

Zeitschrift: Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte = Revue suisse d'histoire religieuse et culturelle = Rivista svizzera di storia religiosa e culturale

Herausgeber: Vereinigung für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte

Band: 113 (2019)

Artikel: The Sacred Heart as body and embodiment : contribution to a topography and cartography of modes and motives in the history of its devotion

Autor: Pahud de Mortanges, Elke

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-847025>

Nutzungsbedingungen

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist die Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften auf E-Periodica. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Zeitschriften und ist nicht verantwortlich für deren Inhalte. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern beziehungsweise den externen Rechteinhabern. Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen sowie auf Social Media-Kanälen oder Webseiten ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. [Mehr erfahren](#)

Conditions d'utilisation

L'ETH Library est le fournisseur des revues numérisées. Elle ne détient aucun droit d'auteur sur les revues et n'est pas responsable de leur contenu. En règle générale, les droits sont détenus par les éditeurs ou les détenteurs de droits externes. La reproduction d'images dans des publications imprimées ou en ligne ainsi que sur des canaux de médias sociaux ou des sites web n'est autorisée qu'avec l'accord préalable des détenteurs des droits. [En savoir plus](#)

Terms of use

The ETH Library is the provider of the digitised journals. It does not own any copyrights to the journals and is not responsible for their content. The rights usually lie with the publishers or the external rights holders. Publishing images in print and online publications, as well as on social media channels or websites, is only permitted with the prior consent of the rights holders. [Find out more](#)

Download PDF: 09.09.2025

ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, E-Periodica, <https://www.e-periodica.ch>

The Sacred Heart as Body and Embodiment Contribution to a Topography and Cartography of Modes and Motives in the History of its Devotion

Elke Pahud de Mortanges

The veneration and commemoration of the Sacred Heart was forced in the 19th century as an instrument of ecclesiastic restauration and papal loyalty.¹ The fact, that in the majority of cases it was represented as a very concrete piece of flesh in the chest or in the hand of a quite feminine² Jesus, was qualified by enlightened circles of theologians as trivalization and «visceral devotion», as well as tastelessness, religious kitsch and «heaven full of perfume».³ Until today this prejudice of tastelessness continues and is subliminally applied in scholarly theology.

As right as it may be, inasmuch as it names excesses and exaggerations of sentimental decoration, instrumentalization or trivalization, this evaluation at the same time obscures the fact that so-called popular piety's focus on the somatic and bodily aspect of the Sacred Heart is a rather adequate understanding and expression of the fundamental anatomy of salvation in Christianity. One could even say that in a way popular piety as a somatic religiosity has always been aware of this in a quite unconscious-conscious way. To highlight this, we will apply the category and concept of body and embodiment as theoretical frame-

¹ Norbert Busch, *Katholische Frömmigkeit und Moderne. Die Sozial- und Mentalitätsgeschichte des Herz-Jesu-Kultes in Deutschland zwischen Kulturkampf und Erstem Weltkrieg*, Gütersloh 1997; John Moore, *Herz-Jesu-Verehrung in Deutschland. Religiöse, soziale und politische Aspekte einer Frömmigkeitsform*, Petersberg 1997.

² Irmtraud von Olenhusen, *Feminisierung von Religion und Kirche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, in: Ingrid Lukatis/Regina Sommer, *Religion und Geschlechterverhältnis*, Opladen 2000, 37–49.

³ See Claudia Schlager, *Kult und Krieg. Herz Jesu – Sacré Coeur – Christus Rex im deutsch-französischen Vergleich 1914–1925*, Tübingen 2011. Schlager gives a wide overview of the criticism and reservations expressed in the enlightened theological circles of the 19th century: «Geschmacklosigkeit» (123), «Gift religiöser Sentimentalität» (123), «ein ganzer Himmel voll Parfümerie» (127), «Eingeweideandacht» (98).

work and analytical tool in order to present and to analyse different modes and motives of embodiment and disembodiment of the Sacred Heart in the history of its devotion.

Methodological considerations: The memory-internal structure of Christianity is somatic as is the memorial community⁴

The category embodiment originally came up in the 1990s in *cognitive theory*, which is sometimes more philosophically, sometimes more psychologically shaped. In simplifying the insights of cognitive theory, one could summarize: Our mind would not be able to work and to «think» outside of our body. Our mind exists and works only as an «embodied mind».⁵ This insight makes the old contrast between mind and materia obsolete. Meanwhile the category embodiment is an analytical tool in sociology and cultural sciences⁶ and is especially valued in the so-called Gender Research Area, where it is, since the iconic book of Judith Butler *Bodies that matter* was published in 1993, a point of no return.⁷ By applicating the category of embodiment, we would like to situate our own approach in the gender field as well as in the historical and theological field, enquiring the inference of memory and religion, of construction of religious memory by communicative and ritual practices.⁸

We usually speak of Judaism, Christianity and Islam as book religions. We express with this that Holy Scriptures, words and texts play a prominent role in the memory and memory cultures of these three religions. As true as this statement is, it conceals the fact that in Christianity the body has a special function. The body in the Christian religion is not a secondary field of symbolization or

⁴ See Rüdiger Campe (Körper, in: Nicolas Pethes/Jens Ruchatz [Ed.], *Gedächtnis und Erinnerung. Ein interdisziplinäres Lexikon*, Reinbek 2001, 320–322), who distinguishes between «memoriale Körper» and «monumentale Körper». Elke Pahud de Mortanges, *Body@Performance und Gedächtnis. Zur Anatomie des Heils in den Erinnerungskulturen des Christentums*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, 31 (2018), 348–362.

⁵ The embodied mind. *Cognitive Science and Human Experience*, by Elanor Rosch, Evan Thompson and Francisco Varela. First published in 1991.

⁶ See Claudia Öhlschläger, Körper, in: Christian Gudehus/Ariana Eichenberg/Harald Welzer (Ed.), *Gedächtnis und Erinnerung. Kapitel III: Medien des Erinnerns*, Stuttgart 2010; Arnd Beise, «Körpergedächtnis» als kulturwissenschaftliche Kategorie, in: Bettina Bannasch (Ed.) et al., *Übung und Affekt (Medien und kulturelle Erinnerung)*, Berlin 2007, 9–25 (Lit.).

⁷ Claudia Öhlschläger, *Gender/Körper, Gedächtnis und Literatur*, in: Astrid Erll (Ed.) et al., *Gedächtniskonzepte der Literaturwissenschaft (Medien und kulturelle Erinnerung)*, Berlin 2005, 227–248.

⁸ Franziska Metzger, *Memory of the Sacred Heart – Iconographic and Ritual Variations*, in: *SZRKG*, 113 (2019), 391–402; Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, München 2015; Jan Assmann, *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis. Zehn Studien*, München ³2007.

storage medium as paper, writing, word and texts are. Words, texts, books already reflect, translate, represent and transform the primarily occurring revelation and salvation.⁹

The primarily occurring revelation and salvation in Christianity is a body and has an anatomy. The Word, so John 1:1, has not become a book, but flesh. So we may say the central revelation and healing data of Christianity are *body events* and *modes of embodiment*. We only mention here the christological central data as incarnation, passion and bodily resurrection.

Not only the memory-internal structure of Christianity is primarily somatic, but also the memorial community who emerges and constitutes itself by remembering these basic data. This memorial community forms a new,¹⁰ supra-individual, social body and social interactive space called church. In the eucharistic celebration this community puts into presence the (missing anatomic) body of Christ, who over and over again is embodied in the eucharistic bread and wine as well as in the faithful when they eat this eucharistic bread and drink the eucharistic wine, linking the great gap between absence and presence, past and present, divine and human.¹¹

In the following we try to design a basic topography and cartography of the different motives and modes of embodiment in ecclesiastical and popular veneration and commemoration of the Sacred Heart. Doing this we choose a long-term analytic perspective that is oriented to motives and not to chronology. This also means that we do not take a normative approach and ask for the only correct form of embodiment, but rather want to uncover the diversity of the references of the individual motives and modes of adaptations, representations and transcriptions.¹²

⁹ See Pahud de Mortanges, *Body@Performance und Gedächtnis* (see note 4); Assmann, *Gedächtnis und Erinnerung* (see note 8), 242.

¹⁰ A misunderstanding has to be prevented. When we speak of «new», we do not want to make a theological statement or even deny the roots of the Church in the Old Testaments «qahal Yahwe». Here we only take up the speech of the Church Fathers, according to whom the church was born out of the side wound of Jesus. Sebastian Tromp, *De Navitate Ecclesiae ex Corde Jesu in Cruce*, in: *Gregorianum*, 13 (1932), 489–527; Hugo Rahner, *Flumina de ventre Christi*, in: *Biblica*, 22 (1941), 269–302.367–403; Josef Stierli (Ed.), *Cor salvatoris. Wege zur Herz-Jesu-Verehrung*, Freiburg i. Br. 1954; J. E. Menard, *L'interprétation patristique de Jean 7,38*, in: *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, 25 (1955), 5–25.

¹¹ It was Michel Certeau who pointed out the disappearance of the body of Christ and spoke about the «corps manquant» who first of all generates the possibility of faith. See Marian Füssel, *Tote Orte und gelebte Räume: zur Raumtheorie von Michel de Certeau* S. J., in: *Historical Social Research*, 38/3 (2013), 22–39; Marian Füssel, *Zur Aktualität von Michel de Certeau. Einführung in sein Werk*, Wiesbaden 2018.

¹² We would like to draw your attention to the basic works of David Morgan (*The Sacred Heart of Jesus. The Visual Evolution of a devotion*, Amsterdam 2008; *The Visual Piety of the Sacred Heart*, in: *Material Religion*, 13/2 [2017], 233–236), whom we owe important insights.

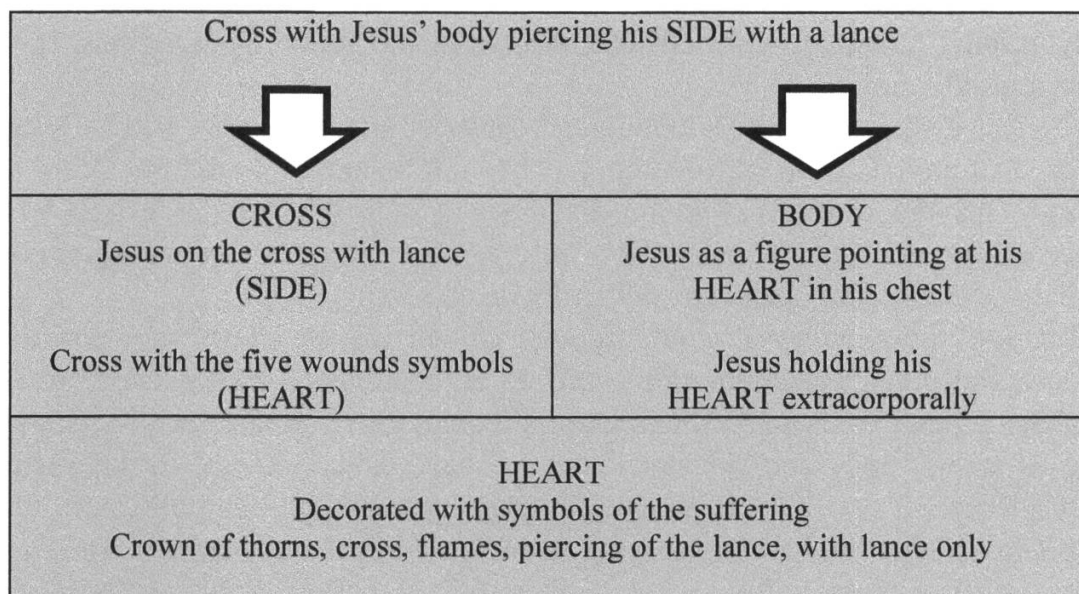


Image 1: Two motive-lines of the Sacred Heart Body as Embodiment of Jesus' Passion
 (© Elke Pahud de Mortanges)

The Sacred Heart Body as embodiment of Jesus' passion

It is now a matter of shedding light on that singular part of the body of the word that became flesh and which is named the Sacred Heart of Jesus. In the history of Christianity a few single parts of the body of Christ were venerated as relics. However, the Heart of Jesus and its veneration are to be distinguished from the so-called bodily relics associated with Jesus. Only those parts of his body he did *not* take with him when he was assumed into heaven corporally can be considered as bodily relics in a strict sense: a section of the holy umbilical cord, the holy prepuce (Jesus' foreskin), his baby teeth, some of his hair, some of his blood blended with earth. Since resurrection is pointed out as bodily resurrection and perfection, no essential human part of his body could remain on earth.¹³

This first mode of embodiment of the Sacred Heart is related to a remarkable shift and transcription concerning the very beginning of Christianity in the hour of Christ's suffering. It is the last hour of passion. Jesus' side is pierced by the lance thrust by a Roman soldier when he is already fixed on the cross. This lance piercing is the fifth and final wound of suffering which is afflicted to him. The first four wounds are the piercings of his hands and feet. As a result of this

¹³ Pahud de Mortanges, *Body@Performance und Gedächtnis* (see note 4); Alphons Victor Müller, *Die hochheilige Vorhaut Christi im Kult und in der Theologie der Papstkirche*, Berlin 1907.

piercing, according to John 19:34, blood and water flowed from his side. In ecclesiastical imagery and iconography, this lance-caused side wound of Jesus has a Vulva-like appearance.¹⁴ In the course of further development this side wound is *replaced* or *equated* by the Heart of Jesus. It is now the Sacred Heart itself which shows exactly this Vulva-shaped wound, from and through which, according to the church fathers, the memorial social body named church and the sacraments (as practices of remembrance) were born.¹⁵

Iconographically spoken there can be distinguished two principle lines of motive which both document how this pierced and wounded heart body became a «pars», which embodies (as a «pars pro toto») the whole narrative of what Jesus means to mankind. In the first line, the process of abstraction is as follows: at the very beginning we see the iconographic overall representation of Jesus on the cross, whose side is pierced with the lance. Abstraction follows when the cross is exclusively decorated with the symbols of the five wounds of Jesus. The fifth wound is represented as a pierced heart.



Image 2: Five-Wound-Cross,
Freiburg/Germany (19th century)

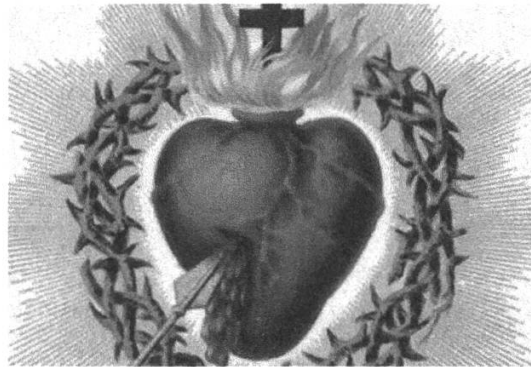


Image 3: Lance-pierced Heart of Jesus

¹⁴ See Caroline Bynum Walker, *Fragmentierung und Erlösung. Geschlecht und Körper im Glauben des Mittelalters*, Frankfurt a. M. 1996, 61–108 (*Der Leib Christi im Spätmittelalter – eine Erwiderung auf Leo Steinberg*); Saskia Wendel/Aurica Nutt (Ed.), *Reading the Body of Christ. Eine geschlechtertheologische Relecture*, Paderborn 2016 (see *Einleitung*).

¹⁵ See Footnote 30. This opinion is held by the Church Fathers from Asia Minor like Justinus, Apollinaris, Tertullian and Cyprian. There is another interpretation, represented by the Church Fathers of Alexandria, who replaced the motives of birth of church and sacraments by the motive of birth of knowledge (Gnosis). See Josef Stierli/A. van Rijen, *Art. Herz Jesu A*, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 5² (1960), 289–294, 290; Stierli (Ed.), *Cor salvatoris* (see note 10).

In the sense of a further abstraction, representations are to be seen which show only and exclusively the pierced heart. In the second line, the process of abstraction is as follow: the iconographic overall is replaced by an entire Jesus figure (without the cross), who points out to his heart in his chest or who holds his heart in his hand, offering it to the observer.

Both lines of motives end up in the representation of a detached heart that is decorated with various symbols of the suffering: the crown of thorns, the piercing, the cross. With this decoration the heart body embodies and represents the whole passion. The Sacred Heart Body becomes a real and concrete concentrate and complex condensate of it. It becomes an icon and functions as an iconographic shortcut par excellence.

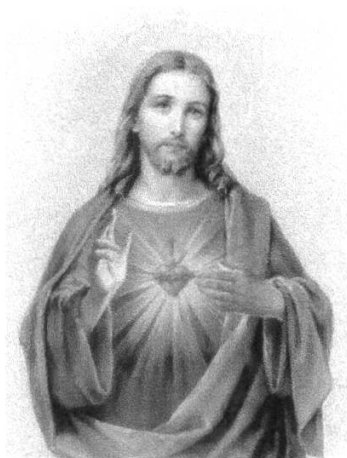


Image 4: Jesus points out to his heart in his chest.



Image 5: Pompeo Batoni, Sacred Heart (1767) – Jesus offers his heart to the observer.

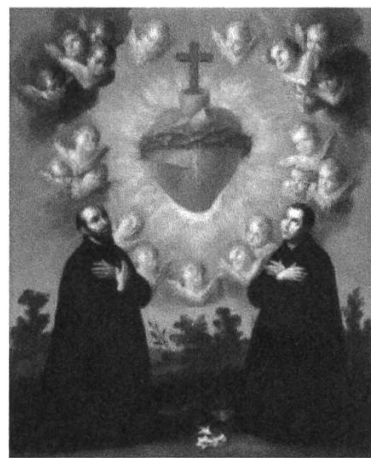


Image 6: The detached heart is venerated by men and angels.

It is to mention, that there also exists – and we could call this a third line or form – a pictorial presentation of the Sacred Heart without any reference to passion and the five wounds of Jesus. In this variation the heart is not a pierced piece of flesh, but a glowing and inflamed heart shining like a diamond. This iconographic presentation makes allusion to the vision of Margu rite Alacoque.¹⁶

It may come as no surprise that the official Roman Church did not permit to use the detached decorated icon in her official cult. Nor did she accept as valid to receive an indulgence by representations of the Sacred Heart without showing Jesus as a person and figure. In other words: the Roman Catholic Church established in the 19th century a normative code regarding the iconography of the

¹⁶ See <https://erdteilallegorien.univie.ac.at/schlagwort-glossar/herz-jesu> (13th March 2019) and Marion Romberg, *Die Welt im Dienst der Konfessionen. Erdteilallegorien in Dorfkirchen auf dem Gebiet des F rstbistums Augsburg im 18. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart 2017, 418–427.

Sacred Heart.¹⁷ This might be seen as a rejection of the sensualistic popular piety which could be – theologically spoken – qualified as an expression of the *sensus fidelium* of the faithful.¹⁸

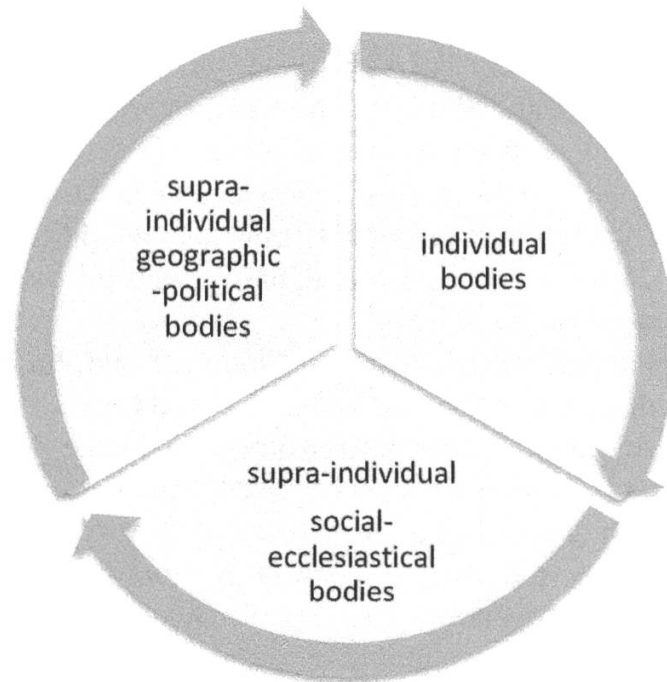


Image 7: Three motives more of embodiment of the Sacred Heart. Modes and motives of embodiment (© Elke Pahud de Mortanges).

The Sacred Heart Body embodied in heart and on skin of the faithful (individual bodies)

Popular piety and private devotion developed an intense bodily and somatic religiosity with regard to the Sacred Heart. This somatic religiosity affects and deals with all human senses: seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting, touching.

The mode of embodiment of the Sacred Heart Body in the heart of the faithful is part of a private and deeply intimate piety and devotion. In the case of the German cistercian nun and mystic Gertrud from Helfta (1256–1301/02) it is lin-

¹⁷ See Schlager, *Kult und Krieg* (see note 3), 117–121.

¹⁸ Elke Pahud de Mortanges, «Eigener Sinn» oder «Eigensinn»? Rezeption und Revision der theologischen Schlüsselkategorie *sensus fidei* seit dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil, in: Hillary Mooney/Karlheinz Ruhstorfer/Viola Tenge-Wolf (Ed.), *Theologie aus dem Geist des Humanismus. Festschrift für Peter Walter*, Freiburg i. Br. 2010, 254–271.

ked and embedded in a vision she had the day of the feast of Saint John the Evangelist.¹⁹

She, who is presented in a glasswindow of the basilic *Sacré Coeur* in Paris, was made the «apostle» of the Sacred Heart in the 19th century. In her book *Legatus divinae pietatis*, she reports on a vision she had the day of the feast of Saint John the Evangelist. In her vision she rests for a long while with Saint John on the breast of Jesus. She is on the right, open and wounded side, he on the left side. Gertrud is unspeakably delighted when she hears and feels the heartbeat of Jesus. She looks at John and asks him if he had not also felt this delight the day of the last supper. John affirms his own delight. This listening to the heartbeat of Jesus is not only a delight for Gertrud but it also makes her heart beat in the same rythm of love.²⁰

Gertrud enters in her vision in a quite *intimate* and *bodily communication* with the heart *body* and *heart* beat of Jesus. We could name this a *communicatio cordis*, which also finds iconographic expression in the pictorial ecclesiastic tradition. Her heart body in her chest is marked²¹ by Jesus' heart. Or even more, she is wearing baby Jesus in her own heart, which is in some pictures also shaped as an open vulva. In the 18th century this intimacy with which devotees practice their personal devotion of the Sacred Heart became an iconographical expression in «the most important and enduring portrayal of the Sacred Heart», painted by the Italian artist Pompeo Batoni in 1767.²² In this portrayal, Jesus «seeks out the viewer's eye for an intimate connection, as if the image pleads for a personal and thoroughgoing response from those who look at it».²³

¹⁹ Gertrud die Grosse, Gesandter der göttlichen Liebe – *Legatus divinae pietatis*. Übersetzt von Johannes Weissbrodt, Freiburg i. Br. 82001, 263–265. In reference to the motive John resting on Jesus' breast see Hugo Rahner, *De dominici pectoris fonte potavit*, in: *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 55 (1932), 103–108.

²⁰ See Sabine B. Spitzlei, *Erfahrungsraum Herz. Zur Mystik des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Helfta im 13. Jahrhundert* (Mystik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Abt. 1: Christliche Mystik Bd. 9), Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1991, 81–179: *Das Herz – Raum der Begegnung von Gott und Mensch*.

²¹ Unfortunately this is not the place to give an overview over the wide spread connotation of body marks in religions in general. See Claudia Benthien, *Haut. Literaturgeschichte, Körperbilder, Grenzdiskurse*. Reinbek bei Hamburg 2001. See as well the exhibition *Jüdisches Museum Berlin, «Haut/ab! Haltungen/zur/rituellen/Beschn/eidung*. 24. Oktober 2014 bis 1. März 2015); Bettina Gabbe, *Unter die Haut. Eine Konferenz auf der Spur religiöser Tätowierungen*, in: www.juedische-allgemeine.de/kultur/unter-die-haut (05.06.2019).

²² See Morgan, *The Sacred Heart* (see note 12), 16.

²³ Morgan, *The Sacred Heart* (see note 12), 16.



Image 8: Holy Gertrud of Helfta (1256–1301/02)

Another mode and variation of embodiment of the Sacred Heart by marking the faithful's body or skin in the sense of a physical inscription is encountered in the context of the stigmatization of the holy Francis of Assisi (1181–1226).²⁴ For the very first time in the history of Christianity he as a man receives the body markings of the five wounds of Jesus on his skin in 1224 while praying on the mountain of La Verna. His stigmatization is read by Bonaventura as a union of love between Christ and Francis, as being equalized in the passion, as attracting Jesus' passion on his own skin.²⁵ Francis as a stigmatized man is transformed into a *body of memory*, into a *human bodily icon of passion and love*.²⁶

In the case of holy Gertrud as well as in the case of holy Francis the mode of embodiment of the Sacred Heart is framed by a mystic and spiritual discourse of

²⁴ Hans-Walter Schmidt-Hannisa, *Eingefleischte Passion. Zur Logik der Stigmatisierung*, in: Roland Borgards (Ed.), *Schmerz und Erinnerung*. München 2005, 69–82; Gerd Overbeck/Ulrich Niemann, *Stigmata. Geschichte und Psychosomatik eines religiösen Phänomens*, Darmstadt 2012.

²⁵ See Bernhard Teuber, «Sichtbare Wundmale» und unsichtbare Durchbohrung. Die leibhaftige Nachfolge Christi als Paradigma des anhermeneutischen Schreibens, in: Bettine Menke/Barbara Vinken (Ed.), *Stigmata. Poetiken der Körperinschrift*, München 2004, 155–179, especially 164–172: Franz von Assisi: Stigmatisierung als buchstäbliche Schrift am männlichen Leib.

²⁶ In the 19th century a great number of women got stigmatized. For this it is named the Golden Age not only of Apparitions of St. Mary but as well of stigmatization. See Elke Pahud de Mortanges, *Irre – Gauklerin – Heilige? Inszenierung und Instrumentalisierung frommer Frauen im Katholizismus des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte*, 100 (2006), 203–225.

love, which cannot deny its hetero- and homoerotic dimension and texture. This erotic dimension of the Sacred Heart devotion is an anthropological pattern which makes it easily readable and usable in other, non-religious contexts.



Image 9: Stigmatization of Francis of Assisi



Image 10: Heart of Jesus Tattoo

Nowadays writing on the human skin is quite common in Western Europe as we can see in the widely spread trend of tattooing, a particularly popular motive is the Sacred Heart, which is literally written on the skin of the chest, the arm or the back of a person. Making this analogy between stigmatization and Sacred Heart tattoos, we should however be aware that nowadays it is by no means necessarily associated with a religious statement as it is in stigmatization. On the contrary, new contexts and iconographic narratives are created in embedding the Sacred Heart's body in a larger whole of a scenery.²⁷ By this it is transferred to another mode and kind of space, where different cultural codes are (re)produced, (re)written and (re)composed.

²⁷ See the group-exhibition with the collaboration of Christiane Hamacher and Elke Pahud de Mortanges «Aus der Tiefe rufe ich zu Dir». Gotteserfahrung und Teufelsküche. Haus für Kunst, Uri (CH) september 13 – november 23, 2014, see www.hausfuerkunsturi.ch/allgemeines/aus-der-tiefe-rufe-ich-zu-dir-d1.

The Sacred Heart Body embodied in ecclesiastical communities, religious fraternities and prayer circles (social-ecclesiastical bodies)

Wearing a Sacred Heart tattoo can be very private or very public, depending on where it is stamped on the body and how it is covered by clothing. Wearing a small scapular – a small piece of fabric on which the Sacred Heart is printed (sometimes together with the Heart of Mary) – seems to be also something very personal and an expression of the most private piety. As it is put on one's own heart it is like a seal, or formulated in a more modern way, like a badge one wears to make one feel where one belongs to.²⁸ Wearing the scapular must not be something private though as it can as well be a hallmark of the members of sacred heart fraternities, who form and belong to supra-individual social ecclesiastic bodies dedicated to the devotion of the Sacred Heart Body. Not to mention the huge number of catholic congregations devoted to the Sacred Heart.²⁹ Contrary to these congregations the fraternities are ecclesiastic communities of so-called «faithful lay(wo)men» who continue to live in the world, who have families and who practice their private piety in a corporative way by embodying and representing their dedication to the Sacred Heart.³⁰

The so-called small Heart-of-Jesus-Scapular originated in the visions of the nun Maria Marguérite Alacoque (1673–1675) and got in use in a quite informal way. Its use did not require a prior blessing by a priest, nor was wearing it necessarily linked with a membership in a scapular fraternity. It has been attributed protective and apotrophic functions not only during the pest epidemic in Marseille 1720, but also during the cholera epidemic in 1860, during the German-French war of 1870 and in the First World War.³¹ In 1910, the so-called scapular-medal replaced the wool scapular. From then on it became obligatory to be part of a fraternity to receive the indulgence offered by the Roman Catholic Church.³²

²⁸ The poem of Rainer Maria Rilke «Das Roseninnere» has expressed this intimate relation between inside and outside in a deep way, in pointing it out in the form of a question: «Wo ist zu diesem Innen/ein Außen? Auf welches Weh/legt man solches Linnen? Welche Himmel spiegeln sich drinnen [...]»

²⁹ Among others: Brothers of the Sacred Heart (1821), Congregatio Missionariorum Filiorum Ss. Cordis Jesu (1867), Congregatio Sacerdotum a sacro Corde Jesu (1878, Dehonianer), Apostole del Sacro Cuore di Gesù, Congrégation du Sacré Cœur, Société des Filles du Sacré Cœur (1872) et al. See the list in de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_katholischen_Herz-Jesu-Ordensgemeinschaften_und_-Kongregationen.

³⁰ Walter Pötzl, Bruderschaften, published 21.02.2013; in: Historisches Lexikon Bayerns, www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Bruderschaften (18.03.2019); Martin Scheutz/Elisabeth Lobenwein/Alfred Stefan Weiss, Bruderschaften als multifunktionale Dienstleister der Frühen Neuzeit in Zentraleuropa, Wien 2018; Busch, Katholische Frömmigkeit (see note 1), 266–268.

³¹ See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scapular_of_the_Sacred_Heart; Schlager, Kult und Krieg (see note 3), 116–118.

³² See Schlager, Kult und Krieg (see note 3), 118.

Different Sacred Heart Fraternities were established in the baroque era and especially in the 19th century and spread rapidly around the world.³³ The Fraternity of the Heart of Jesus (in France since 1690, in Rome since 1729) counts more than 10'000 branches. The Garde d'Honneur du Sacré Coeur was originally founded 1864 in France by Salesian nuns, then spread rapidly with own derivated fraternities in the Netherlands, England, Spain, Canada, Perú, United States and Switzerland. In 1872 even Pope Pius IX became member of the Garde d'Honneur.³⁴

The fraternities are using Banners as symbolic presentations of their social body as a community devoted to the Sacred Heart. The day of the Sacred Heart Feast, which became a universal feast of the Roman Catholic Church in 1856,³⁵ they used to appear in public space in splendid and solemn processions. Not only these processions but also the regular reunions and services were accompanied by religious prayers and songs, expressing their special dedication to the Sacred Heart.³⁶

The Sacred Heart Body embodied and embedded in various countries and the whole world (geographic-political bodies)

This marching in the public space is also a way of reclaiming the public space of society for the Sacred Heart. It leads us to the motive of embodiment of the Sacred Heart in *geographic-national bodies*.

In contrary to the individual, intimate and mystique discourse of love and private communicatio cordis experienced by the holy Gertrud of Helfta and the nun Marie Marguérite Alacoque, the motive of a supra-individual communicatio cordis and embodiment rises already in the early 18th century. The Sacred Heart becomes in a quite literal sense not only part of the entire world, but is placed even in the center of the known world. This since the colonial conquest of the world, which started in the 15th century from Europe, was closely connected with the will to spread Christianity geographically to the end of the world.

³³ See Pötzl, Bruderschaften (see note 30); Andreas Holzem, Wissen – Praktiken – Emotionen. Nachdenken über eine kulturgeschichtliche Weiterführung der Bruderschaftsforschung, in: Martin Scheutz/Elisabeth Lobenwein/Alfred Stefan Weiss, Bruderschaften als multifunktionale Dienstleister der Frühen Neuzeit in Zentraleuropa, Wien 2018, 529–546.

³⁴ www.gardedhonneurdusacrecoeur.org (Paray-le-Monial); For more information see the overview K. Hoffmann, Herz Jesu B: Gemeinschaften, in: LTHK 5² (1960), 294–299. 298–299.

³⁵ It was Pope Pius IX – following a demand of the French bishops – who introduced this feast as a worldwide ecclesiastical feast which is to celebrate in the week following the Feast of the Holy Sacrament, see: www.kathpedia.com/index.php/Herz-Jesu-Verehrung#Hochfest_des_Heiligsten_Herzens_Jesu (18.03.2019); Schlager, Kult und Krieg (see note 3), 103.

³⁶ There is a huge diversity and variety: «Flammengebete» of saint Gertrud, Litany of the Sacred Heart, 9-day-worship to the Sacred Heart, rosary of the Sacred Heart, prayers to the Sacred Heart, Cantique de la Garde d'Honneur et al.

Transferred into this global context, the Sacred Heart is loaded with an ecclesiastical, geo-political meaning of expansion and submission.³⁷

In the so-called baroque earth-allegories³⁸ the Sacred Heart Body is embedded and incorporated in an allegorical presentation of the world. This presentation, which is very prominent in the ecclesiastical iconography of the monastery principality of Augsburg, is based on the book of Antonius Ginther, «*Speculum amoris et doloris in sacratissimo ac divinissimo cor de Jesu*», which was first printed in 1706.

The world is symbolized by the four continents known at that time: Europe, Africa, Asia and America. In the 18th century they commonly and not only in a religious context were represented by female and/or male bodies/personifications. These personifications of the continents bow their knees and backs in veneration of the Sacred Heart Body of Jesus. Not only in the case of the painting in the parish church of Bad Hindelang,³⁹ the female Europe offers Jesus also vicariously a bowl full of burning and enflamed hearts.⁴⁰

In the parish church of Hofen, the artist Johann Nepomuk Nieberlein has placed the Heart of Jesus in the central nave fresco; here too, the four continents bow before him. The centrally placed Sacred Heart in this fresco is embedded in the context of the four other wounds of the Passion.⁴¹

The motive of embodiment taking up geographic space, of expansion and submission of the world to the Sacred Heart is taken up, varied and adapted in the 19th century by Popes and Bishops, who consecrated first individual countries to the Sacred Heart, and then by Pope Leo XIII who in 1899 consecrated the whole world to the Sacred Heart. This consecration was renewed various times (1964, 1982, 1984), most recently by Pope Francisco in 2013.⁴²

³⁷ See Franz-Joseph Post/Thomas Küster/Clemens Sorgenfrey (Ed.), *Christliche Heilsbotschaft und weltliche Macht. Studien zum Verhältnis von Mission und Kolonialismus. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Münster 2004; Reinhard Wendt, *Vom Kolonialismus zur Globalisierung. Europa und die Welt seit 1500*, Paderborn 2016.

³⁸ The following insights are due to PD Dr. Alexander Leichtle (Bern), who put me on the trail of baroque earth-allegories in connection with the worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. His manifold literature references pointed me to the research project at the University of Vienna (<https://erdteilallegorien.univie.ac.at>). I would like to take this opportunity to thank him very much for his advice.

³⁹ See <https://erdteilallegorien.univie.ac.at/erdteilallegorien/hindelang-oberallgaeu-st-johannes-baptist> (13.03.2019).

⁴⁰ In the southern part of Germany the motive of the allegorical Europe presenting a bowl of inflamed hearts is quite common in the 18th century, see Marion Romberg, *Die Welt im Dienst der Konfessionen. Erdteilallegorien in Dorfkirchen auf dem Gebiet des Fürstbistums Augsburg im 18. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2017, 418–427.

⁴¹ See <https://erdteilallegorien.univie.ac.at/erdteilallegorien/hofen-ostalbkreis-ss-georg-und-laurentius> (13.03.2019).

⁴² 1896 Vorarlberg, 1899 the whole World, 1900 Columbia, 1915 Germany, France and Austria-Hungary, 1919 Belgium, see Schlager, *Kult und Krieg* (see note 3), 139–177:

Adaptations, transcriptions and re-coding of these modes in modern art and fashion

There is not the time and space to present the broad reception and the variety of adaptations, transcriptions and re-codings of these modes and motives of the Sacred Heart in modern art and fashion.⁴³ This remains to be traced in a further publication in the context of the International Congress which will take place in Rome in November 2019. At this point only three transformations of motives and transcriptions can be mentioned briefly.⁴⁴ The German artist and painter Joseph Beuys (1921–1986) emphasized and transposed the aspect of concentration and univerzalisation of the Sacred Heart in signing 1971 in an Italian restaurant five little images of devotion of the Sacred Heart with by first sight enigmatic words.⁴⁵ The oil self-portrait of the Mexican painter Frida Kahlo (1907–1954) named «Los dos Fridas», which was created in 1939, when Frida got divorced from Diego Rivera, takes up the motive of the intimate communicatio cordis. The communication between the Sacred Heart and the human heart is here transformed into a self-referential communication between the artist's European und Mexican heart.⁴⁶

The motive of the heartbeat of Jesus and the rhythm of love in which the heart of the faithful attunes to is taken up by the Austrian artist Claudia Märzendorfer (*1969) in the exhibition «I love God» which took place in 2012 in Graz

Nationale Herz-Jesu-Weißen. It is quite remarkable that the number of *dioceses* consecrated to the Immaculate Heart of Mary surpasses by far the number of *countries* consecrated to the Heart of Jesus.

⁴³ See for example the Exhibition at the MOMA in New York titled «Heavenly Bodies. Fashion and the Catholic Imagination». By Andrew Bolton. Images by Katerina Jebb (Metropolitan Museum of Art. Exhibition Fashion and the Catholic Imagination 10 May to 8 October 2018). Or the fashion campaign by Dolce & Gabbana autumn/winter 2018-19, see https://d.repubblica.it/moda/2018/02/25/news/sfilata_dolce_e_gabbana_colore_droni_borse_vestiti_scarpe_tendenze_autunno_inverno_2018_2019-3878904/ (05.06.2019).

⁴⁴ See as well Metzger, Memory of the Sacred Heart (see note 8).

⁴⁵ Christ as the inventor 1. the inventor of the gravitational constant 2. the inventor of electricity 3. the inventor of nitrogen synthesis 4. the inventor of the steam engine 5. the inventor of the 3rd thermodynamic law. See Elke Pahud de Mortanges, «Be a somebody with a body». Christus-Heterotopien in Kunst und Kommerz des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel von Andy Warhol, Joseph Beuys und Conchita Wurst, in: Elke Pahud de Mortanges/Franziska Metzger (Ed.), Orte und Räume des Religiösen 19.–21. Jahrhundert, Paderborn 2016, 223–245.

⁴⁶ «Both Fridas hold items in their lap; the Mexican Frida holds a small portrait of Diego Rivera, and the European Frida holds forceps. Blood spills onto the European Frida's white dress from a broken blood vessel that has been cut by the forceps. The blood vessel connects the two Fridas, winding its way from their hands through their hearts. The work alludes to Kahlo's life of constant pain and surgical procedures and the Aztec tradition of human sacrifice. Because this piece was completed by Kahlo shortly after her divorce, the European Frida is missing a piece of herself, her Diego.» https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Two_Fridas (05.06.2019).

(KULTUMgraz 2012). Her art performance consisted in a long-playing record made of ice with the heartbeat of her artist-friend Zenita Komad. During the performance the record was taken out of the freezer once a week and played on the record player for several seconds before the record was melted.⁴⁷

Summary

The paper applies the category and concept of *body* and *embodiment* as theoretical framework and analytical tool in order to present and to analyse different modes and motives of embodiment and disembodiment of the Sacred Heart in the history of its devotion. First it points out that the essential memory-internal structure of Christianity is somatic and shows that the memorial community who emerges and constitutes itself by remembering these basic somatic data, forms a new supra-individual, social body and social interactive space called Church. In the following the paper designs a basic topography and cartography of the different motives and modes of embodiment in ecclesiastical and popular veneration and commemoration of the Sacred Heart. This is done in a long-term, analytic perspective that is oriented to motives and does not take a normative approach in asking for the only correct form of embodiment, but rather wants to uncover the diversity of the references of the motives and modes.

Different modes of embodiment are illustrated in detail: 1. The Sacred Heart Body as embodiment of Jesus' Passion. This mode is related with a remarkable shift and transcription concerning the very beginning of Christianity in the hour of Christ's suffering. It has to be shown how his pierced wound got transposed into the Sacred Heart Body. 2. The Sacred Heart Body embodied in heart and on skin of the faithful as part of a private and deeply intimate, physical piety and devotion (*individual bodies*). This is illustrated by the «communicatio cordis» in the case of the cistercian nun Gertrud von Helfta as well as in the case of the stigmatization of Francis of Assisi. 3. The Sacred Heart Body embodied in ecclesiastical communities, religious fraternities and prayer circles (*social-ecclesiastical bodies*). Different Sacred Heart Fraternities raised in the baroque era and especially in the 19th century spread rapidly around the world. They transcend the private piety – f.ex. to wear the small Heart-of-Jesus-Scapular which originated in the visions of the nun Maria Marguérite Alacoque – towards a corporative way of expressing the devotion to the Sacred Heart in a public

⁴⁷ Johannes Rauchenberger, <https://www.miteinander.at/herzklopfen/2016/auf-eis-und-ewig> (05.06.2019): «Die Platte wurde einmal pro Woche aus dem Gefrierschrank geholt und auf dem Plattenspieler aufgelegt: Etwa sieben bis zehn Sekunden war der dumpfe Herzschlag zu hören. Dann spätestens waren die gepressten Rillen zerschmolzen. Der erzeugte Ton verfloss.»

space-taking way (banners, prayers, songs, public manifestations and processions). 4. The Sacred Heart Body embodied and embedded in various countries and the whole World (*geographic-political bodies*). The motive of a supra-individual *communicatio cordis* and embodiment rises in the early 18th century, when the Sacred Heart becomes in a quite literal sense not only part of the entire world, but is placed even in the center of the known world. This as the colonial conquest of the world, which started in the 15th century from Europe, was closely connected with the will to spread Christianity geographically to the end of the world. Transferred in this global context, the Sacred Heart is loaded with an ecclesiastical, geo-political meaning of expansion and submission.

There was not the time and space to present the broad reception and the variety of adaptations, transcriptions and re-coding of these modes and motives of the Sacred Heart in modern art and fashion. At this point only three transformations of motives and transcriptions are briefly mentioned (Joseph Beuys, Frida Kahlo, Claudia Märzendorfer).

References for the images

- Image 1: © Elke Pahud de Mortanges.
- Image 2: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:F%C3%BCnfwundenkreuz_Freiburg_01.jpg.
- Image 3: [sagradorcoraznejess_wikimediacommons_050618](https://sagradorcoraznejess.wikimediacommons_050618).
- Image 4: mostsacredheart.com.
- Image 5: upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8b/Batoni_sacred_heart.jpg.
- Image 6: arttattler.com/archivelatinamerica.html, Public Domain, commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=8399526.
- Image 7: © Elke Pahud de Mortanges.
- Image 8: fsspx.at/de/news-events/news/16-november-hl-gertrud-von-helfta-33591.
- Image 9: upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b3/Stigmata.jpg.
- Image 10: de.tattooimages.biz/image/18921-beautiful-portrait-of-jesus-forearm-tattoo.

The Sacred Heart as Body and Embodiment: Contribution to a Topography and Cartography of Modes and Motives in the History of its Devotion

The category and concept of «body» and «embodiment» are applied as theoretical framework and analytical tool in order to present and to analyze different modes and motives of (dis-)embodiment of the Sacred Heart in the history of its ecclesiastical and popular veneration and commemoration. This is done in a long-term, analytical perspective that is oriented towards motives, and does not take a normative approach in asking for the only correct form of embodiment. Rather, the inquiry wants to uncover the diversity of references of the motives and modes. Different modes of embodiment are illustrated in detail: 1) The Sacred Heart Body as embodiment of Jesus' Passion; 2) The Sacred Heart Body embodied in the heart and on the skin of the faithful as part of a private, deeply intimate, physical and somatic piety and devotion (individual bodies); 3) The Sacred Heart Body embodied in ecclesiastical communities, religious fraternities and prayer circles (social-ecclesiastical bodies); 4) The Sacred Heart Body embodied and embedded in various countries and in the whole world (geographic-political bodies), thus loaded with an ecclesiastical, geo-political meaning of expansion and submission. There was no time and space to present the broad reception and variety of adaptations, transcriptions and re-

codings of these modes and motives of the Sacred Heart in modern art and nowadays in the fashion industry. At this point, only three motive-transcriptions are mentioned briefly: Joseph Beuys, Frida Kahlo and Claudia Märzendorfer/Dolce and Gabana).

Embodiment – Body – Sacred Heart Devotion – *communicatio cordis* – mystical love-discourse – ecclesiastical and religious Fraternities – Sacred Heart Scapulars – baroque earth-allegories – Marie Marguerite Alacoque – Francis of Assisi – Gertrud of Helfta – Joseph Beuys – Frida Kahlo – Claudia Märzendorfer – Johann Nepomuk Nieberlein – Antonius Ginther.

Das Herz-Jesu als Körper und Verkörperung. Ein Beitrag zu einer Topografie und Kartografie von Modi und Motiven in der Geschichte seiner Frömmigkeit

Die beiden Kategorien Body und Embodiment bildeten den (erkenntnis-)theoretischen Rahmen und das analytische Werkzeug, um verschiedene Arten und Motive der körperlichen Aneignung und Repäsentation des Heiligen Herzens Jesu in der Geschichte seiner Verehrung zu identifizieren und zu analysieren. Dies geschah in einer Langzeit-Perspektive, die an Motiven und deren Pluriformität sowie an der vielfältigen (Re-)Codierung interessiert ist und bewusst keinen normativen Ansatz verfolgt und gerade nicht nach «der» vermeintlich einzig richtigen, verbindlichen Repräsentation fragt. Folgende vier Motive waren herauszuarbeiten und näher zu beleuchten: 1. Der Herz-Jesu-Körper als Verkörperung der Passion Jesu im Sinne der Universalisierung einerseits und der sachlichen Reduktion andererseits. 2. Der Herz-Jesu-Körper, der sich ins Herz und in die Haut der Gläubigen einschreibt, was als Ausdruck einer sehr privaten, erotisch-intimen, somatischen Frömmigkeit und Hingabe zu lesen ist (individuelle Einzelkörper). 3. Der Herz-Jesu-Körper, der sich in Herz-Jesu-Bruderschaften, Ordensgemeinschaften und Gebetskreisen (überindividuelle-kirchliche Körper[schaften]) verkörpert und sich auch im öffentlichen Raum präsentiert (Prozessionen, Banner, Liturgien). 4. Der Herz-Jesu-Körper, der sich in verschiedenen Ländern Ausdruck verschafft und gar zur Mitte und zum Zentrum der ganzen (bekannten) Welt wird (überindividuelle, geografisch-politische Körper[schaften]) – im Zuge des kirchlich-geopolitischen Expansions- und Unterwerfungsanspruchs. Die Rezeption und Vielfalt der Bearbeitungen, Transkriptionen und De- und Rekodierungen dieser Modi und Motive des Herzens Jesu in der modernen Kunst und der heutigen Mode konnte nur mehr angedeutet werden (am Beispiel von Joseph Beuys, Frida Kahlo, Claudia Märzendorfer sowie der Modemarke Dolce und Gabana).

Embodiment – Body – Sacred Heart Devotion – *communicatio cordis* – mystical love-discourse – ecclesiastical and religious Fraternities – Sacred Heart Scapulars – baroque earth-allegories – Marguérite-Marie Alacoque – Francis of Assisi – Gertrude of Helfta – Joseph Beuys – Frida Kahlo – Claudia Märzendorfer – Johann Nepomuk Nieberlein – Antonius Ginther.

Le Sacré-Cœur comme corps et incarnation. Contribution à une topographie et à une cartographie des modes et des motifs dans l'histoire de sa dévotion

La catégorie et le concept de corps et d'incarnation sont utilisés comme cadre théorique et outil d'analyse afin de présenter et d'analyser les différents modes et motifs de (dés)incarnation du Sacré-Cœur dans l'histoire de sa vénération ecclésiastique et populaire et de sa commémoration. Ceci est effectué dans une perspective analytique à long terme, orientée vers les motifs et qui n'adopte pas une approche normative en demandant la seule forme correcte d'incarnation, mais veut plutôt découvrir la diversité des références des motifs et des modes. Différents modes d'incarnation ont été illustrés en détail: 1. Le Corps du Sacré-Cœur comme incarnation de la Passion de Jésus. 2. Le Corps du Sacré-Cœur incarné dans le Cœur et sur la Peau des Fidèles dans le cadre d'une piété et d'une dévotion privées et profondément intimes, physiques et somatiques (corps individuels). 3. Le Corps du Sacré-Cœur incarné dans les communautés ecclésiastiques, les fraternités

religieuses et les cercles de prière (corps socio-ecclesiastiques). 4. Le Corps du Sacré-Cœur incarné et ancré dans divers pays et – au moins – dans le Monde entier (corps géographiques et politiques) est chargé d'un sens ecclésiastique, géopolitique d'expansion et de soumission. Il n'a pas été possible pour des raisons de temps et d'espace de présenter aussi la large réception et la variété des adaptations, transcriptions et recodages de ces modes et motifs du Sacré-Cœur dans l'art moderne et dans la mode d'aujourd'hui. A ce stade, seules trois transcriptions de motifs sont mentionnées brièvement (Joseph Beuys, Frida Kahlo, Claudia Märzendorfer et la marque Dolce et Gabana).

Incarnation – corps – dévotion du Sacré-Cœur – communicatio cordis – discours d'amour mystique – fraternités ecclésiastiques et religieuses – Scapulaires du Sacré-Cœur – allégories baroques de la terre – Marie Marguerite Alacoque – François d'Assise – Gertrud de Helfta – Joseph Beuys – Frida Kahlo – Claudia Märzendorfer – Johann Nepomuk Nieberlein – Antonius Ginther.

Il Sacro Cuore come corpo e incarnazione. Contributo a una topografia e cartografia di modalità e motivazioni nella storia della sua devozione

La categoria e concetto di corpo e incarnazione è applicata come quadro teorico e strumento d'analisi per presentare e analizzare diverse modalità e motivazioni di (dis-)incarnazione del Sacro Cuore nella storia della sua venerazione e commemorazione ecclesiastica e popolare. Questo avviene in una prospettiva analitica di lungo termine orientata verso le motivazioni e non adotta un approccio normativo chiedendosi quale sia l'unica forma corretta d'incarnazione, ma vuole invece scoprire la diversità dei riferimenti di motivazioni e modi. Diverse modalità d'incarnazione sono illustrate in modo dettagliato: 1. Il corpo del Sacro Cuore come incarnazione della passione di Gesù. 2. Il Corpo del Sacro Cuore incarnato nel cuore e nella pelle del fedele come parte di una pietà e una devozione privata e profondamente intima, fisica e somatica (corpi individuali). 3. Il Corpo del Sacro Cuore incarnato in comunità ecclesiastiche, fraternità religiose e circoli di predicatori (corpi sociali-ecclesiastici). 4. Il Corpo del Sacro Cuore incarnato e incorporato in diversi paesi e – infine – in tutto il mondo (corpi geografici e politici) è caricato di un significato ecclesiastico, geopolitico di espansione e sottomissione. Non c'era tempo e spazio per una presentazione ampia e variegata degli adattamenti, trascrizioni e ricodificazioni di queste modalità e motivazioni del Sacro Cuore nell'arte moderna e nella moda di oggi. Sono quindi solo menzionati brevemente tre esempi (Joseph Beuys, Frida Kahlo, Claudia Märzendorfer/Dolce e Gabbana).

Incarnazione – Corpo – Devozione del Sacro Cuore – communicatio cordis – discorso amoroso mistico – Fraternità ecclesiastiche e religiose – Scapole del Sacro Cuore – allegorie del mondo barocco – Maria Margherita Alacoque – Francesco d'Assisi – Gertrud di Helfta – Joseph Beuys – Frida Kahlo – Claudia Märzendorfer – Johann Nepomuk Nieberlein – Antonius Ginther.

Elke Pahud de Mortanges, apl. Prof. Dr. theol., Professorin für Dogmatik und Dogmengeschichte (Universität Freiburg i. Br.) und Lehrbeauftragte für Gender Aspects in Religious Studies (Freiburg i. Ue.).