Franziska Metzger / Stefan Tertünte (eds.)

Sacred Heart Devotion

Memory, Body, Image, Text – Continuities and Discontinuities



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BÖHLAU VERLAG WIEN KÖLN WEIMAR

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Franziska Metzger / Stefan Tertünte

Devotion and Memory

Trans-Disciplinary Approaches to the Sacred Heart

The complex relationship between religion and memory and specifically between devotion and memory can be conceptualised as a central dimension of religious communication. Mechanisms of memory fundamentally shape, stabilise and transform religious language and ritual practices, form religious communities and play a role in situating these communities in society.

A focus on memory is particularly suited for innovative trans-disciplinary approaches to Sacred Heart devotion. The present volume combines memory studies and cultural history of religion, theology and history of art in the analysis of iconography, devotional discourses and ritual practices. Images, narratives and ritual practices of the Sacred Heart both create spaces of memory and are linguistically and iconographically shaped and ritually produced and used spaces of memory. The subject matter and the trans-disciplinary approach of the volume support a perspective of *longue durée* from the Middle Ages to the present that increases analytical depth, allowing a systematic investigation of textures of memory, of the stabilisation and transformation of codes and their interrelation.

Shifts in Perspective

The approach underlying the contributions of this volume is based on a post-structuralist constructivist perspective on memory as it has significantly been developed by social and cultural, especially literary studies with a focus on the deep-structures and mechanisms of memory construction.[1] With regard to the historical dimension, the contributions pursue a self-reflexive cultural historical perspective – in line with a second cultural historical shift[2] – on religion as a system of meaning production,

1 See among others: Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume*; Erll and Nünning (eds.), *Medien des kollektiven Gedächtnisses*; Erll, "Travelling Memory"; Langenbacher, Niven and Wittlinger (eds.), *Dynamics of Memory and Identity in Contemporary Europe*; De Cesari and Rigney (eds.), *Transnational Memory. Circulation, Articulation, Scales*; Sierp, *History, Memory, and Trans-European Identity*; Oesterle (ed.), *Erinnerung, Gedächtnis, Wissen*; Metzger and Daphinoff (eds.). *Ausdehnung der Zeit*.

2 Paradigmatically for this second cultural historical transformation: Graf and Große Kracht (eds.), *Re-*

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that is on linguistic, visual and ritual communication. This approach deconstructs dichotomies with regard to image and text, body and mind, spirituality and theology. It converges therein with the sociological and cultural scientific approaches of the contributions by religious scientists and art historians as well as with those of the systematic theological contributions. The interrelation of these approaches substantially underscores the innovative character of the volume.

In the last few years, religious and Church history has participated in research on memory mainly with regard to the relationship between religion and nationalism[3], i.e. the construction of religious and national identities and their often conflictive relation in 19th and 20th-century Europe, with a special focus on Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, France, and Belgium. Whereas the history of historiography has been investigated in a number of projects related to religion and nation building[4], other modes of memory construction in the religious context such as monuments and sacral lieu have comparatively rarely been the object of religious historical analysis[5]. The deep structures of the construction of memory in texts, images and rites, modes of mythicisation of saints and other figures, of places and spaces, that is the dynamics of their communicative construction, promulgation and transformation have rarely been focused on by religious history, religious studies and theology so far.[6]

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ligion und Gesellschaft; Hölscher (ed.), *Baupläne der sichtbaren Kirche*; Altermatt, *Konfession, Nation, Rom*; Damberg (ed.), *Soziale Strukturen und Semantiken des Religiösen im Wandel*; Hellemans, "Die Transformation der Religion und der Grosskirchen in der zweiten Moderne"; Altermatt, "Ambivalences of Catholic Modernisation"; Ruff, "The Postmodern Challenge to the Secularization thesis: a Critical Assessment".

3 See especially the contributions in: Haupt and Langewiesche (eds.), *Nation und Religion in Europa;* Altermatt and Metzger (eds.), *Religion und Nation*; Geyer and Lehmann (eds.), *Religion und Nation*; van der Veer and Lehmann (eds.), *Nation and Religion*.

4 See especially the contributions in: Otto, Rau and Rüpke (eds.), *Historiography and religion*; Berger and Lorenz Chris (eds), *The Contested Nation;* Armborst-Weihs and Wiehl (eds.), *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein zwischen religiöser und konfessioneller Toleranz und Identitätsfindung.*

5 See *Devotion and Memory. Contemporary Church History*. Ed. Metzger and Strübind; Markschies and Wolf (eds.), *Erinnerungsorte des Christentums*; Meier and Schneider (eds.), *Erinnerungsorte – Erinnerungsbrüche*; Di Stefano and Ramón Solans (eds.), *Marian Devotions*.

6 See Metzger, "Devotion and Memory" and other contributions in *Devotion and Memory. Contemporary Church History*. Ed. Metzger and Strübind. This research gap can be detected beyond the religious field. Especially literary studies have given interesting impulses. See among others: Vietta and Uerlings (eds.), *Moderne und Mythos*; Ghervas and Rosset (eds.), *Lieux d'Europe. Mythes et limites*; Cruz and Frijhoff (eds.), *Myth in History, History in Myth*; Krüger and Stillmark (eds.), *Mythos und Kulturtransfer*; Metzger/Daphinoff (eds.), *Ausdehnung der Zeit*. Interesting lines of interpretation regarding the visual, material and spatial dimension of memory production and mediation have been presented by the project "EuroVision – Museums Exhibiting Europe" (EMEE) (Popp, Schumann et al. (eds.), *The EU Project 'Museums Exhibiting Europe' [EMEE])*.

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The history of devotion in general and of Sacred Heart devotion in particular has been part of the first cultural historical shift in religious and Church history since the late 1980s. Like social historical approaches a decade earlier, this research was significantly influenced by modernisation theory[7] and – directly linked to the latter – by a functionalist approach with a focus on questions regarding the function of certain rites, symbols and religious practices in the social and political field.[8] In contrast, in the vein of the second cultural historical shift since the late 1990s, according to which in a perspective of second order observation semantics, discourse, and the staging of identity are brought to the fore, leading to a more complex vision of religion and modernity, devotion has less often been dealt with. This has not least to do with the strong social historical research of the previous period. Innovative approaches have been introduced in the last few years by sociologically and anthropologically oriented religious studies which, also regarding Sacred Heart devotion, have focused on trans-cultural and trans-temporal dimensions of symbolical and ritual practices.[9] For other devotions, research in gender and religion[10] and a recent attention for religious objects and materiality of religion[11] has brought to the fore interesting results and conceptual reflections.

7 See among others the following influential publications: Gabriel and Kaufmann (eds.), *Zur Soziologie des Katholizismus*; Altermatt, *Katholizismus und Moderne*; Hervieu-Léger, "Religion and Modernity in the French Context"; Schieder (ed.), *Religion und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*. On this thread of research and the two cultural historical shifts see: Franziska, "Religion und Geschichte. Transformationen einer Verhältnisgeschichte".

8 See especially Busch, "Frömmigkeit als Faktor des katholischen Milieus"; id., *Katholische Frömmigkeit und Moderne*; Jonas, *France and the Cult of Sacred Heart*; Menozzi, *Sacro Cuore*; Moore, *Herz-Jesu-Verehrung in Deutschland*; Schlager, *Kult und Krieg*; Blaschke and Kuhlemann (eds.), *Religion im Kaiserreich. Milieus – Mentalitäten – Krisen*; Blaschke (ed.), *Konfessionen im Konflikt*; Altermatt, *Katholizismus und Moderne;* Olenhusen, "Feminisierung von Religion und Kirche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert".

9 See for example: Morgan, "Rhetoric of the Heart"; id., *Sacred Heart of Jesus*; Zanchi, *Le migrazioni del cuore*; Woets, "Engaging with the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Catholic Ghana".

10 See for example: Pahud de Mortanges, "'Be a somebody with a body'"; Werner, "Liturgie und Männlichkeit in der katholischen Mission in Skandinavien".

11 See with trans-disiplinary approaches: Houtman and Meyer (eds.), *Things. Religion and the question of materiality*; Laube, *Von der Reliquie zum Ding*; Morgan, *Images at Work*; Didi-Huberman, *L'image ouverte*; Neri, *Gesù affetti e corporeità di Dio*; Hamburger and Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*; Reeve, "Material religion, education, and museums: Introduction"; Nightingale and Greene, "Religion and material culture"; Buggeln, "Museum space and the experience of the sacred"; Laube, "Umgebung und Konversion"; Czerny, "Orte für Kunst als Sakraräume – Sakralräume als Orte der Kunst"; Macho, *Das zeremonielle Tier*; Hopkins and Wyke (eds.), *Roman Bodies*.

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The dimension of memory has not been included and reflected systematically in this field so far. It is therefore especially promising to look at devotional practices, narratives, images, the creation and use of spaces and objects, including bodies – sacralised bodies as well as bodies of agents of religious practices –, in a trans-disciplinary approach.

A Focus on Entanglements, Variations and Transfers

The concept of the volume grounds on the fundamental thesis that memory of the Sacred Heart was/is created trough linguistic and iconographic codes, through ritual and ritualised practices, and through narratives, and that Sacred Heart devotion is modelled as space of memory.[12] The central foci of research underlying the individual contributions are based on this thesis according to which various types of memory can be distinguished that are closely intertwined: iconographic codes, ritual practices and narratives. They analyse the multi-layered textures of memory creating images, rites and narratives of memory, their variations, transformations and usage in different fields: in popular devotional practices, in pastoral care, in theological reflection and spiritual discourse, in art, religious objects, public transmission through diverse media (including the internet). They explore different local, regional and national contexts, also beyond the Catholic community, in different times and over longer periods. The important dimension of transformations includes variations of radical deconstruction, whose decoding, however, depends on the knowledge of the respective codes.

The entanglement of the three modes and the notion of textures of memory is conceptually delineated in the contributions of the first part by *Franziska Metzger* (Lucerne), *Marcello Neri* (Modena) and *Elke Pahud de Mortanges* (Freiburg i. Br./Fribourg) and in the third part by *Nicolas Steeves* (Rome). The entanglements and textures of memory are analysed in a number of the historical contributions of the second part. *Pietro Antonio Viola* (Trento) demonstrates with a focus on 16th and 17th-century northern Italy how images and their ritualised staging trigger narratives, how they activate narrative memory. Conversely, *David Morgan* (Durham, USA) shows how, in the same period, discourses of the Sacred Heart were visually activated, and *Daniel Sidler* (Basel) delineates how the iconographic, ritual and narrative

12 See conceptually Marcello Neri's and Franziska Metzger's contributions in this volume. See also: Metzger, "Memory of the Sacred Heart – Iconographic and Ritual Variations"; Metzger, "Erinnerungsräume".

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dimension of memory had a forceful effect in the devotional and memorial "centring" that he analyses for 18th-century Switzerland. The three authors also look at contestations and shifts in meaning that produced differing spaces of memory.

In order to systematically access the functioning of Sacred Heart memory, ritual, symbolic and narrative patterns, iconographic strategies, modes of theological imagination and ritual staging are centred on: the functioning of the Sacred Heart as icon, symbol, ritual object, as producer of practices, as texture of ritual practices and discourses and its effect on the institutionalisation of communities and narrative mediation, or in *Sven Baier* and *Damian Troxler*'s words the "power of the metaphor". Mechanisms such as detemporalisation, the creation of presence, of immediacy and tangibility of the transcendent "other", i.e. the enactment of eternity, the visualisation of the invisible, of sacred and of sacralised spaces are brought to the fore.

All three modes of memory, but especially the analysis of iconography and ritual staging, revaluate the dimension of the body. Bodies as spaces of memory are present throughout the volume and systematically conceptualised by *Elke Pahud de Mortanges* and *José Tolentino de Mendonça* (Rome), linking anthropological and theoretical reflections on pluri-fold embodiment – of Christ, the individual believer and devotional communities – and on the human senses that produce, store and embody layers of memory. As *Elke Pahud de Mortanges* points out, the dimension of embodiment helps to conceptualise religious memory.

The in-depth focus on the functioning of the memory of the Sacred Heart turns the analytical attention especially to the complex dynamics of *transfers, variations, adaptations and transformations* (diachronical and synchronical), as it is especially given to transformations in semantics, iconography and discourses. Changes in image and meaning, in the relation of emblem and metaphor, in the narrative moulding and implementation, to name just a number of modes of variation, adaptation, transformation, are analysed with a focus on devotional imagery and art, rites, theological, intellectual and pastoral discourse and spiritual exploration up to present-day popular culture. *Denis Pelletier* (Paris) and *Paul Airiau* (Paris), *Stefan Laube* (Berlin), *Fransiskus Purwanto* (Yogyakarta) and *Sven Baier* (Lucerne) and *Damian Troxler* (Lucerne) are focusing on these dimensions. *Denis Pelletier* analyses the "revisiting" of the memory of the devotion to the Sacred Heart in the 1950 edition of *Les Études carmélitaines* dedicated to *Le Cœur*, making use of history and human sciences in order to "take charge of a common memory" in a time of perceived religious crisis. In his contribution, *Paul Airiau* centres on Maxime Charles' (Rector of the Basilica of the Sacred Heart of Montmartre between 1959 and 1985) re-reading and liturgical re-formulation of cordial devotion and their effect on Charles' standing in French Catholicism. *Sven Baier* and *Damian Troxler* analyse instances of new modes of spirituality,

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for example the "spiritualisation of commodities" in contemporary popular culture, particularly football. *Fransiskus Purwanto* shows how multi-layered structures of Sacred Heart memory in Indonesia are the result of entangled cultures of memory, of cultural transfers from European conceptions and practices and their remodelling in the 20th century and in the present by integrating various rites of Indonesian popular culture. *Stefan Laube* analyses entanglements of (Sacred) Heart symbolism with other visual and narrative codes, and with a variety of fields of knowledge and religion in the intersecting fields of Catholic and Protestant theology, alchemy and philosophy. He demonstrates the fluctuation of iconographic memory between stability and polyvalence, both within a respective community or intellectual discourse and beyond in relation to others.

A line of continuation can be drawn from the contributions on the history of the Sacred Heart in the last few decades to the theological contributions that represent theoretical and practical actualisations of the Sacred Heart. *Nicolas Steeves* focuses on the concept of imagination as based on layers of memory, linking text and image in the formation of "images that surpass reality" (Bachelard) and *José Tolentino de Mendonça* on the sensual and emotional dimension of the heart and their relevance in the production of memory. *John van den Hengel* (Ottawa) reflects on a "refiguration of the memory of Sacred Heart Devotion into a Theology" forming agency and spirituality based on an actualisation of memory. *Sven Baier* and *Damian Troxler* present another mode of actualisation in their didactic reflections on cultural memory of religion as a field in history teaching.

Different *effects, modes of usage and functionalisation* of Sacred Heart devotion become apparent throughout and could be systematised according to the following types. a) Sacred Heart devotion contributed to the devotional community of believers – individuals and communities – with Christ. The spiritualisation of communities was guided by codes of seeing, interpreting and by devotional practices, as it was discursively fostered by various agents in different times. b) The creation of narratives of memory of the devotion can especially be found in religious communities – the Jesuits and Eudists in particular, as *Pietro Antonio Viola*, *David Morgan*, *Daniel Sidler* and *Stefan Laube* show – with the objective of creating a dominant iconographic and discursive variation and marking a dominant narrative of memory of Sacred Heart devotion. c) To evade too simplistically functionalist interpretations, politicisation – in the broad sense of the term as public usage and staging in the public sphere[13] – is

13 For this concept of politicisation of religion see a number of contributions in: Luginbühl, Metzger et al. (eds.), *Religiöse Grenzziehungen im öffentlichen Raum*; Altermatt and Metzger, *Religion und Nation*. See also: Neuhold, *Mission und Kirche, Geld und Nation.*

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conceptualised as a complex mechanism that relates not only to the public sphere and to the position of Catholic communities in society and in relation to political opponents, but also to inner-Catholic lines of conflict and contestation, a dimension that has been largely neglected by research so far. Both dimensions are particularly relevant in *Daniel Sidler*'s analysis of processes of devotional and memorial centring and in *Paul Airiau*'s study of Maxime Charles' reforming of memory in Sacré Cœur du Montmartre.

Deconstruction of Binaries and a Long-Term Perspective

A constructivist perspective focusing, as delineated, on the functioning of linguistic, visual, narrative formations, variations and transformations as well as on specific uses of the Sacred Heart enables us to *deconstruct binaries,* to point at the close relationship between language and image, of (theological) discourse and practice/experience, of body and mind, emotion and ratio (emotionality and rationality), materiality and spirituality/imagination, internalisation and externalisation, private and public, experience and memory. This deconstruction of binaries and the *address of ambivalences* moves the perspective from identity to diversity, pluralism and complexity. The supposed dichotomies are not least entangled through memory, or in other words: the approach focusing on memory makes it possible to deconstruct these dichotomies in the concrete instances of Sacred Heart devotion as well as epistemically in the various disciplines and through the exchange between the disciplines producing a productive "déplacement" or "alienation" suitable for the shifts in perspective delineated.

The approaches presented above are supported by a *long-term perspective* that is also responsible for the choice of temporal and regional foci of the historical contributions in the second and partially also in the third part of the volume. Conceptually, this long-term perspective is based on a double vision: a longitudinal focus on long continuities and subtle variations and adaptations on the one hand, and an in-depth focus on shorter time spans of perceived complex transformations, alterations in codes, functioning and usage on the other. Regarding the latter, periods of perceived crisis, of societal and individual liminality[14], as times of redefinition and transformation of the devotional sphere in general and of Sacred Heart devotion in

14 On liminality and memory see: Thomassen and Forlenza, "Liminality and Experience"; Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern*, pp. 90–92. See also on crisis and memory: Nünning, "Making Crises and Catastrophes"; Koselleck, "Einige Fragen an die Begriffsgeschichte von Krise".

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particular – "Sattelzeiten"[15] – are of special interest. Therefore, the 16th and 17th centuries *(Pietro Antonio Viola, David Morgan, Marcello Neri* and *Stefan Laube)* and the second half of the 18th century *(Daniel Sidler)* are especially analysed and interpreted as periods of openness and plurality, of ambivalences and fluctuation on the one hand, of closure, hierarchisation and exclusion of/from memory on the other *(Marcello Neri)*. Regarding the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century *(John van den Hengel* and *Marcello Neri)* the positioning of Catholics in radically changed social and political circumstances, in which a "new" public presence of religion had to be sought[16], as well as ecclesiastical centring – ultramontanisation – are emphasised. In the mid-20th century a new religious language had to be found against the background of a perceived crisis of religious communication, as the Jesuit philosopher and anthropologist Michel de Certeau realised: "It is henceforth impossible, in Western Europe, to cogitate on the problems of our time in the language of religious knowledge."[17] This perception by theologians and other Catholic intellectuals is an expression of complex religious transformations which pertained not only to theological thinking but also to new approaches to rites and symbols, to transformations of devotional memory as *Denis Pelletier* and *Paul Airiau* show in their contributions.

The present volume originates in the trans-disciplinary conference "Sacred Heart Devotion. Memory – Body – Image – Text: Continuities and Discontinuities" that the editors organised at the Centro Studi Dehoniani in Rome on 8 and 9 November 2020. The project benefitted particularly from the stimulating discussions in the trans-disciplinary and international context of the conference. The publication aims at generating and structuring innovative insights not least through its highly trans-disciplinary perspective and its conceptual and methodological reflections.

This publication would not have been possible without the support of a number of persons and institutions. We thank Sharon Casu for the translations of Paul Airiau's, Denis Pelletier's, Pietro Antonio Viola's, José Tolentino de Mendonça's and Fransiskus Purwanto's contributions and for the editing of all articles, and John van den Hengel

15 Reinhard Koselleck's terminology. See Koselleck, "'Erfahrungsraum' und 'Erwartungshorizont' – zwei historische Kategorien"; Motzkin, "Über den Begriff der geschichtlichen (Dis-)Kontinuität"; Jörn Leonhard, Erfahrungsgeschichten der Moderne.

16 On the public dimension of religion see especially: Graf and Große Kracht (eds.), *Religion und Gesellschaft*.

17 "Il est désormais impossible à l'Europe occidentale de penser les problèmes de notre temps dans les termes d'un savoir religieux." (de Certeau, *La faiblesse de croire*, p. 209, translation by the authors.) See also Michel de Certeau: "A mesure qu'un vocabulaire de la prière, des lois morales, des formules dogmatiques semble s'effriter entre leurs mains (des théologiens, F.M./S.T.) comme une poussière du passé, il ne leur reste, pour dire ce qu'ils sont, que le langage des autres et la protestation ou la confession d'une solidarité humaine." (de Certeau, *L'étranger ou l'union dans la différence*, p. 132.)

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1 MEMORY, BODY AND DEVOTION: CONCEPTUAL REFLECTIONS FOR A TRANS-DISCIPLINARY APPROACH

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Franziska Metzger

Memory of the Sacred Heart

Linguistic, Iconographic and Ritual Dimensions



Fig. 1: Blazing Sacred Heart with chalice and host, procession banner, Tirol, around 1800, public domain.



Fig. 2: Devotional image of the Sacred Heart, late 19th century, public domain.

The two images of the Sacred Heart, a procession banner from Tirol dated around 1800 and a devotional image from the late 19th century, both used as ritual objects, offer themselves for an analysis with regard to the dimension of memory (see fig. 1 and 2). Serial iconographic reproduction in a long-term perspective, ritualisation, materiality and sensual tangibility, which the two objects and the history of their usage demonstrate, are central mechanisms of religious memory.[1] Iconography and – closely linked to it – practices of seeing and of demonstrating, in fig. 1 and 2 by angels and by Christ himself, and in fig. 1 even in a double way inasmuch as the banner

1 On religious memory see by the author of this contribution: Metzger, "Das Gedächtnis der Religion"; id., "Devotion and Memory". On Sacred Heart devotion: Metzger, "Memory of the Sacred Heart".

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itself was presented as an object in a procession, are central modes in the practice of devotional memory.[2] Moreover, the two examples represent the close entanglement of the visual, ritual and narrative dimensions of memory. Against the background of a threefold understanding of the relation of religion and memory, which I will introduce at the beginning of my essay, the focus will be on the iconographic, ritual and narrative dimensions of the Sacred Heart. I thereby combine a long-term perspective on continuities with one on discontinuities and ruptures of codes with a special focus on art.

Modes of Religious Memory

My conceptual reflections build on the thesis that the complex relation of religion and memory is an essential mechanism of religious communication. Mechanisms of memory are central for the modelling and stabilisation of religious language, of ritual practices and of the formation and fostering of religious communities. I conceptualise religion as a system of meaning production, that is of discourses – semantics, images, and narratives – and ritual practices which can be understood as religious communication.[3] In accordance with constructivist, poststructuralist approaches in memory studies, I conceptualise memory as space of selection, not unlike Jacques Derrida's or Michel Foucault's notion of 'archive' and approaches by representatives of systems theory.[4] Memory as space of selection is regarded as fundamentally the result of processes of construction and not as something 'neutral' and 'given'. Selected parts of memory are used and modelled by different modes of memory construction and transmission: images, monuments, architecture, symbolic and ritual practices (religious as well as non-religious), historiography, education, and various types of media. The focus of this approach lies on the dynamics of memory, on the complex texture of codes and modes of interpretation, of ritual and narrative use, of reiteration, adoption and transmission as well as of – more or less fundamental and radical – transforma-

2 See in a perspective of religious studies and history of art: Morgan, "Rhetoric of the Heart".

3 See for a comparable approach among others: Graf, *Die Wiederkehr der Götter*; id./Große Kracht (eds.), *Religion und Gesellschaft*; Hölscher (ed.), *Baupläne der sichtbaren Kirche*; Altermatt, *Konfession, Nation, Rom*; Damberg (ed.), *Soziale Strukturen und Semantiken des Religiösen im Wandel*.

4 See Derrida, *Mal d'Archive*; Foucault, *L'Archéologie du savoir*. See also: Luhmann, *Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*; Esposito, *Soziales Vergessen*; Csáky, "Die Mehrdeutigkeit von Gedächtnis und Erinnerung". – My approach is more constructivist than conceptions which differentiate between memory as storage and functional memory, "Speicher-" and "Funktionsgedächtnis" (see Assmann, "Funktionsgedächtnis und Speichergedächtnis").

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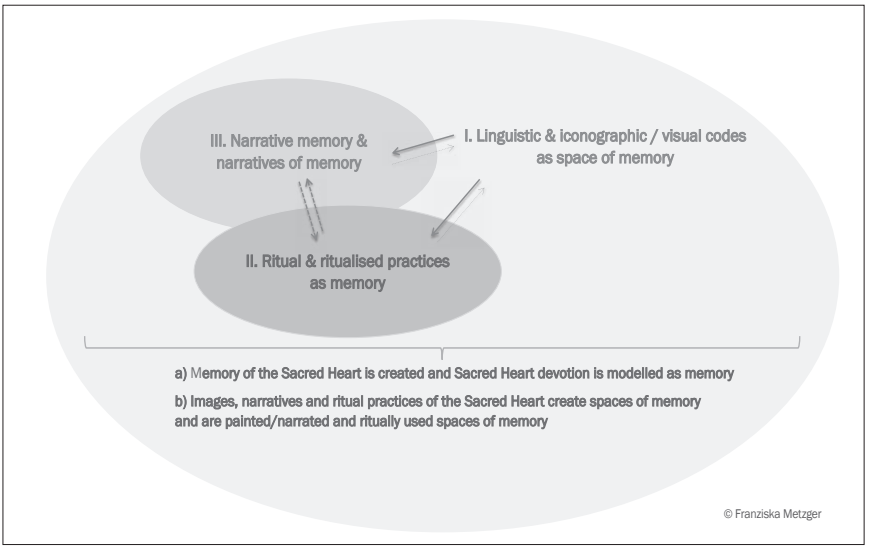


Fig. 3: Modes of religious memory I, © Franziska Metzger.

tion.[5] Transformations, reconfigurations to the point of deconstruction, but also interaction, conflictive and competing relations between different agents as communities of memory, not least in a long-term perspective, counteract more static conceptions of social or cultural memory and monolithic, potentially essentialising perspectives.[6]

Based on my previous research and conceptualisation in the field of memory and religion,[7] I define three modes of religious memory which are to be seen in an entangled relationship: I. linguistic and iconographic/visual codes as space of memory, the decoding of which enables the understanding of discourses and marks ways of seeing, II. ritual and ritualised practices as memory, and III. narrative memory, that is the construction of memory through narratives, and more specifically narratives of memory (see fig. 3). In a communication theoretical approach linking semiotic and

5 For the concept of textures of memory see Metzger, "Apokalyptische Diskurse als Gedächtnis- und Erwartungsräume".

6 See for this perspective focusing on dynamics of memory: Daphinoff/Metzger, "Einleitung". See for similar postulates in recent transdisciplinary memory research: Olick, "From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products"; Carrier/Kabalek, "Cultural Memory and Transcultural Memory – a Conceptual Analysis"; Feindt et al., "Entangled Memory"; Langenbacher/Niven/Wittlinger (eds.), *Dynamics of Memory and Identity*; Erll, "Media and the Dynamics of Memory"; id., "Travelling Memory".

7 See especially Metzger, "Devotion and Memory".

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discourse analytical methodology, I regard discourses – based on and creating semantics, iconography and narratives – and ritual and ritualised practices as intrinsically intertwined in complex modes. This approach therefore deconstructs dichotomous notions of discourse vs. practice, language vs. image, rites vs. language, language vs. emotion. In and through all three modes – but especially through the first two, as will be shown – memory of the Sacred Heart is created, and Sacred Heart devotion is modelled as memory. All three modes form spaces of memory as textures of memory that are used, reproduced and (radically) transformed by different agents and communities. Images, narratives and ritual practices of the Sacred Heart both create spaces of memory and are created – painted, narrated – and ritually used spaces of memory. I will demonstrate this in the following systematisation.

Linguistic and Iconographic/Visual Religious Codes as Space of Memory

Linguistic and iconographic religious codes – including forms of seeing – as space of memory constitute the fundamental framework for the two other modes of memory. This conceptualisation is based on the poststructuralist philosophical premise – influenced by philosophy of language and semiotics – that memory is linguistically and visually constructed. This approach emphasises on the one hand the dimension of memory in language, while it presumes on the other hand that memory is eminently created by linguistic and visual codes as polyvalently deployable and combinable inventories – as a web of possibilities of symbolisation[8] – that are stabilised by communities of communication and which equally form such communities.[9] Three central characteristics of linguistic and iconographic codes as memory will be systematised in what follows.

Multi-layered textures of memory (a) originate in the codification and reproduction of semantics, images and narratives decodable in a religious community. The codification of semantics and images in religious communities can be interpreted as linguistic transposition of sacrality, of the code 'transcendent/immanent'. With regard to visual codes that are essential for the Sacred Heart, iconography and forms of seeing related to the Sacred Heart as practices of decoding are intrinsically bound together. What a viewer sees and how he sees it is determined by the respective community. The Sacred Heart in all its iconographic variations –

8 See Zolles, "Die symbolische Macht der Apokalypse".

9 See the fundamental poststructuralist positions in philosophy of history: White, *Metahistory*; id., *Tropics of Discourse*; de Certeau, *L'écriture de l'histoire*; Megill, "Recounting the Past". See on this approach: Metzger, "Erinnerungsräume", pp. 20–21.

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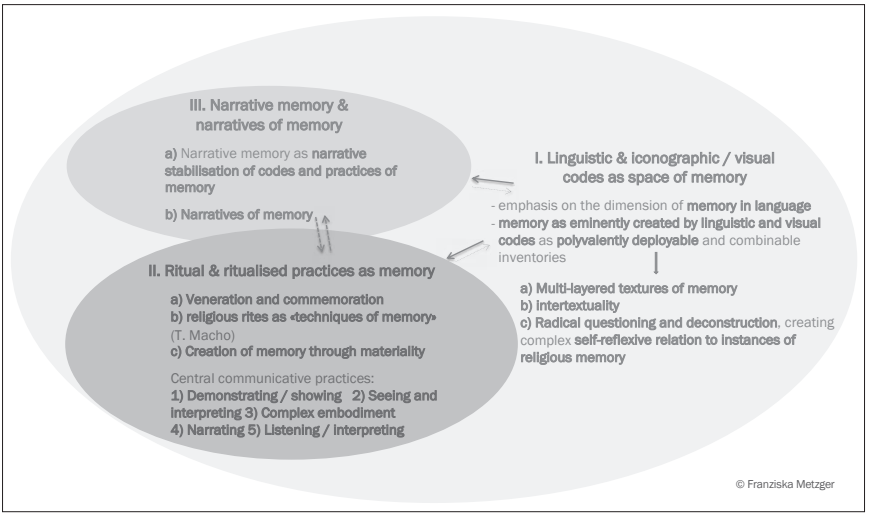


Fig. 4: Modes of religious memory II, © Franziska Metzger.

– with thorns, blood, beaming,
– as an emblem integrating text as most basically in the case of Alacoque's image (fig. 5),[10]
– lifted out of Christ's body as in Pompeo Batoni's painting in the Chiesa del Santissimo Nome di Gesù all'Argentina in Rome from 1767 (fig. 6),[11]
– integrated in Christ's chest as in many devotional images of the 19th and 20th centuries,
– or in relation with another holy figure, most commonly Mary, such as for example in Maurice Denis' painting *Sacré-Cœur crucifié* from 1916 (fig. 7), but also Catherine of Siena and Margaret Mary Alacoque as in Corrado Mezzana's altarpiece from 1922 in the Basilica di Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome (fig. 8) or the late 19th century mystic Maria Droste von Vischering of the Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd,[12]

10 On Alacoque's emblematic image as well as her visions and devotion see especially Morgan, *The Sacred Heart of Jesus*, pp. 9–12, 24; id., "Rhetoric of the Heart", especially p. 94; Seydl, "Contesting the Sacred Heart of Jesus", p. 216.

11 See Seydl, "Contesting the Sacred Heart of Jesus"; Rosa, *Settecento religioso*.

12 See the devotional image accessible on: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maria_Droste_zu_Vischering#/media/Datei:Maria_Droste_zu_Vischering_and_the_Sacred_Heart_of_Jesus.jpg

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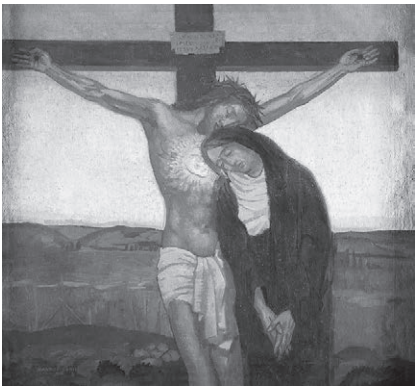


Fig. 5: Emblematic image of the Sacred Heart, produced originally in 1685 at Margaret Mary Alacoque's direction, Alamy Stock Photo.

Fig. 6: Pompeo Batoni, *The Sacred Heart of Jesus*, 1767, oil on copper, Chiesa del Santissimo Nome di Gesù all'Argentina in Rome, public domain.

Fig. 7: Maurice Denis, *Sacré-Cœur crucifié*, 1916, Musée départemental Maurice Denis, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, © RMN-Grand Palais/ Benoît Touchard.

can be interpreted as a complex icon, asserting the living presence of sanctity in paintings, serial prints, such as the example produced by Currier and Ives in New York in the 1830s (fig. 9), and ritual objects alike.

In the icon of the Sacred Heart as it was used in the above examples, variations of the complex relationship of the bodily and the symbolic dimension of the heart become visible. Sometimes the icon can be interpreted as a synecdoche, standing as *pars pro toto*, i.e. as a visual excerpt for the larger corporal setting, sometimes it is mainly a metaphor, a figurative heart. In fact, visualisation enables the simultaneity of corporality and its symbolic transcendence, the simultaneity of demonstrating the visceral

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Fig. 8: Corrado Mezzana, *Christ between Saint Catherine of Siena and Saint Margerite Mary Alacoque*, Rome, Basilica di Santa Maria sopra Minerva, 1922, public domain.

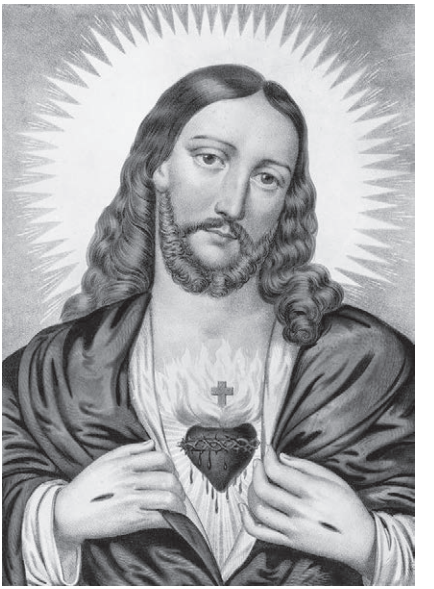


Fig. 9: Devotional image, serial print, Currier and Ives (New York), lithograph, hand-painted, 1856, public domain.

dimension of the essence of Christ's corporality and its sacralised transformation.[13] With Stephen Jaeger, who has worked on other icons, we could, in certain cases, speak of hyper-mimesis with regard to the iconography of the Sacred Heart,[14] inasmuch as by establishing the extraordinary of Christ's physiognomy the icon goes to the boundaries of the 'human' and beyond reality to the sublime, magnifying humanity into divinity.

This is not only the case in devotional images, but also in art, especially in symbolist paintings, e.g. by George Desvallières and Jozef Mehoffer in the early 20th century. Desvallières's symbolism works through inner-worldly, social action: in his painting *Le Sacré-Cœur* from 1905 Christ, in agony for the world, forcefully opens his flesh in order to lay bare his heart – the symbolist transcription of this carnal act centred on the heart raises Christ to sublimity (fig. 10). Regarding this painting, the Catholic

13 See Morgan, *The Sacred Heart of Jesus.*

14 Jaeger, *Enchantment*, pp. 99–199.

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Fig. 10: George Desvallières, *Le Sacré-Cœur de N.S.J.-C.*, 1905, private collection, CR 1102, © Henriot.

philosopher Léon Bloy wrote: "You have done what no one else could do today. You created a Sacred Heart that induces one to weep and tremble. You unleashed a lion […], the Heart of Jesus needed a painter […]. By dint of love and faith, you have been deemed worthy of foreknowing the red Pelican, the Pelican that bleeds for its infants."[15] In *Le Drapeau du Sacré Cœur*, also by Desvallières, from 1918, the figure of Christ raises his heart and puts it on the white of the French tricolore banner – a gesture that cites Eugène Delacroix's *La Liberté guidant le peuple.*[16] Christ's sublimity is demonstrated in this political gesture in which again the heart is the pivot between immanence and transcendence (fig. 11).

Jozef Mehoffer's symbolism, on the other hand, is that of *art-déco*. Just as Christ is pointing at his heart, the painter is pointing at the beauty of his work of art: an entanglement of the symbolism of beauty and that of an all-embracing – and adorned –

15 Léon Bloy, "L'Invendable, 1904–1907", Paris: Le Mercure de France, 1904, 174–175, cited in: Ambroselli de Bayser, "George Desvallières et la Grande Guerre" (translation by the author). On Desvallières' works of art see especially: Ambroselli de Bayser et al. (eds.), *George Desvallières. Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre complet*; Ambroselli de Bayser, *George Desvallières et la Grande Guerre.*

16 Eugène Delacroix's *La Liberté guidant le peuple*, 1830, Musée du Louvre, Paris, https://www.louvre.fr/oeuvre-notices/le-28-juillet-la-liberte-guidant-le-peuple

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Fig. 11: George Desvallières, *Le Drapeau du Sacré-Cœur*, 1918, Monument aux morts de Verneuil-sur-Avre, Eglise Notre-Dame de Verneuil-sur-Avre, CR 1608, © CDP.CGE (Conseil Général de l'Eure), Thierry Leroy.

goodness. Both beauty and goodness are at the same time transcended in this painting into the sublime: the sublimity of Christ is produced through sublime art (fig. 12).

The usage of codes and their interrelation as textures of memory is significantly marked by *intertextuality (b)* as the above examples show, inasmuch as new iconographic elements and transformed meanings are integrated, appropriated and modified within the Catholic community, whereas codes belonging to religious memory can also be integrated in new contexts external to the religious field.[17] The integration into non-religious discourses, sites and spaces makes the texture of linguistic and iconographic memory even more complex.

For this reason too, the Sacred Heart is an excellent example, inasmuch as the polyvalence of the icon (growing over time) enables its reimagining and reimaging, its rewriting and transformation. Two examples will demonstrate this. In Odilon Redon's *Sacred Heart* painting (1910), the figure of an introspective Christ – with a radically transformed face compared to the serially reproduced memory of Christ's 'portrait' – does not reveal his heart nor does Christ gaze at the believer; the heart,

17 For the concept of intertextuality see the fundamental contributions by Julia Kristeva, f.ex. in: *Desire and Image*.

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Fig. 12: Jozef Mehoffer, *Sacred Heart of Jesus* (Serce Jezusa), 1911, public domain.

which is only slightly hinted at, is an invisible space and reverses the mechanism of making the invisible visible (fig. 13). In this painting, the icon is not present anymore; what remains is the symbolism of the Sacred Heart that does without icon, the signified with only an allusion of the signifier. A second example: tattoos of the Sacred Heart, as one can find hundreds in a short Google-search, both within a Catholic discourse community and in a plurality of syncretistic transformations, frequently present variations of the icon of the heart without the figure of Christ – therein resembling Alacoque's emblem – or are part of a montage of various icons, both sacral and non-sacral. Iconographic bodily spaces thus become highly intertextual – and at the same time highly idiosyncratic – embodiments of memory.

Based on the mechanism of intertextuality and texture of memory, *radical questioning and deconstruction of codes of religious language and iconography and their ironic citation (c)* create a complex self-reflexive relation to instances of religious memory.[18] Deconstruction and ironic reintroduction of the icon of the Sacred Heart can be analysed in modern and contemporary art, as the following examples will

18 See Metzger, "Apokalyptische Diskurse".

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