recorded.<sup>14</sup> However, as our authors show, researchers can recover such experiences by carefully reading into descriptions given by observers or those trying to recount such knowledge, or by putting our own hands to work with approaches that seek to recreate both processes of making and their outcomes.

This volume brings into conversation historians, art and design historians, and scientists to ask how processes of making, experimenting, experiencing, and reconstructing illuminate early modern assumptions and understandings around the body, gender, and material life. Answers can be gleaned, our contributors show, by paying attention to the use and abuse of labour and embodied knowledge in silk farming, spices, and household bread, or recaptured in experiences of remaking cosmetics, clothing and art. The materially attentive histories presented in this volume consider how and where historians can access the experience and knowledge of makers and subsequently what this can reveal to us about the role of early modern bodies, and their attendant discourses such as gender, class, and race, in the creation of knowledge, material literacy, and everyday material culture. In so doing, this volume presents a case for both the tacit nature of early modern making knowledge and the methodological means by which it can be examined and accessed by the historical researcher. The history of making is not found only in the technological and economic innovations which drove industrialisation, but in the hands, minds, and creations of the makers whose labour such machines attempted to imitate.

13 Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures, 1700–1870* (London: Routledge, 1985); Kenneth Morgan, *The Birth of Industrial Britain: Economic Change 1750–1850* (London: Routledge, 1999); Robert C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

14 Ulinka Rublack, 'Renaissance Dress, Cultures of Making, and the Period Eye', *West 86th* 23, no. 1 (2016): 7.



## The Material, Making, and Embodied Turns

Upon entering the museum store or the archive, the researcher encounters the object in its apparently fixed current form. Elevated to the status of little material time travellers, objects have been conceived as envoys from the past. As Arjun Appadurai has established, objects experience biographies: they are owned and used, recycled and remade, broken and mended.<sup>15</sup> The object sitting in the museum store in the 2020s has lived many lives since it was first made, owned, and used when it was produced. Historians have increasingly recognised that objects' lives are shaped by many human hands; yet, often the initial making of the object and the processes of production by which it came into being continue to be overlooked.<sup>16</sup> Tim Ingold has lamented the tendency to pass over the process of making, outlining 'what is lost ... on the one hand in the generative currents of the materials of which they are made; on the other in the sensory awareness of practitioners'.<sup>17</sup> Ingold goes on to describe how the making process is 'swallowed up' in the objects made. The creativity, skill, labour, and craft of making is subsumed into the object, irrespective of whether that object is prized or ephemeral.

The material turn is well established in historical studies.<sup>18</sup> That objects contain invaluable historical information and can be read within similar critical parameters as texts and images is now accepted across the field of history and its cognisant disciplines. A plethora of texts exist to guide both the researcher and student through the methods of reading such objects.<sup>19</sup> Yet the processes by which those objects come into being are often dealt with in economic or social terms, rather than with the same materially conscious approach as is applied in the historical study of material culture. The histories of textile mills and technological innovation, international trade, and the spread of mechanical inventions have illuminated important histories

15 Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); in particular, see Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–92.

16 For exceptions to this, see, for example, Karin Dannehl, 'Object Biographies: From Production to Consumption', in *History and Material Culture*, ed. Karen Harvey (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 123–38; Zara Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk: Hidden Histories of the British Atlantic World* (London: Yale University Press, 2016).

17 Tim Ingold, *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 7.

18 Serena Dyer, 'State of the Field: Material Culture', *History* 106, no. 370 (2021): 282–92.

19 Jules David Prown, 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method', *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (1982): 1–19; Karen Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture* (London: Routledge, 2009); Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, eds., *Writing Material Culture History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

of knowledge exchange and economic power, but they are often detached from the materiality of the making process.<sup>20</sup> Making has often been detached from the material. Yet in reuniting objects with the hands that made them – either through historical research or by turning our own hands to manipulating tools or operating machines – it is possible to conjure a deeper and more materially conscious history of the relationship between the maker and the thing made.

The relationship between maker and object is inherently tacit. Occasionally processes are recorded or shared in recipe books or instructions, yet the translation of the tacit into text is never a smooth transition. Nuances are lost, methods misinterpreted, and material literacies diluted. The recovery of the tacit is a challenge, but one to which historians have risen. In 2019 a special issue of the journal *Fashion Theory* proclaimed both ‘making’ and ‘embodied’ turns in dress history to be in the ascendance. The editors, Peter McNeil and Melissa Bellanta, asserted that in fashion studies many scholars were increasingly ‘engaging in material experimentation as a mode of research’, which included methodologies that involved making as well as wearing clothing.<sup>21</sup> Going further, Hilary Davidson proclaimed the ‘embodied turn’ in her contribution to the special issue, stating that in history there had arisen a trend for scholars to ‘to appreciate and incorporate embodied, experiential, implicit or tacit knowledges gained through making and doing into their study of history’.<sup>22</sup> Here Davidson used ‘embodied’ to refer to the ‘innate body knowledge created through making objects, the social and physical bodies inherent in dress objects and practices, and how subjective bodily experience can contribute to history studies’.<sup>23</sup> The crossover of turns and terms in this special issue, with ‘making’ and ‘embodied’ often being used to describe the same methodology put forward by contributors, demonstrates that making is always an embodied practice. While the terminology of this emergent field of study remains in flux and subject to active conversations, the body’s vital relationship with processes of making remains fundamental.<sup>24</sup>

Davidson’s articulation of the ‘embodied’ turn draws on a larger and longer body of work that has conceptualised the idea of embodiment. Embodiment and

20 An exception to this would be John Styles’ work on spinning, see John Styles, ‘The Rise and Fall of the Spinning Jenny: Domestic Mechanisation in Eighteenth-Century Cotton Spinning’, *Textile History* 51, no. 2 (2020): 195–236.

21 Peter McNeil and Melissa Bellanta, ‘Letter from the Editors: Fashion, Embodiment and the “Making Turn”’, *Fashion Theory* 23, no. 3 (2019): 326.

22 Hilary Davidson, ‘The Embodied Turn: Making and Remaking Dress as an Academic Practice’, *Fashion Theory* 23, no. 3 (2019): 330.

23 Davidson, ‘The Embodied Turn’, 330.

24 See ‘Workshop One – Replicas, Reconstructions, and Recreations: Defining Terms of Historical Making, 2 September 2023’, Making Historical Dress Network, De Montfort University, accessed 24 May 2024, <https://makinghistoricaldress.dmu.ac.uk/Workshop-One.html>.

‘embodiment theory’ were first coined by anthropologists who sought to critique the dualist and Cartesian divisions between ‘mind and body’ and ‘subject and object’ that have been particularly dominant since the Renaissance.<sup>25</sup> In doing so, they sought to collapse these dualisms by reinserting the fleshy body, its realities and lived experiences, back into analysis – all knowledge and experiences come from and are mediated by bodies. Since then, ideas of embodiment have been articulated by various intellectual traditions ranging from anthropology to phenomenology, post-structuralism, feminist cultural theory, practice theory, and archaeology, to name a few.<sup>26</sup> Drawing on such conceptual work, in this volume the concept of embodiment is used to examine the ‘visceral, felt, enlivened bodily experiences’ that were involved in and helped to form making practices and knowledge.<sup>27</sup> Such experiences were often shaped by personal, social, cultural, political, and economic factors, including gender, class, and race.

As Davidson has argued, only recently have ‘experiential and bodily knowledges’ in recreative practice and experimental history become mainstream.<sup>28</sup> Other fields, such as histories of science, art, and food, also share similar methods and objectives with the ‘making’ and ‘embodied’ turns in dress history and fashion studies. In this volume, our definitions of making are expansive, and incorporate textiles, cosmetics, food, art, and science. Instead of restricting varieties of making to siloes based along divisions of materials or industries, we instead look to find the common ground between these interconnected modes of making. To this end, this volume includes not only artisanal production of art and clothing, but also agricultural production such as silk farming and spice growing, as well as the preparation of cosmetics and food in the kitchen. Our authors consider both the processes of making objects or materials and how those objects were accumulated and used by and on the body.

In this volume, we argue that it is at the intersections of making and remaking, and historical and modern bodies, that we can find fruitful insight into the ways in which the bodies of the past experienced and impacted the generation of material goods. Furthermore, it is at this juncture that the social, cultural, and economic structures which shaped making practice become apparent, especially in relation

25 Zoë Crossland, ‘Materiality and Embodiment’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, ed. Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 388–89; Margaret Lock, ‘Cultivating the Body: Anthropology and Epistemologies of Bodily Practice and Knowledge’, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993), 135–36; Thomas J. Csordas, ‘Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology’, *Ethos* 18, no. 1 (1990): 5–47.

26 For an overview, see Crossland, ‘Materiality and Embodiment’, 388–89.

27 Anna Harris, ‘Embodiment’, in *Oxford Bibliographies in Anthropology*, accessed August 21, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199766567-0151>.

28 Davidson, ‘The Embodied Turn’, 330.



to gender, race, and class. As our contributors show, remaking can help to capture the embodied knowledge and experiences of enslaved peoples, as well as women and the poor. Using object-based and recreative methods, our contributors are in conversation with scholars such as Cynthia Chin Kirk, who has sought to recapture the skilled labour, 'lives, and physical exertion' of enslaved seamstresses who 'cleaned, mended, and remade' a gown that belonged to Martha Dandridge Custis Washington, wife of the first American President, George Washington.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, work at living history sites, such as Jamestown-Yorktown, has sought to apply recreative methods to reinsert enslaved labour into the historical narrative.<sup>30</sup> Building on this work, as well as the wealth of work on gender and labour, this volume seeks to advocate for the power of historical making, beyond the written word, to tell the stories left untold in diaries, letters, accounts, and probate records. This book examines the themes of making and embodiment, knowledge and experience, and materials and bodies. While each chapter speaks to all these themes in its own way, the book is divided into two parts: 'Making and Embodied Knowledge' and 'Remaking and Embodied Experience'.

## Making and Embodied Knowledge

The ways that making practices informed scientific knowledge in the early modern world have been well explored and acknowledged. Studies such as those by Pamela H. Smith have shown how art shaped the investigation of nature, and thus of scientific knowledge, in the early modern period.<sup>31</sup> Artists and artisans sought to harness nature through the creation of images, the life casting and moulding of plants and animals, and metalworking, as well as in the perfecting of technical

29 Cynthia E. Chin, 'Stitches of Resistance: Reclaiming the Narratives of the Enslaved Seamstresses in Martha Washington's Purple Silk Gown', *History: Journal of the Historical Association Blog*, March 24, 2021, <https://historyjournal.org.uk/2021/03/24/stitches-of-resistance-reclaiming-the-narratives-of-the-enslaved-seamstresses-in-martha-washingtons-purple-silk-gown/>.

30 Samantha Bullat, 'Reflections on Historical Interpretation and Social Media as Methods of Communicating Historical Clothing Knowledge', keynote paper given at 'Workshop 2 – Translating Making Knowledge: Communicating Embodied Experience' at Jane Austen's House, Chawton, UK, Making Historical Dress Network, De Montfort University, September 18, 2023, <https://makinghistoricaldress.dmu.ac.uk/Workshop-Two.html>.

31 Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Pamela H. Smith, Amy R. W. Meyers, and Harold J. Cook, eds., *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014); Lissa Roberts, Simon Schaffer, and Peter Dear, eds., *The Mindful Hand: Inquiry and Invention from the Late Renaissance to Early Industrialisation* (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2007).



processes in the making of decorative arts such as creating pigments and varnishes or imitating precious gemstones.<sup>32</sup> Observation and making led to a 'bodily imitation of nature that resulted in embodied skill and knowledge'.<sup>33</sup> Artisans were aware of the practical embodied knowledge that they held and the importance of this information to scholars, naturalists, and philosophers who sought to develop a system for investigating and mastering the natural world, or what we would now call science. Thus, the 'the work of the human hand' by artist and artisan were fundamental to the Scientific Revolution.<sup>34</sup> More recently, volumes such as *Ingenuity in the Making* have sought to understand how early modern Europeans 'experienced ingenuity—as innate powers of matter, crafty technique, or a maker's character'.<sup>35</sup> In doing so, they further contribute to histories of the relationship between art and science by showing that 'ingenuity was much larger than genius' in the early modern period and that it often came from below through the techniques and skills forged by hands working with matter.<sup>36</sup>

These works have already gone a long way in readdressing how scientific knowledge was produced in early modern Europe, showing that it was not just the domain of educated elites but also took place in the workshops and studios of artisans and artists.<sup>37</sup> However, such spaces were still dominated by European men who could read and write, and thus leave behind accounts of their knowledge. To address this bias, scholars such as Elaine Leong, Michelle DiMeo, and Wendy Wall, as well as online public history projects such as 'The Recipes Project', have examined recipe books to reveal information about domestic forms of women's knowledge.<sup>38</sup> Leonie Hannan, a contributor to this volume, has also examined the 'practices, communications and exchange[s]' that constituted 'knowledge-making' in the

32 Types of artisanal practices that informed scientific knowledge are explored in the Making and Knowing Project: Pamela H. Smith, Naomi Rosenkranz, Tianna Helena Uchacz, Tillmann Taape, Clément Godbarge, Sophie Pitman, Jenny Boulboulé, Joel Klein, Donna Bilak, Marc Smith, and Terry Catapano, eds., *Secrets of Craft and Nature in Renaissance France. A Digital Critical Edition and English Translation of BnF Ms. Fr. 640* (New York: Making and Knowing Project, 2020), <https://edition640.makingandknowing.org>.

33 Pamela H. Smith, 'Art, Science, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe', *Isis* 97, no. 1 (2006): 95.

34 Smith, 'Art, Science, and Visual Culture', 83, 91.

35 Richard J. Oosterhoff, 'Introduction', in *Ingenuity in the Making Matter and Technique in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Alexander Marr, José Ramón Marcaida, and Richard J. Oosterhoff (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021), 3.

36 Oosterhoff, 'Introduction', 5–7.

37 Smith, *The Body of the Artisan*.

38 Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science, and the Household in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018); Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell, eds., *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Wendy Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern English Kitchen* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); 'The Recipes Project: Food, Magic, Art, Science and Medicine', <https://recipes.hypotheses.org/>.



spaces of the early modern home to argue that scientific enquiry was integrated into various types of labour in the home.<sup>39</sup>

Yet making and knowing should not always be understood as a history of early modern science. The knowledge gained from making practices served multiple purposes. Some of these were scientific, but many were also practical and commercial. As such, this book is concerned less with intellectual histories of knowledge and the mind and more with the bodies and the manual labour of makers in relation to material cultures of domestic life (agricultural production and cooking) and adornment (dress and art). Crucial to all the essays of this collection is their attention to the different kinds of bodies that influenced the development of making knowledge. As Hannan argues in her chapter in this volume, recovering tacit knowledge in this way contributes to decolonising historical work. As such, Part I of this volume addresses the absence of women, the colonised, and the enslaved in narratives of embodied and tacit knowledge. We begin with studies of the embodied knowledge of historical makers. Each author, reading into the material and bodily processes of making, highlights the gendered, racial, and classed aspects of manual labour and knowledge production involved in historical practices relating to silk production, cooking, and domestic chores on local European and global scales.

In Chapter 2, Susan Broomhall examines how the gendered labour of bodies – both human and animal – were utilised in the production of silk fibres in early modern France. Broomhall unpacks how women's bodies – rather than their knowledge – were conceptualised by male writers as being essential to the environment required for *bombyx*. This is because certain women held inherent characteristics (voices, breasts, youth) best suited to the temperaments of silk moths which would ensure sericultural success. However, over time, seventeenth-century French sericulture manuals that sought to promote this new industry in the kingdom began to erase the experience of women who had traditionally been involved in silk production. Instead, they presented their bodies as merely erotic objects and tools of production to be manipulated by male authority figures in the home, rather than as repositories of embodied knowledge and expertise gained through years of their domestic labour in this sector.

The erasure of embodied knowledge also occurred in the production and use of spices in South and Southeast Asia and Europe. In Chapter 3, Amanda E. Herbert and Neha Vermani explore how translations and transfers of knowledge of spices were embodied processes; for many people, their skills with spices were held not in books but in their bodies. This saw men and women in South and

39 Leonie Hannan, *A Culture of Curiosity: Science in the Eighteenth-Century Home* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023), 2.



Southeast Asia labour in fields and forests under colonisers and enslavers who took information about spices through coercion and control, and servants (often women) in Europe shaped and adapted such knowledge in the home under high-status employers. Herbert and Vermani read the 'gestures, motions, movements, and assessments' of these people in a variety of culinary and ethnographic texts to show how the use of spices in Europe, particularly understandings of how to use them in the kitchen, were shaped by the colonisation, enslavement, and oppression of bodies.<sup>40</sup>

The knowledge-making that took place in the home is further explored in Chapter 4. Here Leonie Hannan examines how householders and their servants acquired and recorded tacit knowledge to argue that the scientific methods of intellectual elites often began in more mundane domestic making practices. Hannan's chapter demonstrates the challenges involved with trying to write down embodied knowledge, particularly when such knowledge came from the experiences of household servants whose material literacy had been honed over many years. As Hannan outlines, such moments of recording are serendipitous and shaped by power dynamics, such as Church of Ireland Bishop Edward Synge's account of his household servant Jane's process of making and using barm in bread. Here the process of making both illuminates and cannot be divorced from the imbalanced relationship between a male master and a female servant.

Together, these chapters highlight how authors of surviving texts – usually male, elite, and European – laid claim to the embodied knowledge that they had gathered from women, the colonised, or the enslaved. Such knowledge was the result of embodied processes of domestic or agricultural labour in the home or field that had been carried out by these practitioners over many years on local European and global scales. Through interrogating these acts and moments of making, it is possible to rescue the material knowledge, skill, and power of makers whose agency was masked and dislodged through acts of recording.

## Remaking and Embodied Experience

The chapters in Part I illuminate a foundational challenge in uncovering embodied histories of making: while some knowledge was recorded in familiar written formats, like recipe books and ledgers, the mechanisms of documenting making in this way were fundamentally subject to the contemporary cultural power dynamics. As Katherine M. Johnson has argued, 'In our dedication to the archive, historians often overlook bodily, performative traditions of history, particularly those arising

40 See Chapter 3 in this volume, p. 85.

within the so-called Western cultures.<sup>41</sup> Making knowledge is filtered and muddied, colonised and transposed into text, and, while these written records can be incredibly valuable, they hint at a far more comprehensive, complex, and diverse body of making knowledge held by hands which did not wield the pen. It is this lacuna in the written record, the unfilled space left vacant in text, that was filled by the active hands of women, enslaved, and otherwise disenfranchised makers. Historians are compelled to expand their remit beyond the archive if such voices are to be recovered. Such traces of making can be recovered from intimate analysis of objects, but often the material remnants of making open up more questions than they answer. It is only by turning the historian's hands to making that many of the cracks, disparities, and absences from the historical record can be countered. Part II of this volume therefore showcases how experimental and recreative practices can fill this void in knowledge, left by historical power imbalances and the vagaries of the historical record.

The value of making has been widely acknowledged across history and its related fields, perhaps most abundantly in archaeology, where experimental archaeology has a long and respected tradition as a valid methodological approach.<sup>42</sup> Experimental archaeology is heavily rooted in the scientific method, as it 'tries to interpret the material culture, technology or ways of living in the past through scientific experiments'.<sup>43</sup> Beyond archaeology, similar approaches and methods have yet to be fluently distilled and articulated into a shared terminology. Borrowing the language of the experiment, Davidson has proposed 'experimental history', while Jane Malcolm Davies has also proposed a scientifically aligned experimental approach.<sup>44</sup> As Tim Ingold has explained, the terminology of the experiment is not necessarily wedded to the scientific; 'every work is an experiment: not in the natural scientific sense of testing a preconceived hypothesis, or of engineering a confrontation between ideas "in the head" and facts "on the ground", but in the sense of prising an opening and following where it leads. You try things out and see what happens.'<sup>45</sup> Similarly, scientifically framed projects, such as the work

41 Katherine M. Johnson, 'Rethinking (Re)Doing: Historical Re-Enactment and/as Historiography', *Rethinking History* 19, no. 2 (2015): 194.

42 John M. Coles, *Experimental Archaeology* (London: Academic Press, 1979); Frederick W. F. Foulds, *Experimental Archaeology and Theory: Recent Approaches to Testing Archaeological Hypotheses* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013); Jodi Reeves Flores and Roeland Paardekooper, eds., *Experiments Past: Histories of Experimental Archaeology* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2014).

43 Errett Callaghan, 'What Is Experimental Archaeology?', in *Primitive Technology: A Book of Earth Skills*, ed. David Westcott (Salt Lake City: David Godine, 1999), 4.

44 Jane Malcolm-Davies, 'Structuring Reconstructions: Recognising the Advantages of Interdisciplinary Data in Methodical Research', *Heritage Science* 11, art. no. 182 (2023): <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-023-00982-9>.

45 Ingold, *Making*, 6–7.

of Pamela H. Smith, have extended this association between making and the experiment.<sup>46</sup> Elsewhere historians have taken more holistic and phenomenological approaches.<sup>47</sup> Methodological approaches to making as a historical methodology are fluid, as historians used to working with texts and objects investigate and test various scholarly apparatus for making.

Beyond methods, the very terms of making as a historical methodology are also in flux. The 're-' terms, including reconstruction, recreation, replication, reenactment, and remaking, have been used across the humanities and social sciences, but with limited accord in terms of definition and appropriate usage.<sup>48</sup> Davidson and Dyer have both landed on recreation as an encompassing term for their making as an exploration of historical creative processes, while elsewhere recreation is framed as a more imaginative and artistic approach.<sup>49</sup> Within this volume, our authors use a variety of terms to refer to recreative methods in their work. Burke and Poon and Griffey and Nieuwoudt use 'reconstruct' or 'recreate', Chen uses 'applied performative method' and 'historical remaking', and Bendall and Fisk use 'creative investigations' or 'historically informed investigations'. Instead of dictating terms and definitions to our authors, this volume celebrates the space that the field currently needs for makers to experiment not only with the making itself but with how we write about and communicate that making knowledge. While synchronisation of terminology is a necessary goal in the field, this volume offers an opportunity for creativity and the exploration of the possibilities of vocabulary. As Johnson has observed, 'Adherence to written history, to the exclusion of somatic, performative traditions, restricts the means to record (and create) history to an elite – a predominantly white, male elite.'<sup>50</sup> It would be all too easy to perpetuate and exacerbate this problem from the historical record by continuing to prescribe an imposed terminology on the ways in which historians write about their making. Creative space to play with terms and ensure that such terms are agreed upon rather than dictated is essential to the maturation of the field.

46 Pamela H. Smith, *From Lived Experience to the Written Word: Reconstructing Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022).

47 Sarah Woodyard, 'A Milliner's Hand-Sewn Inquiry into Eighteenth-Century Caps ca. 1770 to 1800' (MA diss., University of Alberta, 2017); Sarah A. Bendall, *Shaping Femininity: Foundation Garments, the Body and Women in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021); Serena Dyer, *The Labour of the Stitch: Making and Remaking Women's Fashionable Dress in Georgian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024).

48 Sven Dupré, Anna Harris, Julia Kursell, Patricia Lulof, and Maartje Stols-Witlox, eds., *Reconstruction, Replication and Re-Enactment in the Humanities and Social Sciences* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), 9. Davidson has briefly summarised the key usages of these terms. See Davidson, 'The Embodied Turn', 337–38.

49 Davidson, 'The Embodied Turn', 329–62; Dyer, *The Labour of the Stitch*, 6.

50 Johnson, 'Rethinking (Re)Doing', 194.



To date, experimental history has often found itself at home in the lab, following the experimental format outlined by Jane Malcolm-Davies. Major projects have included the *Making and Knowing Project* (2014–), based at the Center for Science and Society at Columbia University. Headed by Pamela H. Smith, the project explores the intersections between artistic making and scientific knowing through ‘laboratory seminars’ in which students work alongside academic and museum-based historians of art and science, and in collaboration with experienced makers, to reconstruct the recipes contained in an anonymous sixteenth-century French artisanal and technical manuscript. The project is primarily concerned with questions around how making and experimentation could constitute a means of knowing nature. As such, it represents a crucial historiographical milestone for historians who approach the past through experimental making. Moving from the intellectual and theoretical history of the ideas behind science, the project and its resultant publications unpacked how the embodied and manual practices of making produced scientific understanding.<sup>51</sup> Significantly, this project also set an exemplar for how historians can themselves engage in experimental making to better understand the historical material world. This methodology is crucial to our own volume, which takes this approach and applies it within a range of sartorial, cosmetic, domestic, industrial, as well as scientific settings. Similarly, projects like *Artechne* (2016–19) at Utrecht University have created databases of recipes and techniques, while *Refashioning the Renaissance* (2016–21) based at Aalto University in Helsinki and the Folger Shakespeare Library’s *Before ‘Farm to Table’* (2017–21) project brought together teams of scholars to debate, consult, and imaginatively experiment with different methods of translating historical making knowledge. As Richard J. Oosterhoff has explained of such experimental approaches to historical recipe texts, ‘reconstructive methods can help us to read texts better, whether explaining what “fatty earth” might mean, or highlighting the physical resistances and difficulties of the craft procedure itself.’<sup>52</sup>

Similar projects, such as Erin Griffey’s *Beautiful Chemistry* (2019–) and Jill Burke and Wilson Poon’s *Renaissance Goo* (2021–23), have directly contributed to this volume. In Chapter 5, Burke and Poon remind us that understanding Renaissance recipes is a sensory affair. Reading markings made on the pages of recipes or the grime left behind from their use in the kitchen, as well as recreating them, can tell us much about early modern bodies, particularly the daily cosmetic practices of women. By reconstructing a sixteenth-century anti-wrinkle cream in the modern home kitchen, Burke recounts the trial and error involved in

51 Smith et al., *Ways of Making and Knowing*; Smith, *From Lived Experience to the Written Word*.

52 Oosterhoff, ‘Introduction’, 6.

recreating the steps from often vague source material that assumed prior or tacit knowledge: how much is a little? How does room temperature affect the way the ingredients go together? Do modern ingredients differ slightly from early modern ones? Or do we lack the necessary knowledge to process them, or both? Her findings show that while processes of recreation may sometimes be flawed, they allow us embodied insight into early modern women's experimentation and sophisticated beauty cultures.

In Chapter 6, Griffey and Michél Nieuwoudt go one step further to not only reconstruct another cosmetic recipe aimed at women – rosemary and white wine ‘to make the face beautiful’ – but also to test its efficiency in the lab. They take seriously the ingredients and processes of common Renaissance recipes that circulated throughout Europe and analyse the chemical properties of their reconstructions with modern scientific techniques. In doing so, they demonstrate that these recipes had large amounts of active ingredients that were extracted using rudimentary making methods.

Finally, across chapters 7 and 8, Jessie Wei-Hsuan Chen, Sarah A. Bendall, and Catriona Fisk examine how studying material artifacts and thinking through ways of recreating them can help us to understand the embodied experiences of both makers and wearers. In Chapter 7, Chen documents her experience of using historical woodcutting techniques to reconstruct botanical printing woodblocks and then using them in printing. This processes of experimenting not only revealed the types of tacit knowledge of wood types, tools, and pressure used when cutting but also the collaborative element of this process that relied on the abilities and tacit knowledge of multiple bodies during the sixteenth century and even today.

In Chapter 8, Bendall and Fisk discuss the creative process of reconstructing and wearing three extant European foundation garments (bodies and stays) associated with maternity during the early modern period. In doing so, they explore and speculate on the range of possibilities that these garments presented for the pre- and post-partum body, which speaks to a sphere of embodied knowledge shared by maker and wearer, the result of tailoring clothing to specific, and in this case changing, bodies. Importantly, they present their successes and failures in these investigations and discuss the limitations of recreative practices in answering all the questions we might have about embodied experiences of those in the past, such as pregnant women.

## The Embodied Maker

Across the volume, key themes come to light which demand consideration as making as a historical methodology continues to evolve. Fundamental to many of our authors

is the importance of collaboration. Several of our chapters bring together scholars with expertise in different areas, from the archival and material to the scientific and technical. Herbert and Vermani bring to bear their respective expertise on European and South Asian foodways in their reading of surviving recipe books and accounts of spices. Chen recalls how her discussion of woodblock making with modern practitioners was crucial to her remaking practice. Bendall and Fisk bring together their respective expertise in curatorship, historical dress, and recreative sewing skills to examine the mutually embodied knowledge of maker and wearer in relation to maternity stays. Further avenues for fruitful experimental research collaborations in history are showcased by Burke and Griffey, whose chapters are co-written with colleagues from the sciences, Poon (soft-matter physics) and Nieuwoudt (physical chemistry), to understand the science behind the embodied knowledge held by historical makers. While many historians are used to working alone, transcribing documents and deciphering handwriting, making methodologies require us to look up from our niche and acknowledge the limits of our skills and knowledge. Working in partnership, and often crossing disciplinary boundaries, the artificial barriers and boundaries imposed by historical structures of gender, race, class, as well as the academy can be breached.

Of course, neither we nor our authors propose that making as a historical methodology is infallible or preeminent as an approach to the past. In many ways, it acknowledges the opposite: that all forms of history are in some way creative. Whether working with texts, images, objects, or our own handwork, historians are always interpreting, decoding, and translating their findings. What we do propose is that there is validity in approaching histories of making through a wide spectrum of methodological possibility, and that flexibility and creativity in approach is vital if we wish to work towards filling the voids left in the historical record. Compromises in all methodological approaches are inevitable, and experimental history is no exception. Burke notes her use of modern substitutes for animal tallow or lard, such as coconut oil, which allow her diverse audience to still experience recreative methods. Chen remarks that most sixteenth-century woodcutters would have been men who had undergone apprenticeships or similar training, and as 'an amateur woman-maker' living in the twenty-first century, she cannot claim to 'reconstruct an authentic experience of the[ir] manual labour'.<sup>53</sup>

On the other hand, Bendall and Fisk note that their 'creative investigations' with maternity foundation garments demanded that they resize and alter patterns taken of these garments for their modern bodies, but necessity also dictated that they test the design of these garments using facsimiles of pregnant bodies. As

53 See Chapter 7 in this volume, p. 166.

such, the authors are aware that experimental and recreative history approaches often do not and cannot hope to solve all unanswered questions about the past. However, recreative methodologies do provide the modern maker or historian with further information that otherwise would not have been gained using more traditional sources or an appreciation and affective understanding of past making practices that further inform their historical analysis. Such information is often tactile and sensory – whether that be an understanding of the smells and feel of washing tallow, or the material literacy of knowledge of how much pressure to use when cutting different types of wood for printing, or an understanding of how different elements of garment design lend themselves to increased comfort when worn.<sup>54</sup> This allows us to move closer to a better understanding of past, embodied experiences.

By focusing on the material culture of the domestic and everyday – ranging from textile and art production, to cooking, to the creation of clothing and cosmetics – this collection draws attention to the embodied knowledge and sensory experiences associated with the making practices of historically marginalised groups. Such groups range from women and craftspeople in Europe to those across the globe who were colonised and enslaved, and a focus on these actors readdresses biases in the written archive. Experimental history is a field full of complexities and contradictions. As Robinson has reflected, ‘The epistemic consequences of feeling oneself to be in direct, *physical* contact with “the past” at the same time as being unavoidably aware of its absence need to be unpicked and understood.’<sup>55</sup> There is an inherent and beautiful symbiosis at the heart of work on embodied making: we as historians are following and rescuing historical imaginative processes of making in order to creatively heal an emptiness in the historical record. The very creativity at the heart of making is what can recover those lost voices of the past. The history of making is not found only in the intellectual pursuits of elites or technological and economic innovations which drove ‘progress’ but in the hands, minds, and creations of makers themselves.

54 For more on material literacy as a framework for understanding makers of the past, see Serena Dyer and Chloe Wigston Smith, eds., *Material Literacy in Eighteenth-Century Britain: A Nation of Makers* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020).

55 Emily Robinson, ‘Touching the Void: Affective History and the Impossible’, *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 14, no. 4 (2010): 504.





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