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EMOTIONS AND RELIGIONS: MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS
AND VISUAL METAPHORS OF EMOTIONS
ON THE WORLD WIDE WEB

INTRODUCTION

The global COVID-19 pandemic became a challenge for religious institutions and communities all over the world. Religious practice, community-based by nature, were subject to modifications as massive cults turned out to be a mechanism that speeds up the spread of the virus. Almost all the religious communities and churches, driven by the guidelines on public health and safety, were ready to introduce some changes in the religious practice. For instance, the sign of peace, a traditional Christian greeting, usually in the form of exchanging a handshake or a hug, was replaced by a glance, a nod, or just a verbal expression during a mass. When it comes to the wedding ceremony in Judaism, experts on the Jewish law implemented changes lowering the numbers of those needed for a couple to get married. During Ramadan, the ninth month of the Muslim year, the faithful were encouraged to pray at home. The Jewish and Muslim practice of burial introduced new rules of cleaning the body and using burial shrouds. A general tendency is to suspend or to contain mass gatherings, and religious communities, together with their spiritual leaders, played and still play a positive role in fighting the virus. The prevention of COVID-19 was effective due to a transfer of religious practice into the virtual world and due to a creative adaptation to the crisis.

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The Anglican Church opened a 24/7, free of charge helpline to facilitate praying and cult, targeted at those with no access to the internet. A transfer of religious faith to the available online resources led to the emergence of new approaches and behaviours, which could be described as experimental. The experience of a religious virtual community, socialising at the time of isolation and quarantine, helped to shape new relationships based on the shared religious experience rooted in technology. The relationship between society and technology, together with the co-existing elements, e.g. culture, language, convention.¹ In religious virtual communities the Church is no longer a physical building located in a particular place but a community of the faithful, supported by the structures of online social interactions. It is a perfect example of a situation where internet resources are no longer a repository of knowledge and information but rather a social area for online religion.² The most popular issues related to religion are the exploration of religious relations, behaviours, and emotional attitudes in new forms of internet communication, the extent to which digital technology contributes to celebration of religious experience and to a sense of belonging.

This article is devoted to media representations of emotions, which can be elucidated in the context of the complex and diverse nature of the religious world being transferred into the media realm. This topic is not new. The term “mediatisation” is used as the central concept in the theory of the intensified and changing importance of the media within society. The term “mediatisation of religion” refers to how the media may influence religious imagination and practice. At a general level, these processes share a common feature: they are all evidence of the mediatisation of religion: religious imagination and practice become increasingly dependent upon the media.³ However, they are used in a new, global context of the religious use of the internet media during a pandemic. Previously, mediatisation of religion appeared in the context of transposition of religious verbal language (prayers, writings, books) and visual signs (gestures, rituals, ceremonies) into the print

¹ Otto MAYR, *Authority, Liberty, and Automatic Machinery in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Lisa GITELMAN, *Scripts, Grooves and Writing Machines. Representing Technology in the Edison Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Andrew FEENBERG, *Questioning Technology* (New York and London: Routledge, 1999).

² Heidi A. CAMPBELL, *Exploring Religious Community Online. We Are One in the Network* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005); CAMPBELL, “Spiritualising the Internet. Uncovering Discourses and Narratives of Religious Internet Usage,” *Heidelberg Journal of Religions on the Internet* 1 (2005): 1–26.

³ Stig HJARVARD, *The Mediatisation of Culture and Society* (London: Routledge, 2013), 102.

(since Gutenberg's invention). Today, we deal with a new quality, driven by the necessity of translating religious practice into virtual language, which helps to unite social distancing, visual, verbal, and auditory signs.⁴ It should be also noted that historical modifications in the area of forms of religious expression changed the relationship between the man and God, issues of transcendence and divinity, over the centuries. God became more accessible, he was brought closer by clergymen.⁵ During the pandemic, digital and interactive media became a platform of disseminating religious information and initiating religious discussions, helping many people and movements to express their ideas and religious feelings outside the traditional frames of the Church. They also contributed to a change in the way religious institutions cooperate with their communities, as was described by Hojsgaard and Cambell.⁶ The pandemic introduced changes on many levels when it comes to mediatisation of religion, including the authority of religious institutions, symbolic content of religious narration or the form of religious practice.⁷

The following research issues were subject to analysis:

- What are the media representations of emotions (digital lexicons of emotions) available in web content related to religion during the pandemic?
- What are the visual metaphors of emotions used in web visual content related to religion during the pandemic?

1. METHODOLOGY

We use two research methods in our analyses: a content analysis and an analysis of visual metaphors. The choice is not accidental as these two forms of analysis are the most suitable in interpreting media materials. The former allows for a detailed analysis of forms and specificity of the content. The latter allows for an in-depth, reflexive reading of emotion-based visual messages produced by various religions during the pandemic. Content analysis

⁴ Helen PARISH, "The Absence of Presence and the Presence of Absence: Social Distancing, Sacraments, and the Virtual Religious Community during the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Religions* 11, no. 6 (2020): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11060276>.

⁵ Elizabeth EISENSTEIN, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

⁶ Morten T. HOJSGAARD, "Cyber-religion: On the Cutting Edge between the Virtual and the Real," in *Religion and Cyberspace*, ed. Morten T. Hojsgaard and Margit Wartburg (London: Routledge, 2005), 50–63; Heidi A. CABBELL, *When Religion Meets New Media* (London: Routledge 2010).

⁷ HJARVARD, *Mediatisation of Culture and Society*.

has been approached from many theoretical perspectives and has been provided with numerous definitions. In our study, content analysis has been defined as a research strategy adopted in repeated studies and suitable for drawing reliable conclusions related to data and their context. The study was divided into several stages: (1) choice and selection of the materials for the content analysis with the use of key words; (2) reading of the texts and preliminary categorisation of the materials; (3) preparation of the structure of the categorisation key with its code book; (4) open coding of the content; (5) content analysis.

The performed analysis belongs to the qualitative, computer-based type of analysis and is of an inductive character (it is based on the qualitative analysis of the content of the specific themes). The selection of research material for the content analysis was based on the media materials search through Google (<https://www.google.pl>). It is the most popular search engine in the world, responsible for 92% of all online searches.⁸ The keywords used were 'religion' and 'coronavirus'.⁹ Then, 100 unrepeated results of organic search were obtained in the form of cost-free internet links to international websites (e.g. from UK, USA, Poland, Canada, India, Israel, Iran, Qatar, North Korea). The Google algorithm supplies links and determines their order, which is dependent on the website's content, the presence of keywords, and many other factors.¹⁰ Internet websites were archived on 25 September 2020, and then subject to the process of selection. The materials involving monotheistic religions were accepted, i.e. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The corpus of 68 publications was selected, consisting of electronic texts,¹¹ characterised by plasticity¹² and complex spatial structure, expressed through heterogeneous typographical layout and incorporation of

⁸ <https://rapidapi.com/blog/best-search-engines>; <https://gs.statcounter.com/search-engine-market-share> (accessed September 22, 2020).

⁹ Keyword is understood here as a term used in a search engine, signalling the content of a given document.

¹⁰ <https://marketingwsieci.pl/slownik-e-marketingu/wyniki-organiczne> (accessed September 22, 2020).

¹¹ Electronic texts come from the following websites: theguardian.com, telegraph.co.uk, washingtonpost.com, deseret.com, nytimes.com, reuters.com, newstatesman.com, globalnews.ca, wionews.com, ncronline.org, haaretz.com, latimes.com, bloomberg.com, koreatimes.co.kr, dw.com, newyorker.com, rte.ie, edition.cnn.com, cnbc.com, thewire.in, lawandreligionuk.com, axios.com, houstonpublicmedia.org, theafricareport.com, poynter.org, aljazeera.com, meedan.com, news.un.org, delawarepublic.org, scholarworks.wmich.edu.

¹² Tim SHORTIS, *The Language of ICT (Information and Communication Technology)* (London: Routledge, 2000), 9.

visual materials (size, fashion, font colour, charts, diagrams, maps, photographs) and audio links. In the first stage of the project, we focused on language as a carrier of meanings. The research material was subject to the procedure of emptying and open coding (qualitative and quantitative) of the content, with the use of a categorization key.

The other strategy, the analysis of visual metaphors, is based on the assumption that metaphor is one of the basic and universal communication mechanisms. From such a perspective, metaphor, similarly to frames in frame semantics, is a cognitive tool which helps to explain and understand concepts.¹³ In line with Charles J. Forceville, we assume that there are different types of metaphor, e.g. visual, multimodal, lexical.¹⁴ Since metaphor is described as a form of coding information about the world, then, analogically, visual metaphor can be defined as the coding of information through pictures. Identification and interpretation of metaphors is completed on the basis of the interpretation frame: A is B, where A is the target domain and B is the source domain. The relationship between A and B is the one of mappings. Visual metaphors are an interesting research tool for at least three reasons: (1) visual metaphors differ from linguistic metaphors since they have a greater perceptive and emotional influence on the addressee; (2) visual metaphors have a higher international appeal since they do not rely solely on linguistic codes but on more universal visual codes; (3) visual metaphors allow rhetorical goals to be achieved in a subtle way.¹⁵ The nature of visual metaphors permits a wealth of research perspectives: negotiation of visual meaning between the author and the addressee; multiple readings and interpretations; a distinction between literal and metaphorical meanings (analogically to denotation and connotation) and, what is especially important from a cognitive perspective, a possibility to determine shared cognitive patterns as well as conventional (arbitrary) expressions and signs, supported by visual representations.

The research material for the analysis of visual metaphors are a catalogue of photographs and images including religious motifs created during the

¹³ Agnieszka LIBURA, *Wyobrażenia w języku. Leksykalne korelaty schematów wyobrażeniowych. Centrum – Peryferie i Siły* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2000), 36.

¹⁴ Gunnar EGGERTSSON and Charles J. FORCEVILLE, "Multimodal Expressions of the Human Victim Is Animal Metaphor in Horror Films," in *Multimodal Metaphor*, ed. Charles J. FORCEVILLE and Eduardo URIOS-APARIS (Berlin–New York: Mouton De Gruyter, 2009), 429–49.

¹⁵ Charles J. FORCEVILLE, "Metaphor in Pictures and Multimodal Representations," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought*, ed. Raymond W. Gibbs, 462–82 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

pandemic. The catalogue was the result of using *religion and coronavirus* as the key words in Google search engine via the “Images” function. We assumed the model of visual thinking by Rudolf Arnheim, guided by rational rules of vision and imagery, as well as the concept of *picture thinking*, where pictures are identified with verbal language.¹⁶ Visual language is less arbitrary, hence it is richer than verbal language, full of analogies and non-isomorphic (non-unified) relations. The selection procedure was guided by two criteria: firstly, material with the richest visual semantics; secondly, visual material meeting at least one of the requirements of visual metaphor. The criteria allowed us to select eight pictures which became the subject of detailed descriptions of visual emotions lined to various religions together with their visual metaphors.

2. MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF EMOTIONS IN RELIGION-RELATED MATERIALS

Media representations are derivatives of theories of social representations developed by Serge Moscovici.¹⁷ Representations understood as a key tool of describing social reality were already discussed by Immanuel Kant, Charles Renouvier, Emile Durkheim and Wilhelm Wundt. The primary meaning of representations is rooted in reality being given to individuals through a micro social world they live in. The concept of representation of reality entails viewing the world through the works of social authors, and in the case of media representations, through the media.

In our analyses we reduced representation of emotions to language. The research material concentrated on linguistic expressions-labels, characterised by multi-aspect religious or sociocultural contexts of emotions being present in the pandemic period. In order to precisely describe the social anatomy of emotions, being the object of explorations, we distinguished between: feelings, expressive gestures, social situations, social relations, emotional cul-

¹⁶ Rudolf ARNHEIM, *Myślenie wzrokowe* (Gdańsk: Słowo/obraz terytoria, 2011).

¹⁷ Serge MOSCOVICI, “On Social Representation,” in *Social Cognition. Perspectives on Everyday Understanding*, ed. Joseph P. Forgas (London: Academic Press, 1981), 181–209; MOSCOVICI, “The Phenomenon of Social Representations,” in *Social Representations*, ed. Robert Farr and Serge Moscovici (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1984), 3–69; MOSCOVICI, “Social Representations and Pragmatic Communication,” *Social Science Information* 33, no. 2 (1994): 163–77; MOSCOVICI, *Social Representations. Explorations in Social Psychology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).

ture of societies. After Steven Gordon, we define emotional culture as the system of three basic elements: emotion lexicons, norms, and beliefs related to emotions.¹⁸

Media representations of the emotions occurring most frequently in the analysed material, i.e. fear (and accompanying distrust), anger/wrath, happiness/joy (and accompanying: hope, trust, satisfaction, mental balance, peace of mind, closeness, solidarity, compassion, care, solace) and sadness/uncertainty refer mostly to the development of the pandemic-based, virtual lexicons of emotions.

2.1 MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF FEAR (AND ACCOMPANYING DISTRUST)

Table 1. Fear as a social emotion in the research material

Emotion type: theoretical background	Information sought in media content	Media indexes—linguistic labels (examples selected based on coding, numbers in brackets reflect the frequency of a label)
Emotion of fear is evoked by a recognisable stimulus/external source/factor	What stimuli/external sources/factors evoke fear in the research material?	<p>Virus (24) positive COVID-19 test results; little virus which forces the world to its knees; virus holds a firm grip on the world; great virus connected with social injustice and division into the rich and the poor; pandemic will speed up the fall of institutionalised religion; coronavirus seriously threatens Western Christianity; fear of death, infection, disease, passing away of loved ones, being unemployed, going bankrupt, without prospects, long-term isolation, loneliness, losing the meaning of life, doubting the Lord's providence; concerns about the world's future</p> <p>Religious practice (18) Eucharist becomes a threat; Holy water and vessels with holy water; a handshake of peace during Holy Mass; kissing the Holy Books of Judaism; kissing a mezuzah on the doorpost; pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina; pilgrimage to Jasna Góra; bringing one's own prayer rug to mosques;</p>

¹⁸ Steven L. GORDON, "Social Structural Effects on Emotions," in *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions*, ed. Theodore D. Kemper (Albany, NY: State University NY Press, 1990), 146.

		<p>handshake greetings among Muslims; visiting synagogues (places for socialising and saying the Mourner's Kaddish); visiting temples, churches, mosques; horrifying sight of an empty church; mass cult is an effective mechanism preventing the virus spread</p> <p>Decisions made by the state and religious authorities (12) isolation; closing borders; closing borders to pilgrims; pandemic contributes to discrimination of marginalised groups, including migrants, refugees, ethnic minorities</p> <p>Dubious beliefs of "pseudo-religious interpreters" (11) apocalyptic visions; pandemic is the apocalypse, it is a punishment for disobeying religious rules ; pandemic is a devil's act; pandemic is the valley of the shadow of death; it is harmful to promote false historiosophy, to rely on private pseudo-revelations and dreams; some clergymen are reported to have promoted dubious anti-COVID medications or spread apocalyptic visions, which fuelled fear and distrust</p> <p>Religious traditions (7) crowded traditional weddings of orthodox Jews, orthodox Jews performing burials of rabbis, burials in Islam, no permission for cremation</p>
<p>Emotion of fear is linked with remedial measures, e.g. flight, avoidance, retreat, being silent, avoiding discussion</p>	<p>What remedial measures appear in the media?</p>	<p>Changes in religious practice (23) closing mosques, synagogues, churches; cancelling pilgrimages to the holy places of Najaf and Karbala; suspension of liturgy in religious communities; suspension of the Koran schools; suspension or changes in Holy Mass; prayers, praying limited to 15 minutes; it is unacceptable to treat sacraments and sacramentals as magical, to promote the view of the Church as a safety ark only for the saint and just;</p>

		mature religiousness is expressed through rejection of indifference, inertia, waiting only for God's providence, as well as a rejection of Pelagianism, claiming that people have the free will to achieve perfection and solve problems without divine grace
There are various forms of fear: episodic, chronic, sudden, gradual, panic, anxiety, terror, searching	What forms of fear are present in the media materials?	Terror (7) people have little control over their fate, which is terrifying; praying and congregational cult is no longer important, people are terrified, anxious; darkness and fear that got over the world, "virus of egoism"; dark time for everyone, no one can stay calm Searching for consolation and hope (5) the faithful desperately look for consolation and hope in their spiritual leaders, in religious communities
Emotion of fear is accompanied by somatic symptoms: sweating, blushing, pounding of the heart, discomfort in the stomach, internal pains	What somatic symptoms are present in the media materials? What somatic symptoms are visualised in the media materials?	Trembling of the body—a metaphorical perspective (1) humanity trembles at the pandemic threat
Emotion of fear plays an adaptive function, production of fear helps to maintain social order, helps to introduce hierarchy, a system of domination-subordination	What function is played by fear in the media materials?	Adaptive function (4) Terrified, anxious people look for consolation and hope in religion

Source: own study.

2.2 MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF ANGER/WRATH

Table 2. Anger as a social emotion in the research material

Emotion type: theoretical background	Information searched for in the media materials	Media indexes—linguistic labels (examples selected on the basis of open coding; the numbers in brackets reflect the frequency of a given label)
Emotion of anger/wrath organises and regulates social behaviour (e.g. its physiological and psychological aspects) of individuals	What processes in an individual's life are accompanied by anger/wrath in the media materials?	<p>Individual irrational piety during the pandemic (11) treatment of the Eucharist as an antidote to coronavirus: viewing of certain religious practice as a form of protection or cure to COVID-19; faith does not promote irrational behaviour; the pandemic stirs anger directed at God; reason plus praying are the humanity's most powerful weapons in the spiritual fights against life's adversities; belief in God and his transcendence does not limit the human mind and the rational approach towards phenomena that we encounter (Eastern Orthodox Church); a belief that the spread of coronavirus is not beyond God's omnipotence, hence it cannot threaten the faithful without God's consent</p>
Emotion of anger/wrath organises and regulates social behaviour	What behaviour related to the organisation of social life is accompanied by anger/wrath in the media materials?	<p>Limitation of religious freedom (4) state and local limitations concerning religious gatherings became one of the most important issues related to religious freedom and triggered a series of lawsuits</p> <p>Belief in the power of technology (3) belief that praying and religion are redundant, all questions can be answered by means of technological development</p> <p>Unequal treatment of the value of life (1) human life in the south of the Earth is not equally valued as in the rich north</p>
Emotion of anger/wrath is evoked when blame is laid on another person or object, phenomenon	Who is the subject or object target of anger in the media materials?	<p>Object targets of anger (17) coronavirus is a devil's plan to destroy the world; pandemic is a punishment for LGBT; interfering with the Orthodox Church's dogmas is a manifestation of ignorance; Torah has protective powers; Muslim mass prayers(epidemic outbreaks);</p>

		<p>quarantine, family of the dead could not participate in the religious ceremony;</p> <p>Subject targets of anger (13) the faithful act as a biological weapon through participation in religious practice; compromising statements by the authorities, e.g.: holy water protects from the virus; Polish church authorities have no epidemic competence and lack common sense; religious leaders use the pulpit to spread fake news; infallible religious leaders (ultra-orthodox Jews)</p>
Emotion of anger/wrath signals a negative relationship between an individual and social environment	How is anger/wrath expressed in social environment?	Hunt for those to blame (4) pointing the finger at those infected; looking for a scape goat, blaming others for bringing the coronavirus to the community
Emotion of anger/wrath plays a role of mobilisation	What are the examples of the mobilising role of anger/wrath?	Activity of religious leaders (2) wise religious leaders chastise, beg and teach their followers to focus on the shared humanity, highlighting the beliefs which defy prejudice, resentment, anger; religious subjects play an important role in insisting on the governments to focus on those in need, e.g. teenage girls, prisoners, refugees, those in foster homes
Emotion of anger/wrath plays a role of inspiration	What are the examples of the inspiring role of anger/wrath?	none

Source: own study.

2.3 MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF SADNESS/UNCERTAINTY

Table 3. Sadness/uncertainty as a social emotion in the research material

Emotion type: theoretical background	Information searched for in the media materials	Media indexes—linguistic labels (examples selected on the basis of open coding; the numbers in brackets reflect the frequency of a given label)
Emotion of sadness/uncertainty is experienced in the context of an event regarded as sad	What events are accompanied by sadness/uncertainty in the media materials?	Change in religious practice (13) physical absence of the faithful at ceremonies; physical barriers to participation in liturgy; praying in isolation in an empty church;

		<p>churches closed; Holy Mass cancelled; pandemic crisis made the spiritual void; closed and empty mosques break the heart</p> <p>Decisions of religious leaders (5) many participating in masses feel sad at the bishops' fast decision to cancel public liturgy, and then close churches, it is particularly painful for Catholics</p> <p>Changes in social behaviour of lay people (2) empty streets, empty public places</p>
Emotion of sadness/uncertainty characterised by its duration—it can be short-term or long-term	What types of sadness/uncertainty are presented in the media materials (spanning short-term and long-term sadness)?	Short-term intensity (3) hard moment, moment of hardship, moment of pain
Emotion of sadness/uncertainty is a reaction to a lost or unachieved goal	Is sadness/uncertainty a reaction to a lost or unachieved goal?	<p>Simplification of funeral rituals (21) funerals only with the participation of the closest family; coronavirus as a barrier to take care of those infected and to participate in the burial ceremony; death in isolation, families and communities in different corners of the world face limitations in traditional burial ceremonies; many funerals are organised with a limited, if any, number of people participating; the treatment of the dead with dignity, connected with numerous religious and cultural traditions, became a basic priority of the human rights during the pandemic.</p> <p>“Incompleteness” of rituals and religious ceremonies (9) no religious life in communities, virtual world lacks an essential community-based dimension of cult</p>
Emotion of sadness/uncertainty is a reaction to events that already took place (post-stimulus reaction)	Is sadness/uncertainty evoked by an event that already took place?	Death of clergymen (3) death of Basilio “Bachi” Britez, known for his work for the poor, evoked sadness in Argentina

		Wrong decisions of religious leaders resulting in an increase in infections (2) leader of the Church of Jesus sect in Shincheonij dropped down on his knees and begged for forgiveness (for the pandemic spreading among Koreans)
Emotion of sadness /uncertainty can play the role of drawing greater or lesser attention to the external world (protection of an individual through isolation from the cause of sadness)	What is the level of attention of people experiencing sadness/uncertainty at the surrounding reality presented in the media?	no information
Emotion of sadness/uncertainty can play the role of looking for help (compassion, support)	Do people experiencing sadness/uncertainty and presented in the media look for help?	People waiting for help (4) old people dying, e.g. a man who wanted for somebody to pass him the phone to contact his son

Source: own study.

Media representations of happiness/joy (together with the accompanying emotions: hope, trust, satisfaction, mental balance, peace of mind, closeness, solidarity, compassion, care, solace).

2.4 MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF HAPPINESS/JOY

Table 4. Happiness as a social emotion in the research material

Emotion type: theoretical background	Information searched for in the media materials?	Media indexes—linguistic labels (examples selected on the basis of open coding; the numbers in brackets reflect the frequency of a given label)
Emotion of happiness/joy can be characterised as ranging from a low activation to high activation	What emotional states of happiness/joy are presented in the media?	A feeling of community (11) the crisis viewed as a chance to feel united, to feel as the people of God; no divisions and distinctions between believers and non-believers, coming back to the roots, to humanity; there will be no others, there will be only us; we can handle each situation together; the epidemic brings not only suffering and death but also hope that the world can unite in the face of a threat

		<p>Satisfaction with the new forms of religious practice (3) with the closing of mosques, Muslim men and women started praying at home</p> <p>An increase of the significance of the axiological sphere (3) verification of the hierarchy of values</p>
Emotion of happiness/joy is a state of low activation, such as satisfaction, mental balance, peace of mind	How are emotional states of low activation, e.g. satisfaction, mental balance, peace of mind, presented in the media?	<p>State of satisfaction, mental balance, peace of mind (9) Those who own houses, have safe jobs, food on the table—they are happy/lucky; creation of a home area to pray and reflect; religion has an effect on lowering infection vulnerability and on a fast recovery after being infected; praying, meditation, faith can bring peace of mind; deeply religious people are less inclined to smoke, which can be a factor in the treatment of coronavirus; regular participation in religious ceremonies is linked to health improvement and a decrease in mortality rates; isolation enriches spiritual experience; lockdown intensifies prayers</p>
Emotion of happiness/joy is a state of a high activation, such as joy, trust, hope	How is joy, trust, hope presented in the media?	<p>Joy, hope, trust (6) people discovered that they can anonymously try out faith, log into profiles of different ceremonies, even related to different religions; personal relationship with God gives one hope, a feeling of community; the pandemic as a catalyst for spiritual change; the joy of “virtual vigil”; a feeling that through the crisis we are closer to God, the faith being deepened; greater trust in God; the epidemic brings not only suffering and death but all hope that the world can unite when faced with a threat; religious groups can help people find the meaning of life and maintain hope in the face of threats and disturbances in life; when people are scared and alone, they look for consolation and explanation of their suffering, they look for glimmers of hope; religious leaders are one of the most trusted categories of leaders, they can play a vital role in fighting off fear and disinformation related</p>

		<p>to COVID-19; religious subjects enjoy trust: it is the key to solve the problem of fear and disinformation during the pandemic; religious leaders can deliver an address of hope to the communities struggling with unrest, sadness, despair</p>
<p>Emotion of happiness/joy as an optimal state of full engagement in actions which are significant and valuable for individuals</p>	<p>Is happiness/joy, as presented in the media, accompanied with significant and valuable phenomena, events, concepts?</p>	<p>Value of life (8) every life matters; we begin to love life; we ceased to represent the culture of death; no one asks whether children with Down syndrome can love or not; no one says that the elderly “wait” for euthanasia; there are no marches of “equality” which are against liberty and equality; the issue of abortion is absent; everyone is pro life</p> <p>Value of health (3) we look for vaccines, we look for remedy; effectiveness of vaccines</p>
<p>Emotion of happiness/joy—pleasure—can be linked with higher-order values</p>	<p>Is happiness/joy associated with high-order values in the media?</p>	<p>Value of spirituality, faith, being close to God and fellow believers, community, solidarity, compassion, care, solace (12) Holy Spirit reveals the power of love, which conquers fear and death; Lent can give an evangelical sense to this moment of trial and pain; spiritual unity with the Church community through radio, television, the internet; belief in God’s providence is a source of health and lower pressure; Islam is good for mental health; God is with me, guide me through these difficult times; praying helps in these challenging times; Christian Church helps to virtually unite its members; virtual means of expressions became home churches; God’s care is soothing, calm helps to learn and to believe in oneself; faith became stronger during the pandemic; synergy, i.e. cooperation between people and God, linking human activity with the openness to God’s grace, reliable knowledge with deep faith, everyday activity with fervent praying,</p>

		should be appreciated; he pandemic urges people to re-discover that we are members of one big human family; in the face of a threat of social tensions, religious leaders may appeal to people's "inner angel", their compassion and care rather than anger and discrimination; wisdom of old traditions of faith provides consolation during the pandemic
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Source: own study.

3. VISUAL METAPHORS OF EMOTIONS

Over the recent years, there has been a growing number of studies and publications on the nature and specificity of visual metaphors. Visual metaphors have been described in detail in advertising,¹⁹ film,²⁰ or cartoons.²¹ Most researchers define visual metaphors in terms of their external, visual manifestations and forms of realisation of their formal features.²² In this project I would like to focus on visual exemplifications of metaphorical thinking about emotions accompanying various, complex religious world, characterised by a certain degree of universality and perceptive-sensory factors. We assume that visual metaphors are more suitable for conveying affective meanings than verbal texts. Stuart Hall notes that the visual mode often "engages feelings, attitudes and emotions, stimulates fear and anxiety in terms of reception on a level higher than can be explained in a simple, commonsense way."²³

¹⁹ Charles FORCEVILLE, "Metaphor in Pictures and Multimodal Representations," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* Raymond, ed. Raymond W. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 462–82; FORCEVILLE, "Multimodal Metaphor in Ten Dutch TV commercials," *The Public Journal of Semiotics* 1 (2007): 15–34; FORCEVILLE, "Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising" (London: Routledge, 1989); FORCEVILLE, "The Identification of Target and Source in Pictorial Metaphors," *Journal of Pragmatics* 34, no. 1 (2002): 1–14.

²⁰ Noël CARROLL, "Visual metaphor," in *Aspects of Metaphor*, ed. Jaakko Hintikka (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publisher, 1994), 189–223; Noël CARROLL, "A Note on Film Metaphor," in *Theorizing the Movie Image*, ed. Noël Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 212–23.

²¹ John M. KENNEDY, "Metaphor in Pictures," *Perception* 11, no. 5 (1982): 589–605.

²² Elisabeth EL REFAIE, "Understanding Visual Metaphors: The Example of Newspaper Cartoons," *Visual Communication* 2, no. 1 (2003): 75–95.

²³ Stuart HALL, "The Spectacle of the 'Other'," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1997): 223–79.

As was mentioned before, the material for the analysis was selected using two criteria. Firstly, we looked for pictures of the richest visual semantics. Secondly, they had to fulfill the definition requirements of visual metaphors. We relied on four features of metaphors, it was enough for the visual material to include one of them: (1) visual blending of elements from two separate semantic areas or genres into one spatially-bound whole; (2) a mechanism of replacing an expected element with an unexpected one, breaking basic, straightforward, logical associations; (3) content is a composition of verbal and visual signs, which correlate and create a new quality; (4) visual representation is used as a pretext to think metaphorically.²⁴

Finally, we selected eight visual materials representing the emotions of fear, anger/wrath, happiness/joy, hope and sadness/uncertainty. They were subject to a detailed analysis in line with four questions: (1) What are the two terms of metaphors? (2) Which term is the target domain and which one is the source domain? (3) What elements of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain? (4) What elements of the *primary metaphor* can be found in the visual material? Primary metaphors are understood as universal correlations between the compared elements. The analyses take into account the complementing relationship between verbal and visual elements. The verbal context is defined as linguistic expressions being closely connected with the picture and being interpreted in relation to the picture.

3.1 VISUAL METAPHORS OF FEAR

Figure 1 meets two definition criteria of metaphors. It is a composition of verbal and visual signs, which correlate and offer a new quality. Also, it is a visual representation used as a pretext to think metaphorically.

²⁴ John M. KENNEDY, Christopher D. GREEN, and John VERVAEKE, "Metaphoric Thought and Devices in Pictures," *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* 8, no. 3 (1993): 243–55.



Figure 1. A metaphor of fear. Photo: Michał Bieniek/istock.pl. Source: [https:// www. newsweek.pl/opinie/wiara-w-czasach-zarazy-koronawirus-pokazuje-ze-polski-katolizm-jest-dziecinny/df2p2ze](https://www.newsweek.pl/opinie/wiara-w-czasach-zarazy-koronawirus-pokazuje-ze-polski-katolizm-jest-dziecinny/df2p2ze) (accessed September 25, 2020).

Target domain: emotion of fear.

Source domain: big molecular structures of COVID-19 attacking those in church; a zoomed-up visual element related to COVID-19 becomes the foreground, while the blurred elements become the background.

Characteristics of the mappings: the biggest and most dangerous molecules of the virus perform the role of vectors supporting the priest, whose weapon is prayer the Rosary. Slightly smaller molecules are attacking the faithful and the altar. Helplessness, being back to the altar, suggests a difficult position of the Polish Church. The Catholic authorities, priests do not know how to act in the face of a life-threatening pandemic. Should religious practice, including Holy Mass, be suspended? Should we trust medical service or just rely on praying, sacraments and God? The visual material offers primary metaphors in the form of two correlations: *the size of the priest* versus *the value of the subject* and *a high social rank of the priest* versus *a causative force and a sense of control*.



Figure 2. A metaphor of fear. Drawing by Beretta Gio. Source: https://twitter.com/beretta_gio/status/1243099282024083457 (accessed September 25, 2020).

Target domain: emotion of fear.

Source domain: scared religious leaders trust science, believing that only medicine can overcome the virus.

Characteristics of the mappings: The metaphor refers to a dichotomy between religion and science, which were not used to cooperate in harmony. Over the years they were in conflict and disagreed over the choice between lay science, which is rational and rigorous, and religion, based on personal beliefs. Is there really a tension between science and religion? In the context of COVID-19, is it real that a scientist prays for an effective medicine for the nearest and dearest, at the same time working over a vaccine? Is it a hypocrisy to pray for our health and take public health precautions, based on scientific evidence? Such questions can be conceptualised while processing the visual material. It is a primary metaphor based on the correlation between *big size* and *the scale of danger*.

3.2 VISUAL METAPHORS OF ANGER/WRATH

These visual materials are metaphors which involve, firstly, a replacement of an expected element by an unexpected one, contrary to basic associations, and secondly, visual representations used as a pretext to think metaphorically.



Figure 3. A metaphor of anger. Source: <https://www.facebook.com/fanichbm/posts/2783430278409474> (accessed September 25, 2020).

Target domain: emotion of anger/wrath.

Source domain: Jesus Christ with an angry facial expression, kicking the coronavirus out.

Characteristics of the mappings: The material appeared on an internet forum connected with the Orthodox Church. It portrays Jesus with a stern face, kicking a molecule of the virus out of the Holy Communion spoon. The interpretation can be two-fold. The angry Jesus is almighty and not afraid of COVID-19. In the Gospel Jesus expelled the merchants from the temple. The Holy Communion spoon in the Orthodox Church tradition belongs to the domain of God, transcendental reality. On the one hand, the interpretation of the material can be to maintain the traditional practice and not to mix theology with sanitary-epidemiological regulations. On the other hand, it can be a praise of religious reckless thinking that people are safe in all circumstances when protected by the Lord. It is a good example of a metaphorical representation of the unknown, unsolved (God's causative force) through something less abstract and more palpable. The elements of the primary metaphor are correlations: *the size of Jesus versus positive values attributed to the exposed object* and *Jesus' high social status versus a causative force and a sense of control*.



Figure 4. A metaphor of anger. Painting by Giovanni Guida di Cesa (Caserta). Source: https://www.ilmattino.it/napolismart/cultura/coronavirus_illustrazione_artista_campano_virale-5170287.html (accessed September 25, 2020).

Target domain: emotion of anger/wrath.

Source domain: anger triggers God's power to fight the molecular structure of meals.

Characteristics of the mappings: God is portrayed against the dark background of the sky. God, with a solemn gesture of inspiration and creation, dematerialises a COVID-19 molecule. Such a divine act helps to prevent the spread of the pandemic on Earth, the contour of which is presented at the bottom of the picture. The Almighty is cloaked in a gust of wind, a symbol of God's power. He is able to destroy the new plague with the help of the accompanying angels. This gesture generates new force and teaches us to sublime negative conditions into positive energy. Giovanni Guida states that "work needs to express human desire to overcome the pandemic and discover the limits of human possibilities and the

value of community.”²⁵ Similarly to the previous example, elements of the primary metaphor can be found here, expressed through two correlations: *the physical size of God versus positive value* and *God’s high social rank versus a causative force and a sense of control*.

3.3 VISUAL METAPHORS OF SADNESS/UNCERTAINTY

The content of figures 5 and 6 is an example of a composition of elements used as a pretext to think metaphorically.



Figure 5. A metaphor of sadness. Photo: Grzegorz Gałązka/Mondadori Portfolio. Source: <https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/good-friday-way-of-the-cross-presided-over-by-pope-francis-news-photo/1219123864?adppopup=true> (accessed September 26, 2020).

Target domain: emotion of sadness/uncertainty.

Source domain: piercing loneliness of Pope Francis in the dark, empty St. Peter’s square, by analogy with loneliness of Jesus Christ.

Characteristics of the mappings: Good Friday and the Stations of the Cross in St. Peter’s square is a day of celebration of the Paschal Triduum by Catholics. “Thick darkness has gathered over our squares, our streets, our cities,” said the Pope, “and taken over our lives, filling everything with a deafening silence and a distressing void, that stops everything as it passes

²⁵ https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Giovanni_Guida (accessed August 25, 2020).

by; we feel it in the air, we notice in people's gestures, their glances give them away. We find ourselves afraid and lost."²⁶ The Triduum is celebrated in a simple way, in isolation and in darkness. It is accompanied by the crucifix, brought from San Marcello al Corso located in front of the altar. It was carried in processions in the streets of Rome during the pandemic of 1522. Easter being celebrated in a non-traditional way is of a deep and telling significance for Catholics. Passover is a celebration of redemption from sin, from limitations. It reminds the exodus from Egypt, and for Jews it is a festival of being freed from slavery. It is easy to conceptualise the present as a moment of compulsion, physical limitations, isolation and to expect that we will be able to leave our homes and resume life as we knew it before the pandemic. What can appear is a thought that a sense of community is missed. This metaphor is a visual metaphor of a high contextual dependence, which means that the significance of its particular elements is often hidden and they are subject to an open range of interpretations. The material relies on the use of the primary metaphor based on the correlation between *light (good, safety) and darkness (evil, threat)*.



Figure 6. A metaphor of sadness. Photo: Alberto Lingria/Reuters. Source: <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/how-are-major-religions-responding-coronavirus> (September 26, 2020).

²⁶ <http://wiesz.com.pl/2020/03/27/franciszek-wola-na-placu-sw-piotra-zbudz-sie-panie> (accessed September 25, 2020).

Target domain: emotion of sadness.

Source domain: monumental temple, empty benches, a priest standing on his own, a person filming the mass, hidden behind a pillar.

Characteristics of the mappings: The coronavirus pandemic overcame the faithful, which is evidenced by a lack of a community-based dimension of religious cult and experience that cannot be replaced by the finest of technologies. Empty or closed churches raise a question whether liturgies were not suspended too quickly, which was especially painful for Catholics. Christian community meetings and the Holy Communion lie at the core of Christianity. The material relies on the use of the primary metaphor based on the correlation between *social closure* and *psychological isolation*.

3.4 VISUAL METAPHORS OF HAPPINESS/JOY, HOPE

The metaphor of happiness in figure 7 fulfils the definition requirement of a replacement of an expected element with an unexpected one, breaking basic, straightforward associations.



Figure 7. A metaphor of happiness. Source: <https://cruxnow.com/church-in-europe/2020/03/as-coronavirus-empties-churches-italian-priest-fills-pews-with-photos-of-parishioners> (accessed September 26, 2020).

Target domain: emotion of happiness/joy/hope.

Source domain: lively interior of the church, with happiness radiating from the photographs on the church benches.

Characteristics of the mappings: In order to lower the number of in-person meetings, religious leaders come up with innovative, creative solutions, inspiring their communities to adjust to the new reality. Father Giuseppe Corbari, the parish priest of Saints Quirico and Giulitta in Robbiano, Italy, conducted a holy mass with the photographs of his parishioners placed on empty benches. He said that looking at empty benches was sad- dening and depressing. The gesture was meaningful also for the parishioners, who, despite staying at home, felt more present at the mass. The material in- volves the primary metaphor based on two correlations: *the physical size of the priest versus a positive value attributed to a personal object*, and *a high social rank of a priest versus a causative force*. Another metaphor of happi- ness, or rather its manifestation, care-free pleasure, is based on the blending of elements coming from different semantic areas into one, spatially-bound whole.



Figure 8. Metaphors of happiness. Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2020/jul/03/keeping-the-faith-religion-in-the-uk-amid-coronavirus#img-12> (September 26, 2020).

Target domain: happiness/joy.

Source domain: happy celebration of the Jewish bar micwa and bat mic- wa ritual.

Characteristics of the mappings: During the time of social isolation, religious rituals connected with the Jewish ritual of coming of age were modified to adjust to sanitary conditions. Their metaphorical, visual expression connects many meanings: sweets–care-free youth, the yad, a Jewish ritual pointer, passed from generation to generation–the significance of tradition, praying cards and the rosary–transcendent dimension, the hand on the computer mouse–usefulness and complementary nature of modern technology, without neglecting human control over technology. A component of the source domain is the primary metaphor: *having something in one's hand = control over something*, while *letting something go out of hand = a lack of control*.

CONCLUSIONS

The described media representations of emotions and the analysis of the visual metaphors, firstly, contribute to the research areas related to the creation and expression of emotions through the language of digital media; secondly, they contribute to the multimodal media discourse of the pandemic. A description of virtual lexicons of emotions is a classic example of a monomodal discourse, with an exemplary goal of socially creating and maintaining complex systems of knowledge and assigning new meanings or preserving the already existing ones through linguistic signs. On the basis of the analyses of virtual lexicons of emotions, understood as lexical sets used to describe emotions of fear (and accompanying distrust), anger/wrath, sadness/uncertainty, and happiness/joy, together with their accompanying emotions such as hope, trust, satisfaction, mental balance, peace of mind, closeness, solidarity, compassion, care, solace, we can conclude globally that media culture is enriched by new contexts of linguistic expressions related to emotions in the religious life during the pandemic. Our analyses made it possible to isolate expressions for stimuli evoking fear (virus, religious practice, decisions of the state and religious authorities, religious beliefs and traditions) and precautionary behaviour in the form of adjusting religious practice to the pandemic conditions. Fear is typically expressed as terror, anxiety, distrust, and as a form of looking for consolation and hope. A new dimension of anger/wrath in the individual dimension is its presence in the context of irrational piety, neglecting the need to follow sanitary regulations. In the social dimension, anger/wrath is linked to limitations of religious

freedom and to unequal treatment of the value of life. On the other hand, it is linked to blind trust in modern technology. The internet content allows us to make a catalogue of subject-based and object-based targets of anger. Emotion of sadness/uncertainty is linked to several dimensions: change in religious practice, decisions made by religious leaders, change in funeral ceremony. Finally, emotion of happiness/joy is represented by emotional states which evolved together with the increased dynamics of the pandemic, such as a sense of community and satisfaction with new forms of religious practice, an increase in significance of the axiological sphere, a state of satisfaction, balance, peace of mind, hope, value of life and health, deepened value of spirituality, faith, being close to God, compassion and caring for others.

The described examples of visual metaphors related to emotions, inspired by religious life during the pandemic, belong conceptually to a multimodal discourse. A multimodal approach towards an analysis of the discourse views non-linguistic forms of communication as social constructs and draws from a semiotic approach towards multimodality as developed by Kress and van Leeuwen,²⁷ which provides a systematic model to study intersemiotic relations between verbal and visual modalities. The discussed examples of visual metaphors include different semiotic elements: photograph, picture, text. The visual modality plays a particularly important role due to its more symbolic rather than denotational character in comparison with the verbal language. It is quite a challenge then to pinpoint the meanings they carry. The analysis of selected visual metaphors allowed for a reading of the composition techniques, symbolic value behind the use of colours and lights. The visual materials also involve elements borrowed from the primary metaphor, expressing the following universal correlations: (1) between a physical size of an object and its value; between a big size and a threat; (2) between light (safety, good) and darkness (threat, evil); (3) between a high social position and a feeling of power and control; (4) between spatial closure and psychological isolation; (5) between holding something and having control over it. Further studies on multimodal metaphors ought to be multi-contextual and should address the following questions: In what ways do different dimensions of multimodal metaphors affect their use? Which systems of signs and sensory modes are involved in identifying the source and target domains?

²⁷ Gunther R. KRESS and Theo van LEEUWEN, *Multimodal Discourse. The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication* (London: Arnold Publishers, 2001); van LEEUWEN, "The Representation of Social Actors," in *Texts and Practices Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Carmen R. Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard (London: Routledge, 1996), 32–70.

Does metaphor involve static or dynamic representations? How to interpret metaphorical similarity? How does the author/creator/producer transfer metaphors in an explicit and implicit way (with or without hints)? What is the role of cultural context on the reception of multimodal metaphors?

The results of this work can be a starting point for future studies over the social concept of emotions in the digital media and new contexts of their media representation in discourse. They conceptualize the forms of adjusting social life to the internet conditions, initiated by emotionally-based religious practices. A description of media representations of emotions, developed on the basis of linguistic-semantic resources of selected electronic texts, contributes to the creation of universal lexicons of emotions.

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EMOTIONS AND RELIGIONS. MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS
AND VISUAL METAPHORS OF EMOTIONS ON THE WORLD WIDE WEB

Summary

The article analyses two research problems related to media representations (digital lexicons of emotions) and visual metaphors of emotions in the Internet materials concerning religions during the pandemic.

For the analyses two research techniques were used: analysis of the content and analysis of visual metaphors. Using the key words 'religion' and 'coronavirus' yielded 100 natural search engine results from Google Search (*organic search*), coming from all over the world, e.g. UK, USA, Poland, Canada, India, Israel, Iran, Qatar, North Korea, subject to content analysis. The research material employed in the study of metaphors are selected illustrations listed in an international catalogue of photographs and illustrations involving religious motifs, available during the COVID-19 pandemic. The metaphor analysis covered the illustrations selected from the study data, with the richest visual semantics and meeting at least one of the definition requirements for a visual metaphor.

On the basis of the analyses of virtual lexicons of the emotions of fear (and accompanying distrust), anger/wrath, happiness/joy (and accompanying: hope, trust, satisfaction, mental balance, peace of mind, closeness, solidarity, compassion, care, solace), and sadness/uncertainty, a general conclusion was formulated about the enrichment of the emotional media culture with new contexts of language use. The described examples of visual metaphors of emotions allowed for the reading of compositional techniques, symbolism, colours, contrast and elements taken from the original metaphors.

The results contribute to the studies of the social concept of emotions presented in the digital media and of new contexts of their media representations. They point to the adjustment forms of the organization of social life on the Internet initiated by religious practices that are, by their nature, emotional. The media representations and visual metaphors of emotions contribute to the creation of universal lexicons of emotions.

Keywords: religion; coronavirus pandemic; media representations of emotions; visual metaphors of emotions.

EMOCJE I RELIGIE. REPREZENTACJE MEDIALNE
I METAFORY WIZUALNE EMOCJI NA WITRYNACH WWW

Streszczenie

W artykule omówiono dwa zagadnienia badawcze: medialne reprezentacje emocji (cyfrowe słowniki emocji) oraz wizualne metafory emocji w internetowych materiałach o tematyce religii w czasie pandemii.

Do analiz wykorzystano dwie techniki badawcze: analizę treści oraz analizę metafor wizualnych. Za pomocą słów kluczowych „religia” i „koronawirus” uzyskano 100 naturalnych wyników z wyszukiwarki Google (tzw. wyszukiwanie organiczne), pochodzących z całego świata, m.in. z Wielkiej Brytanii, USA, Polski, Kanady, Indii, Izraela, Iranu, Katar, Korei Północnej, które stały się przedmiotem analizy treści. Materiałem badawczym wykorzystanym do badania metafor były wybrane ilustracje z motywami religijnymi, zamieszczone w międzynarodowym katalogu fotografii i ilustracji, pochodzących z czasu pandemii COVID-19. Analizą metafor objęto

wybrane ilustracje, które charakteryzowały się najbogatszą semantyką wizualną i spełniały przynajmniej jeden z wymogów definicyjnych metafory wizualnej.

Na podstawie analiz wirtualnych słowników emocji strachu (i towarzyszącej nieufności), złości/gniewu, szczęścia/radości (i towarzyszących: nadziei, zaufania, zadowolenia, równowagi psychicznej, spokoju, bliskości, solidarności, współczucia, troski, pocieszenia) i smutku/niepewności sformułowano ogólny wniosek o wzbogacaniu emocjonalnej kultury medialnej o nowe konteksty użycia języka. Opisane przykłady wizualnych metafor emocji pozwoliły na odczytanie technik kompozycyjnych, symboliki, kolorystyki, kontrastu i elementów zaczerpniętych z metafor pierwotnych.

Wyniki stanowią przyczynek do badań nad społeczną koncepcją emocji w mediach cyfrowych oraz nowych kontekstów ich medialnych reprezentacji. Wskazują na adaptacyjne formy organizacji życia społecznego w Internecie inicjowane praktykami religijnymi, które ze swej natury mają charakter emocjonalny. Medialne reprezentacje i wizualne metafory emocji przyczyniają się do tworzenia uniwersalnych słowników emocji.

Słowa kluczowe: religia; pandemia koronawirusa; medialne reprezentacje emocji; wizualne metafory emocji.