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## Positioning Sensorial Anthropology in Relevance to Logic and Sensibilities Research

*Keizo Miyasaka*<sup>1,2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Department of Human Sciences, Keio University

<sup>2</sup> Centre for Advanced Research on Logic and Sensibility (CARLS), Keio University

### I. Introduction

This paper discusses the potential significance of the new features of sensorial anthropology for developing a new line of argument on the close interdependence of logic and sensibilities in human perception, action, and experience that is intrinsically embedded in natural and socio-cultural settings. It has been postulated that sight situates the observer outside what she/he sees, reinforcing therefore a way of objective and analytic thinking predominantly by following a linear path of recognizable logical connection. However, the sensorial experience consists in a lived process for humans to continue inhabiting in the world of practices where logic/sensibilities, reason/emotion are to be situated in an operative relation rather than independently. Accordingly, it is necessary to deal with the sensorial in a dynamic triangular whole with logic/sensibilities, or reason/emotion, and finally mind and body. This goal requires a critical rethinking of existing socio-cultural theories in regard to the totality of sensory experience that goes from sensory feeling to sensorial knowledge and intuitive understanding. This requires also a further call for critical cultural neuroscience.

The new perspective for the anthropology of the senses had risen in 1990s as the first stage of development in sensorial anthropology, which attempted a rethinking of the precedent anthropological examination done

in 1980s for dealing with each individual senses separately. It retook the issue on cultural life of the senses from new angles, and expanded the earlier focus of Ong and McLuhan in media studies on the historical and social constitution of the senses.<sup>1</sup> A given environmental and socio-cultural condition prepares different salience of a possible sensuous experiential perception in terms of which one modality of a sensual organ or combinations of different sensual organs – to be more precise, a variable style of the interconnectedness of the sensorium – prevail, if we at our first analysis take one stance of reducing human experience to sensual modalities before retrieving again the totality of the experience. This may also be combined with a culturally unique constitution of sensual modalities. Given conspicuous cultural differences, the major topic in the anthropology of the senses concerned different qualities of cultural life of the senses among different cultural sensorial backgrounds, particularly those between modernized societies and traditional small-scale societies.

The development of the anthropology of the senses intersected with the emergence of the deconstructionist postmodern anthropology that became the major paradigm in cultural anthropology replacing modernist anthropology. The latter's ethnographies supposedly followed the baseline of natural realism, but the former criticized the latter's ethnographies as virtually cul-

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<sup>1</sup> The first panel on the anthropology of the senses was organized in 1989 in Canada, at the Canadian Anthropology Society/Société anadaïennne d'anthropologie, at Carlton University. Major references are as follows: Howes, David (Ed). *The Varieties of Sensory Experience: A Source Book in the Anthropology of the Senses*. Oxford University Press, 1991. Ditto. (Ed.), *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*. Berg, 2004.

In particular, his publication, *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture and Social Theory*, University of Michigan Press, 2003, concerns an overall theoretical view of the sensual relations as embedded in not only psychological but also socio-cultural settings, by referring extensively to basically or partially relevant precedent socio-cultural theories ranging from Marx, Durkheim to McLuhan and Ong. McLuhan, M. *The Gutenberg Galaxy*. Univeristy of Toronoto, 1962. Ong, W. *Orality and Literacy*. Methuen, 1982. For a similar discussion, see Porcello, Th. Et al. "The Reorganization of the Sensory World." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 39, 2010:51–66. Classen, C. *The World of Sense*. Routledge, 1993. Ditto. "Foundations for an anthropology of the senses." *International Social Science Journal*, 153, 1997:401–12., Stoller, P. *Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology*. University of Pennsylvania, 1989.

tural representations based on observers' tacit discourses; for the modernist anthropological discourse relied in actuality on the hidden assumptions embedded in asymmetrical colonial and postcolonial hegemonic standpoints of the anthropological observers from the industrialized first world. From the stand points of postmodern anthropologists, the modernist observers viewed, with inevitable biases, the observed in the traditional and underdeveloped third world or the fourth world. The postmodern deconstructionist perspective presumably set up critical epistemological standpoint that is projected onto a transcendental transparent point outside the representational space of the modernist observation of the observed, which is the locus of the transcendental critical reason. The deconstructionist endeavors in essence have been pursued in order to locate and maintain a privileged space of the complete reason by which they can assert their reflexive hermeneutic objectivity to analyze the modernist enterprise.

In this regard, one aspect that underlies the orientation of the anthropology of the senses has included an alternative attempt to overcome the increasing excesses of cultural representational and textual critiques in cultural anthropological scholarship (since the end of 1970s up to now), because the postmodern critiques seemed to have become saturated and began to lose their vivid critical force to present further creative issues for understanding of other peoples' experiential aspects of their cultural lives. Postmodernist anthropology has largely paid close scrutiny over observers' hidden cultural logic rather than that of indigenous people, which is promoted by anxieties and emotions derived from the ambiguities of cultural self identity on the side of Western ethnographers in the face of cultural others. Anthropological deconstructionists have all detected unnoticed postcolonial mindsets, which are, so to speak, basically some combinations of incomplete objective reason and biased emotions.<sup>2</sup> So, the procedures of data collection in modernist anthropology have got distrusted as, in principle, being unable to attain the assumed space of objectivity of natural realist kind. Thus, deconstructionists try to undermine the research procedure con-

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<sup>2</sup> I once discussed "postcolonialist mindsets" with regard to visual sensibilities. Miyasaka, Keizo "Challenges for issues concerning the filming of visual sensibilities: the case of clinically-oriented ethnographic filming." *Carls*, No.2, 2009:311-330.

ducted by the modernist-anthropologists with reference to the fieldwork processes which are, for them, characterized by the negotiations of constructing representations of others in the midst of participant-observation, and they reevaluate the realist kind of data under the framework of fluctuating maneuvers of the fact of life in the ongoing culture-identity politics in the fieldwork. There is a possibility of modifying the modernists' data for the sake of the postmodernists' relational data as "unintended data." However, the nature of this modified data typically lacks the dimension of the directness of immediate human experience on one hand – even if it tries to accompany some juxtaposition of native's polyphonic voices, and even if, by which, there is an implication of the prior importance of symbolic acoustic experience as compared to sight that tends to recur around the hegemonic seeing standpoint. Moreover, the deconstructionist only concerns the epistemology of identifying entities of data under the tacit assumption that nature itself may not be grasped objectively in a positivistic sense, but still it is the virtual locus of an ultimate form of objectivity in that it allows, at least in an epistemological imagination, to map out culturally intrinsic or emic modes of relational-structural experiential entities despite the impossibility of precise translations of different emic modes across cultures. The anthropology of the senses, with regards to the above defects of postmodern anthropology, can be positioned as one stream of the recent reactions to the first drawback – in short, the "sensual/sensory turn" in the 1990s as opposed to the "textual turn" of the deconstructionist that started from the end of 1970s – whereas one more recent scholarship as exemplified by the works of Bruno Latour and Marilyn Strathern has been in the process of elaborating a very complex point as to the second drawback of the critiques of cultural representation, in close examination of the relational ontological constitution of emic entities.<sup>3</sup> In this paper, we have to put aside the latter

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<sup>3</sup>. Latour, Bruno. *We Have Never Been Modern* (translated from French by Catherine Porter. Harvard University Press, 1993. Ditto. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford University Press, 2005. Strathern, Marilyn. "Cutting the Network." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2(3), 1996:517–35. Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. "Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 4(3), No. 3, 1998: 469–488. Ditto. *From the Enemy's Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society*. University of Chicago Press, 1992.

new stream, and focus primarily on the first new stream as it contains one kind of creative ambiguity concerning the ultimate relevance of natural objectivities (as exemplified by the mainstream neuroscience) and the phenomenological experiential non-reductive space where culture/nature or mind/body dichotomies do stop working.

Since the initial decade, the scope of the anthropology of the senses have expanded with an increasing orientation of interdisciplinarity even if anthropology per se has continued to function as its cornerstone as it has been focusing culturally different constitutions of sensory modalities. During the two decades of its short history, there have been, to a degree, changes in the emphasis of research topics. However, in this short paper, we cannot write much about it due to a limited space. Consequently, we use the term sensorial anthropology that has the connotation of the wider scope including the range and development in the two decades, as well as its future orientations.

## II. The Scope in Sensorial Anthropology

### 1. The Usage of the Term, Sensorial Anthropology: the Range of Different Scopes between the Anthropology of the Senses, and Sensory Anthropology

Though the term, the anthropology of the senses was used first and has been one common denominator to designate the field of inquiry, in this paper, we adopt another term, “sensorial anthropology,” following David Howes’s idea.”<sup>4</sup>

There is one other word, “sensory anthropology” which is advocated by the visual anthropologist Sarah Pink (Howes also uses this term), who criti-

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An important book of a Japanese anthropological anthology concerning this new anthropological tide is as follows: Kasuga, Naoki (Ed.) *Genjitsu Hihan no Jinruigaku (Anthropology as Reality Critique)*. 2011, Sekai-Shiso-sha.

<sup>4</sup> Howes, David “Sensorial Anthropology.” In D. Howes (Ed.) op. cit. 1991. He uses the term, sensory anthropology, too. In this paper, we think “sensorial” covers also meta-sensory dimensions as compared to “sensory” which is used in its closeness to immediate directness, and in this sense, we use “sensorial anthropology,” which is also to distinguish what Sarah Pink means in her kind of “sensory anthropology.”

cally comments on the future of sensory anthropology and the anthropology of the senses – we will concisely discuss her points and Howes’s argument later – and she critically points out the drawbacks of the latter, from her updated future perspective; while admitting its revisionary significance in the 1990s, for her the anthropology of the senses has heavily relied on the analytical framework of situating sensory modalities “in disembodied ‘culture’” which is “incompatible with an anthropology that understands learning and knowing as situated in embodied practice and movement.” (Pink, 2010, p.332)<sup>5</sup> We admit her point concerning the consequent drawbacks of the framework in the early stage of the anthropology of the senses; on the other hand, we also understand that Howes’s series of later articles have covered a much wider scope along a similar line with Pink’s future scope, putting emphasis on new pathways to avoid amoralizing perception as the mere “reduction of sensation to “information-processing,” or, simply, patterns of neural activity.”(Howes, 2009, p.22)<sup>6</sup> He advocated the usage of the term, “sensorium” in place of the senses, with which he tries to overcome the everlasting divide between mind/body, and cognition/sensation, thus pursuing his kind of socio-cultural phenomenological endeavor. We also evaluate the analytical strategy of going back and forth between a first-stage reduction of sensory experience to a ratios-of-the senses schema, that is, differential combinations of different sensory orders which is to be done only when compensated by a second-stage integration of the first analysis to get back into the sensory experiential whole. The anthropology of the senses uses this strategy, which functions even for general readers to clarify the points with reference to the precedent older scholarship that concerned the sensory aspects of human perception on one hand, and to bridge discrepancies with representation-centered approach of the postmodernist orientation on the other. In short, we think at this transitory stage towards a further elaboration, an intermediate approach that goes between sensory anthropology and the

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<sup>5</sup> Pink, Sarah *Home Truth: Gender, Domestic Objects and Everyday Life*. Berg, 2004. Ditto. *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. Sage, 2009. Ditto. “The future of sensory anthropology / the anthropology of the senses.” *Social Anthropology/Antropologie Sociale*, 18(3), 2010:331–340. (citation from p. 332)

<sup>6</sup> Howes, David “Introduction: the revolving sensorium.” In Ditto (Ed.) *The Sixth Sense Reader*. Berg, 2009. (my citation from page.22, in the context of the 18<sup>th</sup> understanding of the sociability of the senses).

anthropology of the senses is effective by evaluating some room of the creative necessities, in accompanied analytical ambiguities concerning the extreme poles, for capturing human experience with emphasis on intrinsic engagement of the senses.

In this regard, we would like to use the term, “sensorial anthropology” to express our intermediate as well as inclusive approach, which encompasses the whole range of standpoints that appear between the two poles of the anthropology of the senses and sensory anthropology.

## **2. Polymodal Sensations as the Springboard to the Interconnectedness of Sensory Experience**

Sensorial anthropology has a strong relevance to illness experience, such as pains or dizziness, and in this regard, medical anthropology have recently started discussions in collaboration with sensorial anthropology. Previously, in most of the cases, monomodal sensations of vision, hearing, smell, and taste, and touch (although, in actuality touch may also be polymodal) were favored for the sake of clear-cut simplicity in academic discussion. However, polymodal sensations are very important intrinsically for shaping patients’ experience; for instance, pain as a sensory experience comes from some combinations of cutaneous, as well as somatic and visceral perceptions, and further will at times be interconnected to other interoceptive senses of balance, body motions, and so on; thus, this reveals its very complex nature of a range of polymodal sensations. Even, the sense of touch at times turns out to be dissolved into a panoply of senses such as pressure, temperature, pain, or kinaesthesia, proprioception balance or the like.<sup>7</sup> A patient suffering from some acute pain that may lead to a continuous chron-

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<sup>7</sup> Durie, B. “Doors of perception.” In: *New Scientist, Why you have at least 21 senses*, 185, No.2484, 2005: 33–43. This article presents that 21 senses, most of which are underneath the five senses, are now generally accepted as working sensory modalities and further more 11 senses are listed additionally, which may be recognized by a radical side of sensory researchers. Hinton, Devon E., Howes, D., & Kirmayer, Laurence J. “Toward a medical anthropology of sensations: definitions and research agenda.” In *Transcultural Psychiatry*, vol.45, 2, 2008:142–162, where they make use of sensation schemas, sensation interpreters, and sensation scripts, partly by utilizing Piercian semiotic concepts, to understand various bodily sensations including hallucinatory ones that lack actual entities.

ic pain may not be able to grasp and delineate the pain itself as recognizable with regards to the contour of that pain; hence there happens the patient's falling into a crisis of a disintegration of her/his natural attitudes for making sense of her/his everyday world. A crisis gives rise to the patient with the momentum for unmaking her/his experiential reality as well as her/his sense of orderly flow of personhood that mediates her/his interoceptive senses, bodily processes with his subjective consciousness. It should be noted here that with our cultural perspective the polymodal sensory processes cause some differences in quality, for instance as to pain or dizziness, not only among individuals but also between groups and cultures at large.

Thus, the complex features of polymodal sensations as compared to monomodal sensations suggest the interconnected networks of different sensory modalities that underlie actual individual sensory experience. Sensations also function to navigate human behavior within given environmental/socio-cultural settings, whether a group or an individual context, in collaboration with other human faculties such as memories of various kind (for instance, autobiographical or episodic memory as well as bodily memory or collective traumatic memory), which may chart in two directions: one is attention to interior/interoceptive loci of a bodily process, the other to more virtual supplementing diagram for mapping the former within a larger whole of the networking of polymodal sensorial occurrences. While we walk, we only experience each individual route to walk on a particular road, but after we ramble repeatedly, we may attain some virtual map type of understanding by experientially (here, we do not necessarily mean a kind of information-processing) piecing together every bit of individual immediate experience of walking, and perhaps with cues deriving from an experience that we climb up some elevated hill to have an overview of the road, we may be able to attain some bird-eye view that contains an aspect of physical movement perceptions.

From this angle, polymodal sensations reveal the above mentioned dual aspect that is related to their sensorial-experiential immediacy as well as to sensually infused perceptual-image concepts that navigate human behavior in a given time-sequence. Both aspects depend on some interconnected networks of relevant sensations, the overall nature of the totality of the sensorium, among which synaesthesia is a special case. In the process of pragmatic operation in some goal-oriented action, the totality of the senso-

rium can work together with the processes of thinking and feeling, and may trigger sensitivity and intuition. Further, the lived experience of the sensorium may develop or differentially give rise to sensory complexes among which analytically distinguishable forms of sensory perception appear; hypothetically these are common sense, or moral sense – which the 17th century empiricists tried to delineate<sup>8</sup> – or socio-culturally constituted sophisticated senses. These types of senses are more elaborated, and sophisticated through their connections with socio-cultural meaning, making room for interacting with thinking and feeling, but at the same time, these senses are directly experienced as embodied sensory thought and emotion by humans, which will reveal an aspect of pragmatic rationality properly functional for pragmatic action in given natural, social, and cultural environments.

### **3. The Focus on the Cultural Constitutions of Sensorial Experiences via Differently Interconnected Sensory Modalities**

One of the major foci of sensorial anthropology that started as the anthropology of the senses in the 1990s has been the comparative analysis of different cultural constitutions of sensorial experiences and sensory modalities. This tendency is natural, given that the discipline started as the sensual/sensorial turn of anthropology for further investigating the native points of view and their cultural life of the senses. Due to the limitation of space, we will briefly look at this approach. As David Howes has been the leading pioneer, we can understand the primacy of this research focus by reading already listed books he edited (see footnote 1 and 4 to 7).

Cultural differences in sensory experience clearly become salient in therapies and healings. In Western mainstream medical therapy, patients' sensations are sometimes to be taken off as being irrelevant to medical therapy, by using anaesthesia during surgical operations, whereas non-western traditional societies as well as pre-modern Europe utilized sensorial dimensions of experience for medication.<sup>9</sup> In the case of the Shipibo-Conibo Indians of Peru, for instance, Howes (2008) contrasted their use of synaesthesia in their healing practices with the neglect of the sensuous in Western medicine<sup>10</sup>: The shaman healer prepares for a patient with the family an ambience of sensory and aesthetically appealing healing environment. Geometric

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<sup>8</sup>. Howes, D. 2009, op. cit. pp. 20–22.

designs, melodious singing, and fragrance coming from herbs or ritually important tobacco smoke pervade the surrounding scene. Ritually purified foods are offered to participants in the healing session, so that the patient in the mosquito tent, with amplified and synaesthetically combined pleasant auditory, olfactory and visual sensations, never feels alone during the critical period of his illness. This rich sensory experience with attentive concerns gives the patient necessary emotional propensity for his recovery. The shaman uses the Ayahuasca hallucinogenic vine and visions in an initial healing session (the one among five such sessions in all) tries to see through the patient body and sensually indentify her/his ill pattern of the body (like some X-ray image, so to speak) as sensory phantom image with its pathological aura (sometimes accompanied by a bad stench or miasma which is the very mark of some attacking spirits *nihue*, who, with the odor of gasoline, fish poison, dogs, certain cosmetic products, menstrual blood, unclean people, etc., try to ruin the geometrical and orderly pattern for the healing by singing evil-smelling anti-songs). Accordingly, the goal of the healing itself involves

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<sup>9</sup> From the perspective of social history of sensibilities and mentalities, Alain Corbin systematically described and analyzed physicians' then considered medical-scientific understandings of bodily substances with reference to the sensually perceivable of human and animal bodies (e.g. body liquids (semen, menstrual blood etc.)) with regards to sensually detectable smells of humans (Corbin, A. *Le Miasme Et La Jonquille: L'odorat et L'imaginaiare social 18<sup>e</sup> -19<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Aubier-Montaigne, 1982 [Japanese translation, translated by Toyoko Yamada & Shiberu Kashima, Fujiwara-Shoten in 1990]). See also, Bynum, W.F. & Porter, R. (Ed.) *Medicine and the Five Senses*. Cambridge University Press, 1993, which provide us much archival data on sensory relevance of medically elaborated knowledge postulated and practiced among medical specialists and researchers before the mid-19 century. Additionally, the terms "anaesthesia" and synaesthesia are related etymologically in ancient Greek to "aesthetics;" the latter originally meant senses, sensations, sense perception, and at the same time beauty.

<sup>10</sup> Howes, D. "The Aesthetics of Mixing the Senses," *Luxembourg Philharmonic rainy days catalogue*, 2008:71–85. He examined a particular report on the Shipibo-Conibo people's healing ritual (Illius, Bruno *Una ventana hacia el infinito: arte shipibo-conibo* Lima: Instituto Cultural Peruano Norteamericano, 2002) as well as an folklore article on visible and invisible geometric designs used for the healing practices (Gebhart-Sayer, Angelika "The Geometric Designs of the Shipibo-Conibo in Ritual Context." *Journal of Latin-American Lore*, 11(2), 1985: 143.175.

a recapturing and restoration of a good healthy pattern of visual body [visionary body image] of the patient; for the Shipibo-Conibo, 'health' corresponds to the quality of *quiquin*, that is, an indigenous sensory oriented concept that means beautiful, aesthetic and appropriate. During the healing ritual, the shaman tries to keep out attacking spirits who are prying into his medicinal vessel. The latter contains all of his songs and designs that are endangered by the evil spirits' miasma (because the medicinal power consists in its aromatic form as well as fizzing from fermenting yucca beer – the synaesthetic interrelationships consist in the designs, songs and fragrances used in the ritual sessions]. With the amplified sensory atmosphere over the healing place as well as with his fragrant herbal bundle and his ritually effective tobacco smoking, the shaman tries to neutralize and drive away the pathogenic aura. He blows his ritual songs into the patient's body so that the songs can stay permanently to keep away evil stench. Interestingly enough, the geometrical designs (as well as the invisible designs of the shaman's songs) are seemingly visual abstractions, but for the Shipibo-Conibo, the designs are perceived simultaneously as both musical scores and perfume recipes, i.e. as the interrelated multi-sensory synaesthetic object complex. The indigenous notion of the aesthetic as being incorporated into the multi-sensory experience is here in a sharp contrast, as Howes postulates, to the Kantian notion of aesthetics based on *Critique of Judgment* (1790). The latter goes beyond the dual primary sensual modalities of seeing and hearing (Kant discounted smell, touch, taste as lacking the momentum for aesthetic experience) to the transcendental in favor of elevated intuition rather than of the sensory perception. Thus, after Kant, modern theoretical aestheticians have sought for transparent intuitive visions in the incidents of aesthetic judgment, and with far more emphasis placed on sight, i.e. Western oracularcentrism, they have been trying to leave the earthy sensory actuality on which non-moderns on the other hand have placed their artful experience.

To take other examples briefly for our additional reference, the Japanese Koudoh (way of fragrance) in its contemporary form transmits the art of expressing sophisticated fragrance complex in the form of Waka poems, where not only the dimension of scent becomes salient but also its impact and homological structure for one's cosmic view is cultivated. In this regard, the aspect of synaesthesia has a potential, via complex networking of poly-modal sensorial integration, for bridging the intersensory experience into

intuitive attainment of some kind of world-view (preliminary notes from my fieldwork). In Korean traditional *gut*, shamans and assistants prepare an altar around which they arrange offerings and ritual instruments in an aesthetic way. According to my inquiry, on the occasion of a performance session conducted for our university students in my organization, the way of the arrangement and certain items and foods used for the offering turned out to have in principle nothing to do with the religious dimension of the ritual, and accordingly, Korean ritual functionaries distinguish the aesthetic and the religious, on one hand, but also both dimensions inevitably come together from their process in preparation for the ritual *séance*. One famous Korean *shinban* (ritual practitioner for deities) replied to my question that he feels all of his guardian spirits, deities, or ancestors around him during the preparatory session, and they eventually come into his body through orifices on it (i.e. there are small or tiny orifices on his body like the nose, ear, etc., including tiny minute nozzles on the skin for skin respiration), and they go around his body by streaming through his blood vessels. This sensory perception he can feel in Cheju, his homeland, as well as in Osaka, Aomori, Tokyo, where he successfully conducted *séances* for Korean residents from Cheju and for a festival of the traditional folkloristic performances; he thinks that he will be able to feel so too with regards to his spirits, even when he would have a chance to go to Boston. I had not imagined that so many deities and spirits would come into his blood vessels to stream around so that they can give him the sacred power (among Cheju *shinban*, they tell that they do not enter into trance like those *mudang* active in other parts of Korea), of which according to my previous field research in Japan, the Philippines, Bali, Tibetan-Chinese towns and villages, I have never heard except for the Korean *shinban*. At any rate, Korean ritual practitioners are also using multi-sensory channeling to secure the source of their religious power. More often than not, religious practitioners in Japan, Southeast Asia including Yunnan Province of China, who can get into trance *séances*, all revealed their craftsmanship or skillful artistic abilities, according to my filed trip exposures, in the form of preparing ritual paraphernalia and symbolic instruments et cetera. In the case of folkloristic religious practitioners in a particular town at the foot of Mt. Ontake, Japan, some of them were artisans with a true workmanship for carpentry or cake making, revealing a certain sort of ingenuity for bricolage in the Lévi-Straussian sense by utilizing usable things at

their hands; they were very keen to the manual procedures for preparation of the ritual paraphernalia as well as ritual operation procedure for symbolically transforming states and objects. And further, they were all sensitive to tuning their breath rhythm to coordinate among other ritual practitioners. This tendency and inclination as found among these ritual practitioners also tells the sensory nature of their ritual sessions to reach a religious state of mind, which goes together in one aspect with their everyday workmanship for their profession.<sup>11</sup> The mystical experiential dimension as appeared in ritual and myth was the important research focus in the anthropology of religion, and master-piece works by Claude Lévi-Strauss and Victor W. Turner on myth, ritual, and healing practices notably put emphasis on the close co-workings of the body and senses and on the necessity of grasping the senses as interrelated coding systems. Though theirs were text-based descriptions that are different from the contemporary attempt in sensorial anthropology, their works can be considered as precedent insightful source studies for the later appearance of the anthropology of the senses.

Apart from the main line of Howes's kind of research endeavors, there are two other streams.<sup>12</sup> one is the sensual phenomenological anthropology as advanced by Paul Stoller, who with reference to Merleau-Pontian phenomenology of perception puts emphasis on multisensory based knowledge that mediates the material, social, and spiritual worlds. The other represented by Nadia Seremetakis concerns sensory dimension of historical memory and consciousness in relation to material culture with the insight of Walter Benjamin as to the interplay of the sensorium with everyday life experience, perception, and technological modalities of a given historical time. In terms of the research outcomes, the three streams have at least par-

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<sup>11</sup> I once pointed out a close correlation between the religious interest in ritual operations and that of workmanship as found among *Maeza* and *Nakaza* functionaries. See, Keizo Miyasaka. "Unusual Gestures in Japanese Folkloristic Ritual Trance and Performances," In M. Rector, I. Poggi, and M. Trigo (Eds.) *Gestures: Meaning and Use*. Universidade Fernando Pessoa: Porto, Portugal. 2003: 293–299.

<sup>12</sup> Stoller, P. *Embodying Colonial Memories: Spirit Possession, Power, and the Hauka in West Africa*. Routledge, 1995. Ditto. *Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology*. University of Pennsylvania, 1989. Op. cit, 1989. Ditto. *Sensuous Scholarship*. University of Pennsylvania, 1997. Seremetakis, Nadia C. *Perception and Memory as Material Culture*. Westview, 1994.

tially produced similar lines of research points and relevant findings, despite the differences in theoretical bases, and up to now, it would be enough for us to appreciate all of the research endeavors for the sake of developing further the new field for sensorial studies on human experience across cultures, rather than to concern discrepancies among the different streams at this stage. As for these two other streams, this paper will briefly outline with regards to the debate in sensorial anthropology.

Besides the above focus on the cultural constitutions of intersensory experiences, sensorial anthropology has a set of unique fieldwork methods in addition to usual ones and critical library research. Researchers are supposed to activate their sensory perception of the research sites in order to try to receive sensory grasp of their field sites, people, landscape-humanscape, soundscape, fragrancescape etc. in multisensory orientations -if we dare to apparently divide in terms of some salience of one modality of the senses, while we keep it in mind the totality of the sensorium. By this sensory activation, researchers may be able to write up a linguistic research discourse on a particular town, or village, or city.<sup>13</sup> We would come back to this topic

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<sup>13</sup> This sensory research methods could be shared not only among anthropological researchers, as well as geographers, or even geologists who go out to their field-trips, but also with clinicians, or care-takers who try to sensorially grasp their clients' states. These researchers and clinicians are concerned, if anything, with epistemologically reflexive sensorial means, whereas artists would be more concerned with ontological projection for their engagement in the surrounding world. For instance, the late Butoh master, Tasumi Hijikata strikes me at his unique description of dance/body/space; his book, *Yameru Mi-hime* Hakusui-sha, 1983, elaborated a kind of aphoristic bodily discourses, in terms of his unique epistemological/ontological projection of his existence into a given spatial world. According to my view of his unique existential projection, he circulates some blast of air in a given space where he is situating to live out. The blast of wind goes around a home where he was brought up, convening touch-of-body experience in every corner of the space such as ceilings, and further creeps into the forgotten parts in the area under the porch, and during that time, in-printed memories of impressive gestures of other peculiar people would float up with impressive scenes of their postures and movements as they used to behave in variously scattered spaces. His sensorial orientation is to be characterized as the salient interconnectedness of thought, sight, smell, and hearing in on-going whirling movements in which his body generates a blast of synchronic movement, during which process his body swings as if it gets minutely smaller and smaller to creep in minute parts of a space.

in the next section with relevance to the debate in sensorial anthropology.

### III. The Debate in Sensorial Anthropology

In 2010, Sarah Pink has taken an issue on the future of sensory anthropology and the anthropology of the senses, which led to a debate between her and Howes, and, in its repercussion, a counter-reply by Tim Ingold, because Pink partly relies on his precedent criticism of Howes's approach.<sup>14</sup> Pink criticizes the apparent reductionist standpoint of Howes's, in that he and his collaborators and followers in the 1990s version of the anthropology of the senses typically tried to understand culturally different constitutions of sensory modalities in terms of the relatively easily analyzable differences in weighting or ratios on the combinatory use of different senses. For her, to put it simply, this sort of typology-dependent approach contains a prior assumption of the universality of the separate working of the senses, on one hand, and a strategy for understanding cultural aspects of sensual experience in terms of the framework of the combinatory ratios over the senses, on the other. Citing a neurological research of Cytowic, she points out that "understandings based on the idea of differentially sensing modalities attached to specific organs should be replaced by understanding of the senses as interconnected in human perception."<sup>15</sup> As for the former strategy, it is in essence a conventional kind of methodology for cross-cultural comparison, which

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<sup>14</sup> As for Pink's article, see the footnote 4 and 5. Howes's "Response to Sarah Pink" appeared in the same space, where Pink presented her response to Howes's response, and again, Howes responded to Sarah's response (pp. 333–340). Tim Ingold. "Worlds of sense and sensing the world: a response to Sarah Pink and David Howes," *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, 19(3), 2011: 313–318. Howes, D. "Reply to Tim Ingold," *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, 19(3), 2011: 318–322. Tim Ingold's foregoing criticism appeared in "Anthropology of the senses: a first critique." In Tim Ingold *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. Routledge, 2000: 251–253.

<sup>15</sup> Pink, S. 2010, op. cit. p.332. As she cites that 'the five senses do not travel along separate channels, but interact to a degree few scientists would have believed only a decade ago,' ( from Cytowic, R. "Our hidden superpowers," *New Scientist* 24, 2010:46)

has no more efficacy in the age of increasing cross-boundary contacts and hence of decreasing importance of locally bounded idea of culture.

Pink's criticism may not pay enough attention to sophisticated and nuanced arguments of Howes's sensorial analysis which reveal his broader perspective as a social theorist including historical comparisons, and also not think through the possibility of a pragmatically substantialized phenomenological research orientation on the anthropology of the senses as the orientation is to be more or less inevitably fostered in order to accomplish an anthropological research under a different cultural environment. Also her criticism on the methodology of cross-cultural comparison is not an easy issue reaching a deep fundamental problem, which needs further more sophisticated discussions. However, for our later discussion, certain parts of the debate are relevant and therefore briefly take up the following issues in this regard:

- 1) Is it possible, for us, in the form of an academic discussion of our time, to do without the analytically salient focus on one or two (hypothetical) channels among the functioning of the interrelated multi-sensory modalities?
- 2) Is it possible for us, in the form of analytical research framework and strategy, to contextualize and grasp situated sensory experience in a unit of processual incident at the level of the perceptual, the behavioral, and the experiential that also cut across the biological, individual, social and cultural phases of sensorium at work?
- 3) As Howes points out, for a possible significant focus of cultural constitution of human experience as unfolding not only through general analysis but also through cultural comparisons (which would be not necessarily from the old idea of culture as some self-contained entity, but from a scope of dealing with multi-sited changing forms of hybrids), does phenomenological analysis in its pure form of epistemological operation need to be compensated or supplemented, at least partially, with some kind of comparison across manifestations of different cultural articulations, which is to be predicted on outside the phenomenological epistemological space?

As for the first issue, ideally we need a new language of academic writing that can retain the totality of phenomena without analytical compartmentalization of it into sizable number of analytically im-

posed elements; with the analytical dichotomies of reason/emotion, logic/sensibilities, rational/irrational and mind/body, researchers have been studying the phenomena that engage both aspects by sorting these phenomena basically into the two types, that is, one that reveals more rational aspect, and the other more irrational. Without this sorting and comparison, it would have been severely difficult to elaborate the researches on the dichotomous phenomena concerning human mind as appeared in human perception, action, and experience. As we briefly mentioned earlier, we, at this stage, admit the analytical compartmentalization only if it prepares for a full analytic framework that retrieves the totality of the phenomena. On the other hand, phenomenological anthropological perspective concerning the sensuous aspect of ritual action (as exemplified by Paul Stoller's research) or the embodied aspect of cultural performance with bodily engagement (as represented by Thomas J. Csordas) have given a seminal impact on the issue as to anthropological understandings of body and experience which constitute a situated whole indistinguishable from reason and emotion.<sup>16</sup> As Tim Ingold has been proposing a similar line of direction, we may be able to develop a new framework on the totality of sensory experience in order to get to our temporary research goal to position the sensorial in-between reason, and emotion, for a revision of reason/emotion and mind/body research paradigms. The problem at issue will eventually reach the uprising new stream of the "ontological turn" as clearly unfolding in those studies of Bruno Latour and Marilyn Strathern (see the footnote 3) which suggests to elaborate new ways of academic discourses along the line of relational ontological constitutions of actors including no-human actors, things, or machines.

The second issue is related to the importance of taking into consideration a processual aspect of sensory experience, which can develop a more effective revision for reason/emotion, or mind/body research. For instance, when Csordas discusses the importance of the appearance of speaking in the

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<sup>16</sup> Csordas, Thomas J. (Ed.) *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self*. Cambridge University Press, 1994. Ditto. *Body/Meaning/Healing*. Palgrave, 2002.

tongue or glossolalia in a North American charismatic healing, the processual unfolding of the speaking-in-the- tongue is more relevant to our understanding of this sensorial incident.<sup>17</sup>

What spells out in this trance-like ritual session lies in-between verbal language and acoustic paralinguistic emission of undifferentiated voice (glossolalia), which charges sensory bodily act for transiting people's engagement into a more interrelated play of sensorium in the gathering situation. The understanding of this transformative process of collective sensory interplay is crucial to grasp human sensory experience in coordinating relation to emotion and cognition. For this purpose, the second issue becomes important. As Tim Ingold has developed his phenomenological theory on walking, listening, and reading with relevance to learning in-group in a given environment, in this regard, we may also be able to modify his approach to the anthropological studies of the sensorium.

As for the third issue, perhaps, the purely phenomenological approach may negate our compromising pragmatic methodological movement between a first stage analytical compartmentalization, its suspension, and an eventual retrieval of the totality of the phenomena per se. However, at least within the philosophical discourse of phenomenology, the cultural aspect has not appeared for the understanding of human experience in perception and action, though there is an emerging new trend that takes up this issue. Kurt Goldstein's phenomenological discussion of aphasia contributed remarkably in the context of relativization of the biological/neurological understanding of his time; so did Binswanger against the background of psychiatry as a comparative plane, which itself was a socio-cultural epistemological product of the contrast of normal/pathological. Tim Ingold's phenomenological orientation is effective in reference to his anthropological field data and studies on tool-making and practical processual patterns of movements as humans' ways of pragmatic engagement in the surrounding environment with the situation of the interaction with other fellows. Thus, phenomenology seems to be situated in some place of reference as well as a shift or shifts of references conjointly with or outside the phenomenologically initiated space for its purified analysis, which introduces a comparative momentum in phenom-

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<sup>17</sup> Csordas, Thomas J. *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing*. University of California Press, 1994.

enology.

Thus, at least for the phenomenological endeavor as engaged in anthropological or clinical disciplines, it is indispensable to start from an initial plane as articulated within a given figure/ground setting so that the analysis can creatively deconstruct toward a new inversion of the given figure/ground setting where the momentum of comparison intrinsically booted. This would be the case, taking away the representational theory of objects, images, and their interpretations. Furthermore, with reference to the analytical argument as to some possible construction/constitution of human perception and its shift in history – deriving from new introductions of technology such as microscope, TV, information networks through micro-chips, robots, or virtual and interactive technologies – the purely prepared phenomenological epistemological space may not accommodate or may not be able to prepare an effective analysis as to the change of constitutional conditions of human perception, condition, and experience. To further elaborate Seremetakis's type of studies with phenomenological approach, one may need to draw an additional line beside phenomenology, for historical comparison.

With the above in mind, it would be worthwhile to briefly note Pink's recent proposal on ethnographic fieldwork.<sup>18</sup> She has been critical to ethnographies based on fieldwork of an asymmetrical kind, like those containing gendered biases; she instead advocates "walking methods" including collaborations with artists as her kind of research method in place of the long-term ethnographic fieldwork of the traditional kind, which for her is based on the essentialization of the self-contained culture in a particular locality. The former methods as compared to the latter can prepare anthropologists or people of other disciplines as well as artists for sensory ways of sharing the sensorial engagement of the people who walk together with one or another world of everyday life scenes towards which they practice, set perspectives and culturing their inhabitation. This is a very interesting point to think

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<sup>18</sup> Pink, S. 2010, op cit. and "Walking, Anthropology, Art and Documentary Practice : Thinking About Movement In Ethnographic Representation." Submitted as an unpublished paper for the International Conference, which I organized on *Frontiers of Anthropological Expression: Towards a New Relationship between Observation and Expression Using Visual Images and Other Art Forms*, Keio University, December 15, 2009.

of a new form of participatory research that can prepare, at this age of increasing cultural hybrids of networking, the momentum for symmetrical sharing of sensory experience in terms of mutual exchange of “living-together” opportunities, which would become an ontological basis for sensorial exchange as the base stone for understanding cognitions and emotions of other people. Not only sensory activation is needed while the sensorial anthropologist conducts her/his fieldwork as was indicated in section 3, but also the sharing process of sensing experience in doing-together incidents with people under investigation is the very significant momentum for understanding the world of other people’s sensorial life and their cultural logic and sensibilities.

#### **IV. Implications of the Sensorial Anthropological Pursuit for the Research Issue on Logic and Sensibilities**

The focus on the cultural life of the senses, or on the sensorial for understanding culture is actually an old theme, and brought theoretical insights as well as successful examples for cultural understandings. To take some of the examples briefly in regard to studies in people’s behavior and relations in Japanese culture,<sup>19</sup> the late Takeo Doi’s *Anatomy of Dependence* focused on *amae* which is a taste-related sensory category that weaves together the experience of sweetness and that of interpersonal relations in a cultural/metaphorical connotation; by way of his exposure to American psychiatric/psychoanalytic patients during the periods he stayed in the U.S., Doi revealed the term as being an important key to figure out the Japanese cultural values and emotional orientation, and accordingly, the sensory term is laden with a cultural sensitivity and a moral judgment of the Japanese.

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<sup>19</sup> Doi, Takao *The Anatomy of Dependence: The Key Analysis of Japanese Behavior* (J. Bester, Trans.). Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1973. Kuki, Shuzo *Iki no Kozo*. Iwanami-shoten, originally in 1930. I previously discussed on Kuki’s contribution to an elaborated method of cultural analysis: see Keizo Miyasaka “Posture as Cultural Discourse: Gendered Manner as Perceived ‘Iki’ in Modern Japan,” presented in the symposium on Foucault, Oct. 14, 1995, held at Victoria College, Victoria University in the University of Toronto [double-spaced 15 pages].

Under the rubric of a unique kind of phenomenology concerning the consciousness, Shuzo Kuki's *Iki no Kozo* presented a completely new method of cultural analysis, which was developed by way of his exposure to French cultural sensibilities as a point of comparison. "*Iki*" meaning "to live, inhabit, breezing, or willful sensing" was connected to a sensory perception as well as a judgment for culturally proper ways of dressing and demeanors centering around a dyad of a male and a female or the world of social encounters in times for leisure where a certain form of sociability and sociality appeared. The cultural consciousness (or ethos) as unfolded by this term indicates a sophisticated aesthetic judgment that reaches the level of sensitivity to be acquired through repeated operations of the sensory perception in cultural learning. Kuki clarified a structure of cultural consciousness that could be grasped via a certain set of related terms of *iki* through which a cultural logic and sensibilities formed a framework for structuring actions and practices. Kuki's remarkable analysis brought forth not only the cultural logic of Edo-Kanto cultural taste but also the feature of Japanese sensibilities as part and parcel of the cultural logic. Kuki also clarified the socio-cultural construction of the sensitivity and the cultural consciousness in that the structure of the consciousness had been shaped under the socio-cultural and political condition of the Edo period. The *iki*, consciousness had remained up until 1930s among a certain sector of the Japanese society, as cultural form tends to survive longer even after its original socio-economic correlates decline. Ruth Benedict's famous piece, *Chrysanthemum and Sword* was based on the approach to a culture by the symbols of that culture;<sup>20</sup> the "summarizing symbol" she chose as a key to get in a core of Japanese culture was a sensory one, i.e. a Japanese sword with a handguard with an inlaid decoration of chrysanthemum, which is indeed a sensory thrilling sword triggering her fear, on one hand and at the same time, aesthetically appealing to her on the other. According to Benedict's methodological premise of culturally significant sensory symbols, those symbols which reveal apparently contradictory appeals in the eyes of the American researcher should include some cultural secret of non-contradictory integra-

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<sup>20</sup> Ortner, Sherry B. "On key symbols." *American Anthropologist*. 75(5), 1973:1338–46. As a cultural analysis in the use of the summarizing symbols, Kuki presented a more elaborated method than that of Ruth Benedict in my opinion.

tion unfolded by a close anthropological analysis, To put it differently along the line of our approach, it is the cultural logic which integrates seemingly contradicting connotations as perceived by the outsiders of a culture.

The above are the samples of the foregoing endeavor, which suggests us to refocus on the formation of a cultural logic and its intrinsic relationship to cultural sensibilities with reference to the cultural life of the senses and the sensorial. The recognition of the relevance of sensorial research to logic/sensibilities studies including the investigations on cultural logic and sensibilities is still under way. Through the above examination of the scope and the debate in sensorial anthropology, it is clear that there is a need to further scrutinize the necessity for positioning the sensory/sensorial in human perception, action, and experience in the dyad of logic/sensibilities, reason/emotion, and ultimately mind and body.

Towards modern times, the sensory became underestimated as unreliable as in the case of the 20<sup>th</sup> century medical training that prioritized measurement by laboratory instruments and measuring devices.<sup>21</sup> However, according to sensorial anthropology with its series of findings, we are now able to advocate a culturally far more sophisticated model for the workings of the sensorium which mediates the aspect of the cultural formation of the sensibilities up to a higher level of sensitivity, and further on, the aspect of the sensorium as embodied in human perception, action and experience, which as such interact with the dyad of logic/sensibilities, reason/emotion, and ultimately mind/body. The sensorial at times can result in an effective intuitive judgment, which may turn out to be valid in terms of pragmatic problem solving as embedded in a given environment. Incidentally, in the newly developing field of evolutionary psychological anthropology of religion, considers “intuitive sensibilities” as being non-controllable innate fear reactions; footnotes<sup>22</sup> in case of an emergent danger, a sudden unexpected insertion of sensibilities occur at the level of innate trigger responses.

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<sup>21</sup> Borell, Merriley “Training the senses, training the mind.” In Bynum, W.F. & Porter, R. (Ed.), 1993, *op cit.* pp. 244–261.

<sup>22</sup> Boyer, Pascal *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Foundations of Religious Belief*. Basic Books, 2001. Boyer, Pascal & Lienard, Pierre “Ritual Behavior in Obsessive and Normal Individuals. Moderating Anxiety and Reorganizing the Flow of Action.” *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 17(4), 2008: 291–4.

Hypothetically, at the higher level, a heightened measure of intuition may all of a sudden occur as a result of a supplement of the immediate sensory incidents that is, as a product of accumulated human learning attaining the dimension of integral virtual navigations for effectively supplementing the immediateness in on-going emergent crawling of human experience, In these processes, logic and sensibilities inscribe their continuous interplay.

In short, the apparently dyadic operation of logic/sensibilities, or reason/emotion has to be described as embodied human experience because the operation always occurs as being situated in an environment of humans' ongoing practice and because of this, the dyad has to be anchored by way of the sensory. To repeat, the sensorial experience consists in a lived process for people in their sociality to continue inhabiting in the world of practices where logic/sensibilities and reason/emotion are to be situated in their relation. In this regard, we may need to modify the dyad to the triad, i.e. the dynamic triangular whole, by adding the sensorial, with our understanding that the triad consists in the whole range of biological, social, to culture processes. It is here that critical cultural neuroscience will have a very significant contribution, in that it has been investigating the interplay of culture and neural processes concerning cultural articulation of the sensory ranging from the issue on the influence of ethnophysiology over the sensibilities to different body zones and sensations, to the issue of imagination over the activation of memories.<sup>23</sup> In contemporary neuroscience, while it has been developing research for clarifying mind and experience as phenomena emerging from neural networks at a certain level of systemic complexity and its organization, cultural influences over operations of neural networks have not yet be a significant focus for its research. Compensating this neglected research topic, a new attempt for critical neuroscience now has been promoting the view that this organization is not confined to the brain only, but also includes loops through the body and the environment, most importantly, though a culturally constructed social world . Mind is not located in the brain nor in the body, but in a world of interrelated entities among which humans

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<sup>23</sup> Choudhury, S., & Kirmayer, L. J. "Cultural neuroscience and psychopathology: prospects for cultural psychiatry." *Progress in Brain Research*, 178, 2009: 261–281.

are of the main focus.<sup>24</sup> In close collaboration with critical cultural neuroscience which is to be further expected to develop rapidly in the near future, we will be able to substantiate the above framework for arriving at a more effective understanding of logic/sensibilities, reason/emotion, as situated in and mediated by the sensorial, and further for reaching a new horizon of overcoming the divided dichotomy of mind and body.

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<sup>24</sup>. We now point out the relevancy of Bateson's notion of Mind to the relational ontological approach as briefly referred in footnote 3, Bateson, Gregory. *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity*. Wildwood House, 1979.

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