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An Anthropological Perspective on Technical, Phonetic and Figurative Gestures

On the Gradual Production of Speech while Walking

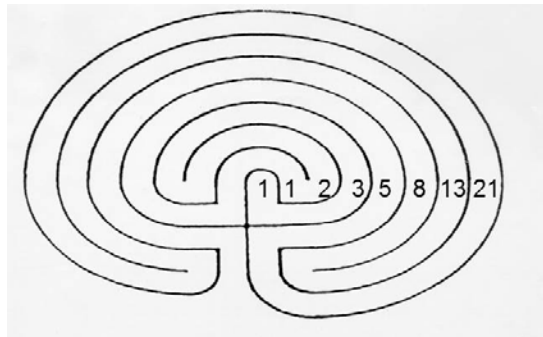
The following essay describes a primal scene, imagining how it might have been in the very beginning. Undoubtedly, it was a “homo ludens” who started the project of becoming human by using hand, eye, and the ability to imagine. Technical, phonetic, and figurative gestures gave way to the so-called second nature – cultural expressions that lead to technology, supported understanding, created pictures, music, theatre, or artistic legacies like the labyrinth that serves as a format for this essay. The “line of thoughts” (somewhere between fiction and reality) performs its own truth while one walks through: The text is constructed along the path of a labyrinth, the production of speech interrupted by its seven turns – allowing the experience of linear and cyclical time and creating rhythm and a motion of progression. It was written to be performed – not only to be read, but also to be seen and heard. Readers may imagine it as speech whose sound, rhythm and gestural elements inscribe themselves on the body.

Reflection, or thinking something over, finds its proper moment after rather than before an act.
(Heinrich von Kleist)

If I could tell you what it meant there would be no point in dancing it.
(Isadora Duncan)

The way in leads into a passage on the left from which it is impossible to see the outside world. Leaving our accustomed order behind us we are likely to experience time in this space. The idea is to have the courage to walk in, step by step, simply relying on the labyrinth in our inner ear, which is responsible for orientation and our sense of balance. It may help to give a brief description of the process. We can see from the image above that the entrance will lead us right into the middle. The path is divided by turns into seven circuits of differing lengths so that we shall be going back and forth, circling the centre – sometimes closer to it and at other times further away. The total time envisaged to walk through is a total of 54 minutes, with 7 interruptions. Since we shall skip the longest circuit, the time needed to complete the whole process will be exactly 33 minutes.¹

But why the classical labyrinth, where a maze would be a much better description of the current state of our society? No decisions, no trial and error, no dead-ends – we simply follow the path and will get there. The question remains as to why Theseus needed Ariadne’s thread. Evidently, it is not the path that is confusing, but what we experience as we follow it. Thus Hermes, the messenger of the gods, will accompany us on our passage through the labyrinth. He is easily recognisable by his winged shoes. As the god of the commerce and traffic he is also familiar with difficult paths and will take care that we return unharmed.



First Circuit: Eight minutes. Between the Trees

Human existence probably evolved out of a leap that went wrong. Due to a climate change that caused the trees to disappear, the distance between them became too large and the leaper plunged into the space between two trees – or to be more exact, into the abyss of the savannah. Perhaps it was in fact not an accident but Kairos who was responsible and the moment was favourable for escaping the boredom of timelessness, otherwise known as eternity – not an expulsion from paradise, but a fortuitous fall. Whether the fall was an accident, an incident, a coincidence, the fall of man, or even a genetic leap (the causes are open to dispute, as is well known) – all that is important is that the “fall” had enormous consequences. Nothing was the same as it had been before. It liberated the hands from their role in locomotion and opened eyes, ears and mouth. And if (according to Heidegger) projects are rays of hope, something indescribable had its inception in this clearing: the project of becoming human.² Of course, this scene between the trees is imaginary, an essay inspired by Vilém Flusser. No impact, however massive it may have been, could have unlocked the forebrain and led to the development of language, technology and art and (in both senses of the term) to an upright stance – even if this upright stance is by no means equalled by uprightness in the moral sense, even today. And this fallen being was also presumably anything but an ape having fallen on hard times – in the scenario I am constructing I have expressly decided to use a male figure to capture the essence of what is distinctive about becoming human.

The impact created a temporal and spatial distinction which provoked the “difference which makes a difference”,³ i.e., the ability to generate information. The ‘undifferentiatedness’ of being there (“Da-Sein”) gives way to a perception of time and space: before/after, here/there, inside/outside – a knowledge of permanence and change, life and death. It did not dawn gradually, but all at once. Cut off from the fullness of nature (and therefore more than being merely a form of existence), he is aware of already being there but of needing to adapt this state of being. There he lies in the clearing. And, he sees himself lying there. “As beings that are organised ex-centrally, we must first make ourselves into what we already are. [...] Because we only exist when we are performing an action – we need a complement that is of an un-natural, un-grown nature.”⁴ We have to compensate for our ‘halfness’ and are destined to use ‘crutches’ to offset this fundamental loss of balance. We will make tools and begin technological progress, construct memorials to the dead, perform rituals that shape social life, produce images, music and theatre and will enter into the symbolic order. We compensate for the deficit of not being completely fulfilled by our nature, by creating culture – but in doing so we end up accentuating the very difference that we are striving to erase. The ex-centric position cannot be grasped by reflection. And yet we will not stop trying, we will point the way, create culture and build bridges with all artifices at our disposal. This is how we further our development. And one of our oldest, artistic legacies is the labyrinth. Our first circuit is just being interrupted by the first turn.

Hermes is already waiting there and tells us that Penia, the goddess of poverty and want, was not invited to the celebration of Aphrodite’s birth and is waiting in the garden for left-overs from the banquet. With thoughts of revenge she is joining forces with Poros, the drunken god of plenty (literally: of transit, who is thus a soulmate of Hermes), and – gives birth to Eros, “Want blazing a trail for itself”.⁵ Hermes keeps repeating these words in a monotonic recitative. He looks at the cairn, one of the many erected to honour him where roads cross, since time immemorial. At every turn such a pile of stones will separate the back from the forth and create a short break, which Hermes makes use of, interrupting his fulminant performance, to quote James Joyce: “*So it returns. Think you’re escaping and run into yourself. Longest way round is the shortest way home.*”⁶

Second Circuit: 13 Minutes. Scenes in the Clearing

So there he lies. Indignant about his unhappy situation, he braces himself against the resistance that reality will provide him with from now on. Once we take the primal leap literally we realise that we actually think in images, not words. For example, if we take the word “at hand”, we see a scene in which there is a hand surrounded by things.⁷ Stones, branches, shells – all are sensory offerings that come into his field of view, presented to his grasp. The shock gradually gives way to wonder: his eyes wander, his hands grasp, he is captivated. And thus, quite inciden-

tally, disinterested delight will bring about things that are agreeable (i.e. art), and his relationship to himself and the world will lead to useful things (i.e. technology) and language (i.e. science).

As soon as the hands are able to handle the space between the index finger and the thumb they begin to work, serving one's own eyes and ears and also the eyes and ears of others. The hands put things down, in front, in the way, placing there, placing here, placing inside, placing outside, misplacing. All these placings – still wrapped in the shade of the trees – are destined to become the model for what in turn later will be called expression, impression, presentation, imagination, or, sometimes even, affectation. As a result of the co-ordination between the hands and the eyes this playful and random activity brings some things into relief, while others sink into an undifferentiated ground. Performative acts that initially have no meaning create a frame and place a piece of the world in it. In one of these frames the branch that has been unthinkingly thrown down may have provoked a comparison with the individual's own arm and he may have imagined that it could be the perfect support – a crutch for standing upright. Things are observed, differences discovered, correlations and correspondences found. It is the hands that show that reality is full of different possibilities. The actual creative act, however, is not the use of the branch, but then, as now, the discovery of a concept – in this case the law of the lever. "This is what the words 'conceive of' and 'concept' mean, if you take them literally, i.e. a series of actions that are aimed at taking what is being grasped out of its context."⁸ As human beings we are able to perceive similarities and see a branch as an artificial arm. We are able to abstract from what nature provides and appropriate the world with the aid of our own imaginative powers and position ourselves as subjects in relation to the world. The experience that we are able to alter things stimulates us to keep re-using the same action or gesture that has already taken on a semantic connotation. If we have not grasped (the idea of) the crutch we will find only branches. Nothing is invented that has not previously been discovered. Humans are not the creators of their inventions, but put them into effect as the occasion arises.⁹ We are not looking at a *homo faber*¹⁰ who is going about his work here, even if there are some feats to be accomplished. We see a *homo ludens*,¹¹ an artist and tinkerer, who turns things against their nature and in so doing discovers that he can make use of them and in the process even save himself work. He is a "bricoleur" who handles what is ready-to-hand, rearranges and recombines it and asks what else it could be. He is half way to being an engineer who wants to change the world, develops concepts and prepares the conditions required to put his plans into practice. There are worlds between the image of the branch that is perceived by the senses and still bound to the situation, and the word "branch", which is an abstract concept and completely removed from any concrete scene. But there is a link: "Signs resemble images in being concrete entities but they resemble concepts in their powers of reference. Neither concepts nor signs relate exclusively to themselves, either may be substituted for something else. Concepts, however, have an unlimited capacity in this respect, while signs have not."¹² Where engineers work with concepts, bricoleurs work with signs. Using branches

to kill snakes or knock down bananas or weaving them together to make nests is nothing special. Spiders, too, defend themselves against their enemies, feed themselves and mate in order to survive. But the “five-legged hand spider”¹³ turns a branch into a signifier that can be used to ‘inform’ nature and others. Used as a brush it leaves traces in the sand, as a mallet it draws sounds out of hollow spaces, as a crutch it helps one to stand up. What a brilliant discovery!

Now standing upright in the clearing he is both actor and observer. But however hard he tries, he cannot bring the two positions together. He is present where he is absent and absent where he is present. But he knows instinctively how to act, will turn Self into Other. He has not only held branches in front of his face to hide himself or scare away evil spirits, but has discovered that he can use them as a mask to show what he can become. He performs his fundamental dual nature: being both in the person and outside of oneself at the same time. As a character he is “not-me”, as a performer “not not-me”.¹⁴ Since we *are* but cannot simply *have* ourselves as humans, we must make what we already are, invent and extend ourselves ever anew. The masked drama is able to show self-fashioning as something which enables us to cope with our inaccessibility to ourselves. It is an enactment that is “propelled by the drive to reach beyond oneself, yet not in order to transcend oneself, but to become available to oneself.”¹⁵ A drama – like the one performed between the trees – is already an expression of a discursive praxis in which the persona (the Latin word for mask) speaks ‘in the name of’ another and addresses universal themes. What a stunning performance!

As soon as our modes of handling things show up in relief against an undifferentiated inner ground, we humans do not simply react, but act and develop forms of expression that have a demonstrative character and are therefore of a linguistic nature. And it may be self-evident that there was much to tell – for doubtless there were at least two, a man and a woman, in that clearing. The fall met with responses, the actions and doings were answered with encouragement, the pain with concern – thus our existence was answered with love. Mankind has been decidedly gregarious and responsive from the start – being sociable and taking responsibility.¹⁶ That sign-producing imaginative power not only leaves its mark on the world and things, but strives to reach others. Even the cry that followed the original impact articulated something. But for language to develop, it must be separated from the original context. It is this symbolic aspect (and not the actual presence or absence of the pain) that makes an action or gesture into an “artificial mood”¹⁷ – and is the only way in which we are able to give meaning to our lives. Such an expression will initially capture the situation as a whole, its essence. Calls to action such as “Let’s make levers” and “Let’s make masks” will presumably not have the same individual components but translate the factual into sounds and gestures on the basis of similarity. Then more abstract concepts gradually evolve, concepts that no longer have anything to do with what they are about and whose inter-relationships are governed by syntax (just like social kinship relationships and economic exchange). Unlike images, which as “symbols that (re)present something” bring the thing into view in one go, discursive symbols require “that we order our ideas se-

quentially, although objects may lie within each other, like articles of clothing that are worn on top of each other or hang next to each other on the washing line.”¹⁸ What a resourceful strategy!

Without an aesthetic capacity, i.e. sensory perception, mankind would have achieved nothing. The bricoleur acting and playing and doing between the trees not only began to perceive his own tracks, but went out tracking in the wild and eventually discovered the spiral and, by comparison, found out that the shape of natural growth processes is spiral. Well-versed in mimesis, he began to link spirals together and discovered the meander, which can also be observed in nature. Already scientifically minded, he used a stratagem to turn the lines of the meander element round an imagined centre and invented the labyrinth – which was now a completely abstract structure that does not occur in nature. The way through the labyrinth (we have already been moving through it for quite a while) appears to be a circle and yet it is a single, progressive line. While spirals and meanders continue endlessly, labyrinths show that qualitative shift or turn to which all natural growth processes are subject: the combination of repetition and progress – put in geometrical terms, the meeting of circle and line. The labyrinth demonstrates that the dynamic of life has to do with the alternation between movement and pausing, with cyclical and progressive movement. The turn of the labyrinth is both an interruption and a bridge, provides repetition with a beginning and an end so that the next circuit is similar, but not the same as the ones before. What an extraordinary work of art!

At the turn Hermes shows us how it is done. He transforms the vibrations of the air into audible phonemes and, following certain rules, strings the units of sound together in a kind of chain, using breaks to make them not only distinguishable from one another but also meaningful. For as the god of trade he must be able not only to do his sums, but also to negotiate with precision. He knows what talking is all about – one also has to know when not to say anything. Like now. Hermes values hermeticism, which wasn't called after him for nothing. So he would prefer the secret of the labyrinth not be completely divulged, only this much: it has more to do with counting than recounting, i.e. telling a story – numbers put things in order, group and measure them and provide a yardstick. To count on something means to rely on it; to count on someone means to be able to depend on them. Hermes, knowing that all recounting, or telling of stories, is based on counting, simply plays the seven strings of his lyre, possibly his most brilliant invention. Not bound to any single location, the sound rings out and fills the space. The rhythm and pitch follow a sequence of numbers invented by him: 8, 13, 21, 5, 1, 2, 3, 1. *At this turn not a word is spoken.*

Third Circuit: 21 minutes. Moving forward towards Progress

Having discovered all kinds of crutches he soon became a nomad, left the clearing and even found a single word for human being and foot. He roamed from place to place before settling, taming wolves, growing crops and keeping livestock. We are now here, far from the centre, at the beginning of the outermost circuit – the one which we intend to skip because the story is so familiar to us. The lever swung back at its inventors¹⁹ who soon began to behave like their machines – allowing themselves to be reduced to little more than workhorses. However, as we shift from the industrial to the information society, digital technology is rendering the power of our labour well nigh superfluous. Our gift for invention and creativity is now even more in demand. Just as in the past, our hands are liberated, and yet we suffer from being out of a job. Something has gone mightily wrong – deprived of anything for our hands to grasp, we are losing our footing and the familiar order is dissolving. Hermes, intent on leading us safely, silently lends us his winged shoes. Without a passage through or turn or transition we plunge into the *5 minutes of the fourth circuit*. Is there any way out of the present crisis? Can disruption (as in the case of that primal leap) open our eyes and ears and lead to reflection again?

For something to appear as *something* means that it must appear again – otherwise it does not appear at all. “If all things were to remain the same, [...] and if nothing stood out in contrast to something else, then there would be no rhythm.”²⁰ Periodically and cyclically returning life processes have always attracted attention – the yearly cycle, the alternation of day and night, breathing in and out. And it is in fact when irregularities, ruptures or sudden changes occur, when things fail to meet our expectations that we become aware that we had expected them. From the very beginning, the control, overcoming or manipulation of natural rhythms plays a crucial role (e.g. rituals that break physiological routines like fasting, prolonged waking, powerful and intoxicating beats, etc.). It seems that the root of aesthetic awareness is the extraordinary – be it the suspension, interruption or outburst of rhythms on one hand or the preference for unusual, distinct or strange forms (shells, stones, teeth, fossil imprints, crystals) on the other.²¹

The recognition of rhythm and form creates our feeling for time and space, and it is by mimetically reproducing rhythms and forms that human beings establish an aesthetic sphere which gives them a means of expressing value. Sequences of notches on stones and bones are the first evidence of the awareness of time, whereas representations of spheres and spirals attest to a recognition of spatial dimensions.²² Series of strokes and dots, scores, scratched images, even angular geoglyphs in the Peruvian desert (labyrinths whose centre is almost five kilometres from the entrance), imposing stone figures on Easter Island, impressive rock drawings in Lascaux – all of these signs may have supported the memory and accompanied the spoken word – abstract marks and configurations to elucidate knowledge and pass it on to others and future generations. Both humans and animals use tools and sounds, both can scribble, but only humans can paint. It is the symbolic power of this *graphism* – visual signs that seem to be closer to writing than to art – that

gives value and lends meaning to sound and things. It seems that two languages evolve, both coming from the same source and both of them abstract: one for the ear and one for the eye. Even in the cave paintings, the figures are grouped together and these assemblages are repeated and strung together along the walls, making use of a spatial dimension, as though added on for greater value. We are facing a “support medium of an irretrievable lost oral context”²³ and presumably are not looking at a naive copy of reality (e.g. a hunting scene). “Our life is molded by the practice of a language whose sounds are recorded in an associated system of writing: A mode of expression in which the graphic representation of thought is radial is today practically inconceivable.”²⁴ Long before these abstract images split away from writing and eventually achieved realism, graphic and phonetic expression came from the same source and developed the scope of their meaning only in conjunction with a narrative. They are figurative gestures which show what is to be counted on.

Hermes stands beside the cairn and counts aloud: 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21. Each number is the sum of the previous two. Not only the forms of nature, but also those of fractal geometry are based on this most irrational of all numerical relationships. The spiral is based on the Fibonacci sequence, with the Golden Ratio evident in proportions found in painting, sculpture, architecture and landscaping. Surprisingly, “beauty of form” comes about in the moment in which “reversible, cyclical time” and “irreversible, linear time”²⁵ meet. The arrow of time interrupts the cycle that is dedicated to preserving the status quo, plunges it into a momentary crisis in which the ‘game of possibilities’ (within fixed limits) will bring about alteration and change – while humans may not be destined to become apes (even though the opposite often appears to be true), no one person, animal or tree will be like another and all will therefore be unique. Hermes, that rogue, has overlaid the labyrinth with the Fibonacci numbers. While beauty and the idea of a process are conveyed by the shape of the labyrinth, Hermes’ intervention ensures that only those who walk through it will actually experience this as a rhythm – as progress interrupted by turns.

We are about to reach the fifth circuit with its one minute path. Only when we first entered the labyrinth were we this close to the centre. The whirlwind speed at which we are moving forward plunges us into a critical state. Hermes reads Michel Foucault: “Weary of waiting for Theseus to emerge from the labyrinth, tired of listening out for his even tread and of seeing his face in all fleeting shadows, Ariadne has just hanged herself. [...] But the thread is torn and Theseus will not return. He advances, limps, dances and bounds through corridors, tunnels, cellars and caverns, forks in the path, abysses, dark lightening with thunder below.”²⁶

Fifth Circuit: 1 Minute. In the Eye of the Hurricane

Though quite rare they do exist, those moments in which we no longer have to build a bridge between ourselves and others, when our “halfness” is temporarily overcome. However, for this to happen we must “be able passionately not to act”.²⁷ The performer in the clearing, like a Dervish, whirls and whirls and suddenly experiences himself as standing still and the world as a coloured ribbon that is sedately turning around him. Not a breath of wind. Turning points. A merging of inside and outside that no image can capture and that can at best be described as what it is – some call it flow, Flusser calls it “Selbstvergessenheit” (literally, forgetting the self).

Hermes waves his golden caduceus which could send us straight to sleep (eternal sleep even). However, it is not this kind of forgetting the self that we mean. Hermes smiles. Lost in thought he recites T.S. Eliot: “Trying to unweave, unwind, unravel / And piece together the past and the future, / Between midnight and dawn [...] / When time stops and time is never ending; / And the ground swell, that is and was from the beginning, / Clangs / The bell.”²⁸

Sixth Circuit: 2 Minutes. Perceiving Movement

Before the *homo ludens* put words and images between himself and his experience he will have reflected his perceptions with his own body and in dance. There seems to be some evidence that the first thing to be read was the sky. From time immemorial humans have observed the tracks and rhythms of the planets, discovered that they turn back on themselves, counted the number of turning points, calculated when they will return and then enacted the rhythms in dance. This is a cosmic symbolism that represents our knowledge, a mythogram whose many meanings are interpreted by sound gestures. Interestingly, the classical labyrinths are all assigned to planets (in accordance with the number of tracks each one has), and our seven-circuit labyrinth follows the rhythm of the movement of Mercury. This helps us to understand why our companion should be Hermes, whose Roman name is Mercurius. Who other than he could possibly accompany us as we make our way through the labyrinth and convey such an impression of walking and moving through it in both word and gesture.

Hermes interrupts to deny this, declaring that to do that is too basic for him, after all he invented the Greek alphabet precisely in order that speech should *not* remain tied to scenes and images but that it might develop independently of them. And, furthermore, he knows the vehicle that carries the word: Sight is local but sound is neither bound to walls nor to the ground and triumphs over visual perception. Therefore Hermes “transforms himself into a musician because sound knows no obstacle: the beginning of the total ascendancy of the verb.”²⁹ The one and only

reason why he invented the lyre was to test the strength of sound gestures against figurative gestures, i.e. hearing against seeing. Hermes is extremely knowledgeable and would certainly be able to recount the myth of the Minotaur, but he does not want to perform any labyrinth dances while doing so. So he leaves it to me to find a way of experiencing the labyrinth. Actually, according to Hermes, the labyrinth could be an excellent way of practising the linear mode of language by placing one word after another and therefore following a single path. If only there weren't the turns which could cause us to modify our thoughts again in the next circuit. The turns appear more and more dubious to him. Even Roland Barthes is unable to reassure Hermes: "Dis-cursus – originally the action of running here and there, comings and goings, measures taken, 'plots and plans'."³⁰

Seventh Circuit: 3 Minutes. An Enigma with no Solution

The rhythm of the drum, the rhythm of the human voice and the rhythm of a tool we use for work – the eyes and ears, aided by movements of the hands and body, produce symbolic reflections. Figurative, phonetic and technical gestures are three aspects of the same process, able to abstract from reality elements that are considered to be important. But the figurative gesture, which was initially abstract and associated with language, became more and more detached from it. Mankind not only discovered tools and masquerades and gave audible meaning to the world, but also wanted to be pleasing to nature (and naturally also to other people). Being a *homo ludens* he did not simply perceive and replicate the bearskin or the mountain cave, but rather clothes and dwellings (everything that was produced and made) were to be artistic and meaningful, simply to have value. Even the most basic hand-axe was more than just its function: tools were engraved, words turned into poetry, dynamic figurations (such as the labyrinth) were not only transposed into words and images but also physically performed in ecstatic ceremonies and dances. The motor figuration led to dance and mime, the auditive then later to music and poetry, while the visual form finally evolved into painting, where symbolization is furthest away from actual movement, linear writing coming last.³¹ Other than the verbal and technical gestures that were felt to have a decisive and an effective hold on the world of social relationships and on the world of matter, the aesthetic figurations – be it dance, mime, drama, music, sculpture – produce an ambiguous field of value that reflect rhythms and movements. And for this reason our walk through the labyrinth is able (at least tries) to make sense of and respond to such an ineffable and enigmatic phenomena as the project of becoming human.

Hermes prefers not to waste his time on riddles that have no solutions. He is interested in facts and the only interest figurative gesture holds for him is that it actually gives 'added value'. If we are going to have art, then he wants to trade in it. Although he invented the lyre he eventually traded it for the herd of cattle that he had stolen from Apollo. He even invented rhetoric simply to be able trade more skil-

fully. In the beginning, as often proposed, was neither the word nor the deed but both – speaking is like engraving. At the end, Hermes, the great god of communication, gives in and scratches his last message (in the words of Käte Meyer-Drawe) letter by letter on the cairn which, incidentally, is so large that it almost prevents us from reaching the centre: “Voices need the body. They engrave themselves on it.”³²

In the Centre

Hermes looks up. The sun has reached its zenith. There is an unfolding of that mysterious silence which swallows up everything and yet where everything is there at the same time. Rather than the Minotaur it is his son Pan, that lascivious god with the legs of a goat, who makes us panic. With an enchanting gesture with which he has already seduced Echo, he plays on his pan pipes. The sound makes us shudder: a strange sensation of otherness. We sink into “Selbstvergessenheit”.

We have arrived, but have we also progressed? Meanwhile it has grown late – as so often, too late.

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English translation: Elizabeth Hamilton, Deirdre Winter

Annotations

- 1 This differs substantially from what I have previously written about labyrinths (cf. Seitz 2000, 2001).
- 2 Flusser 2001.
- 3 Bateson 1972, 315.
- 4 Plessner 1975, 309f. (English translation by the translators of the present article.)
- 5 Kristeva 1987, 75.
- 6 Joyce 1922, unpaginated.
- 7 Flusser 2001, 199.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 234
- 9 Plessner 1975, 311, 321.
- 10 Frisch 2011.
- 11 Huizinga 1938.
- 12 Lévi-Strauss 1966, 18.
- 13 Flusser 2001, 235.
- 14 Schechner 1985, 112.
- 15 Iser 1997, para. 5.
- 16 The renowned socio-biologist Edward O. Wilson recently hypothesised that in the course of evolution not only the fittest individuals survive, but also those who co-operate and act to the benefit of the community. According to Wilson, this natural conflict of drives that is torn backwards and forwards between the individual and the group is irreconcilable, but can be pacified by music, po-

etry, or the fine arts. For Wilson, a process of becoming human that is founded on culture may even be possible in the bio-economy (cf. Wilson 2013).

- 17 Flusser 1991, 17.
- 18 Langer 1965, 88.
- 19 Flusser 2001, 251.
- 20 Waldenfels 2007, 61.
- 21 Leroi-Gourhan 1993, 368f.
- 22 Ibid., 315f., 367f.
- 23 Ibid., 190
- 24 Ibid., 196
- 25 Cramer and Kaempfer call this “reversible Verkehrszeit” and “irreversible Geschichtszeit” (cf. Cramer/Kaempfer 1992, 121ff.).
- 26 Foucault 1969, 36 (English translation from the French by the translators of the present article).
- 27 Kamper 1995, 21 (English translation by the translators of the present article).
- 28 Eliot 1943, 15.
- 29 Serres 1989, 40.
- 30 Barthes 1978, 3.
- 31 Leroi Gourhan 1993, 273.
- 32 Meyer-Drawe 2003, 126.

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