

Original Contributions - Originalbeiträge

Christoph Wulf

The Movement of Repetition: Incorporation through Mimetic, Ritual and Imaginative Movements

In the following, I would like to contribute our understanding of movement by examining a few inter-linked aspects of repetition. Human life is only possible through the repetitive movements (activities) of breathing, eating and drinking. These movements are related to the cyclical time and the rhythmising of lives. Human beings develop their existence and knowledge through cultural learning. This learning, education and human development take place essentially through mimetic processes, for which repetitions are constitutive. Mimetic, ritual and imaginative movements of repetitions play an indispensable role in the production and transformation of individuals and communities. They are essential for the creation of social life.

1. Repetition, Cyclical Time and the Rhythmising of Life

Life is constituted by repetition. This holds for all primates and thus also for human beings: we breathe, drink and eat not just once but repeatedly and this is the only way we can live. This fact leads to a cyclic experience of time, which we also have through the seasonal rhythms of nature. Human beings' lives are also divided into phases: birth, childhood, youth and adulthood. These phases of life are repeated from generation to generation. *Homo sapiens* would not have evolved if repetitions of human life had not taken place over countless generations. These processes are governed by Darwin's laws of evolution, the laws of gradual and continuous development and the laws of evolution of a broad range of genetic variation and selection (Darwin, 2006). Evolution takes place in alternating phases of stagnation and accelerated change; it is not subject to sudden leaps. This makes it clear that human life is associated with repetition along with the rhythms of nature and the history of life on earth. Human life in the form of *Homo sapiens* is the result of a long process of evolution in the course of which it develops, both retaining and changing many different characteristics. With repetition in the form of many generations, cyclical time has become a feature of the evolution of human life, both phylogenetically and ontogenetically (Wulf, 2013a).

For a long time, the evolution of humanity was thought to be the result of a linear process that had a beginning and the climax culminating in the existence of *Homo sapiens*. This way of viewing things loses sight of the cyclical character

of time. Under the influence of the monotheistic religions and the self-image of a secularised culture, the linear understanding of time has taken precedence over the cyclical understanding. For many people, the linear conceptualisation of time in the form of *chronocracy* has eclipsed other conceptualisations of time such as *kairos*, *cyclical or rhythmic time* and thus also suppressed the anthropological significance of repetition from human consciousness (Kamper & Wulf, 1987). Nietzsche's notion of the 'eternal return' stresses less the cyclical than the repetitive nature of time, movement and life and points to the paradox of the repetition of what is not repeatable. Every event is singular and unique, but also becomes universal. In the process of repetition, similarity and difference arise. It is a reminder of mortality and thus also of the fact that the world is not within our grasp. This ultimate powerlessness of human beings is not to be denied and repetitions are an attempt to assert ourselves against the transience of life.

Many repetitions are rhythmic in nature. They connect individual and collective activities together in time and space. Rhythm is movement and transformation. It is characterised by regular repetitions, variations on movements, switching between strong and weak elements and sequentiality.¹ Not only the changes that take place from day to night, spring to summer and autumn to winter, or from sunshine and calm to rain and storms, but also in our heartbeat, ingestion of food and digestion and human gait are rhythmically repeated processes. A tension arises between these rhythms or varying repetitions and the increasing acceleration and dominance of linear time structures. Taking the story of the creation as an example, according to which God created the world in six days before decreeing that there should also be a day for rest and contemplation, Jean-Claude Schmitt demonstrates that not only does our division of time into weeks with six days of work and one day of rest follow the order of time of the Creator God (Schmitt, 2016), but our everyday lives are also strongly influenced by individual and social rhythms and our Western culture by repetitive rhythms found in language, poetry, music, song, dance and painting. Many memories and dreams are rhythmic and also many of our local, regional and forms of communication and labour (Wulf, 2016). Hence there is a need to rediscover the anthropological significance of rhythmic repetition.

2. Cultural Learning and Repetition

Human beings are *homines educandi* and *homines educabiles*, i.e. living creatures who are dependent on education and who can at the same time be educated. Human beings need education in order to survive and to develop as a society.

¹ Cf. the chapter 'Zur Theorie des Rhythmus', in Bünner and Röthig 1983. These authors distinguish four elements of rhythm: (1) repetition; (2) linking and grouping; (3) accentuation, intonation and intensity; and (4) continuity, regularity and beat.

As human beings we [re]produce ourselves through education; we create ourselves culturally and socially. If this process is not successful, we deteriorate and lose our viability. We create ourselves through cultural learning. Without the movement of repetition and the rhythmisation of learning, cultural education is not possible. This is evident in how small children learn movements and particularly to walk upright, and in how they acquire language and other social and cultural skills. As in the history of life and hominisation, repetition plays a constitutive role in human learning. Max Scheler (2009), Helmuth Plessner (1970, 1980–1985) and Arnold Gehlen (1988), the main representatives of Philosophical Anthropology, a discipline that evolved in Germany during the first half of the 20th century, tried to define what is specific to human beings (Wulf, 2013a, ch. 2). In contrast to non-human primates, human beings have an environment that is not exclusively determined by instincts. In contrast to non-human primates which are bound by their drives and environments, humans can overcome restrictions placed on them by nature, are independent of their environments, and can adapt to the world around them and its changes. Such an imagining and thinking of ‘has the world’, that is, it can grapple with, use and shape the world in accordance with its own intentions. In contrast to animals which perceive their environments in terms of their drives and instincts, human beings’ weak instincts and the hiatus they experience between perceiving and fulfilling an instinctual demand enable them to be intelligent. They can thus also grasp the essence of objects, and therefore the world, as opposed to seeing only a specific environment. The pivotal characteristic of human beings’ relationship to the world is openness towards the world. This makes humans receptive and open to quite different types of experience that enable us to perceive the world as objects. This is both a potential and a task. It is made possible by shaking off the fetters of the environment and by the existential release from the sphere of the organic. Thus, the objects of resistance which the human organism perceives in the outside world are transformed into mere objects. We therefore learn as we engage with the world, a process in which repetition and the embodiment to which it leads play a central role.

I would like to give two examples to illustrate this, the first being mimetic processes, in the course of which culture is passed on from one generation to the next and modified, and the second, rituals, which also require repetition to function.

3. Human Development through Mimetic Processes

Mimetic movements can be understood as processes of repetition, recurrence and returns which are of central importance for the phylogenetic and ontogenetic evolution of humanity. As long ago as the fourth century BC, Aristotle emphasised that human beings are the most important mimetic animals and take pleasure in mimetic processes. This understanding was preceded by Plato’s insight

in the *Republic* that education (*paideia*) and mimesis are synonymous. The term mimesis came used in Greece originated from Sicily – the home of mime. An investigation of the etymology of the term thus yields two meanings. There is no particular link between mimesis and music or dance; the link is with *mimos*. The role of the *mimos* is not to copy or to reproduce something, but to perform a burlesque, to act as the clown. These scenes from the everyday lives of simple people that were performed at the celebrations of the wealthy to entertain them were deliberately exaggerated and repetitive. They were often ribald and disrespectful. According to this view of the development of mimesis, which is supported by a great deal of linguistic evidence, the origins of mimesis lie in cultural performative practices and have a distinctively sensuous aspect, with an emphasis on movements of the body.

Plato (2000) and Aristotle (2013) were convinced that mimetic behaviour has an irresistible power, that is, it is driven by a compulsion to repeat. For Plato, this meant that anything that could endanger young people, that is, a large portion of the literature in which human beings do not behave in line with the moral norms of the *Republic*, must be excluded from the State. Aristotle concluded from the insight that mimetic processes are extremely difficult to resist that it is necessary to do everything possible to enable human beings to resist the pressures of mimesis.

Plato and Aristotle regarded art as mimesis. Aristotle viewed music as the imitation of ethos; unlike painting and sculpture, which create visible lines, music creates a clearly felt inner movement and has ethical effects. Nonetheless, tragedy, the mimesis of people in action, is the heart of his *Poetics*. In tragedy, nothing is represented that has already taken place. Its themes and plots are rooted in the mythical, which is clearly not reality. The plot of a tragedy should be performed so that the audience experiences ‘pity’ and ‘fear’ in a mimetic process, thereby undergoing a cathartic experience and a strengthening of character.

According to Aristotle, mimetic movements and actions do not create a copy of reality whereby the difference between the model and depiction is supposed to disappear. Homer’s representation of Achilles is an example of this. Even though Achilles is depicted as a short-tempered, reckless man, he still appears predominantly as an outstanding hero. At the centre of painting and poetry lies mimesis; but it does not imply the mere copying of the externalities of nature and the portrayal of individual features. Art and poetry aim much more at ‘beautifying’ and ‘improving’ individual features, by a universalisation. Mimesis is thus copying and changing in one (Ricoeur, 1984–1988; Gebauer and Wulf, 1995; Wulf, 2005).

The desire to become like others leads children to want to be like their older brothers and sisters and their parents, who in turn enjoy it when their younger

siblings or children relate to them mimetically and want to become like them. Mimetic movements and processes forge links between members of different generations, the focus being on repetition. It is not a matter of a simple copying process as carried out by a photocopying machine that can produce any number of identical copies. In contrast, mimetic processes are constructive processes in which repetitive imitation of an action leads to different results in everyone who is behaving mimetically. The way everyone carries out his or her mimetic action is determined by his or her own constitution and thus differs from that of other people. In social life, the production of a copy like that made by a photocopier is not possible. Each repetition is a unique process which leads to different results (Gebauer & Wulf, 1995, 1998, 2003). A good example is the writing of a signature. As graphologists assure us, every signature is different from the one before and the one afterwards. Forgers can be recognised by the fact that their signatures do not vary.

Repetitions are new and unique movements based on a pattern acquired in a mimetic process (Taussig, 1993; Wulf, 2013b). We can see this in action in how small children learn to walk upright. Upright gait has played an important role in phylogenesis and ontogenesis. It resulted in the freeing up of the hands and their development as a means of labour and the production of culture and community. The capacity for articulation in speech, the development of the senses and many other faculties were linked to the development of upright gait. We know, for example, from reports of missionaries in India that children who do not grow up with human beings but with animals, do not learn the movements of walking upright. They have no opportunity to relate by means of mimesis to people who walk upright which would prompt them to repeat the necessary movements. Think of the persistent efforts made by small children as they learn to walk: they repeat their efforts to stand upright and walk like their parents and older brothers and sisters over and over again until they have incorporated the upright walk, are successful and thus become part of the community. Here again: although children learn to walk upright by relating to their parents and older siblings, when we look closer, we see that each child learns in its own way. Every human being develops their 'own' upright gait, which makes them recognisable even from a distance. We also know from movement studies that the how of every gait varies in accordance with the person's mood and state of well-being.

Wittgenstein drew attention to the fact that we learn to speak in speech and action games in which as children we experience through mimesis how actions and speech are intertwined and have incessantly incorporated this in repetitive acts (Wittgenstein, 1973). As children we watch our parents acting and speaking, relate to them mimetically and in so doing incorporate these processes and render them available to ourselves by means of repetition. These cultural processes are

characterised by an interweaving of action and language and multimodal; they take place in different forms and on different levels. They transport feelings and express closeness and distance between children and parents without their being aware of it. How actions, speech and feelings are interwoven can be illustrated by the following example: a small child laboriously learns to eat its food with a spoon and is praised by its parents as it does so. Speech is learned as the child learns how to eat; at the same time the parents' affection for their child is expressed in their acknowledging words. The repetition of these and other similar multimodal situations convey to the child their parents' esteem and love.

These insights into the importance of repetition for the social and emotional development of human beings which have been confirmed by numerous ethnographic studies have recently also been confirmed by research in the disciplines of neuroscience and evolutionary anthropology. For example, neuroscience research results confirm the role played by mimetic movements and repetitions in our understanding of social interaction (Rizzolatti & Sinigaglia, 2008). Studies have shown that the same processes take place, in an attenuated form, in the brain of a person who observes a person being beaten by another person as take place in the brain of the person suffering from the beating. The assumption is that we have a system of mirror neurons in our brains which provide the physiological basis for our perception of a person being beaten. However, the fact that we can understand the effects of the beating is only partially explainable by neurology. Here the social and cultural dimensions of being beaten and their effects on the beaten person are of central importance for gaining an adequate understanding of what happens.

Research in evolutionary anthropology has also shown that even small children can grasp the meaning of actions and use them as a basis for a repetition (Tomasello, 1999). Non-human primates are never able to understand the meaning of an action and react as children are already capable of doing at only 8 months of age. This can be seen in the case of gestures. Gestures remain more or less meaningless for non-human primates unless they are associated with food or procreation, whereas even very small children are already able to grasp their meaning which enables them to react in the form of repetition.

4. Mimetic Repetition and the Production of Violence

As productive and creative as the repetitive elements in mimetic processes are, mimetic repetition also has destructive sides, as René Girard has pointed out. These destructive aspects can also result from of a desire to become similar to other people. Violence can also arise from a desire to be mimetically similar. When two men desire a woman or two women a man, the two desiring individuals compete with each other and intensify their desire in the mimetic process that evolves.

The two become more similar to each other in their desire and deepen their passion. Their reciprocal mimetic relatedness intensifies their desire so much that there is frequently no other way out of their passion except violence (Girard, 1977, 1986).

The starting point of this theory of violence is the insight that in mimesis there lies a necessity that is inextricably connected with being human, a reason for the emergence of violence among humans. Mimetic appropriation of attitudes and behaviours creates competition and rivalry, which then in turn lead to acts of violence, especially such that are imitated and repeated. In most societies, every act of violence is followed by another, retaliatory act of violence, an occurrence which threatens the cohesion of the society. Two strategies present themselves as ways to gain control over the potential for violence that emerges from mimesis: prohibition and ritual. The aim of prohibition is to exclude everything which threatens the sense of community. This includes conflicts of competition, rivalry and violence, which are all possible results of mimesis. Mimetic behaviour which aims at eliminating differences that are essential to the structural maintenance of the internal order of a society, such as the behaviours necessitated by hierarchies and the division of functions, is forbidden. These essential types of behaviour need to be repeated and preserved because they fulfil an integrative function and society would be threatened if unrestricted mimesis were allowed. It is necessary to restrain mimesis with prohibitions in order to strike a balance between its powers of social cohesion and those of social dissolution. While the goal of prohibitions is to suppress violence that threatens the cohesion of a society and they do so by excluding the mimetic rivalry which contains the potential for such violence. Rituals are an attempt to channel manifest mimetic crises in such a way that integration within the society is not endangered. When prohibitions are violated, a mimetic crisis arises that jeopardises the social consensus with a vicious circle of reciprocal violence. It is the task of rituals to master the threat to the cohesion of a society in mimetic conflict by involving its members in a co-operative act. The aim of prohibition is to prevent mimetic crises emerging in the first place; in contrast, rituals pursue the goal of overcoming such crises by the repetition of certain acts intended to foster integration and the maintenance of the society (Dieckmann, Wulf, & Wimmer, 1996; Gil Capeloa & Wulf, 2015).

5. The Movement of Repetition in Rituals

I would now like to move on from the importance of repetition in mimetic processes for the cultural learning of individuals to show, taking the use of rituals as an example, that repetition also plays a constitutive role in the evolution of communities and the development of practical knowledge (Kraus, Budde, Mietzge, & Wulf, 2017). If there were no repetition, there would be no social order or

society. Repetitions are necessary to produce and sustain the coherence of human communities and their members' sense of belonging. Ritual is one of the most important forms of repetition (Wulf et al., 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2011).

All approaches to classifying rituals are faced with the fact that rituals are the product of repetitive multidimensional processes of symbolisation and construction. The phenomena studied are also more complex than the concepts and theories used to describe them. This also applies to the attempt to organise the field of ritual studies by types of occasion and to distinguish, for instance, the following kinds of rituals repetitive elements of which are constitutive:

- Rituals of transition (birth and childhood, initiation and adolescence, marriage, death)
- Seasonal rituals (birthdays, days of remembrance, national holidays)
- Rituals of intensification (eating, celebrating, love, sexuality)
- Rituals of rebellion (peace and ecological movements, rituals of youth)
- Rituals of interaction (greetings, taking leave, conflicts) (Gebauer & Wulf, 1998, 130).

Rituals are tied to time and space, and their cultural and historical conditions are embodied in these terms. Different spaces have differing effects on the structure, quality, and style of the rituals that take place within them. Ritual spaces differ from physical spaces. On the one hand, rituals create ritual stagings and performances; on the other hand, they create ritual spaces, using body movements, settings, and symbolic and indexical frames. Rituals and space are not related in terms of subject/object or cause and effect, but interactively. Both rituals and spaces are performative.

Many rituals take place in the same space and help to change its character. Thus, it is liturgical rituals that make a church into a sacral space. Ceremonies and festivals are also often bound to the same space that becomes a special space through ritual repetition. One example is a visit from a foreign head of state to the governmental palace of a country which is specially prepared to receive the visitor. Festivals such as carnival also alter the urban environments of Rio de Janeiro, Oruro and Cologne through ritual repetitions. Ritual processions in Rio have made it into a carnival city whose citizens accordingly enact and perform the urban space.

Likewise, family rituals transform everyday spaces such as living rooms into festival rooms. This happens, for instance, at Christmas, when living rooms are decorated and made into festive Christmas spaces. This reorganisation of space and time is carried out every year when the living room is transformed into a space for celebrating Christmas. In most families, this is done by performing appropriate rituals staging of which remains the same and the performance of which varies

with each repetition (Wulf & Zirfas, 2007). In an ethnographic study carried out at the homes of three German families and three Japanese families, we showed how family members in both countries create contentment and happiness by repeating their Christmas and New Year's rituals (Wulf, Suzuki, et al., 2011).

Several factors play an important role in ritual repetition, including *time*, *space*, the *performative nature* and the *collective nature* of the action. The meaning imputed to a ritual repetition can vary. The performativity of ritual repetition brings the body into play, which leads to the development of bodily, sensory experiences (Johnson, 1990; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Their performativity can be interpreted in different ways. However, even if its interpretation varies, the performativity of a ritual repetition can contribute to the integration of a community. For example, a six-year-old girl is enthralled by the Christmas tree and the Christmas atmosphere, whereas her 17-year-old brother finds the family staging of the event oppressive and incompatible with his need for independence. However, if both participate in the ritual process, this will have effects and can create feelings of belonging and being part of a community. This is the significance of the performativity of ritual repetitions.

Mimetic processes play an important role in ritual repetitions. To start with, they relate to previously performed ritual actions, the current repeat of which is the result of a creative, mimetic act of reference in which not sameness, but similarity is engendered. Here we have the diachronic dimension, which is oriented towards the past. In addition to this, there is also a synchronic dimension of mimesis in repetition which is also important and in which the participants relate to each other in their ritual activities. This mimetic reference to each other is necessary for the staging of the ritual arrangement to be successful in a functional and aesthetic sense (Michaels & Wulf, 2013).

During the performance of rituals, the participants orient themselves simultaneously and directly towards the actions of other participants. They do so largely by means of mimesis, using the senses, the movements of the body and a joint orientation towards words, sounds, language, and music. A ritual can only take place as a structured whole if all actions are successfully coordinated, precisely orchestrated and adequately embodied. If the interaction is to be harmonious, the ritual activities must be mimetically coordinated with each other. If this is achieved, energies can 'flow' between the ritual participants, and this is experienced as intense, pleasant, and bonding (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

With the aid of diachronic and synchronic mimetic references, the ritual repetition is inscribed in the bodies of the participants in the ritual. In this process, the images, schemata and meanings that are produced become part of the participants' imaginaries. At the same time, the movements of the ritual are incorporated

into the participants' bodies resulting in the development of practical knowledge. Practical knowledge is implicit or tacit knowledge and as such difficult to investigate in research. It results from repetitions which contribute to its development in mimetic processes. It is a specific form of knowledge, which Gilbert Ryle has called 'knowing how', as opposed to 'knowing that' (Ryle, 1990).

With his distinction between 'knowing how and knowing that', Gilbert Ryle in the 1940s already drew attention to the fact that there are different forms of knowledge, the practical implementations of which that are referred to as 'knowing how' are difficult to research. With these methods, the focus is not on the acquisition of factual knowledge which can be expressed linguistically. On the contrary, 'knowing how' refers to a skill which enables the person to act and is learned in mimetic processes by relating to the practices of other people. Rituals are an example of this. Rituals and ritual repetitions are not statements, reasons or explanations. They must be staged and performed. The knowledge required for rituals is a performative, practical kind of knowledge. This differs from the knowledge which is needed to describe, interpret and analyse rituals. 'Knowing how' is thus a practical form of knowledge – a skill which is incorporated and visible in a person's repetitive performances. Other examples of this knowledge which are expressed as skills include games and actions in sports (e.g., football), dance, music, painting, drama and performance (Fischer-Lichte & Wulf, 2001, 2004; Fischer-Lichte, 2008). Knowing how, i.e., 'skills', is also required as a pivotal form of knowledge that is acquired through repetition and used in everyday activities such as driving a car, cooking, using a mobile phone or navigation system. In mimetic processes today, mobile phones, smartphones and tablets merge with the body and with their assistance its effects are expanded beyond our immediate bodily boundaries.

Practical knowledge is acquired through ritual repetition. The significance of ritual actions for the embodiment of the values, attitudes and emotions of a community and the development of practical knowledge lies in the role of repetition in the creation of this form of knowledge. It is learned mimetically in body-oriented, sensory processes which enable us to act competently in institutions and organisations. This kind of knowledge is an important aspect of practical social knowledge and is the means by which institutions become rooted in the human body, enabling us to orient ourselves in social situations. Images, schemas and movements are learned in mimetic processes and these render the individual capable of action. Since these repetitive processes involve products of history and culture, scenes, arrangements and performances, these processes are among the most important ways of handing down culture from one generation to the next (Wulf, 2014; Hüppauf & Wulf, 2009).

Human life is made possible by biological repetition. In order to evolve, it needs cultural learning conveyed in dynamic mimetic movements that are based on

repetition. With the aid of these processes, rituals engender social life and incorporate the values, goals and structures of a society in its members. In this overall process, repetition plays a role that is constitutive of culture and human beings.

Summary

The movement of repetition is irrevocably linked to the constitution of the human body and is therefore a human condition. The process of hominisation makes this clear. In the body of *Homo sapiens* and in his movements a connection between nature and culture is created. The movement of repetition is of central importance. Repetition is essential for the evolution of *Homo sapiens*, the development of communities and individuals. Repetitions are mimetic; they lead to productive imitations in which new elements and events also emerge. Mimetic movements and the repetitive aspects they contain open up the historical and cultural world to people. Repetitions in rituals lead to the acquisition of an implicit silent practical body knowledge. The emotions arising in mimetic processes are movements through which an orientation in the world takes place. The imaginations based on the eccentricity of the human being and on movements of repetition contribute to the development of a collective and individual imaginary.

Keywords: Movement, repetition, hominisation, mimesis, ritual, imagination.

Die Bewegung der Wiederholung. Inkorporierung durch Mimesis, Ritual und Imagination

Zusammenfassung

Die Bewegung der Wiederholung ist unwiderruflich mit der Beschaffenheit des menschlichen Körpers verbunden und daher eine Bedingung des Menschen. Im Körper des *Homo sapiens* und in seinen Bewegungen verschränken sich Natur und Kultur. Die Bewegung der Wiederholung ist dabei von zentraler Bedeutung. Sie trägt wesentlich bei zur Hominisation und zur Entwicklung von Gemeinschaften und Individuen. Wiederholungen sind mimetisch; sie führen zu produktiven Nachahmungen, in denen auch neue Elemente und Ereignisse emergieren. In mimetische Bewegungen erschließen sich Menschen historische und kulturelle Welten. Um Gemeinschaft und Soziale zu erzeugen und um praktisches Körperwissen zu schaffen, bedarf es der mimetischen Wiederholungen in Ritualen. In Ritualen tragen mimetische Prozesse nicht nur zur Genese des Sozialen, sondern auch zur Entstehung von Emotionen bei. Für die Entwicklung der Imagination und des kollektiven und individuellen Imaginären sind mimetische Prozesse und Rituale ebenfalls von großer Bedeutung.

Schlüsselwörter: Bewegung, Wiederholung, Hominisation, Mimesis, Ritual, Imagination.

References

- Aristotle. (2013). *Poetics* (A. Kenny, Trans.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Bünner, G., & Röthig, P. (1983). *Grundlagen und Methoden rhythmischer Erziehung*. Stuttgart, Germany: Klett.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). *Flow. The psychology of optimal experience*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Darwin, Ch. (2006). *On the origin of the species by means of natural selection*. Mineola, NY: Dover.
- Dieckmann, B., Wulf, Ch., & Wimmer, M. (Eds.) (1996). *Violence. Nationalism, racism, xenophobia*. Muenster, Germany: Waxmann.

- Fischer-Lichte, E. (2008). *Performative aesthetics*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Fischer-Lichte, E., & Wulf, Ch. (Eds.) (2001). "Theorien des Performativen" (issue title). *Paragrana*, 10(1), 2001.
- Fischer-Lichte, E., & Wulf, Ch. (Eds.) (2004). "Praktiken des Performativen" (issue title). *Paragrana*, 13(1).
- Gebauer, G., & Wulf, Ch. (1995). *Mimesis: Culture, art, society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Gebauer, G., & Wulf, Ch. (1998). *Spiel, Ritual, Geste: Mimetisches Handeln in der sozialen Welt*. Reinbek, Germany: Rowohlt.
- Gebauer, G., & Wulf, Ch. (2003). *Mimetische Weltzugänge: Soziales Handeln – Rituale und Spiele – ästhetische Produktionen*. Stuttgart, Germany: Kohlhammer.
- Gehlen, A. (1988). *Man: His nature and place in the world* (C. McMillan & K. Pillemer, Trans.). Introduction by K.-S. Rehberg. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Gil Capeloa, I., & Wulf, Ch. (Eds.) (2015). *Hazardous future. Disaster, representation and the assessment of risk*. Berlin, Germany: de Gruyter.
- Girard, R. (1977). *Violence and the sacred*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Girard, R. (1986). *The scapegoat*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hüppauf, B., & Wulf, Ch. (Eds.) (2009). *Dynamics and performativity of imagination: The image between the visible and the invisible*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Johnson, M. (1990). *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Kamper, D., & Wulf, Ch. (Eds.) (1987). *Die sterbende Zeit. Zwanzig Diagnosen*. Neuwied, Germany: Luchterhand.
- Kraus, A., Budde, J., Hietzge, M., & Wulf, Ch. (Eds.) (2017). *Handbuch Schweigendes Wissen*. Weinheim, Germany: Beltz Juventa.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Michaels, A., & Wulf, Ch. (Eds.) (2013). *Exploring the senses: Emotions, performativity, and ritual*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Plato. (2000). *The republic* (T. Griffith, Trans.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Plessner, H. (1970). *Laughing and crying: A study of the limits of human behavior*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Plessner, H. (1980-1985). *Gesammelte Schriften*. In G. Dux, O. Marquard, & E. Ströker (Eds.), 10 vols. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Suhrkamp.
- Ricoeur, P. (1984-1988). *Time and narrative*, 3 vols. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Rizzolatti, G., & Sinigaglia, C. (2008). *Mirrors in the brain: How our minds share actions and emotions*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Ryle, G. (1990). Knowing how and knowing that. In Ryle (Ed.), *Collected papers* (Vol. 2, pp. 212–225). Bristol, UK: Thoemmes.
- Scheler, M. (2009). *The human place in the cosmos*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Schmitt, J.-C. (2016). *Les rythmes au Moyen Âges*. Paris, France: Gallimard.
- Taussig, M. (1993). *Mimesis and alterity: A particular history of the senses*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Tomasello, M. (1999). *The cultural origins of human cognition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wittgenstein, L. (1973). *Philosophical investigations: The English text of the third edition*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Wulf, Ch. (2005). *Zur Genese des Sozialen: Mimesis, Performativität, Ritual*. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript.
- Wulf, Ch. (2013a). *Anthropology. A continental perspective*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Wulf, Ch. (2013b). *Das Rätsel des Humanen*. München, Germany: Wilhelm Fink.
- Wulf, Ch. (2014). *Bilder des Menschen. Imaginäre und performative Grundlagen der Kultur*. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript.
- Wulf, Ch. (Ed.). (2016). *Exploring alterity in a globalized world*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Wulf, Ch., & Zirfas, J. (Eds.) (2007). *Pädagogik des Performativen*. Weinheim, Germany: Beltz.
- Wulf, Ch., Althans, B., Audehm, K., Bausch, C., Göhlich, M., Sting, S., ... Zirfas, J. (2001). *Das Soziale als Ritual: Zur performativen Bildung von Gemeinschaften*. Opladen, Germany: Leske und Budrich.
- Wulf, Ch., Althans, B., Audehm, K., Bausch, C., Göhlich, M., Sting, S., ... Zirfas, J. (2010). *Ritual and identity. The staging and performing of rituals in the lives of young people*. London, UK: Tuffnell Press.

- Wulf, Ch., Althans, B., Audehm, K., Bausch, C., Jörissen, B., Göhlich, M., ... Zirfas, J. (2004). *Bildung im Ritual: Schule, Familie, Jugend, Medien*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Wulf, Ch., Althans, B., Audehm, K., Blaschke, G., Ferrin, N., Kellermann, I., ... Schinkel, S. (2011). *Die Geste in Erziehung, Bildung und Sozialisation: Ethnographische Fallstudien*. Wiesbaden, Germany: VS-Verlag.
- Wulf, Ch., Althans, B., Blaschke, G., Ferrin, N., Göhlich, M., Jörissen, B., ... Zirfas, J. (2007). *Lernkulturen im Umbruch: Rituelle Praktiken in Schule, Medien, Familie und Jugend*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Wulf, Ch., Suzuki, S., Zirfas, J., Inoue, Y., Kellermann, I., Ono, F. & Takenaka, N. (2011). *Das Glück der Familie: Ethnographische Studien in Deutschland und Japan*. Wiesbaden, Germany: VS-Verlag.

Christoph Wulf, Dr. phil., is Professor of Anthropology and Education at the Freie Universität Berlin and Visiting Professor and Research Fellow in many parts of the world. The main focus of his research includes historical-cultural anthropology, aesthetic, cultural and intercultural education, mimesis and imagination research. His last book is *Bildung als Wissen vom Menschen im Anthropozän* (2020). His books have been translated into 20 languages. He is Vice President of the German UNESCO Commission.

Address: Freie Universität Berlin, FB Erziehungswissenschaft, Habelschwerdter Allee 45, D-14195 Berlin;

Email: christoph.wulf@fu-berlin.de