Video and Vision: Videography of a Marian Apparition

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Abstract

In this article, we sketch the field of qualitative video-analysis and locate videography within this. Instead of presenting the methods of videography formally, we illustrate the application of this method in a particular field: Marian apparitions occurring in a German town in 1999, captured live on video. The presentation of the method in this paper follows a general methodological structure. (1) We first outline the ethnographic context of the setting in which the video-recordings were made. This context includes actors, religious associations, and locations as well as some aspects of the apparitional events' historical genesis. (2) We then turn to look at the performance of the Marian vision as recorded in the video. By applying sequential analysis, we roughly identify a temporal order to the event, which exhibits an interesting deviation from earlier forms of apparitions due to the way it takes a subjectively "spiritual" form. This finding leads us to finally (3) address the role of the subjective perspective that, as we argue, is a further essential dimension of videography. It is on this level that we are made aware of the relevance of the life-world as a methodological background for the kind of interpretive social science that takes the actor's perspective into account.

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Introduction: Video in Ethnographic Fieldwork

Since the very beginning of such technologies, audiovisual media has have been intensely used in ethnographic research, contributing to an ever-increasing, immeasurable body of documents that include pictures, photographs, films, and more recently, video recordings. As a scientific research practice, ethnography has always involved the immersion of the researcher into the field of study. Its emphasis on observation, however, has been primarily linked to the *use* of audiovisual media. More precisely, it is commonly restricted to the audiovisual *representation* of ethnographic work results. In contrast, the use of audio-recording devices in ethnography for *data collection and analysis* has only been addressed by a few authors (Moerman 1988). Within the rapidly evolving field of visual research methods, as reflected in recent publications (Margolis and Pauwels 2011; Pink 2012), the analysis of video data seems to play a minor or even completely marginal role. At the same time, notably fueled by technological advances and the pervasive availability of video in everyday life, using audiovisual recording devices in field research has become both a mundane and widespread practice. Thus, the currently accelerating dissemination of video recording technology and its expanding use in ethnography deserves closer attention. A rapidly increasing number of people in everyday and professional life use video frequently, in a number of settings, and for multiple purposes. Given this fact, video has become a more and more prevalent feature found across many contemporary fields. The fact that digital video permeates social settings is accounted for, for example, by the analysis of "mediatization" (Hepp and Krotz 2014). We have witnessed a growing number of studies that address the production, circulation, and reception of video by actors, for example, on YouTube (Traue 2010). In addition, some researchers have started to study how video analysis is employed in various professional settings, such as "vernacular video analysis" (Tuma 2012).

There are various kinds of video recordings that serve as data in ethnographical research. In general, they can be divided into two major types: (1) member-produced video data or (2) recordings by the researcher(s). Video diaries, for example, are fabricated by people who document (parts of) their everyday life. On the other hand, video recordings of behavior in public spaces, like museums or underground-stations, are purposefully produced by researchers and follow a less defined focus of scientific attention. In mobile ethnographic approaches, the practice of videotaping "over the shoulder," whereby participants navigate through their social environment and the ethnographer follows their trajectories, lies somewhere between the wide range of spectrums in different sorts of video data (Kusenbach 2012).

In its methodology, videography, however, still differs significantly from cognate approaches in ethnography that employ video as a visual substitution for observing. This either makes video ethnography a kind of mobile field method, or produces videos as an alternative form of representing research results. *Videography* refers, rather, to a form of ethnography that uses video to focus on certain aspects of the field that may otherwise be studied and addressed by conventional ethnographic means. In this sense, videography is a form of "focused ethnography" (Knoblauch 2006), in that it has a particular focus in the field and records denser data, allowing one to scrutinize in much more detail than conventional ethnography. With regard to focused ethnography, one has to be aware that the sheer technology of the camera introduces a further selective focus that has to be accounted for in recording, as well as in the references of analysis.

Owing to the dense and detailed data they provide, it is the *analysis* of video recordings that becomes especially important in videography. Indeed, video data enable microscopic observation of temporally unfolding actions and, more particularly, *inter*actions. For this reason, it is not surprising that video analysis has come to be used to study interaction. While the first studies in this field focused on experimental settings, video technology became increasingly refined and disseminated, and therefore video recordings could be used for the analysis of naturally occurring interactions. It is within this line of *analysis of naturally occurring interactions* that we locate videography.

Leaving aside the many approaches that apply standardized and quantitative concepts when working with video data, videography still differs from other methods of qualitative video analysis. The variety of interpretive methods of video analysis is surprisingly much larger in German than in Anglo-Saxon academia. For example, only recently, three fully fledged books have been published in German exclusively on methods in qualitative video analysis (Bohnsack 2009; Reichertz and Englert 2010; Tuma, Knoblauch, and Schnettler 2013), while in English there is only one (Heath, Hindmarsh, and Luff 2010). If we specify video analysis with mention to the positions taken in these books, videography, as Bohnsack (2009) suggests, does not attempt to analyze video recordings as visual data. Rather, videography takes video as representing social interaction. One should not misunderstand this "representational" character of video, however, by suggesting that audiovisual records highlight what is not present. On the contrary, one of the basic features of videography is that the videos are recorded by the participant-observing researchers in the field. It is this emphasis on participation and ethnography that distinguishes videography from the kind of video analysis suggested by Reichertz and Englert (2010). In videography, video recordings are not mere representations but indications relating to the researcher's knowledge of the

setting in which he or she has been participating. In more general terms, video recordings are to be seen as indications, that is, recollections of actions, rather than as signs that are meaningful in their own right (Schutz 1962).

It is precisely at this very point that the subjective perspective enters videography. As the knowledge of the actors on the video is not acquired by recording, it is acquired by ethnographic methods, such as participation, ethnographic interviewing, and material collections; it is the subjectively acquired knowledge that is relevant to the video recordings. In this context, videographers contribute to the analysis and explanation in data sessions. In addition, data analysis also requires nonparticipating researchers who elicit the participant observer's knowledge. Meanwhile, the observer's subjective knowledge is triangulated with interviews and other forms of reconstruction of actor's perspectives in the interaction field. Because of the material nature of the data, video elicitation is a supplementary method used to reconstruct the actor's point of view, which is stressed by the ethnography of the lifeworld (Honer 2011). Therefore, the subjective perspective of the participant researcher plays a crucial role in videography.

Elsewhere, we elaborate on videography as a method in general (Knoblauch, Schnettler, and Raab 2006; Knoblauch, Tuma, and Schnettler 2014) and in particular the role of subjectivity in videography (Knoblauch and Schnettler 2012). Over the past decade or so, we have successfully employed videographical approaches in several empirical studies, such as in the use of presentation technology (Knoblauch 2013a), in the structure of commemoration rituals (Schnettler, Baer, and Rabl 2015), and in cultural events and performances in the social world of migration (Rebstein 2012).

In order to emphasize the intimate relation of videography and ethnography, in this paper we wish to demonstrate its use in an ethnographic context where subjectivity plays a prominent role: in religious visions or, to be more exact, Marian apparitions. This study focuses specifically on a series of apparitions that occurred in Southwest Germany in 1999. Following the suggestion by Knoblauch (2009) which concerned the question of how to proceed methodologically in videography, we sketch the analysis on three levels. First, we reconstruct the historical and ethnographic background of the apparitions. Second, we summarize the basic features of the interaction during one particular apparition on video. Finally, we analyze the role of subjectivity in the apparitions, concentrating on the actors in the field and the extraordinary subjective experience they have had, which illustrates a method we call "ethnophenomenology." Readers may access the video fragments analyzed in the following section at http://www.soz.uni-bayreuth.de/de/videoanalysis/index.html.

Figure 1. The three seers, 1999.
Source: Still from video footage by K. H. Backes.

The Ethnographic Context: Marian Apparitions in Marpingen

In 1999, the small municipality of Marpingen in Saarland, Germany, situated close to the French border, witnessed a series of Marian apparitions. Three young women claimed they had seen, heard, and talked to Mary, and occasionally to Jesus. These three seers were Marion, at that time a thirty-year-old married hotel manager; Christine, a student of music in her early twenties who was also married; and Judith, a white-collar worker in her midthirties (Figure 1). All three had grown up in the Saar region, although were not originally from Marpingen.

The first visions occurred on May 17 and 20 near a chapel in a wood called Härtelwald. Subsequently, the three women had various apparitions near the chapel, mostly in the company of an increasing number of predominantly Catholic pilgrims. Around four thousand visitors witnessed the sixth apparition on June 13, 1999, while on the ninth day of apparitions, July 18, more than twelve thousand pilgrims turned up. Surpassing all expectations, an impressive thirty thousand people observed the final apparition. It was not only believers who were attracted to these events, however. The apparitions caused significant uproar elsewhere: Television stations turned up and critically reported on the events, the church prohibited the proclamation by the

seers, the seers themselves were threatened, and, in addition to all this, the village administration came into conflict with the chapel association over the events, even though the site of the chapel was unaffected.

The setting of the apparitions is highly significant. The apparitions took place at a site that almost a century previously had been the location of a series of Marian apparitions. In 1876, a group of children reported to have seen the Virgin Mary. Their visions stirred enormous attention, because at that time Marpingen belonged to Prussia and the Kulturkampf; thus, the political battle between the recently established, predominantly protestant German Empire and the politically marginalized Catholics reached a climax.

Marpingen's local authorities, overwhelmed by the masses of pilgrims, called in the Prussian governments to help them manage the crowds. Military forces marched in and police occupied the Härtelwald while the apparition site remained closed off. The population also reported incidents of arbitrary harassment by the Prussian forces.

These events left their mark on the local collective memory, and it was not by coincidence that the apparitions of 1999 occurred at exactly the same location as the 1876 series. Though the Catholic Church never officially acknowledged Marpingen as one of the approved apparition sites, a local Marian association built a chapel and a grotto to venerate these visions. The events of 1999 took place at the exact same place where Mary had appeared in the late nineteenth century (between the chapel and the grotto).

The first apparitions also left an impact in another way. As an event of historical significance, the 1876 apparitions have been subject to several scholarly studies—most recently, by a famous British historian (Blackbourn 1993) whose study gained certain prominence, not only among experts but among the wider public too. His work was translated into German, and the German translation was presented in Marpingen early in 1999. However, Blackbourn's attempt to explain the apparitions socioculturally caused some outrage with the local audience, particularly among the devout Catholics. As our interviews suggest, at least two of the seers "to be" had been present at this book presentation. In addition, all three of them seem to have been in contact with a priest who is prominent far beyond the local Marian movement.

The term "Marian movement" not only accounts for the spatial setting in which the videography is focused but also for the social setting. The apparitions had been pre-announced to the seers by a vision. Thus, the apparitions were attended by what constituted an audience or, perhaps more accurately, a co-participating congregation. In order to know how this congregation was formed, the experiences at the apparitions as video recorded speak volumes. The head of the local Marian society, Mr. Schreiner (who is not a priest), guides the audience by use of a microphone. A professional photographer and
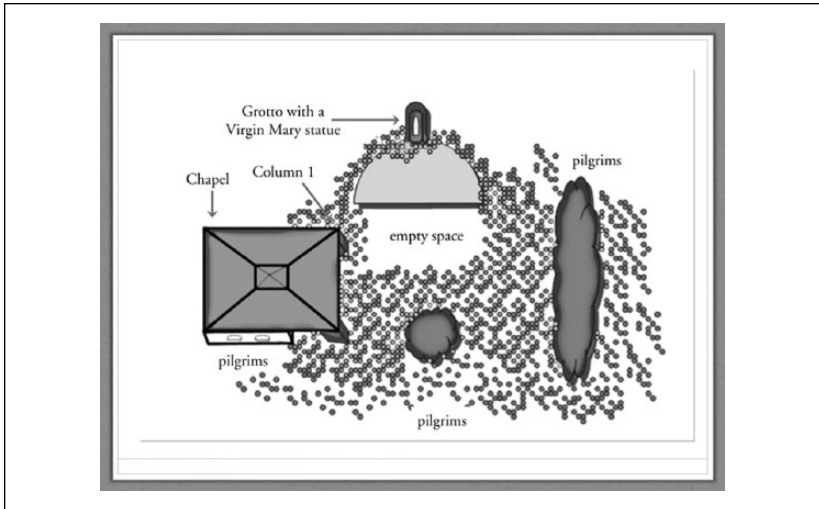
Figure 2. The Marpingen Apparition Site.

filmmaker document the event, while the seers themselves use Dictaphones to record what they experience during the vision. All of these technical records were then produced, resulting in the event being propagated medially through the use of leaflets containing the divine massages and later books (including photographs), audiotapes, and films made in the form of VHS tapes (on the role of mediatization, cf. Knoblauch 2014).

Elsewhere, we have analyzed participant-produced videos of religious visions (an issue explicitly addressed in Schnettler 2008a). In this article, we focus on the recorded event. More precisely, we center our attention on the apparition that took place on June 20, 1999, at which roughly two thousand pilgrims were gathered. Figure 2 represents the spatial setting in which the apparition occurred.

The square to the left represents the chapel. The semicircle at the top indicates a grotto with a (Lourdes-style) Marian shrine and Marian statue in its center, placed there in memory of the first apparition. The larger spots characterize trees, while the small spots are people. The crowd leaves an empty space between the chapel and the shrine. At the beginning (Figure 3), the seers stand still under the chapel's roof, next to the columns, yet outside the chapel. As Britt (1998, 11) stresses, most medieval apparitions occurred when mass was being held in the church; this was the case in Medjugorje, Bosnia, another famous place of Marian apparitions (Berryman 2001). The spatial setting in our case, however, is not static. Instead, the vision is linked

Figure 3. Marion kneeling down (to her right is Mr. Schreiner with a microphone).
Source: Still from video footage by K. H. Backes.

to significant movement, which is analyzed in the next section using the recordings.

The Sequential Analysis of an Apparition

The analysis of the apparitions in the form of video recordings follows the enrolment of action in its temporal order. It is thus a form of sequential analysis. Previously, we have elaborated on the problem of analyzing audiovisual data sequentially (Knoblauch and Schnettler 2012), but given the restricted space of this paper, we only analyze a short sequence here. The beginning of the vision is of utmost importance because it includes the moment in which "mundane reality" transforms into the extraordinary situation of a "religious vision." In order to follow the trajectory where this shift evolves sequentially, we focus our attention on the body movements of the seers and the audience members and the ways in which they are "orchestrated." These "body formations" can be understood as an extension of what Kendon (1990) calls "face formation" (cf. Knoblauch 2008).

The central role of bodies at the apparitions is indicated by the way the seers are physically placed in the center of attention. First, all observers focus

Figure 4. Marion having her vision.
Source: Still from video footage by K. H. Backes.

their media devices on them (cameras, microphones, Dictaphones). Second, as we shall see, the seers move their bodies into the center of the setting. The performance of this movement is itself a feature that allows us to order the event temporally. Previous to the scene starting, the seers are hidden behind column one (represented in Figure 2). While the audience is reciting the Apostolic Creed, the first part of the sequence begins with the seers moving out (Figure 3). One of the seers, Christine, starts to move slowly away from behind the column; then Marion, the second seer, appears from behind the column; and Judith, the third seer, follows. While they try to get round the bystanders to coordinate their move into the direction Christine has indicated, Marion kneels down and folds her hands.

Although we cannot know what is happening in Marion's head, her facial expression indicates that she is extremely happy and filled with joy, while her gaze is directed upwards (Figure 4). In fact, as the third part of the paper will show, it is here that the vision starts. The beginning of the vision is made visible by Marion, as her posture resembles what Berryman (2001) identifies as "icon." Indeed, Marion's face seems to mimic the "ecstatic gaze" of eyes wide open, gaze smiling as if recognizing someone joyful, and directed upwards.

Figure 5. "God's mother is among us. Please kneel down if you can."
Source: Still from video footage by K. H. Backes.

This is very similar (without being identical) to the facial expression and body posture of other Marian visionaries (Pasquinelli 2007).

Although we cannot see if or what Marion sees, the evidence for her vision is produced immediately after. For as soon as Marion kneels down, Mr. Schreiner turns to Judith and then to Christine, to inquire what is happening. Note that he does not address Marion herself, treating her as if she was not an interactive resource anymore. Just before he announces that the vision has started (or more positively, that Maria is on the scene), the major actors change their body formation again (while everyone else remains in their positions): Mr. Schreiner and Judith close ranks with Marion, as Judith kneels down next to Mr. Schreiner. In this frontal position, Mr. Schreiner interprets and delivers Marion's movement to the audience (and the camera), declaring by microphone: "God's mother is among us. Please kneel down if you can." Note that the coordination of the seers and Mr. Schreiner at this point is, so to speak, situational; while Marion kneels down as the audience perform the credo, the protagonist's movements do not seem to follow a liturgical script, yet all are jointly coordinated in their movements (with the notable exception of Marion who no longer orients towards her co-seers) (Figure 5).

While most of the audience now take a kneeling position, the seers and Mr. Schreiner walk on and change their position again. They approach Marion

Figure 6. Part of the Marian Apparition.
Source: Still from video footage by K. H. Backes.

and escort her into the new place in front of the audience, yet Marion shows no signs of responding to them by maintaining her joyous expression.

The navigating around the audience members who are in front of them takes forty-one seconds. It is performed in silence and ends at the end of the open space by the chapel, where the three seers proceed to kneel down (Figure 6). Mr. Schreiner, who kneels down behind the seers, initiates the rosary: "Jesus whom you virgin have conceived by the Holy Spirit". This is continued by the crowd: "Holy Mary Mother of God pray for us sinners (-) now and in the hour of our death, Amen." In the meantime, the seers appear to have their vision as they face the Marian statue in the grotto, a representative of the apparitions from 1876.

Note that the seers do not move into the center of the empty space. Instead, they remain on the outskirts of the center. This position of "marginal centrality" is mirrored by the media too, for the seers only receive the microphone from the "master of ceremonies" after the apparition has ended. In both respects, the seers and the media differ from Marian seers elsewhere who tend to seize the microphone and stand in the center of attention. This "marginal centrality" may symbolically express that all three women are said to be "penitents" of a leading priest in the Marian movement.

Both the spatial setting and the movement and location of the seers' bodies are also important when considering the status of the apparition. Indeed, the *face formation* of the seers at least indicates in what direction they apparently "see" something. In many documented apparitions, participants seem to assume that they would be able to see the vision if they knew when and where it happened. This expectation even had legal consequences in the 1876 Marpingen apparitions, when priests, and later Prussian police, interrogated the seers. The location's importance is evident in the form of the material statue positioned at the very place where Mary was said to have appeared by the seers (see Figure 2). How do the visionaries treat this issue nowadays? What do they see?

The Subjective Perspective of the Apparition

These questions address what we have called the subjective perspective. As mentioned, in videography, this perspective is significant for two reasons. On the one hand, a videographer takes a focused ethnographic view, and therefore, the role of what we could call a participant observer, who thus acquires specific knowledge of the field. As this perspective cannot be presented here, we focus on the second aspect, the perspective of the actors. Since Marian apparitions require quite a specific perspective, we approach the task of reconstructing the subjective experience in two ways. First, we use the audio-visual data from the event to locate the seers' perspective, focusing particularly on Marion. These data indicate how the transcendent experience of vision is embodied in order for it to provide a resource for understanding the subjective perspective. Second, we use descriptions and explanations produced by the actors and by the interviewers in the vision. This latter kind of data is taken to constitute what we call an ethnophenomenology, a description of experiences by the people concerned.

The focus on gaze and gaze direction may serve as a preface to the question of how the vision is embodied. With respect to gaze, we can observe an interesting movement, for if one tries to grasp the direction Marion's face takes at the beginning of her vision (described above, Figure 3), we witness a turn of the face formation and, consequently, gaze direction. After she has kneeled down, perhaps overwhelmed by the vision (which can be suggested by the joy in her face, Figure 4) she is, as we have seen, aided to move to the front by her co-seers and Mr. Schreiner. Within this movement, she turns her body, thus affecting the direction of her gaze, as illustrated in Figure 7.

From the direction of her gaze, observers can perhaps deduce that Marion seems to see Mary in two different places. However, as we have seen, Marion does not indicate that she is following a moving object at all. Instead, she is
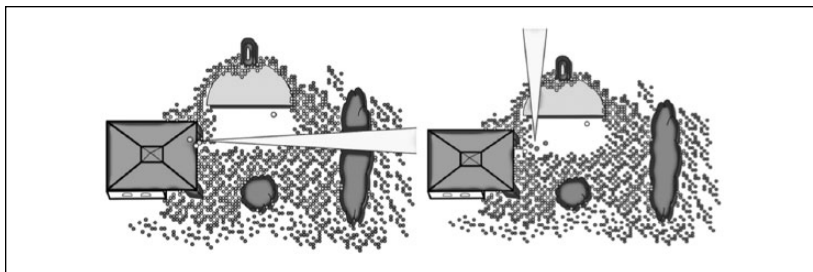
Figure 7. Marion's gaze direction: (A) first position; (B) second position.

moved by her (not yet seeing) co-seers to position two, despite the fact that she seems to see Mary in position one. Even more startling is the fact that hardly anyone in the audience seems to take notice of the direction of her gaze at all. The audience either look at her, look at the statue, or gaze in a contemplative way flatly toward the ground.

Yet, the direction of Marion's gaze is quite obvious. Indeed she moves her head when she stands up and walks into the second position, indicating that the chapel's pillar is in her way. Nevertheless, she quite visibly demonstrates that the direction of her vision is not really important. In the first position, she looks up into the trees and, although looking (slightly) upwards, toward the audience; in her second position, her gaze falls on quite a different position, to the grotto close to the Marian statue. However, since Marion never stated that Mary would be moving or flying from one place to the other while she sees her, we have to assume that the real place is not of any importance.

This observation, based on the video, leads us to assume that what Marion may be seeing subjectively, the "reality of the vision," is significantly different from other Marian apparitions. In the 1876 apparitions, the police tried, among other things, to locate exactly where Mary had supposedly appeared in the Härtelwald and this location was later used as the position of the Marian statue. At another Marian apparition in Heroldsbach, Germany, in 1949, the visionaries were questioned by an official forester, who tried to identify the "objective" place of the Marian apparition by using binoculars (cf. Göksu 1991, 15). He later recounted that he had seen something he identified as the boughs of a tree—while the seers claimed to see Mary next to it. As Britt (1998) states, pilgrims and seers at a more recent Marian apparition in Georgia (United States) took pictures of the vision that they considered to be a "tool of empirical proof" of Jesus and Mary's presence. As he shows, these pictures themselves became objects of veneration. Britt recorded another example, difficult to reproduce here, of a photograph in which the shapes presented

resembled photographs of another American apparition in Clearwater, Florida (http://www.amiracleinclearwater.com/, last accessed July 21, 2014).

The hypothesis that the reality of what was seen at the 1999 Marpingen apparitions is different from earlier apparitions is further supported by evidence from the actor's subjective perspective, in their verbal statements about their experiences. In fact, in order to grasp the subjective perspective, it seems necessary to look for evidence that is semantically more specific than what we can see on the video, for the kind of gaze Marion has might possibly be found in other settings, and as such, it only acquires meaning in the frame of the context it is in. Statements that specify what is being seen in visions can be collected via interviews but, in this case, they are part of the field itself. As we have seen, the seers recorded their experiences on Dictaphones and then reconstructed their experiences after the apparition by means of a statement publicized by the microphone. Let us look at one instance of a vision had by Judith and Marion (recorded on the twelfth apparition day, September 6):

Fragment 1: Transcript from the seventh apparition day (June 20)

24	Judith	(1.0) nehmt die Barmherzigkeit an (-) die aus der Liebe meines Herzens zu euch kommt. (2.8)
		(1.0) take mercy that comes from the love of my heart. (2.8)
25		lasst meine Worte heute nicht umsonst gewesen sein; (-) es ist mein Aufruf an Deutschland
		do not let my words be in vain; (-) this is my appeal to Germany
26		es ist mein Aufruf für die ganze Welt;
		this is my appeal to the whole world;
27	Marion	ich hör nochwas (0.5) ganze Zeit hör ich schon die zehn Gebote sind
		I am hearing something else (0.5) the whole time I am hearing the ten commandments are
28		das Amen des Universums. (2.3) die Liebe (-) ist der letzte Zweck der Geschichte (5.8) …
		the Amen of the universe. (2.3) Love (-) is the ultimate goal of history (5.8) ...

In line 27, Marion almost interrupts Judith, who is reproducing what she hears Mary saying. Marion stresses that "the whole time" she was hearing something, perhaps in reference to when Judith was speaking, or better, the repetition of Judith's speech then the reproduction of what she hears Mary saying. Although Judith and Marion are facing the same direction, they do not seem to have the same experience. At the very least, their auditive perception of what the audience members could not hear seems to differ,

for they hear different things at the same time. Additionally, as in Marion's vision above, they do not seem to care about hearing different voices, or at least, different things being said at the same time. Both observations lead one to conclude that the seers share a common theory of the kind of reality they are seeing, as the perceptions they have are made individually, and they do not seem to share a common reference in everyday reality. This challenges earlier visions that claim an extraordinary reality within everyday life, whereas these experiences only seem to claim a subjective reality. However, as the subjective reality refers to something absent, perhaps even transcendent yet meaningful, one can consider it a form of spirituality.

Ethnophenomenology and Video

Within the sociology of religion, this change from extraordinary to subjective reality within Marian apparitions could be considered an indication of the transformation from religiosity to new forms of spirituality (Knoblauch 2013b). However, since our goal is not to analyze religiosity in particular, but to present videography as a method, we focus on a second way of examining the subjective perspective within videography, which we call "ethno-phenomenology" (Knoblauch and Schnettler 2001). By ethnophenomenology, we mean that the way subjects experience reality is an issue addressed by actors themselves. The question of what kind of reality they are experiencing is a matter of their own actions. This kind of "ethnomethodology," referring to subjective experiences not accessible by direct observation, can be found in the practice of seeing indicated above. Consider the following example, again from the Marpingen apparition:

Fragment 2: Transcript from the seventh apparition day (June 20)

36	Christine:	als die Mutter Gottes vorhin kam? (2.3) als die Mutter Gottes vorhin kam; *when the Lord's Mother just came? (2.3) when the Lord's mother just came;*
37		sagte sie (0.7) ich bin die Mutter (-) deines Herrn (1.0) die vor dem göttlichen Thron kniet, *she said (0.7) I am the mother (-) of your Lord (1.0) who kneels before the godly throne*
38		und Fürsprache einlegt; für alle meine Kinder auf der Welt. ich hab *and asks for intercession; for all my children in the world. I have*

| 39 | ich=hab mehrmals gefragt wer sie ist und sie wiederHOLTe diesen Satz immer wieder.
I=ve asked several time who she is and she rePEATed this sentence again and again |

In Christine's recorded reconstruction after the seventh apparition (June 20, 1999), she quite obviously quotes Mary following a pattern known as dialogism: She repeats what she asked and what Mary answered, then describes her repeated questions and the subsequent answer Mary gives. Christine's mouth hardly moves, let alone Mary replying. Thus, during the vision, Christine seems to be addressing a form of "inner dialogue," unheard by the bystanders. Nevertheless, Christine makes it quite clear that she hears Mary speak like she would hear any other person. Although not audible to those around her, this indirectly defines her vision as an interior locution of hearing someone else speak.

The description of the locution as being heard, then resounded, is quite different phenomenologically from another form of locution we have studied. This example is taken from a recording of a vision of seers in a religious group called Fiat Lux. In its decorum and rituals, one could say Fiat Lux is aesthetically quite similar to Catholicism. What differs, however, is that the Fiat Lux is led by a charismatic leader called Uriella. One part of their common ceremonies involves Uriella seeing visions of Mary, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit performed live in front of her congregation. Frequently, her visions are combined with locution. In this, the audition takes on a different form:

Uriella: Volltrance   garantiert   für   eine   absolute,   reine Empfänglichkeit *Full trance guarantees for absolute, pure receptivity*

des göttlichen Wortes. Ich diene dann ausschließlich als Sprachrohr *of the divine word. I serve then exclusively as a mouthpiece.*

In this case, it seems that the voice of Jesus or Mary is being spoken through Uriella. She is, perhaps, the "mouthpiece" or, in Goffman's words (1981), the "loudspeaker," of the divine. This description stands in stark contrast to the way the Marpingen seers describe their auditory religious experience, the voice is repeated by them, rather than resounded. In terms of the phenomenology of religion, the participation status (Goffman 1981) of the seers with reference to the locution is quite significant. Thus, the Marpingen seers are perceiving transcendent beings different from themselves, yet not perceivable to others who are present, while Uriella impersonates and acoustically embodies the divine beings, thus making others aware of divine presence. These differences can be included in a phenomenology of religious experiences, but

we would like to stress that they are not just interpretations by us. In fact, they are interpretations taken by the actor, built on the actors' descriptions of their experiences of transcendence. This description by the actors of their "inner" subjective experience as part of their everyday experience is what we call "ethno-phenomenology." We argue that a systematic study of ethnophenomenology would contribute significantly to religious study, perhaps even leading to a reinvigoration of the phenomenology of religion, in a way that follows the path laid by Luckmann (1987) and Csordas (1993).

This notion of ethnophenomenology is elaborated on elsewhere (see Knoblauch and Schnettler 2001; Schnettler 2008b; Eberle 2014). For videography, it is important to note that ethnophenomenology can also be applied by the participant observers. Thus, in research of religious experiences, drug experiences, or sports, the experiences made by those taking part, as well as by researchers, plays an important role. In a study of treating medical pain by hypnosis, the kind of experience given by participating field researchers gives some clue as to the relevance for both the field researchers and for those taking part in the treatment. In opposition to auto-ethnography (cf. Reed-Danahay 1997), ethnophenomenology compares the experience of participant observers with other participants' experiences. In fact, as with Marian apparitions, researchers do not need to have visions themselves, but need to be able to compare their experiences with the experiences described by the actors. It is by way of this comparison that we contribute to an understanding of the life-world (Schutz and Luckmann 1989) and, thus, conduct "life-world ethnography" (Honer 2004), even when Mary, Jesus, or even a God figure.

Conclusion

In this study, we have tried to sketch videography as a method within the field of ethnography. In videography, video recordings are, on the one hand, media that allow us to capture the temporal unfolding of embodied actions and interactions within various social settings. On the other hand, videography emphasizes on the relevance of ethnography instead of taking the video recordings as mere audiovisual representations. Video recording includes the clarification of field access, of field roles (of the videographers as well as the cameras), and finally of the field (as an ethnographic focus), in which the video recordings are made and the audiovisual focus of the video itself is also made. Within the field, the videographer acquires the necessary knowledge to understand the actions of the scene and the actions themselves. This field knowledge is essential to an understanding of the video recordings, and it is also this knowledge that links video analysis to ethnography. Therefore, this is the aspect we have focused on in this paper. As our example has shown,

this knowledge may include quite exceptional experiences. Indeed, the Marian apparitions presented demonstrate this quite clearly, as well as illustrating how the role of participants needs to be reconstructed in order to understand what is going on in the video recordings. As video recordings focus on actors in fields where ethnographers acquire the knowledge relevant to actors, the subjective perspective is decisive. This subjective perspective is, finally, also necessary in any attempt to analyze the video. When one takes video to mean "I see," this always implies a subjective position and even if one acknowledges the role of technology, the interpretation of video implies a subject's attempt to understand the recording as if it were part of one's lifeworld—a world that may not only include human beings and objects (such as chapels) but also gods who are not visible on the videos.

Appendix
Transcription Conventions (for Spoken Language)

Pauses and breath

(-)	minimally noticeable pause
(0.8), (7.0)	pause in seconds
hh, hh	in-breath (note the preceding end period) and out-breath, respectively

Intonation

just came?	question mark sign shows raising of voice
in fear;	semicolon: slightly enhancing
talking,	comma: intonation tends downwards
beautiful.	full stop: deep down
WEAPONS	loud and emphatic
can't=hear	equals sign: no discernible pause between words

Transcriber's comments

<clicks>	description of nonphonetic sounds
(das=ist)	supposed utterance
( )	unclear content

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