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► **To cite this version:**

Marie-Luce Gélard. SENSORY ANTHROPOLOGY IN FRANCE: A field in the Making?. L'Homme  
- Revue française d'anthropologie, 2019, 217, 10.4000/lhomme.28868 . hal-03137104

**HAL Id: hal-03137104**

**<https://hal.science/hal-03137104>**

Submitted on 15 Feb 2021

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Editions de l'E.H.E.S.S. | « L'Homme »

2016/1 No 217 | pages 91 - 107

ISSN 0439-4216

ISBN 9782713225239

This document is the English version of:

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Marie-Luce Gélard, « L'anthropologie sensorielle en France », *L'Homme* 2016/1 (No 217), p. 91-107.

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Translated and edited by Cadenza Academic Translations

Translator: Una Dimitrijevec, Editor: Aidan Cowlard Joyce, Senior Editor: Mark Mellor

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Available online at :

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[https://www.cairn-int.info/article-E\\_LHOM\\_217\\_0091--sensory-anthropology-in-france.htm](https://www.cairn-int.info/article-E_LHOM_217_0091--sensory-anthropology-in-france.htm)

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How to cite this article :

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Marie-Luce Gélard, « L'anthropologie sensorielle en France », *L'Homme* 2016/1 (No 217), p. 91-107.

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# Sensory anthropology in France

A field in the making?

Marie-Luce Gélard

**S**ENSORY ANTHROPOLOGY<sup>1</sup> in France is not yet a field of research<sup>2</sup> developed to the extent of other areas of specialization, such as kinship, techniques, material culture, food, etc.

Yet this discipline has long been interested in the senses, which, without being the specific focus of study as such, do appear regularly in classic ethnographies (Simmel 1991<sup>3</sup>; Lévi-Strauss<sup>4</sup>). This shortcoming is undoubtedly linked to the lack of analysis of the body, which came only late in anthropology. Marcel Mauss's programmatic text, "Body techniques" (1979 [1936]), opened the door to this field which, much later, became the subject of a veritable epistemological renewal.<sup>5</sup> It was in the

1. I will stray a little into the field of historians but will voluntarily limit myself to the area of French anthropology. This is a two-fold bias that may seem surprising in a context of globalization, but I felt it was essential to attempt this historical and ontological overview of sensory anthropology in France. Certain contemporary studies, such as chemical ecology, a manifest part of sensory analysis, will therefore not be discussed here (see, for example, Hossaert-McKey and Bagnères-Urbany 2013), and neither will sound ecology or acoustic ecology, already mature fields of study. It is not possible to cite all French anthropologists who have worked on the senses (most often in a secondary manner), so much so that a common space for research and exchange on the subject remains to be created.

2. One would even be tempted to say that it does not exist, but the field is developing in a very atomized way from a disciplinary perspective. While many evoke the senses, the anthropology of the senses remains germinal.

3. Georg Simmel strongly influenced French anthropology.

4. We refer to the analysis of sensitive bodies undertaken on the Nambikwara people, as early as the 1950s.

5. This is evidenced by the many reference works on the body in human and social sciences published over the last twenty years.

————— I would like to thank Armelle Lorcy and Olivier Wathelet for their invaluable comments.

context of this research on the body that analyses of the senses began to appear: body and perceptions, body and sensations, body and emotions, body and substances, body and affects (Héritier 1987; Héritier and Xanthakou 2004; Godelier 2003; Warnier 2009). Anthropology could no longer be limited to a study in which “social structure is totally disconnected from the way individuals live and feel their bodies and their affects” (Héritier 2004, 7).<sup>6</sup> Despite this invitation, in France the ethnological analysis of senses and sensory languages is a field that has barely been explored. Anthropology attaches little importance to it, with the exception of studies on scent and the sense of smell, which have been developing in the context of the philosophy of smell since the 1980s.<sup>7</sup>

Another exception is the research on color, prominent in the 1970s (Tornay 1973; Tornay, ed. 1978; Dupire 1987), whose aim was to encourage an ethnographic approach to a question that had only been looked at in North American institutions through experiments.

Later, the senses were most often addressed through the study of emotions<sup>8</sup> (Schaal, Ferdenzi, and Wathelet 2013).<sup>9</sup> But while the anthropology of emotions can be related to the senses, it differs significantly from sensory anthropology, in the strict sense of the term.

## The premises of a historical anthropology of the senses

Historians led the way by studying sensibilities, with Lucien Febvre and his famous “appeal”<sup>10</sup> in 1941. Later, Robert Mandrou evoked an “essential history that will, sooner or later, be recognized, following on from economic and social history” (1959, 581).

6. This new area of interest for anthropologists was highlighted by the in-house team of the Social Anthropology Lab, “Anthropologie du corps et des affects” (Anthropology of the Body and Affects), under the direction of Françoise Héritier (Collège de France). See also François Laplantine (2005).

7. See Corbin (1982); Le Guéer (1988); Roubin (1989). And also: Rey-Hulman and Boccara (1999); Musset and Fabre-Vassas (1999); Rasse (1987); Méchin, Bianquis-Gasser, and Le Breton (1998); Bonnet (1990). And more recently, the research of Chantal Jaquet (2010 and 2015).

8. The link with emotions is also treated by ethnomusicologists (sounds/emotions) through the concept of “musical emotion.” I refer to the special issue of *Cahiers d'ethnomusicologie* entitled “Émotions” and published in 2010. See also the article by Armelle Lorcy (2012) on the sound production of an emotion, with the participation of children in the context of funerary rites.

9. In this book, a sense is analyzed in connection with another field of research: the anthropology of emotions. Studies of this type are developing as evidenced by the various texts cited in the introduction, most of them from the English-speaking world.

10. Lucien Febvre (1941) wrote that it was necessary to make room for research on collective passions, feelings, and emotions, because as long as this work was lacking, no history would be possible. See also the recent issue of the journal *Vingtième Siècle*, dedicated to the history of sensibilities (2014), which mentions this pioneering historian and his text, *Le Problème de l'incroyance au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. La religion de Rabelais* (1942).

The history of sensibilities therefore opened up the path for sensory research, as explained by Alain Corbin (1990, 1992), who recounts in detail the story of how the use of the senses was reconstituted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Historians focused on restoring sensory realms: those of sounds (Thuillier 1977; Corbin 1994) and smells (Corbin 1982), illustrating how the thresholds of olfactory and auditory tolerance shifted.

From there, the history of the senses pursued its development. Nevertheless, Christophe Granger describes the immense task still required in order to fully grasp the ways in which sensory uses are inculcated, how senses are taught, what perceptual skills exist, and so on:<sup>11</sup>

Interfering with readings that so easily pit the individual and the collective against each other, as well as the natural and the social and reality and representations of reality, the history of the senses shows to what extent sensory practices, products of a social history, also count among the great principles structuring the world. (2014, 10)

The program is an ambitious one. But it deals with history rather than anthropology. The latter does not seize upon this field, and research remains sparse.<sup>12</sup> We may also consider the history of taste, in connection with that of food, explored by Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (1996). While “food studies” multiplied in France, they oddly paid little attention<sup>13</sup> to the sensory study of taste, as noted by Viktoria von Hoffmann (2013, 19), focusing instead on nutrition and cooking. Here again, more than twenty years ago, research in North America had already signaled the importance of taking an interest in other sensory hierarchies.<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, sensory studies mainly followed on from the history of sensibilities (Granger and Mazurel 2014), and well before this, from the work of the Sensualists (the philosophy of knowledge).<sup>15</sup> In literary and artistic circles, late nineteenth-century Impressionism gave pride of place to sensations

11. Christophe Granger again emphasizes that the history of sensibilities in the twentieth century remains to be written (2014, 5).

12. It would be interesting to analyze articles, symposiums, and French theses on the subject. The fact that publications are scattered does not necessarily mean that research does not benefit from them cumulatively. I thank Olivier Wathelet for this remark.

13. We must note a few exceptions such as the work of Armelle Lorcy (2010 and 2011) on the smells, tastes, and distastes of black descendants of African slaves and the Chachi Indians of Ecuador. See also the thematic issue of the journal *Anthropology of Food*, “Crispy, Crunchy: A Dream of Consistency...” edited by Virginie Amilien and Anne-Elène Delavigne (2003).

14. See, for example, the text by Paul Stoller and Cheryl Olkes (1990) discussing the instrumentalization of taste as revealing social positions in Niger, in addition, of course, to David Howes’s founding text (1990).

15. And, of course, Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1945), without forgetting *Condillac’s Treatise on the Sensations* by Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1930 [1755]).

and other sensory evocations,<sup>16</sup> which likely presaged an increased focus on the senses. Historians and philosophers seized upon the senses, developing a hierarchy that distinguished “low” and “high” sensoriality, and echoing Aristotle’s distinctions, now translated in terms of “distance senses” (sight, smell, and hearing) and “contact senses” (taste and touch). Historical philosophy sheds light on these sensory hierarchies in different eras, providing us with a better understanding of the preeminence given to one sense or the other, since, for example, it was considered to be in close relation with the spirit. Yet these sensory hierarchies depend on specific cultural contexts that anthropology is meant to describe.

### “Pinagotic studies” and the *microstoria*

“Pinagotic studies” (see *Ruralia* 1998) was the name given to a new sphere of research by a group of French specialists in rural studies, following the publication of Alain Corbin’s 1998 work, *Le Monde retrouvé de Louis-François Pinagot*. This book earned its author some harsh criticism from historians, before becoming a major work of social history. In it, Alain Corbin defends a specific historical project by reversing the processes of “classical” social history, the study of the populace and the elites. He chooses to look instead at the listlessness of ordinary lives and to write “of those subdued, those erased” (*ibid.*, 8). Although not strictly focused on the senses, his work constantly refers to them (the visual and aural landscapes and soundscapes of his hero, Louis-François Pinagot, who lived in the Perche region of France in the nineteenth century). Inspired by his earlier work, Corbin’s approach involved reconstituting sensory realities and contexts as closely as possible.

The history of sensibilities changed the research landscape. At the same time, the slowly emerging microhistory (Ginzburg 1988, 1990, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, and 2002; Revel 1996; Levi 1988; Grendi 1996) gave a prominent, although not central, place to sensory analysis. The *microstoria* came about in Italy in the 1970s through the questions posed by a small group of historians in the magazine *Quaderni Storici*, one of the “main spaces of historiographical debate” (Revel, ed. 1996, X). This highly empirical approach explains that “there is no real founding text, no ‘theoretical’ charter of microhistory” (*ibid.*, 16). The collection by Carlo Ginzburg (1990) on the “paradigm of the index” was an attempt to formulate this new historical paradigm.

16. I thank Olivier Sirost for his remarks.

The microhistoric approach that emerged in France in the 1980s was considered revolutionary, as it challenged both the theoretical and methodological foundations of so-called “conventional” history, and not only of history but of all social sciences.

It is this intellectual context that saw a rising interest in senses, sensations, sensory manifestations, and expressions, which can only be perceived through a detailed and delicate focus on micro-events. These studies were at the origin of what later became a “historical anthropology of the senses” (Corbin 1990), which made its mark on research into the senses.

### The senses: inter, intra, or multidisciplinary?

In 1990, the publication of the special issue “Les ‘cinq’ sens” in the journal *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, singled out the field of sensory research (Howes, ed. 1990). This field was already well-established in North America, with the Sensory Studies group (led by Concordia University and the University of Copenhagen),<sup>17</sup> *The Senses and Society* magazine, and the Sensory Ethnography Lab<sup>18</sup> at Harvard University. More recently, the International Sociological Association and the group TG07 Senses and Society<sup>19</sup> appeared in Asia under the direction of Kelvin Low (University of Singapore).<sup>20</sup>

The Anglophone world has been interested in the world of the senses for several decades,<sup>21</sup> to the point of already recounting the history of the history of the senses:

The period from 1920 to 2000 was not only one of dramatic and rapid changes in the material and cultural life of the senses, it was also, and as a result, one of important developments in ways of thinking about the senses. (Howes 2014, 27)

The French-speaking world, however, remains more scattered (Colon 2013, 7). In 2010, a symposium organized by the Universities of Liège<sup>22</sup>

17. A dedicated website exists ([www.sensorystudies.org](http://www.sensorystudies.org))

18. The activities of this laboratory can be consulted at: [sel.fas.harvard.edu](http://sel.fas.harvard.edu).

19. The website is available at: [www.isa-sociology.org/tg07.htm](http://www.isa-sociology.org/tg07.htm)

20. See especially Kelvin Low (2009).

21. The special issue of the journal *Anthropologie et Sociétés* in some sense marked the birth of the anthropology of the senses. The question of a cultural conditioning of the senses was already being discussed, as Constance Classen (1990) showed with regard to feral children. To such an extent, she writes, that integrating into a culture means “adopting its sensory order.” Francophone studies developed a little along this line, but always solely from the historical perspective.

22. The “Cultures sensibles” research group has just been created there ([web.philo.ulg.ac.be/culturesensibles/](http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/culturesensibles/)), with a different focus from “sensing culture,” defined as a concept that “emanates from the crossroads of recent studies on material culture and an anthropological and historical analysis of the senses” (Howes and Marcoux 2006, 7). We should recall the links already established between senses and material culture across the Atlantic *versus* “multisensory marketing.” See the

and Brussels was specifically aimed at bringing together French-speaking researchers and their Anglophone counterparts.<sup>23</sup>

The reluctance of anthropologists and historians to identify themselves with “schools” of thought explains, at least in part, why they kept their distance. Microhistory is above all a methodological approach still under construction, still in development. Its founding texts (Revel, ed. 1996 and Revel 1997; Ginzburg and Poni 1981) highlight the authors’ fear of it becoming a “dogmatic” trend.

Moreover, in France, the study of senses has long been confined to the fields of biology and natural sciences, limiting its application to *stimuli* with no relations to cultural spheres. The cognitive sciences and neuroscience are highly developed, but they are anchored solely in Western cognitive realism and its preconceptions of the sensory perception of the world—with the notable exception, however, of the book edited by Danièle Dubois (1997).

At the same time, the ecology of perception gained momentum under the influence of Tim Ingold’s work. But not all French anthropologists commended his work, precisely because ethnography and cultural comparison are often the poor relation of his texts. However, Ingold (2000) showed the pertinence of a multidisciplinary approach to the perception of the environment. Anthropology emphasizes that ways of comprehending and perceiving based exclusively on Western dualisms are illusory (see in particular Descola 2005).

The senses function and are stimulated by specific cultural conditions; this is the very subject of an anthropology of the senses. But these senses also form part of the “subjectivity of the perceptual process itself” (Wathelet 2012, 128). Olivier Wathelet writes that it would be advisable to draw together these two points in order to arrive at a real “cognitive ethnography of perceptions.” Can sensory anthropology do without the in-depth knowledge of the cognitive mechanisms of perception? Or do they ultimately have nothing to do with sensory knowledge and its manifestations, as identified by sensory anthropology? This debate, very present within Anglophone research (Colon 2013), now appears to

thematic issue entitled “Sensing Culture” (Culture sensible) of the journal *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, published in 2006.

23. “Sensory Meetings: The Senses in Social Sciences,” a symposium co-organized by the Université de Liège’s Laboratoire d’anthropologie sociale et culturelle (LSAC) (Laboratory of Social and Cultural Anthropology) and the Université Libre de Bruxelles’ Laboratoire d’anthropologie des mondes contemporains (LAMC) (Laboratory of Anthropology of Contemporary Worlds), on September 27-29, 2010. The proceedings were published in 2013, under the direction of Paul-Louis Colon.



extend to certain studies in France.<sup>24</sup> The discussion is important, yet divisions have been created by different thematic and disciplinary choices. Nevertheless, the “ethnographic description of perceptual skills” (Wathelet 2013, 173) is possible without pitting anthropology and cognitive science against one another, provided that ethnography forms a basis for analysis and not for imported exogenous knowledge, as is often the case. A multidisciplinary approach is pertinent if it does not interfere with the characteristics of the various disciplines. This is evident, because when anthropology no longer relies on ethnographies, it loses its own disciplinary purpose. Anthropology of the senses is not that of emotions, nor of perception; it must be differentiated from history, philosophy, sociology, and other disciplines. We intend the study of the senses to be a tool for understanding different cultural spheres.

### French sensory singularity

Let us take another look at the landscape of French anthropology where, in a rather fragmented way, the research is particularly concerned with the sense of smell. Studies on this topic have been continuously unfolding over the last thirty years.<sup>25</sup> More recently, ethnographic studies of taste have emerged (Dupire 1987; Aubaile-Sallénave 2000; Teil 2004; Lorcy 2011; von Hoffmann 2013). We should also note the landmark issue of *Terrain* on the sense of touch, published in 2007, with an introduction from the anthropologist Christian Bromberger (2007, 6), evoking “the increasing depreciation of tactility” in our societies. He calls for an analysis of the sensory diversity of touch as an “authentic field of anthropology” (ibid., 10). This issue fully illustrates the appeal of ethnographies that reveal the social import of touch: modesty, hierarchy, hospitality, solidarity, all of which are expressed through tactile means (ibid.). The journal *Terrain* also came out with a special issue on the sense of smell in 2006 (Balsamo 2006). Therefore, far from abandoning the senses as a subject, anthropologists are increasingly interested in them.

Nevertheless, the authors of these publications rarely specialize in the senses. I was able to take part in a great collective adventure that involved asking anthropologists, historians, archaeologists, and philosophers to identify, in their own field, the uses and languages of the senses. The

24. I refer to Anthony Pecqueux’s text (2013) on the philosophy of perception and the contribution of John Langshaw Austin to “the ethnography of perception.”

25. See: Detienne (1972); Blanc-Mouchet (1987); Le Guérier (1988); Roubin (1989); Albert (1990 and 2007); Rey-Hulman and Boccara (1999); Musset and Fabre-Vassas (1999); Candau (2000); Lardellier (2003); Cobbi and Dulau (2004); Balsamo (2006).

sensory languages described have given us key elements for approaching and analyzing the senses, possibly serving as methodological tools in sensory anthropology (Gélard, ed. 2013). For example: the interrogation of archaeological, literary, and historical evidence of the use of the senses; the description of the senses in action, that is to say, senses both as the subject and as a method of analysis; and the senses in interaction (human intersensoriality and cross-talk between the senses).

Equally, there is the collective work published in 1998, *Anthropologie du sensoriel* (Méchin, Bianquis-Gasser, and Le Breton 1998), demonstrating the impact of an ethnography of the senses from a comparative perspective. Sociologist David Le Breton (2006)<sup>26</sup> studies the five senses from a socio-anthropological standpoint,<sup>27</sup> which is far removed from a sensory anthropology and has the primary aim of describing the senses.

The Center for Research on Sound Space and Urban Environment (Centre de recherche sur l'espace sonore et l'environnement urbain CRESSON)<sup>28</sup> similarly has a specific focus on sound, although it also spotlights other sensory aspects.<sup>29</sup>

The anthropology of “sound environments” and the study of “soundscapes” (Feld 1982, xxviii, 266)<sup>30</sup> and “aural landscapes”<sup>31</sup> dissolve individuals into “sound atmospheres” (or “ambiances”) in which ethnography disappears. Yet according to Olivier Féraud (2013a, 128), sound in fact carries cultural representations and affiliations, reflecting social relations at the level of microsociology (see the MILSON group).<sup>32</sup> It is possible to study the “anthropology of sound” (Féraud 2013b). As Philippe Descola writes:

26. We should also point out other texts by the same author in which the underlying sensory realms form part of the ethnography of senses (Le Breton 2003).

27. He provides an overview of discussions on different aspects of sensoriality. However, our criticism here concerns a sort of logic of “great cultural sharing,” which many anthropologists reject, between so-called “traditional” and “Western” populations, with, on one hand, societies existing within cultural contexts where the senses are in harmony, while we are seen to be living in an impoverished Western sensoriality.

28. The research center's website can be consulted at: [www.cresson.archi.fr/](http://www.cresson.archi.fr/)

29. Originally focused on sound space, as of the 1990s, the scope of CRESSON's investigations broadened to include the multiple aspects of in situ perceptions of the urban experience, and to experiments that look at the sense environment within urban and architectural design. While pursuing its research in the acoustic sphere, light, thermal, olfactory, tactile, and kinaesthetic phenomena are also studied. The research relies on original multidisciplinary methods at the crossroads of architecture, social sciences, and engineering.

30. See the collective work edited by Guillaume Faburel (2014) which substitutes the term “soundscape” with “soundspace.”

31. More often studied by sociologists, geographers, and historians than by anthropologists.

32. See MILSON, *Pour une anthropologie des milieux sonores* [<http://milson.fr/>].

[...] we must not confuse sound environment and soundscape: the sound environment is the set of sounds perceived by an individual in a given time and place, while the soundscape requires a reflexive approach made possible by capturing and dissecting the sound environment through recordings that can be listened to multiple times, allowing for a listening experience and a conscious structuring of the acoustic space. (2013, 654)

These ethnographic studies are not extensively developed in France, but they trace a path for future research in sensory anthropology.<sup>33</sup> The senses are useful indicators that closely depend on specific cultural and temporal spheres in which individuals are immersed. Here again, the ethnography of senses and sensory languages remains fragmented.<sup>34</sup>

This is particularly the case of the role of the senses in the treatment of illnesses<sup>35</sup> in the form of sensory therapies (Motte-Florac 1998). In recent studies, the focus had been on “touch therapy.”<sup>36</sup> This includes the use of touch in the practice of Reiki (Paterson 2007), the “therapeutic touch” (Field 2001; Classen 2005; Vinit 2007a and b; Le Breton 2011), the “osteopathic touch” (Gergaud 2008), and the “healing touch” (Le Breton 2011). Such practices require a deep understanding of tactile gestures and therapeutic techniques (Pouchelle 2007). Whatever approach is used to study touch therapy, the emotional dimension (in terms of empathy, reassurance, comfort, appeasement, etc.) is often central to the analysis. While touch has drawn considerable interest in the context of health, smell and especially taste are now the subject of more significant studies into chronic illnesses. The role of the senses in eating disorders was notably studied in the context of undernourishment of cancer patients (Jakubowicz 2006; Fontas et al. 2014; Lorcy 2014). In other words, this work allows us to better understand the sensory, nutritional, and even social experience of cancer and certain cancer treatments. These studies on sensory therapies still need to be broadened and developed, but they represent an important thematic focus for sensory anthropology.

Human geography has also taken an interest in the senses (Poiret 1998; Grésillon 2005). Published in 1998, the pioneering work of Robert Dulau and Jean-Robert Pitte set out certain principles:

33. See Olivier Féraud (2010). We also refer to Joël Candau and Marie-Barbara Le Gonidec (2013), as well as to the critical debate about the very term “soundscape” (Ingold 2007), describing sound as a phenomenon of experience. This was also emphasized in the issue of *Communications* with “sensory languages” (Gélard and Sirost 2010).

34. I refer to the special issue of *The Senses and Society* (Gélard 2016).

35. I thank Armelle Lorcy for her invaluable contribution.

36. This has already been looked at by Anglophone researchers (“therapeutic touch”) and those of other disciplines (psychomotricity and philosophy, for example).

The geography of smells is based on perfectly objective physical, chemical, and biological foundations. As for the superstructures, they are cultural and thus make for complex analyses, since perception varies from one individual to another, from one society to another, and since beneath predilections, repulsions, and indifferences, we find education, imagination and freedom. There is no difference, we see this with the other geographies of sensory perceptions: sight and landscapes—studied in depth; taste and flavors, hearing and sound—much less studied; touch and sensations of the skin—not studied at all. (Dulau and Pitte 1998, 7)

But geography is not anthropology...

We should also mention Nélia Dias's book, *La Mesure des sens* (2004), on how the French anthropologists of the nineteenth century perceived the sensory hierarchy and applied their worldview to people then called "primitive." The book details a historical anthropology of the measurement of bodies—a scientific instrument at the service of colonial oppression—which was spread in connection with racial classification.

Today, sensory anthropology focuses on understanding how sensory manifestations inform us about the way individuals use sensory languages as tools of communication and information, and as a means of being in the world. Some research, by beginning to look at the senses in combination, considers them less in a hierarchical relationship to one another than as functioning as a diapason (Gélar and Sirost 2010, 12). Thus, sensory anthropology describes the practices of individuals and societies rather than projecting exogenous sensory models. While the senses color relations and cultural spheres in a particular way, they must be described carefully and in detail, leaving aside sensory biases.

Considering the senses as a language, non-verbal but essential to communication, is a delicate process that requires a thorough and intimate knowledge of cultures. Sensory preconceptions require a distancing and an anthropology from within. Sensory hierarchies exemplify this principle of anthropology. Our Western naturalism (Descola 2005) permeates all our categories of thought, including our scientific model, and prevents us from conceiving that there may be other modes of being in the world, in which sensory realms are experienced and used differently: animate, inanimate, human, animal, natural, supernatural, etc. Sensory anthropology, based on detailed ethnographies, is therefore central to identifying and understanding other ways of perceiving and thus representing the world. Body techniques and sensory techniques (Howes 1990) depend on cultural acquisitions and environments. Our senses produce signs and symbols through the gestures, postures, and expressions they provoke. Anthropological studies have thus been able to demonstrate the impact of the senses on the memory of social groups, the primacy of an expression of the senses, and the interaction of senses rather than their isolation.

In the end—and here lies the significance of this nascent French sensory anthropology—, the senses are slowly but firmly permeating these areas of research and opening up many new perspectives. By expressing specific information, the senses provide anthropologists with an understanding of the societies being examined. The senses are identified by and through individual manifestations (visual, auditory, olfactory, etc.) that must be described and decoded. To achieve this, it is necessary to be able to identify attitudes that, most often, escape ethnographic observation as they seem innocuous or fortuitous. It is difficult to gather any individual discourse on this use of the senses since there is no need at all to identify sense realms that act unbeknownst to each and every one of us. The most fertile anthropological approaches rely on this methodology of deciphering the senses and their diversity.

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Translator: Una Dimitrijevec  
Editor: Aidan Cowland Joyce  
Senior editor: Mark Mellor*

KEYWORDS/MOTS CLÉS : sens – sensory anthropology/*anthropologie sensorielle* – history of sensibilities/*histoire des sensibilités*.

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