

Reasons for the Boom of Body Discourses in the Humanities and the Social Sciences since the 1980s

A Chapter in European History of Religion

ANNE KOCH

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to interpret the huge amount of academic research on the human body that has been produced in recent decades. Scholarly attempts at grasping the concept of 'body' are scattered across vastly differing disciplines. In our analysis of the academic flood of body literature, we will concentrate mainly on examples taken from the work of Anglophone and German-speaking scholars in the fields of cultural and social studies. In reconstructing this network of allusions, counter-flows, contradictions, short life trends and lines of argument, we will distinguish several differing body discourses. We will not include in our analysis the discourse fields of medicine (integrative, conventional, complementary and alternative medicine) and philosophy of medicine. Medicine is mentioned only occasionally in the context of individual works by scholars in the fields of social and cultural studies.¹ The conventional medical discourse has been accused of Cartesianism and this has been put down to the separation of body and soul in Christianity, within whose spiritual world modern medicine has been formed.² The connection between the history of religion and the history of science is not often stated as clearly as this on the discourse level. As a first step, the basic literature will be analysed and divided into three theoretical traditions. Using the concept of European history of religion, it will then be possible to attempt an historical interpretation of this phenomenon. We will ask how academic body literature and its interpretations are related to everyday life and social life, what patterns they use to interpret it, and whether the academic literature has perhaps affected everyday life.

One may ask why an approach from the point of view of the study of religion and its pivotal concept of European history of religion has been chosen. But the study of religion is best qualified to fulfil this task from its own history as a discipline. This discipline developed in the past and still continues to do so today at many interfaces and against strong religious interests, so that the self-critical and self-distancing

¹ E.g. SAAKE/VOGD, *Mythen*.

² See for instance MEYER-ABICH, *Philosophie*.

view of the history of science and theory of science is common ground.³ Examining body narratives from the perspective of the study of religion may lay open disciplinary one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness. Most philosophical body theories, for instance, lack the challenge of the multiple culturally bound bodies ethnology is confronted with. Most earlier anthropologists and embodiment theorists only discuss the problematic, consciousness-centred phenomenology of the body. Literary studies are hardly interested in the materiality of the body and tend to oversymbolize body signatures, and even when talking of performance they are still focused on semiotic relations.⁴ Research from sports science, for instance in training science or motology, is normally completely neglected.⁵ And physiology and medicine (medical psychology, biorhythms, etc.) are frowned upon by the humanities as reductionist. So there is really some work to do to obtain a complete picture of body theories and their role in today's societies.

As a first step towards this aim, we will roughly classify the phases of reception, and then determine three mainstream models of the body that are mostly implicit behind the diverse approaches followed in the humanities and the social sciences. It is puzzling why the human body has gained such importance in the last half century. In a second step, we will follow up this puzzle by examining body discourses from the point of view of European history of religion. From this perspective, the boom of scholarly body literature as well as attention to the body in late modern societies can be primarily understood as a form of cultural self-assurance in these societies. This self-assurance via the body can partly be seen as a critique of rationalism in the form of modern efficiency and self-reflexivity. And finally, by representing foreign and estranged bodies, an imaginary space is opened up to deal with the 'other' in our own society. In the conclusion, contemporary arenas of power-knowledge (French *savoir-pouvoir*, German *Wissensmacht*) – to use the terminology of discourse analysis – will be identified, in which body/embodiment goes together with other important elements such as materiality, differentiation or subjectivity, and brings forth new power situations and new practices.

2. Phases of Body Obsessions

In each of the decades under consideration, social body discourses have been carried on, sometimes in very vehement tones. There is much at stake in issues such as disablement, Thalidomide, genetic engineering, allergies, embryonic research, hospital hygiene or cosmetic surgery.

The first round of body literature emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s. For "body historians", the body became a central research category. As far back as

³ Very recommendable, in order to avoid losing sight of this issue AUFFARTH/MOHR, *Strömungen*.

⁴ See for instance GRIVEL, *Körper*; KÜSTERS, *Zeichen*.

⁵ Despite the interesting and highly reflective work of the motologist und sociologist of knowledge Anke Abraham, cf. ABRAHAM, *Körper*; ABRAHAM/MÜLLER, *Körperhandeln*.

1987, Barbara Duden wrote a “History below the skin”. She stumbled over this dimension of history when searching in vain for women as an object of historical research. By developing body history, she can tell the story of how women experience their body and how they communicate about their body. “For me, body history means studying past and present ‘embodied’ certainties”.⁶ Women, as the ‘silent’ objects of history, are given a voice through the body history approach.⁷ The American historian Caroline W. Bynum also came to body history via an interest in the history of women and gender. From a body history perspective she investigates important theoretical concepts such as fragmentation and religious concepts such as redemption in the European Middle Ages, and reveals deep differences between the discourses of that time and contemporary discourses on women’s bodies in relation to fasting, skinniness and womanhood.⁸ As a final example of the use of the body as a central thread in history, let us mention the historian Peter Brown. He wrote about sexuality in early Christianity and its pagan environment.⁹ Decisive for the separation of the body in early Christianity from the political body and the general order, were new norms and ideas of asceticism, abstinence and original sin.

Early on, Dietmar Kamper and Christof Wulff talked of the “return of the body”¹⁰ and Mark Feher, Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi edited three voluminous volumes on *Fragments of the Body*, aware of the unmanageable amount of work in this field.¹¹ At this time, in the 1980s, anthropology continued spreading, to include more subdivisions such as medical anthropology, anthropology of the senses, or ethnopharmacology, all of which contributed to providing insights relating to the body. These studies followed the theoretical considerations of authors such as Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Michel Foucault and Alfred Schütz, for whom the body became a central category for various reasons and in different ways (see below). Parallel to the phases roughly sketched here were the innovations of the *cultural turn*, the achievements of feminist theory building, and the early development of the cognitive sciences in relation to action and cultural theory, to mention just a few other important historical influences.

In the 1990s, further splits and specializations can be observed in the research literature. For instance, specialized monographs on the body and religion appeared.¹² In 1998, *Body* graduated to become one of the *Critical Terms for Religious Studies* (William R. LaFleur),¹³ and today is still a critical term in media studies.¹⁴ Starting in 1995, Sage published the journal “Society & Body”.¹⁵ The founding editors, Mark Featherstone and Bryan S. Turner, wrote a lot on body

⁶ DUDEN, System, 262.

⁷ DUDEN, System.

⁸ See BYNUM, Feast; IDEM, Fragmentation; IDEM, Resurrection.

⁹ See BROWN, Body.

¹⁰ See KAMPER/WULFF, Wiederkehr.

¹¹ See FEHER/NADDAFF/TAZI, Fragments.

¹² E.g. LAW, Reflections; COAKLEY, Religion.

¹³ LAFLEUR, Body.

¹⁴ See MITCHELL/HANSEN/MARK, Introduction.

¹⁵ Others followed: “The Senses and Society”; “Extensions”; “Body Image”.

modification, sociology of the body, eroticism, etc. Ritual theory was *en vogue* and theatre studies,¹⁶ along with other academic disciplines, such as literary studies,¹⁷ propagated the performative turn in the humanities and based their work heavily on the embodiment model. Special research groups¹⁸ and body bibliographies demonstrate the ongoing institutionalization and professionalization of this new field of research.¹⁹ Individual disciplines raised bodiliness to a definition criterion. In the sociology of violence, for instance, the definition of violence as physical injury was intended to curb the inflation of the concept of violence.²⁰

After the initial boom of the 1980s and the specialization and diversification of the 1990s, we find an ongoing but slightly altered focus on body themes in the first decade of the 21st century. Conferences now focus on the interrelation of new media technologies and implicit body knowledge and motion knowledge.²¹ Knowledge becomes the new focus of research on the body.²² This means medialization of the body in a social space. In this space, reputation, gender, class, and income are not only negotiated but also displayed. The scholar now thinks of representations not primarily as symbolic but as material representation. And vice versa, knowledge is somatized instead of being seen as a purely intellectual achievement.²³ Here, consequences are drawn from the turn towards embodiment, as in several places of contemporary debate on ritual, gender, and memory. Progress in brain science has contributed a great deal to the influence of body conceptions on the idea of human beings. In the endeavour of researchers at the University of Bielefeld to write a history of the modern self, body history is important, in the Luhmann tradition. The 'hormonal self', for instance, is a biomedical concept that plays a role in self-interpretations of women in the menopause. This approach goes back to Foucault's discourse analysis of the body-power-truth network from the 1970s onwards. Very common also is the distinction made at the conference of the German Society of Sociology on 'body knowledge' in 2009: on the one hand there is individual and immediate but also reflexive knowledge of the body, body states and processes, embodied routines, everyday knowledge incorporating a collective know-how and societal norms concerning the body; on the other hand, our society produces and has access to a stock of expert body knowledge, such as medical knowledge. Everyone has access to mass communicated knowledge of the body and embodied norms in films, media, and the World Wide Web.²⁴ For Foucault, these types of body

¹⁶ See FISCHER-LICHTE, Verkörperung.

¹⁷ See BENTHLEN, Literaturgeschichte; BENNEWITZ/KASTEN, Geschlechterdiskurse.

¹⁸ For instance on the correlation of body history and social history BIELEFELDER GRADUIERTEN-KOLLEG SOZIALGESCHICHTE, Körper.

¹⁹ See BIELEFELDT, Körpererfahrung; DUDEN, Body; QUERRELLES, Bibliography.

²⁰ See NEDELMANN, Gewaltsoziologie.

²¹ E.g. BETHKE, Tagungsbericht.

²² Cf. KOCH, Körperwissen.

²³ See HIRSCHAUER, Körper.

²⁴ Keller, R., Universität Landau, Soziologie, Fachtagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie, Sektion Wissenssoziologie und Meuser, M., Sektion Soziologie des Körpers und des Sports,

knowledge are two sides of the same coin. The body is not only a place of repressive power techniques but also of the reproduction of such networks of force. An exhibition of body knowledge at the University of Tübingen, which was accompanied by public lectures, may be considered as the most recent event to document the actuality of body knowledge in the German discourse.²⁵ There the discourse is divided into the categories body image, body part, body and soul, body modification, body cult, body politics, and alien body. Held in a university museum, this display of the body includes a number of objects that highlight material body cultures around these themes.

Since 2000, body theories have been combined with further concepts in the professionalizing field: governance, derived from Foucault's lecture *Il faut défendre la société* at the Collège de France (1975–76), material culture, and agency are just some of them. In this sense, the *Handbook of Material Culture* propagates vehemently a “theory of materiality that, at one and the same time, is a theory of the embodied subject and the multiple, concomitant ways of sensing, feeling, knowing, experiencing and performing or the sensuous particularities of corporeal being and acting, broadly conceived”.²⁶ Agency here is not only attributed to persons but to ‘things-as-material’.

3. Methodological Challenges for a *Theory* of the Body

Methodologically, there are several options available. First, the universality of the body can be questioned with regard to the greatly diverging structuring of the senses worldwide. Some propose that we should see these structures as a potential in all cultures, that may be activated or exchanged by the workings of situated action, climate, or technological innovation.²⁷ Secondly, body theory building is constantly threatened by neurological or biological reductionism on the one hand, and radical constructionism on the other. Judith Butler's critique of Foucault has made this last problem clear.²⁸ She criticizes Foucault's attempt at historicizing and the fact that he refers only to discursive bodies. In this case, the body appears to be totally shaped by the forces of discourse. The problem is, for instance, that the narrative of a nun urinating through her mouth cannot be said to be biologically impossible, and then followed by a search for the contextual meaning of the story. Butler, instead of just opposing biological sex, poses a pre-discursive body that has to be assimilated situationally. This assimilation is a repetitive task that opens up a space of constant body change. As a consequence, the body is not only a

url. www.uni-koblenz-landau.de/landau/aktuelles/archiv-2009/tagungen. Version: 03.06.2009. Cf. KELLER/MEUSER, Körperwissen.

²⁵ Museum der Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Broschüre: Körperwissen. Erkenntnis zwischen Eros und Ekel, Schloss Hohentübingen 10.10.2009 – 31.01.2010.

²⁶ SPYER, Body, 125.

²⁷ See PINNEY, Photos.

²⁸ See BUTLER, Bodies.

construction, but with regard to its materiality it is culturally meaningful and different. The problem of having to choose between biologism and constructivism is solved.

Thirdly, especially in the sociology of the body, the body has been used to clarify the relationship between what is individual and what is collective. In this connection, the concept of the body is used to discuss how continuance and social change function. Fourthly, a body theory should employ categories different to those of semiology and symbol theory insofar as the body is not a text. Some therefore strengthen discourse theory with its emphasis on practices or ritual theory. Others search for less explicit forms of knowledge of the body, like everyday knowledge, skills, know-how and practical knowledge or body techniques.

4. Three Paradigms of Body Theories

By now there are innumerable astucious systematizations of body theories. Very instructive is Margret Lock's and Nancy Schepher-Hughes' distinction of three main body constructions in anthropological work: the social body, the phenomenological body, and the disciplined body.²⁹ Implicit models of the social body take the body as a key to the social structuring of a society or the subjective experiencing of social relations or the wielding of power. These studies presume that the body mirrors social categories. Approaches working with the phenomenological body model take the individual bodily experience as point of departure. In anthropology, Merleau-Ponty's approach is assimilated in the sense that the objectivation process that takes place in sensory perception may be seen as an incorporation and absorption of the world. Whereas the rules of perceiving are still universal with Merleau-Ponty, in anthropology they are now culturally bound, just as much as the outcome of the perceptive act. This is an important difference from philosophical phenomenology of the body. Research on the third body, the disciplined body, or on body politics, is influenced by Marcel Mauss and Foucault. Sometimes there is a fourth body, the ecological body. This body is localized in the natural environment and interacts with it. Especially in medical anthropology, a good task in some health systems is to reintegrate the unhealthy body in the macrocosmos, as in Chinese and Indian medicine. Classification systems of the body are taken from the environment, such as humid-dry, earth-heaven, dense-fluid-airy-ethereal. Towards these findings Lock and Schepher-Hughes propose a "mindful body" that ties together the dimensions of embodied mind with embodied society.

Another quite similar taxonomy can be found in Paul C. Johnson.³⁰ In his meta-survey of body models in ethnographic literature, he distinguishes three body models and seven further relevant categories: the semiotic body, which is seen as indexical to institutional discourses, e.g. Foucault; the phenomenological 'lived body'; and the produced and productive body. The last addresses models that are

²⁹ See LOCK/SCHEPER-HUGHES, *Body*.

³⁰ See JOHNSON, *Models*.

mainly occupied with the interrelation of body habitus and body practices, like those of Karl Marx and Pierre Bourdieu. Insofar as all these models follow their own agenda, Johnson pleads for a self-critical awareness of what strategy one embarks on.

Recently, gender sociologist Stefan Hirschauer has very instructively categorized body theories through three kinds of body knowledge for the field of sociological theories in the past few decades.³¹ Since this is different to the classical taxonomies we have mentioned, I will look at this as a last example of the current phase of conceptualizing the body via body knowledge. Hirschauer distinguishes knowledge about the body, knowing bodies and knowledge-communicating bodies. Knowledge about the body is mainly semantic. It resides in language and particularizes the body in accordance with the inner organs or meridians, or roots it in a genome. Knowing bodies are carriers of knowledge that is not dependent on language. Phenomenology of the body takes the body as a means of perceiving the world (senses, sexuality, motion, tool use, etc.). Further schools detail this knowledge as everyday routine, skill, body techniques, know-how, tacit, implicit or practice knowledge, and mastery. All these theories of practice are not interested in the older sociology of knowledge and instead follow the question of how knowledge is known. The ‘container’ of knowledge³² is not only texts, experts, or genius, but environments or machine bodies – we will come back to this later, with robotics. It is what Donna Haraway has called ‘situated knowledge’. Hirschauer’s third and last category is knowledge-communicating bodies. The body itself can be a piece of information: its posture, elegance, clothing, or tattoos may tell a lot about the person, or rather, different meanings may be attributed to it by different onlookers. The body is a visual sign, independently from its intentionally wanting to express something or not. Against Max Weber’s search for a subjective sense of action, processed knowledge of moving and visible bodies is always a display, whether there is a subjective aim in it or not. This is a point Erving Goffman puts forward against a consciousness-centred sociologist like Niklas Luhmann, or even Schütz.

In order to provide a solid foundation for my interpretation of these phenomena as part of the European history of religion, I will introduce three paradigms that are systematically based on philosophical schools and theory of science. Very influential here was the phenomenology of the body up to embodiment theories (Martin Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Thomas J. Csordas), the sociology of the body (Mauss, Foucault, Bourdieu), and theories in the context of cultural anthropology debates.

4.1. Phenomenology of the Body

Phenomenology of the body is interested in constitutive processes of bodily self-perception and the sensorial making of the world. The human body is an epistemological parameter. The philosopher Edmund Husserl called the manner in which other people are presented in the consciousness ‘appresentation by a body’. Aron

³¹ See HIRSCHAUER, Körper.

³² See HIRSCHAUER, Körper, 978.

Gurwitsch, a colleague of the Gestalt-psychologists Wolfgang Köhler and Husserl, followed this trajectory to find rules on how features are composed to form a figure. Gurwitsch, who emigrated to Paris, taught Merleau-Ponty from 1933 on. The French philosopher Merleau-Ponty is an eminent protagonist of this elaboration of phenomenology. He profited from Husserl's idea of intentionality, which corrects Immanuel Kant's strict separation of consciousness and world. He solved the Husserlian dilemma of a split subject. The embodied consciousness brings together the transcendental and the empirical subject. The body's function is to build a base of 'primordial' data in the consciousness. He distinguishes the body (French 'corps'), the lived body or flesh (German 'Leib', 'Fleisch', French 'chair'), and the materiality of culture ('chair du monde'). In his early *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945) he developed his position of the primacy of perception in critical opposition to Jean-Paul Sartre.³³ For Sartre, cultural space or history cannot be bridged to nature. However, Merleau-Ponty sketches the constitutive process of a subjectivity that is a perceiving being and as such is always interwoven with the world, space, and other bodies. Insofar as this is a perceiving subject, it has intentionality. Thus, Merleau-Ponty does not have to stress the disparateness of the realm of subjects and that of objects, as Sartre does. His earlier work has been criticized for repeating the Cartesian dualism by its centeredness on consciousness. Others criticize that he still takes the individual as point of departure. Against the reproach of dualism, he later introduced the notion of 'chair du monde' (flesh of the world). By this metaphor, he addresses constitutive processes of an embodied consciousness towards or between other embodied beings, signs, material culture, history, etc.³⁴ But even in his later work, other beings enter the scene through the sensory activities of a subject, and the source of meaningful attributions still remains within the individual. Bernhard Waldenfels and Charles Taylor are just some of those who carried on this tradition.³⁵ In the phenomenology of the body, Hirschauer still saw the strategy at work, giving some exclusivity to subjectivity, like its access to inner bodily states. Here, cultural anthropology shifts the perspective and takes bodies 'from the outside', as a permanent transmitter of meaning for recipients, who decode it in their own way, depending on the individual. This stance was not acceptable to Merleau-Ponty, who, in his last published essay *L'oeil et l'esprit*³⁶ criticized constructivist thinking which saw itself as an autonomous practice, without the incorporated perceiver as starting point. The basic phenomenological premise and experience is the 'fact of existence' (Merleau-Ponty, 'Es gibt', il y a'), the 'clearedness of the world' (Heidegger, 'Gelichtetheit der Welt') or 'self-giveness of the world' (Husserl, 'Selbstgegebenheit'). This factuality of a world that precedes the subject also gives advice concerning right and wrong.³⁷ And by these formulations we arrive at a scientific attitude and normative decisions: Merleau-

³³ See MERLEAU-PONTY, *Phenomenology*.

³⁴ See MERLEAU-PONTY, *Préface*, 22–24.

³⁵ See TAYLOR, *Handeln*.

³⁶ See MERLEAU-PONTY, *Préface*.

³⁷ See MERLEAU-PONTY, *Auge*, 277.

Ponty contrasts cultural studies with phenomenology of the body. Cultural studies are busily producing narratives whereas phenomenology fishes relaxedly in a pool of raw sense (*sens brut*).

In the work of the anthropologist Csordas embodiment is the central concept. It does not tie in with Husserl's line of thought as much as with Heidegger's. His concept of embodiment seems to be a translation of the Heideggerian Being-in-the-World.³⁸ In his work, Heidegger makes an analysis of the situated environment, of what is on hand, and of relevance. And from there he turns back to find existential fundamentals of all this practical mastery in everyday life. Therefore, his aim is as fundamental as Husserl's. Csordas combines the phenomenology of Husserl, Heidegger and the phenomenological sociology of Schütz.³⁹ For him, from the belief that perception is primordial, it does not follow that it is culturally unbound.⁴⁰ Csordas' concepts of a postural model and of somatic modes of attention are helpful in characterizing bodily perception. He employs them to explain the efficacy of healing. Therapeutic processes of healing can alter the somatic mode of attention. They do so in directing vigilance toward one's own body. This can also contain an active mode of response to the body's state, like an uttered prayer, for instance when the nerve hurts again. Csordas explains the prayer as follows: "what is ostensibly a reminder to the deity that he has granted a healing is pragmatically a self-reminder to monitor one's physical state."⁴¹ The healing effect in a back-pain client, for example, is explained by an unconscious change in the client's posture. An explanatory opposition one often finds in this kind of literature is the aware-unaware or conscious-subconscious distinction. This is not satisfying insofar as it just moves the question of how the body works to a black box. We need to look in more detail at the psychophysical mechanisms of our body, instead of just bringing the subconscious into play. Subconscious levels in a psychological sense, or as body knowledge of the sympathetic or parasympathetic nerve systems, are not in focus here.

Both sociologists and anthropologists have criticized phenomenology of the body. The priority of action before consciousness and presence in a world of interaction is either neglected by consciousness approaches or explained as a consciousness feature in the manner of fundamental philosophy, without gaining any descriptive advantage, in comparison, for instance, to descriptions of the way time, fatigue or desires are handled in a social situation. Social scientists are interested in the body as a place of social practice. For them, the body is an interface between collective and individual formative powers. Therefore they say: the structural mode of the social and environmental world is actualized in a body. What notions this has led to is the topic of the next section.

³⁸ See CSORDAS, Introduction.

³⁹ See CSORDAS, Modes; IDEM, Phenomenology; IDEM, Introduction. 67–70.

⁴⁰ See CSORDAS, Introduction.

⁴¹ CSORDAS, Introduction 69.

4.2. *Sociology of the Body*

We can only marginally pay tribute to the sensitivity of the body theme with Marx and Mauss. In his *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* (1844), Marx conceived a socialized body by thinking of material beings interacting through all their senses and organs with the world. And Mauss, in his lecture on *Body Techniques* (1934), solved the problem of cultural difference and biologically preset features with the concept of a socialized body, the habitus. In his ethno-sociological studies, Bourdieu relied heavily on this concept, and called habitus the embodiment of social structures in form of dispositions of thinking, perceiving and acting. In one of his last publications, Bourdieu devoted a whole chapter to “body cognition”.⁴² Here, at the outset of his argumentation, he opposed subjectivist philosophies that see in the social sciences an impossible objectivism. He retaliated against Heidegger’s spontaneous and naïve materialism of the flesh as the “tangible” (*Handfestes*) with the positioning of bodies in a structured social and physical space. Subjectivism, personalism, individualism, and mentalism are clearly unmasked as spontaneous philosophies of Christian societies. I would like to underscore that Bourdieu assigns subjectivist body theories to Christian worldview traditions and social body theories to an enlightened counter force. The next step is not an analysis of the body in a somatic, neurophysiological way, but an analysis of the social space and the distinctions that structure this space. Insofar as the space is grounded by embodied actor positions, the structural distinctions can be marked by bodies: body clothing, body movements, body perfume, etc.⁴³ What rules the field of positions is the *illusio*. A powerful position in this structured social space might be bodily absent, or an incorporeal institution, but can nevertheless cause bodies to move to a workplace at a given time. The actor is not so much an embodied actor as a dispositional actor, in Bourdieu’s terms. Because the actor has lived so long in the *illusio*, he or she may understand without an intentional deciphering of symbolic interaction or semantic meanings, but understands dispositionally or bodily. Body is exchangeable with dispositionality. It is important to note this for Bourdieu’s body theory. He is not so much interested in psychosomatic contexts.

Insofar as the body and learned disposition are immutable, Bourdieu can say that the actor is not entirely the subject of his practice, because it is always also society acting through him/her. The actor’s behaviour is spontaneous, but is at the same time based on the acquired fit of a situational challenge with his reactions, which have in the past proved to be right or not. This fit has developed in the course of time. Bourdieu talks of the practical sense that expresses itself in an embodied action. This practical sense lies under the subjective intentionality. The dispositions are ordered in more generally shared dispositional schemes. These help to perceive

⁴² See BOURDIEU, *Meditations*.

⁴³ The sociology of distinction has been followed by a whole “sociology of attractiveness” which investigates the embodied distinction; see KOPPETSCH, *Körper*, and GEBAUER/WULFF, *Spiel*, with their concept of mimesis, which sees sociality as imitation, also take up the idea of Bourdieu’s *habitus*.

general tendencies in the habitus community and to experience a situation as an ordered wholeness.

For the American sociologist Goffman, visibility of social subjects is central.⁴⁴ In his interaction theory, he conceives social arenas where actors stage and negotiate visibly what they want and who they are. Social behaviour is not decoded by a subjective sense of action, as with Weber's rationalist action theory, or the phenomenological interest of Schütz, but it is acknowledged in its bodily enacted expression. The sceptical view of successful communication (Luhmann, Schütz) and of recognizing objects in their 'Selbstgegebenheit' (Husserl) is opposed by a sociology of the body where the body is a permanent materiality to whom meaning is attributed by other embodied actors. It is no longer a question of whether this matches the perceived body's own intention.

Besides these approaches derived from social constructivism and practice theory, Foucault's discourse theory has had a massive influence on theories that are current today. Foucault sees the whole of modern history as an exercising of power in which bodies are disciplined, whether through a disciplinary prison system, through treatment in a progressively developing hospital system, or through the normalization of sexuality.⁴⁵ In his theory of modernity, body is thus a central medium and an interface of diverse forces of regulation. Body can only be grasped in its interplay with concepts of power, knowledge, language, order and subjectivity in societies, and in this discourse Foucault is interested in body as one dimension among others in which a particular historical constellation is created or is replaced by another. Power is not identical here with the power of the state, but is a regime that exerts an influence through methods of production, styles of movement or medical records. Power is acentral and leads its life in this interlinkage and interconnection of productions and materials, as well as symbolic and discursive productions. Characteristic of body in the modern age is that "power-knowledge" conceals the constructive work of bodies as male and female, as healthy and beautiful or abnormal and horrible, and presents them as natural. This work of naturalization discloses discourse analysis as power analysis and historical analysis. The high degree to which modern institutions such as prisons and hospitals exercise power over bodies is discussed by Foucault under bio-politics. Freedom in chiefly democratic post-war societies and subversive bio-politics characterize the field of tension in which Foucault develops his ideas. Foucault's approach makes it possible to describe the very complex ambivalences of forgotten bodies and the simultaneous dramatization of bodies in popular body practices, showing the counter flows and powers in which present-day subjectivity moves and is constituted. The body is an integrative medium for longings, desires and needs on the one hand, and symbolizations and ascriptions given to it by the environment on the other hand.

Talal Asad traces Foucault's history of ruling through body discipline in modern times back to the Middle Ages. Medieval church authorities, especially abbots and abbesses, controlled their subjects by celibacy, fasting, the prohibition of liturgical

⁴⁴ See GOFFMAN, *Ritual*.

⁴⁵ FOUCAULT, *Discipline*.

dance in churches, a heavy physical workload, highly regulated daily schedules, and works of expiation.⁴⁶ Unlike in Renaissance times, these lay people were not loyal citizens of a sovereign. The lay people, as well as clerics and nuns, followed a restrictive code. He nicely compares Benedictine rule with Cistercian rule in respect of disciplining bodies. The crucial difference is that the adepts normally have children's bodies on their early entrance into Benedictine monasteries, while in the case of Cistercians the entrants are normally adults. From these diverging body experiences in respect of skills and sexuality, there follows customized teaching and acquainting of the bodies with monastic life. It is Asad's merit to leave aside the symbolic and communicational paradigm that he criticizes in ritual theory, and to show how capabilities and dispositions such as obedience and chastity are formed by learning, comparable to Mauss' and Bourdieu's habitus. Pain, for example, is employed in ascetic practice to uncover truth: pain makes apparent how dependent the body is on sensory experiences. The body is not an obstacle on the path, but the arena in which truth may enter the scene.⁴⁷ Through the means of this medieval ritualism in everyday life, body experience is aligned in an associating frame.

The authors we have mentioned so far have developed important concepts to grasp the bodiliness of social actors and the embodiment of social norms. This perspective will now be further broadened by turning to cultural studies, where the focus is not only on questions of social interaction but also includes, for instance, climatic, material and sensorial dimensions, as well as cultural deviation.

4.3. *Cultural Studies and Aesthetics of Religion*

Contemporary cultural studies are rooted in several traditions. One of these is American anthropology (influenced deeply by German, French, and British ethnographers before and after World War II, like Franz Boas, Claude Lévi-Strauss and Victor Turner); another is the first phase of German cultural studies at the beginning of the 20th century, associated with the names of Weber, Georg Simmel and Ernst Cassirer. For cultural studies in a narrower sense, the research of the Birmingham school of popular culture in the 1960s is important. From a Marxist and anti-elitist point of view, they focus on class, gender, material culture and race. Today's cultural anthropology examines social constructions of the body as well as practices of handling and manipulating the body. Important dimensions of the body that are culturally elaborated are: the sensory body, the moving body, the healthy and ill body and transitions from one condition to the other through healing, the dead body and the handling of the corpse, body materials such as excrement, hair, blood, urine, etc., multiple, fine substantial body shells like the pneumatic or auratic, the nurturing of the body, the clothing and cleansing of the body.⁴⁸

Scholarly work on the body in cultural anthropology is at the interface of several paradigms. Depending on their discursive position, these are more or less

⁴⁶ See ASAD, Notes; IDEM, *Ritual*.

⁴⁷ See ASAD, Notes.

⁴⁸ See KOCH, *Körper*.

influenced by iconic, postcolonial, interpretive, performative, pictorial, or spatial turns;⁴⁹ indeed one can write the history of cultural studies on the basis of these turns, which are sometimes not shifts in paradigm so much as shifts in attention.⁵⁰

But some cuts in methodology are indeed remarkable, like Mary Douglas' work or the anthropology of the senses by the Toronto School. As a social anthropologist, Douglas discovered the body in *Purity and Danger*⁵¹ and *Natural Symbols*⁵² as an image of its society and as a natural social symbol. In her article "Do dogs laugh?"⁵³ the body is presented in the communication theory model of the 1970s. She describes it as a vehicle of communication of the social situation in three ways:

The body "is itself the field in which a feedback interaction takes place. It is itself available to be given as the proper tender for some of the exchanges which constitute the social situation. And further it mediates the social structure by itself becoming its image".⁵⁴

Laughing is explained as a system of bodily interaction between the individual and the group. It can indicate a whole range of degrees of social control between the individual and the group, either strong or weak according to whether it is an involuntary laugh or a highly controlled, strategic laugh. The same applies to other sensory systems and bodily reactions that are less eruptive than laughing. Bodily performance indicates to what degree a social situation is under control, or individual actors (have to) have themselves under control. There are situations in which easing of tension, disarming and surrender are appropriate, and others that require being ready to jump, emotional control, and imitation of the body behaviour of others.

Ethnographers of the Toronto School like David Howes, Constance Claasen, Peter Stoller, Anthony Synnott and others set forth to reconstruct the sensory inventory of societies and groups.⁵⁵ This inventory is deduced from preferences in media use, from artefacts, from tool use, from clothing and body painting, etc. Privileged senses of communication and typical cooperation of sensory systems like hearing and seeing or tasting and touching are registered. Then a culture-specific hierarchy is looked for. Alternative ways of decoding narratives and information, as in the case of odour or dance formations, are watched for. The problem or challenge is the methodological ideal of the researcher to master and learn a second sensory register. Only then can the researcher decide if a harsh material is harsh only for the unaccustomed user, or for the target body as well. Only then can he/she decide if the sound of snapping branches is so normal that it is filtered out, or if it is relevant bodily information. Only by eating the gruesome soup of a Songhai woman in Niger could Stoller decode her social frustration in respect of the duty to cook for her

⁴⁹ See BACHMANN-MEDICK, Turns.

⁵⁰ Embodiment theories are widespread in cultural anthropology and could be a chapter on their own (see for overviews CSORDAS, Embodiment; IDEM, Introduction; IDEM, Body; JOHNSON, Models; for a distinguished approach from cognitive sciences see WILSON, Views).

⁵¹ See DOUGLAS, Purity.

⁵² See DOUGLAS, Symbols.

⁵³ See DOUGLAS, Dogs.

⁵⁴ DOUGLAS, Dogs, 296.

⁵⁵ See HOWES, Varieties.

brother-in-law.⁵⁶ With this newly categorized data, aesthetic comparisons can be envisaged.

Another field of research in ethnology is the ‘anthropology of aesthetics’. Jeremy Coote and Anthony Shelton regard this as a specialization within visual anthropology.⁵⁷ They criticize metaphysical concepts of beauty, and favour the local coding of art, beauty and the carved, shaped, formed, created. The understanding of beauty should be liberated from the defining criterion of ‘disinterested pleasure’, which dominates Western aesthetic theories. It suppresses alternative ways of understanding beauty in Western cultures, to say nothing of non-European ideas of what is beautiful. As a last endeavour in the direction of gathering knowledge on the body, we have to mention medical anthropology. Classical medical anthropology has given rich insights into beliefs of body functioning, disease and healing.⁵⁸

Aesthetics of religion is a discipline within the study of religion that correlates with the cultural and the iconic turns in the 1980s. In view of the vast literature in this field in cultural studies, we will concentrate here on religion and the body, and mainly on research in this field in German (Anglo-Saxon research will be referred to from time to time, without pretending to cover all relevant publications and their slightly different contexts of debate). It is thanks to studies in the aesthetics of religion that the body has entered research on religion as a theme after long years of neglect, or even degradation. Friedrich Heiler, a scholar of the phenomenology of religion, still talks of using the ‘vehicle’ of the senses to grasp the holy as if it were a cane. It was the programmatic entry in the *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* by Hubert Cancik and Hubert Mohr⁵⁹ that first argued against a religio-semiotic and philological narrowing of the study of religion. And it was (cultural) semiotics (e.g. interpretive ethnology) that took on a leading position in the interpretation of culture in the 1970s. The article argues in favour of a thorough examination of aesthetic theories, of sensory and aesthetic codes in religious symbol systems, and dedicates a full chapter to ‘body, senses, and perception’ in the context of religious practice. The body is seen as a perceptive system with extero- and interoception. These stimuli, that are said to lie ‘under’ conscious and intentional subjectivity, process information. Information is an outstanding concept in this earlier phase of aesthetics of religion, indicating the influence of cybernetics and information technology at that time. This chapter of the handbook places research on religion in the ‘sensory consciousness’, borrowing a concept from Rudolf zur Lippe, instead of the ‘bodily consciousness’ of Merleau-Ponty, who is not very present.⁶⁰

Mohr elaborated this approach to religion through the senses in the following years by giving great importance to insights from the psychology of perception and

⁵⁶ See STOLLER, Taste.

⁵⁷ See COOTE/SHELTON, Anthropology.

⁵⁸ See SULLIVAN; MUSEUM DER WELTKULTUREN.

⁵⁹ See CANCEIK/MOHR, Religionsästhetik.

⁶⁰ On the context of aesthetics of religion in the study of religion, see also AUFFARTH/MOHR, Strömungen, 16–19.

cultural anthropology,⁶¹ instead of phenomenology of the body. In his study *Religion on the move*,⁶² he develops a 'kinaesthetic of religion'. Motion is examined in three regards: as an embodied phenomenon, as an object of human perception (intero- and proprioception), and as a signifier in the context of cultural symbol systems (*see fig. 1*).

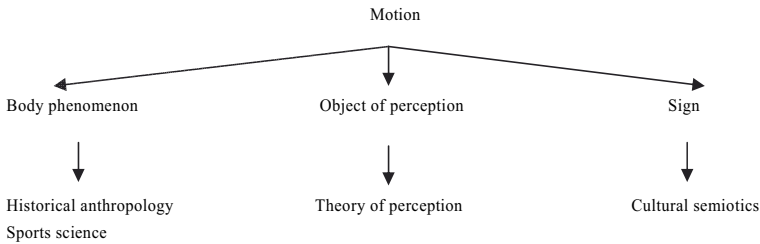


fig. 1

Three dimensions of motion and motor skills in a 'kinaesthetic of religion' and corresponding specialized approaches in other disciplines, according to MOHR, Reizausschluss.

Mohr proceeds to put qualities of motion like walking, pacing, creeping, throwing, hiking, etc., in the category of performative motions; kneeling down and prostrating in the category of motions of positional change; and carrying something in the category of target motions. He then inventarizes the activated body parts, performative contexts such as dance, funeral rites or pilgrimages, and supplements this chart with examples from the history of religions. In some cases, his attributions are not really obvious (why, for example, kneeling down is not performative, or why throwing is not targeted at something). In a further taxonomy, he tries to list motions according to their function of expressing, symbolizing, or playing. Although these divisions are not always clear, the rich material and the testing of concepts from communication and action theory are highly inspiring because of the light they throw on the dimension of body practice.

From the viewpoint of sensory physiology, Mohr asks questions relevant to research on the sensory side of religion: what may be the outcome of deprivation in respect of sensory systems in religious practice? What are the consequences of sensory monotony or deprivation of food, darkness, and sleep? What effects result from the causing of pain or from rewarding only some of the test person's perceptions? Famous is Mohr's article on cultic sense deprivation, with his initial examples of Zen meditation and the Samadhi tank.⁶³ This salt-water tank was originally an instrument of physiological research. Floating in this bodytemperature liquid and enveloped in darkness, it simulated complete stimuli deprivation. In the New Age context, it advanced to a cultic vehicle of flow and unification experiences. Today it

⁶¹ See MOHR, *Wahrnehmung*; IDEM, *Religionsästhetik*; IDEM, *Wahrnehmung II*.

⁶² See MOHR, *Reizausschluss*.

⁶³ See MOHR, *Reizausschluss*.

is found in towns all over the world. Similarly to his kinaesthetic taxonomy, Mohr distinguishes forms of sensual deprivation in religious cults (*see fig. 2*).

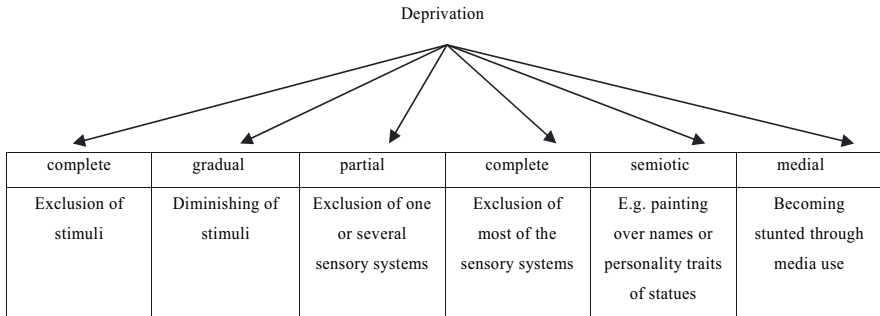


fig.2

Typology of sensory deprivations in cultural contexts according to MOHR, Reizausschluss.

In a further step, Mohr proceeds from these types to cultural functions in religious contexts, for example to deepen concentration, to evoke extraordinary states of consciousness, to express ascetic ideals, to dramatize cult performance, etc. These interpretations of symbolic-somatic meanings are derived not only from cultural semiotics but also from the physiology of perception, psychosomatics or medicine. Mohr describes, for example, intensified imagination in environments that are completely or gradually stimuli-deprived as autopoietic brain activity. This approach should not be misunderstood as reductionist. Rather, Mohr proposes a classification of perception theory, psychology, cultural anthropology, and motion theory. For Mohr, future research on the economics of the appeal to the senses in a habituated and ritualized way is highly recommendable. Mohr is to be given credit for his representation of the historical dynamics of body practice in religion. He presents aesthetics of religion in a programmatic manner, as well as in single studies of deprivation, motion, muscles, museality,⁶⁵ etc. He works in the 'transitional space of *physis* and culture'.⁶⁶ He laid the groundwork for developing special aesthetics from the criteria of motion or deprivation, for example the aesthetic of introspection and the aesthetic of the hermetic in the context of sensory deprivation. What is still lacking is a more elaborated methodology for the stimuli-sign link and a step in the direction of an explanatory and not only typologizing aesthetics of religion. When, for example, trance during the Sufi *dikhr* ritual is explained by the repetition of body movements, one might ask whether this is a more crucial factor than heat, exhaustion, psychogenic drugs, an augmented pulse, etc. These relations should be examined in further research.

⁶⁴ See MAUSS, Techniques.

⁶⁵ See MOHR, Reflections.

⁶⁶ MOHR, Religion, 317.

The initial force of the aesthetics of religion derived from a self-critical view of the prevailing fixation on textuality. This was of a methodological nature in hermeneutics and limited the selection of data, so that Holy Scriptures, translations, literature by religious experts, commentaries and their comparison dominated research on religion. Relevant to this issue is the journal *Visible Religion*, which was edited by Hans G. Kippenberg, Lourens P. van den Bosch, Lammert Leertouwer and Hazel A. Witte at the *Institute of Religious Iconography* at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands from 1982–90.⁶⁷ The context of their iconological and iconographic work in several cultures is the beginning of pictorial anthropology by Hans Belting and the work of Aby Warburg. Extra-European pictorial cultures are examined for cultural exchange, migration and adaptation processes. The body is mentioned only marginally, for instance when the talk is about body images.

Fritz Stolz, who first worked on the Old Testament, shifted to the study of religion and applied the cultural and communicative turn to religion. In his early article on the hierarchy of representational realms, such as the textual, the visible and the performative, he describes how these interact, legitimize and amplify, or are subject to the privileged sensory channel.⁶⁸ Stolz still conceptualizes religion mainly as a symbol system, but with his attention to communication and action as media of the production and reception of signs he brought in new perspectives of research on the actualization of religious traditions and their staging.⁶⁹ A broad view of the body and body dimensions influenced the *Metzler Lexikon of Religion*, which is manifest in entries on the body, perception/sensory system, hair, pain, tattoos, food, and the like.⁷⁰

In the above-mentioned *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, even the entry on rationality by the anthropologist Stoller approaches rationality as embodied, while LaFleur in his entry ‘body’ explicitly focuses on body representations and skips biological-physiological constraints.⁷¹ He proposes a distinction between body-accepting and body-modification practices in religions. The first type sees the human being as a divine creature that may not be altered. In the second type, the body may be, or needs to be, changed through harmless or invasive, sometimes even violent practices. It is possible that within one and the same religious tradition fasting, flagellation, and mutilation interact with arguments for the naturalness of the body, as in the first type. Medicine is one of the body techniques that change the body and therefore belongs to type two. Through division of labour and professionalization, medicine has taken over functions of religion in redesigning or healing the body. Remarkable in LaFleur’s contribution is his localizing of the religious handling of the body in today’s discourses of bioethics and body manipulations, and whereas his taxonomy draws attention to the normative power of religion over the

⁶⁷ For a revision of this research and today’s chances, see UEHLINGER, Religion.

⁶⁸ See STOLZ, Hierarchien.

⁶⁹ See STOLZ, Effekt; IDEM, Vergleich.

⁷⁰ See AUFFARTH/BERNARD/MOHR, Lexikon.

⁷¹ See LAFLEUR, Body.

body, his distinction is not sufficient to cover all phenomena of religious body discourses.

In the literature, the body is usually a social metaphor, such as in David Chidester's *Haptics of the Heart*.⁷² Even though the title suggests that the article deals with the embodied religious subject, it does not clarify sensory rules and mechanisms as one might expect. Instead, he switches to the social function of rituals of touching: "our task is [...] to make sense out of the myriad discourses and practices that operate at the intersections of human subjectivity and social relations".⁷³ His reference to Emmanuel Levinas' concept of tender caressing and Walter Benjamin's violent touching is a bit short as a history of tactility in the history of religion. And the categories he enumerates as dimensions of touch, like pressure, warmth, moving, grasping or binding, belong rather to the skin as a sensory system or kinaesthetic. But Chidester's examples are good for demonstrating how touching oscillates between the poles of exerting force and power-perverting strategies: touching, pressure below the feet, and warmth, appear in trance rituals with fire walking, as in some initiation rituals of modern Western shamanism or in rituals of flag burning. Touching and moving may explore new dimensions, or witness a violent kidnapping through aliens.

Remarkable is Peter J. Bräunlein's contribution to the aesthetics of religion in connection with museums,⁷⁴ image acts,⁷⁵ iconology,⁷⁶ media,⁷⁷ and pain. In his research and fieldwork on self-flagellation and self-crucifixion in a Philippine Easter ritual, he investigates the meaning of this physical pain.⁷⁸

5. The Body Boom from the Perspective of European History of Religion

Why should academic history, in this case the body discourse, be an object of the study of religion? Martin Riesebrodt and Burkhard Gladigow have made some proposals in this respect. Riesebrodt places public debates within the area of competence of the study of religion, when they use religious concepts to set important social limits and carry on processes of self-understanding.⁷⁹ As historical examples he mentions debates on the humanity of newly discovered "natives", debates on the justification of social morality or the legitimation of power, or on criteria for scientificity as against a domain that is accessible only to faith. From Riesebrodt's point of view, we therefore ought to ask whether religious ideas, values and practices have a central place in the debate on the body (its disciplining, civilizing, healing, feeding, cleansing, etc.), and are negotiated as the basic code of our society.

⁷² CHIDESTER, *Haptics*.

⁷³ CHIDESTER, *Haptics*, 76.

⁷⁴ See BRÄUNLEIN, *Sachen*.

⁷⁵ See BRÄUNLEIN, *Bildakte*; IDEM, *Image*.

⁷⁶ See BRÄUNLEIN, *Repräsentation*.

⁷⁷ See BRÄUNLEIN, *Religionsgeschichte*.

⁷⁸ See BRÄUNLEIN, *Pasyon*; IDEM, *Image*.

⁷⁹ See RIESEBRODT, *Überlegungen*.

From the above discussion it is clear that in the discourse on the body the course is set for the future and for the distribution of social and material capital in society. However, there could be a problem with Riesebrodt's requirement to name an expressly religious discourse or religious elements with which the body discourse is covered. Here Gladigow's frame of European history of religion is more promising, since religion is understood as a part of social practice and its shift to areas outside of institutionalized Christian religion is expressly investigated (see below). In what follows, the vast scholarly literature on the human body that we have already put into three differing theoretical traditions will therefore be seen as part of European history of religion from the 1980s onwards. Science and the humanities are media that generate worldviews, ideological patterns, and patterns of self-understanding. These convictions and imaginations migrate to fields outside science in a process that Gladigow calls vertical transfer. The vertical transfer of body theory and literature should be therefore a rich object of consideration from the perspective of the study of religion.

I will outline three main strands of body discourses in the context of European history of religion and thus attempt to make up for the lack of a classification system for these discourses, which is also pointed out by Richard Shusterman.⁸⁰ These are: scholarly body discourses as

- a meta-narrative of our culture (for self-reflection and self-assurance)
- a critique of rationalism (body as the irrational, material, etc.)
- construing bodies as alterity (cultural anthropology and robotics).

Excursus: European History of Religion

'European history of religion' is a concept in the study of religion that denotes a specific cultural space with determined conditions that has led to the formation of a cultural matrix. Within this matrix, certain institutions have interrelated with others and influenced the habitus of agents as well as politics, modes of clothing and agriculture. European history of religion is therefore more than just a history of religion or even religions in Europe. This concept was proposed by Gladigow, a scholar of the cultural study of religion, in 1993 at a meeting of the *German Association for the Study of Religion*.⁸¹ In this understanding, Europe is a regional entity as well as a transregionally and today globally interacting formation. It has to be considered in its pluralistic strands, not only of institutionalized religions in the Christian manner, but also of orientational systems and interpretive patterns. Therefore it includes all kinds of Christianity, Judaism, Islam, pagan religions, alternative religions, gnosis, *magia naturalis* and other 'esoteric' practices and literal traditions. Pluralism is not at all new in the European history of religion. Gladigow sees the Renaissance as a remarkable watershed, offering several options in respect of belief systems, at least for intellectuals, with the rediscovery of the Corpus Hermeticum. Another important change is the transition to modern society, with its various

⁸⁰ See SHUSTERMAN, Aesthetics.

⁸¹ See GLADIGOW, Religionsgeschichte.

subsystems. Religion, religious communication and the generation of meanings do not function here as they did in the past. To describe this change, Gladigow used Luhmann's system theory. Complexity must be mastered, the unity of a society must be maintained, and competition must be regulated. In these tasks, proven patterns of practice also move between social subareas. Gladigow uses the term vertical transfer to refer to the appearance in everyday contexts of orientations from academic disciplines. This is due to popularization, to professionalization, or to the academic actors themselves, who offer statements and forms of meaning, healing or explanation in practice, that go beyond the established academic domain with its scientific methods.

In addition to religious variety there are certain cultural patterns that characterize the discourse on European history of religion. By cultural pattern Gladigow understands conceptual red threads that run through the centuries, like that of culture as a reward system, with religion as a specific subsystem that typically (but not only) offers rewards in the form of afterlife benefits. In this connection the idea of a soul grew up, for example. From a certain time onwards it is presented in economic terms, good and bad deeds being booked on the credit or the debit side, as in a bank account. Another of Gladigow's articles follows the motif of reading the world, from antique mystical reading practices to the deciphering of the book of life in the genome project. Gladigow's view of cultural patterns is reminiscent of Norbert Elias' uncovering of figurations over long periods in European cultural history.⁸² For Elias the body plays an important role. In his theory of civilization, beginning in the European Middle Ages, Elias shows how value judgements regarding nudity, cleanliness and sexuality have changed. This behavioural regulation of the body is always related to regulation of the emotions and thus social control and the organization of society. It fits the boom of academic body literature observed here that Elias' book was broadly received only in the 1980s, following the publication of a new edition. The research perspective of European history of religion is today a joint project, as impressively shown by the two volumes edited by two omnibus volumes.⁸³

Compared with Gladigow's and Elias' *longue durée* perspective, our focus is more limited, covering the period from the 1980s up to today. We also want to look at options as to how vertical transfer might happen. Gladigow indicates two admittedly 'arresting examples' (*gefangennehmendes Bild*, Ludwig Wittgenstein) of high plausibility on how to conceive such a transfer. The two examples mentioned are the rediscovered Song of the Nibelungs in German studies influencing a neo-Teutonic cult scene, and, in the physico-theology of the 17th and 18th centuries, the change from light metaphors in Christian theology to a theology of electricity, as a consequence of the newly discovered electricity. Anton Mesmer should also be mentioned here, with his devices for magnetic healing, which materialized invisible forces in accordance with the science and philosophy of his time. Social life in the

⁸² See ELIAS, *Prozess*.

⁸³ Cf. KIPPENBERG/RÜPKE/VON STUCKRAD (eds.), *Religionsgeschichte*, and KIPPENBERG/VON STUCKRAD/HJELM (eds.), *Journal of Religion in Europe*.

early 19th century was very strongly influenced by the mesmerism movement. These examples are so succinct because they had religiously detectable results (groups or publications), because they have very distinct points of origin, and because they imply that transfer or processing took a straight path from the humanities and science to other fields.

This smooth vertical transfer is more likely a special case of cultural exchange, which has the merit of having brought an important new research object to the attention of scholars of religion, and of having opened up this discipline for the questions of a modern, differentiated society. The heuristic efficiency of Gladigow's examples is admirable.

For the interference between scientific and religious worldviews, Kocku von Stuckrad discusses⁸⁴ three historical templates (competitive relations, assumed inherent harmony, compensation for loss of meaning by religious symbolic systems such as religions, arts).⁸⁵ He proposes a discursive approach, which can describe plural forms of knowledge in their constant change. Thus, the transitions between the knowledge systems should be at the centre of the analysis. In these discursive fields, general trends can be identified, from a broader perspective of cultural history, such as the 'discontent with modernity' at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, which, according to von Stuckrad, is present in the background even of Ernst Haeckel's monistic doctrine of nature.

Let us now look at the vertical transfer of body theories from historical anthropology, sociology, literary studies, or cultural history, into everyday life and into the public discourse of societies. What are the background trends here? Are body theories transferred to other fields of social life as easily as in Gladigow's examples? And what if they are not? What avenues, detours, camouflages, and counter-flows are imaginable? What medical or technical innovations, group structures or scandals does an academic theory come up against? Which factors must come together for academic knowledge to have an effect on everyday life? Does there already have to be a discourse on a new body sensitivity, for example in diet discourses? Is it necessary to have good text book authors who can popularize these body insights in attractive narratives? How important is it that these books should be printed in large numbers and sold at low prices? It is possible to think of any number of such questions. At this point the concept of religion also comes in. Determining that a vertical transfer has taken place is comparatively easy when there are detectable new religious movements. But what about more general impacts on the imaginary and practical background? How are they detectable? This seems to be the standard case with body theories and this is the methodologically interesting thing about them.

⁸⁴ Unlike GLADIGOW, *Neuzeit*, 23–25 who lists the patterns of insoluble conflict, exclusion of scientific knowledge as in Creationism, diffuse compatibility.

⁸⁵ See VON STUCKRAD, *Naturwissenschaft*.

5.1. *The Body Boom as a Meta-Narrative of our Culture*

With the discourse network of body literature and non-discursive effects resulting from this interaction, we can talk of a body narrative that orients some of the contemporary societies. A body dispositive is build up by scholarly literature as exemplified above, its popularization in public media, its interest rooted in tasks assigned to it by the society in question, and knowledge of bodies as historical entities and as objects that can be optimized through medical technologies. Some interpretations of what lies behind the body boom in the humanities, as well as in the performance of industrialized societies, have been put forward. The academic production side and social and public discourses are always taken together in the following interpretations. The French philosopher Jean Starobinski diagnoses narcissism in the attention paid to the body, because it draws attention away from the body of the other.⁸⁶ In the urge to feel one's own corporeality with the aim of self-assurance, he sees a compensation for the modern technological environment in which we all live. This urge is a regressive power. Even if it is important for the well-being of modern selves, it is a trap, as it functionalizes the classic *cenesthesia* (tactus intimus, interoception) as a stronghold against rationalist discourses.

Many contemporary sociologists observe a disembodiment of communication and class. Eva Barlösius sees the 'sense of the senses' in present societies in the two opposed movements of sensualization and de-sensualization.⁸⁷ Examples of de-sensualization are chat-rooms, postal vote, skype and bureaucracy in general.⁸⁸ Sensualization works through odour: smelling a perfume, the body smell, femininity or foreign cooking. Clam and others comment that class is less sensualized today than it used to be, with life-style aesthetization and options of manipulating the body through perfume, hygiene, surgery, bronzing, etc.⁸⁹ These are means of overcoming class differences. With this volatility of the body out of the social, it reoccurs in the pre-communicative as a libidinal body in a narcissistic involution.⁹⁰

A very remarkable culture theory is put forward in Elaine Scarry's book on pain (1985). Pain is given the social function of becoming aware of one's productive force. Pain is culturally productive in generating symbolizations and objectivities. Therefore cultural symbol systems are options to escape from the body and its potential pain into symbol systems. A problem with this theory is that Scarry repeats the Christian topos of salvation on the level of her cultural theory. Since, in her body history, the interlacing of body experience and cultural interpretation is performed by the body concept, it may be reckoned as a meta-narrative of culture. Despite his critic of Scarry, Jakob Tanner follows her interpretive pattern. Tanner regards the bio sciences as an anaesthetic for existential issues in European culture,

⁸⁶ See STAROBINSKI, History.

⁸⁷ See BARLÖSIUS, Sinn; KELLER/MEUSER, Körperwissen.

⁸⁸ See also KAMPER/WULFF, Wiederkehr, on the 'decrease of the sensory'.

⁸⁹ See CLAM, Lösung.

⁹⁰ See CLAM, Lösung, 261.

insofar as they enable regulated ways of talking about the body.⁹¹ The body is thus controlled and mastered in the imaginary of medical wishful production. This last interpretation relies on Lacanian concepts. In this sense, Tanner calls the body ‘the real’.

In a similar way, Eva List writes a meta-narrative of our culture with the central figure of compensation. The booming discourse on bodies in cultural studies is a symbolic compensation for its disappearance in medical techniques of self-regeneration, digital codes, and medical machines.⁹² She further reasons that the typical epistemological broaching of the issue of the body is a consequence of multiple alternative forms of knowledge that emerged from the end of the 19th century onwards and that are independent of the human body. List names early punched cards, photography that exteriorizes the image, and digital networks that memorize and process information without flesh.

Only recently have body history and history of feelings met.⁹³ This may be a parallel development to the ‘adventure society’ that seeks extraordinary feelings by meeting temporarily on the occasion of festivals. Christoph Türcke claims that in the body techniques of today’s societies, from tattooing and piercing to mass-media communication and capitalist consumption, there is an escalation of the state of arousal.⁹⁴ Beginning with the spectacle of the French Revolution of 1789, the meaning of sensation or feeling has shifted from an epistemic concept to a sensational event. Today, according to Türcke, these are faded epiphanies of the Holy. In this reconstruction, body history is explicitly part of the history of religion, or should we say of a religious history?

Türcke is not the only one to discover in the event-society a form of modern hunger to counterbalance late capitalist working conditions. For Asad, the centrality of the body means exactly this aesthetization of modern subjects.⁹⁵ The styling of life with scenes and sub-scenes, the construing of whole worlds comparable to events in former times (medieval markets and tournaments), the perfect organizing of music festivals, and innumerable further offers of adventure and emotionality through organizers are typical of this partial market.

A prerequisite for this strand of body histories is psychoanalysis, having recourse to Sigmund Freud himself, or often to Jacques Lacan. Psychoanalytic figurations like foreclosure,⁹⁶ regression, compensation, or inhibition of drives, are transposed for the explanation of society or even the societal body. Self-reflection is a repeatedly named feature of this second modernity in the second half of the last century. From a scholarly perspective, a need for self-assurance is attributed to this

⁹¹ See TANNER, *Körpererfahrung*.

⁹² See LIST, *Enigma*.

⁹³ See BENTHLEN/FLEIG/KASTEN, *Emotionalität*; LABOUVIE, *Leiblichkeit*; EITLER/SCHER, *Emotionengeschichte*.

⁹⁴ See TÜRCCKE, *Gesellschaft*.

⁹⁵ See ASAD, *Remarks*, 43.

⁹⁶ The translation of “*Verwerfung*” in BUTLER, *Bodies*.

second modernity on such a regular basis that one could think it was profoundly lacking in self-confidence.⁹⁷

For some time it seemed that the endeavour of writing body history would become a special field within history, like national history, history of private life, architectural history, etc. Duden, who calls herself a body historian, diagnoses a break in body history in the 1990s, perception of the body being reduced to body as a system, namely an immune system.⁹⁸ This was a debodification comparable to the ultrasound image of an unborn child which becomes a picture in the hands of the parents, or a chemical pregnancy test. In times of feverish investigation into the HI virus in popular culture, the metaphor of the bodily organization of immunity has succeeded the doctrine of germs. In this change it embodies a new sensitivity in people's everyday behaviour. Following Emilie Martin's ethnography of the immune system in the USA, Duden shows that the metaphor of the immune system has ambivalent consequences for late modern subjectivity: systemic placelessness and complexity have led to feelings of powerlessness at the same time as being made to feel responsible for 'strengthening' one's own immune system. It is no coincidence that the body discourse on the immune system runs parallel to the globalization discourse, where we find similar contrary tendencies, and where everything is connected with everything else. Together with the concept of the eco-system, there is a reformulation of global modernity here.⁹⁹ The fear of confusion finds expression in the reduction of one's own subjectivity to a system and thus a model of the whole. But in doing so the self loses depth and plasticity, bodiliness and autonomy.

5.2. *Body Attention as a Critique of Rationalism*

With the discovery of the body theme in the humanities, several body histories have been provided, focusing either on discipline and power or on body practices. A controversial point is whether discursive theory still conceptualizes the body in a fully semiotic paradigm, or brings in its materiality. In the strand of body histories that criticizes rationalism, the subversion of the 'propositional', the 'semiotic' or the 'predicative' is the issue. Non-propositional objects, and material instead of semantic and pre-predicative entities are aimed at. Some oppose the hegemonic rationalist discourse by an analogue logic referring to Freud's interpretation of dream-logic, or from the philosophical tradition of irrationality like in Schopenhauer. In other disciplines, the critique of cognitivism goes hand in hand with the discovery of aesthetics and a new sensationalism. Yvonne Ehrenspeck, for instance, reconstructs this dynamic for the education sciences.¹⁰⁰ But the origin of the lucidity of the humanities lies further back in the past. The 'Geisteswissenschaften' in Germany developed in their typical formation at the beginning of the 20th century, as a reaction to the success and explanatory force of the natural sciences in the period of Wilhelminian promoterism. The humanities were re-founded as the

⁹⁷ See EISENSTADT, *Modernity*, and his talk of the loss of signs of certainty.

⁹⁸ See DUDEN, *System*.

⁹⁹ See DUDEN, *System*, 270.

¹⁰⁰ See EHRENSPECK, *Aisthesis*.

‘experiential science of intellectual phenomena’.¹⁰¹ At that time they stood against psychophysics as represented in Freud’s oeuvre, in Georg H. Mead’s *The Social Self*, and in Henri Bergson’s *Matière et mémoire*. These all combine a perception theory founded in the body, or introspection with a conceptually oriented understanding of experience. But for the humanities, a double isolation, both from the progress and paradigmatic changes in the natural sciences and from everyday life, was a serious consequence during the decades to come. Perhaps this withdrawal from relevant theory developments and objects explains, beside other reasons, the explosive attention to the body at the end of the 1970s. According to the dialectics of enlightenment (Max Horkheimer/Theodor W. Adorno), the resurgence of the body in a hegemonic intellectual research tradition is easy to foresee.

In this strand of theorizing, the philosopher Alexander G. Baumgarten (1714–62) has been rediscovered as a forefather supporting sensory insight as against intellectual insight.¹⁰² He thus ends a long tradition of disregarding the sensory and the aesthetic as the raw material of further intellectual elaboration or incomplete insight. Merleau-Ponty carries on this inversion of the hierarchy of cognitive capabilities and places the body synthesis (insights through bodily being in the world) on the same level as, if not antecedent to, the intellect. Cancik/Mohr also perpetuate this new epistemological approach for aesthetics of religion.¹⁰³ This strand rejects Platonic and Kantian epistemology and looks for alternatives. The concept of the ‘world we live in’, our everyday world (*Lebenswelt*) also gained ground in this context. Another means of critique of the privilege of the intellect is to pluralize it, referring for instance to an embodied *ratio*, a somatic intellect, the belly brain.

A broad branch of research regards the body as disturbing, hurt, resistant, ill, handicapped, blocking, or not functioning. Attention is paid to the ill-functioning body and it is said to be a place of resistance against processes of standardization.¹⁰⁴ The topos of the body is always the body as a subversive power. The focus is not on the normal or everyday body.

Another line of critique of rationalist culture develops a body concept that can lead to the unconscious, the unspeakable, and the aesthetic. The body is regarded as the scene of recurring psychic inhibitions and repressions – either individual or societal. What cannot be said in a cultural setting expresses itself through nakedness, sexual performances, and above all through pain.¹⁰⁵ Insofar as these interpretations are very close to philosophy of the media, List does not believe their critique of rationalism to be substantial.¹⁰⁶ For the reality generation in discourses in the humanities, postmodern positions still count, she says, and the postmodern ideal of fluid identities is realized in global data networks and the infinity of virtual space.

¹⁰¹ According to W. Dilthey, see GUMBRECHT, Nicht-Hermeneutische.

¹⁰² See CANCEK/MOHR, Religionsästhetik; SHUSTERMAN, Erfahrung, 120–124.

¹⁰³ See CANCEK/MOHR, Religionsästhetik.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. TURNER, Bodies; WAGNER, Nähte.

¹⁰⁵ See TOPITSCH, Schriften.

¹⁰⁶ See LIST, Enigma.

This explains why cyberspace discourse is so much in a line with postmodernism. The phenomenology of the body proved to be much more effective in criticizing rationalism. Helmut Plessner, Merleau-Ponty and Waldenfels evolved a theory to overcome Cartesian dualism and the Kantian separation of world and subject.

5.3. *Body Focus as a Strategy of Construing Bodies as Alterity*

Alien or foreign bodies as represented by anthropologists, travelling colonizers, travelling 'indigenes' like Vivekananda or Vishnudevananda, and photographs and films on foreign cultures, are a major motor for the body dispositive. In cultural anthropology and robotics, we often find attention to the body as a means of construing the other. Or, at a certain stage of modern societies, access to colonized bodies via the social sciences and the humanities functions for the whole of society as an othering. 'Racist', 'nastily' eating foreign mouths were as often contorted by idealizing as by degrading. Strategies of othering were aesthetization, canonization, and typologizing. The aesthetic idealization 'black is beautiful' is as tricky as the imprinting of collective European imaginaries through pictorial conventions: Margit Prussat reveals a very restrictive code for the visual representation of Brazilian slaves from 1860–1920 and the mass distribution of these conventions through postcards on the occasion of world exhibitions of commerce.¹⁰⁷ Parallel to photography, typologies in craniotomy and phrenology developed to tame the other.¹⁰⁸ But in spite of all these ways of handling the foreign body, it kept its disturbing force. Construed differences in ethnological genealogies of kinship are less resistant to assimilation than foreign bodies are. And constructing these differences in displaying the foreign body culture mirrors deep European values, expectations and ways of perception.¹⁰⁹

An outstanding pattern of perception in this context is the sociomorph approach. The foreign body is seen as a point of concordance for individual and collective. The cosmic logic is inscribed in the natural symbols that are delivered by the body. For example, the social body is sustained and purified by rituals that are carried out at the high priest's substitutional body in the central cult.¹¹⁰ Douglas gives several examples of these links. Purity and integrity of societies correspond.¹¹¹ Chaotic forces are controlled through rituals of purification. Gender, lifespan, kinship – it's always the body as medium that defines and negotiates the boundaries of risky-harmless, nicely shaped-deformed, pure-impure. Since the postcolonial turn and the writing culture debate, ethnographies have differed significantly from the first-encounter narratives of participating observers. Dialogue forms, decentralizing of perspective, polyphony, the presentation of material culture, reflexivity on how the presentation is formed and what hierarchies and monopolies are thus inaugurated, and the awareness of oneself as an embodied participant in the scene, have all

¹⁰⁷ See PRUSSAT, *Bilder*.

¹⁰⁸ See GERNIG, *Körper*.

¹⁰⁹ See GERNIG, *Körper*.

¹¹⁰ See KÖPPING, *Person*.

¹¹¹ See DOUGLAS, *Purity*.

become standard. In Kerstin Gernig and Prussat, among others, we see how emphasis is placed on curiosity concerning the mechanisms of othering and the connection between forms of representation of the body and photography as the new medium of representation. It is stronger than the shock of discovering that we are part of an academic history of appropriation on othering. This discourse has therefore become less political than it was in the beginning, and now serves as a means of testing concepts in cultural studies. Very productive in this context is the above-mentioned anthropology of the senses. Initial attempts to make sensory inventories changed some years later to the analysis of 'perceptual universes'.¹¹² The issue is to deduce concepts from this analysis that may highlight indigenous emotional and perceptual dimensions. Especially those dimensions are targeted that differ from the sensory categories of the researcher. The ethnographic method, which relies heavily on the sensory and embodiment, is a means of accessing the long-hidden worlds of the foreign. This idea of 'going to them' by going into the sensory organization of the foreign group is relatively new. Always depending on how it is performed in practice, this way of approaching the other is curious, pro-active, and sensual. It attributes a high degree of complexity to the 'othered' foreign body and embeds this body in its behaviour and cultural performance. Of course empowerment and over-powering of the people being investigated may also be involved here.

Otherness in bodies and of bodies also turns up as a concept in academic self-descriptions. For the sociologist Hirschauer, the body boom follows the communicative turn of the 1980s and somehow corrects the fixation on language of this turn in multiplying communicative channels by body knowledge.¹¹³ Hirschauer classes 'knowledge *about* the body' under discourse analysis. This is astonishing insofar as discourse analysis, unlike very early discursive conversation analysis, carefully attends to the role of actions and the material wielding of power in torture or sex practices, to name some examples. It is therefore not only a semantic knowledge *about* the body, but also a knowledge *of* bodies. But what is of interest here is that Hirschauer continues by criticizing sociology for being part of the humanities in choosing a textual model for the body. The material body, he says, functions as the other of sociology and as such is still suppressed/split off.¹¹⁴ The anthropologist Csordas,¹¹⁵ on the other hand, chooses a bizarre way to link the experience of alterity with religious experience through the concept of embodiment. In his most recent theory of religion, Csordas follows the idea of Rudolf Otto that religion is an experience *sui generis*, in other words of a special kind, and more exactly: an experience of inner otherness.¹¹⁶ The experience of the wholly other is seen, not very innovatively, as the essence of religious experience. The argumentation is a combination of phenomenology of religion and phenomenology of the bod-

¹¹² KEIFENHEIM, *Wege*, 38.

¹¹³ See HIRSCHAUER, *Körper*, 974.

¹¹⁴ HIRSCHAUER, *Körper*, 976; VILLA, *Körper*, lists only historical reasons for the neglect of this theme: in British cultural studies the debates on multicultural society and colonial past took place earlier than in German sociology.

¹¹⁵ See CSORDAS, *Asymptote*.

¹¹⁶ See CSORDAS *Asymptote*.

y. The experience of inner or intimate alterity is a primordial sense of ‘otherness’ and Csordas describes it as the “embodiment of the ineffable”. But even if there were an experience of ineffable otherness that is primordial in terms of consciousness yet nevertheless physical, this would not plausibly explain why it should be specifically religious. Thus, one of the authors who have commented on Csordas’ article, Beatrix Hauser, points out that otherness or difference applies to communication in general and is what makes dialogue possible. However, Csordas uses the embodied experience of “alterity in and for itself” to justify the need for religion.¹¹⁷ Catherine Bell has already revealed and criticized this paradigm of the “necessity of religion”, in addition to four other common paradigms in the history of research on religion.¹¹⁸ Here, a cultural form is rendered universal by being anthropologically immortalized in one way or another. Phenomenological approaches have a greater tendency to do this than others.

5.3.1. Robotics and Cyberspace

Robotics and cyberspace represent discourses that mainly work with technomorph body metaphors and thereby ‘other’ the body constantly in its materiality and imaginations. Technological innovations in the past few decades have changed the world to an extent that we may still not see clearly. Especially the consequences for philosophical and ethnological anthropologies are not predictable.¹¹⁹ For example, if robots are employed for theory building in infant developmental psychology by re-enacting crucial changes,¹²⁰ this will melt together technology and embodiment. Csordas sees in the two (male and female) computerized corpses at the US National Library of Medicine a new mode of being in the world with scarcely predictable consequences for imaginary and body practices.¹²¹ The existence of the prepared corpses between the virtual avatar and the simuloid is referred to by him as shade: the dead body neatly chopped up. The correlation of technological media and religion has been widely observed, for instance in the temporal and local coincidence of telegraphy and knocking sounds from the afterworld, and the spiritism that developed as a result. Research on different sorts of media in the framework of media history, and their reciprocal influence on the history of religion has attracted interest in recent years.¹²²

The physical body can be altered through medical techniques such as implants and artificial limbs, and through devices such as sticks, data gloves, head-mounted displays, computer mice, etc.¹²³ Imaginations of the body are changed as well. In both fields we get used to unknown body feelings. We are sitting at a table as ‘wetware’, operating a (hardware) console, sliding into a virtual double: the avatar.

¹¹⁷ See CSORDAS, *Asymptote*, 178.

¹¹⁸ See BELL, *Paradigms*.

¹¹⁹ See ORLAND, *Körper*.

¹²⁰ See STRERI, *Seeing*.

¹²¹ See CSORDAS, *Cadavers*.

¹²² See ASSMANN, *Text*; BRÄUNLEIN, *Sachen*.

¹²³ See FUNKEN, *Körper*.

Some see in these operations the fulfilment of a yearning to leave the body behind.¹²⁴ The hope of the Platonic, Gnostic, and other belief systems to overcome fleshly existence seems finally to have reached its goal. All these changes have prompted Haraway to talk of an ‘almost-identity of technology, language and semiosis’.¹²⁵ And together with naturalistic ideas in cognitive theory, the human consciousness is seen as a late evolutionary by-product or achievement that can be partially downloaded to the technological and material environment. This ‘post-humanoid’ is detectable through its systemic activities at the interface of body and machines.¹²⁶ He/she is not characterized by a first-person perspective. These situated bodies – half flesh, half metal – are really estranged bodies. In scholarly literature and science-fiction blockbusters of the mid-1990s, produced as a reaction to the spreading of new technologies, they were livelier than in everyday life. The estrangement of bodies in this discourse had the function of opening up new trajectories and multiplying the options concerning what to do with our body and how it might look in future.

At no place is the change in religious communication and practice so evident as in the virtual world of Web 2.0.¹²⁷ The World Wide Web gives a new meaning to ‘invisible religion’ and to global religions as world encompassing, with interactive computer-mediated communication. The World Wide Web sets new boundaries of inclusion and exclusion from religions. It may change the power relation between centre and periphery, for instance between the motherhouse of a religious organization and its affiliations. It organizes access to religions in new ways, it even creates new virtual religions in blogs or in chats, and offers transitional space to young adult users during the phase of building their self-identity. But, nevertheless, the euphoria about cyberspace of the mid-1990s is ebbing away and giving way to more realistic, empirical research.

This third strand is all about ways of construing alterity. The foreign body is partly communicated via mechanisms such as described in the Orientalism debate, and the European body gets its opposite body by a popularization of robotics and applied technological science. It is not always only a question of combating, repressing or excluding this alterity. Most influential are foreign bodies that are sedimented in the core beliefs of European and Anglo-Saxon societies. If the construction of alterity works as observed in the Orientalism debate, then the foreign body stays a foreign body and has the function of social psychological compensation, as Edward Said assumes. But foreign body images may also be assimilated in the course of time. The import of foreign bodies has often worked through the reception of Asian medical systems like Traditional Chinese Medicine, Ayurveda, Tibetan Medicine, or applied healing, as for example in massage

¹²⁴ See LIST, *Enigma*.

¹²⁵ HARAWAY, *Biopolitik*, 317.

¹²⁶ See HAYLES, *Fleisch*.

¹²⁷ See HADDEN/COWAN, *Religion*.

techniques¹²⁸ like Shiatsu, and through founding modern Western yoga traditions that also rely on the body image of the Asian worldview. These body images are so popularized by now that most Europeans not only know them but also experience them from time to time in yoga classes, acupuncture, tea-drinking ceremonies, or wellness treatments.

6. Conclusion

Our attempt to explain the incredibly high density of occurrences of the body theme in academic debates since the 1980s has shown that the way was prepared in disciplines which simultaneously developed theoretical models of the body (philosophy, sociology and history). When these perspectives were combined as a consequence of the turn in cultural studies in the 1970s, it was as if the body had overnight been given a place on the agenda as a new dimension. Much of the importance of the body debate since then is due to the fact that bodies are recognized as the medium and arena of social organization, of the handing down of tradition and of the exercise of power. The debate on the body was able to have the effect that it had because of this central social role. The second reason is that it was possible to crystallize a whole knowledge complex out of this new concept of body: the academic body discourse reached a high intensity by being conceived of together with other concepts such as power, status, gender, text, etc. A third reason for the attractiveness of the body discourse is related to the concept of European history of religion as developed in study of religion using the terms of system theory. To a very large extent body discourses produce meanings which rationalize normative convictions by emotional value judgements. These are revealed by following the production of patterns and meta-narratives in academic research, and how these shape and bring together everyday life and other social knowledge segments. Here, we found three meta-narratives in academic body literature:

- as a meta-narrative of our culture (for self-reflection and self-assurance)
- as a critique of rationalism (body as the irrational, material, etc.)
- for construing bodies as alterity (cultural anthropology and robotics).

Our analysis of these discourses of the body dispositive shows clearly that the transfer is an intertransfer. And transfer is not an intentional process but is largely coincidental, anachronous, fragile and thus unpredictable. Moreover, vertical transfer covers manifold exchange relations which are not exhausted in the popularization discussed by Gladigow. Other media and mechanisms of migration and the

¹²⁸ Massage was invented in 19th century Europe independently from South-Asian influences (cf. JÜTTE, *Geschichte* 260–62). Its attribution to Asia today is as much a construction as the ascription of relaxation as being specific to Yoga. Singleton nicely traces the beginnings of modern relaxation techniques as a prerequisite for the creating of Modern Yoga (SINGLETON, *Salvation; IDEM, Body*).

effect of religious patterns like othering, literarization, singularization, auratization need to be inventarized and explained.¹²⁹

The normal destiny of meta-narratives is that once they have been examined and made explicit they belong to the past and are henceforth a topic of cultural history or history of philosophy. That they are recognizable as such already seems to be a symptom of their deterioration. To me it seems that the three paradigms we have mentioned were important ways of dealing with events in past decades. But, even if they now belong to the recent past, which I do not assume, we can hardly underestimate how much their pattern still effect us. This conclusion is therefore a last attempt at revising the service they have rendered to societies and describing what is going on right now with our bodies, which, I have to admit, is the most difficult part of the work for archaeologists of knowledge. From the perspective of European history of religion, let us now identify some arenas in which certain trends and tensions of contemporary body practices occur.

6.1. *Body and Difference*

In combination with the concept of difference, embodiment draws a line of separation for several discourses: gender difference, cultural difference, the difference between the embodied individual and society, the inner differentiation of consciousness theory. The latter is at home in the approaches of phenomenology of the body. In Csordas it was inner alterity, which has already been criticized as being essentialist. For the questions asked by scholars of religion, on this microlevel of bodily self-awareness it is more helpful to link body, not to alterity, but to concepts like emotion or special (religious) aesthetics. Mohr, for instance, has done this with the aesthetic of retreat, the aesthetic of deprivation of movement as in meditative sitting, the aesthetic of movement as in pilgrimages, etc.

Mauss, Elias and Bourdieu emphasize the achievement of embodiment in mediating between the social exercise of power and individually embodied norms. They are often subject to the stereotyped criticism that embodied individuals are just empty containers for social norms. How the body certainly can offer independence, resistance and subversion of social expectations in this model, has been shown by the sociologist Verena Schnäbele for yoga¹³⁰ and by the anthropologist and philosopher Annette Hornbacher for Balinese dance.¹³¹ From the point of view of the history of religion and the history of science it is significant that the body has taken the place of the unifying band of society, which Emile Durkheim saw in certain divided convictions and practices of a moral community called *église*.

Cultural difference has been raised extremely effectively above body discourses. A comment by the anthropologist Shelton is an example of how the artificially separated biases of the three meta-narratives can overlap, by the foreign body

¹²⁹ See KIPPENBERG/RÜPKE/VON STUCKRAD, *Religionsgeschichte*, chapter III “Religion and Society: Transfers in between cultural systems” and chapter IV “Religious communication: Forms of representation and mediation”.

¹³⁰ See SCHNÄBELE, *Yoga*.

¹³¹ See HORNBACHER, *Zuschreibung*.

drawing critical attention to Western rationalism: “Sense, as opposed to feeling, in the Western context is closely associated with rational thought: ‘sensible’. Elsewhere it may not have the same logical constraint, or classificatory distinctions that elude our purview and understanding. Greater emphasis needs to be given to the distinction between sense and feeling in order to be clear of its implication for attempting identification of exotic sensoriums and their semantic matrixes”.¹³² With the new attention paid to the way in which thinking – feeling – perceiving – moving influence our worldview, it becomes relativized. Even colour and perspective seeing are culturally bound.

This applies particularly to gender difference, which has been accounted for as the construction of bodies and body images. For a religious history of the body there are important interferences here with historical anthropology and feminist theory, which has changed from a history of women and suppression (the great women approach and the contributory approach – women have also contributed something) to a cultural gender history. This change of paradigm has been developed essentially through studies of female piety and female mysticism in the Middle Ages and the early modern period.

It is these differential cultural studies of body, together with emancipatory movements, that have led to more justice between the sexes, classes and post-colonial powers. Through body, difference can be established and appreciated. European patterns going beyond the boundaries or, better, shifting the asymmetries of cultures, should be taken into account in future research. Bungee jumping might serve as just one out of numerous examples of backflow to Europe, changing body experience in unrecognizable conditions in the differing cultural settings of European countries. The innovative freedom to act which is thus created for societies should be recognized as an important resource for the solution of future social conflicts and transformation processes. Paula-Irene Villa supposes that the body discourse in Anglo-Saxon societies is older than in Germany, since they generally see themselves as immigration societies.¹³³ This could mean that the discursive arena of body and difference will become more important among German-speaking scholars in future years, especially if accompanied by greater efforts towards gender equality.

6.2. *Body and Subjectivity*

Foucault introduced the concept of self-care (*souci de soi*) in the mid 1970s to denote the construction of subjectivity through individual body practices.¹³⁴ Today’s widened repertoire of construction may differ from other common societal body and self-ideals, like the Christian ideal, and especially the protestant high performance ideal of optimizing the body. Members of new social and religious movements since the 1970s have practised forms of protest like chaining themselves to railway lines,

¹³² SHELTON, Book, 109.

¹³³ See VILLA, Körper.

¹³⁴ See FOUCAULT, History.

and heightening of awareness through body techniques. With regard to the New Age movement, many thus see in the privatization of religion above all a somatization of religion.¹³⁵ Bodies are places where transformation of the self takes place. Here, too, there is a prehistory going back to the 19th century, where techniques for relaxation, movement and breathing were linked together. This discourse, which established the typical new somatic cultural pattern, is a precondition for the “invention” of modern Western positional yoga.¹³⁶ Body ideals change over time: tattoos, haircuts, postures, the well-fed or the athletic body, are part of body culture and body cult. They are situated within social trends of commercialization, life risk management, a society searching for adventures and great experiences or even “spirituality”. If any reason for them is given in scholarly literature on the body boom, or the “peculiar renaissance of the senses”,¹³⁷ it is frequently commercialization, adventure or the needs of media societies, in short they are an epiphenomenon in an incrementally superficial and sensually overwrought society (see body meta-narratives of our culture). These pessimistic judgements of the substantial change that Western societies have undergone, from industrialized to information or knowledge societies, are well known as a habitus of Western intellectuals. They underestimate the cultural and economic attractivity and productivity of body experience techniques. The renewed phase of pluralization in the religious field in the 1970s created an increased need for “unconsumed” body techniques that could give fresh symbolic power to social realities that were perceived as new. The decline in the reputation of “pastoral care” in these processes gave psychosomatic models a chance – inside and outside of the constituted, mostly ecclesiastical, religions. The new experts in self-care were primarily the individual, and then psychotherapists, doctors and spiritual healers. Modern pharmacy, medicine and hygiene also mean a break in the history of religion, insofar as the final contingency of human life has been extended to a greater age and more serious illnesses. The perspective of self-care enables us to revise judgements on some trends which at their first appearance were criticized as narcissistic or consumerist. Late-capitalist beings display a deep ambivalence towards their body: in yoga practice it is hard to determine whether this body discipline and effort is a rationalist adaptation to highly demanding capitalist working conditions, or a means of resistance, a beginning of self-distancing and self-care.¹³⁸

6.3. *Body and Materiality*

Arguments for the materiality of the body were the most successful in the critique of rationalism and the culture-nature-dichotomies through body histories. Rationalism was often associated with masculinity. Feminist theory, especially Butler’s *Gender Trouble* and *Bodies That Matter*, were crucial in clarifying the role of the body, which in Foucault’s work was subordinated to the self and power. It is the

¹³⁵ See EITLER, Körper.

¹³⁶ See SINGLETON, Body.

¹³⁷ JÜTTE, Geschichte, 26.

¹³⁸ See SCHNÄBELE, Yoga.

merit of feminist theory to have elaborated a methodology, as well as several critical and disturbing theoretical positions in respect of the body in history and today's societies. Body theories are an eminent means of coming to a critical awareness of body suppression and bio-politics and at the same time they indicate new ways of control. In the body dispositive, embodiment is more successful than tendencies towards debodification, which have also been observed by some scholars. With materializing embodiment, as shown by the triumph of the concept of *habitus*, as in discourse theory and poststructuralism in general a new medium of self-understanding has been discovered. This discovery of the material body is utilized: body orientation, body aesthetization and body manipulation lead to intense experiencing of body and society and new power relations (for instance, when someone starting their first job thinks they need to undergo cosmetic surgery because beauty is part of one's social capital). The body is in a permanent process of materialization. But this does not mean that he is arbitrarily changeable. Once he acquired a *habitus* he also limits further modifications.¹³⁹ If these limitations are overrun, the consequences can materialize in diseases, in pain, burn out and emotional disorders.

6.4. *Body and Self-Reflexivity*

On a methodological level, body theories are a victory in the struggle for a more complete approach in the sciences and the humanities. By complete I mean a critique of the linguistic turn and the successful combining of self-involvement, own body contingency, engenderedness and the effects of this embodiment on interacting practices. A contemporary ethnography reads like Hornbacher's book on Balinese dance and the reflexive body knowledge that is performed in this action.¹⁴⁰ In the second, reflexive, modern age, theoretical considerations must necessarily be combined with ethnological descriptions in which it is made clear that such data are always collected by means of an embodied researcher. And typically the body is part of the self-localizing of the researcher in the setting, and dignified as a means of communicating, giving meaning, and exercising power. In this sense, a body history as part of the European history of religion is the renewed description of discursively achieved self-descriptions. We have indicated here which self-descriptions take place in the body histories of various academic disciplines. The peak of self-reflexivity in respect of one's own embodiment and positionality seems to have been passed. The discourses are no longer characterized by the shock of gaining insight into one's own othering, but have given way to the detailed review of mechanisms through which bodily and other medial forms of representation interact.

However, for a religious history of the body in the past decades, a few more chapters should be added. As we have pointed out, there are discourses that are omitted here, such as the medical discourse, the discourse of the popular media, the

¹³⁹ See EITLER/SCHEER, *Emotionengeschichte*, 289–294.

¹⁴⁰ See HORNbacher, *Zuschreibung*.

discourse of (health) politics, or the religious discourse of individual organizations. Furthermore, some questions arise, for example concerning transcultural influences, special socio-cultural aspects, the overlap with scenes such as dance, music or extreme sports, and academic dynamics such as tension between the social and the cultural history of religion,¹⁴¹ or the complete discursification of an object versus other paradigms like the theoretical approach to organizations and institutions.

Bibliography

Bibliographies of body literature

- BIELEFELD, J., Körpererfahrung. Eine ausgewählte Bibliographie aus bewegungswissenschaftlicher Sicht, in: IDEM (ed.) Körpererfahrung. Grundlage menschlichen Bewegungsverhaltens, Göttingen u.a. 1986, 283–299.
- DUDEN, B., Body History – Körpergeschichte, Wolfenbüttel 1990.
- QUERRELLES-NET, Bibliography of the Review Journal for Women and Gender Research, Technical University of Berlin, Program Women and Gender Studies, since 1999, url: www.querelles-net.de

Journals of body literature

- BLACKMAN, L./FEATHERSTONE, M./TURNER, B.S. (eds.), Body & Society, eds. 1995–2010.
- BULL, M. et al. (eds.), The Senses & Society.
- CASH, T. (ed.), Body Image: an international journal of research.
- FARMAN, J. et al. (eds.), Extensions: the online journal of embodiment & technology.
- PAYNE, H. (ed.), Body, Movement & Dance in Psychotherapy: an international journal for theory, research and practice.

Authors

- ABRAHAM, A., Der Körper im biographischen Kontext. Ein wissenssoziologischer Beitrag, Wiesbaden 2002.
- ABRAHAM, A./MÜLLER, B., (eds.), Körperhandeln und Körpererleben. Multidisziplinäre Perspektiven auf ein brisantes Feld, Bielefeld 2010.
- ASAD, T., Notes on Body Pain and Truth in Medieval Christian Ritual, *Economy and Society* 12 (1983) 287–327.
- , On Ritual and Discipline in Medieval Christian Monasticism, *Economy and Society* 16 (1987) 159–203.
- , Remarks on the Anthropology of the Body, in: S. COAKLEY (ed.), *Religion and the Body*, Cambridge 1997, 42–51.
- ASSMANN, J., Text und Ritus. Die Bedeutung der Medien für die Religionsgeschichte, in: H. WENZEL/W. SEIPEL/G. WUNBERG (eds.), *Audiovisualität vor und nach Gutenberg*, Wien 2001, 97–106.
- AUFFARTH, C./BERNARD, J./MOHR, H. (eds.), *Metzler Lexikon Religion. Gegenwart – Alltag – Medien*, 4 Vols., Stuttgart/Weimar 1999–2002.
- AUFFARTH, C./MOHR, H., Strömungen der Kultur- und Religionswissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert – ein wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Überblick, *Metzler Lexikon Religion* 4, Stuttgart/Weimar (2002) 1–36.

¹⁴¹ See NEUGEBAUER-WÖLK, Konstituierung.

- BACHMANN-MEDICK, D., *Cultural Turns. Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften*, Reinbek 2009.
- BARLÖSIUS, E., Über den gesellschaftlichen Sinn der Sinne, in: C., KOPPETSCH (ed.), *Körper und Status. Zur Soziologie der Attraktivität*, Konstanz 2000, 17–39.
- BELL, C., *Paradigms behind (and before) the Modern Concept of Religion, History and Theory*, Theme Issue 45 Dec. (2006) 27–46.
- BENNEWITZ, I./KASTEN, I. (eds.), *Geschlechterdiskurse und Körperbilder. Eine Bilanzierung nach Butler und Laqueur*, Münster 2002.
- BENTHIEN, C., *Haut – Literaturgeschichte, Körperbilder, Grenzdiskurse*, Reinbek 1999.
- BENTHIEN, C./FLEIG, A./KASTEN, I. (eds.), *Emotionalität. Zur Geschichte der Gefühle*, Köln/Weimar 2000.
- BETHKE, B., *Tagungsbericht: Das verborgene Wissen der Kulturgeschichte – Lebensformen, Körpertechniken, Alltagswissen* (Inge Baxmann Institut für Theaterwissenschaft, Universität Leipzig, 5.–7.11.2009), in: HUMANITIES – SOZIAL- UND KULTURGESCHICHTE (ed.), *Tagungsberichte*, url: <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=2868>.
- BIELEFELDER GRADUIERTENKOLLEG SOZIALGESCHICHTE (ed.), *Körper Macht Geschichte – Geschichte Macht Körper. Körpergeschichte als Sozialgeschichte*, Bielefeld 1994.
- BOURDIEU, P., *Meditations pascaliennes*, Paris 1997.
- BRÄUNLEIN, P.J., Zurück zu den Sachen, in: IDEM (ed.), *Religion und Museum. Zur visuellen Repräsentation von Religionen im öffentlichen Raum*, Bielefeld 2004, 7–53.
- , Bildakte. Religionswissenschaft im Dialog mit einer neuen Bildwissenschaft, in: B. LUCHESI/K. VON STUCKRAD (eds.), *Religion im kulturellen Diskurs*, Berlin/New York 2004, 195–231.
- , *Religionsgeschichte als Mediengeschichte. Eine Skizze*, Münchener Theologische Zeitung 55/4 (2004).
- , *Ikonische Repräsentation von Religion*, in: H.G. KIPPENBERG/J. RÜPKE/K. VON STUCKRAD (eds.), *Europäische Religionsgeschichte*, Göttingen 2009, 771–810.
- , *Image Transmission as Image Acts: Christian images, emotions and religious conversion in the philippines*, in: B. MERSMANN/A. SCHNEIDER (eds.): *Transmission Image: visual translation and cultural agency*, Cambridge 2009, 1137.
- , *Passion/Pasyon. Rituale des Schmerzes im europäischen und philippinischen Christentum*, Paderborn 2010.
- BROWN, P., *The Body and Society: men, women and sexual renunciation in early Christianity*, New York 1988.
- BUTLER, J., *Bodies that Matter: on the discursive limits of 'sex'*, London 1993.
- BYNUM, C.W., *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the significance of food to medieval women*, Berkeley u.a. 1987.
- , *Fragmentation and Redemption: essays on gender and the human body in medieval religion*, New York 1991.
- , *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity: 200–1336*, New York 1995.
- CANCIK, H./MOHR, H., *Religionsästhetik*, HrwG 1 (1988) 121–156.
- CHIDESTER, D., *Haptics of the Heart: the sense of touch in contemporary american religion*, *Culture and Religion* 1 (2000) 61–84.
- CLAM, J., *Lösung vom Status. Eine Indeterminationssoziologie des Körpers*, in: C. KOPPETSCH (ed.), *Körper und Status. Zur Soziologie der Attraktivität*, Konstanz 2000, 237–266.
- COAKLEY, S. (ed.), *Religion and the Body*, Cambridge 1997.
- COOTE, J./SHELTON, A. (eds.), *Anthropology, Art, and Aesthetics*, Oxford 1992.
- CSORDAS, T.J., *Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology*, *Ethos* 18 (1990) 5–47.
- , *Somatic Modes of Attention*, *Cultural Anthropology* 8 (1993) 135–156.
- , *Introduction: the body as representation and being-in-the-world*, in: IDEM (ed.) *Embodiment and Experience*, Cambridge 1994, 1–24.
- , *The Sacred Self: a cultural phenomenology of charismatic healing*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1994.

- , *The Body's Career in Anthropology*, in: H.L. MOORE (ed.), *Anthropological Theory Today*, Cambridge 1999, 172–205.
- , *Computerized Cadavers*, in: P.E. BRODWIN (ed.), *Biotechnology and Culture: bodies, anxieties, ethics*, Bloomington 2000, 173–192.
- , *Asymptote of the Ineffable: embodiment, alterity, and the theory of religion*, *Current Anthropology* 45/2 (2004) 163–185.
- DOUGLAS, M., *Purity and Danger: an analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*, London 1966.
- , *Natural Symbols: explorations in cosmology*, London 1973.
- , 'Do Dogs Laugh?': a cross cultural approach to body symbolism, in: T. POLHEMUS (ed.), *The Body Reader: social aspects of the human body*, New York (1978) 296–301.
- DUDEN, B., *Geschichte unter der Haut*, Stuttgart 1987.
- , *Geschlecht, Biologie, Körpergeschichte. Bemerkungen zu neuer Literatur in der Körpergeschichte*, *Feministische Studien* 9 (1991) 105–122.
- , *Der Frauenleib als öffentlicher Ort. Vom Missbrauch des Begriffs Leben*, München 1991.
- , *Das „System unter der Haut“*. Anmerkungen zum körpergeschichtlichen Bruch der 1990er Jahre, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 8 (1997) 260–291.
- EHRENSPECK, Y., *Aisthesis und Ästhetik. Überlegungen zu einer problematischen Entdifferenzierung*, in: K. MOLLENHAUER/C. WULFF (eds.), *Aisthesis/Ästhetik. Zwischen Wahrnehmung und Bewusstsein*, Weinheim 1996, 201–230.
- EISENSTADT, S.N., *Multiple Modernities*, in: IDEM (ed.), *Multiple Modernities*, New Brunswick 2002, 1–30.
- EITLER, P., *Körper – Kosmos – Kybernetik. Transformationen der Religion im „New Age“ (Westdeutschland 1970–1990)*, *Zeithistorische Forschungen* 4 (2007) url: <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/16126041-Eitler-2-2007>.
- EITLER, P./SCHEER, M., *Emotionengeschichte als Körpergeschichte. Eine heuristische Perspektive auf religiöse Konversionen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 35 (2009) 282–313.
- ELIAS, N., *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*. 2 Vols., Bern 1980.
- FEATHERSTONE, M. (ed.), *Body Modification*, London 2000.
- FEHER, M./NADDAFF, R./TAZI, N. (eds.), *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, 3 Vols., New York 1989.
- FISCHER-LICHTE, E., *Verkörperung/Embodiment. Zum Wandel einer alten theaterwissenschaftlichen in eine neue kulturwissenschaftliche Kategorie*, in: IDEM/C. HORN/M. WARSTAT (eds.), *Verkörperung*, Tübingen/Basel 2001, 11–25.
- FOUCAULT, M., *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*, London 1977.
- , *The History of Sexuality 3: the care of the self*, London 1990.
- FUNKEN, C., *Körper online?!*, in: K. HAHN/M. MEUSER (eds.), *Körperrepräsentationen in der Ordnung des Sozialen*, Konstanz 2002, 261–278.
- GEBAUER, G./WULFF, C., *Spiel, Ritual, Geste. Mimetisches Handeln in der sozialen Welt*, Reinbek 1998.
- GERNIG, K. (ed.), *Fremde Körper. Zur Konstruktion des Anderen in europäischen Diskursen*, Berlin 2001.
- GLADIGOW, B., *Europäische Religionsgeschichte*, in: H.G. KIPPENBERG/B. LUCHESI (eds.), *Lokale Religionsgeschichte*, Marburg 1995, 21–24.
- , *Europäische Religionsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, in: H.G. KIPPENBERG/J. RÜPKE/K. VON STUCKRAD (eds.), *Europäische Religionsgeschichte*, Göttingen 2009, 15–37.
- GOFFMAN, E., *Interaction Ritual: essays on face-to-face behaviour*, New York 1967.
- GRIVEL, C., *Der siderale Körper. Zum Prinzip der Kommunikation*, in: J. HÖRISCH/M. WETZEL (eds.), *Armaturen der Sinne. Literarische und technische Medien 1870 bis 1920*, München 1990, 177–199.
- GUMBRECHT, H.U., *Das Nicht-Hermeneutische. Skizze einer Genealogie*, in: J. HUBER/A.M. MÜLLER (eds.), *Die Wiederkehr des Anderen*, Basel/Frankfurt am Main 1996, 17–34.

- HADDEN, J.K./COWAN D.E. (eds.), *Religion on the Internet: research prospects and promises*, London 2000.
- HARAWAY, D., *Die Biopolitik postmoderner Körper. Konstitutionen des Selbst im Diskurs des Immunsystems*, in: IDEM, *Die Neuerfindung der Natur*, Frankfurt am Main/New York 1995, 160–199.
- HAYLES, N.K., *Fleisch und Metall. Rekonfiguration des Geistkörpers in virtuellen Umwelten*, in: J. HUBER (ed.), *Singularitäten – Allianzen*, Zürich 2002, 289–304.
- HIRSCHAUER, S., *Körper macht Wissen. Für eine Somatisierung des Wissensbegriffs.*, in: K.-S. REHBERG (ed.), *Die Natur der Gesellschaft 2*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, 974–984.
- HORNBACHER, A., *Zuschreibung und Befremden: postmoderne Repräsentationskrise und verkörper-tes Wissen im balinesischen Tanz*, Berlin 2005.
- HOWES, D. (ed.), *The Varieties of Sensory Experience: a sourcebook in the anthropology of the senses*, Toronto 1991.
- JOHNSON, P.C., *Models of "The Body" in the Ethnographic Field: garifuna and candomble case studies, Method and Theory in the Study of Religion 14 (2002) 170–195.*
- JÜTTE, R., *Geschichte der Sinne. Von der Antike bis zum Cyberspace*, München 2000.
- KAMPER, D./WULFF, C. (eds.), *Die Wiederkehr des Körpers*, Frankfurt am Main 1982.
- KEIFENHEIM, B., *Wege der Sinne. Wahrnehmung und Kunst bei den Kashinawa-Indianern Amazo-niens*, Frankfurt am Main 2000.
- KELLER, R./MEUSER, M. (eds.), *Körperwissen*, Wiesbaden 2011.
- KIPPENBERG, H.G./RÜPKE, J./STUCKRAD, K.V. (eds.), *Europäische Religionsgeschichte. Ein mehr-facher Pluralismus. 2 Vols.*, Göttingen 2009.
- KIPPENBERG, H.G./STUCKRAD, K./HJELM, T. (eds.), *Journal of Religion in Europe*, Bosten/Leiden 2008ff.
- KOCH, A., *Aspekte einer religiösen Codierung moderner Ernährung. Analyse von ayurvedischen Koch- und Ernährungsbüchern*, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 58 (2005) 243–264.*
- , *Körper, Wörterbuch der Religionen*, Stuttgart 2006, 984–986.
- , *Körperwissen: diskursives Ereignis oder deskriptive Kategorie?*, in: O. KRÜGER/N. WEIBEL (eds.), *Die Körper der Religionen – les corps des religions (CULTuREL 4)*, Zürich 2012.
- KOPPETSCH, C. (ed.), *Körper und Status. Zur Soziologie der Attraktivität*, Konstanz 2000.
- KÖPPING, K.P., *Person*, *HrwG 4 (1998)*, 312–321.
- KÜSTERS, U., *Zeichen auf der Haut in der religiösen Kultur des Mittelalters*, in: G. KRAUSE (ed.), *Literalität und Körperlichkeit*, Tübingen 1997, 47–53.
- LABOUVIE, E., *Leiblichkeit und Emotionalität: Zur Kulturwissenschaft des Körpers und der Gefühle*, *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften 3 (2004) 79–91.*
- LAFFLEUR, W.R., *Body*, in: M.C. TAYLOR (ed.), *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, Chicago 1998, 36–54.
- LAW, J.M. (ed.), *Religious Reflections on the Human Body*, Bloomington/Indianapolis 1995.
- LIST, E., *Vom Enigma des Leibes zum Simulakrum der Maschine. Das Verschwinden des Lebendigen aus der telematischen Kultur*, in: IDEM/E. FIALA (ed.), *Leib – Maschine – Bild. Körperdis-kurse der Moderne und Postmoderne*, Wien 1997, 121–137.
- LOCK, M./SCHEPER-HUGHES, N., *The Mindful Body: a prolegomenon to future work in medical anthropology*, *Medical Anthropology Quarterly 1/1 (1987) 6–41.*
- MAUSS, M., *Les techniques du corps (1935)*, in: IDEM, *Sociologie et Anthropologie*, Paris 1950.
- MEAD, G.H., *The Social Self*, *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods 10 (1913) 374–380.*
- MERLEAU-PONTY, M.: *Phenomenology of Perception*, translated by C. Smith, revised by F. Williams, New York/London 1981.
- , *Préface*, in: IDEM, *Signes*, Paris 1993.
- , *Das Auge und der Geist. Philosophische Essays*, Hamburg 2003.
- MEYER-ABICH, K.M., *Was es bedeutet, gesund zu sein. Philosophie der Medizin*, München 2010.

- MITCHELL, W.J.T./HANSEN, M.B.N. (eds.), *The Introduction to Critical Terms for Media Studies*, in: IDEM, *Critical Terms for Media Studies*, Chicago 2010, 7–22.
- MOHR, H., *Wahrnehmung/Sinnessystem*, Metzler Lexikon Religion 3 (2000) 620–633.
- , *Kultischer Reizausschluss*, in: S. LANWERD (ed.), *Der Kanon und die Sinne. Religionsästhetik als akademische Disziplin*, Luxembourg 2003, 47–67.
- , *Religion in Bewegung. Religionsästhetische Überlegung zur Aktivierung und Nutzung menschlicher Motorik*, *Münchener Theologische Zeitung* 55 (2004) 310–324.
- , *Religionsästhetik*, in: C. AUFFARTH/H.G. KIPPENBERG/A. MICHAELS (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Religionen*, Stuttgart 2006, 431–433.
- , *Wahrnehmung 2. Bedeutung in den Religionen*, in: C. AUFFARTH/H.G. KIPPENBERG/A. MICHAELS (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Religionen*, Stuttgart 2006, 562f.
- , *Reflections on “Museality” as a Critical Term in the Aesthetics of Religion*, *Journal of Religion in Europe* 4 (2011) 14–39.
- MUSEUM DER WELTKULTUREN (ed.), *Traditionelle und moderne Medizin*, *Journal Ethnologie*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, url: http://www.journal-ethnologie.de/Deutsch/Schwerpunktthemen/Schwerpunktthemen_2004/Traditionelle_und_moderne_Medizin/index.phtml.
- NEDELDMANN, B., *Gewaltsoziologie am Scheideweg. Die Auseinandersetzung in der gegenwärtigen und Wege der künftige Gewaltforschung*, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 37 (1997) 59–85.
- NEUGEBAUER-WÖLK, M., *Zur Konstituierung historischer Religionsforschung 1974 bis 2004*, in: IDEM (ed.), *Religionsgeschichte der Neuzeit. Profile und Perspektiven, zeitenblicke* 5.1 (2006), url: <http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2006/1/>.
- ORLAND, B. (ed.), *Artifizielle Körper – lebendige Technik. Technische Modellierungen des Körpers in historischer Perspektive*, Zürich 2005.
- PINNEY, C., *‘Photos of the God’: the printed image and political struggle in india*, London 2004.
- PRUSSAT, M., *Bilder der Sklaverei. Fotografien der afrikanischen Diaspora in Brasilien 1860–1920*, Berlin 2008.
- RIESEBRODT, M., *Überlegungen zur Legitimität eines universalen Religionsbegriffs*, in: B. LUCHESI/K. VON STUCKRAD (eds.), *Religion im kulturellen Diskurs*, Berlin/New York 2004, 127–149.
- SAAKE, I./VOGD, W. (eds.), *Moderne Mythen der Medizin. Studien zu Problemen der organisierten Medizin*, Wiesbaden 2008.
- SCARRY, E., *The Body in Pain: the making and unmaking of the world*, New York 1985.
- SCHNÄBELE, V., *Yoga in Modern Society*, Hamburg 2010.
- SHELTON, A., *Book Review: E. EDWARDS/C. GOSDEN/R. PHILLIPS (eds.), Material and Sensual Culture: sensible objects: colonialism, museums, and material culture*, *The Senses & Society* 4/1 (2009) 107–109.
- SHUSTERMAN, R., *Pragmatist Aesthetics: living beauty, rethinking art*, Oxford 2000.
- SIEBENPFEIFFER, H., *Körper*, in: C. KAMMLER (ed.), *Foucault-Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, Stuttgart 2008, 266–272.
- SINGLETON, M., *Salvation through Relaxation: proprioceptive therapy and its relationship to yoga*, *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 20/3 (2005) 289–304.
- SPYER, P., *The Body, Materiality and the Senses*, in: C. TILLEY et al. (ed.), *Handbook of Material Culture*, London 2006, 125–129.
- STAROBINSKI, J., *A Short History of Body Consciousness*, *Humanities in Review* 1 (1982) 22–39.
- STOLLER, P., *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: the senses in anthropology*, Pennsylvania 1989.
- STOLZ, F., *Hierarchien der Darstellungsebenen religiöser Botschaft*, in: H. ZINSER (ed.), *Religionswissenschaft. Eine Einführung*, Berlin 1988, 55–72.
- , *Effekt und Kommunikation. Handlung im Verhältnis zu anderen Kodierungsformen von Religion*, in: H. TYRELL/V. KRECH/H. KNOBLAUCH (eds.), *Religion als Kommunikation*, Würzburg 1989, 301–322.
- , *Vergleich von Produkten und Produktionsregeln religiöser Kommunikation*, in: H.J. KLIMKEIT (ed.), *Vergleichen und Verstehen in der Religionswissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1997, 37–51.

- VON STUCKRAD, K., Naturwissenschaft und Religion. Interferenzen und diskursive Transfers, in: IDEM/H.G. KIPPENBERG/J. RÜPKE (eds.), Europäische Religionsgeschichte, Göttingen (2009) 441–467.
- STRERI, A., Seeing, Reaching, Touching: the relations between vision and touch in infancy, New York 1993.
- SULLIVAN, L.E. (ed.), Healing and Restoring: health and medicine in the world's religious traditions, New York/London 1989.
- TANNER, J., Körpererfahrung, Schmerz und die Konstruktion des Kulturellen, Historische Anthropologie 2/3 (1994) 489–502.
- TAYLOR, C., Leibliches Handeln, in: A. MÉTRAUX/B. WALDENFELS (eds.), Leibhaftige Vernunft, München 1986, 194–217.
- TOPITSCH, R., Schriften des Körpers. Zur Ästhetik von halluzinatorischen Texten und Bildern der Art Brut, der Avantgarde und der Mystik, Bielefeld 2002.
- TÜRCKE, C., 'Erregte Gesellschaft'. Philosophie der Sensationen, München 2002.
- TURNER, B.S., Regulating Bodies: essays in medical sociology, London/New York 1992.
- UEHLINGER, C., Visible Religion und die Sichtbarkeit von Religion(en). Voraussetzungen, Anknüpfungsprobleme, Wiederaufnahme eines religionswissenschaftlichen Forschungsprogramms, Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift 23/2 (2006) 165–184.
- VILLA, P.-I., Körper, in: N. BAUR et al. (eds.), Handbuch Soziologie, Wiesbaden (2008) 201–217.
- WAGNER, M., Nähte am Puppenkörper. Der mediale Blick und die Körperentwürfe des Theaters, Bielefeld 2003.
- WILSON, M., "Six Views of Embodied Cognition", Psychonomic Bulletin & Review 9 (2002) 625–636.